Indigenous and Foreign Influences in the Development of Japanese Geographical Thought

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INDIGENOUS AND FOREIGN INFLUENCES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF JAPANESE GEOGRAPHICAL THOUGHT

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Editor's Notes

1) Japanese words are romanized in this volume according to the Hepburn style.
2) We have not used macrons to indicate long vowels in Japanese words.
3) In this text, Japanese names are written in Western style, i.e., with first names followed by surnames.
4) For the references to periodical material (J) denotes essays written only in Japanese, (J-E) essays written in Japanese with an English summary, (J-G) essays in Japanese with a German summary and (J-F) essays in Japanese with a French summary.

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Preface

This volume is a report of the Japanese research group for the history of geographical thought, subsidized by a Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research, Ministry of Education (Project number 62301091, Project Leader Professor Hideki NOZAWA of Kyushu University, in the fiscal years 1987-88). This research group reopened its study after a one year blank under the new common theme "Indigenous and Foreign Influences in the Development of Japanese Geographical Thought". We had study meetings three times for two years, in which each member of this group made his or her report respectively. The papers in this volume represent only a part of these reports and lean heavily toward the problem of foreign influences. We had severals reports on Japanese indigenous geographical thought in our study-meetings, for example "Structure of Landscape Depths" by Ichiro SUIZU and "Thought Commanding a View of Mountains-Another Ancient Landscape" by Minoru SENDA. We regretted missing these in this volume.

Japanese traditional geographical thought was neglected in the development of academic geography. Japanese geography was advanced by the importation of the geographical thought of Europe and the United-States through foreign teachers engaged by the Japanese Government and Japanese scholars studying abroad. Original Japanese developments have arisen in the course of continued absorption of foreign geographical thought. If we have succeeded in pointing out just a few of these in this short volume, we will have attained our initial purpose : to plumb "Japanese Contributions to the History of Geographical Thought".

Hideki NOZAWA

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Contents

Recent Trends in Studies on the History of Geographical Thought in Japan —Mainly on the History of Japanese Geographical Thought※—

Keiichi TAKEUCHI and Hideki NOZAWA

I. General Remarks

Recently in Japan, studies on geographical thought or the history of geographical thought have become flourishing, a fact in strong contrast to previous times when only a few specialists in the history of geography conducted research on very specific topics, or a limited number of geographers in specialized fields pursued historical reflections in the research pertaining to their specialized fields. In Japan, the recent surge of interest in the history of geographical thought began in the second half of the 1970s, in correspondence with the rise of interest in methodological and epistemological reflections on theoretical and quantitative geography and the emergence of new approaches such as the behavioural, phenomenological, radical-structural, and so on. Thus most of the recent studies in the history of geographical thought have been motivated by epistemological and methodological reflections that are presumably common to other countries. With regard to these trends, the Kyoto meeting of the Commission for the History of Geographical Thought of the International Geographical Union, held in 1980, played a decisive role. In preparation for this meeting, in 1978, the Japanese Study Group for the History of Geographical Thought was formed with a grant-in-aid from the Japanese Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, and has since published three reports (Geographical Institute of Kyoto University 1980; TAKEUCHI, 1984d; NOZAWA, 1986). This study group constitutes the nucleus of research activities in the history of geographical thought in Japan; and, on the initiative of the main members of the group, study groups for the history of geographical thought were created within the Association of Japanese Geographers in 1982, and a further study group having a similar purpose was formed in 1985 within the Human Geographical Society of Japan. One of the two authors of the present paper had advocated the necessity of studies in the history of geographical thought in Japan (TAKEUCHI, 1982) and, in 1984, on the occasion of the autumnal national convention of the Association of Japanese Geographers, both authors were responsible for the organization of a symposium having for its theme, 'Diffusion, Succession and Innovation in the History of Grographical Thought, Mainly in Japan' (TAKEUCHI and NOZAWA, 1985).

In recent studies on the history of geographical thought, the term 'geographical thought' is to be understood in a broad sense; it is not limited to the history of so-called academic geography, but includes geographical knowledge in general, as well as cosmological aspects and territorial consciousness, or the awareness of various societies, all of which have been and are expressed not only by means of the written word or academic jargon, but also by a diversity of other kinds of language-pictorial, cartographic, *paysagère*, and so on. A certain number of

※ The original text of this paper was published in the *Geographical Review of Japan*, Vol. 61 (Ser. B), No. 1, 1988, published by the Association of Japanese Geographers. The editor is grateful to the publisher who has permitted him to carry this paper in this volume.

pioneering studies on the history of geographical thought, in this broader sense, already existed in Japan before World War II ; early studies on the world image and a geographical knowledge of the world as found in ancient Chinese and Japanese maps and geographical Chinese and Japanese maps and geographical books (OGAWA, 1928-29 ; FUJITA, 1932 ; AYUZAWA, 1940) still maintain their scientific value, and many researchers continue the pursuit of studies in this field (UNNO, 1954, 1980, 1982, 1982, 1984a, 1984b ; FUNAKOSHI, 1984, 1985). In presest-day studies, however, there is an interest in the relativization of modern geographical science through the analyses of the system of knowledge that existed prior to the emergence of modern science or lore, and the system of the geographical knowledge of non-European worlds-studies, that is, of the kind J. K. WRIGHT encouraged in the early 1940s.

According to MARUYAMA (1963), a scholar in the intellectual history of Japan, the mode of thought now under discussion consists of four strata or levels ; the first of these comprises abstract and systematic theory and/or doctrine ; the second, a comprehensive image of the world, nature and life ; the third, opinions and attitudes related to concrete problems ; and the fourth a perception of life and living that occurs prior to the process of reasoning. Hence, MARUYAMA points out the multifarious aspects of the meanings of thought and the necessity of analyzing the articulation between the above strata or levels of thought. He insists also that, while the upper strata are important in giving orientation to the thought, the energy supporting and promoting the thought is stronger in the lower strata. On the basis of the framework thus postulated by MARUYAMA, we can say that the currently prevalent strong interest in the geographical lore of the different societies that the study of the historical thought involves, represents the energy stimulating actual innovations in and reflections on geographical studies in Japan.

In the study of traditional Japanese geographical thought, an important field of research is that of the study of pictorial maps, depicting ancient manors, mediaeval castle towns, pilgrimage itineraries and so on. But here we do not enter into a detailed review of this field of study, partly because a great deal of research in this field is conducted by historians rather than geographers. When a geographer takes it upon himself to carry out studies in this field, it is generally from the angle of historical interests ; there are, though, a few exceptions such as the recent studies of YAMORI (1984a, 1984b) or IWAHANA (1985).

It is rather difficult to pinpoint the exact date of the establishment of academic geography in Japan, but most researchers define it as having occurred in the last years of the nineteenth century or the beginning of the twentieth, when chairs of geography were created at higher educational institutions such as higher normal schools and imperial universities. Prior to the establishment of academic geography, however, there existed a certain number of intellectuals who, after the opening of Japan to intercourse with foreign countries in the middle of the nineteenth century, published geographical writings under the influence of the newly accessible Western geography. They were not geographers in academia, but very often their works were utilized as geographical textbooks at schools or referred to by school teachers of geography. Moreover, they wrote these geographical works with the dual intention of propagating the ideology underlying Westernization and modernization on the one hand and nationalist sentiments on the other. From the period prior to the formation of academic geography in Japan, certain topics have emerged, which are currently objects of active study, *i. e.* : 1) Geographical thought and the social role of the above-mentioned forerunners of geographical thought, and the articulation or non-articulation of their thought with traditional or indigenous geographical thought ; 2) the process of the institutionalization of geography, with regard to the fields of both education and research ; and 3) the social and ideological background of various trends or schools after the establishment of academic or orthodox geography in Japan. Where the formation of modern academic geography in Japan is concerned, the impact of Western geography has been very strong and a large number of studies on the history of Western geography have been produced by Japanese geographers (though, in the present review, which focuses on studies on the history of Japanese geographical thought, we do not examine contributions of this kind), as well as writings on the outlining the development of modern geography in Japan (NOMA, 1976 ; TAKEUCHI, 1976, 1984a ; PINCHEMEL, 1980). By no means, however, can we omit from

our review a survey of studies on a number of prominent figures who exercised a strong influence on the formation of geographical schools in Japan and studies on, also, certain 'outsider' geographers, who either worked outside the institutionalized academies or were in a minority regarding their stance in geography at that time. The works of these people are now in the process of being reevaluated in the light of present-day epistemological and methodological considerations.

II. Studies in Traditional Chinese and Japanese Geographical Thought

Because traditional Japanese thought has, as with many aspects of Japanese culture, a close relationship with that of the Chinese, many studies have been made on traditional Chinese geographical thought since the ancient period. According to UNNO (1954, 1980, 1982), the typical ancient Chinese cosmology depicts the sky as round and the earth as rectangular in a metaphysical representation based on the *I Ching* or the Book of Changes (VII-V century, B. C.), and the principle of Yang and Ying. Thus, the idea of a rectangular earth surrounded by the ocean is not peculiar to the Western tradition. Furthermore, there existed in ancient China an image of the world divided into three concentric zones and consisting of four extremities, four deserts and four seas. The four extremities mark the limits of the world and the four seas comprise the concrete world, consisting of China and its surrounding areas; while the four deserts are the intermediate areas existing between the four extremities and the four seas. UNNO concluded that this world image or view represented the perceptual and behavioural space of the Chinese people.

This type of Chinese cosmology most certainly influenced the world view of the Japanese. UNNO goes on to point out that, on the one hand, under the influence of Buddhist cosmology, the mediaeval thought of their country as being a small one, situated on the periphery of the world; hence they termed it *zokusan hendo*. *Hendo* means 'periphery' and *zokusan* is a Buddhist term meaning 'very small, like scattered millet grains'. But, on the other hand, under the influence of Chinese cosmology, the world came to consist of Japan, China and India, and her people often considered Japan a 'great country' because she was the chosen homeland of the deity *Dainichi Nyorai* (Mahavairocana), according to the Shingon sect of Buddhism. After the sixteenth century, on the basis of a more objective knowledge of the world introduced by the Jesuit missionaries, an ethnocentric world view emerged, which emphasized the superior or excellent physical qualities of Japan. This view was later advocated by the Confucianists and classical scholars of the Tokugawa period (UNNO, 1984a, 1984b).

UNNO also examines the term *chiri* (geography), the ideograms for which appeared for the first time in the *I Ching* and, in that work, referred to the kind of geomancy governing the location of houses, graveyards, settlements and castles. Apart from the *I Ching*, however, the term *chiri*, or *dihlii* as it is pronounced by the Chinese was used in the sense of chorographical description that had nothing to do with geomancy. UNNO sees in these two terms a common or universal meaning consisting of the mode of the existence of the earth, or the logic of the earth, and it was in this sense that the Japanese Confucianists of the Tokugawa period considered *chiri* necessary knowledge for rulers (TSUJITA, 1968, 1979). Besides this indigenous geographical thought conceived by the ruling classes, there existed a traditional or indigenous geographical thought professed to by agronomists and the peasant class who insisted on agricultural methods suitable to the environmental conditions of each place (ARIZONO, 1986; NAITO, 1984).

Even under the seclusionist policy, knowledge of world geography found its way into Japan by way of shipwrecked people, for example, who happened to have been picked up by foreign ships and so reached foreign shores. Another way was through the maps and geographical books brought to Japan by the Dutch and the Chinese, who had some access to Japan in spite of the prevailing seclusionist policies. Thus the world image visualized by Japanese intellectuals, especially scholars in Dutch studies, gradually came closer to that of the world image of Westerners. In fact, scholars in Dutch studies were comparatively well-versed in the knowledge of the geographical position, acreage, population distribution, soil conditions, climate and products of foreign countries. On the eve of the opening of the country, knowledge such as this was also required by the shogunate and fief governments (*han*) (TSUJITA, 1968) for the purpose of the

defence of the country. From the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Japanese began to acquire their own geographical knowledge on the basis of Western cartography and geography (FUNAKOSHI, 1984, 1985). This is testified to by the following evidence : 1) First, a government-compiled world map, the *Shintei bankoku zenzu* (1810), the quality of content and representation method which were of a world standard for that time ; 2) the achievement consisting of the compilation of maps of the whole of Japan by Tadataka INO (1745-1818), based on precise measurements of the land where Japan was located, and its exact location on the earth in terms of modern cartography and 3) the exploration of Hokkaido and Sakhalin by Rinzo MAMIYA (1780-1844), the results of which were incorporated in the abovementioned *Shintei bankoku zenzu.* His accurate cartographic representation of Sakhalin was first ever achieved. It is also necessary to note the cartographic achievements of Kageyasu TAKAHASHI (1785-1829), who was engaged in the compilation of the *Shinsen bankoku zenzu.* The late Shintaro AYUZAWA (1940, 1948) studied these achievements from the viewpoint of the influence of Western geography and cartography in Tokugawa Japan ; but recent studies by FUNAKOSHI emphasize the original achievements of the pioneer geographers and cartographers. There is no doubt, whatsoever that these achievements constitute the basis of modern geography in Japan but, as will be discussed later, whether succeeding generations of geographers rightly used the inheritance left them by their predecessors is open to question.

There is a new trend of studies which tries to discover in traditional Chinese and Japanese thought something essential for geography, but which is heterogeneous to rational or positivistic modern Western geography. This new trend is expressed in studies that aim at discovering traditional or indigenous geographical thought in the landscape of ancient Japan, and in popular legends and pictorical maps of mediaeval times. These basically comprise studies of the symbolism of place, but some researchers base their analyses on semiotics, in order to obtain a universal perspective. Examining the ancient Japanese landscape, SENDA (1980a, b) interprets its structure by means of the combination of three types of signs, that is, a square, a line and a point. SAENDA finds in the forms of ancient cities and villages some schematized patterns of the combination of these sign elements. From a semiotic analysis, SENDA furthermore proceeds to an interpretation of the meaning of the patterns of arrangement of the landscape elements. According to him, for instance, concentric patterns of spatial arrangements involve dichotomous structures of the sacred-profane, center-periphery, and so on. The grid pattern which predominated in ancient Chinese and Japanese settlements can also be interpreted in terms of the dichotomy of north-south and east-west axes (SENDA, 1984).

SENDA in clearly strongly influenced by linguistic semiotics, an interest which had previously been cultivated by Ichiro SUIZU. Recently, SUIZU has developed his analysis towards an examination of the correspondence between linguistic expression and the Japanese-style combination of the constituent elements of landscape. He finds that many Japanese terms, such as *ma*,[1] for example, cannot be represented in terms of Euclidean space and tries to analyse the quality of depth (*shinso*) in the traditional living space of the Japanese, bestowing upon it a topological expression (SUIZU, 1978, 1983, 1984, 1987). Where the studies of old pictorial maps are concerned, a new trend is the attempt to discover, by analyzing them, the cosmology and a geographical knowledge of past periods. These studies thus represent the new interest in the indigenous and essentially geographical thought expressed by languages other than the conventional ones.

III. Studies on Modern Geography Prior to the Formation of Academic Geography

With regard to the development of modern geography in Japan, the early Meiji period is most important, due to the following four points, which are naturally interconnected (TAKEUCHI, 1974b, 1987a, 1987b) : 1) Publications of geographical works relating to foreign countries, written by the so-called Meiji enlightenment intellectuals ; 2) breakdown of the traditional type of geographical description for which the compilation of maps, statistics and other governmental reports came to be substituted ; 3) emphasis on geography and history in the modern compulsory education system which started in 1872, and which had a marked significance for the institutionalization of geography ; and 4) the introduction on a greatly increased scale of Western geography, boht by leading Japanese intellectual-

s and by foreign teachers in Japan. The full-scale introduction of geographical studies of foreign schools was realized, however, only after establishment of academic geography.

The problems concerning the formation and development of modern geography in Japan are, firstly, the articulation of traditional or indigenous Japanese (or more broadly speaking, East Asian) geography and, secondly, the relationship between academic geography and non-academic geography in the process of the development of modern geography in Japan.

Unlike the geographical descriptions of foreign countries that appeared in the late Tokugawa period, and which had for their aim the encouragement of an awareness of a need for the defence of the country, geographical descriptions of the so-called enlightenment writers of the early Meiji period aimed at diffusing among the people a knowledge of the situation of foreign countries, especially that of advanced Western countries, in order to convince them of the necessity of the modernization of Japan. After the abandonment of the seclusiosist policy, the Shogunate and *han* governments several times despatched the young elite of the country abroad, in order to have them aquire knowledge of foreign countries. Some of these people, such as Yukichi FUKUZAWA (1834-1901) and Masao UCHIDA (1842-1876) published books on foreign geography upon returning to Japan. Among the many published works of FUKUZAWA, who was a very influential thinker of the Japan of the Meiji period, were numerous books on foreign countries, one of which was the *Seiyo jijo (Conditions in the West)* in 1866 and 1868, and another the *Sekai kuni zukushi (World Geography)* in 1869. The latter, which advocated the universality of the progress of humanity on the basis of evolutionist doctrines and the possibility of and the necessity for Japan's catching up with Western countries, was widely adopted as a school textbook after the establishment of the compulsory education system (TAKEUCHI, 1974b, 1987b). In 1870, the *Yochi shiryaku (Short Description of the World)* of UCHIDA, which contained interpretations that were more environmentalist in nature than the works of FUKUZAWA, was also extensively used as a school textbook. The geographical works of FUKUZAWA and UCHIDA played a somewhat ideological role, but the content, itself, of the works chiefly constituted the translation or paraphrasing of conventional Western geographical books. The examination of the original books of the authors of Meiji geographical writings constitutes one of the more interesting themes of study (MINAMOTO, 1985). As they did not generally refer to the original academic achievements of Western geographers, however, these works were not appreciated to any notable extent by later Japanese geographers. Nevertheless, the relationship of enlightenment thought to geography needs to be analyzed in further detail (KAMOZAWA, 1984).

In contrast to the Meiji enlightenment writers, who were at no time specialists in geography, a certain number of intellectuals of a younger generation who studied geography in a more specialized fashion, either by going abroad to do so, or by consulting the works of Western academic geographers, appeared in the middle of the Meiji period. Their geographical writings were neither fully appreciated nor accepted as an inheritance by academic geographers after the beginning of this century but, nonetheless, they were the forerunners of academic geography in Japan. Recently, we see an increasing interest in the works of these forerunners and a number of biographical and bibliographical studies on them have recently been published (MINAMOTO, 1975, 1977, 1978, 1981, 1984, 1985).

In the year 1894, Kanzo UCHIMURA (1861-1930), influential Protestant thinker of the late Meiji and Taisho periods published the *Chirigaku-ko (Considerations on Geography)*, which later became retitled *Chijin-ron (Discussions on the Earth and Man)*. There are two important aspects for consideration in the study of the geography of UCHIMURA; first, his geographical work was strongly influenced by the works of A. GUYOT, which he studied while at Amherst College in Massachusetts for two years (NOMA, 1980; TSUJITA, 1977a) and, secondly, the relationship or the conflict of his Protestant faith with geographical thought (YAMANA, 1963; ODA, 1977). YAMANA concludes that UCHIMURA'S geographical thinking is nearer to C. RITTER'S teleological thinking than to GUYOT'S environmentalism. According to ODA, the Christianity of UCHIMURA was marked by a somewhat nationalistic character and, in fact, in *Chijin-ron*, he found in the destination of Japan conditionned, as it were, by the geographical situation of the country, the realization of the Divine Providence (ODA, 1977).

Shigetaka SHIGA (1863-1927) is generally considered one of the active journalists who

propounded the nationalist ideology during the middle and late Meiji period; but, at the same time, he professed himself to be a geographer (MINAMOTO, 1984). He used the term *kokusui* (nationality), which literally stands for nationalism or ultranationalism, but which, in a much broader sense, can also be taken to mean national integrity or national identity. According to SHIGA, *kokusui* is the product of geographical conditions in Japan and is maintained as such by the Japanese nation itself. One of his main works, the *Nihon fukei-ron (Japanese Landscapes)* (1894), was a work of exploration into *kokusui* or, in other words, a eulogy on the beauties of the Japanese landscapes, which constitutes the basis of a sentimental attachment to one's native land, and of patriotism or nationalism (SATO, 1973). In this work, SHIGA emphasizes, apart from the traditional and conventional aesthetic viewpoint, which holds in admiration the harmonious and serene combination of land, water and trees, the taste for the wild and austere beauty of steep mountains, especially that of volcanoes. MINAMOTO points out the influence of Darwinian natural history and Western alpinism on SHIGA's aesthetic viewpoint. Discussion and debate on SHIGA's nationalism have also taken place from time to time. Many recent studies find a difference between SHIGA's thought in the early period and in the late period of his career. According to some authors, who found that SHIGA based his writings on geography only at the early period when he wrote the *Nihon fukei-ron* and *Chirigaku kogi (Lectures on Geography)* (1889), (SATO, 1973), during the later years of his life, after his retirement from political activities, he became a more expressed advocate of imperialist invasion and expansionism (IWAI, 1960-61); but according to other authors (for instance, MINAMOTO, 1984; TAKEUCHI, 1987a), the late years of SHIGA saw the abandonment of his chauvinistic viewpoint and the adoption of a more international-oriented stance, stressing the importance of understanding the viewpoint of other nations and appreciating their sperior qualities, while at the same chiding the Japanese for their insular mentality. Anyhow, SHIGA is one of the most interesting figures of pre-academic geography to be examined in further detail.

While UCHIMURA and SHIGA both received their higher education at the Sapporo Agricultural College and thus had a common agronomical disciplinary basis, Tsunesaburo MAKIGUCHI (1871-1944), who was greatly influenced by SHIGA, and is famous today as founder of the Soka Gakkai, the militant Buddhist sect, was a school teacher of geography who had received a diploma from the Sapporo Normal School. He was a self-taught geographer who published *Jinsei chirigaku (Geography of Human Lives)* (1903), under the suppervision of SHIGA. This was the first systematic and voluminous book of human geography in Japan, but it was long neglected, mainly because of the author's lack of higher education and relatively low social status. It is only recently that he has come to be appreciated as a pioneer of human geography in Japan (KUNIMATSU, 1972-73, 1978; TAKEMOTO, 1983; TAKEUCHI, 1984c). In this book, MAKIGUCHI discussed a systematic knowledge of the relationship between the environment and human lives, expressing thus, an environmental viewpoint in geography; but in the third part of this work, he analyzes the distribution of human phenomena, taking into consideration primary socioeconomic conditions (KUNIMATSU, 1978). It is worthy of note that he introduced the nomothetical, locational viewpoint of A. von THÜNEN to explain the distribution of different kinds of land utilization (OHJI, 1982, 1983). It was not until thirty years later that von THÜNEN's theory was to reappear generally in books of geography.

The increasing interest in these pre-academic pioneer geographers in the studies of the history of geographical thought in Japan, reflects the new reconsiderations in and new reflections on the history of academic geography in Japan, which had all but ignored the works of the pioneers. Only SHIGA received some attention on the part of the first geographers at the imperial universities.

IV. Discussions on Academic Geography

Even before the establishment of academic geography, *i. e.*, the creation of chairs of geography, in the imperial universities, there existed, though peripherally, programmes of lectures and reports and other activities pertaining to geography in academic circles. One of the activities involved the Tokyo Geographical Society established in 1879 by geologists, meteorologists, and botanists of the Imperial University of Tokyo, together with other people prominent in society (including, for example, high-ranking civil ser-

vants, aristocrats, journalists, military men, and so on); the society also founded the *Journal of Geography* which is still being published to this day. The role of this society in the development of modern geography in Japan was examined in detail by the late Ryuziro ISIDA (1984). In the first issue of the Journal of Geography (1889), Bunjiro KOTO (1856-1935) wrote a paper on the significance of geography. It was actually a paraphrase of the first and second chapters of the first part of F. RATZEL's *Anthropogeographie* (TAMURA, 1978), but it clearly showed that KOTO was well-informed regarding the state of geography in Europe. He also serially published 'Lectures on Geography', which introduced the Ratzelian system of geography (ISIDA, 1971b). Secondly, it should be noted that lectures in geography took place in the course of history and geography of the Faculty of Letters (Bunka Daigaku) after around 1887 (YOSHIDA, 1982). Goro ISHIBASHI (1877-1946) was appointed associate professor of geography when the first course of geography at university level in Japan was established at the Imperial University of Kyoto in 1907; he himself had studied at the Imperial University of Tokyo between 1898 and 1901, and had attended lectures in physical geography delivered by a German historian, RIESS, who based his talks on the geological works of A. GEIKIE, as well as historical geographical lectures delivered by K. TSUBOI, who paraphrased RATZEL. Hence, with all this behind him, it was perhaps not entirely by chance that ISHIBASHI later tried to construct his system of human geography on the basis of Ratzelian works.

It is generally agreed that the creation of the courses of geography at the Imperial University of Kyoto in 1907 and at the Imperial University of Tokyo in 1919 were epochmaking events in the process of the institutionalization of geography in Japan (NAKAGAWA, 1975). Strong influences were exercised by the two heads of these two newlycreated departments of geography, that is, Takuji OGAWA (1870-1941) at Kyoto and Naomasa YAMASAKI (1870-1929) at Tokyo (TSUJITA, 1977b, 1982). 1970 was the centenary of the birth of these two founder-geographers, and on that occasion in 1971, the Association of Japanese Geographers organized special lectures and published special issues of the *Geographical Review of Japan*. In one of these lectures, Torao YOSHIKAWA, whose mentors were disciples of YAMASAKI, pointed out that the influence of YAMASAKI had been especially strong in the field of geomorphology, especially where tectonically active areas were concerned, based on his direct observation of the crustal movements on the occasion of big earthquakes; and that he thus greatly stimulated later studies in dynamic geomorphology in Japan (YOSHIKAWA, 1971). In contrast to the Department of Geography of the University of Tokyo, which tends to be oriented towards physical geography, operating as it has within the frame of the Faculty of Science, the Department of Geography of the University of Kyoto, founded by OGAWA, is human geography-oriented, and characterized by its special endeavours in the field of historical and settlement geography. This was partly because it was founded within the frame of the Faculty of Letters, but was also due to the influence of OGAWA with his strong affinity for the Chinese classics (SUIZU, 1971a). The third head of this department at Imperial University of Kyoto, Saneshige KOMAKI, established an original methodology of historical geography which involved the reconstruction and analysis of the past landscape of a certain temporal section in the 1930s (ASHIKAGA, 1982). This methodology was succeeded to by the late Kenjiro FUJIOKA (1914-1985), who subsequently formed many students in the Kyoto school (SENDA, 1982a). Recently as mentioned above, geographers from this school have advanced their studies from the reconstruction of a past landscape to a semantic analysis of the structure of the past landscape, and are thus linking historical geographical studies with research in geographical thought. However, studies such as these had already been pioneered by OGAWA in his writings on traditional Chinese cosmology and on the reconstruction of the geographical knowledge of the ancient Chinese, on the basis of an analysis of the Chinese classics, including literature (SUIZU, 1971a).

Under the direction of OGAWA and YAMASAKI, two rather distinct schools of geography were thus formed, respectivey, in Japan. In fact, on the initiative of OGAWA and YAMASAKI, two academic societies were established, the Chikyu Gakudan (Academic Circle of the Globe) at Kyoto in 1925, and the Association of Japanese Geographers in Tokyo in 1926, which began to publish *The Earth* (1924-1937) and the *Geographical Review of Japan* (1924-), respectively (TAKEUCHI, 1984a, NOMA, 1976). In the 1930s, the geographical school of the University of Tokyo

came to be characterized by landscape and quantitative studies (ISHIKAWA, 1980) under the leadership of Taro TSUJIMURA (1890-1983), second head of the department. Besides this, at the Tokyo Bunrika University and the Tokyo Higher Normal School (which were, institutionally, closely connected and, later, together became Tokyo Kyoiku University and then the present University of Tsukuba), a newly formed Department of Geography became very active in studies in regional geography under the leadership of Keiji TANAKA (1885-1975) and Kan-ichi UCHIDA (1888-1969). TANAKA, who studied Davisian geography in the United States, tried to systematize studies in regional geography, establishing definitions for numerous concepts of regionality. TANAKA's attempts resulted in a great deal of similarity to the methodology of Lautensach's general regional geography, though the two geographers carried out their studies independently (TAMURA, 1984). Regarding the Japanese geography of the 1930s, considerations have recently been made on quantitative geographical studies, of which the works of I. MATSUI, T. MURATA and late S. YOSHIMURA are representative, and which were most certainly forerunners of post-World War II quantitative geography. It is, however, somewhat difficult to trace the continuity between prewar attempts at and the much more thriving postwar activities in the pursuit of quantitative studies (OKUNO, 1980 ; ISHIKAWA, 1980, 1982).

Besides the increasing interest in the different schools of the then newly-formed academic geography, there is also a resurgence of interest in the works of non-academic geographers and non-orthodox or outsider geographers in academic circles. The significance of these non-academic and outsider geographers, after the establishment of academic geography in Japan, differed from that of the forerunner geographers of the Meiji period. Very often, the works of the non-academic and outsider geographers attained an extremely high level of scientific achievement. While they were strongly influenced by academic geographers, they, at the same time represented, as it were, a viewpoint that was critical of the academic geography of the time. Generally, the non-academic geographers were teachers working in the field of geographic education, and they exercised a strong intellectual influence in this field. Notable among them were Michitoshi ODAUCHI (1875-1954) and Katsue MISAWA (1885-1937). There is no doubt that the growing interest in these non-academic geographers represents a methodological reflection that is now taking place with regard to conventional academic geography, and a protest against the attitudes of conventional academic geographers who for so many years have failed to carry out a proper evaluation and application of the works of the non-academicians.

ODAUCHI was one of the first graduates of the course of history and geography of the Higher Normal School of Tokyo and worked mainly as a geography teacher at the Waseda Middle School, though he also lectured at some private universities. He came under the strong intellectual influence of Inazo NITOBE, who had graduated from the Sapporo Agricultural College and advocated studies of local histories and local societies. NITOBE and Kunio YANAGITA (1875-1962), who is considered the founder of the Japanese folklore school established the Kyodokai (Society for Homeland Studies) in 1910. This society was joined by intellectuals in various disciplines, in order to conduct empirical studies in various corners of Japan and to collect material for Japanese folklore studies. ODAUCHI was an active member of this group, together with the above-mentioned MAKIGUCHI (TAKEUCHI, 1974b). One of ODAUCHI's major geographical works *Teito to Kinko (The Capital City-Tokyo and Its Environs)* (1918), was the first systematic study of settlement geography in Japan, based on field work (YAMADA, 1986). He was also an active advocate of an education based on homeland studies, and his activities have recently attracted the attention of not only gographers (KIMOTO, 1977), but also pedagogists (YAMASAKI, 1984).

MISAWA was also a geography teacher, who taught at the Suwa Middle School in Nagano Prefecture, and among those persons who followed his original and impressive teaching, several later became scholars in earth sciences, including geography. He also conducted numerous field surveys in his homeland, which met with the approval of academic geographers, and always continued to emphasize the necessity of geographical education based on field observation in the homelands of the pupils, and the necessity of the development of localy based industries. Recently, three volumes of his works have been published, and his contributions to the development of Japanese geography are now

coming in for reapplication (YAZAWA, 1979; YOSHINO, 1970).

We should note here that the increased interest in local studies and the Japanese folklore movement before World War II were closely related to the miserable situation of the Japanese peasantry at that time. The movements were concerned, either directly or indirectly, with the improvement of the rural situation, which was one of extreme poverty. At the same time, however, this rural poverty constituted the social basis of the strengthening of Tennoist ultra-nationalism and chauvinistic expansionism. In this respect, the ideology underlining ODAUCHI's homeland studies, independently of his intentions, brought about the opening of the path to ultra-nationalism before World War II (TAKEUCHI, 1980b).

There are not many known studies on the ideological aspects of the geographical works of modern Japan, but one of those existing few is Ryuziro ISIDA's treatise on the history of the attempted compilation of the *Kokoku chishi (Regional Descriptions of the Japanese Empire)* and the setback suffered by this attempt at compilation in the Meiji period. After the Meiji Restoration, the government instigated a project involving the systematic compilation of regional descriptions of the renewed Japanese empire, in order to collect the geographical data necessary for the administration of the newly-unified state, and also to demonstrate the prestige of the empire. But, because the intention was to compile the regional data according to the traditional Chinese and Japanese style of regional description, this work failed to answer the demands of the administration of the new state and was replaced by another compilation project, involving the publication of modern statistics and gevernmental cartographic surveys. The *Kokoku chishi* project was hence, abandoned with several volumes of drafts being all that remain of the initial project. ISIDA clearly analyzed the ideological background of this work of compilation and the reasons for the setbacks that prevented its final accomplishment (ISIDA, 1966). While it is true that the project of a nationwide systematic geographical description in the traditional style was discontinued in this way, on the other hand, compilation work involving local histories and regional geography, with the purpose of demostrating the prestige of the administrative authorities, was inherited by local authorities. Publications of this kind are still being actively produced, but since the inception of the homeland improvement projects and the Japanese folklore movement, this kind of compilation work has found further support in the growing interest in local history and, after World War II, especially after the 1970's by the regionalist sentiments of the local people. The regionalist movement came to the fore in the 1970's with the spread of environmental deterioration and the enlarged regional disparity consequent upon the rapid growth of the national economy in the 1950s and 60s. At that time, however, there were few contributions from Japanese geographers, who were enclosed in a narrow disciplinary framework, or who spent most of their time indulging in sophisticated quantitative analyses.

Ryuziro ISIDA (1904-1979) was one of the examples of 'outsider' geographers operating inside the geographical academia, together with Koji IIZUKA (1907-1970). ISIDA consistently criticized the dominant current in academic geography, which tended to apply the viewpoint and methodology of the physical sciences to geography, and insisted that human geography was a social science. In the last year of his life, he dedicated himself to the study of the ideological and institutional back-ground of the formation and development of modern geography in Japan, and a collection of his papers treating these particular issues was published posthumously (ISIDA, 1984). He paid little attention to the works of non-academic geographers, but his examination of the history of Japanese modern geography has greatly stimulated recent studies of the history of geographical thought in Japan (TAKEUCHI, 1983).

IIZUKA was graduated from the Faculty of Economics, but immediately after graduation he shifted to geography and studied this subject at the University of Paris in the 1930s. He was active in introducing Vidalian geography in Japan, and vigorously criticized geographical environmentalism. Also, he strongly insisted that geography was a social science, though he did not carry out a critical examination of Vidalian geography (OKADA, 1975; TAKEUCHI, 1984b). Immediately after World War II, he strongly influenced the younger generation geographers of that time with his methodological writings based on studies he had carried out on the history of modern Western geography.

He insisted that the study objective of geography was a territorially based social group; but he

himself never engaged in empirical studies (SUIZU, 1971b). Furthermore, he wielded considerable influence in the broader intellectual circles of postwar Japan, especially with regard to his criticism of the conventional Eurocentric stance of modern Japanese intellectuals, who tended to consider modernization synonymous with Westernization.

During the second half of the 1930's, and the first half of the 1940's the geopolitical movement gained currency, and a certain number of geographers were actively involved. Various currents were evident in Japanese geopolitic; some geopoliticians were under the strong influence of German geopolitics, partly because of the special connection of K. HAUSHOFER with Japan. But others, especially Saneshige KOMAKI and his geographical school of Kyoto, insisted on an indigenous Japanese type of geopolitics, which was considered to have its roots in traditional Japanese thought. Nonetheless, all of them, irrespective of the particular current to which they belonged, turned the expansionism of militarist Japan during World War II to their own advantage. Because of this, their activities ceased with the defeat of Japan in the war, and Japanese geopolitics was banned, socially and institutionally (TAKEUCHI, 1974a, 1980a). Except for a few rare cases, a critical examination of Japanese geopolitics has not been made at a scientific level. Under the militarist wartime regime, only Keishi OHARA (1903-1972) and IIZUKA expressed in writing their criticism of German-style geopolitics (TAKEUCHI, 1986).

One other deplorable case of the indifference of most Japanese geographers is the issue concerning the traditional Japanese concept of *fudo*. *Fudo* literally means 'wind and earth', but as traditional regional description has always been referred to from ancient times as *fudoki*, that is 'description of *fudo*', the term has come to mean not simply the environment but all the attributes pertaining to the place or the land. In the 1930s, a philosopher Tetsuro WATSUJI (1889-1960) interpreted this traditional concept in philosophical and ethical terms. After World War II, numerous researchers in intellectual history and economics examined this concept as one of the key terms by which the characteristics of Japanese culture are explained (UENO, 1972; KOBAYASHI, 1977). Japanese geographers, however, only superficially criticize these arguments on *fudo* identifying it with simple environmental determinism, and do not seriously concern themselves with the subject. As the French geographer A. BERQUE has recently pointed out (BERQUE, 1978-79, 1986), this concept is extremely important in the examination of traditional japanese geographical thought or the geographical dimensions of the Japanese mentality. As the above case demonstrates, many prospects yet remain to be explored in future studies regarding the history of geographical thought in Japan.

Notes

1) The Japanese term *ma'* is very difficult to translate into English. It means 'space' in both the abstract and concrete sense, but it can also mean 'pause' in the musical or conversational sense. Hence *ma* has both a spatial and temporal meaning. (In fact, the Chinese ideogram for this term is used, in Japanese as well as Chinese, to represent the concept of time [*jikan*] and of space [*kukan*]. In these two terms the syllable *kan* in Japanese is another pronunciation of the same ideogram that stands for *ma*.) The lack of separation between space and time, or the equation of one with the other, as expressed by the term *ma*, has given rise to a conceptual difference in perception between the East and the West.

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The Development of Cultural Geography in Japan

Tetsuya HISATAKE

I. Introduction

It is worth noting that Japanese geographers after the second World War are increasingly concerned with cultural geography as well as the concept of culture in geography as a result of the dominant influences of American cultural geograghy and anthropology. Among others the monumental issue of an anthology entitled *Readings in Cultural Geography* (WAGNER and MIKESELL, eds., 1962) had an enormous impact on the theoretical and substantial development of Japanese cultural geography.

Postwar Japanese geographers believe that prewar Japanese geography mixed with the ultranationalism of the latter 1930's and thereby probably spoiled normal growth of geographic curiosity towards different cultures and customs. This association was criticized under the democratizing policies imposed by General Headquarters of the Occupation and resulted in the introduction of new curriculums from universities to primary schools. Postwar democratization, encompassing all of Japanese society, effected a rearrangement in both research and education like never before. Playing an innovative role in rejuvenating contemporary Japanese social sciences, culture or the concept of culture became a key word. Culture as a conceptual problem, provided an opportunity to reflect on one's own research orientation and academic role in developing a discipline and in training Japanese students.

The so-called area-study as a new critical method in the social sciences, pioneered by American anthropology, was warmly welcomed. It emphasized, as is well-known, scientific description based on precise data obtained by field surveys. The point was to get an insider's by immersion in the habits and habitat of the subject. Postwar Japanese geographers were receptive to the techniques of the area study at the introducing period basically since they were becoming increasingly critical of over-generalized formulations based on crude second-hand data mostly extracted from the prewar social and humanistic sciences. Under the new area study regime, several overseas areas, even Japan itself, were selected for comparative field surveys which enlisted the cooperation of both the natural and the social sciences. Financial aid in the 1950's and the 1960's came from both the Japanese government and such foreign research foundations as Ford and Rockfeller (HISATAKE, 1985). Those areas picked up for overseas field studies, however, tended to be confined to the regions of East and Southeast Asia where Japan had once enforced colonial policies and trampled down native economic and social resources during the second World War. Japanese postwar senior geographers, exclusively male, had been involved in wartime research within the various military services and published their observations of different countries under the rubric of cultural geography soon after the War.

The author does not intend simply to denounce the results of wartime research but rather to highlight the accumulation of direct field observations by both academicians and ordinary people even during wartime. Many Japanese males over sixty experienced real cultural differences in visiting East and Southeast Asia through their wartime services. With their

own eyes they witnessed different customs and lifestyles which gave rise to self-reflections on their own surroundings after the war. An old farmer living in Kyushu, southernmost island of the Japanese archipelago, told me that his initial recognition of differences in cultivation techniques between his homeland and the northern Philippine island of Luzon led to an interest in examining differences in the kinds of domesticated animals, planting techniques, soil varieties, and crop rotation methods. All of this caught his fancy despite the fact that his purpose in being there was to fight a war.

Even in the midst war a farmer's primary concerns might be with such ordinary agricultural rituals as planting the rice seed, plowing and harvesting as well as with the daily diet and customs of the local inhabitants. Regardless of political and ideological reflections on the war itself, ordinary Japanese soldiers brought their wartime experiences and recognition of cultural differences, back to Japan, introducing them into daily discourse. Their kids, as a result, came to form an unconscious voluntary curiosity and imagination toward different cultural landscape depicted orally in their father's stories. It goes without saying, however, that their father's tales, dramatized as brave exploits could not always afford to those boys and girls a critical evaluation of both the war itself and their father's behavior.

Ordinary Japanese have had a lot of direct experience living in different cultures because of war and colonization. Elites have gained experiences through participation in governmental delegations as well as having been students sponsored by the government. Such common people as farmers, artisans, and poor younger brothers not in line to inherit anything have been forced to experience those cultural differences in foreign countries mostly as immigrants and soldiers. Even today we still see and hear monuments of the first Sino-Japanese War (1894-5), the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5), the first World War (1914-5), and the second World War. It is regrettable that common folks' direct experiences of different cultures since the middle of the 19th century have been closely related to war. The picture has rapidly changed after the removal of controls on the free exchange of foreign currency in the 1970's.

It is not unusual in rural areas even today to see old farmers chatting around the fire hearth about the ardent *kao lian* spirit or on the difference of taste between *sake* and malted whisky. These memories were accumulated while drinking at village festivals in northern Manchuria during the second World War. Memory prompters occasionally appear as stone monuments on the road side celebrating victories in the Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japan War or as tomb-stones for the dead in such wars on the margin of villages.

Different cultures that ordinary people experienced directly or indirectly are still materializing in their forefather's photos and in stone monuments found around the village, through which daily discourses evoke imaginary landscapes and lost families for posterity. Materializing the experiences of ordinary people with different cultures in either memory or monument, regardless of forms and sources, is not unique to the Japanese. Most stone monuments are way-side shrines with tiny Buddhist images for the war dead or for traffic accident victims. Small tombs for aborted babies due to famine as well as stone statues for individuals give primary stimulii to the ordinary man's memory and articulate the meanings found in landscape. Common people have their own ways and means of feeling a culture through tangible forms such as monuments, commercial goods, and daily utensils as well as pictures and faded photos.

Soon after the collapse of the National Seclusion policy erected by the Tokugawa Shogunate (1603-1867), ordinary people came to distinguish imported Western goods from Japanese goods by a fixing another word to the name of the item, such as the the *bunka nabe* (cultural pan), *bunka manju* (cultural cake), *bunka jutaku* (cultural house) and so forth. These uses, of the word *bunka* (culture) as a kind of prefix referring to Western goods imported after the Meiji Restoration implied several meanings associated with "superior", "unfamiliar", and "non-native", and therefore imposed a value-laden classification on daily goods. Use of the word *bunka* seems to have originated from the Westernization policies enforced by the new Meiji government all basically designed to catch up with the West. In that social and political context the word *bunka* or the concept of culture was obliged to become a classification for development stages and connected such binary terms as: "superior" and "inferior", "advanced" and "underdeveloped", and "sophisticated" and "rude". The binary

classification of the goods of daily life overlapped by degrees with the distinction between "foreign" and "native", or more concretely, "Western-style" and "Japanese-style". In the early Meiji era policy was to push Westernization in every field of Japanese society.

However we need to recall that the same sort of ordinary attitudes toward foreign cultures had gradually formed and come into existence in the Tokugawa era though still incipient just at the conscious level. In general, folk ways to discriminate between "native" and "imported" things were positively encouraged by the *Kokugakusha* (nationalist scholars) whose background in thought was exclusively focused on ancient Japanese Shintoism. They emphasized Japanese elements of culture and tried to expel "imported" thoughts and goods as well as trivial rituals and ornaments associated with Buddhism and Confucianism. The National Seclusion policy under the Tokugawa regime as well as the Nationalist movements beginning in the late eighteenth century prompted the common people to form ambivalent attitudes toward "imported" culture elements.

Thereafter the Western concept of culture could not be received smoothly until around the end of the nineteenth century as reflected by the anti-Westernization movement which flourished during the 1870's and 1880's. In those confused times several contradictory interpretations of the Western concept of culture appeared. One derived from the nationalist and the other from the Westernizers. To understand different concepts of culture, nature, philosophy, love, and so forth people were obliged to go to extremes rejecting or absorbing foreign ideas or otherwise producing a half-bred concept. The word *bunka,* too, only of recent coinage could not be stable and to be adjusted to traditional meanings and ways of expression.

The main purpose of this paper is to trace the relationship between the changing concept of culture along with geographical descriptions screened by it and the changing social situation as it found expression in ordinary people's attitudes toward the land. These relationships reveal the development of Japanese cultural geography. Culture concepts of different breeds do not melt into a different, new concept easily and cultural geographers must be aware of the boundaries of cultural areas to which they belong.

II. The Culture Concept and Geographical Description in the Premodern Age

The first English-Japanese dictionary to appear, after the Meiji Restoration, the *Yochi shiryaku jikai* (1875), defines the English word culture in Japanese as *shomotsu no oshie* or book-knowledge (Sogo and Hida eds., 1986, 511-2). The Japanese word *bunka* presently used as a definition does not appear. The Japanese Standard National Language dictionary cites the first appearance of the word *bunka*, used as an opposite to *shizen* (nature), in the *Hyakugaku renkan* (Encyclopedia) authored in 1870 by Amane Nishi. Nishi was the leading translator of Western language academic terms into Japanese in almost all fields of the natural and social sciences (Nishi, 1870, 1981, 81-83).

By around 1910 almost all of the Standard English-Japanese dictionaries defined culture as *bunka*. Hirone Saegusa has examined the history of the word *shizen* (nature) in the Japanese tradition and states that an opposite use of the words *bunka* and *shizen* (culture and nature) was gradually adopted first by contemporary novelists as a result of their reflections on Western influence in Japanese society. Saegusa also states that the word *shizen* spread into both academic and ordinary life during the 1890's when Japan was undergoing its first industrial revolution (Saegusa, 1958, 89-91). He articulates several changing phases in the use of the word *shizen* and traces them back into Japanese history. According to Saegusa, the word *shizen* had been originally used as a Buddhist term meaning "self-generation without articulation." In contrast, *bunka* was hued from Tokugawa period Confucianism and meant "enlightenment", "civilization", and "education of the ordinary people by a literate social class".

These meanings implicitly reflect social class order in Tokugawa feudal society, firmly based on a Confucian political ideology held dear by the samurai class. "Culture" in such a context referred to a one-way vertical flow of information from top to bottom down the ladder of hierarchical social order. There was no concern with the alternative information flow from bottom to top. "Culture" of this nature oriented geographical descriptions to the ruler's view point.

Geographical descriptions screened by the ruler's perspective itemized geographical phenomena for convenience of control and economic profitability. As seen in the *Fudoki* (ancient Japanese regional geography) tradition since the eighth century, geographical descriptions were modeled after Chinese regional geographies and itemized various geographical phenomena according to such categories as: taxation (amount of grain products, area of arable land, number of cattle, population, etc.); religion (number of shrines, temples, and local deities, membership of religious sects, etc.); and military (forts, horse stations, bridges and fords, water wheels for rice-cleaning, transportation facilities such as boats and carts). These descriptive items were chosen at the convenience of the ruler for administrative manuals (ISIDA, 1984, 9-23; HAGA, 1972, 43-64).

Such geographical descriptions flourished during the Tokugawa era. The area to be geographically described was constrained to political boundaries of the fief without taking natural and cultural elements into consideration. Most descriptions were written by the *Kokugaku-sha* (nationalist scholars) whose intellectual background was based on Shintoism (HAGA, 1972, 65-82; 1980, 287-311). The nationalist scholars tended to eliminate foreign elements connected with Buddhism and Confucianism as well as the recently imported Western thoughts and goods, and tried to add to such geographical descriptions new items connected with traditional folk beliefs and communal events based on ancient Japanese Shintoism.

The nationalist scholars played a positive role that explained in revitalizing and reevaluating lots of forgotten folk tradition, the establishment of irrigation canals and soil improvement for rice cultivation. Through their detective efforts, they resurrected legends of human sacrifices for the protection of river banks against several floods as well as excavated various historical materials and local documents hitherto unknown even to the local inhabitants (HAGA, 1972, 290-1).

Ordinary people under Tokugawa feudal law were prohibited from migration for any purpose. They could participate in religious pilgrimages and temporary visits to kinsmen. Geographical information concerning the outside world came in written and oral form as well as in crude hand-written maps and other pictures or illustrations. Initial innovators of such geographic knowledge were limited to the literate and the comparatively rich such as Buddhist monks, Shinto priests, and lower class samurai who resided in rural areas. They provided to those non-literate lower classes of farmers and artisans geographic knowledge about the outer world and their own country by using historical legends, printed books with illustrations, as well as Buddhist world maps (MUROGA and UNNO, 1957, 1962).

Buddhist world maps gave the common people their first taste of international geography. MUROGA properly states that for most ordinary people of the Tokugawa period the Buddhist image of the world consisted of India and China at the center and Japan located at the periphery. Japan appeared in the Buddhist world maps as islands distributed sparsely like foxtail millet to the far east of the mainland (UCHIDA, 1936, 1953, 1971; UNNO, 1984a, 1984b). At the same time, European world maps were being gradully adopted by upper class intellectuals (MUROGA, 1981, 24-28) that situated Japan at the center of the world based on a Pacific-centered world view like that which Matteo RICCI presented to late sixteenth-century Chinese (AYUZAWA, 1941, 1948a, 1948b, FUNAKOSHI, 1970). Despite this upper class intellectual activity, ordinary people relied on Buddhist notions.

The Buddhist map-images gave rise to the idea that Japan was the "marginal" or the "inferior" compared with the "centered" or the "superior" cultures. This recognition of their own country's status and position related to the most influential powers and cultures of the world resulted in a dualism which classified anything imported from other countries as superior in accordance with the ideological notion that the center was superior and the margin inferior.

For the common people after the Meiji Restoration of 1868 the culture-center abruptly changed from India and China to the West in keeping with the rapid introduction of "superior" Western material culture into Japan regardless of any religious and political motives. Therefore the criteria to assess imported materials shifted by degrees from the religious or the ideological to the material. Shintoism and the nationalists reacted against such a rapid collapse of the ideological tradition and tried to direct popular concern back to Japan and its local traditions. Their efforts were usually in vain. Simple curiosity by ordinary folk about a different culture expressed in tangible Western goods and prod-

ucts overtook the traditional in the end.

Despite legal prohibitions against free-travel and migration during the Tokugawa era, common people were not always indifferent to the different customs and products of other provinces in Japan. Those who had no chance to travel prized souvenirs from other's pilgrimages to sacred places and listened with delight to tales of strange customs and unintelligible local dialects. Pilgrimages of the common people to sacred places was not officially frowned on, but encouraged as a kind of discipline to acquire advanced skills and techniques from other areas as well as a way of becoming acquainted with their own fief's condition relative to other provinces (YASUI, 1810, 1972). From around 1700 various kinds of travel guides or itineraries began to appear for the purpose of travel and pilgrimage (TANIGAWA, ed., 1968-1984). Those who went to Ise and Kumano, the most sacred places in the land, left travel notes for followers. In those records we find valuable clues as to how one traveled and how much it cost as well as geographical descriptions of the cultural landscape along the routes (ARAKI, 1971). The diffusion of new high-yield rice seeds and several types of fruit trees are traceable in these itineraries (HAGA, 1986, 70).

Curious objects or different techniques encountered during pilgrimages gave rise to changes of ordinarily unarticulated attitudes toward one's own resources and quality of land and promoted self-reflection on ordinary life. Such comparisons by the common folk of the Tokugawa period gradually accumulated, but these private notes taken by the common people were never thought of as "culture" because they were not part of required knowledge for samurai and feudal lords but were only considered supplements to aid control and rule.

III. Man-Land Relationship and the Concept of Culture during the 1890's and the 1910's

The traditional gazetteer's style of geographical description did not end until around the end of the Meiji era (1912) in spite of the overwhelming Westernization in contemporary Japanese society. The compilation of *Kokoku chishi* or the Regional Geography of Imperial Japan by the new Meiji government during 1872-1893 also followed this tradition as Ryujiro ISIDA properly points out in his critical examination of history of geography and geographical thoughts in the pre-modern age (ISIDA, 1984, 9-23). Along with the growing introduction of western-style geographical texts NISHI classified the *Fudoki's* (traditional gazetteer) style of geographical description as "political geography," one among the three sub-categories of: astronomical, political, and physical (NISHI, 1870, 1981, 81-83). Its role was to treat such themes as customs, historical explanations of political boundaries, and commercial trade, as well as to address military affairs.

Amane NISHI, at that time difined political geography, including the field that present cultural geography is concerns with, as that which treats all matters concerning the works of man in general, specifically : population, race, and local diseases, as well as ways of living and subsistence (NISHI, 1870, 83). However, he did not emphasize the positive role of culture in his definition of political geography.

Definitions were not explicitly required nor deemed indispensable for authors to delineate their own thoughts and beliefs in the early Meiji period. Traditional geographical descriptions were basically colored by religious ideologies for a long time under the feudal social stratification, and these assumptions carried over.

It was through F. RATZEL's influence that the positive role of culture in geography came to be recognized in the formative years of academic geography, mostly through Bunjiro KOTO's translation of RATZEL's *Anthropogeographie* Bd. I. (1882) around 1889 (TAMURA, 1978 ; YOSHIDA, 1982). KOTO classified anthropogeography into two sub-categories : one treats the cause and effect of the distribution of cultural forms and human beings, the other looks at the dispersal of races and their formation of political states (KOTO, 1889, 1-3).

As common people came to recognize the growing importance of the changing phases of material culture in their daily lives, the traditional concept of culture began to change. Around the 1880's and 1890's the concept of culture as influenced by unilinear evolutionary ideas, came to imply "civilization and development" in both organization, such as the establishment and administration of institutions, and material culture, such as industrial products and the consumption of commercial goods. Most typical of this sort is a statement penned by

Tsunesaburo MAKIGUCHI in 1908:

> *Anthropogeographie* as a sub-area of geography is the study of the influence of nature on the human body and mentality, *Kulturgeographie* (Cultural or Civilizational Geography), established by F. RATZEL, aims to study the influence of land, climate, and other physical factors on human beings. Themes treating the man-land relationships are included in this Cultural or Civilizational Geography (MAKIGUCHI, 1908, 1980, 308).

MAKIGUCHI, with his own interpretation of *Kulturgeographie*, reoriented the concept of *bunka* (culture) toward *kaika* (civilization), and accordingly cultural geography toward *kaika chirigaku* (civilizational geography). He classified civilizational geography into two parts: one was to study phenomena concerning material civilization such as production in agriculture, industries, commerce, and consumption, the other was to study phenomena concerning mental civilization. He did not itemize phenomena as religion, language, and art. (MAKIGUCHI, 1908, 244-5).

The formative process of civilizational or cultural geography reflected people's changing attitudes toward the land as a resource and the chanigng nature of social organization. These conceptual changes resulted in recognizing the importance of man-land relationships as a new problem for the social sciences. Under such changing social conditions the land ethics of farmers, too, changed. In the agriculture-based economy of the feudal society land was regarded not only as the production base but also as an inheritance to be nursed by a farmer's affections. Under feudal ethics land could never be priced nor viewed only as an object for capital investment. This sort of pastoral ethics was gradually compelled to change to keep pace with the rise of factory-based economic production during the 1890's and 1910's.

The legal cancellation of controls on land use and land-selling in 1872 gave rise to more profitable commercial crops such as tea, vegetables for market, and other cash crops. Traditional rice cultivation took second place. Profitability and money-based assessment of land promoted the collapse of traditional crop rotation as well as the disappearance of communal land use in rural areas. Unprofitable hillside rice paddy was transferred to use for mulberry trees to feed silk-worms or to grow hemp and cotton for the textile industry. As heavy industries gradually grew in the 1890's the social structure of over-populated farming areas where complex landlord-tenant relationships had been formed was severely damaged by the commercialization of farming and surplus labor was pushed out into the urban and industrial regions. Paralleling this out migration from rural areas to urban, the low productivity in agriculture, compared to industry, could not afford to farmers the means to improve agricultural land itself. Thus cleavage between agriculture and factory production rapidly widened.

Rice land was sold out to such capitalists as landlords and factory-owners at low prices to repay debts. Industrialization and capitalization of land traditionally used for agricultural production crushed the basic social relations for production in rural farming areas, and resulted in a decrease in both communal work patterns and entertainment and in an increase in the individual choice of crops and labor time as well as individualistic consumption. Accordingly culture of civilization connotated affirmatively the progress of material things and the diversification of choice. Negatively they meant the decline of communal work habits and traditional events and rituals in daily lives.

Material prosperity supported by evolutionary assumptions received positive emphasis under the rapid progress of industrialization and capitalization. Civilizational or cultural geography, too, followed this line in the early stages of the formation of the geographical discipline. The negative effects of civilization on land was recognized mostly due to the over-all devastation of farming conditions in rural areas and the degeneration of environmental quality in most of the adjacent regions to industrial factories during the 1890's.

The Watarase-gawa case of 1896 revealed that Ashio Mining Company polluted the tributary areas of the Watarase river by waste from its copper factory, and gave rise to the anti-pollution movement. These movements were actively supported by those who had received Western-style educations such as Kanzo UCHIMURA and Inazo NITOBE as well as by nationalists such as Shigetaka SHIGA and other. They advocated harmonious man-land relationships in geography and other social sciences. UCHIMURA's *Chirigaku-ko* (Contemplations on Geography, 1894) or the *Chijin-ron* (Man-Land Relation-

ship), as the second edition (1896) was known, were the first writing to introduce the works of the American G. P. MARSH into Japan (TSUJITA, 1960; MINAMOTO, 1977; NOMA, 1982). Inazo NITOBE, well known as the author of *Bushido* (The Way of the Warrior) and one of UCHIMURA's intimate friends was also responsible for introducing the monumental works of A. MEITZEN into Japan. MEITZEN's ideas contributed to planning suitable forms of land settlements in the newly exploited Hokkaido, northernmost of the Japanese islands (NITOBE, 1898, 1976, 235). Their extraordinary efforts in introducing Western ideas, including Christianity prohibited by the previous feudal government, betrayed a personal, Christian missionary zeal as well as revealed their practical intent to improve devastated rural lives and inspire environmental conservation among the capitalists and the common folk.

MAKIGUCHI and NITOBE, followed by Michitoshi ODAUCHI, actively promoted the study of rural settlements where traditional rural lives had improved. They established the *Kyodo-kai* (The Homeland Association) in 1910 under the lead of the versatile Kunio YANAGIDA, a founder of Japanese folklore studies. They published periodically the results of their field observations among rural folks in the *Kyodo-kai journal* and advocated the role of field observations in the study of geography and folklore. Their missionary efforts changed by degrees the research orientation of academic geography as well. They directed their attention solely to record the traditional ways of rural lives in agricultural production, trade and transportation as well as communal festivals and religious rituals. Although they could not always completely depict changing rural lives, those records provided us with valuable documents for studying the historical changes in the material and non-material culture of rural areas from the pre-modern to the present.

In other areas, the completion in 1909 of topographical maps (scale 1 : 50,000) of all of Japan certainly gave a great impetus to cartographical anaysis of the form and distribution of rural settlements as well as of various kinds of landuse conditions. "Morphological analysis", based on such large-scale topographical map sheets, were favored in academic circles. These studies tended to proceed without field observations or considerations of any practical reasons unlike the *Kyodo-kai* and associates. The morphological method as an academic discipline was asserted by the Tokyo circle of geographers, and led to sophistication in qualifying and quantifying the data obtained from map sheets. Those non-academic geographers like the *Kyodo-kai* group could not always contribute to theory-construction and theoretical map analysis but continued with missionary to popularize their ideas of rural development and the practical methods of field observations.

At the formative period of academic geography, —the nation's first Department of Geography was established at Kyoto University in 1907, closely followed by Tokyo University in 1919— the culture concept in geography was not clearly defined. Takuji OGAWA, founder of the Department of Geography at Kyoto University, argued the position of cultural geography (*Kulturgeographie*) in his book-review of MAKIGUCHI's *Jinsei chirigaku* (Geography of Human Life, 1903) with the assertion that cultural geography was not always an independent discipline distinguished from the field of human geography in its nature and content (OGAWA, 1904). He was apparently not eager to define the concept of culture or the position of cultural geography in academic geography but was himself originally concerned with the historical origin of dispersed settlements in the Tonami region, using data obtained from both field observations and historical documents (OGAWA, 1913; SUIZU, 1971; TSUJITA, 1982). Questions associated with the origin of dispersed settlements and their distributional regularity in the Tonami area were pursued by Shinnosuke MAKINO (1915, 1931, 1938), Shigeki MURAMATSU (1932, 1962) and other historical geographers of the Kyoto school, and later further sophisticated by Teizo MURATA (1930), Shinkichi YOSHIMURA (1930), and Isamu MATSUI (1931) with quantitative methods.

The Tokyo circle of geographers, on the other hand, actively pursued quantitative methods from the first. Naomasa YAMASAKI, the first head of the Geography Department at Tokyo University, edited with Denzo SATO the *Dainihon chishi* (The Regional Geography of Greater Japan) (1903-1915, 10 vols.) the most comprehensive regional geography of contemporary Japan (TSUJITA, 1980). The sections on human affairs, however, were left almost unchanged from those found in the pre-modern gazetteers. There were remarkable improvements of descriptions in the physical sections for land forms, volcanic

activities, and land faults, as well as earthquakes, and hydrographial phenomena.

YAMASAKI, however, came to use the term culture in opposition to the physical elements as illustrated in his seminal paper introducing the work of J. L. RICH (1917). However, the active role of culture was never recognized (YAMASAKI, 1918). YAMASAKI's student, Taro TSUJIMURA, evaluated YAMASAKI's 1918 paper as a position paper for development of human geography among the Tokyo Circle of geographers, most of whom got their training in physical geography (TSUJIMURA,1930,680). Study of the relationships between land forms and cultures, primarily relying on the analysis of large-scale topographical maps, became popular among both academic geographers and practitioners at government institutions. The term "morphometric" to indicate the analysis of topographical maps came into vogue. The grid-cell division of a large scale map was customarily selected as the framework for quantifying geographical data. Through such enterprises the concept of culture tended to be defined in a negative way of referring to the "non-physical elements" in the study of land forms, or at best, to the "works of man" which appeared on the topographical mapsheets.

IV. The Formative Period of Cultural Geography and the Study of Cultural Landscape during the 1920's and 1930's

During the 1920's and 1930's, intitutionalization and differentiation in geographic studies proceeded apace with an increase in such tools of research as governmental statistics, national censuses, and academic journals. Methodological sophistication and data manipulation emerged.

The first national census was conducted in 1920. It provided a convenient handle to real population figures and migration rates by unit area as well as between regions. Besides the census, topographical maps scaled at 1 : 50,000 and covering all of contemporary Japan, including Formosa, Sahalin, and other colonial territories, appeared in 1924 and afforded us various ways to detect regional land forms and their patterns in East Asia, land-divisions and their distributional variations, and the relationships between land forms and population density.

The increase in the number of new academic journals of geography and the establishments of several new research associations were also noteworthy phenomena for the institutionalization of geography itself in Japan especially during a rather short period around the time of the Great Kanto Earthquake in 1923. In addition to the *Chigaku zasshi* (Bulletin of Tokyo Geographical Society, 1889-), the *Rekishi chiri* (The Journal of Historical Geography, 1899-) and the *Rekishi to Chiri* (History and Geography, 1916-), three new academic journals came out : the *Chikyu* (The Earth, 1923-), the *Chiri kyoiku* (Geographical Education, 1923-) and the most dominant *Chirigaku hyoron (The Geographical Review of Japan*, 1925-).

In the process of institutionalization and differentiation of various geographical disciplines, cultural geography, too, was emerging as a sub-field of human geography. Cultural geography was, at its outset in the 1930's, regarded as the study of human customs, religions, and folk beliefs, as well as local dialects in languages and the various human races. Special concerns of Japanese geographers with the concept of culture came from studying cultural landscape, dominantly influenced by the German concept of *Kulturlandschaft* as well as by C. O. SAUER's monumental works on cultural landscape. As G. HARD has pointed out, use of the concept and term *Landschaft* in German-language journals and books increased rapidly from 1900 to 1910's mostly in the field of aesthetics and then spread gradually into various geographical studies during the 1930's and the 1940's (HARD, 1969, see also DÖRRENHAUS, 1971). The case was the same in Japan.

A geographic interest in cultural landscape spread into academic circle under the strong leadership of Taro TSUJIMURA and his students at Tokyo University mostly in the form of abridged translation and book-reviews of such dominant geographers' work as O. SCHLÜTER, S. PASSARGE, N. KREBS, A. HETTNER and other German geographers, most of which were published in the newly established (1925) academic journal *Chirigaku hyoron*. Among others, O. SCHLÜTER and C. O. SAUER were the most influential and innovative in applying the concept of culture to geography as well as placing geography in the social sciences.

In 1926 TSUJIMURA introduced SAUER'S "The Morphology of Landscape" (1925) as the most highly respected achievement in the development

of cultural geography and argued that the study of the historical development of landscape from the natural to the cultural mediated by culture as a geographical agent should be taken as a new, promising idea that could establish cultural geography as an independent field of study field (TSUJIMURA, 1926, 608-609, see also HISATAKE, 1980). The term "cultural geography" became popular among Japanese geographers through Akira WATANABE's 1932 review of SAUER's "Recent Development in Cultural Geography" (1927).

Besides introducing the works of C. O. SAUER into Japan, TSUJIMURA and his students also reviewed much German language literature on *Kulturgeographie*: B. BRANDT (1922), N. KREUTZBURG (1930), and I. SHIEDENTOP (1932 hrsg) by TSUJIMURA (1925, 1931, 1933); H. HOCHHOLTZER (1931) by FUJISUE (1932), and G. von GELDERN-CRIPENDORT (1930) by MATSUI (1932) among others at the early stage of development of cultural geography in Japan during the decade from 1925 to 1935.

Taking the opportunity of the translation of Otto GRAF's *Von Begriff der Geographie in Verhältnis zu Geschichte und Naturwissenschaft* (1925) by Hisaya KUNIMATSU in 1930 (KUNIMATSU, 1930a), debates on the position of geography in both the natural and the social sciences arose with themes related to the disciplinary classification of neo-Kantian philosophy (see RICKERT, 1898, 1939, 53). Efforts to evaluate the position of human geography in terms of the cultural sciences in the German style gave rise to recognition of the earlier works of A. HETTNER and O. SCHLÜTER. Translations of O. SCHLÜTER's typical works: *Die Ziele der Geographie des Menschen* (1906), *Die Stellung der Geographie des Menschen in der Erdkundlichen Wissenschaft* (1919) by Hisaya KUNIMATSU revealed that SCHLÜTER tried to make an effort to situate his *Kulturgeographie* in terms of *Anthropogeographie* based on the clear distinction of man (*Mensch*) himself as a geographical factor with his material products traceable on the earth's surface (KUNIMATSU, 1930b, 85-93).

When we examine C. O. SAUER's 1931 paper on the nature of cultural geography, we can recognize clearly SCHLÜTER's influence on SAUER's works. SAUER stated in his usual phraseology on the position of cultural geography in terms of human geography as follows :

> Geography is approached in various ways and to various ends. On the one hand there is an attempt to find the limitation of study in particular causal relationships between man and nature : on the other, the effort is to define the material of observation. This cleavage had attained increasing dimensions year by year and threatens perhaps to form a gulf across which no community of interests may maintain. The situation dates from the beginning of modern geography but has grown acute only in the present century. The one group asserts directly its major interest in man : that is, in the relationship of man to his environment, usually in the sense of adaptation of man to physical environment. The other group, if geographers may be divided into simple classifications, directs its attention to those elements of material culture that give character to area. For the purpose of convenience the first position may be called that of human geography, the second that of cultural geography. The terms are in use in this manner, although not exclusively so. . . (SAUER, 1931, 1962, 30)

> . . . The Germans have long had a phrase, "the transformation of the natural landscape into the cultural landscape" ; this provides a satisfactory working program, by which the assemblage of cultural forms in the area comes in for the same attention as that of the physical forms. In the proper sense all geography is physical geography under this view, not because man, himself not directly the object of geographic investigation, has given physical expression to the area by inhabitants, workshops, markets, fields, lines of communication. Cultural geography is therefore concerned with those works of man that are inscribed into the earth surface and give to it characteristic expression. The culture area is then an assemblage of such forms as have independence and in functionally differentiated from other areas. . . (SAUER, 1931, 1962, 32).

SAUER's phrasing in the latter part is mostly based on SCHLÜTER's *Kulturgeographie* in German geography at that time. KUNIMATSU illustrated the position of *Kulturgeographie* in terms of *Anthropogeographie*, citing SCHLÜTER's *Die Ziele der Geographie des Menschen* (1906) as shown in Fig. 1a and 1b (KUNIMATSU, 1930, 6. 106).

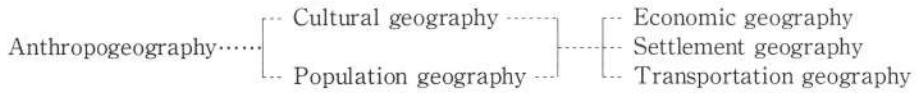

Fig. 1a

	Population geography	Cultural geography
1. Basic premise	Density of population	Cultural stages
2. Economic geography	Economic relationship of inhabitants to the land	Land transformed and used economically
3. Settlement geography	Populational agglomeration at the residence	Settlement
4. Transportation	Transportation and geographical migration	Line of communication as road etc.

Fig. 1b

(KUNIMATSU, 1930b, 106)

In these classifications concerning the sub-fields of geographic disciplines, cultural geography was identified as the study of observable material works of man overlapped partly with the sub-areas of economic geography, settlement geography, and transportation geography respectively. SCHLÜTER also comes through in the following statement by KUNIMATSU: "the purely mental aspect of man is not included in treating the themes of population geography and therefore such elements as language, religion, history, and so forth, are not considered to be the elements comprising landscape" (KUNIMATSU, 1930b, 89-90).

This positioning of cultural geography within the sub-fields of the geographical discipline contradicted the previously accepted study areas in Japanese cultural geography. However few efforts to readjust the previous position of cultural geography to the newly defined position introduced in the works of O. SCHLÜTER and C. O. SAUER were attempted at that time. Most Japanese geographers accepted SCHLÜTER and SAUER'S definition of the area of cultural geography as a sub-field of human geography in general without detailed discussion. This was so because other ways of assessing the concept of culture and positioning the status of cultural geography had already appeared in the works of S. PASSARGE (1933), N. KREBS (1923), A. HETTNER (1923) and others in German geography.

We have to turn our attention here to the contemporary Japanese assertions concerning the nature of culture in geography and the status of cultural geography itself during 1920's and 1930's WATANUKI'S seminal paper, "The Meaning of Culture in Geography" (1929), in this context, was the first discourse concerning the role of culture in the study of geography in Japan. He relied basically on the methods of A. HETTNER and emphasized economic factors to explain the changes of regional assemblages of cultural forms. He did not provide an overt definition of culture itself but regarded culture as *Kulturkräfte* (cultural power) equivalent to economic power in which political institutions and economic capital were to be included. His primary concerns were with the relations of culture to basic economic activities as well as with the subsistence levels of the people who relied upon the land itself. His concerns reflected the rise of capitalism in all areas of economic activities at that time.

In contrast, HOYANAGI'S paper entitled "Theoretical Study of Cultural Landscape" (1929), based on S. PASSARGE'S method, contributed to forming an idea of the "unit-area" of landscape and gave rise to employing regional divisions by using several criteria of culture element distribution. Through such growing concern with regional sub-divisions of local areas, various local varieties of cultural element distribution and cultural types were by degrees recognized in the 1930s. HOYANAGI himself extended his method not only to other regions of Japan but also to Asia and the world. He came to adopt

such cultural elements as human race, language, and folk customs as well as the local state of economic activities and transportation so as to divide properly other cultural areas. He recognized that proper criteria of regional divisions changed region by region (HOYANAGI, 1929, 1009 -1010).

On the other hand a phenomenal growth in ethnogeography was also conspicuous in the 1930's. Ethnogeographic arguments emphasizing non-materialistic cultural elements as well as the concept of culture were influenced by both American cultural anthropology and the German geographical *Völkerkunde* ; actively inspired by S. PASSARGE (1938). KOMAKI'S *Ethnogeography* (1930) may be the first book bearing this title, which treated the distribution of human races in archaeological sites and the prehistoric distribution of various artifacts. His study corresponded to the increase of archaeological excavations of prehistoric sites in Japan as well as in other countries. In keeping with the increase in ethnographies around the world, the distributional patterns of primitive races and their economic lives came to be noted as an academic topic in geography as well. The translation of Otto MAUL'S *Anthropogeographie* (1932) into Japanese, for instance, reflected the contemporary concerns of Japanese geographers with racial and cultural geography. In the translation volume a new chapter on ethnogeography and cultural geography was especially added, which occupied around one-thirds (pp. 81-144) of the book and centered on cultural stages from the primitive to the civilized. That chapter, although interlaced with racism, was left uncritically delineated. Even so we have to recognize an incipient concern with cultural areas demarcated by contemporary field observations and the new critical descriptions of ethnographic data.

During the period from 1930 to 1935 Japanese cultural geography encountered a variety of contemporary anthropological ideas such as the concept of culture area and cultural diffusion as well as cultural type and functionalism. Clark WISSLER'S *Man and Culture* (1923) was translated into Japanese by Eizo AKABORI in 1932 and contributed to the acceptance of various cultural elements, regardless of whether or not they were material or non-material, as a criteria for selecting various categories of human life for the study of geographical distribution. W. H. RIVERS'S *Primitive Cultural Diffusion* (1928) was translated in abridged form and contributed to the study of S. NISHIMURA'S *Study of Cultural Diffusion* (1930) an attempt to analyze the migration of Japanese "tribes" in ancient times based on oral legends and fragmentary old documents. Ethnological concerns were not absorbed or organized as an academic discipline until the establishment of the Japanese Ethnological Society in 1936. In a sense both geographers and ethnologists shared concerns. The idea of cultural diffusion as a geographical method defined by F. RATZEL attracted both. Although RATZEL'S concept of migration and cultural diffusion had already become known through a translation of E. C. SEMPLE'S work (1911) by MURAO (MURAO, 1926), it had been applied to world-wide areas and not to localities.

Masao NISHIDA'S work on the migration of fishing people in littoral of the Kanto District is the first achievement based on such a line. His paper was substantially the first academic work which could be called cultural geography. NISHIDA'S main purpose was to apply the migration concept and the "genetic method", advocated by RATZEL and SAUER, to comparatively limited areas. In his analysis of village-formation in fishing areas, tomb stones were used as a criterion for determining genealogy and arrival dates. This data was supplemented by field observation and interviews of inhabitants to reconstruct the migration and settling-down processes in those villages. He concluded that a certain migrational time-lag due to seasonal differences primarily depended on the choice of subsistence at the accepted area : late comers after the previous migratory fishers were obliged to settle down as farmers due to the limited capacity of catches and lived at on backyard highland, supplying agricultural products to the first comers. Such symbiosis between farmers and fishers differentiated the village structure (NISHIDA, 1934). His methods together with a selected criterion for the reconstruction of historical processes are most attractive for the study of cultural geography among present students. However his work went unnoticed by contemporary academic geographers mainly because of his use of tomb stones, seen as abominable by contemporaries, as well as his sympathy towards folklore. Nevertheless, his paper appears as a representative example of a growing interest in cultural geography.

Masao NISHIKI had already illustrated a pro-

gram of cultural geography as an independent study field in his *Lectures on Human Geography* (1930) but this did not bear fruit until his publication of *Problems of Cultural Geography* (1934). As he put it in the preface, "this volume might be the first book entitled cultural geography in Japan. The field of cultural geography has not been explicitly asserted ever before in Japanese geography" (NISHIKI, 1934, 1-2). In the latter volume his organization of materials centered on such non-materialistic elements as education, morality, religion, language, literature, folk belief and so on, most of whose cassification items relied on C. WISSLER's *Man and Culture* recently translated in 1932. Nevertheless NISHIKI's influence was not great on the following generations. It may be because of his poorly organized arrangement of data and use of second-hand data. MIKAMI says, based on his critical survey on NISHIKI'S life history and works, that NISHIKI'S primary aim might not have lain in theoretical considerations of both the status of cultural geography and the proper organization of first-hand data but in advocating to school children that they pursue their voluntary geographic curiosities to such hitherto neglected and familiar elements in ordinary life (MIKAMI, 1987). The term cultural geography in the formative period was closely related to a kind of layman's work and, at best, poorly organized sub-discipline in geography.

We note here, however, that a specific concern with racial-and ethnic elements came to be accepted in university texts in the latter part of the 1930's as a main topic in cultural geography. A textbook entitled *Introduction to Human Geography* (1935), authored by A. BEKKI, was an example of this orientation. Racial-and ethnogeographic descriptions and their related materials amounted to around one half of the book. This emphasis on race and ethnicity in cultural geography certainly reflected the contemporary Japanese expansion to the regions of East Asia and Southeast Asia before the beginning of World War II.

Besides outward expansionism, new currents in cultural geography had been emerging at the same time during the decade from 1935 to 1945. They were directed inward and reflected the rise of *Heimatkunde* with patriotism. Japanese cultural geography, too, began to absorb nationalism and ultranationalism. One of the conspicuous features of contemporary geographical studies was the close relationship to folkloristic research encouraged as the *Heimatkunde*. The new trend, although basically indifferent to the previous local studies which sought practical reasons to improve rural living conditions, was cognate with the emotional emphasis on homeland and local deities or *genius loci*, all of which accorded well with enthusiastic patriotism.

Ken-ichi SUGIURA, a distinguished ethnologist, asserted the important role of a folkloristic point of view even in the study of geography (SUGIURA, 1935). His field study of a small village in the Tohoku District detailed vividly various social relations accumulated in the daily lives of inhabitants. His point of view stemmed from French social morphology. In addition to both subsistence and material cultures, social relations in and between communities were of concern as indispensable geographical factors. Small villages in remote areas were used to explore such intricately woven social relations between local groups as closely knitted self-help organizations for communal labor and production as well as communal land tenure systems and landlord-tenant relationships. Renkichi KODERA'S work on the Gokayama mountain villages were representative of this research strain (KODERA, 1934a, 1934b). KODERA himself is well-known to Japanese geographers as the man who had close relations with both the French anarchist E. RECLUS and the Japanese anarchist Sanshiro ISHIKAWA. The latter introduced the works of E. RECLUS to Japanese (ISHIKAWA, 1930, 1943, 1948, see also NOZAWA, 1986, 1987). Although the politics of individual researchers were quite different, many Japanese geographers began to direct their attention to those "warm" face-to-face social relations in local communities through surveys around the areas of their birth places (KOMAKI, 1934, 1935a, 1935; SASAKI, 1935, ODAUCHI; 1930, 1931, 1932; YAMAGUTI, 1940, 1943; UYENO, 1938; UEDA, 1939).

The growing concern with folklore as a way to approach the study of local communities may be explained partly as a direct response to such great rural disasters as famine in the Tohoku region in the period from 1931 to 1934 coming on the heels of the worst effects of the 1929 world economic panic. The fact that folklore studies had become academically stylish and were an established part of the university curriculum also contributed to the spread of its theory and field methodology. Traditional lifestyles in the

devastated rural areas had been changing with the tremendous out-migration from rural areas to cities. Living conditions gradual improved with better transportation facilities and electrification even in remote mountain villages. Governmental policies, prodded by financial debts arising from military expenditures, rationalized both production and consumption on a national scale.

Lack of money for field surveys limited research to accessible local areas near to the researcher. Lack of money also contributed to local studies as a kind of *Heimatkunde*. Within this framework of *Heimatkunde*, a characteristic aspect of research was the interest in the distributional analysis of local cultural elements over the landscape from an ecological view point. Ecological views were reflected in the rational use of local resources and environment, actively promoted by the National Planning Bureau as Japan increasingly moved to a war footing. Local studies were not always part of such wartime research as land-planning for rural settlements, defense zones for urban areas, and colonization programs for the overseas territories, but included various academic works even under the limited conditions: distributional studies of terrace cultivation in Japan (NOH and YOSHIZAKI, 1936-38), studies of ridge forms relating to double cropping of paddy land (HATTORI, 1934), the distribution of local periodical markets in the Tohoku areas (NAGAI, 1937), the classification of roof types of folk houses (OGAWA, 1938), distributional studies of shifting cultivation in Japan and adjacent regions (YAMAGUTI, 1938, 1941, UYENO, 1938), the distribution of barnyard grass in preparation for famine (YAMAGUTI, 1940), the distribution of fishing people in Japan (OGASAWARA, 1942, 1943a, 1943b), distribution studies of "magariya" type folk houses in the Tohoku District (KIUCHI and OOTUKI, 1942), the distribution and diffusion of seeds and young *sugi* (*cryptoreria*), *hinoki* (Japanese cypress), and *matsu* (*panaceae*, pine tree) plants during the Tokugawa era (NAKANO, 1943a, 1943b, 1943c), as well as others.

Patriotism in the 1930's and 1940's did not always exclude an academic concern with field studies in foreign countries as well as with foreign geographical theory. The idea of man as a geographic agent changing the earth's surface, stressed by SAUER after World War, had already been introduced into Japan by TSUJIMURA'S review of E. FELS' work(1935)(TSUJIMURA, 1935). MATSUI, among others, was the most responsible for introducing such dominant foreign geographical work as that of K. BÜRGER (1935), P. W. BRYAN (1936), J. B. LEIGHLY (1937), G. PFEIFER (1938), R. HARTSHORNE (1939), C. O. SAUER (1941), and others (MATSUI, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1941a, 1941b). The works of both HARTSHORNE and SAUER were reviewed at full length and welcomed as important information on the activities of cultural geography and landscape studies in other countries.

Under the influenece of these works, Taro TSUJIMURA issued his compact book, *Cultural Geography* (1942), in which most themes of cultural geography were aligned with the concept of "life space." Although few original data and observations appeared in his descriptions, he successfully digested contradictory views and systematized source materials by his own arrangement. The book consisted of four parts: I. Introduction, II. Division of regions, III. Limitation of natural environment, IV. Distribution of cultures, V. Life space. The last chapter on life space took up about one third of the book. He included such elements in the chapter on life space as: distribution of language and religion, colonization and migration, pioneer fringe and adaptation of inhabitants to different climate zones, as well as cultural regions of the world divided by ethnic and linguistic criteria. The coordination of "life space" theory with the colonization policies of the contemporary Japanese govenment in East Asia and Southeast Asia was implicit but discernible. I have heard senior Japanese cultural geographers said they carried this book onto the battle field during the Pacific War and came to recognize cultural geography as a promising field for the first time. The concept of life space connected easily with the so-called "Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere" asserted politically by non-academic ultranationalist during the worst years of the war from 1941 to 1945.

TSUJIMURA did not intentionally assert his life space concept with a political motive, but the notion of life space in the context of war easily related to the expansion of political boundaries, overseas colonization from an insular homeland, emigration and physiological adaptation to different climates, as well as to the problems of racial mixture and segregation in the colonial territories. The concept of life space, a descen-

dant from F. RATZEL'S *Lebensraum*, is trapped by an ethnocentric frame and tends to result in such spatial dichotomies as the "center" and the "periphery", the "home-seated" and the "foreign", and so on. This binary classification fuses into clear distinctions between the "native" and the "new-comer" among inhabitants which are stressed politically at the critical dimension of social conflict. Generally speaking, the concept of life space, in war time or under the pressures of political conflict, has a long history of emphasizing the "differentness" of cultural traits and elements of outsiders or enemies, and the "similarities" or homogeneity of insiders as a means of political and social integration. "Life space" became cognate with the assertion of a "Greater Asian Co-prosperity Sphere" which stressed the cultural difference between Asia and the West while at the same time emphasizing the cultural similarity and a common ancestor of Asian peoples within the "Sphere".

V. Development of Cultural Geography after World War II

Under the state of confusion just after the Pacific War Japanese social science confronted unusual drastic changes. One of them arose from internal factor, the other from the exteriors. Internally, the responsibility of Japanese social sciences for war practices was discussed along ideological lines. Externally, Occupation policies sought to dismantle ultranationalism and in consequence established as a goal the democratization of prewar Japanese social sciences and the educational systems of lower grade schools as well as that of colleges and universities.

Within the circle of academic geography those tainted with responsibility for the war and related military research programs resigned either voluntarily or compulsorily at the insistence of G. H. Q and the Japanese Ministry of Education. During the period from the end of the War to the outbreak of the Korean War, cultural problems in international relationships and national economic reconstruction became pressing problems for the Japanese social sciences. Parallel with the introduction of revised curricula in the primary schools, emphasis fell on culture and regional global differeces in lifestyle and customs. Field observation at the local level were introduced in the social studies in both primary and secondary schools. At the primary level, field observation and area studies of crops and agricultural production in the pupil's ordinary surroundings were actively encouraged. In the academic social sciences interdisciplinary studies were launched to organize and conduct field surveys. The Kyugakkai-rengo, a joint research association of linguists, anthropologists, folklorists, geographers, musicians, archaeologists, medical doctors and others conduct the first post-war joint survey on the Tsushima Island (KYUGAKKAI-RENGO TSUSHIMA-CHOSA-IINKAI, ed. 1954). This joint association of several disciplines is still active even at the present and continues to publish its research results annually in the academic journal *Jinrui kagaku* (Human Science).

In 1948 academic geographers in Kyoto established the Human Geographical Society. The Society contributes to main-stream cultural geography and historical geography as well as human geography. The special concern of Japanese geographers after the war with cultural geography and the concept of culture as well as with anthropological theory permeated gradually into the younger generation of contemporary Japanese geographers through the activities of the Human Geographical Society and its journal *Jinbun chiri* (Human Geography).

A variety of new research appeared in these journals. Ichiro SUIZU discussed the mutual relationship between home territoriality and cartographic skills as well as the accumulation of geographic knowledge about surrounding areas through literature, illustrated by cases from the aboriginal societies of Australia and Southeast Asia (SUIZU, 1951a, 1951b). SUIZU and HIMEOKA introduced new developments in American anthropological works on the culture-area concept (SUIZU, 1950, HIMEOKA, 1951). SUIZU also introduced a new developmental aspect in C. O. SAUER'S works (SUIZU, 1951a, 1951b). Ethnogeographic concerns with various tribes and ethnic groups in the backyard regions were followed by the works of K. FUJIOKA and K. SASAKI (FUJIOKA, 1949; SASAKI, 1953). Most ethnogeographical studies during the decade from 1945 to 1955 were not based on field observations but on second-hand materials. This unsatisfactory situation was mainly due to the political controls on the use of money for field surveys.

Despite such constraints, KAWAKITA'S papers on the ethnic groups of the Nepal Himalaya were

the first results of long-term field observations after the war (KAWAKITA, 1955a, 1955b, 1956a, 1956b, 1957, 1970). His papers are still taken as typical of ethnogeographic works based on overseas field work conducted by Japanese social scientists after World War II. He favored and stressed a cultural-ecological view influenced by the distinguished anthropologist, J. STEWARD who visited Japan in 1954 as a member of an educational mission for the development of Japanese social sciences (YONEYAMA, 1972). Cultural and ecological views have since been adopted gradually with new methods and perspectives. CHIBA published his unique studies concerning the cultural origins of the barren mountains of southwestern Japan in 1956 (CHIBA, 1956). They illustrated that most of the mountains had been deforested by a demand for fuel for a native iron refinery on the mountain slope as well as by demands from salt manufacturers in the littoral areas. In addition, Tokugawa era demand for fertilizer and fuel for the hearth arose as various goods became commercialized. He also pointd out the close relation between the distribution of the barren mountains and granite deposits. His methods and view points have been followed not only by cultural-historical geographers but also by historiographers and geomorphologists until now.

On the theoretical level, the German ethnographic tradition since F. RATZEL, known as *Kulturkreislehre*, was critically reviewed by E. ISHIKAWA for reassessing the positive role of cultural diffusionism in geography (ISHIKAWA, 1951, 1955). HARTSHORNE'S monumental work, *Nature of Geography*, was translated in full by a HARTSHORNE'S student, S. NOMURA in 1957. SAUER'S *Agricultural Origin and Its Dispersal* (1952) became available in translation since 1960. The former described the changing position of the geographical discipline in a continuum ; the latter provided us with a new scope and new horizons in the expanding area of cultural geography. Both of them are basically different in their thinking as well as in their research orientation (HISATAKE, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1987).

In addition to the translation and introduction of important works from other countries, Japanese geographers began seeking original, Japanese themes in cultural geography in the 1960's. Hideo NISHIOKA published his work in 1961 as a compact book on the cultural geography of various hitherto neglected cultural elements. He picked up several native topics for discussion : folk genitalism in agricultural rites, dietary differences between regions, music and rhythm preferences, literary descriptions of place and landscape, and other elements of traditional Japanese folk customs (NISHIOKA, 1961). We should note the gradual emergence of a neo-nationalist point of view in the research orientation of Japanese social sciences in the 1960's as well. CHIBA positively assessed the traditional tie of geography to folklore, a perspective inspired by both Kunio YANAGIDA and the geography members of the Kyodo-kai Association during the 1930's (CHIBA, 1963). A new form of neo-nationalism was strongly supported by YANAGIDA even after the war for the purpose of salvaging a Japanese identity from under the rubble of social confusion. YANAGIDA thought in the 1950's that the pressing problem was to reestablish a crushed Japanese identity and the path lay in detailed surveys of the origin of rice cultivation as a basic element of Japanese culture (YANAGIDA, 1952, 1978). An interdisciplinary symposium on the origin of the Japanese people held under the auspices of the National Research Council of Japan in Tokyo in June 1956 was a memorable turning point for the social sciences. The next symposium on the origin of Japanese agriculture held in 1968 (ISHIDA *et al*. eds., 1958, 1968) basically followed this line of neo-nationalist assertions.

Along with the rise of neo-nationalist studies of basic Japanese traditional elements, comparative methods and view points also came to be recognized as indispensable for surveying domestic cultural elements in the social sciences. YONEKURA began a study of the regional differences in settlement forms and agricultural practices in monsoon Asia, based on his own field observations in Japan and mainland China as well as in Southeast Asia (YONEKURA, 1961 ; YONEKURA, ed., 1973). The India project led by YONEKURA has been followed by members of Hiroshima University's Indian Research Association (ISHIDA, 1972) until now. Ethnographic data and research materials necessary for comparisons with Japanese data were accumulated in adjacent areas around the Japanese archipelago by Japanese field surveys in the latter part of the 1960's. Most of these accumulated data contributed to detailed surveys on the diffusion processes of rice cultivation. In the 1960's a hypothetical perspective on the origin of agricul-

ture in Japan, inspired by YANAGIDA, was first tested by those accumulating ethnographic data in field. Okinawa, the Southwestern Ryukyu Islands, the Philippines, and Taiwan became attractive as key areas for the northward diffusion of rice cultivation by sea from Southeast Asia, its place of origin. The Inasaku chosa-dan (Research Expedition to Survey Agricultural Practices in Southeast Asia) was organized in 1957, 1959, and 1961 as a research project of the Ethnological Society of Japan in cooperation with several other academic associations funded by the Ministry of Education. Quite a number of geographers participated in these project surveys.

IWATA'S works on agricultural practices among minority groups in the highlands of Indo-China and adjacent regions drew explicit connections to Japanese practices, taking up such cultural elements as animistic notions of local agricultural deities, shamanistic curing methods, folk ways of cooking, foodstuffs for local festivals, agricultural tools, transplanting techniques, preferences to the sticky *Indica* rice as staple food, and so on (IWATA, 1965, 1966, 1971).

Yet we cannot ignore that problems of rice cultivation or agriculture in general for Japanese researchers have been studied mostly based on cultural diffusionism and that most students engaged in this line of neo-nationalist studies have tended to focus exclusively on diffusion routes from the original place of rice cultivation to Japan, neglecting alternative routes to other countries as well as alternative crops. In such research the problems of rice cultivation for the Japanese as well as of the process of introduction to Japan are limited in scope and reflect Japanese ethnocentric concerns at the transitional stage from individualistic concerns about their own identity to more universal comparative concerns that appeared in the 1960's.

The neo-nationalistic studies of 1960's, focusing on the single trait of rice cultivation, have been reborn as the Shoyojurin bunka ron (Study of Lucidferous Forest Culture) which recognizes the trait-complex of agricultural practices and related cultural elements. The lucidferous forest zone, composed of *panasia*, oak, and camphor trees, stretches from the southern foot of the Himalaya mountains through southern China to western Japan and has drawn the attention of researchers who hypothetically identify it as the most possible diffusion route of agricultural and related cultural elements from regions beyond Asia. The lucidferous forest has been deemed a melting area and diffusion route to Japan of different cultural elements and an area where a trait-complex centered on rice cultivation took shape (UEYAMA, 1969, SASAKI, 1982).

Among such studies of the origins of cultural elements, comparative studies of cultivation shifts in world tropical regions and genial climate zones have been pursued by SASAKI (SASAKI, 1966, 1968, 1970, 1971, 1972a, 1983). His series of papers on shifting cultivation followed the works of J. E. SPENCER (1966), D. WHITLESSEY (1936) and various Japanese geographers, and gave rise to the idea of shifting cultivation before the acceptance of rice in Japan and Southeast Asia. He noted specially the crop-combinations and their varieties in the various forms of shifting cultivations and directed his attention to root-crops such as yam, taro, and other vegetative food resources as well as various millets like foxtail millet, barnyard grass, and other rudimentary seed grains. His ideas on crop-combinations in primitive agriculture were directly derived from the works of C. O. SAUER and his students.

Next of note in the latter 1960's was the special attention said to the study of the southwestern islands including Okinawa. Okinawa and adjacent regions as key areas for the study of Japanese cultural elements were identified in the works of Japanese folklorists such as YANAGIDA'S *Kaijo no michi* (Sea Route for the Dispersal of Japanese Culture, 1952). Studies of Okinawa were especially activated by the cancellation of the U. S. Trusteeship over Okinawa in 1972. Yashu NAKAMATSU, a native Okinawan geographer, explored with extraordinary zeal the native notions of folk deities of the Okinawa Islanders and their close relation to the selection of residential places and village structures (NAKAMATSU, 1942, 1968, 1977). Toru OGAWA'S detailed analysis of kinship-terms and their geographical distribution over both Okinawa and the Japanese mainland was taken as a typical example of the new concerns of Japanese cultural geography and cultural history. Most of OGAWA'S papers were based on C. WISSLER'S culture-area concept and have been deemed by Japanese ethnologist to be the leading works of Japanese sociolinguistic studies based on extensive field observations and interviews. He has also contributed to the history of Japanese folk houses and their regional varieties based on his

field surveys of the Okinawa Islands (OGAWA, 1966, 1968, 1970, 1978, 1980, 1984). Various studies of Okinawa Islanders by cultural geographers, folklorists, and ethnologists have contributed to the growing recognition of various regional differences and cultural types in the Japanese archipelago. Studies of Okinawa itself came to emphasize the cultural discontinuities between the Okinawan Islands and the main islands of Japan. Attempts to explore Okinawa as the archaic homeland of traditional Japanese villages have only recently been abandoned.

New perspectives on regionalism began to take hold in every field of Japanese social science around the early 1970's. These new views contributed to the growing concern with different historical processes which have formed cultural differences. At the outset, contrasting regional schemes such as the northeast and the southwest, backyard littoral areas along the Japan Sea and the advanced industrial areas along the Pacific coast, the rapidly urbanized marginal regions around the metropolitan areas and the remote rustic areas of the mountain regions, were adopted *a priori* in analyses of various cultural elements in accord with the growing regionalism. Such spatial dichotonomies to explain regional differences has not usually been asserted by cultural geographers but by Japanese historians and ethnologists. The latters' concerns with cultural differences between the East (Northeast) and the West (Southwest) of the Japanese archipelago have been illustrated mostly by the *ie* or Japanese lineage system and the related social stratification of local group in traditional villages as well as by differences in regional nomenclature. CHIBA criticized these regional contrasts adopted by Japanese historians and ethnologists saying that the regional differences themselves saw their historical developments in accordance with the specific limitations of contemporary social and economic conditions. His analysis of the formation of "backwardness" in the littoral areas along the Japan Sea illustrated clearly that industrialization of the Pacific coast and the tremendous out-migration from the Japan Sea area as the result occurred in parallel and that these phenomena emerged together with the industrial revolution beginning in the 1890's. Patterns of industrialization and out-migration became established during the period from World War I to the 1930's when rural deprivation resulted from capitalization (CHIBA, 1966). His work is a remarkable contribution to the recognition of a process of regional differentiation in the modern period due to industrialization.

Studies of regional and cultural differences also gave rise to the gradual recognition of historical processes in the formation of Japanese "cultural areas" and their relationship to similar cultural elements seen in adjacent regions. As for the origin of Japanese agriculture, multiple ancestors not only from the south but also from the north are still being proposed and discussed (SASAKI, ed., 1983), although their discussions lack the detailed field observations and critical data to prove. Along with the rise of the origins of agriculture, special attention has been turned on the Pacific Islands to undertake more detailed field work in search of proof of historical and cultural ties between Japanese fishing cultures and those in the Pacific Islands (YABUUCHI, 1969 ; YABUUCHI, ed., 1978). Polinesia, Micronesia, and Melanesia, once partly under a Japanese Trusteeship after World War I and have become attractive to both academic researchers and tourists. The relation of Japanese fishing methods of the Pacific coast of Japan to the migratory forms of fishing in the Pacific Islands and Okinawa as well as Southeast Asia has been sought by taking the various types of native boats and canoes into consideration (YABUUCHI, 1969). SUGIMOTO has engaged in the study of folk houses in these areas to explore the ancestral forms of Japanese folk houses (SUGIMOTO, 1969, 1974, 1982, 1983 ; SUGIMOTO, ed., 1984).

The rise of comparative studies in the latter part of the 1960's and the early 1970's has also found expression in other concerns. Distributional analyses based on cultural elements have detected regional types and variations, extending the area of field study from Japan and adjacent areas to other countries with different cultures. There are numerous such works on traditional hunting methods and their related folk legends done by CHIBA (CHIBA, 1969, 1971), distributional studies of periodic markets by Hiroshi ISHIHARA (1968a, 1968b, 1987), and comparative studies of traditional boats and canoes (DEGUCHI, 1985, 1987), all based on their own field observations supplemented with historical documents.

Regarding theory, the substantial accumulation of field data and research methods up to the 1960's were summarized for the first time in the book *Bunka chiri*(*Cultural Geography*, 1970) edit-

ed by Shinzou KIUCHI. Its focus is on distribution analyses of cultural elements as well as their regional types and variations. The section on methods was presented as a kind of summary of *Readings in Cultural Geography* (1962) edited by P. L. WAGNER and M. W. MIKESELL and so provided little of original value. The section on cultural elements is voluminous and divided into three sections: "Distribution" "Development", and "Regional Differences". KIUCHI classified cultural elements into five categories: language, religion, folk life, folk house, and agriculture. The pages devoted to agriculture are concerned with the problems of origin and dispersal and comprise not a small section. These categories summarize the field of cultural geography in the eyes of both editor and readers in the early 1970's. KIUCHI'S book does not always provide new perspectives or original themes for students of Japanese cultural geography. SASAKI has asserted that cultural geography in Japan has to have a closer relationship with the growing interdisciplinary works of other academic disciplines and must treat hitherto neglected Japanese problems with much more zeal than ever before (SASAKI, 1972).

Cultural geography changed rapidy during and after the student upheavals at the end of 1960's and the beginning of the 1970's. Japanese students in geography and the other social sciences demonstrated their preference for quantitative methods in keeping with the total influence of computerization. During this period, cultural geography shifted away from quantification and attracted the new-left students and anti-quantitativists. Those students concerned with cultural geography were curious about nativism and traditionalism in other cultures. They tended to accept with delight the ethno-methodological view and ethnoscientific descriptions seen in various ethnographic studies completed at that time. Ethnoscience and ethno-methodology in the social sciences which had developed in the United States and other Western countries came to prevail in Japanese geography in the latter part of the 1970's.

OSHIMA claimed that cultural geography had to include such nonquantifiable elements of geography as those done by biogeographers and physical geographers based on field observations of different landscapes. Many of the assertions on cultural geography might be a restatements of C. O. SAUER'S theories of the 1930's and 1950's (OSHIMA, 1976). This resurrection of a tradition in cultural geography appealed to those students who did not know the continuous development of Japanese curiosity toward other cultures and culture in Japan and provided a new humanistic nexus of the old senior geographers' concerns with the growing concerns of the young cultural geographers. They discovered the various academic works done by geographers in the 1930's and 1940's based on a humanistic perspective. Most traditional descriptions on varied regions of Japan and overseas provided comparative data and could be tested by new, critical field observations.

Various studies of spatial recognition and environmental perception by the native people have recently flourished and have been discussed from various viewpoints: semiotics, iconography, folk-taxonomy, and others (ISHIGE, ed., 1979; HISATAKE, 1979, 1982, 1987; SENDA, 1980). Ethnomethodological descriptions in geography have a close relation to covert expression. Linguistic manipulations and folk taxonomies are tools which reveal behavioral patterns and meanings in a social context. Such new concerns of contemporary, young cultural geographers with environmental perceptions and land-classifications in folk societies related closely to developments in the methods of description and field observation. On the inert levels of human behavior, boundary-rituals as shown in the agricultural events of rural villages and pilgrimages as symbolic expressions of territoriality, were discussed by Y. YAGI (1984, 1985). On the overt levels of cartographic and pictorial expressions in the historical periods, the KATSURAGAWA-EZU KENKYU-KAI has produced analytical studies based on iconographical and semiological methods (KATSURAGAWA-EZU KENKYU-KAI, 1980, 1987). CHIBA asserted in 1980 that the most neglected theme in Japanese cultural geography was the detailed study of symbolic expressions illustrated, for example, by the rituals of traditional mountain religions concerning the demarcation of sacred areas and their territorialities (CHIBA, 1980). He seems to direct his own concern with cultural geography to the more implicit non-material expressions of human behavior. General trends in Japanese cultural geography since the 1970's have been critically reviewed, though briefly, by SAKAI and others, in which they point out that the position of cultural geography in Japan is still considered marginal by most geog-

raphers but that its contribution as a promising field has been gradually recognized (SAKAI *et al.*, 1980).

VI. Concluding Remarks

From the above general discussion on the development of the concept of culture as well as the status of cultural geography in Japan since the Meiji Restoration, I can draw out here several developmental stages and phases as a temporary conclusion.

(1) Japanese concepts of culture (*bunka*) originally reflected social hierarchy and initially supported the ruler's perspective as seen in the gazetteer (*Fudoki*) tradition of geographical description from the eighth century to the Meiji Restoration in 1868. For this long period, the concept of culture basically connotated the means to "enlightenment" via "book-knowledge" for the upper class and was heavily colored as an elite activity by Confucianism in the Tokugawa era. On the contrary the concept of nature (*shizen*) had a different historical origin and an ideological legacy from Japanese Buddhism. These opposite concepts and terms were never paired until the Japanesee encounter with the Western concept of culture after the Meiji Restoration.

(2) During the rapid industrialization and capitalization of economic activities from the 1890's to the 1910's, an opposite usage of culture and nature emerged to explain the man to land relationship in Japan. Culture in the geographical description of this period was narrowly limited to the "developmental aspect" of material culture as a part of "civilization" in general and was not yet distinguishable from political and economic descriptions. Culture for common people in the Meiji period particularly referred to Western goods, regardless of religion or politics. Culture, as a result, inevitably a contrast between Western and native, superior and inferior, as well as imported and self-made, which gave rise to a search for cultural enlightenment in education, or in short, technical expertise to master modern material civilization.

(3) The next stage in the development of the concept of culture in Japan was led by the establishment of academic disciplines in university departments and by the rapid introduction of Western concepts of culture in geography mainly from German, and the United States. The difinition of culture in geography at that time was reflected in the academic debate on the position of geography based on the neo-Kantian distinction between cultural sciences and natural sciences. The debate gave rise to two different attitudes in Japanese geography: one emphasized scientific method as a natural science, the other stressed the descriptive and chorographic status of geography in terms of the German *Kulturwissenschaft* or historical studies. The debate on the nature of geography fell out of vague with the rise of discussions on the concept of cultural landscape in German geography as a problem for the integrity of geographical science. The discussion on cultural landscape led to a chorographic position in Japanese geography, focusing on developmental stages from the natural landscape to the cultural landscape. Cultural landscape studies in Japan, mostly influenced by both O. SCHLÜTER and C. O. SAUER, contributed to the formation of cultural geography as an independent field of study in geography and to fruitful discussions on the status of geography in the relation to the other social sciences in Japan especially during the period from the 1920's to the early 1930's.

A geographical treatment of culture was established as the mappable materialistic works of man on the surface of the earth. Japanese academic geographers engaged mostly in map-analysis without detailed field observations. In those days culture in geography appeared as map-symbols which represented at best non-physical elements.

(4) With the rise of industrial production in the 1930's, geographical studies became concerned with rural deprivation and the changing aspects of culture. Rural exodus due to urbanization and industrialization pressed geographers to reorganize and readjust academic research to respond to a changing reality which demanded field observation in changing rural and urban areas. In these process of modernization in the 1930's culture lost its meaning of positive material civilization and enlightenment and began to mean traditional folk customs and ways of thought. In academic geography as well, diversification and differentiation of methods and techniques proceeded and gave rise to the establishment of new academic associations and their journals. Most contemporary Japanese geographers promoted distributional studies of various cultural elements based on field surveys. With

this information they became able to depict the chaniging phases of the cultural landscape in both rural and urban areas. Thus in evolutional perspective, culture in geography was researched within the development from natural to cultural landscapes which emphasized culture as a geographic agent. Nevertheless, the research orientation of cultural geography in Japan at that time contained a contradiction represented by poor theory applied to the growing materials obtained by field surveys as well as a lack of comparative data on other countries based on direct field observations by Japanese geographers themselves. This trend was reflected in the first book on cultural geography written by M. NISHIKI (1934). It lacked basically an original comparative data based on different cultures.

(5) In the decade from 1935 to 1945, research capabilities of geography as well as of other academic disciplines were limited by a decrease in research funds and opportunities to conduct field surveys both in various regions of Japan and in other countries. A sort of *Heimatkunde* concerned with the concept of life space took the lead in the Japanese Ministry of Education and in other governmental institutions. With the rise of ultranationalism in the latter 1930's, the concept of life space became colored with patriotic enthusiasm and was introduced into academic circles as a key concept. The concept of culture in geography in such a context came to have a close relation with such biological analogies as the state as a living life form. Such themes as the expansion of life space and its relation to colonial frontiers and overseas migration, climatic adaptation, as well as racial mixture and segregation were favorably discussed. During World War II most Japanese geographers engaged in wartime service in their own country and overseas and so were forced to make direct field observations while living among different cultures.

(6) After World War II discussion arose on the responsibility of wartime research done by Japanese geographers ; in this state of confusion, even academics treated geography mostly from the view points of political ideology and morality. In the process of democratizating the prewar ultranationalistic educational system under the pressures of G. H. Q. and the Japanese Ministry of Education, the concept of culture was introduced as a means of rejuvenating contemporary Japanese social sciences and was welcomed as the key concept in social studies. However, from the early 1950's rapid democratization from the outside resulted in the gradual rise of a neo-nationalistic response to reestablish a Japanese identity. The neo-nationalist perspective emphasized detailed studies of such Japanese problems as rice cultivation as the basic Japanese cultural element. With this approach, new questions such as from whence came Japanese culture and what routes were taken for this cultural diffusion. Cultural and ecological views were gradually adopted to seek the connection of Japanese agricultural practices with those in East Asia and Southeast Asia. The large number of field experiences and observations accumulated during the war also contributed to comparative studies of rice cultivation between Japan and other countries in Southeast Asia and adjacent regions. In the process of field data accumulation, the "Lucidferous forest zone" which stretches from the southern foot of the Himalayas to the southwestern areas of Japan via southern China has become attractive to researchers as the most likely diffusion route of various kinds of cultural elements to Japan and adjacent areas. Special attention by folklorists and ethnologists to the Okinawan Islanders as the key area for the northward diffusion of such cultural elements arose in the 1960's. Culture in geographical studies tended to stress the ecological and diffusional aspects with comparative perspectives based on field surveys on both the Japanese archipelago and in adjacent countries.

(7) Regional and local variations within Japan have been gradually recognized in the 1960's through such active surveys as the sample survey of the distribution of folk customs and dialects sponsored by Ministry of Cultural Affairs. Comparative studies of cultural distribution within Japan contributed to forming the idea that regional types and variations might have had unique historical processes and cultural ties with similar elements seen on the east coast of the Asian continent as well as on the islands of the Pacific. These comparative studies resulted in directing Japanese concerns towards problem associated with multiple origins and complicated diffusion patterns. Culture in the resulting geographical descriptions has tended to focus on regionalism and regional types in Japan and East Asia.

(8) In the 1970's and 1980's we have seen emerging a new orientation in Japanese cultural

geography particularily in the field of non-material cultural elements such as language, religion, and more implicit levels of cultural expression. Most young cultural geographers now direct their attention to the behavioral aspects of culture found in implicit spatial expression in religious rituals, the articulation of the local inhabitants about their land and environment, native attitudes toward local landscape, and ways of pictorially expressing surroundings. Various types of approaches: semiology (semiotics), iconography, ethno-methodology, and other ethnosciences, are being used in the analysis of both covert and overt behavior and ways of expression. Despite the growing concerns of the younger generation of cultural geographers with the new methods and approaches, such contemporary problems as the changing way of life in urbanized places, ethnic segregations and appearance of migratory labour from Southeast Asian countries to Japan, social justice in residental planning, and others have not always been considered as pressing although rudimentary trends in those directions are appearing.

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The Japanese Acceptance of Sea Bathing and Brine Baths

Chiaki OGUCHI

Japan adopted sea bathing in the late 19th century, and today the activity is commonplace. Before this time, it was not customary to bathe in sea water except when fishing or the like. Although many people today value going to the beach and immersing themselves in sea water, no such sense of value existed up to the late 19th century. We will describe how a value system never existing before came to be accepted and became so popular.

German medicine supplied the basis for introduction of sea bathing into Japan. Consequently, we intend to explain the kind of sea bathing that was introduced into Japan, the process by which it became stabilized, and some of the features that developed as a result of contact with a foreign value system. Sea bathing in 19th century Japan had a definite purpose derived from clear ideas and came accoutered with various technical systems. Meiji period Japanese did not simply play in the water ; they purposefully immersed themselves not only in sea water but at the same time in foreign culture.

I . Sea Bathing in the Pioneer Days

The word "sea bathing" first appeared in Japan in *The Journal of the Hygienic Bureau of the Home Ministry* (*Naimushō Eiseikyoku Zasshi*, No. 34 issued in 1881, hereinafter referred to as *The Journal of the Hygienic Bureau*). Under the title, "Kaisuiyoku setsu" (Sea Bathing Theory), a thesis was put forward which included the following English language passage :

> There was no one in Japan who proved the virtues of sea bathing. It is advised, therefore, in establishing sea bathing resorts that not many places may be opened, but select one or two proper places, and let the people understand its virtues gradually (p. 12).

It is evident that this article came out at a time when there was no one in Japan who was experimenting with sea bathing, and bathing places were nowhere to be found.

Next year, after the publication of *The Journal of the Hygienic Bureau*, Shinpei GOTO of Aichi Medical College published a book entitled *Kaisui koyoron (Effects of Sea Water)*. This book was published in Nagoya, and sold in 30 cities throughout the country, from Sendai to Kumamoto. GOTO's book is probably the first in Japan to enlighten the Japanese people on the effects of sea bathing. GOTO later became Mayor of Tokyo and Minister of Home Affairs.

In 1886, Jun MATSUMOTO, physician of the Army published a book entitled *Kaisuiyokuho gaisetsu* (*General Explanation on the Rules of Sea Bathing*). From 1881, books bearing on sea bathing were published one after another, and reached a boom around 1890. But after 1912, no new publication appeared according to a survey of National Diet Library holdings. Old books did reappear as reprints. This indicates that sea bathing became so popular that books fell out of demand. The sea bathing then introduced into Japan was not for pleasure, but for medical treatment. The theoretical basis was largely formed by German medical science[1]. However, GOTO argued that "I myself practised sea bathing and found out it was quite effective" (GOTO, 1882, 56), the thesis was developed not only by the introduction of foreign literature, but also by the

experiments and opinions of the writers and publishers themselves. This is a noteworthy feature of the early books on sea bathing and indicates personal testimony at the frontier of a new value system.

Contents and subtitles of the books are translated into English[2], to catch the general outline of thinking on sea bathing at the time it was introduced into Japan.

"Kaisuiyoku setsu" (Sea Bathing Theory) contained in *The Journal of the Hygienic Bureau* (No. 34, 1881) :

Chapter 1 Features of Sea Bathing
- (1) Sea Air
- (2) Sea Water
- (3) Wave Motion

Chapter 2 Method of Sea Bathing
- (1) Sea Bathing in Cold Water
- (2) Bathing in Hot Sea Water

Chapter 3 The Practice of Sea Bathing
- (1) Selection of Sea Bathing Places
- (2) Time suitable for Bathing
- (3) The number of days, and length of bathing at one time
- (4) Time of day suitable for bathing
- (5) Food care and bathing physician
- (6) Exercise and Pleasure

Kaisui koyoron (*Effects of Sea Water*, GOTO, 1882) :

SEA BATHING AND BEACH TREATMENTS
- Wave Motion
- Temperature
- Chemical Components
- Air
- Direct Effect of Sea Bathing upon Human Body
- General Medical Effect of Sea Bathing
- Diseases Relieved by Sea Bathing
- Taboo in Sea Bathing
- Method of Using Sea Water
- Sea Bathing in Cold Water
- Hot Sea Water Baths
- Pouring Method
- Vaginal Instilment
- Enema
- Internal Use
- Lying on Sand

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE HYGIENIC CAUTIONS
- Selection of Bathing Place
- Proper Season for Bathing
- Travel Precautions in Reaching the Bathing Place
- Food Care and Bathing Physician
- Exercise and Pleasure
- Authority of Police at Bathing Places and Sanatoria

Kaisuiyokuho gaisetsu (*General Explanation on the Rules of Sea Bathing*, MATSUMOTO, 1886)
- Purpose of Sea Bathing
- Components of Sea Water
- Diseases Relieved by Sea Bathing
- Time Period proper for Sea Bathing
- Wave Strength suitable for Sea Bathing
- Advice for Laying on Sand after Bathing

Every article refers to diseases relieved by sea bathing, all indicating a general understanding of sea water as medicinal. More specific, sea bathing was said to be effective for: scrofulosis, internal debility, respiratory catarrh, and women's diseases. Quite detailed descriptions are given, with and season, time, duration, water temperature, and wave length specified. Every article also includes under methods of bathing two kinds of sea bathing, ie., cold and hot water bathing. Cold water bathing is simply immersion of the body in the sea, while hot water bathing is bathing with hot sea water. We can see that sea bathing at the time of its acceptance into Japan had a purpose and method quite different from the present day sea bathing.

II. The Opening of Bathing Sites and the Practice of Sea Bathing

At this point we should trace the development of the idea of sea bathing as introduced by the Home Ministry, GOTO, MATSUMOTO, and others, that is, the theory of German medical science that salt water baths are a method of treatment for diseases.

In the pioneering period of Japanese sea bathing, the following place names stand out : Ono in Aichi Prefecture, Futamigaura in Mie Prefecture, and Oiso in Kanagawa Prefecture. Ono had hot saline bath facilities in 1882 when GOTO cooperated with local influential persons to start up a facility based on German medical theories of a salt water cure. Futamigaura was proposed by Sensai NAGAYO, and started as a sea bathing resort in the autumn of 1882. NAGAYO then held the position of Hygienic Bureau Chief

of the Home Ministry, and was connected with *The Journal of the Hygienic Bureau*[3]. MATSUMOTO opened the Oiso Sea Bathing facility in 1885. Among these places, only Ono had been promoted with an aim to preserve the local custom of *shiotoji* (sea water cure). Ono's *shiotoji* was unique in Japan and possessed some similarities to German saline bathing[4]. It is noteworthy that these pioneer sea bathing spots, including Ono, were opened and promoted as the embodiment of certain ideals borrowed from medical science. The men involved believed they could materially realize these ideals.

There are some startling differences between the ideas of nineteenth-century sea bathing and the present day. "The primary chill comes on when a person first enters sea water. Then a strong secondary chill arises as one continues immersion. Only when one starts swimming can he be freed from the secondary chill" (GOTO, 1882, 14-15). As is obvious, immersion was the fundamental purpose of sea bathing. Swimming was merely a device to overcome the secondary chill brought on by cold temperatures. Cold water also produced: "heartache, coughing, and pale skin" (GOTO, 1882, 15). The general assumption was that bathing would be done in cold water. GOTO addressed this problem as well, "We feel warmer in the water when waves are high than when the water is calm, because waves pound the body and stimulate the muscles to move so as to keep the body from falling" (GOTO, 1882, 17). Large waves not only prevented chill by exercising muscles, they also stimulated the skin with the same stimulation extending to the entire nervous system and activating blood circulation. This meant, people had to expose themselves to large waves at the bathing resort, while keeping away from danger. "Where rocks are, waves are large, and although the water quantity is small, the back, shoulders, and rear head part are touched by waves. While muscles keep the body from falling, the nervous system is well activated. The after-bathing feeling is excellent" (MATSUMOTO, 1886, 14-15). No wonder people sought a beach full of rocks for effective bathing. Figure 1 is an advertisement for a sea bathing resort in Chiba Prefecture published in 1901. Some overstatement probably exists, but nevertheless, emphasis was placed upon the steep cliff facing the beach, far from the contemporary idea of long, empty, calm stretches of sand.

Sea bathing in the pioneer days—direct immersion in the sea water—must have been rigorous and stimulating on account of water temperature and wave action. Furthermore, the main bathers were patients in need of medical treatment. As a means of alleviating the excessive stimulation, hot water bathing was conducted up on the beach.

Fig. 1 An Advertisement for a Sea Bathing Site and Adjacent Inn (Homachi-kan) —1901, Ohara (Chiba)— (BOSO TETSUDO, 1901)

III. The Popularization of Hot Salt Baths and the Present Day Distribution of Brine Baths

Directions for hot sea water bathing were given as follows. "Temperatures should not exceed 27°R or 28°R. In preparation for cold sea water bathing, temperatures should be lowered gradually" (GOTO, 1882, 44-45). To be more specific, sea water was taken and heated to 35°C, then gradually dropped to approach the ocean temperatures. Such hot water bathing may be repeated as a preparatory step until the patient gets used to the sea water temperatures before immersing himself in the ocean. This style of bathing is quite similar to that of ordinary baths, with the only difference being a substitution of

sea water for fresh water. To the Japanese who have long enjoyed hot spring cures, the hot sea water bathing must have appeared quite familiar. Hot saline bathing according to all our Japanese writers was highly touted in German medical science as well as in *The Journal of the Hygienic Bureau*. Sea bathing at first was very unfamiliar, whereas hot brine bathing appeared as a contact point between the traditional foreign value systems. In the process of Japan's acceptance of sea bathing, hot brine bathing was important as is evident from the fact that hot water bathing facilities were provided in most of the sea bathing places established since the 19th century as well as in the first sites at Ono, Futamigaura, and Oiso.

Sea bathing, originally viewed exclusively as a medical cure has undergone a gradual change into its contemporary pleasure seeking affair. Just when this change took place is hard to point out as different areas had different situations with which to cope. The opening of Uchide Sea Bathing Resort in Hyogo Prefecture in 1905 was a turning point. Uchide was developed with a clear commercial aim by a private railway seeking more passengers, and was located on a shallow sand beach. According to the memoirs of the staff who participated in the opening event, travellers were attracted by the local newspaper advertisements and the skyrockets on the beach. An increased interest of the Japanese people with the sea as a result of the Battle of the Japan Sea (May 27-28, 1905) also drove a large number of visitors to the beach (HANSHIN DENKI TETSUDO, 1955, 65-67). Following Uchide, a number of sea bathing resorts were developed with the investments of local railways, such as Hamadera (Osaka), Koroen (Hyogo Prefecture), Haneda, Omori, and Morigasaki (Tokyo). All of these resorts were built on a sand beach, indicating that muscle, nerve, and blood stimulation by strong waves was an idea that had all but been forgotten.

Railways, only aiming at larger customer roles, naturally attempted to enlarge the way toward the spots. Not only medical patients, but also healthy pleasure-seekers were sought after. For such purposes resorts provided pleasure facilities as well as actors and entertainers. Sea bathing metamorphosed from medical treatment to pleasure seeking.

The function of the hot sea water bath houses as a preparatory step for sea water bathing also changed. Hot bath facilities were used as public bath houses attached to pleasure resorts and playhouses. Different from the fresh water bath houses, those using salty water were advertised as having equivalent features. They were called *shioyu* (brine bath). Brine bath houses began to function for medical care and pleasure in districts where no hot springs were found. At present, medical care and pleasure resorts with an emphasis on brine baths are hardly to be found. However brine bath houses as simple public bath houses not attached to vaudeville theaters are still extant in many places. Figure 2 depicts a brine bath house in Sakai (Osaka). Figure 3 shows the distribution of brine bath houses in the Setouchi region, indicating a continuous demand for such facilities. As far as the author has investigated more brine bath houses are in operation in western Japan than in eastern Japan. The reason is as yet unknown, but the connection of brine bath houses with sea bathing from the pioneer days is no doubt of great significance.

Fig. 2 Brine Bath House
—1985, Sakai (Osaka)—

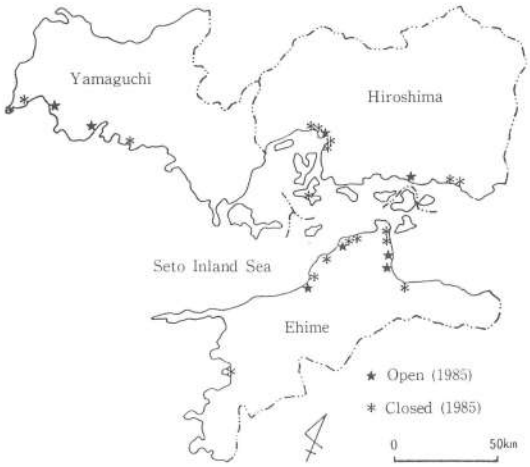

Fig. 3 Distribution of Brine Bath Houses in Setouchi Region (OGUCHI, 1986)

IV. Concluding Remarks

We have attempted to describe the general process by which Japanese adopted and modified the western idea of sea bathing. Initial sea bathing facilities had both cold and hot sea water bathing. Hot sea water bathing obviously helped to popularize sea water bathing in general due to association with hot spring bathing. Cold and hot baths were linked in the beginning. But with time, the cold bath for medical treatment became a pleasure-seeking exercise, while the hot bath preparatory for the cold bath was converted into a public bath. Contemporary sea bathing and brine bath houses which apparently have no relation to each other developed from a single phenomenon, and became distinct only after a process of transformation.

The idea as born in a foreign culture was adopted into Japan, but the idea as a whole system was not accepted. Certain parts of the idea saw realization and then modification as adoption progressed. The introduction and development of foreign culture always depends on the native soil.

Acknowledgements

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This article based upon the author's thesis (OGUCHI, 1987), "Nippon ni okeru kaisuiyoku shiso no juyo to shioyu" (Introduction of Sea-Bathing to Japan and Tide-Bathing).

Notes

1) Influences from Great Britain and Holland were also present.
2) The author prepared the subtitles for *Kaisuiyoku-ho gaisetsu* (*General Explanation on the Rules of Sea Bathing*), as no chapter or paragraph demarcations exist in the original.
3) NAGAYO's name doesn't appear under the article "Sea Bathing Theory" in *The Journal of the Hygienic Bureau*, but he was the position in charge of the publication of the journal.
4) For further information, see OGUCHI, 1985.

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The Beginnings of Modern Geography in Japan: From the Mid-Nineteenth Century to the 1910s※

Shokyu MINAMOTO

I would like to take this opportunity to report on some of the people, both Japanese and Western, who made important contributions to the introduction of modern geography to Japan. I shall focus on those about whom little research has been done thus far, in the hope of providing basic material for further study. The period treated here extends from the mid-nineteenth century, when the Tokugawa shogunate was on the verge of collapse after nearly 300 years of feudal rule, to the early part of the twentieth century, when academic geography became more or less established at the two leading imperial universities in Tokyo and Kyoto.[1]

In this paper I will discuss two categories of people. The first is the Western experts with geographic knowledge who came to Japan in the nineteenth century, mainly in the employ of the shogunate or the new Meiji government. These Western engineers and other specialists, known as *oyatoi gaikokujin*,[2] or "hired foreigners," provided advice and expertise that played an important role in the early stage of Japan's modernization. The second category is Japanese individuals, most of them independent researchers (as distinct from imperial university faculty or graduates), who contributed to the development of modern geography.

As a preface to this discussion, however, let me give a brief history of geography in Japan up to the mid-nineteenth century. The Tokugawa shogunate (1603-1867) adopted a policy of national seclusion, in 1639 closing Japan's doors almost completely to trade and interchange with other countries. This policy was maintained for more than two hundred years, until 1854. During that time, only the small port of Dejima at Nagasaki on the island of Kyushu was kept open to intercourse with the Netherlands, China, and Korea. Diplomatic and commercial ties with other countries were severed and academic exchange ceased in the early seventeenth century.

Under these circumstances, there were two main ways in which Japanese obtained knowledge of Western sciences--geography among them. One was by reading Chinese translations of Western geography books and maps (in those days the ability to read Chinese was among the routine skills of educated Japanese). The other means of approaching Western learning was through study of the Dutch language. In 1720, the shogunate relaxed the laws to permit the import of Western books, except those relating to Christianity. After that, great advances were made in astronomy, cartography, and the calendar. Some Japanese wrote works on geography based on imported Dutch books.

In the nineteenth century the advance of the Western powers into the Far East gained momentum, and Japan was forced to abandon its isolation. Watching other Asian countries being rapidly colonized by the Western powers, Japanese in both the shogunal government and in local domains became increasingly interested in learning world regional geography. This demand for geographical knowledge continued after the Meiji government was established in 1868,

※ This paper is based on a speech delivered at the First Anglo-Japanese Geographical Seminar, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, September 13, 1988.

spreading not only among the ruling class but commoners as well. The government had made "enriching the nation and strengthening its arms" and "increasing production and promoting industry" its main priorities, and part of this drive included the development of mines. Here again, geographical knowledge was in urgent need.

I. Contributions of Western Advisors

Many Westerners worked in Japan during the final days of the Tokugawa rule and in the latter decades of the nineteenth century. Let us look at the part some of them played in introducing modern geography in Japan up to the 1910s.

Investigation of foreign employees is relatively easy for engineers and instructors in geology, mining, surveying and other natural science fields adjacent to geography, as they were practical sciences immediately relevant to the policy of "enriching the nation" and "increasing production." Many experts in mining and geological surveying were invited to Japan from Europe and the United States. Among them were Francois COIGNET (1837-1902), a French engineer hired by the Satsuma domain (now Kagoshima Prefecture) to help develop mines, and Benjamin Smith LYMAN (1835-1920), an American who came to Japan to perform full-fledged geological surveys at the invitation of the Hokkaido Colonization Office (which the Meiji Government set up in 1869 in consideration of the economic potential and strategic importance of the northern island of Hokkaido).

The achievements of such experts impressed Japanese with the importance of these fields as realms of academic inquiry, and when Tokyo University (later renamed the Imperial University [of Tokyo]) was established in 1877, a department of geology and mining was set up within the Faculty of Science. Edmund NAUMANN (1854-1927), a German, taught there.

A list of Western foreign engineers and experts employed by the Meiji government between 1868 and 1889 gives the names of 2,299 persons,[3] including four who taught geography (one, however, was a language instructor who used geography books as teaching material).[4] About ten times more, nearly forty, were specialists in geology, and geological survey, mining and mineralogy, and surveying.

The following are brief sketches, based on other sources, of the Westerners who introduced modern geography to Japan.

a) Willem Johan Connelis Ridder Huyssen van KATTENDYKE (1816-66)

As foreign ships began to appear in Japanese waters in increasing numbers, the shogunal government felt the necessity of building a modern Western-style navy for national defense, and sought the advice of Jan Hendric Donker CURTIUS (1813-79), overseer of the Dutch Factory located on Dejima in Nagasaki Harbor. As a result, the shogunate founded a naval academy in Nagasaki in 1855 to provide training of officers. Pels RIJCKEN (1810-89), Dutch naval lieutenant, was hired to head the school and became the first foreign employee of the Japanese government (TAKAHASHI, 1968, 22). RIJCKEN brought the first Dutch training detachment (22 in all) to Japan, which gave instruction and practical training for a period of about one year, through Japanese interpreters. The curriculum included geography, although exactly what was taught in geography class is not known.[5] Among the students at the naval school at that early time was Meiki TSUKAMOTO (1833-85), who, interestingly enough, later became one of the chief editors of the government-compiled *Kokoku chishi* (*Regional Geography of Imperial Japan*), which was partially published in the early Meiji period.

In 1857 a second detachment of training personnel from the Netherlands came to Japan under the command of Sub-Lieutenant KATTENDYKE at the invitation of the shogunate to take over naval instruction at the school. Apparently the curriculum was somewhat different from the previous program. KATTENDYKE's diary reads:

> Door den *Kapitein-Luitenant-Kommandant* :
> Tuigles . . . . .3 uren in de week.
> Manoeuvres . . . .3 // // // //
> Reglementen . . . .2 // // // //
> Land-en volkenkunde 2 // // // //
> (KATTENDYKE, 1860, 23)

The Dutch term "Land-en volkenkunde" means "geography and ethnography," probably corresponding to anthropogeography used in the nineteenth century classification. In modern terminology, it is probably close to regional geography --not astronomical geography, to be sure. (The Japanese translation of the diary renders the term as *chimongaku*, or physiography [MIZUTA,

26].) Among the students at that time was Masao UCHIDA (1842-76), editor of *Yochi shiryaku* (*An Outline of World Regional Geography*, 1870-80), one of three major best sellers in the early Meiji period, along with Yukichi FUKUZAWA's *Seiyo jijo* (*Conditions in the West*, 1870-72) and Masanao NAKAMURA's *Saigoku risshi hen* (*Self Help*, 1870).

b) John Clarence CUTTER (?-1910)

CUTTER was employed by the Meiji government to lecture on physiology, comparative anatomy and English literature at one of Japan's first agricultural institutions of higher learning, Sapporo Agricultural College (established in 1876; its first president was American educator, William Smith CLARK [1826-86]). CUTTER served concurrently as medical advisor to the Hokkaido Colonization Office (HOKKAIDO DAIGAKU, 1981, 364). He also taught veterinary medicine and the science of fishery, and his lectures on the latter subject are said to be the first of the kind given in Japan (HOKKAIDO PREFECTURE, GENERAL AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT, ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS OFFICE, 1969, 253). John CUTTER remained in Japan from September 1878 until January 1887, longer than most other American instructors, and was very attentive to the health of the students under his care.

As part of his lectures on English literature, CUTTER taught geography (SAPPORO AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE, [1880], 37-38). One of his students in 1881, Sozo IBUKI, took copious notes of these lectures (see "Lecture on the Geography of Europe by Dr. J.C. CUTTER, M.D." Notes by S. IBUKI, 1881, 98 p., in the collection of the Hokkaido University Library). Parts of these notes were translated into Japanese by Toshiaki OHJI in 1982 (OHJI, 1982, 416-422). The "lecture" is made up of three sections. Section one deals with the geography of Europe, the first half devoted to a "*regional geographical description*, in the narrow sense, of Europe" (OHJI, 1982, 423; my emphasis), and the second half discussing "the origins and evolution of peoples and languages in Eurasia, with a focus on Europe" (OHJI, 1982, 424). Section two covers the geography, history and languages of Great Britain, and the third section treats the history of English literature, with an emphasis on Shakespeare. As OHJI points out, CUTTER introduced the geographical concepts widely taught in the nineteenth century, such as that the ratio of coastline to land area determines the degree of civilizational development of a region (OHJI, 1982, 423).

As I shall mention later, Kanzo UCHIMURA and Shigetaka SHIGA were prominent figures in Japanese intellectual history who made great contributions to the spread of modern geography in Japan outside of academia. Both of them studied at Sapporo Agricultural College, UCHIMURA from 1877 to 1881 and SHIGA from 1880 to 1884. We do not know, however, whether they attended CUTTER's lecture on the geography of Europe.

c) Charles Mettaues BRADBURY (1862-?) and Edward Standley STEPHENSON (1871-?)

Little study has been done of Westerners employed by private Japanese organizations in the early days of Japan's modernization. (UMETANI, 1968, 55). Here I shall mention two who lectured on geography at the Tokyo Semmon Gakko (founded in 1882 by the influential statesman Shigenobu OKUMA (1838-1922) and renamed Waseda Daigaku [Waseda University] in 1902.)[6]

One of the two is C.M. BRADBURY. His personal history, typewritten in English and signed by BRADBURY, is preserved at Waseda University's Office of University History. It states that BRADBURY studied chemistry, geology and mineralogy at the University of Virginia in the United States, graduating in 1885. In the following year he enrolled at the university again and completed post-graduate studies in 1888, obtaining his Ph.D. degree. He came to Japan in September of that year and taught "English (reading and conversation)" and "Asian geography" at Tokyo Semmon Gakko from September 1898 until around 1901 (WASEDA UNIVERSITY, OFFICE OF UNIVERSITY HISTORY, 1978a, 1,041). "Tokyo Semmon Gakko 1901 Annual Report, September 1900-August 1901" tells us that "Asian Geography (English text)" was a subject in the school's higher preparatory course (WASEDA UNIVERISTY OFFICE OF UNIVERSITY HISTORY, 1978b, 210). It is not known, however, what text was used or what was specifically taught.

The other Westerner I would like to introduce is E. S. STEPHENSON. His personal history, also preserved at the Office of University History, states that he was born in the County of Cheshire, Great Britain in 1871 and graduated from King Williams College in Isle of Man and also from Dulwich College in London. He completed undergraduate studies ("the regular course") in geography at both institutions and came to Japan

in 1897. At Tokyo Semmon Gakko he taught English (composition and conversation) and geography from December 1901 to July 1903 (WASEDA UNIVERSITY, OFFICE OF UNIVERSITY HISTORY, 1981, 1,206). In "Courses, Subjects and Lecturers: 1903," geography was taught in the school's higher preparatory course, under the titles "Geography (Western)" and "Geography and [English] Conversation (English texts published by this school [Tokyo Semmon Gakko])" (WASEDA UNIVERSITY, OFFICE OF UNIVERSITY HISTORY, 1978b, Appendix 58). STEPHENSON'S personal history contains the note "at present using CLARKE's Geography." "CLARKE's Geography" probably refers to *Class Book of Geography* (1st edition, 1878)[7] by C. B. CLARKE.[8] The 1901 Tokyo edition of this text is in the collection of the Waseda University Library, with the inscription on its title page, "Presented by the University Press [of Tokyo Semmon Gakko] on October 3, the 34th Year of Meiji [1901]." This fact and a passage in STEPHENSON'S curriculum vitae noting "as a basis for conversation--that is merely paraphrasing and explaining the words of C. B. CLARKE F. R. S., "imply that STEPHENSON used *Class Book of Geography* in his "Geography and Conversation" class as an aid to English study. *Class Book of Geography* for the most part discusses regional geography in various parts of the world. Comparing it with the Japanese geography texts of the times, I believe it was on a par with the textbooks in use at teachers colleges and secondary schools.

It was at this time, incidentally, that Shigetaka SHIGA was teaching "Western political geography" in the higher preparatory course at Tokyo Semmon Gakko (WASEDA UNIVERSITY, OFFICE OF UNIVERSITY HISTORY, 1978b, Appendix 58). Much further study of BRADBURY and STEPHENSON needs to be done, and I hope to publish the results of my research on them in the near future.

As this outline shows, foreign geographers teaching in Japan focused on regional geography, especially world regional geography. On this point, too, I plan to examine more case studies, and analyze the social background at the time.

II. Japanese Non-Academic Geographers

Prior to the establishment in Japan of academic geography around 1910, there were a few Japanese who authored geographies under the influence of modern Western geography and/or works on contemporary Japan based on the principles of modern geography. In the areas of physiography and physical geography,[9] many translations and original works were published by academic specialists in geology such as Takao FUJITANI (assistant professor, Department of Geology, Faculty of Science, Tokyo University) and Bunjiro KOTO (professor, Department of Geology, Faculty of Science, [Tokyo] Imperial University). In human geography, however, individuals outside academia contributed more.

a) Shigetaka SHIGA (1863-1927)[10]

SHIGA was born into a samurai family in the Province of Mikawa (now Aichi prefecture). In July 1884 he graduated from Sapporo Agricultural College with a bachelor's degree in agriculture. He was not only a well-known writer on popular geography but an influential thinker and opinion leader. He was the first to introduce the "comparative method" advocated by the English geographer and educator J. M. D. MEIKLEJOHN (1830-1902), and to apply it to Japan (MINAMOTO 1985, 196-197; 199-200). Many other European and American geographers and thinkers deeply influenced him (MINAMOTO, 1984, 97-98). Underlying his works on geography was a firm belief in the brand of nationalism that was compatible with internationalism. His basic and consistent concern was with Japan's place in the international community. In one of his major works, *Nihon fukeiron* (*Japanese Landscapes*, 1894), he vividly described the beautiful landscape of Japan and tried to make his countrymen conscious of their country's position in a world context. In his later years he wrote *Shirarezaru kuniguni* (*Unfamiliar Countries*, 1925) to introduce the countries of the Middle and Near East, in which his contemporaries showed almost no interest, emphasizing the importance of the region in international politics.

SHIGA's geography dealt with more than mere geographical phenomena. As an enlightenment thinker, he adapted the principles of Western geography to create and popularize a "Japanese geography."

b) Kanzo UCHIMURA (1861-1930)[11]

UCHIMURA, too, attended the Sapporo Agricultural College, graduating in 1881. While a student, he was converted to Christianity, and in 1885-86 he studied at Amherst College in Massachusetts, U.S.A. He was a pious Christian,

known internationally. Though they were both Sapporo Agricultural College graduates, SHIGA and UCHIMURA differed greatly in their attitudes toward religion. A good study comparing them has been published (SUZUKI, 1975). Both were important figures in the intellectual history of modern Japan.

UCHIMURA wrote fewer geographies than SHIGA, but here I shall introduce his *Chirigaku-ko* (*Discourse on Geography*, 1894: the title was changed in 1897 into *Chijin-ron* [*Discourse on the Earth and Man*]). As a preface to the main text of this work, UCHIMURA gave a list of more than ten foreign works (chiefly geographies), including *The Earth and Man* (1849) by Arnold GUYOT (1807-84), noting them as his direct and indirect sources. *Discourse* mainly discusses the Asian, European, American and other continents, and what characterizes his thought in this work is the idea of the "mission of Japan." He stressed how important it was for Japanese to know the distinctive geographical features of their country and realize its mission, namely, to act as a mediator between East and West. In that sense, *Discourse* resembles the popular geographies of SHIGA. UCHIMURA writes in *Discourse*: "We should be not only people of Japan but also people of the world (*Weltmann*)" (Chapter 1: "Purposes of Geographical Research") (UCHIMURA, 1912, 14).

Other important non-academic geographers include Masanaga YAZU (1863-1922), author of *Nihon chimongaku* (*Physiography of Japan*) (1889), a discussion of geographical phenomena in Japan based on modern geography, and Tsunesaburo MAKIGUCHI (1871-1944), author of *Jinsei chirigaku* (*Geography of Human Livès*, 1903).

As academic geography became established, these pioneer geographers faded into obscurity in the field of Japanese geography. Their ideas on human geography, however, deserve close study once again as Japan suffers from increasing damage to its environment brought by rapid economic growth and industrializaiton.

Notes

1) Scientific study of geography began at the [Tokyo] Imperial University around 1887. It was not until two decades later, in 1907, that a specialized course on geography was created under the chair of history and geography in the College of Letters at Kyoto Imperial University, and in 1911 that a department of geography was established in the College of Science at Tokyo Imperial University. A great deal of study is still needed to clarify how academic geography became established in Japan.

2) *Oyatoi gaikokujin* usually refers to foreigners from advanced Western nations who were hired during the last years of the Tokugawa shogunate and in the early decades of the Meiji period by government or private organizations or by individuals, to facilitate the transfer of Western science and technology to Japan. Strictly speaking, it also includes Asians, as well as foreigners who served in Japanese diplomatic missions as honorary consuls and secretaries overseas. UMETANI (1968, 57) estimates that the total number of government-employed foreigners during the Meiji period stood at around 3,000.

3) Though a secondary source contained in UNESCO HIGASHI AJIA BUNKA KENKYU SENTA (CENTRE FOR EAST ASIAN CULTURAL STUDIES) (1975, 201-493), *Oyatoi gaikokujin meikan* (*List of Meiji-Period Foreign Employees*) is of value, for among the data used in drawing up the list are primary sources such as *Gaimusho kiroku* (*Foreign Ministry Records*) and *Dajo ruiten* (*Early Meiji Codes*).

4) "List of Meiji-Period Foreign Employees" gives data on the a) name; b) nationality; c) place and length of employment; and d) jobs, for the four Westerners. (Additional data derived from TAKEUCHI, 1983.)

(1) a) GOODMAN, [John William]; b) U.S.A.; c) Hikone Prefectural School, Apr. 1871-- Apr. 1872, with a 6-month extension; and d) teaching of geography in English class and others.

(2) a) GROOT, Adolf; b) Germany; c) Tokyo University, Faculties of Medicine and Letters, Nov. 1880-- Nov. 1882, Tokyo University, Faculty of Letters and Preparatory School, May 1883-- Nov. 1885; and d) language teacher; also taught geography.

(3) a) STEVENS, Herbert; b) Great Britain; c) Iwakuni Domain (now Yamaguchi Prefecture), Aug. 1871-- Aug. 1873; and d) domanial school instructor in geography and other subjects.

(4) a) CHAMBERLAIN, Basil Hall; b) Great Britain; c) Navy Ministry, 1874-- 82; and d) military academy language instructor (records show that geography was one of the subjects he taught). CHAMBERLAIN was the first foreigner to become an honorary instructor (in 1891) at Tokyo Imperial University.

5) According to TAKAHASHI (1968, 34), "geography" was in the curriculum. MIZUTA (1929, 110)

reports that geography teaching was one of the assignments of navy second paymaster C.H. Parker de Yonge, but details are not known.

6) Regarding foreign teachers at Tokyo Semmon Gakko, MATSUMOTO (1977) is useful.

7) Some bibliographical data of this book are as follows:
   1st edition, 1878, London, Macmillan, vii, 280 p. (Not first-hand information.)
   Revised edition [edited by G.E. MACKIE], 1889, London, Macmillan, xi, 302 p. (Not first-hand information.)
   The Waseda University Library has three different editions of this book in its collection: a revised edition published in London in 1897; edition published in Tokyo in 1901 (xi, 302 p.); and an odd copy with the title page and other pages missing.

8) See LEE (1912, 366-367) for further information on Charles Baron CLARKE (1832-1906).

9) During the first half of the Meiji period, geography was often classified under three categories, "physical geography," "political geography" (corresponding to "human geography" today), and "mathematical geography" (or, in some cases, "astronomical geography"). The distinctions among physical geography, physiography, and geography were not clear, and some studies have been done of their relation. TAMURA (1978, 412) points out that the latter half of the Meiji period was one of transition from the above three-category division to a two-category division, i.e., "human geography" and "physical geography."

10) MINAMOTO (1975) and MINAMOTO (1984) are bibliographical studies of SHIGA's works in geography.

11) MINAMOTO (1978) is a bibliographical study of UCHIMURA's geographical works.

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Nationalism and Geography in Modern Japan--With Special Attention to the Period between the 1880s-1920s※

Keiichi TAKEUCHI

Nationalism in the broader sense is understood as feelings of support for political institutions and of attachment to culture and regions. But similar feelings having been found even in primitive societies, the term "nationalism" is generally used in a narrower sense to refer to political movements seeking or already exercising modern state power and justifying such actions on the basis of certain tenets as follows: 1) The nation must have an explicit and peculiar character; 2) the interests and values of the nation take priority over the interests and values of all other territorial units; and 3) the nation must be, as far as possible, politically independent; this usually requires that the nation must at least have attained political sovereignty. Nationalism in this modern sense generally rests on the premises that the nation consist of all the inhabitants within the territorial frame of that state or region and that all these inhabitants have as a common denominator a kind of national identity or an identification with the national territory and the national culture. In the contemporary world, the concept of the nation-state often borders on the fictitious in that within many nation-states formed in the nineteenth century there are now to be found a large number of nationalist movements or what might be termed "mini-nationalism" on the part of ethnic minorities.

In Japan, prior to the middle of the nineteenth century, the cultural and territorial identification with the nation, that is Nippon, existed only among the ruling classes, the samurai and vassals of the imperial court. It was true that, in the face of the menace of the Western powers in the 1840s, nationalist sentiments gained ground among the general populace. But in the situation of the time where Japan was divided into numerous feudal clans (*han*), not all the people had the feeling of being one with the nation as a whole. Only after the Meiji Restoration in 1868 did a sense of national identity rapidly form, under the pressure of the institutional and ideological policies of enforcement instigated by the Meiji government. The institutional aspect was to be found in a political unification brought on by means of fiscal imposition and national conscription. In the ideological sphere, many intellectuals declared that Japanese culture was both unique and homogeneous and also pointed out the necessity for the modernisation of the country, citing advanced Western countries as examples of successful modernisation[1].

After the establishment of the compulsory education system in 1872, geography came to be made much of as workable material for the encouragement of nationalism and, especially, as an effective means of driving the Japanese people to further modernisation efforts by contrasting the situation in prosperous Western countries with the abject conditions in Asian countries fallen under Western domination. It should be noted here that, with regard to the relationship between geography and nationalism, even at this initial stage certain characteristics of Japanese

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nationalism were already in evidence, having been given rise to by Japan's physical isolation from other countries, and the related seclusionist policy of the shogunate government for more than 200 years up to the middle of the nineteenth century. Statements to this effect can be found in geographical writings and school textbooks of geography in the 1860s and 70s. It is true that, where geographical conditions and historical background were concerned, the majority of the Japanese people had never had the experience of direct contact with foreign peoples (Britain is an insular country as is Japan, but the British people have always had a great many contacts with the Continent). The diffusion of the geographical knowledge of other countries certainly inspired in the Japanese people a desire for contact with foreign peoples, and moreover served to awaken a consciousness of the uniqueness of Japanese culture and the necessity of building the country into a strong and rich state.

As mentioned above, pre-Meiji Japan was divided into numerous feudal clans ; in parallel with this, another situation existed which had its start in the second half of the eleventh century and the commencement of rule by a central shogunate government, successors to which generally remained in power throughout the following centuries. These historical circumstances greatly contributed to the formation of the cultural and economic unity of Japan. In modern Japan, after the Meiji Restoration, no regionalist or separatist movement has arisen to take the form of nationalism in the state or micro-nationalism. Certainly, there were, and still are, ethnic minorities such as the Ainus in Hokkaido and the Ryukyu people of the southwestern islands. But the Ainus were too few in number to set up a micro-nationalist or regionalist movement in the face of the massive colonisation by the Japanese ; and the Ryukyu people, who had been subject to the double sovereignty of Japan and China, became annexed to Japan under the political and military pressures exerted upon them at the beginning of the Meiji period. There was also the fact that the Ryukyu people were anyway too similar in culture to the Japanese people to be able to make a clear distinction between themselves and the Japanese.

Along with the diffusion of geography as school material around the end of the 1880s, there appeared a certain number of publications which systematically introduced and applied the Western geography methods of the day. The readers of these publications were generally intellectuals, but it was the schoolteachers of geography who made extensive use of them. In contrast with the authors of geographical writings of the early Meiji period, who had more or less been self-made scholars obtaining their geographical knowledge of other countries from run-of-the-mill school textbooks compiled in Western countries, the authors of the above publications had generally received their higher education in Japan and carried out further systematic studies in geography, either in Japan or abroad. Moreover, they applied the geographical methods pertaining to the man-environment paradigms they had developed to the interpretation of the geographical characteristics of Japan. Nonetheless, while the geographical works they published exercised considerable influence, they were not academic geographers in the strict sense of the term. The establishment of chairs of geography at higher normal schools took place at the end of the 1890s and the chairs of geography at imperial universities were created in 1907 in Kyoto and in 1911 in Tokyo, by which time, the above authors were already established in other careers.

Three important authors of geographical books appearing at the end of the last century, Kanzo UCHIMURA (1861-1930), Inazo NITOBE (1862-1933) and Shigetaka SHIGA (1863-1927)[2], were graduates of the the Sapporo Agricultural College in Hokkaido. Founded in 1876, this college constituted one of the projects instigated by the Japanese government for the colonisation of Hokkaido. For the work of colonisation, the Japanese government enlisted the aid of a number of foreign experts, who subsequently arrived in Japan. Among them was William Smith CLARK (1826-1886), who came from the United States in order to fill the post of principal of the college. He had previously studied natural sciences at both Amherst College and Göttingen University, and at the time he received the invitation to Japan, he was president of the Massachusetts College of Agriculture. He exerted a good deal of influence at the Sapporo Agricultural College in the capacity of fervent Protestant and enthusiastic observer of nature. In point of fact, both UCHIMURA and NITOBE were baptised when they were students at the Sapporo Agricultural College ; and it was the influence of CLARK and other foreign teachers that induced

many graduates in the early days of the college to develop an interest in natural history via training in agronomy[3].

According to his later writings, in his middle school days Kanzo UCHIMURA was already deeply interested in geography and history ; and when, after graduating from the Sapporo Agricultural College, he gained the opportunity to pursue studies in fishery at Amherst College in the United States, he spent much of his time there studying geography. In fact later, in 1923, he wrote that he had already had the intention of becoming a geographer when he enrolled in the Sapporo Agricultural College at the age of seventeen. And, in his diary entry for June 19th, 1919, we read that his writings on geography were the fruit of a two-year study of geography and history at Amherst College. Subsequently, after his return to Japan in 1888, he published writings on geography together with writings on Christianity ; and in 1892, he produced "Japan : Its Mission" written in English and published in the English-language journal *Yokohama Mail*. In this paper, he analysed the vocation of the Japanese nation on the basis of geopolitical considerations. According to him, much of the Japanese archipelago was open to the Pacific, having as it did a number of favourable port sites ; but where traffic with continental Asia was concerned, only Kyushu had good harbours. He insisted, too, that because of the mountainous nature of much of the natural conditions prevailing in Japan, it was necessary for the Japanese to intensify agricultural usage, in order to enrich the country. In 1894, he published *Chirigakuko* (*Considerations on Geography*), his third book following the two books on Christianity. The first part of this book consists of a systematic presentation of general geography, and the second part consists of a regional geography of the continents on the earth. The fundamental theme of this book is an analysis of man-environment relationships, and in fact, the scond edition of this book was published in 1897 under the revised title *Chijinron* (*Discussions on Earth and Man*).

In his geographical writings, UCHIMURA several times made reference to *Earth and Man : Lectures on Comparative Physical Geography, in Its Relation to the History of Mankind* by Arnold GUYOT (1849) as an important work of its kind. He also referred to *Physical Geography* by the same author as well as *Geographical Studies* by Carl RITTER translated by the Reverend W. L. GAGE, PESCHEL's *Vergleichende Erdkunde* and *The Earth as Modified by Human Agencies* by George P. MARSH as being of significance for him. When he made use of the terms "vocation" or "mission" he meant them in the Christian sense ; but, while a firm advocate of Protestantism, he insisted on a properly Japanese interpretation of Christianity and cast a somewhat jaundiced eye on the activities of foreign missionaries in Japan, whether Catholic or Protestant. He was nationalist in the strict sense in his interpretation of what the "vocation" of the Japanese nation consisted of, and in his English-language article published in 1894, justifying the Sino-Japanese war. But his nationalism differed considerably from the nationalism encouraged by the Japanese government of that time ; hence he was compelled to resign from a lectureship at the First Higher School of Tokyo because, due to his Christian convictions which made it unthinkable for him to consider the emperor on a par with God, he refused to stand up at a reading of the Imperial Rescript. After 1902, he opposed the Anglo-Japanese Alliance Treaty because it called for Japanese involvement in British international politics which he could not condone ; and, subsequently, he also opposed the Russo-Japanese war in 1904.

The career of Shigetaka SHIGA greatly differed from that of UCHIMURA. Since before his enrolment at the Sappporo Agricultural College, he had harboured a considerable antipathy towards Christianity and once in college, strongly resisted the pressures brought to bear upon him to convert to Christianity. His studies at the Sapporo Agricultural College awakened in him an interest in natural history, especially geography. In 1866, he seized the opportunity to board a trainee warship operated by the Japanese navy which proceeded to visit the Southern Pacific islands and Oceania. He took along with him Charles DARWIN's *Journal of Researches into the Geology and Natural History of the Various Countries Visited by H. M. S. Beagle, 1832-1836* (1839) which, where he was concerned, constituted an important guidebook. His account of this voyage, the *Nanyo jiji* (*Affairs of the Southern Seas*), is a mixture of scientific reports on the islands and countries visited and geopolitical advocations of the Japanese advancement into the Southern Pacific area. Later, he taught geography at the Tokyo Semmon Gakko (the present

Waseda University); the transcripts of his lectures were published for the first time in 1889 under the title *Chirigaku kogi* (*Lectures on Geography*).

SHIGA did not specify the works to which he had reference but, judging from his writings, we may suppose that he was relatively well informed with regard to the geographical writings of his day. For example, at the very beginning of his *Lectures on Geography* he defined geography as "the science of observing all phenomena relating to the earth" and stated that "man could not exist without the earth, but nothing happens that does not involve man. We need to recognise the fact that, among the hundreds of disciplines extant, the study of geography is the most urgent and necessary". His interpretations of earth surface phenomena were formed in an environmental context, but at no time was he a determinist. In the same book, after pointing out several geographical characteristics of Japan derived from her insular position, he averred that "man is not influenced only by his relationship with the land or by geographical factors alone". He insisted on the importance of the moral character of the people for the formation of a nation, citing as an example the achievements in the form of land reclamation work of the Dutch people. Of paramount concern to him at all times was the Japanese nation, in connection with which fact he stated that "it is vital for as many Japanese as possible to learn the geographical position of Japan in the world. In order to achieve this task, the study of geography is very necessary". It was along these lines that he wrote the *Nihon fukeiron* (*The Japanese Landscape*), published in 1894, in which he extolled the beauty and the distinctive features of the Japanese landscape, comparing it with the landscapes of the West and of China, and basing his postulations on his extensive knowledge of physical geography. This work was widely read and contributed to the encouragement of a nationalist sentiment among the people; for SHIGA's work induced in the people what can only be described as a peculiarly Japanese mode of feeling, consisting of the awareness of a national identity based on pride in the beauty of the Japanese landscape.

Recent studies of SHIGA's writngs have revealed, however, that his work relied heavily on English writings on alpinism and natural scenery, notably the *Handbook for Travellers in Japan* (London and Yokohama, 1891), a joint work by Basil Hall CHAMBERLAIN (1850-1935) and Willen Benjamin MASON (1854-1923)[4]. In point of fact, SHIGA's viewpoint with regard to scenic beauty as hypothecated in *the Japanese Landscape* greatly differed from the traditional Japanese viewpoint that tended towards the miniaturistic and the contrived. In SHIGA's view, a beautiful landscape involved nature in its wild state with mountains and the sheerness of moutains as important components, after the fashion of alpine scenes. The popularity of SHIGA's book indicated that the aesthetic sensibility of the Japanese people had become transformed, by that time, through the process of modernisation, and that SHIGA attained success in his efforts to rouse the nationalistic instincts of the Japanese people by his reappraisal of scenic beauty, a reappraisal based, moreover, not on traditional Japanese mores but on the aesthetic values of the Western world. Generally, most studies underline the nationalist aspect of SHIGA's thought. He was a member of parliament from 1903-1904 and supported the war against Russia, joining the besieging army in Port Arthur in order to observe the battle there. But, after 1910 when he travelled round the world, his attitude towards world affairs and what he saw as the tasks confronting the Japanese nation in the international sphere gradually underwent a change. He became, in fact, somewhat pessimistic regarding Japan's development in the world sphere, what with the growing boycott of Japanese immigrants in America and elsewhere and the increasing racial discrimination that he experienced at first hand in South Africa and other places. His last work, *Shirarezaru kuniguni* (*Unfamiliar Countries*) appeared in 1925; in it, he reiterated the need for an open-minded attitude towards international affairs, an opinion that was diametrically opposed to the increasingly chauvinistic attitude of the Japan of the 1920s.

Inazo NITOBE, who after his graduation from the Sapporo Agricultural College studied agronomy in the United States and Germany, never actually used the term "geography" in any of the titles of his works; but in his *Nogyo honron* (*Principles of Agronomy*) published in 1908, he referred to a number of geographical books such as MARSH's *Earth as Modified by Human Action* and F. RATZEL's *Anthropo-geographie*. Chapter 6 of this book presents village forms classified

according to their origin and functions. Relying mainly on A. MEITZEN's methods, the work of classification in this particular chapter constituted the first systematic description of settlement geography in Japan. He discussed the influence of physical conditions on agriculture on the basis of the development of agronomical technology. While he developed a somewhat physiocratic view, he was careful to point out that the importance of agriculture for the national economy differed according to country and the stage of economic development.

He was, moreover, a nationalist in the sense that he constantly strove for a better understanding abroad of the Japanese and Japanese culture by giving lectures abroad and writing several books in English on Japanese culture. Also a Chrisitan and friend of Kanzo UCHIMURA, he however exercised a broader influence than that of the latter, in the capacity of professor who advocated moralistic and idealistic principles. His pacifist convictions led him to serve a term as Deputy Secretary General of the League of Nations during 1920-26 ; but he felt compelled to resign from this post at the onset of Japan's now explicit acts of armed aggression in China.

Furthermore, in the history of Japanese geography, NITOBE fills an important niche because of the influence he exerted on certain Japanese geographers who, in one way or another, played a part in the early development of geography in Japan. Tsunesaburo MAKIGUCHI (1871-1944), author of *Jinsei chirigaku* (*Geography of Human Lives*), published in 1903 and widely read by school teachers, particularly those who aspired to obtain a middle school teacher's licence, later participated in the regular study meetings on Japanese folklore held at NITOBE's home from 1910. In MAKIGUCHI's second book, *Kyoju no togochushin toshite no kyodoka kenkyu* (Homeland Studies as Focuses of School-Teaching), published in 1912, it is possible to discover the influence of NITOBE, especially in the chapter dealing with observations on the village.

Another member of the study group held at NITOBE's home was Michitoshi ODAUCHI (1875-1954), who published a large number of pioneering studies on settlement geography in the 1920s and 30s. A part-time lecturer who read geography at several universities, ODAUCHI was admitted as a member into the Association of Japanese Geographers, which had been founded in 1925 and constituted what was, up till the time of World War II, a highly exclusive circle of academic geographers. In spite of his acceptance into the Association, however, ODAUCHI was considered an "outsider" geographer by orthodox academic geographers.

After World War II, ODAUCHI was already in his old age and a reappreciation of his work began to develop among a large number of geographers belonging to the younger generation of scholars in academic geography. In 1946, ODAUCHI addressed a short critical remark to academic geography circles stating that what he regretted most was that geographical academia had disarticulated itself from the tradition of agronomy. He did not specify exactly what he meant by the term "tradition of agronomy" ; but, judging from his previous writings, we may safely suppose that he was referring to the thought expressed in the geographical writings of the former students of the Sapporo Agricultural College, particularly Kanzo UCHIMURA. Shigetaka SHIGA and Inazo NITOBE. There is no doubt that Japan's geographical academia has failed to avail itself of or develop a large part of the intellectual heritage bequeathed to it by the pre-academic geographers of a few generations ago. To an extent, the "outsider" tendencies evinced by ODAUCHI found a parallel in SHIGA, upon whose death in 1927, Naomasa YAMASAKI (1879-1929) composed an obituary for the *Chirigaku hyoron* (*Geograph-ical Review of Japan*), organ of the Association of Japanese Geographers, in which he commented that *The Japanese Landscape* was without doubt effective in implanting knowledge of and interest in geography in the mind of the general reader in Japan, at a time when people knew nothing about the subject. In short, for this authoritative academic geographer, who was also professor of geography at that stronghold of academia, the Imperial University of Tokyo, the role of SHIGA was not so much that of scholar, but rather populariser of geographical and geological knowledge among the Japanese people.

Further serious consideration should be given to the geographical thought of the period between the 1880s-1920s, which was broadly formed under the influence of agronomical disciplines and given expression to in social practice. While the practitioners themselves were Meiji period nationalists, they nonetheless came to adopt a critical stance with regard to the official policies of the age, since the brand of nationalism to which they professed differed from the domi-

nant ideological trends comprising the nationalism of the imperial Japan of the twentieth century.

Notes

1) For further details see K. TAKEUCHI (1987): How Japan Learned about the Outside World: The Views of Other Countries Incorporated in Japanese School Textbooks, 1868-1986. *Hitotsubashi Journal of Social Studies*, **19**, 1-13.
2) An excellent biographical and bibliographical study of SHIGA is presented by S. MINAMOTO (1984) in his Shigetaka SHIGA 1863-1927, *Geographers: Biobibliographical Studies*, **8**, 95-105. Otherwise the topics dealt with in this paper have already been discussed in more detail in K. TAKEUCHI (1988): Landscape, Language and Nationalism in Meiji Japan, *Hitotsubashi Journal of Social Studies*, **20**, 35-40.
3) Toshiaki OHJI has analysed the lectures on geographical subjects delivered at the Sapporo Agricultural College in the 1880s on the basis of notes taken down by the students of that time. I owe a great deal to his oral reports at our study meeting in 1979.
4) MINAMOTO, op. cit.

Etudes de géographie locale au Japon

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I

L'étude locale ou régionale est une méthode essentielle dans l'école géographique française. Mais, au Japon, on la trouve le plus souvent dans le monde de la géographie non-académique, c'est-à-dire celui de la pédagogie de la géographie ou celui des écoles normales qui sont bien séparés du monde universitaire qui lui est chargé de la formation des géographes professionels.

Tsunesaburo MAKIGUCHI (1871-1944), le fondateur de la nouvelle secte bouddhiste "Sokagakkai", était insituteur et directeur d'école primaire. Il a élaboré un plan du cours d'études de pays natal (etudes locales=*kyodoka kenkyu*) pour synthétiser des enseignements primaires (MAKIGUCHI, 1912). Cependant, son plan n'était qu'un assemblage de matériaux scolaires sur les phénoménes locaux.

On a dû attendre le début des années 1930 pour voir apparaître une véritable floraison des études locales en géographie. Il y a quelques raisons à cela (TAKEUCHI, 1980). Premièrement, le "mouvement pour l'amélioration rurale" commença à prendre corps pour sauver les campagnes japonaises des conséquences de de la lévée de l'embargo sur l'or et de la crise économique mondiale. On voulait ainsi éviter que les campagnes deviennent un point d'allumage d'une révolution. Deuxièmement, le "mouvement de l'enseignement local" (*kyodo kyoiku undo*) a été formé en se couplant au premier. Sans aucun doute, ce sont ces mouvements dans les campagnes japonaises qui ont entrainé le développement de l'enseignement de la géographie locale (géographie de *kyodo*) et des études locales.

Pourtant, il y avait des savants qui s'intéressaient aux campagnes bien longtemps avant ces mouvements. Parmi eux, Inazo NITOBE (1862-1933), ancien éléve de l'École d'agriculture de Sapporo et auteur de *Nogyo honron* (*Principes d'Agriculture*), a organisé *Kyodokai* (un cercle de l'étude locale) avec Kunio YANAGITA (1875-1962), le fondateur de l'ethnographie japonaise. Ils s'intéressaient tous les deux à la culture rurale japonaise et s'inquiétaient de sa situation catastorophique et sa disparition. Tsunesaburo MAKIGUCHI, mentionné plus haut et Michitoshi ODAUCHI (1875-1954), géographe non-académique dans le sens défini plus haut, faisait partie des géographes qui participaient à ce cercle.

ODAUCHI a joué un rôle très important dans la formation de la géographie humaine japonaise et a defini à la fois des méthodes géographiques et des modèles pour l'étude locale et régionale. Il jouait aussi un rôle important dans le "mouvement de l'enseignement local" (*kyodo kyoiku*).

Katsue MISAWA (1885-1937), qui a consacré toute sa vie à l'enseignement secondaire de la géographie, a ouvert des horizons originaux à la géographie de *kyodo*, indépendants des courants de la géographie académique ou universitaire.

Nous ne pouvons pas ne pas citer, quand il s'agit de la géographie de *kyodo*, Kan-ichi UCHIDA (1888-1969) qui a écrit un remarquable livre *Kyodo chiri kenkyu* (*Etudes de géographie locale*) en 1933, tout en appartenant au monde académique, *Koto shihan gakko* (l'École normale supérieure)[1].

Nous allons donc étudier les études de géographie locale (géographie de *kyodo*) au Japon à travers l'œuvre de ces trois personnes.

II

Michitoshi ODAUCHI a contribué à traiter des problèmes géographiques très divers : depuis les études méthodologiques de la géographie humaine jusqu'aux études régionales et locales. Pour les premières, il s'appuyait essentiellement sur la géographie humaine française de l'école vidalienne et sur la sociologie le playsienne par l'intermédiaire de P. GEDDES. En ce qui concerne les secondes, il a travaillé particulèrement sur les phénomènes géographiques des villes, des campagnes, et des populations au Japon, en Corée et en Manchourie. Toutes ses activités semblent converger sur les études de la géographie de *kyodo*.

ODAUCHI a été éclairé par *Nogyou honron* de Inazo NITOBE lorsqu'il cherchait une méthode pour la géographie dans d'autres disciplines. Il a bien compris que le caractère synthétique de l'agronomie aurait été aussi valable pour la méthode de la géographie. C'était en effet par *Nogyo honron* qu'il s'intéressait aux problèmes des géographies de l'habitat et de la population (ODAUCHI, 1950). *Kyodokai* (le cercle de l'étude locale) a commencé en 1909 à la résidence de NITOBE, et c'était, dit NITOBE lui-même, à l'initiative de ODAUCHI. Ce cercle avait des réunions régulières dont les membres n'étaient pas seulement des géographes, mais aussi des spécialistes d'autres disciplines, pour discuter des problèmes des relations entre la localisation et la vie du point de vue de chaque discipline. Il est certain que ce cercle lui a servi beaucoup, comme le dit NITOBE, pour ses études géographiques rurales (ODAUCHI, 1927, Préface de NITOBE).

Il a étudié aussi les méthodes sociologiques de F. LE PLAY (la formule de famille-travail-lieu) et de P. GEDDES, qui les a introduit en Angleterre (la formule de folk-work-place). Particulièrement, il a eu de la sympathie pour la méthode régionale de ce dernier sur les points suivants : l'analyse pludisciplinaire et l'interprétation globale ; l'importance de l'observation ; et l'application de la méthode régionale à l'enseignement (YAMAZAKI, 1984).

Il a achevé en 1918 une remarquable monographie qui a analysé historiquement et socialement l'urbanisation dans la banlieue-ouest de Tokyo après la première guerre mondiale. C'était un excellent ouvrage qui n'aurait été point inférieur aux thèses publiées en France à l'époque.

Kyodo, pour ODAUCHI, est une région spécifique qui est en relation harmonieuse avec son groupe (social) de population, et c'est le but de la géographie locale (*Kyodo chiri*), d'après lui, de chercher le processus ou l'évolution de la relation affine[2] entre une population et sa région spécifique (ODAUCHI, 1930b, 1932). Il est clair par cette définition que *Kyodo* peut être de dimensions variées. En fait, ODAUCHI considère un village ou une ville comme des unités de *kyodo*, pour lui, même une maison ou une région peuvent être *kyodo* (ODAUCHI, 1930a, 1930b, 1937). Par coséquent, la géographie de *kyodo* (la géographie locale) chez ODAUCHI n'est-elle pas différente de la géographie humaine proprement dite ? Y a-t-il quelque raison qui explique pourquoi il l'appelle la géographie de *kyodo* ou locale ?

Or, qu'est-ce que signifie une relation harmonieuse ou affine ? Pour ODAUCHI elle est une notion essentielle qui constitue la réalité régionale ou l'entité régionale. Celles-ci sont, en tout cas, l'unité terrestre qui se constitue des éléments divers, physiques ou humains (ODAUCHI, 1937, 188-189). Elle peut être considérée comme un organisme ou une vie, et est le résultat d'une longue évolution. Le connaître, c'est l'objet principal de l'étude locale selon ODAUCHI (YAMAZAKI, 1984, 90).

ODAUCHI a été chargé d'un enquête sur le système d'enseignement par le Ministère de l'éducation nationale en 1930, et a joué un rôle important pour vulgariser l'enseignement local et les études locales. Il a dirigé également *Kyodo kyoiku renmei* (la Fédération d'enseignement local) fondée par lui même, pendant quatre ans. Pour lui, l'enseignement local (*kyodo kyoiku*) et les études locales (*kyodo kenkyu*) sont liés, car ils ont pour but de comprendre la réalité régionale de *kyodo* par l'observation globale des phénomènes terrestres, et *kyodo kenkyu* est essentiel pour *kyodo kyoiku* (YAMAZAKI, 1984, 91). Il a donné des conférences et des cours partout dans le pays, et a en effet dirigé des études locales et régionales (*kyodo kenkyu*) dans certaines préfectures[3].

Juste à ce moment-là, le Japon a commencé à s'engager sur la voie du militarisme, et l'enseignement local a été chargé de cultiver et d'exhalter l'amour de la patrie. C'était une disposition du Ministère de l'éducation nationale et du *Zenkoku kyodo kyoiku kyogikai* (le Conseil national d'enseignement local) organisé par des directeurs d'écoles normales. L'idée de *Kyodo*

kyoiku renmei (la Fédération d'enseignement local) qui avait pour mission de construire de nouvelles sociétés locales, a pu facilement passer à l'autre. On a dit que *Renmei* (la Fédération) a freiné le mouvement de *Kyogikai* (le Coseil) (MIYAKE, 1978, 52), mais ODAUCHI a souvent parlé de l'amour de *kyodo* identique à celui de la patrie, et il a essayé de l'implanter dans la nouvelle colonie japonaise en Manchourie (ODAUCHI, 1940). ODAUCHI avait subi une forte influence d'un pédagogue allemand, E. SPRANGER qui soulignait l'aspect spirituel de *kyodo* dans son *Heimatkunde*[4] (YAMAZAKI, 1984, 92).

ODAUCHI avait l'intention d'élargir son enseignement local *(kyodo kyoiku)* au mouvement de l'enseignement pour tous les habitants du village. Celui-ci avait pour but de faire reconnaître leur pays (*kyodo*) à travers l'étude locale (*kyodo kenkyu*) par tous les habitants, et de chercher une voie pour le réorganiser (YAMAZAKI, 1984, 93). Le but de l'enseignement local, dit ODAUCHI lui-même, est un mouvement culturel des tous les habitants pour construire un meilleur pays natal.

La géographie de *kyodo* ou la géographie locale n'est point différente de la géographie régionale ou même de la géographie humaine chez ODAUCHI, mais elle ne mérite véritablement son nom, que quand elle se fait dans les enseignements primaire et secondaire.

III

Katsue MISAWA, diplomé seulement de l'école primaire, a fait d'excellents travaux qui ne sont point inférieurs à ceux des professeurs universitaires, pendant qu'il était enseignant secondaire en province. Il était un représentant typique du géographe nonacadémique. Qu'est-ce qui caractérise la géographie de Katsue MISAWA ? Il faisait une observation continuelle sur des taches solaires et des enquêtes sur les climats locaux en fonction des différentes floraisons des fleurs de cerisier et des arbres déformés par le vent (YOSHINO, 1970). Ces recherches se rapportaient à la façon de voir de la géographie de *kyodo,* c'est-à-dire à la connaissance des caractéristiques régionales et locales (*chiikisei*).

Nous pouvons dire que MISAWA était particulièrement spécialisé dans la géographie de *kyodo* (*kyodo chiri*). L'objet de son étude de géographie de *kyodo* est toujours son pays natal, *Shinshu* (Préfecture de Nagano), mais pourtant, ses idées, sa problématique, et sa méthode de recherche sont très originales, et ils sont adaptables partout dans le monde (YAZAWA, 1979). Par exemple, son article "Suwa seishi-gyo hattatsu no chiriteki igi" (Une signification géographique du développement de la filature de soie à Suwa) est un œuvre significative, publié dans la revue de l'Association des géographes japonais, en 1926. La région objet d'étude était limitée autour du lac Suwa (Préf. de Nagano), mais il n'aurait pas pu expliquer le changement des localisations industrielles sans recourir aux circonstances du commerce international.

Il paraît que c'était MISAWA dans les années 1930 qui comprenait le vrai sens du concept de paysage au Japon (YOSHINO, 1970 ; YAZAWA, 1979). Il s'efforçait de chercher des caractéristiques régionales et locales (régionalité ou localité= *chiikisei*) à travers les paysages comme leurs indices. De chercher *chiikisei,* pour lui, c'est le but final de la géographie de *kyodo* et de l'enseignement de celle-ci (*kyodo kyoiku*).

MISAWA parle franchement de la nature de la géographie dans la première partie de son livre *Kyodo chiri no mikata--chiikisei to sono ninshiki* (*La façon de voir de la géographie locale--Les caractéristiques régionales et locales et leurs connaissances*). La surface de la terre, d'après lui, est une zone de contact avec l'atmosphère et le sol, ce qu'il appellera *fudo* (le milieu), et est constituée des unités dont les noyaux ont des dimensions variées. Les représentations des unités sur la surface de la terre sont des paysages géographiques. Ceux-ci peuvent être appellés aussi des unités géographiques ou des régions géographiques. Or, ils ne sont pas seulement des unités (individus) simples, mais des unités complexes et globales. C'est-à-dire, leurs éléments constitutifs sont différents selon les régions. Il s'agit donc d'un phénomène terrestre valable pour chaque région, ou de *chiikisei* (MISAWA , 1931, 2-6 ; YAZAWA, 1979, x).

Pour étudier cela, MISAWA a proposé d'analyser des distributions du phénomène terrestre. Il a d'abord examiné des formes distributives des éléments d'un phénomène terrestre pour savoir si ce phénomène est un être géographique sûr. Si celui-ci est digne de former une région géographique, il aura une forme convenable à cela (MISAWA, 1931, 17 ; YAZAWA, 1979, x). Nous pouvons donc décrire des cartes de distribution du phénomène terrestre. Elles ne sont pas seulement de commodité, mais de nécessité pour la géographie. Nous devrons faire une carte de

distribution pour chaque élément constitutif du paysage ou de la région, et confirmer un rapport entre leurs formes de distribution (MISAWA, 1931, 30 ; YAZAWA, 1979, x). Et nous en tirerons un système et un système de changement dans les formes de distribution du phénomène terrestre (MISAWA, 1931, 55 ; YAZAWA, 1979, xi). Autrement dit, ce système ou son changement peuvent dire un rapport similaire. Pour affirmer que celui-ci est un rapport nécessaire, nous devons examiner qu'il n'est pas de rapport superficiel et fortuit, mais un résultat du rapport rationnel et écologique (MISAWA, 1931, 58 ; YAZAWA, 1979, xii). Nous pouvons signaler facilement que cette idée aurait une similitude avec celle de VIDAL DE LA BLACHE.

Ainsi, MISAWA a fait des études régionales et locales avec cette idée et a eu de bons résultats. Son idée et ses résultats ont été bien employés dans son enseignement de la géographie, son vrai lieu de travail.

Si la géographie est une science qui a pour but de connaître la vérité d'une région, comme il le dit dans la deuxième partie du même livre, son enseignement devra se charger à la fois de faire connaître *chiikisei* et une existence d'affinité régionale qui contribue à constituer un paysage, et d'implanter une idée régionale à savoir que la vie quotidienne subit toujours des contraintes de l'affinité régionale (MISAWA, 1931, 91). Il dit, en plus, que nous devont nous efforcer de perfectionner une faculté de connaître ce qui est mentionné au-dessus. Et puisque la géographie est, elle-même, une science expérimentale, nous devrons faire la perfection de cette faculté fondée sur des faits réels. C'est ainsi que nous choisissons comme matériaux scolaires de géographie un milieu immédiat, c'est-à-dire une sphère de vie quotidienne où vivent les éléves. Ils peuvent l'observer et y faire facilement des enquêtes. Un milieu direct est, autrement dit, *kyodo*. C'est *kyodo* lui-même qui est un matériau de l'enseignment de la géographie (MISAWA, 1931, 95). MISAWA ajoute qu'il est nécessaire de localiser (*kyodoka*) des matériaux, c'est-à-dire d'en comprendre intuitivement (*chokkanka*) pour achever le but de l'enseignement de la géographie, quand notre enseignement porte sur une autre région que *kyodo*.

Pour MISAWA, la géographie de *kyodo* n'est pas géographie de *kyodo* proprement dite, mais la géographie de *fudo* ou celle du milieu immédiat. C'est-à-dire, cela est une autre idée que l'on considère comme une introduction à la géographie du Japon ou des pays étrangers (YAZAWA, 1979, xiv). Il nous présente de nombreux exemples de phénomènes terrestres régionaux ou locaux expliqués par son idée mentionnée plus haut, dans son livre de 1931, et son dernier livre *Sin chiri kyoiku ron--chiho shinko to sono kyoka* (*Nouvel enseignement de la géographie--le développement régional et son édification*) : d'une localisation des moulins à l'eau ou du plan d'une maison rurale jusqu'aux cultures de plusieurs produits agricoles.

C'est pour recourir à l'expérience que MISAWA a attaché de l'importance à la géographie de *kyodo* ou du milieu immédiat comme l'enseignement de la géographie. C'est sa propre opinion qu'il n'y a pas de compréhension sans une expérience. Il est impossible de comprendre un phénomène terrestre propre à chaque *kyodo* sauf ses habitants qui peuvent faire continuellement une observation, une expérience et une enquête. Il en résulte que la géographie de *kyodo* est pour lui celle des habitants de *kyodo*. C'est aussi une *raison d'être* pour la géographie de *kyodo* (MISAWA, 1937, 30-31). Cependant, cela ne signifie pas qu'il n'existe pas d'autre géographie.

Pour les phénomènes des autres pays, soit ceux du Japon, soit ceux de pays étrangers, nous en traiterons par leurs localisations ou par leurs expériences immédiates comme nous l'avons dit plus haut. Bien que nous prenions des matériaux du phénomène terrestre de quel part, nous décrirons d'abord des cartes de distribution des éléments du phénomène terrestre, et puis, nous nous efforcerons de trouver une unité ou une similitude entre ces formes de distribution. Et pour les comprendre, nous faisons appel à l'expérience de *kyodo* et au raisonnement de celui-ci. Cela est une signification d'une localisation ou une expérience de matériaux scolaires. C'est ainsi que la géographie du Japon ou celle des pays étrangers ne sont que des extensions de l'enseignement de la géographie de *kyodo*. Celui-ci est donc pour les élèves un bon compagnon pour subir l'enseignement de la géographie (MISAWA, 1937, 35, 68 ; YAZAWA, 1979, xv). Mais, MISAWA nous fait remarquer que nous avons besoin du fait général comme une loi physique du mouvement de la Terre pour expliquer le phénomène terrestre régional ou local (MISAWA, 1937, 354-357).

Pour MISAWA, l'enseignement de la géographie, particulièrement de la géographie de *kyodo* était pour le développement régonal ou local. Il a

souvent donné devant des grands publics des conférences sur le développement régional ou local, dans lesquelles il a souligné à maintes reprises l'importance de la connaissance de *fudo* (phénomènes terrestres d'une zone de contact entre l'atmosphère et la terre) pour développer des industries régionales et locales, ou ce qu'il nomme *fudo sangyo*[5]. La deuxième partie de son dernier livre est consacrée à ces conférences. Il va sans dire que les campagnes japonaises traversaient une crise extrêmement grave à cette époque, comme nous l'avons dit plus haut, et que c'était un sujet urgent de les améliorer et de les développer. C'est pour cette raison qu'il a insisté sur la nécessité de bien comprendre *fudo*. C'était pour cela qu'il donné à son livre le sous-titre suivant : "le développement régional et son édification". Mais, il est sûr que MISAWA était loin de l'idéogie du moment.

IV

Kan-ichi UCHIDA a poursuivi des recherches dans des branches très diverses : des géographies du village et de la circulation jusqu'à celles de l'économie et de la politique. Elles sont toutes basées sur la méthodologie de la géographie historique. Toshio KIKUCHI, son disciple a écrit un article sur la géographie historique de UCHIDA, tant qu'il était encore vivant (KIKUCHI, 1959). D'après lui, UCHIDA est l'un des trois pères des écoles géographiques historiques au Japon, avec Sadakichi KIDA (1871-1939) et Saneshige KOMAKI. Pour UCHIDA, la géographie historique est une géographie qui cherche une historicité dans les faits géographiques présents. Étudier cette historicité, c'est-à-dire se livrer à une étude historique a en effet pour lui deux objets : l'un veut expliquer un sens géographique présent et l'autre veut élucider un développement historique d'activité géographique. Sa géographie historique a donc pour but de connaître le présent (KIKUCHI, 1959, 15).

La géographie historique pour expliquer le présent, doit chercher à analyser comment agissent actuellement les faits géographiques nés à des époques diverses d'autrefois. Les faits géographiques actuels sont des fusions des histoires anciennes et nouvelles, celles-ci sont des parties instables et nouvelles, et celles-là restent stables. Il s'agit, pour UCHIDA, d'éclaircir comment le fait géographique né autrefois a pu parvenir au présent après le long cours de l'histoire. Il l'appelle la continuité (*keizokusei*) dans l'histoire. Il a fait beaucoup d'études, avec cette notion, sur des villages japonais à l'époque moderne du 17 au 19e siècle. Nous pouvons dire qu'il est le fondateur de la géographie historique du Japon moderne (KIKUCHI, 1959, 23-27). Pourtant, nous ne pourrions pas ne pas tenir compte de son étude de la géographie locale (*kyodo chiri kenkyu*), bien que KIKUCHI n'en ait pas parlé dans son article.

C'est contre l'uniformisation mondiale et pour défense de la conscience nationale que UCHIDA a insisté sur la géographie de *kyodo*. Car, les gens qui adhèrent à la première négligent facilement les vraies caractéristiques régionales et locales. Or, au contraire, ceux qui sont sensibles aux couleurs régionles et locales, sont enclins à ne pas apercevoir le caractère commun dans le monde. De toute façon, il attire notre attention sur le fait que les premiers tomberaient dans un extrême formisme qui croit à une universalité de la civilisation, tandis que pour les autres, une réaction contre l'uniformisme risquerait de tomber dans un nationalisme extrême (UCHIDA, 1933, 2-5). En conséquence, une étude du *kyodo* est très importante, parce que *kyodo* est à la fois une partie d'une nation et une partie du monde.

Pour UCHIDA, la géographie de *kyodo* relève à la fois de la géographie régionale et de la géographie générale. Elle est vraiement elle-même quand le terrain d'objet est relativement petit (UCHIDA, 1933, 237). On dit qu'il y a deux géographies, l'une mondiale ou générale et l'autre régionale ou locale, et que la première est synthétique et la seconde analytique. Mais, en fait on ne peut pas séparer ces deux géographies. UCHIDA tente une fusion et un contact entre ces géographies. C'est ainsi qu'une étude de *kyodo* doit donc être faite au point de vue global, bien qu'elle soit une étude analytique, tandis que la géographie du monde ou globale doit être attentive à la géographie régionale et locale ou à l'étude analytique. Il en résulte que le résultat de la première contribuera au progrès de la seconde, et que la seconde servira à orienter une recherche de la première (UCHIDA, 1933, 12-13). Les deux géographies se complètent l'une l'autre. La géographie de *kyodo* est seulement plus facile à explorer et se prête mieux à l'intuition sur le terrain que l'autre.

Cependant, UCHIDA assigne une tâche spéciale à la géographie de *kyodo*, bien qu'elle ne soit essentiellement différente de l'autre. Les géographes japonais d'après lui s'occupaient par-

ticulèrement des aspects géographiques de la production, de la circulation et de la politique, mais ils ne n'intéressaient presque pas à la vie quotidienne comme l'habillement, l'alimentation et l'habitation, ni à la vie mentale comme la pensée et la religion. Il consacre donc son livre *Kyodo chiri kenkyu* (*Études de géographie locale*) en 1933 aux problèmes de la vie quotidienne au Japon.

Or, que cherche la géographie, pour UCHIDA ? Bref, elle cherche le rapport de cause à effet entre la nature et l'homme, ou simplement un rapport géographique. Il est un fait essentiel commun à la fois pour l'étude régionale ou locale et la géographie mondiale. Par conséquent, les deux géographies ne sont que de différentes façons de voir. C'est tout naturel, car toutes les deux véhiculent la loi du rapport entre la nature et l'homme (UCHIDA, 1933, 238). C'est donc très important pour la géographie de connaître comment cette loi géographique montre une généralité ou bien une spécialité dans chaque contrée. Chaque contrée a son originalité ou son individualité, elle est donc une combinaison à la fois de la spécialité et de la généralité de chaque contrée. Si l'on fait une étude juste, même si sur une contrée, on arrivera sans doute en même temps aux deux aspects. C'est-à-dire, l'un est un sens d'une partie du monde, ce qu'on appele la généralité, et l'autre une caractéristique régionale ou locale, ce qu'on appele la spécialité, bien qu'il soit une partie du monde. Si l'on comprend distinctement ces deux aspects, l'un général parmi deux constituera tout de suite une partie de l'étude mondiale. Pour étudier la généralité ou la spécialité de chaque contrée, on doit éclaircir l'autre aspect. C'est-à-dire, pour trouver une généralité, on doit comprendre, en même temps, un autre aspect, une spécialité, tandis que l'on ne pourrait pas saisir une spécialité, sans connaître une généralité qui est là (UCHIDA, 1933, 241-242). Enfin, la géographie de *kyodo* pour UCHIDA est à la fois une sorte de géographie régionale et une partie de la géographie générale comme on l'a souligné plus haut.

V

Nous venons de parler de trois géographes qui s'occupaient de la géographie locale (la géographie de *kyodo*). C'était dans les années 1930 qu'ils ont ensemble publié leurs livres sur la géographie de *kyodo*. Nous avons vu dans ce texte les raisons pour lesquelles il y avait à ce moment-là une prospérité de la géographie de *kyodo* : la pauvreté et l'amélioration des campagnes japonaises, et l'idéologie qui leur était liée. ODAUCHI participait profondément au mouvement de l'enseignement de *kyodo*. MISAWA et UCHIDA s'occupaient uniquement des études et des enseignements de la géographie. Nous n'avons pris ici que trois géographes, bien sûr il y a en d'autres qui ont écrit des livres de la géographie de *kyodo* et qu'ont fait des études régionales et locales. La plupart étaient professeurs des écoles normales. C'est ainsi que la géographie locale (*kyodo chiri*) était considérée au Japon comme ressortant à l'enseignement de la géographie. C'étaient Michitoshi ODAUCHI, Katsue MISAWA et Kan-ichi UCHIDA qui ont proposé les méthodes et les ont pratiquées sur le terrain. Ils avaient chacun, d'une manière ou d'une autre, rapport au monde de l'enseignement de la géographie. Surtout, MISAWA a consacré toute sa carrière comme professeur des écoles secondaires en province. ODAUCHI, lui, faisait ses activités de recherches, loin d'une place orthodoxe du monde académique. UCHIDA était à l'époque professeur à *Koto shihan gakko* (l'École normale supérieure) quand il a publié son livre *Kyodo chiri kenkyu*.

Il est certainement juste que l'on commence la géographie par *kyodo* ou par le milieu direct (*fudo*) dans l'enseignement de la géographie. Ils soutiennent tous les trois cette idée. Il en a résulté que la géographie locale (*kyodo chiri*) a dû appartenir à l'enseignement primaire et secondaire, et que des géographes-enseignats ont dû faire des études locales (*kyodo kenkyu*). Cela n'explique-t-il pas pourquoi il y avait peu de monographies régionales dans le monde de la géographie académique au Japon.

En ce qui concerne la nature de la géographie de *kyodo*, les trois géographes sont parvenus à d'excellentes notions de géographie : la réalité régionale ou l'unité terrestre de ODAUCHI, *fudo* ou une zone de contact entre l'atmosphère et le sol de MISAWA et une loi du rapport entre la nature et l'homme de UCHIDA, etc. Ces idées ou ces principes ne sont pas seulement pour la géographie de *kyodo*, mais pour la géographie en général. Ils pensaient que la géographie de *kyodo* était une partie de la géographie régionale et générale et qu'elles se complètaient l'une l'autre. C'est UCHIDA qui considère le rapport entre la géographie de *kyodo* et la géographie générale comme

celui de tout-partie. De toute façon, la géographie de *kyodo* n'a appliqué une idée géographique qu'aux milieux près de nous.

Mais les limites de *kyodo* sont variées selon les auteurs. Pour ODAUCHI, elle est très ambigue, soit une maison, soit un village, soit une ville, soit une région, etc. MISAWA a fait des études sur des terrains assez petits, et UCHIDA pensait, mé semble-t-il, qu'elle était plus petite qu'une région.

Pour les trois l'étude de la géographie de *kyodo* est très analytique. Ils pensaient, m'apparaît-il que la synthèse se faisait dans la géographie générale. Il y a aussi une autre raison qui explique pourquoi nous avons peu de résultats de monographie à part quelques exceptions comme "*Teito to kinko*" de ODAUCHI et une étude historique sur une petite île (Hatsu shima) de UCHIDA.

Ainsi, la géographie locale (de *kyodo*) japonaise a une histoire spécifique. Elle était séparée du développement de la géographie académique au Japon. Cela était un malheur à la fois pour l'enseignement de la géographie et pour la géographie académique.

Notes

1) *Koto shihan gakko* (L'École normale supérieure) était un sommet des écoles normales et formait des professeurs d'enseignement secondaire.
2) ODAUCHI dit que la "relation affine" signifie *evolutional sequence* de FLEURE (ODAUCHI, 1930b, 45)
3) Elles sont d'excellentes monographies régionales au Japon jusqu'à présent.
4) E. SPRANGER : *Der Bildungswert der Heimatkunde.* 1923. (Traduction japonaise, 1931)
5) Les industires qui employent bien des milieux locaux ou *fudo*

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A Bibliography of Cultural/Humanistic Geography (1961-1986)※

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This bibliography is intended to record the advance of humanistic approaches in the domain of cultural (or social) geography and its methodology during the past 25 years. Contained within is a total of 535 titles of books and articles written in English between 1961 and 1986. As the manuscript of the present edition was originally designed to provide a guide to my study for the methodology of current human geography, what titles have been extracted in the following list should be necessarily regarded as a result of my personal choice, only for myself, so that this bibilography should not be considered complete and critical. There also appear not a few titles which are not positively concerned with humanistic approaches or perspectives, but comment on the methodologies or topics around them.

A common feature to humanistic perspectives is their focus on a human agency and subjectivity. They intend to represent a *place* which is a local landscape as an object of intentionality for a human subject. Although some antecedent ideas from humanistic viewpoints are found in the literature of P. VIDAL DE LA BLACHE, C. O. SAUER, J. K. WRIGHT or W. KIRK, I would rather regard the frequent-cited paper in 1961 by D. LOWENTHAL as an immediate flash-point for the rising of humanistic geography. It opened the way for the following interest and discussions around the subjective space, landscape or place concept, and presented the basis for one alternative against the positivist spatial analysis.

Since then humanistic approaches gradually grew up in the domain of cultural or social geography in Anglo-American countries. Early on, E. RELPH (1970), Yi-Fu TUAN (1971) and D. C. MERCER and J. M. POWELL (1972) introduced phenomenological viewpoints into the study of man-environment relationships. Even though the word 'humanistic' was first used in TUAN (1967), it was in 1976 that there appeared many publications in the U. S. A., especially in A. A. A. G., which dealt with various themes of humanistic approaches. It followed that the first definitive book edited by D. LEY & M. SAMUELS (1978) was published. During the early eighties the methodology of humanistic geography developed much more profoundly and deeply. It seems recently to be associated with social geography, especially symbolic interactionism. Another important stream is iconographical studies of landscapes. Both trends are commonly focused in local-ordinary landscapes of life-worlds.

On the other hand we can find a tendency to use the word 'humanistic' less often than before. This may probably suggest that we need not use any distinctive word, because humanistic approaches have already spread through current cultural or social geography.

※ A slightly different version of this bibliography originally appeared in *Jinbun Kenkyu, Bulletin of the Faculty of Literature, Osaka City University*, Vol. 39 (4), 19-45, 1987.

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Abbreviation

Ann. Ass. Am. Geogr.
Annals of the Association of American Geographers.
Can. Geogr.
Canadian Geographer.
Econ. Geogr.
Economic Geography
Geogr.
Geography
Geogr. Anal.
Geographical Analysis
Geogr. Annlr.
Geografiska Annaler
Geogrl. Rev.
Geographical Review
Int. J. urban and reg. Res.
International Journal of Urban and Regional Research
J. Geogr.
Journal of Geography
J. hist. Geogr.
Journal of Historical Geography
Prof. Geogr.
Professional Geographer
Progr. hum. Geogr.
Progress in Human Geography
Scott. geogr. Mag.
Scottish Geographical Magazine
Trans. Inst. Br. Geogr.
Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers