

Reappraisal of the Indigenous Tradition of Geography by Academic Geographers in Modern Japan¹⁾

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日本における近代アカデミー地理学の土着的地理学との連接

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I. Indigenous traditions of geography

Geographical knowledges or spatial information on the sphere of the daily activities of the people and on places outside the sphere of daily activities but which maintain connections with the former have always existed for practical purposes, even in the most primitive of societies. Moreover, a conscious awareness of the surrounding environment and a view of this world and the other world or cosmology were invariably discovered existing alongside the geographical knowledges and spatial information. All these perceptions and ideas can be gathered together under the term 'geographical imaginations', expressed as they are by means of different languages, including pictorial and cartographic ones (Takeuchi, 2000c); in this sense therefore, geographical imaginations have been present since time immemorial in Japan, as have geographical practices or actions regarding the environment for productive purposes and for the setting up of countermeasures with regard to natural hazards.

The scale of geographical knowledges naturally depended on the activities of the

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people concerned; for the merchant class, in connection with their economic activities, their geographical knowledges must have covered large areas. In the case of members of the ruling class, they had to have had a systematic knowledge of their territories in order to maintain discipline therein and for the purpose of collecting tributes, and they also required means of obtaining information with regard to potential enemies menacing their territories. But where ordinary people living on a subsistence economy were concerned, geographical knowledges were inevitably somewhat limited in quantity. Even before the introduction of Chinese ideograms in the sixth century, pictorial maps of local areas of small dimensions existed which are today being discovered at certain archaeological sites. After the establishment of the *tenno* dynasty in the beginning of the seventh century, under the imperial decree of 1713, the first systematic geographical description of each province was compiled under the name of *fudoki*, literally 'description of climate and land'.

Down the years since the ancient period, a number of travel accounts of various parts of Japan written by literary elites existed as well as a few records of journeys in Korea and China by Buddhist priests who visited those countries in pursuit of religious studies. After the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries trade with China and Southeast Asia became very active and a number of books on navigation and also navigation charts of that period remain in existence.

The term *chiri* consists of a combination of two Chinese ideograms, which had already appeared in Chinese classics in the sixth century before Christ; from those very early times it had the double meaning of geographical description and earth sciences, including astrology and the technique of geomancy, and was undoubtedly introduced into Japan with the Nine Chinese Classics in the seventh century. The literate must have known this particular term but in difference from other combinations of Chinese ideograms, it was not in common use in Japanese literature for several centuries.

In 1549 the Jesuit, Francis Xavier, arrived in Japan and for about fifty years until the banning of Christianity by Toyotomi Hideyoshi, the Jesuits indubitably continued to bring in a great deal of information on world geography. Moreover, in 1585 a Japanese mission dispatched by Christian *daimyo* arrived at Rome and brought back a large amount of information and references, including Ortelius' atlas, to Japan. But almost nothing remains of all the geographical data transmitted through Christian channels

due to their obliteration in the course of the severe suppression of Christians during the seventeenth century and onwards.

In the seventeenth century, with the establishment of the Tokugawa Shogunate, Confucianism became the official ideology governing all the fields of politics, ethics and scholarship. A large number of scholars and politicians studied Confucian classics, and in the midst of this new orientation of learning, the term *chiri* began to appear in their writings. For instance, Nakae Toju (1608-1648) wrote that 'for both learning and politics it is important to know the *chiri* of water and soil'²⁾, and one of his students, Kumazawa Banzan (1619-1691), insisted that politics meet the rationale of *chiri*, and in his capacity of cardinal politician of one of the fiefdoms hence promoted the reclamation of the Seto Inland Sea area (Goto, 1971). Thus in the seventeenth century the Chinese concept of *chiri* came to be reappraised in an environmentalist context as a means of defining the political rationale proper to geographical situations. In the eighteenth century certain Confucianist scholars such as Dazai Shundai (1680-1747) noted that in China every dynasty, in the firm belief that geographical descriptions were of prime importance in administration, traditionally compiled a systematic description of the country. Wrote Dazai, 'To know *chiri* is the basis for governing the country', and 'The description of *chiri* is an important instrument in governing the country'³⁾. Some eighteenth century scholars of agronomy and commerce used the term *chiri* in the sense of spatial differentiation. Nishikawa Joken (1684-1724), born to a family of traders in Nagasaki, wrote in his *Hyakusho-no (Description of the peasantry)* in 1731, 'With a thirty-mile distance from north to south the climate undergoes changes, and with a distance of a hundred miles, soil and climate become totally different so [in order to comprehend these changes] it is necessary to study *chiri* thoroughly'⁴⁾. He wrote numerous books introducing foreign countries amongst which *Zoho kai tsusho-ko (Considerations on commerce with foreign countries, Enlarged edition)* of 1708 was both directly and indirectly based on Dutch information obtained at Nagasaki (Nishikawa, 1979, 1985).

It should be noted, however, that in the seventeenth century a certain number of Western world maps, such as Joan Blaeu's *Nova totius terrarum orbis tabula* (1648)⁵⁾, were directly imported into Japan, that Chinese versions of European world maps, such as Matteo Ricci's version of Ortelius' world map *Kunyu-wanguo-quantu* published in

1602, were brought to Japan, and that all these maps were a sharp contrast to the Buddhist cosmological maps (Muroga and Unno, 1957), the traditional Japanese world maps consisting of only three countries, Japan, China and India, reflecting the traditional Sino-centric Chinese cosmological images. In 1708 Arai Hakuseki (1657-1725), Confucianist scholar and high-ranking bureaucrat of the Tokugawa Shogunate, questioned a Sicilian priest, Giovanni Battista Sidotti, who had entered Japan illegally, and showed the priest his edition of Blaeu's world map. In the course of this interrogation session Arai obtained a great deal of information on the world situation of that period (Miyazaki, 1989). He subsequently published a record of the session under the title *Sairan igen*⁶⁾, which actually turned out to be the first world geography book in Japan based on Western information (Muramatsu, 1934; Ayusawa, 1943a). This pioneering work was, however, completely forgotten for a century-and-a-half. In fact, it was first recognized and appraised by a Protestant missionary, the Reverend W. B. Wright, in a paper published in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* (1881).

As noted above, besides the direct importation of Western world maps a large number of world maps reproduced in China on the basis of Western maps were imported during the second half of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century; the maps were mounted on folding screens with China in the centre, testifying to their Chinese origin⁷⁾. Three copies of Matteo Ricci's Chinese version of Ortelius' world map now exist in Japan (Ayusawa, 1948a; Akioka, 1955), but it was only at the end of the eighteenth century that a revival of interest in world geography and world maps occurred amongst the Tokugawa Shogunate administrators and scholars of things Dutch in Nagasaki (Ishiyama, 1962, 1965).

The cartographic or pictorial expression of geographical knowledge in Japan, however, at no time ceased to exist; legend has it that Buddhist priest Gyoki (668-749) made the first map of Japan, though the presently existing oldest versions of the Gyoki map are of the beginning of the fourteenth century⁸⁾. Where larger scale maps are concerned, the oldest extant cadastral maps are dated 751. Four times during the more than two-and-a-half centuries comprising the Edo period, that is, in 1603, 1644, 1697 and 1831, the Tokugawa Shogunate ordered each *daimyo* to submit a map of his fiefdom, and by integrating all these local maps, made maps of Japan as a whole on the scale of 1:260,000 for the 1603 edition. These pictorial maps submitted to the shogunate

constituted the basis of several privately published maps (Oda, 1973; Kawamura, 1990). Each feudal lord naturally always possessed a detailed map of his own territory and a cadastral map covered all the arable land in the Edo period. Thus, stretching as far back as the ancient period, a cartographic tradition existed and developed in Japan prior to and independently of Chinese and Western influences (Kimura, 1987).

The compilation of a systematic chorography or *fudoki* continued in the Edo period at the instigation of the Tokugawa Shogunate and the fiefdom governments. But it should be noted that by the Edo period, an increased number of people travelled in Japan, gaining knowledge of the country at first hand: for instance *daimyo* or feudal lords who were compelled to spend alternate years in Edo and their own territories, merchants engaged in economic activities and even ordinary people making pilgrimages to Shintoist shrines and Buddhist temples. A large number of books of regional description were written, mainly aimed at travelers and containing maps, illustrations and travel accounts; some of these works appeared in numerous editions printed from hand-cut wooden blocks. To denote regional description along these lines, in ancient China, as long ago as the time of the Han dynasty, the combination of two ideograms, pronounced *chishi* in Japanese, was also utilized; moreover, it occasionally came to be used in Japan instead of *fudoki*. The last project involving the compilation of *chishi* in the Chinese sense was instigated in 1872 by the Meiji government under the title of *Kokoku chishi*, literally *Systematic geography of Imperial Japan*. This project was clearly meant to commemorate the Meiji Restoration and the establishment of a centralized tennoist state, and towards this end the Ministry of Home Affairs ordered each prefecture to submit a detailed report containing geographical data pertinent to the prefecture in question. Drafts of reports by a certain number of prefectures were written, but the project was ultimately abandoned in 1893. The main reason for the failure of the project was that, with the systematization of modern statistical and cadastral data and map-making work in the modern state, *chishi* in the old Chinese style was rendered obsolete and lost its practicality for administrative purposes (Isida, 1984: chapter 2)⁹.

Besides the proliferation of geographical writings in the Edo period it is necessary to note the publication of numerous agronomical books comprising the expression of indigenous geographical thought as well as geographical practice. Some of the

agronomical books, such as those of Okura Nagatsune (1768-?), were diffused nationwide, having been published for the purpose of the spreading of knowledge of agronomical technology, including means of the prevention of natural hazards. A large part of the agronomical books were originally written in the form of family precepts or manuals containing instructions on ways and means of increasing the prosperity of the village based on the experience of upper-class farmers (Furushima, 1972). In agronomical manuals of this kind, penetrating observations of environmental characteristics are very often to be found, as well as the farmers' perceptions of man-nature relationships (Arizono, 1986).

II. The articulation of the Chinese concept of *chiri* with the Western concept of geography

The introduction of Western concepts with reference to geography took place around and about 1760 when Hübner's geographical book¹⁰⁾ came into the hands of scholars pursuing Dutch studies in Nagasaki¹¹⁾. In that period the use of the term *chiri* was adopted as the translation of the Western concept of geography and was used in this sense, as far as can be ascertained, in the 1788 writings of Otsuki Gentaku (1757-1827), scholar of things Dutch, according to Tsujita Usao (Tsujita, 1971)¹²⁾. A complete translation of Hübner's book was first made by Aochi Rinso (1784-1833) around 1824, and an abbreviated edition published in 1826 under the title *Yochi-shiryaku*¹³⁾ was widely read by numerous intellectuals in the late Edo period. In the eighteenth century the newly employed term *chiri* mainly stood for the geographical description of foreign countries, but at the beginning of the nineteenth century it also came to cover the systematic knowledge of astronomy, meteorology and other earth sciences. In fact, Mitsukuri Shogo (1820-1846) in his *Kon'yo zushiki*, referring to more than twenty Dutch geographical books, presented his own systematic treatise of general geography. The publication of geographical knowledge gleaned from Western geographical literature sometimes took on the character of radical and revolutionary thought such as in the case of Takano Choei (1804-1850) who, in his *Yume monogatari (Dreams)* written in 1838, expressed his opinions in the guise of narratives of dreams which he purported to have seen; in those dreams the Western powers, especially Britain, appeared to him as

far from being barbarians, being in fact industrially advanced, and that it would be to the advantage of Japan to establish relations with them¹⁴).

The European concept of geography as conveyed by the term *chiri* was familiar enough among the geopolitical thinkers of the late Edo period in the nineteenth century after the arrival of Commodore Perry at Uraga in 1853 at the head of a fleet of US warships, demanding the opening up of Japanese ports. Among leaders and intellectuals there were two schools of thinking, one being in favour of opening the country to foreigners and the other in favour of their expulsion. Those who were familiar with the Western learning of geography in general stood for the opening of the country, such as Sakuma Shozan (1811-1864) and Yoshida Shoin (1830-1859). They stressed the necessity of doing so on the basis of their profound knowledge of the international situation of the time, but their analyses pertaining to a strategy of defence of Japan against the Western powers from the geographical viewpoint was also a factor lending support to their view (Uede, 1971). Their geopolitical thought is well expressed in the often-cited maxim of Yoshida Shoin, 'No man is separated from the land and no politics is separated from man. So in order to discuss politics one must analyse geography'¹⁵). Moreover, he also recognized the maritime position of Japan and stated that though the distance of the latter from the United States was greater than the distance from Russia, between Japan and California there was only ocean, so in effect, the United States was nearer than Russia.

From the end of the eighteenth century, with the advancement of Russia from the north, the shogunate government acknowledged the necessity for the defence of Japan's northern territory and ordered the carrying out of exploration and map-making. Thus began the exploration and investigation activities of Kondo Shigezo (1771-1829) and Mogami Tokunai (1754-1836). At Hokkaido in 1800 Ino Tadataka (1745-1818) instigated surveys according to modern measuring methods based on Western styles of surveying and map-making, and Mamiya Rinzo (1775-1844) in 1809 confirmed that Sakharin was separate from the Asian continent. Ino continued his survey of the total coastline of Japan up to the time of his death, and in 1821 detailed maps of Japan on the scale of 1:36,000, 1:216,000 and 1:432,000 were submitted to the shogunate by his disciples (Hoyanagi, 1974).

Strictly speaking, the insular character of Sakharin was not the proper discovery

of Mamiya, but his name was given to the Strait of Tatar, which thence became the Strait of Mamiya, by Franz Sieboldt (1796-1866), German medic attached to the Dutch factories, or trading houses, at Dejima, Nagasaki. Sieboldt also taught both the Dutch language and Dutch medicine to the Japanese and brought the latest Japanese cartographical information to Europe in 1829. The geographical knowledge possessed by Ino and Mamiya was extremely profound and their work greatly contributed to the enrichment of geographical knowledges, yet neither of them ever thought of themselves as geographers or their work as geographical practice. In fact, in all their writings, we cannot discover a single mention of the term *chiri*.

As it was, prior to the 1870s, the usage of the term *chiri* in the sense of the Western concept of geography was somewhat limited. In 1872, the Meiji government promulgated a law enforcing compulsory education. From the beginning of the adoption of the compulsory education system, geography under the name of *chiri* as an item on the school curriculum was considered an extremely important subject together with studies relating to Japanese language and the national history. As in many other countries, in Japan too, the compulsory education system played a key role in nation-building; Japanese language studies were extremely important in re-enforcing a common language which served as a vehicle for the expression of the will of the state such as laws, ordinances and so on, with regard to the people who knew only the dialects of the respective regions in which they lived. At the same time history provided important material for use in indoctrinating the idea of having shared a common past and geography imparted a sense of 'belongingness' to a common land; by creating the sense of an imagined community both history and geography thus served to imbue the people with a sense of sharing a common destiny. As a due consequence of the weight of geography as teaching material in compulsory education, geography came to be considered an important subject in teacher training schools which perforce found it necessary to form professors of geography.

Geography was thus institutionalized at the school education level in the 1870s, but it took two decades to see the establishment of geography as a research subject in higher educational institutions. In the 1880s geography was taught in some universities but was always thought of as secondary material, complementing history or geology. The first specialized course of geography was established in 1896 at the Higher Normal

School of Tokyo¹⁶). But at university level the first department of geography was not established until 1907 at the Imperial University of Kyoto and the second in 1911 at the Imperial University of Tokyo (Isida, 1970; Yonekura, 1970; Yoshikawa, 1971; Tsujita, 1977, 1982). Thus we consider the establishment of academic geography or the institutionalization of geography at the higher education level as having taken place at the turn of the nineteenth to the twentieth century (Okada, 1996). Only in the 1920s did departments of geography increase in private universities of Tokyo and Kyoto; this mainly involved the holding of evening courses having the purpose of up-grading elementary school level geography teachers to secondary school level.

The modern Japanese educational system established in the 1870s was imported *in toto* from Western countries. School teaching materials and also the organization of universities were modelled after those of the West. Yamasaki Naomasa (1870-1929) for instance, studied geology at the Imperial University (of Tokyo) and geography in Austria and Germany under A. Penck and J. J. Rein. From 1902 he continued those studies as professor at the Higher Normal School of Tokyo; and in 1912 became professor of geography at the Imperial University of Tokyo. He conducted numerous field studies in Japan, but his references were invariably Western literature sources. Ogawa Takuji (1870-1941), appointed the first professor of geography at the Imperial University of Kyoto, also studied geology at the Imperial University (of Tokyo) and besides physical geography was interested in historical geography, citing Japanese and Chinese source materials. He also amassed a collection of Chinese and European old maps but was not very interested in old Japanese maps. Fundamentally, for him too, geography was a discipline imported from the West. In 1921 Ogawa acceded to a professorship at the newly-founded Department of Geology of the same university (Suizu, 1971); his successor, Ishibashi Goro (1877-1946), studied history at the Imperial University of Tokyo and in his courses in geography at the Imperial University of Kyoto, the influence of Ratzel was very evident.

At this point the question arises as to when and how academic geographers became aware of the existence of the rich indigenous tradition of geographical thought and practice in Japan, and also when and how they began to analyse the articulation and disarticulation of the practices of their discipline with the indigenous Japanese geographical tradition. In this respect, from the time of the introduction of Western

geography, only the tradition of regional description, *fudoki* or *chishi*, was considered geography in the Western sense. This was evidenced by the fact that the history of *chishi* in Japan was discussed several times¹⁷⁾ along these lines in the monthly journal *Rekishi chiri (Historical Geography)* founded in 1898 by historians of the Imperial University of Tokyo (Yamaguchi, 1943).

III. Fujita Motoharu's contributions

Both Ogawa Takuji and Yamasaki Naomasa were graduates of the Department of Geology of the Imperial University (of Tokyo), Yamasaki being one year senior to Ogawa, and became founders of the departments of geography of the Imperial University of Tokyo and of Kyoto, respectively, as mentioned before. Both were well aware of the correspondence between the tradition of *fudoki* and the Western concept of regional geography. Yamasaki, in co-authorship with Sato Denzo, between 1903 and 1905 published the ten-volume *Dai-Nihon chishi (Systematic regional geography of Greater Japan)* which was a comprehensive regional geography of each district in Japan. In the description of physical geography, Yamasaki adopted ancient administrative districts (*kuni*) which had always been used in *fudoki* rather than *ken* or prefecture which was the new administrative unit introduced under the Meiji regime. In his writings included in a series of works on the history of Japan published by Manchohosha in 1926 Ogawa traced the development of regional writings contained in *fudoki* compilations, starting from the ancient period in Japan. Between 1931 and 1934, an authoritative Tokyo publisher, Iwanami Shoten, issued the *Iwanami koza chirigaku (Iwanami series of geography)* consisting of more than seventy pamphlets each on a geographical topic, some topics being rather ambitious from the viewpoint of the history of Japanese geography¹⁸⁾. Each pamphlet was fairly short, consisting of around forty pages: Iwane Yasushige outlined the regional geographical writings of the Tokugawa period; Muramatsu Shigeki, in the pamphlet on the history of Japanese geography, mentioned several authors of physical geographical writings and the geography of foreign countries; and Fujita Motoharu sketched the development of map-making in Tokugawa Japan. There was also a pamphlet by Miyoshi Manabu who wrote about the collection of bird's-eye views of several Japanese places of scenic interest (Miyoshi,

1932). We can understand the editorial principle, implicit though it be, that the texts to be read by geographers were not limited to written ones, but also included cartographical and pictorial material.

It took the efforts of Fujita Motoharu (1879-1958), student of Ogawa at Kyoto, to come up with the first truly elaborate work to be entitled *History of Japanese geography*, first edition published in 1932 (second edition with amendments and four new addenda published in 1942), which contained remarkable contributions to the reappraisal of the indigenous tradition of geography in Japan. This book and three others were reprinted after his death, which was rather exceptional and indicated that his works were now become classics in their field.

Fujita was somewhat of an outsider as an academician. He was appointed professor of a private university only in 1955 at the age of seventy-seven, three years before his death. After graduating teacher training school, he passed the Ministry of Education examinations for the teaching of geography, Japanese history, Asian history, Western history and geography at the secondary school level whilst still teaching at elementary school. He audited courses in history and geography at the Imperial University of Kyoto and at the age of forty-one obtained the job of assistant at the Department of Geography of the Imperial University of Kyoto. Later on he taught geography at a higher school (under the old system corresponding to preparatory courses for university) in Kyoto and Osaka. In this way he developed close relationships with the Kyoto school of geography.

During his assistantship at the Imperial University of Kyoto between 1919-1925 he had access to its rich map collection of which he made full use; the higher school where he later taught was located next door to the university, so he continued to have recourse to the collection. During his professorship at higher schools he wrote numerous papers which constituted the basis of his 1932 book. The greater part of the book was dedicated to a study of the development of map-making in Japan. He clearly described the reasons for his emphasis on cartography; according to him, since prehistoric times humanity has adopted and made use of language and graphics as a means of recognizing place, the expression of the former being place names and of the latter maps. In the field of map-making, according to him, Japan's achievements were original and of the highest level, beginning with the Gyoki maps and culminating in the

maps of Ino Tadataka. In his opinion, cartographic representations of Japan and the northwest Pacific in Chinese and Western maps had always been based on Japanese cartographic achievements. Analysing Chinese historical documents he concluded that in 1128, about two hundred years earlier than the oldest existing Gyoki map in Japan (preserved in the Nin'wa temple of Kyoto), a map of Japan was made in China on the basis of a Gyoki map. He also notes that the inclusion of Wak-wak on Idrisi's world map indicates that the Arabs knew of the existence of Japan under the Chinese term Wak-wak meaning Japan. He furthermore demonstrated the influence of Gyoki maps on Korean maps of Japan¹⁹.

Regarding geographical knowledges of the outside world, Japan naturally owed a great deal to Chinese and Western maps, and in this regard Fujita attributed particular importance to Matteo Ricci's *Kunyu-wanguo-quantu*.

Chapter 1 of Fujita's book is titled 'Development of Homeland Geography in Japan'. In this chapter he notes that the establishment of *kuni* (province) as an administrative unit in the seventh century was the end result of a geographical rationale, and on the basis of a similar rationale, he notes that the compilation of old *fudoki* was enforced in 713²⁰, a strong Chinese influence here being at work. He assumed that the compilation of *fudoki* continued throughout later periods and deplored the fact that no traces of these activities were to be found.

Fujita's most important contribution to geographical studies was his tracing of the history of Japanese geography both in the geographical descriptions of Japan, or *fudoki*, and in Japanese cartographic representations. In these two aspects he established basic lines of research which are still fundamentally valid. Besides these important contributions, it is worth noticing that the first section of the 1942 addenda to his book contains Buddhist cosmological representations and other cosmological expressions such as the T-O map of mediaeval Europe²¹. As Unno Kazutaka wrote in his commentary in the reprinted edition of Fujita's book, the latter did not limit the history of geography to the history of geographical knowledges, but extended his attention as well to aspects of the history of geographical thought, such as cosmology and the conception of the territories of the common people and of the ruling class.

Fujita also examined the formation process of geographical knowledges of the outside world on the part of the Japanese and rightfully remarked the effect of contact

with Christian missionaries at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries, including the mission of Christian feudal lords of Kyushu to the Vatican in 1582-90. He does not mention, however, that little contribution was made by the mission to the development of geographical knowledges amongst the Japanese due to the suppression of the Christians that took place during the years that followed. Regarding seclusionist Japan, he focused on the important studies of Arai Hakuseki and the influence of Dutch studies after the middle of the eighteenth century. Fujita's main interest was, however, as already noted, the enrichment of the geographical knowledge of the outside world through the importation of Western world maps, and he paid little attention to the translations of Dutch books on world geography. His examination of world maps made by Japanese cartographers was both severe and precise; for instance, closely observing the 1785 world map of Nagakubo Sekisui (1717-1801), he noted that Sekisui relied on the Chinese map of Matteo Ricci of 170 years before, demonstrating that he (Sekisui) had obviously never read the *Sairan igen* of Arai Hakuseki.

His emphasis on indigenous Japanese geographical achievements, especially those expressed in map-making, constitutes his remarkable and original contribution as historian of Japanese geography. Fujita's studies on the history of maps in Japan were carried on by a certain number of geographers of the younger generation, such as Akioka Takejiro (1895-1975) who amassed an enormous collection of old maps and published various papers on the history of old maps (Akioka, 1934, 1955).

But in certain aspects, Fujita's position is somewhat one-sided. Apart from the polar regions, the configurations of the northwest Pacific area, including the Kurile Islands, Sakharin and Hokkaido (long called Yezo), were the last on the earth's surface to be charted. It is true that it was the Japanese explorers and cartographers of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries who ascertained the existence of the Tatar or Mamiya Strait and surveyed the configuration of the Kuriles, Sakharin and other islands. Fujita, however, made scant mention of the fact that the Japanese explorers and cartographers relied heavily on European, including Russian, maps and information²²). Moreover, the Chinese *Kang-xi* maps based on a survey made in the early eighteenth century, and clearly demonstrating the existence of the strait between the continent and Sakharin, exerted a considerable influence on European maps

(Akitsuki, 1999; Funakoshi, 1986), a fact which was also ignored by Fujita. Not only regarding this point, but certain other portions of the descriptions in his books are tinged with nationalistic overtones no doubt evoked by the ideological trends of the Japan of that time.

In contemporary studies of geography, the territorial consciousness both of the common people and of the ruling class and the view of the physical environment and natural hazards expressed through civil engineering and agronomical practices are considered important aspects of geographical thought. Fujita, albeit his pioneering achievements in many aspects of the history of Japanese geography, never evinced any interest in these aspects of the history of the popular geographical thought of Japan. This was by no means due to the limits of Fujita's geography itself but to the limits of the geography of the time. In Tokyo some 'outsider' geographers maintained contact with specialists in agronomical sciences and with the Japanese folklore school (Takeuchi 2000a: chapter 8, 2000b), but where the Kyoto school of geography in the 1920s and 30s was concerned there was no such trend of exploring geographical perspectives and agronomical and civil engineering practices.

IV. The Impact of the Kyoto geopolitical school

From the time of the appointment of Ogawa Takuji as first head of the Department of Geography of the Imperial University of Kyoto, the department was characterized by original and unique research trends in historical geography, i.e., the reconstruction of the geography of a time section of the past, thus giving rise to the so-called Kyoto school of geography. Komaki Sanesige (1898-1990) was a 'prince' of this school. Appointed assistant in 1925, lecturer in 1926, and associate professor in 1931, he went on to study in the United States and Europe, notably in France under E. de Martonne and A. Demangeon. He received his doctorate in 1937 from the Imperial University of Kyoto on the basis of a thesis on prehistorical geography, and in March 1938, became the third professor and head of the department. In November of the same year he contributed an article to the university newspaper in which he emphasized the necessity of creating a new Japanese geopolitics and taking up the challenges posed by the urgent tasks that lay before the wartime Japanese empire in the face of the

international situation²³⁾. The reason for Komaki's sudden conversion from steady researcher in prehistorical geography to divinely inspired fanatic tennoist geopolitician is not clear: Some pointed out that he was of a Shintoist priest's family and that already in the late 1920s the tone of his writings on the Manchukuo problem was extremely nationalistic (Yamano, 1999; Hisatake, 1999-2000)²⁴⁾. At all events, Komaki's influence as head of the Kyoto school of geography was a powerful one and a majority of the geographers²⁵⁾ who were adherents of the school were thus drawn into becoming involved, either willingly or somewhat passively, in geopolitical studies and geopolitical practices.

A total of three orientations marked the activities of the Kyoto geopolitical school. The first was the direct involvement in the strategy and tactics planning of the General Staff Office of the Japanese imperial army; the geographers rented an independent house in the Yoshida district fairly near the Imperial University of Kyoto with the financial aid of the Association of Former Officers of the Imperial Army (Kosen-kai), collected pertinent material and held regular research meetings there. At the request of the General Staff Office of the imperial army they elaborated plans of operations²⁶⁾. The second field of activities was monographic research into the areas under Japanese influence or outright occupation or would-be areas of Japanese advancement. Komaki assigned to his young disciples the areas in which they were to specialize, and some of their research results were published in one form or other; many remained unpublished. A large number of the young researchers continued their research in areas or countries assigned to them by Komaki and were later to become pioneers of Japanese area studies after World War II. In this sense Komaki sowed the seeds of studies abroad of Japanese geographers and anthropologists in the post-war period. During wartime, however, they could not conduct field surveys of the areas in which they specialized; even if the rare chance arose to do so, it was for a brief period only, and they had perforce to rely upon the huge accumulation of studies compiled by Western researchers. An important point insisted on by Komaki was that their brand of geopolitics should be genuinely Japanese, based on a nationalist tennoist polity completely different from a simple imitation of German geopolitics and Anglo-Saxon political geography, which of their very nature, were guardians of Western imperialism (Stephan, 1984). The scientific achievements of Komaki's disciples were

in this sense paradoxical, since they were based on Westerners' contributions. The third field of research activities of the Kyoto geopolitical school derived from Komaki's insistence on finding the origin or roots of Japanese geopolitics in the intellectual history of traditional Japan. For young researchers of the Kyoto school of geography whose inclinations anyway leaned towards historical geographical studies, Komaki's encouragement of the pursuit of this field of studies was easier to accept. In this way, the stimulus provided by Komaki resulted in the recognition of an indigenous geographical thought, especially with regard to the Edo period, concerning which research had already been initiated in the field of cartography by Fujita. Most of these then younger researchers continued and developed studies in the intellectual history of geography after World War II. Here I examine some cases of the most representative figures.

Muroga Nobuo (1907-1982) was one of the most brilliant of Komaki's students²⁷⁾. He joined the faculty as lecturer in 1937, but his fragile health prevented him from conducting field surveys; his main work before 1945 consisted of bibliographical studies of Japanese and foreign documents, especially in connection with the historical geography of the transportation system in Japan. Under the sway of Komaki's geopolitical impetus he applied himself to studies of French Indo-China, an area assigned to him for study by Komaki, but at the same time concentrated on the pursuit of one of his main interests consisting of studies of the significance of Yezo (the present-day Hokkaido) in the history of geography in Japan. He was the first Japanese geographer to remark the impact of Dutch geographical books on Japanese geographical thought in the middle of the seventeenth century, a fact that had already been noted by some historians. He originally connected the rise of geographical consciousness with the international situation, that is, the advancement of Russia in the northwestern Pacific and the internal necessity of colonizing the northern territory for Japan.

Muroga's study of geographical thought in a broad socio-historical context characterized him as a historian of geographical thought, especially after World War II, when he exclusively concentrated on the history of cartography and the documentation on those shipwrecked and rescued at sea in Early Modern Japan. But the method of study proper to him was already observable in his pre-war and wartime studies along geopolitical lines. In his paper 'Geopolitical views in the discussions on the develop-

ment of Yezo in the Early Modern period' published in the collected papers of the Kyoto school of geography on the occasion of the 2600th anniversary of the year of the accession of the mythological Emperor Jimmu, he examined numerous discussions on the development and colonization of Hokkaido, the Kuriles islands, Sakharin (Karafuto) and even Kamchatka, discussions which multiplied especially after the 1770s. He was one year older than Ayusawa (see following section V) and cited some of the latter's papers in his writings, but he was a pioneer when it came to identifying many figures as geographers, such as Hayashi Shihei, Miura Baien and Honda Toshiaki (1744-1821), specialist in Dutch studies, particularly astronomy and astrology, and teacher of Mogami Tokunai²⁸). Moreover, he marked Sato Nobuhiro (1769-1850) as a pioneer of modern tennoist nationalism. The discussions contained in his 1940 paper for the commemorative collection of papers of the Kyoto school opened new horizons in the discovery of indigenous geographical thought in Early Modern Japan; none the less the discussions had to be developed, at least apparently, in the frame of the Kyoto geopolitical school. Hence, whilst Muroga made a point of commending Honda Toshiaki for the latter's profound knowledge of Western geography, citing for instance, his belief in the possibility of colonizing Kamchatka for the reason of its being located on the same latitude as northwestern European countries, he at the same time criticized him (Honda), averring that his Yezo development scheme was merely a simple imitation of European mercantilist colonialism. Up to this point Muroga's analyses were exceedingly sharp and penetrating, but in the concluding part, where he lays stress on a form of humanism based on the doctrine of the tennoist state as an alternative to Western colonialism, the discussion abruptly loses its convincingness, and we are left in doubt as to whether he really meant what he was saying. Except for this concluding part, the logical development of the contents of this paper is very consistent and the bibliographical notes extremely precise and exhaustive.

Included in the same 1940 collection of papers is Ohada Akira's paper 'Ideas on the encouragement of East Asia in Early Modern Japan'. The title is clearly influenced by the slogan of imperialist Japan during the on-going fifteen-year war that started in 1931. As the author himself realized, the task spelt out in the paper was a most difficult one since in the Early Modern period in Japan, geographical knowledge of Asia was incomplete and there was no conception of East Asia even among the

intellectuals. Hence the author's syllogistic logic went something like this: Contemporary Japanese nationalism aimed also at the encouragement of East Asia; the origin of contemporary Nipponism lay in Early Modern Japan; so the encouragement of East Asia had its roots in Early Modern Japan. A large part of Muroga's paper was far more disillusioned, and did not fall into this kind of confused logic.

From autumn 1942 to summer 1943 Muroga lectured to the geography students at the Imperial University of Kyoto on the development of geopolitical thought in Japan²⁹⁾. The lectures were comprised of the development of his 1940 paper with somewhat more detailed discussions (Senda, 2000), but due to health reasons and also because he resigned in early 1946 from the Imperial University of Kyoto following upon the heels of Komaki³⁰⁾, the texts of the lectures never appeared in print. None the less, Ayusawa developed and deepened a small part of the issues which Muroga merely touched upon secondarily in his paper, and thus extended the borders of the studies proper to himself.

V. Ayusawa Shintaro's contributions

Around 1935 some younger authors such as Muramatsu Shigeki and Iwane Yasushige began treating geographical descriptions of foreign countries and Japanese provinces in the Edo period in their introductory papers and pamphlets on the history of Japanese geography. Iwane also noted the increased number of geographical writings by scholars of things Dutch after the 1770s (Iwane, 1932, 1936).

It was Ayusawa Shintaro (1908-1964), however, who opened new horizons in the study of the history of geography in Japan, reappraising some aspects of the indigenous tradition of Japanese geography. He started with the study of Matteo Ricci's world map *Kunyu-wanguo-quantu* as his bachelor's thesis in 1933 at Nihon University, Tokyo, and after a quarter-century, in 1954, obtained his doctorate with an exposition of the same theme (Ayusawa, 1953). His interests were not limited to the history of geography and cartography in Japan; mainly, he applied himself to the study of the formation of the geographical knowledge of the outside world in the Edo period, and many of his studies on Matteo Ricci were carried out within this framework. He made detailed considerations on the acceptance of foreign maps and foreign geographical

writings in Edo Japan, aspects that were not touched on by Fujita and other scholars³¹).

In 1940, whilst teaching at a middle school, Ayusawa published his first book with the title *Toyo chiri shiso-shi kenkyu* (*Studies on the history of geographical thought in East Asia*). Because the circulation of this book was very limited, immediately after World War II, he published a revised and enlarged edition under the title *Chirigaku-shi no kenkyu* (*Studies on the history of geography*). In 1942, despite his perpetually heavy teaching burden at middle school, he published a second book, *Sakoku jidai no sekai chirigaku* (*World geography in seclusionist Japan*).

In the first book there is a short chapter on the geographical perception of the ancient Japanese containing an analysis of the descriptions found in the eighth century literary works, the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki*. Apart from that particular section, he was exclusively interested in what was, in a way, a narrow field, i.e., the formation of the geographical knowledge of the outside world in the Edo period. He established a style of description peculiar to himself and focused on persons who, strictly speaking, were not geographers at all but politicians, painters, Confucianist scholars, Dutch scholars and so on, without establishing a discernible criterion for the selection of figures to be considered. For every person, he made a detailed biographical and bibliographical examination of that person's geographical knowledge of the outside world and considered his influence on posterity and his significance historically. For instance, he repeatedly examined Nishikawa Joken, whom Fujita Motoharu had disposed of in a single page, saying that Nishikawa Joken's geographical knowledge was limited to the outdated Ricci map (Fujita, 1942: 324). According to Ayusawa, Nishikawa, living as he did in Nagasaki, referred to many Chinese and Dutch sources and, again according to Ayusawa, relied on source materials common to himself and Arai Hakuseki (Ayusawa, 1944).

We have already commented that in one sense Ayusawa's field of interest was indeed restricted because at no time did he ever consider the history of geographical knowledge and geographical imagination pertaining to Japan itself, concentrating instead on the geographical knowledge of the outside world of many persons who were engaged in various fields with different social backgrounds. But at the same time, owing to his peculiar style of research, he was able to enlarge the concept of geographical thought or *chiri shiso* to a greater extent in comparison with the numerous

academic geographers who were his contemporaries. In fact, where many academic geographers, including Fujita, were concerned the term 'geographer' was a synonym for 'map-maker' and/or writer of regional descriptions based on an environmentalist paradigm (Kagose, 1990).

In examining the geographical knowledge of figures of greatly different intellectual stances and research interests such as, especially, Nishikawa Joken, Confucian scholar and economist, Hayashi Shihei (1738-1793), specialist in economy and military science, Miura Baien (1723-1789), economist, Morishima Churyo (Shinra Manzo) (1754-1810), author of popular stories and specialist in Dutch studies, Takahashi Kageyasu (1785-1829), cartographer and responsible director of the astronomical office of the shogunate, Saito Setsudo (1797-1865), Confucian scholar, Watanabe Kazan (1793-1843), painter and specialist in Dutch studies, Yoshida Shoin, specialist in military science and Takeda Kango, publisher of navigation charts at the end of the shogunate period, Ayusawa eventually reached a point where he did indeed perceive the specific historical situation of the Edo period under the seclusionist policy. Here, in this situation, he observed that geographical knowledge of the outside world was a form of potential intellectual energy revolutionizing the shogunate regime, the ruling powers of which proceeded to monopolize economic and cultural intercourse with foreign countries (Unno, 1994). Observations of this kind ought to have been the task of historians studying Tokugawa Japan, but no historian ever attempted to undertake so challenging a task³²). Consequently; Ayusawa's second book was entitled *World geography in seclusionist Japan*.

In 1943 he published another work under the title *Great Japan Ocean*, a curious title which indicated that the name Pacific Ocean should be changed to Great Japan Ocean in accordance with the 1810 world map of Takahashi Kageyasu. This book was a collection of lectures addressed to the general public or short essays which were not written in the style of scientific writing. As the title of the book indicates, many of those papers were written under the circumstances of the blatant militarism and expansionism of the Japan of that time, and in particular, under the influence of the Kyoto geopolitical school. Upon viewing the list of personalities he wrote on, however, we find echoes of the 1940 Muroga paper, and in this sense, we can state that he was strongly influenced more by Muroga than Komaki. Anyhow, the influence of the

Kyoto geopolitical school was a far-reaching one, going beyond the graduates of the Imperial University of Kyoto.

In 1948 Ayusawa put out a booklet of some fifty pages entitled *World geography in Early Modern Japan* which was a preliminary sketch for a future synthetic work that never materialized. A decade later, in 1958, he published a textbook of human geography for junior college level which considerably differed from other conventional textbooks of human geography. Almost all of the latter half of the book was headed 'History of Japanese Geography', much of which was based on his contribution to a publication, co-authored with Okubo Toshikane, commemorating the centenary of the opening of Japan to the outside world. The chapters in this introductory book comprised general annotations to world maps and world geography in each phase of the Edo period and constituted an original typology of world maps and the world geography of that period (Ayusawa and Okubo, 1953). The book also contains a chapter on the history of discussions on the relationship between man and nature and yet another chapter on the history of the usage of the terms *chiri* and *chishi*. The examinations of geographical thought expressed by various writers who, strictly speaking, were not geographers, such as economist Nishikawa Joken and Confucianist Dazai Shundai (1680-1747), are much more comprehensive than in his previous books. In 1959 he published a bibliographical study of Yamamura Saisuke (1770-1807), a specialist in Dutch studies who amongst other works revised and enlarged the *Sairan igen* of Arai Hakuseki (Ayusawa, 1959). This book is the only work of Ayusawa dedicated to a single geographer in the broader sense and still constitutes the most comprehensive biography of the outstanding specialist in world geography in the Edo period.

In the 1958 textbook certain changes are observable in Ayusawa's opinions on the nature of world geography under the seclusionist policy. Instead of recognizing the revolutionary or positive aspects characterizing the acquirement of the knowledge of world geography during the Edo period, he now chose to underline the somewhat conservative and impractical aspects. According to him, most of the studies on world geography served to consolidate the seclusionist policy of the shogunate government, and the scholars of world geography at that time tended to indulge in vague speculations because they had no means of verifying the facts learnt from foreign books. This was certainly a more severe and realistic judgement of the achievements

of the Japanese geography of the Edo period, in a way reflecting the general trend towards a negative appraisal of the Tokugawa Shogunate regime in the post-war historical studies of the 1950s. Certainly his studies during World War II were influenced by the militaristic situation as I previously pointed out, but in the midst of a negative, to say the least, situation, he had still been able to discover a positive energy in world geography studies under seclusionist Japan. In now dismissing the positive factor along with his rejection of ultra-nationalism, he was, so to speak, throwing out the baby with the bath-water. At any rate, his 1958 work was a textbook and was not characterized by a truly scientific style with proper bibliographical notes and so on. It is a pity that his death at the age of fifty-six prevented him from writing his intended synthetic work on world geography in Tokugawa Japan, in which he might have clarified these ambiguities (Unno, 1990).

During his lifetime there was no library containing a systematic collection of maps and geographical writings pertaining to the Edo period. To conduct his studies he had to make the rounds of innumerable secondhand bookstores in search of reference materials. He was not of a rich family but he managed to amass a huge collection of old maps and manuscripts, and printed materials of the Edo period with his salary, devaluated as it was under post-war inflation, from middle school teaching, and after 1944 from his university teaching job. His precious collection of maps and books was purchased by the City University of Yokohama where he taught and, meticulously catalogued, rests in the university library.

VI. Tsujita Usao's synthesis

Another geographer who seemed to have been affected to a significant degree by Muroga was Tsujita Usao (1907-1997). He was the same age as Muroga but studied several years later than the latter at the Imperial University of Kyoto as an auditor, and as such, was not part of the mainstream of the Kyoto school of geography. None the less, neither was he out of the reach of the geopolitical impact of the Kyoto school. In fact he wrote a paper 'Yoshida Shoin and military geography' that is included in the above-mentioned collected papers of the Kyoto school of geography issued in celebration of the occasion of that mythological 2600th anniversary. The beginning

and the end of this paper, is somewhat marred by a certain number of conventional, hackneyed militarist and nationalist phrases, but the body of the work consists of the discovery and liberation of geographical thought in the writings of this specialist in military science who was, moreover, a *cognoscente* of Western learning. From 1949 until his retirement in 1971 he was teaching geography at Nara Women's University and consistently applied himself to the study of the history of geography, especially that of Japan. He was not very much interested in the history of cartography, his main purpose being to recognize the geographical thought in the various authors of the Edo period who had generally been considered scholars of things Dutch, Confucianists, economists, politicians, military scientists and so on. In this sense he, together with Ayusawa, developed and broadened the research field for which Muroga had provided both framework and structure in his 1940 paper.

In 1971, on the occasion of his retirement, Tsujita's book *Japanese geography in the Early Modern period* was published. Based on his own studies and referring to many other studies on the subject made during the quarter century after World War II, the contents of this work are far more systematic and comprehensive than the descriptions in Ayusawa's textbook of 1958. In the work Tsujita clearly demonstrates the articulation of the Chinese conception of geography, or *chiri* as it is pronounced in Japanese, with the Western concept of geography imported through Dutch studies. The second point that stands out in the book is the analysis of the relationship between the broadening of the geographical knowledge of the Japanese and the socio-political circumstances, such as the development of foreign trade, contact with Christian missionaries in the sixteenth century and the advancement of the Western powers in the northwestern Pacific in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Tsujita of course inherited these perspectives from his predecessors and contemporaries such as Fujita Motoharu, Akioka Takejiro, Muroga Nobuo, Ayusawa Shintaro, Oda Takeo (1907-) and his younger colleagues and friends such as Unno Kazutaka (1921-), Funakoshi Akio (1929-) and so on. The third original aspect of Tsujita's work was the discovery of the existence of geographical thought in the writings of a broad range of social, economic and political thinkers of the Edo period. Spurred on by the examples of Komaki and Muroga, he commenced the study of these interests beginning with Yoshida Shoin and developed those studies of geographical thought in the broader context of intellectual

history, initiated by Ayusawa (Tsujiita, 1940). He presented original digressions on the geographical thought of Ando Shoeki (18th century; exact birth and death dates unknown)³³⁾, Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801), Yamagata Banto (1748-1821) and Kaiho Seiryō (1755-1817). At the time Tsujita took up the study of these scholars no contemporary printed or reprinted editions of their works were available and he was forced to consult manuscripts and woodcut-printed editions of the Edo period, and ended up with a huge collection of the latter, garnered from secondhand bookstores. An especially important aspect of his contributions to Japanese geographic circles was that he was the first geographer to take note of the geographical thought of a certain number of specialists in agronomy and medical botany, especially Miyazaki Yasusada (1623-1697)³⁴⁾ and Kaibara Ekiken (1630-1714), not only in an environmentalist context but in the context of the regional differentiation of agriculture and medical practices. Since the 1970s a large number of agronomical manuals have been discovered and printed and many geographers, particularly in the field of historical geography, are undertaking studies of these agronomical books. From this point of view, Tsujita was a pioneer geographer, though he himself did not leave behind any profound studies on the agronomical writings of the Edo period.

Tsujita's 1971 book is a synthesis of many attempts of Japanese academic geographers, especially of the Kyoto school, at identifying their scientific interests with the indigenous tradition of geographical imaginations. After Tsujita's book no Japanese geographer tried to write a work of this sort with its considerably exhaustive enumeration of the issues to be studied in the field of the history of Japanese geography. Though he did not conduct many in-depth studies as did Fujita, Ayusawa or Muroga, Tsujita played the role of synthesizer and indicator of future studies and further expanded his interests to include the history of modern Japanese geography after the Meiji Restoration. Since the establishment of the Commission on the History of Geographical Thought of the International Geographical Union, he became an *habitué* of the Commission meetings (the last meeting he attended was in Geneva in 1984) and contributed two papers, one on Yamasaki Naomasa and the other on Ogawa Takuji, to *Geographers: Biobibliographical Studies*.

Tsujita's interests were, however, always drawn to the geographical thought of scholars, economists, politicians and so on, which after all was the thought of the elite

class; at no time did he ever evince the slightest interest in popular geographical thought. Some pioneer geographers, however, directed their interests elsewhere. Yamaguchi Yaichiro (1902-2000) (Takeuchi, 2000a) for instance, in the 1930s had already written pioneering works on the popular perception of the environment, influenced as he was by the Japanese folklore school of Yanagita Kunio (1875-1962). But it is only in the past two decades that Japanese historians and geographers in noticeable numbers have begun to show interest in the environmental perception and geographical imagination of the populace. Moreover, since it is only in these same recent decades that a great quantity of popular writings, such as diaries and travel accounts, appeared in print, it would presumably be asking too much to expect Tsujita to have undertaken analyses of this sort of material. However, amongst academic geographers Tsujita was the first to pay attention to a number of travel accounts by prominent intellectuals, and in concert with Yanagita Kunio, justly observed that the scientific value of this particular genre of writing lay not in literary elegance but in objective documentation.

VII. Some concluding remarks

Modern academic geography already has a century-long history. During recent years, conceptions with regard to geography have undergone great changes and an appraisal of the indigenous tradition of 'geography' naturally depends on how geography is conceptualized. Keeping this in mind, it cannot be denied that the history of the appraisal of the indigenous heritage of geography to a certain extent reflects the changing conceptualization regarding geography; on the other hand the history of appraisal is also a reflection of the development of historical studies of geographical thought by academic geographers.

The first generation of academic geographers such as Ogawa and Yamasaki fully recognized that a tradition of geography had existed in the form of regional description, *fudoki* and *chishi*, from the eighth century, but they did not pay much attention to the history of map-making in Japan. Amongst the first generation of geography students at the imperial universities some, but not many, figures became specialized in the history of Japanese cartography, such as Fujita Motoharu and Akioka Takejiro. They

established a fundamental scheme of periodization applicable to map-making in Japan. Affected by the upheaval of nationalist sentiment during World War II, they somewhat exaggerated the share of Japanese cartographers in the mapping of the northwest Pacific area in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. They also initiated or began to study the influence of cosmology and the history of cartography in a cosmological and socio-political context. The significance of world geography knowledge transmitted through China or directly via Dutch channels was duly noted around 1940 by Muroga Nobuo and Ayusawa Shintaro, perhaps independently of one another, though later they struck up a friendship. Muroga, whose career in the field of historical geography was launched on the basis firstly of his severe textual criticism of source materials and secondly of his precise bibliographical studies, became interested in the indigenous tradition of geographical thought under the impetus of the Kyoto geopolitical school headed by Komaki Sanesige. His 1940 paper, which was never referred to after the end of World War II because of the apparently hackneyed nationalistic-militarist phrases in the beginning and end sections, actually contained penetrating analyses of the geographical thought of various types of people of Tokugawa Japan: economists, Confucianists, politicians, scholars in Dutch studies, especially the military sciences, and so on, in order to reconstruct their geographical imaginations and perceptions in relation with the socio-physical environment. Muroga, who after World War II devoted himself to studies in the history of cartography, especially world maps influenced by Buddhist cosmology, did not continue the studies delineated in his 1940 paper. Ayusawa, who was certainly stimulated by Muroga's paper, died rather early before he found the opportunity to systematize the history of the geographical thought prevailing amongst the intellectuals of different fields in Tokugawa Japan.

Tsujita Usao, who occupied a peripheral position in the Kyoto school of geography, achieved in some way and to a certain extent what Muroga conceptualized in his 1940 paper, enumerating several points where the articulation of contemporary geography with the heritage of the indigenous traditional geography of Japan occurred. Unfortunately, there is a dearth of historians of the geographical thought of pre-modern Japan, but each one of the existing historians today dedicates himself to a very specific topic with a full consciousness of the tasks faced by contemporary

geography. By now for them, the close articulation of various issues of contemporary geography with the indigenous tradition of Japanese geography is a matter of course.

Notes

- 1) This paper is based on two communications read at the symposium of the Commission on the History of Geographical Thought, IGU/IUHPS at Chong-ju, and the joint session of the Commission on the History of Geographical Thought and the Study Group on Cultural Approach in Geography at Seoul IGC, Korea in August 2000.
- 2) This sentence is found in *Bunbu mondo (Dialogues on literary and military arts)* (in *Nakae Toju bunshu [Collection of Nakae Toju]*, Yuhodo, 1918, p.421). A similar phrase can be found in *Okina mondo (Dialogues with an old maestro, Nakae Toju)* (now in *Nihon shiso taikai [Series of Japanese thought]*, Iwanami edition, vol.29, p.39).
- 3) Dazai Shundai wrote the ten-volume *Keizairon (Discussions on the economy)* of which the fourth volume was dedicated to astronomy and geography. The quotation of Dazai is from the reprinted edition of *Wadoku yoryo (Manual of Japanese pronunciation)*, Tokyo, Benseisha, 1979.
- 4) Here I rely on the Iwanami Bunko edition, pp.133-134.
- 5) Only one copy of the first edition of this map remains in the world. It is preserved in the National Museum of Tokyo. Discussions have been conducted on the year of publication of this first edition (Nakamura 1957). Here I rely on the 1993 edition of Rodney W. Shirley's *The mapping of the world*. New Holland Publishers, London.
- 6) This curious title derives from a phrase from the Chinese classics meaning 'document of strange languages and customs of various countries'. In the Edo period various manuscript copies existed; the first printed edition was published in 1882 with annotations by Otsuki Fumihiko and the most complete version is the two-volume edition published by Seishisha in 1979. Complete records of the questioning of Sidotti by Arai were collected in the three volumes of *Seiyo kibun (Information on the West)* in 1715, which was kept sealed in the library of the Tokugawa Shogunate, and only the second volume, the part on world geography, was published under the title *Sairan igen*.
- 7) There were two kinds of folding screens: one was designed with a Euro-centric design with East Asia, including Japan, in the right-hand margin, which meant that the painter drew the map on the basis of Western world maps directly imported into Japan. The other was the Sino-centric version, the American continent being in the right-hand margin, indicating that the painting was based on a Chinese version.
- 8) In the second half of the sixteenth century the Jesuit missionaries sent similar versions of the Gyoki map to Europe indicating that some maps of Japan were made in Europe at that period. For instance, hand-drawn maps of Japan conserved in the national archives of Florence clearly testify that these were based on the Gyoki maps, though the place names were in Latin (Oda, 1973: 277).
- 9) The term *chishi* is still in use especially in geography teacher training courses, but in this case the term *chishi* is the translation of 'regional geography' in the sense of Western geography.
- 10) Two editions of Johan Hübner's book were imported into Japan at that period. One was the *Volkomen geographie, of beschryving des geheelen aardryks: behelzende al het merkwaardige dat tot die wetenschap behoort. Voorheen ontworpen door den beroemden Joan Hübner en un naar de laatste meer dan een derde varmeerderde en verbeterde uitgave des schryvers, vertaald ... door W. A. Bachlene, Jac. Haffman Pieter Meyer, 1756*. The other was *Algermeene Geographie, Vermeerderd en met*

- Aanteekeningen verrykt door W. A. Bachiene, en met eene algermeen Inleiding tot de Aardryksbeschryving voorzien door W. S. Cramerus*, Amsterdam, P. Meyer, 1769. A translation of the latter by Tochigi Masatsuna under the title of *Taisei yochi zusetsu* was issued in 1789 (Ayusawa, 1959).
- 11) Under the seclusionist policy of the Tokugawa Shogunate, after 1639, apart from China and Korea, relations with other countries were almost non-existent; among Western countries only the Netherlands maintained commercial intercourse with Japan. The Dutch commercial office was located first at Hirado and later at Nagasaki, both cities having been located in the present-day Nagasaki Prefecture. The shogunate both ordered and encouraged scholars and interpreters to apply themselves to the introduction in Japan of Western science and technology and also to collect information pertaining to Western countries which were beginning to show signs of menacing the security of Japan, such as in incidents involving the approach of foreign ships in Japanese waters.
 - 12) Tsujita took note of Otsuki Gentaku's *Rangaku kaitei* (*Manual of Dutch studies*) published in 1784. According to Matsumura's annotations to the book in *Nihon shiso taikai* (*Series on Japanese thought*), Iwanami Shoten, 1976, Otsuki's book must have been published in 1788. In the same writings, Otsuki also used the term *yochi* to mean geography. He noted in 1784 that in Nagasaki there existed several Dutch books on *chiri*.
 - 13) The book is an almost complete translation of Hübner's work and reprinted in volume 1 of *Bunmei genryu soshu* (*Series of the origin of civilization*) published in 1913 by the Toshokanko-kai, Tokyo.
 - 14) This work of Takano is now in *Nihon shiso taikai* (*Series of Japanese thought*), vol.55, Tokyo, Iwanami Shoten, 1971, under the title *Boju monogatari* with annotations by Sato Shosuke.
 - 15) These words, quoted from his *Yushuroku* (*Prison notes*) (there are many reprinted editions such as volume 1 of *Yoshida Shoin zenshu* [*Complete works of Yoshida Shoin*] published by Iwanami Shoten), are very famous and cited by numerous authors such as Uchimura Kanzo in his *Chirigaku-ko* (*Considerations on geography*) of 1884.
 - 16) This type of school provided follow-up courses to teacher training school courses and graduates became eligible to teach at secondary schools. In 1929, to give university level education to the graduates of Higher Normal schools, Tokyo Bunrika University came up with its specialized courses in geography.
 - 17) According to Unno Kazutaka in his postscript to the re-printed edition (1984) of Fujita Motoharu's *Nihon chirigaku-shi*, Kawada Higuma's paper on the origin of *chishi* in Japan published in vol.7 in 1905 of *Rekishu chiri* was the first paper of its kind. More detailed discussions are to be found in Iwane (1932).
 - 18) In competition with this publishing project, Chijin Shokan of Tokyo, in 1933, published *Chirigaku koza* (*Series of lectures of geography*) consisting of one hundred pamphlets. But in this series, there were no ambitious titles on the intellectual history of geography as there were in the Iwanami geography series.
 - 19) Recent studies do not straightforwardly identify Wak-wak with Japan (Matoba, 1999).
 - 20) Analysing the historical documents he concludes that not all *kuni* completed *fudoki* in the eighth century.
 - 21) Fujita's version of the name being 'O-T' map, without mention of any reference work from which he might have obtained it.
 - 22) Fujita notes only the cases of Mogami Tokunai and Kondo Shigezo who referred to Dutch and Russian printed and hand-drawn maps. According to the latest detailed study of Akitsuki (1999), the works of these Japanese explorers and map-makers were possible only on the basis of European and Russian sources.
 - 23) This was the first of Komaki's writings emphasizing the necessity of Japanese geopolitics, and the article was republished in his book of 1940 (Komaki, 1940a; 1940b).

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- 24) Haushofer's brand of German geopolitics was already rather popular in Japan in the 1930s partly because of Haushofer's personal connection with Japan. Komaki was somewhat critical of German geopolitics naming it Eurocentric and insisted on the adoption of a new geopolitics proper to tennoist Japan. I have already treated Japanese geopolitics several times, especially in chapter 10 of Takeuchi (2000a) and Takeuchi (2000d). Hisatake (1999-2000) is a most penetrating and exhaustive study on Japanese geopolitics.
- 25) Immediately after Japan's defeat in World War II, Komaki and other prominent figures of the Kyoto geopolitical school either resigned from their posts or were purged from public office, on the order of the Allied Forces, and those geographers who had not been involved in geopolitical affairs, such as Oda Takeo, became the protagonists of the reconstruction and development of the new Kyoto school of geography after World War II.
- 26) One of the members of the group revealed this fact in his autobiography issued in a private edition in 1993 and also confirmed it in an interview with me (Masai and Takeuchi, 1999). I have not yet been able to find evidence in support of this fact in documents of the Japanese imperial army. Between the issuing of the Imperial Ordinance concerning the acceptance of Japan of the Potsdam Declaration on 15 August 1945 and the entry of the Allied Forces into Japan there was a hiatus of more than two weeks during which the Yoshida house group completely burnt all pertinent documents according to Murakami's testimony. Also members of the General Staff Office of the imperial army burnt or buried similar material in order to prevent their confiscation by the Occupation Forces, and only a small portion of documents of the imperial army and navy were seized by the Allied Forces and are now conserved, in the shape of microfilm and microfiches, in the archives of the Defence Agency and the Diet Library of Japan. It is very probable that activities involved in this aspect of the Kyoto geopolitical school, in the unlikely event of an investigation, will remain unsupported by historical documentation.
- 27) In the preface to Muroga's posthumously published book of 1983 Komaki wrote an account of Muroga when he was a second-year geography student. In it, he expressed his amazement at his former student's writing and cartographic skills.
- 28) Muroga discussed three works of Honda Toshiaki, *Keisei hisaku* (*Secret plan of economy*) (1798), *Saiiki monogatari* (*Story of the West*) (1798) and *Keizai hogen* (*Random talk on economy*) (1801). For these three works Muroga was able to refer to three printed editions, i.e., *Honda Toshiaki-shu* (*Collected works of Honda Toshiaki*) published by Seibundo in 1935, volume 20 of *Nihon keizai taiten* (*System of Japanese economy*) published by Shishi Shuppansha in 1928 and volume 12 of *Nihon keizai sosho* (*Series of Japanese economy*) published by Nihon Keizai Sosho Kanko-kai in 1915. It is not clear which edition Muroga consulted. Now we can refer to the first two works of Honda Toshiaki with detailed annotations by Tsukatani Akihiro in *Nihon shiso taikai* (*Series of Japanese thought*) published by Iwanami Shoten in 1971. Five years earlier Uchida Hideo had made observations on Honda Toshiaki's geographical contributions with detailed bibliographical examinations (Uchida, 1935, 1971), but in his 1940 paper Muroga did not mention Uchida's 1935 paper.
- 29) The entire map collection and some other materials gathered together by Muroga was purchased by the library of Kyoto University and in 1998 a special exhibition was held of the Muroga collection, including these lectures notes (Kyoto University Library 1998). The library of Yokohama City University, that of Kyoto University and the City Museum of Kobe are now three important centres of the map collections of Ayusawa Shintaro, Muroga Nobuo and Akioka Takejiro, respectively.
- 30) Komaki submitted his resignation to the university at the end of 1945, and was purged in 1947 from holding official posts on the order of the Allied Occupation headquarters. Muroga had also just resigned but was never purged.
- 31) He was born in the western part of Tokyo Prefecture and studied and worked as a teacher in

Tokyo, except for a one-year stay in China during World War II. His research interests were very close to those of the Kyoto school of geography, but in his time, especially during the Second World War and the period immediately after, there was little contact between the geographers of Kyoto and Tokyo, due mainly to difficult transportation conditions. I am not sure whether he had personal contact with Fujita Motoharu before 1945. Amongst the researchers of the Kyoto school of geography he had a friendly relationship with Muroga Nobuo, Tokyoite and specialist in the history of cartography. Muroga wrote commentaries in the 1980 reprinted editions of Ayusawa's two books of 1948.

- 32) This was the excellent interpretation of Muroga Nobuo who wrote the commentary to the reprinted edition of 1980 of his *Chirigaku-shi no kenkyu*.
- 33) Many scholars began to take note of Ando Shoeki after the publication of E. Herbert Norman's 1947 book.
- 34) His *Nogyo zensho (Compendium of agriculture)* (1697) is now in Iwanami Bunko and also in *Nihon shiso taikai (Series on Japanese thought)*, vol.62, Iwanami Shoten, in the abbreviated edition, with annotations by Furushima Toshio.

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