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### The Eye of History

Until recently historical scholarship in the West, including that on China, has tended to follow a Renaissance mindset regarding geography. That orientation is suggested by the geographer-cartographer Abraham Ortelius, who introduced his atlas by first affirming the value of history and then the need for geography for historical understanding:

Seeing, that as I thinke, there is no man, gentle Reader, but knoweth what, and how great profit the knowledge of *Histories* doth bring to those which are serious students therein, I doe verily beleeeve and perswade myself, that there is almost no man, be it that he have made never so little an entrance into the same, and touched them never so lightly, that is ignorant how necessary, for the understanding of them aright the knowledge of *GEOGRAPHY*, which in that respect therefore is of some, and not without just cause called *The eye of History*.<sup>1</sup>

Ortelius refers to geography as the eye of history, implying that is instrumental for historical study. The visual aspect is emphasized by Ortelius's title for his atlas: *Theatrum orbis terrarium*, a theater of the terrestrial globe: theatre emphasizing the visuality of his work and project. As the form of his work suggests, Ortelius had in mind maps. But his work also includes

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<sup>1</sup> Ortelius (1606), Preface, [i]. The typography of the original has been updated slightly.

discursive accounts of the areas shown on the maps. Geography for Ortelius was not for the sake of itself but for the sake of understanding events.

For thou shalt meet with many things in the reading of Histories, (I will not say, almost all) which, except thou have the knowledge of the countreys and places mentioned in them, cannot onely not be well conceived and understood, but also oft times they are cleane mistaken and otherwise understood then they ought to be: which thing commeth to passe in many discourses: but especially in the expeditions and voyages of great Kings, Captaines and Emperours: in the divers and sundry shiftings of Nations from one place to another: and in the travails and peregrinations of famous men made into sundry countreys.<sup>2</sup>

Ortelius was not unique in his use of the theatrical trope, as readers of another Renaissance work, Shakespeare's *As You Like It*, will recall: "All the world's a stage, / And all the men and women merely players; / They have their exits and their entrances...."<sup>3</sup> The speaker of these lines, the melancholic Jaques goes on to elaborate the metaphor in the context of biography, the history of a life. In a larger context, the world as Ortelius's title suggests is in a sense the stage or setting of human history. Historical events unfold in time on the stage of the space of geography.

In accord with the theatrical metaphor, history has tended to be practiced as a kind of dramatic criticism, focusing on action rather than setting. Along with action, historical study tends to emphasize actors or groups of actors more than their setting. Historical writing is most often practiced as a form of narrative, recounting actions. Formerly attention fell mostly on the actions of those taken to be worthy of attention, elites and those in positions of power. More recently the scope of history has become more inclusive.

In the today's academic setting history and geography are usually separated, though the two might seem to have a complementary relationship. In a number of institutions, geography vanishes as an academic department: among universities, Harvard, Yale, Michigan, Stanford, Pennsylvania, Brown, Chicago; among colleges, Williams, Pomona, Amherst, Wesleyan, Swarthmore, Claremont-McKenna. The list of institutions in the United

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Shakespeare (1623), II.vii.139-41.

States that do not recognize geography may be more impressive than the one of those that do.<sup>4</sup>

The distinction between geography and history is reflected in their traditionally preferred forms of presentation. As mentioned before, history tends to favor narrative, an account of events ordered in time which itself unfolds in time. For a long time, the preferred form of presentation for geographic information was the map, a representation of space that itself is spatial. The presentations seemed thus well-suited to the modalities of their material.

Before Ortelius geography was not considered primarily as instrumental to the study of history. As Claudius Ptolemy understood the term, geography, *geographia*, meant an image of the world drawn according to mathematical principles. There was room for more qualitative approach to the presentation of information, but that was reserved for chorography, a more pictorial depiction of localities and regions.<sup>5</sup> Places, localities, and regions are determined to a large extent by human judgment, so that on that level of analysis geography could ally itself with humanistic disciplines.

In discussing the aims of his atlas Ortelius emphasizes the utility of maps, even though much of his work consists of narrative accounts of the places mapped. Today much of the work of geography is more discursive than quantitative, but the notion probably most associated with geography is that of the map based on a system of spherical coordinates. The logo of the International Geographical Union, for example, is a representation of the world with meridians.<sup>6</sup> In addition to the difference between spatiality and temporality pointed out above, the tension between quantitative and qualitative modes of inquiry may thus be part of the reason for the lack of a closer bond between geography and history. Quantification has been associated with the development of natural sciences, with the aim of predicting events and movements. With the exceptions of some subfields of history, such as economic history and history of science, the field has tended to resist efforts to render it a predictive science. History tends to focus on the particular rather than the general.

### Re-orienting Geography and History

The division between geography and history is reflected in textbooks of Chinese history, where geography is typically treated briefly in an introduction, with maps interspersed in the subsequent chapters, usually to

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<sup>4</sup> A listing of geography departments in North America can be obtained from <http://www.aag.org/cs/geogdepts>.

<sup>5</sup> Claudius Ptolemy (second century AD), 57-58 (chap. 1).

<sup>6</sup> The logo can be seen at <http://igu-online.org>.

show changes in territorial extent.<sup>7</sup> The geography of China has not usually been the focus of historical scholarship, except in the fields of historical geography and historical cartography. Historical studies of China that focus on regions or localities have been carried out, but geography in such cases serves to restrict the range of events covered, to shrink the stage of the historical theatre, not to explore how geography interacts with actors and events.

The collection under review here comes at a time when previous relations between history and geography are undergoing a reorientation. Since 1985 when G. William Skinner proposed that the economic history of China could be studied more fruitfully by paying more attention to geographic patterns rather than by treating the Chinese economy as a whole,<sup>8</sup> historical research has focused more strongly on the spatial. For example, Mark Elvin's (2004) *Retreat of the Elephants*, more specifically an environmental history, surveys changes in space across China and across time focusing on those changes arising from human interaction with the natural world. More localized research includes David Pietz's (2002) study of the administrative and technical efforts to manage the Huai River during the Republican period.

The spatial turn in historical studies is also a response to the development of digital technology—for example, geographic information systems (GIS)—that makes it possible to plot changes in space over time. Peter K. Bol's GIS project for Chinese history aims to “provide the infrastructure for spatially enabled historical research.”<sup>9</sup> In a way the efforts to spatialize history acknowledge the obvious. Though geography and history are separable in thought and have often been separated in practice, they are in actuality always conjoined. Despite its mathematization, the object of geography is not fixed and possessed of a timelessness, but changeable. It is implicated in history in ways that are not often appreciated or well understood.

The title of the collection under review here might be somewhat misleading in that “perspective” is used in the singular case. There might be a uniquely geographic perspective from which to study history, but that point is not what the volume asserts as a whole. The volume might have been entitled more accurately “Chinese History in (or from) Geographic Perspectives.”

By the editors' own account, the papers can be categorized into the following categories: “changing contours of China” and “local/regional/

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<sup>7</sup> For example, Gernet (1996) and Tanner (2010). I intend this statement as an observation about current practice, not a criticism.

<sup>8</sup> Skinner (1985).

<sup>9</sup> Bol (2008), 28. Bol also contributed an epilogue to the collection under review here.

national." The first suggests historical geography and cartography, how the boundaries of China as a geographic-political entity have changed over time. The second suggests levels of geographic identification within China at different historical moments and periods. The divisions correspond roughly to two broad subfields of human and physical geography. The latter deals with the processes and features of the natural environment at or near the earth's surface, and the former deals with human beings, peoples, and cultures in their interaction with that natural environment. The division between physical and human geography is not hard. As will be seen below, the term "changing contours" has physical and human dimensions.

### **Charting the Contents**

The editors do not attempt to place the papers explicitly into the categories they mark out. A preliminary classification might run as follows:

#### *Changing Contours of China*

Laura Hostetler, "Early Modern Mapping at the Qing Court: Survey Maps from the Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong Reign Periods."

Stephen Whiteman, "Kangxi's Auspicious Empire: Rhetorics of Geographic Integration in the Early Qing."

Kathlene Baldanza, "De-civilizing Ming China's Southern Border: Vietnam as Lost Province or Barbarian Culture."

Luke Hambleton, "An Ambush of Tigers: A Socio-Ecological History of the Ming-Qing Fujian Tiger Menace."

Yajun Mo, "The New Frontier: Zhuang Xueben and Xikang Province."

Gregory Rohlf, "A Preliminary Investigation of the Urban Morphology of Towns of the Qinghai-Tibet Plateau."

Jiang Wu, Daoqin Tong, and Karl Ryavec, "Spatial Analysis and GIS Modeling of Regional Religious Systems in China: Conceptualization and Initial Experiments."

*Local/Regional/National*

Andrew Chittick, "The Geography of Dragon Boat Racing in Late Imperial China."

Xiaoquan Raphael Zhang, "Writing Personalized Local History during the Late Ming and the Ming-Qing Transition: The Case of a Ming Loyalist."

Huei-Ying Kuo, "Native-Place Ties in Transnational Networks: Overseas Chinese Nationalism and Fujian's Development, 1928-41."

In a few cases the choice of which category to place a paper is arbitrary, because the subject matter seems to encompass both. An example is Baldanza's paper on Sino-Viet relations, which describes shifts how the Ming court viewed Vietnam: as a lost province that could be recovered; then with discomfort as a place with similar governmental institutions that pledged loyalty to a southern emperor; and then as a place unfit for Chinese rule. The outcome of Sino-Viet relations might be a shifting of the Chinese territorial boundaries; at the same time those relations suggest how Chinese viewed themselves in relation to an other, a possible addition to the empire, providing occasions for reflection on cultural identity.

Mo's paper has a similar cross-areal character. Mo discusses how popular media helped to develop interest in the frontier area of Xikang, located between Chinese and Tibetan centers of power. The geographic area of interest thus bears on the question of the changing contours of China. In this case the contours are also ethnographic. The photographer Zhuang Xueben 莊學本 (1909-1984) traveled in the area during mid and late 1930s, and his writing and photographs depicted non-Han groups living in the area. According to Mo, Zhang was one of many who acted to satisfy communal desire to "explore, understand, and reclaim" frontier in the middle of foreign invasion. In contrast with contemporary critics who think Zhang's photographs celebrate multi-ethnicity, Mo sees Zhang as interested in showing how ethnic groups differed from the Han Chinese, thus reinforcing Han nationality.

Chittick's paper shows how a custom, dragon boat racing, often regarded as singular, was multifarious in the practices associated with it. The custom has been used to help distinguish a southern from northern Chinese culture. But Chittick shows that the characterization as southern could be much more nuanced. The three case studies he presents reveal differences in the mechanisms and bases of financial support for the races, and in the degree to which races were regulated. The value of the races

themselves was tied to localities: they were valued for entertainment, display of prowess, wealth and prestige by local sponsors, arena in which to play out local rivalries. It seems clear that the practices and institutions associated with dragon boat racing varied from place to place, but it remains unclear how much this variation correlated with geographic factors.

Geographic influence on history is somewhat easier to see in Kuo's paper describing the political and economic changes in Fujian 1928-41 in relation to overseas Chinese. Overseas Chinese investment and remittances were important to Fujian's development. Kuo's account focuses on the activities of overseas Chinese of Hakka and Hokkien descent. The groups were distinct linguistically and in geographic origin, the Hakka coming largely from the southeast coast of Fujian and the Hokkien from mountainous areas of Fujian's border regions. These areas were suited to different economic activities, which Kuo correlates with different interests and investment patterns.

As the preceding two studies suggest, the papers in the collection vary in their depth of engagement with geography. In a number of instances, the contents of the papers collected go beyond the categories employed by the editors. The various directions taken by the individual authors would become somewhat clearer if additional descriptors were considered, such as those put forth by scholars and professionals in the field of geography. These happen to be discussed by Bol in his epilogue to the book under review here.

To follow Bol's lead, the *Annals* of the American Association of Geographers divides the field into four major areas—environmental sciences; methods, models, and geographic information science; nature and society; and people, place, and region.<sup>10</sup> These four areas revise the four traditions of geography identified by William Pattison: earth science, spatial tradition, man-land, and area studies.<sup>11</sup>

The first area involves the study of natural processes near or at the surface of the earth; it is interdisciplinary in that it may bring biological and physical sciences to bear on the study of environments on the earth's surface. The second focuses on mostly quantitative tools for geographic research, including geographic information systems, maps, remote sensing. The third focuses on the relationships between human beings and their environment. By its name alone *nature and society* may be hard to distinguish from *people, place, and region*. The latter is a modification of Pattison's term *area studies*, and it may be described as the description of areas and regions not strictly determined by natural features but also by

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<sup>10</sup> See <http://www.aag.org/cs/publications/annals>.

<sup>11</sup> Pattison (1964).

human activity and conception. It is also concerned with how human activities vary by region.

As the names themselves imply, the categories are not marked by strict boundaries; for example, *environmental sciences* would seem to have some commonalities with *nature and society*. *Geographic information science* would seem to yield data related to *people, place, and region*. In addition, each encompasses a variety of sub-areas, such as climatology, urban geography, or cartography.

The names of the areas by themselves do not imply a temporal dimension to the field as a whole. Geography seems to be conceived as a spatial study concerned with configurations as they currently exist. It is not thought of as the eye of history.

Despite their apparent ahistoricity, the names of the areas are helpful in placing articles in the collection. Hambleton's paper, "An Ambush of Tigers," for example, seems to fit uneasily into either of the broad categories suggested by the editors. The paper deals with the increased human-tiger interaction during the Ming-Qing transition that resulted from environmental changes wrought by the Manchu policy of forced relocations from the coast of Fujian. The paper thus seems to fit more comfortably into the areas of *environmental science* and *nature and society*.

As might be expected, some authors of papers in the *Changing Contours* category employ the technology of geography. One is Rohlf's study of the urban morphology of towns of Qinghai-Tibet plateau in the People's Republic. Its topic is relevant to the area of *people, place, and region*, a sub-area of which is urban geography. The study also involves the use of satellite imagery obtained via Google Earth. In pointing out the differences between the urban design practice of the People's Republic and Tibetan civilization Rohlf draws on history, anthropology, architecture and city planning. The study of these differences enables Rohlf to see the effects of Chinese practice on the Tibetan urban landscape. In particular the Chinese grid tends to impose uniformity disrupting longstanding relationships captured in urban forms. Where Tibetan civilization produced three shapes of settlement depending on economics, politics, and religion, settlements established by the Chinese government tend to follow a single plan. The result is the loss of historic neighborhoods, and a proliferation of interchangeable cityscapes.

The study by Wu, Tong, and Ryavec applies quantitative methods to the study of Chinese religions, following Bol's (2008) example in *Placing History*. The study aims to determine if the distribution of religious sites forms "different levels of regional systems" and how they exist "in relation to social, economic, and cultural factors that are hierarchically structured in space." The authors tentatively divide China into ten "Regional Religious Systems," defined as a "spatial formation" in which groups of religious



institutions are “conditioned by physical, geographical, administrative, cultural, or socioeconomic systems and highly dependent on regionally and locally distributed variables such as economy, transportation, education, culture, ethnicity, and language, etc.” The contours here are not only geographic, but also cultural, economic and political.

The study focused on Buddhist institutions in Han Chinese areas during the Tang-Five Dynasties, Qing, and contemporary periods. The distribution of these institutions was determined by mapping temple densities. A similar analysis was conducted for non-Han areas, such as Tibet.

The authors found that the distribution of sites showed a clear regional pattern if overlaid with Skinner’s macro-regions, and that the viability of sites depended on regionally and locally distributed factors, such as the economy, transportation, ethnicity, and dialect zones.

The authors point out that their data were not as reliable as they would have desired. The data sets were not systematically collected through rigorous data collecting agencies. They were often compiled from textual sources from various historical periods, and the compilers were not consistent in their practices. For example, not all religious traditions are represented evenly. The data sets can thus be biased: data on contemporary Buddhist sites are inflated, for example, because defunct ancient sites are registered because of their cultural value.

As in Rohlf’s paper, here the use of technical tools and quantified data makes patterns visible that would have been difficult to see on the basis of documentary evidence alone: *baiwen buru yijian* 百聞不如一見 (a hundred words are not equal to one look). Sometimes the emphasis on textual sources in historical studies can be fruitfully redirected.

Traditional Chinese scholars recognized as much: “Narration of events without maps is not clear; and maps without explanation are not intelligible.”<sup>12</sup> The tendency to separate space from time may not have been as strong in China as in the West: dynastic histories typically included *dilizhi* 地理志 (geographic treatises). The annals, however, were separate from the *dilizhi*. Geography was joined to chronology, but not in a synthetic way: the two studies were not interwoven. In the dynastic histories there were no explicit attempts to bring the two sets of records into a single account, into a geographic history or into a historical geography. The form of the dynastic histories suggests that synthesis was an activity of the reader. Chinese scholars did produce works of historical geography, such as the *Shui jing zhu* 水經注 (Commentary on the “Classic of rivers”) and the *Lidai*

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<sup>12</sup> ‘Fanli’ 凡例 (Editorial principles), *Guangping fu zhi*, 1a.

*dili zhizhang tu* 歷代地理指掌圖 (Handy atlas of geography through the dynasties).<sup>13</sup>

Such works can serve as sources for understanding Chinese conceptions of space and time. Zhang's paper examines some traditional geographico-historical writing for insights into conceptions of place. He examines the relationship between self and place in case of the not well-known writer, Ye Shaoyuan 葉紹袁 (1589-1648), and a not so well-known place, Fenhu 分湖, Ye's hometown. Ye's relationship of place took a local turn: shifting focus from Jiangnan to Suzhou to Fenhu in the face of Manchu conquest. Ye left Fenhu, but continued to write about it as a subject of fantasies. He used geography to link himself to those he thought worthy. Ye's example suggests that the literati's connection to place could be quite varied. Wen Zhengming 文徵明 (1470-1559), for example, seems to have undergone a more diffusive process of geographic self-identification. The bipolarity of the relationship seems to be reflected in the double significance of the proverbial statement of the relation between person and place, *ren jie di ling* 人傑地靈: "the worthiness of a person, the numinousness of the land." It can be interpreted as meaning that human reputations can give prominence to a place, or that a noteworthy locale can lend its cachet to a person.

As pointed out above, the names of the subareas of geographic inquiry do not imply temporality. Thus the historical study of models and geographic information science, the study of tools over time, does not explicitly appear within the scope of the four areas. The thought here may be that mathematical techniques are timeless; they are discovered, not invented. Or the history of such methods could be considered under *nature and society*, as an historical account of how human beings try to understand nature. In either case, these headings serve to situate Hostetler's essay more precisely than *Changing Contours of China*. Changing contours are a topic, but the paper deals more with cartographic practice and change during the Qing dynasty, focusing on the Yongzheng imperial atlas (c. 1727), details of which were published in 2007. It is one of three Qing atlases produced with Jesuit assistance, the other two being the earlier Kangxi (1717) and the later Qianlong atlas (c. 1769). That the Yongzheng atlas was virtually unknown for more than two hundred and fifty years illustrates how provisional accounts of the history of cartography, how mutable the cartographic records, can be.

The author of the paper continues her earlier work on the Qing Jesuit surveys.<sup>14</sup> This paper is in a way more careful in that the pervasiveness of modern cartography under the Qing is not as overstated, and it is clearer

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<sup>13</sup> Chinese scholars remain active in historical geography and cartography. A recent work of historical cartography is Xu (2012).

<sup>14</sup> See Hostetler (2001) and (2009).

that the influence of modern cartography was for much of the Qing confined to the Manchu court.<sup>15</sup> A little more care, however, could have been taken to treat the Manchu court and the Jesuits less as a homogenous unit. For example, to say that the Qing “achieved leadership at the cutting edge” of geographical learning (p. 29) is to grant the Qing court too much guilt by association. Works of modern cartography may have been commissioned and produced under the Qing, but little of the evidence offered here and previously suggests that the knowledge required for making them spread much beyond the Jesuits.

The Manchu rulers understood the utility of maps and the importance of gathering geographic information, including that obtained by measurement, but so did Chinese rulers of earlier periods. The Manchus did not need models from the early modern West to gain this understanding. Thus the use of maps and the accumulation of quantitative data for political control by themselves can hardly constitute criteria of modernity, much less serve to uniquely define modern empires and states.<sup>16</sup> Even the employment of foreign experts does not distinguish the Qing from earlier rulers of China. Such seems to have occurred under the Yuan, with the same results as far as Han learning is concerned.<sup>17</sup>

The measure of cartographic understanding is more than the intentions and actions of political rulers. Cartography is more than a matter of commissioning and using; it is also a matter of making and technical knowledge. On the subject of technical expertise, the account here is not as clear as it could be since it elides the differences between indigenous and modern technique by referring to both as projections. The Chinese grid was developed on the presumption of a more or less flat surface, not a spherical one. It was a scaling device, not a mathematical method for transferring points from a spherical to a plane surface.

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<sup>15</sup> I am wary of the term “modern” when applied to Chinese history, and, for the sake of convenience, follow prevailing practice in using it here. As a term of periodization it first found application in the history of Western Europe, and in the study of the Western history the word “modern” and its derivatives, such as “modernity” are contested terms, often so elastic that its meaning is unclear. It is also unclear why Western history should set the terms of Chinese history, and such borrowings may prevent us from seeing objects for what they are.

Examples of the slipperiness of the “modern” can be found in the history of science. Newton in the eighteenth century was modern; now he is classical. The same can be said of Einstein. More than a century after his *annus mirabilis*, he seems more classical and less modern.

<sup>16</sup> Thus, to make modern cartography complicit in imperialist designs, a dark side of modernity, as some recent work suggests, is to ascribe too much guilt by association.

<sup>17</sup> Park (2012), 98-100.

The maps in the Yongzheng atlas differ from those in the Kangxi and Qianlong atlases in the superimposition of a rectangular grid. The author describes the Yongzheng maps as a hybrid drawing on both longitude and the old Chinese grid. In explanation of this hybrid character, the author recounts a demand by a Manchu prince to produce a map without curved lines. The basis of the prince's preference for straight lines is unexplained. It could have been preference for the traditional grid; it could have arisen out of a concern for geomantic principles. In any case, it seems that the Jesuits were resistant to this demand. The Jesuit Gaubil writes of the prince that he knows enough about map theory "to make bad maps according to a style that Europeans don't know how to accommodate" (p. 23). Without more context, it is unclear what that bad style is. Geomantic concerns or a preference for the scaling grid could lead to poor stylistic choices, both being inconsistent with modern cartographic theory and technique.

Gaubil would have understood that the grid and projection were not compatible. It does not seem likely that the prince was specifying a cylindrical projection, because Gaubil would have known how to produce a map on that projection. The cylindrical projection is useful for navigation because lines of constant compass bearing appear as straight lines. Such a purpose is not suggested for the atlas, so Gaubil would have understood that the projection probably was not the best one to use: he would have known that the price was distortion: the northern latitudes would be exaggerated in extent, as they are in the Yongzheng atlas. The disagreement between Jesuits and Manchu prince in this case seems to have been deeper than a simple disagreement about the choice of projection. The example suggests an imperfect transmission of cartographic technique to the host culture, and the need for qualifications and discriminations in the notion of Qing interaction with modern cartography. The Qing court may have exerted some control over the Jesuits, ordering them to gather information and to make maps a certain way, but did not fully control their technical knowledge. After the departure of the Jesuits, examples of modern cartography by Qing-dynasty Manchu or Chinese makers are scarce until the latter half of the nineteenth century. Even then the Qing lacked reliable means of carrying out modern mapping projects: there were shortages of equipment and knowledgeable personnel.<sup>18</sup>

Indeed there are ways in which the Manchu court's interest in geography was not modern in character.<sup>19</sup> As Whiteman's paper shows, the

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<sup>18</sup> Amelung (2007), 697-701, 711. Amelung points out that late Qing efforts did not measure up to the standards attained to by Western surveyors and cartographers.

<sup>19</sup> Much needed to change in the geographic conceptions of Chinese mapmakers for cartography under the Qing to become scientific in the modern sense; what

definition of the empire and its subdivisions was not merely a matter of marking boundaries on a modern map. Geographic understanding involved collection of information, but was also a matter of political construction involving ritual, rhetoric, and geomantic theory. According to Whiteman, all these activities, including mapping, were employed to promote a vision of a multi-ethnic empire.

### **Re-vision of the Faculties: Beyond the Ocular**

The volume had its origins as a group of papers prepared for a conference. They do show some variation in the degree of finish and extent of development and elaboration, and some seem abbreviated to accommodate the time limits imposed on conference presentations. Nonetheless, the volume is useful in pointing out the ways in which space and time, geographic and historical study, can usefully be conjoined.

After all, human actions and events take place in space and time together. Separating the two seems to make understanding simpler and leads to certain methodological conveniences. But the clarity may be deceptive. Geography is not simply a perspective, a setting for human events or a lens through which to view history. In history as in the physical sciences, the instrument is involved in the process. The earth's surface is dynamic; human beings can change it; and it can affect human beings. Geography may be not quite destiny, but it does have some explanatory value for understanding the courses of history.

The work of ending the dissociation of faculties in the study of the past is just starting. The tools emerging during this period of rapid development in information technology are making new and more flexible modes of presentation possible, and more means of collaboration between geographers and historians.

The promise of new technology and methods should not obscure the still untapped possibilities of traditional avenues of scholarship. Some resources have not been employed as fully as they could have been: philosophical works would seem to be possible sources for thinking on space and time. The considerable body of traditional writings on geography has also been underused. Literary and artistic works can shed light on conceptions of space and time, and on human activity in relation to them. Some arts, in particular, seem to take cognizance of the unity of space and time. In some ways, at least, traditional resources of scholarship still seem to

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happened at the Qing court was hardly sufficient to effect that change. See Guo (2000), 199-284.

have a role in helping historical research take fuller account of the conceptual changes fostered by twentieth-century physics and literature.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> This conjunction of science and literature may seem odd. But twentieth-century writers, such as James Joyce, spatialized language, thereby compelling readers to alter their ways of apprehending texts (on this topic, see Frank [1991]). It has taken time for scholarship to catch up. The process of catching up may be accelerating. New ways of conducting spatio-temporal research into human events and actions could emerge that require different modes of presentation and apprehension.

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