Review of *Liangtou she: Ming mo Qing chu de diyi dai Tianzhujiaotu* (Two-Headed Snakes: The First Generation of Chinese Catholics in the Late Ming and Early Qing), by Huang Yinong. Xinzhu, Taiwan: Guoli Qinghua Daxue Chubanshe, 2005. [黃一農著. 兩頭蛇：明末清初的第一代天主敎徒. 新竹市：國立淸華大學出版社，民國 94, 2005. 台灣通貨 750 元，557 頁]

According to an ancient Chinese belief, a two-headed snake portends death. The belief derives from the idea that the two heads, not being able to decide whether to proceed or retreat, will fight each other. The snake is symbolic of Chinese Catholics at the end of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) and beginning of the Qing dynasty (1644–1911) who vacillated between adhering to Catholicism or Confucianism before abandoning one or the other. This profound ethical conflict that arose among Chinese scholar-officials who converted to Catholicism is discussed by Huang Yinong. The work reflects the trajectory of the author’s own academic pilgrimage, from radio astronomy to the history of astronomy, to the history of science, and finally to aspects of the cultural rivalry between China and the West. This impressive work, replete with literary interest, is certain to become a milestone in historical research.

*Liangtou she* is based on the author’s study of anthologies, records — even in Europe, and local annals. This thorough empirical historical study, including fieldwork in Xinjiang County (formerly called Shanxi Jiangzhou), also draws on a vast body of historical research material that has been electronically digitized in recent years. The author’s use of both fieldwork and electronic access to historical materials signals a new stage in the development of historiography. Huang Yinong quotes from texts available through the Fu Ssu-nien Library, Taipei. Use of Fu Ssu-nien historiography, as the author refers to it, has begun to yield the kind of outstanding research evident in Huang’s book. Detailed descriptions of people living during a time of cataclysmic change in the late Ming and early Qing periods, as well as the author’s postscript and appendices with graphs, leave a particularly deep impression. Through his emphasis on the value of human integrity, the author
underscores a human universal, not only within the wider Chinese-speaking world, and through his cross-strait research effort, he shows the value of cooperation between academic communities on both sides of the Taiwan Strait.

One area that the author analyzes as being a particular source of contention between Confucians and Catholics is the Ten Commandments. Injunctions against adultery and killing, including suicide, were difficult to reconcile with scholar-officials’ practice of concubinage and of suicide as an expression of fealty to the Ming dynasty when it collapsed. The final section of the third chapter, which is said to have written after completing all thirteen chapters of the book, describes the emotions of a Catholic scholar-official who lived at the end of the Ming dynasty, Guo Zizhang (1543–1618). His sincerity and expression of grief recorded in the epitaph on his wife’s grave marker confers an emotional mood that pervades the entire book. And it directly links, I think, to Cai Yuanpei (1868–1940)’s “marital criteria 5 items” in 1900 (in Memorial Residence on Huashan Road, Shanghai), that is the first recommendation of gender equality in modern China.

The fifth chapter concerns the great scholar Wei Xuelian (1608–1644). He was a pupil of Liu Zhongzhou (1578–1645), the esteemed member of the Donglin Academy and Fu She Society. Wei Xuelian has been the subject of heated controversy. Some writers claim that after the collapse of the Ming government, he served the Ming rebel and usurper Li Zicheng (1606–1645) and then accepted a position in the Qing court. Other writers claim that he committed suicide on the day that Li Zicheng ascended the throne. Huang Yinong ascertains that this debate derives from party rivalry at the end of the Ming dynasty, and surmises that Wei’s final actions were those of a conflicted Catholic, for whom suicide would have been prohibited.

The seventh chapter includes an elucidation of the Duoshu 鐸書 (The Book of the Warning Bell, ca. 1640), which was compiled according to the Shengyu liuyan 聖諭六言 (six maxims of the Secret Edict) of Ming Taizu (1328–1644), the first emperor of the Ming dynasty. Huang’s analysis, which explains village law drawn up on Catholic principles, is of great interest.

The concept of li (ritual, propriety) pervades Chinese history and culture – so we heard in school days. The concepts of li, tian (heaven), Shangdi (Jade Emperor of Heaven), and ancestor worship were established through codification of the events of history. Once Liang Qichao stated that China did not have religion in the Western sense. Tachibana Shiraki (1885–1945) emphasized Taoism as the belief of Chinese common people. Ojima Sukema (1881–1966) wrote China’s ancient faith didn’t take the form of religion but has been left all in the political inclusion with Liyue 礼樂 centered. The use of the Chinese words Tianzhu and Shangdi to signify God became part of the
Chinese Rites Controversy (the Catholic controversy over whether adapting to
Chinese religious and cultural practices constituted idolatry). Huang discusses
in his book how Chinese people behaved in the Controversy, that have ever
been mentioned little.

How such concepts relate to the political power are issues that remain.
This problem is reminiscent of issues pertaining to Catholic converts among
Confucian scholars (seonbi class) of Namin party during the Joseon dynasty
(1392–1910) in Korea, and issues pertaining to the resistance movement
among Koreans who refused to worship at Shinto shrines during the Japanese
colonial era (1910–1945). In Japan we are still confronted with the legacy of
state Shinto, which officially came to an end in 1945 but still affects Japanese
legal system and historiography even to this day. In Liangtou she Huang
Yinong describes aspects of the rivalry between Eastern and Western cultures
while attempting to define the essence of his own culture.

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Mandara toshi: Hindū toshi no kūkan ri’nen to sono hen’yō (Mandala
Cities: The Hindu Concept of Urban Spaces and Its Transformations), by Funo Shūji. Kyoto: Kyoto Daigaku Gakujutsu
Shuppankai, 2006. [曼荼羅都市 : ヒンドゥー都市の空間理念とその変
容/布野修司 著. 京都: 京都大学学術出版会, 2006. ￥5,250, 444頁]

Funo Shūji has produced a work that elucidates the Hindu concept of
urban space and its transformation, as based on Hindu cosmology. To illus-
trate the relationship between the mandala (a Hindu graphic symbol of
the universe) and spatial organization, he cites the examples of three cities:
Madurai, in the southern Indian state of Tamil Nadu; Jaipur, in the northern
Indian state of Rajasthan; and Cakranegara, on Lombok Island, Indonesia. On
the basis of field research, Funo analyzes the actual structural organization
of the cities, evaluates their transformation processes, and considers their
primary driving factors. He describes characteristics of the configurations of
each of the three cities, focusing not on religious institutions or palaces, but
on residences and neighborhoods, which constitute the preponderance of
urban areas. His analysis is intriguing in that it enables him to analyze the livability of the cities on a human scale, reflecting their actual urban layouts and the lifestyles of people who inhabit them, while also providing a broad overview.

In the first chapter, Funo uses an ancient classical Indian treatise on building codes and urban planning, the *Mānasāra*, belongs to the Śilpaśāstra (the book of art and craft) genre, as well as previous research, to recreate the configuration of the ideal Hindu city, based on Hindu cosmology. Funo studies the *Mānasāra* to see how it guided the development of the three cities.

Madurai, in southern India, is renowned for its temples, while the Rajasthan city of Jaipur, popularly called “the pink city” for its pink buildings, is also famous. Madurai and Jaipur are unusual examples of cities that attempt to conform to the mandala philosophy of concentric rectangles of divergent manifestations. If one focuses on the principles of the Hindu city, the two cities’ spatial organizations would appear to consist of concentric rectangles. There are, however, few actual examples of this type of urban configuration. A divergence between ideals and reality arises through human responses to topography and historical changes.

Cakranegara, in contrast, is a less well known city. The city’s name consists of two Sanskrit words: *cakra* (Wheel of Law), and *negara* (state), indicating a city created by Chakravartin (literally, one whose wheels are moving), who subjugates the entire world. Cakranegara, the very name of which implies intentional planning along Hindu principles of spatial organization based on a grid pattern, draws attention because of its city demarcations. Funo Shūji states that it was his personal discovery of this aspect of the city that first drew him to the subject.

The second chapter analyzes the history and spatial organization of the ancient Indian city of Madurai, its current state, and its living spaces. Funo’s historical analysis of the city’s configuration is interesting, of course, but what strikes the reader as unusual is his discussion of planar residential configurations and his perception of the mandala ideal in the pilgrimage routes for the Ratha Yatra festival held annually in June despite divergences from the ideal spatial organization of concentric rectangles. Also noteworthy is his analysis of the tradition and transformation of residences with central courtyards, which helps the reader to envision a living mandala city.

The third chapter discusses the city of Jaipur, planned by the eighteenth-century maharajah Jai Singh II. The city is centered around the Govind Devji Temple in the City Palace complex, as well as around the Jantar Mantar Observatory. Jai Singh II sought to design an ideal Hindu city on a well-ordered grid pattern. The city appears to have a 9-square 3-by-3 pattern. It has
been suggested that this pattern derives from the *prastara* (literally, squares), one of the configurations indicated in the *Mānasāra* for villages and cities, but Jaipur does not consistently follow the *prastara* principles. Residences in Jaipur for the most part are built around inner courtyard gardens, but they differ from those in Madurai. In Jaipur, the neighborhood framework consists of *haveli* (mansions). In recent years, however, the rapid influx of people into the area and the appearance of tall buildings have drastically changed this unique traditional panorama.

The fourth chapter discusses Cakranegara on the island of Lombok in Indonesia, the city that originally prompted the author to write *Mandala Cities*. The Karangasem regency of eastern Bali constructed Cakranegara as a colonial city in the eighteenth century, during nearly the same time that Jaipur was being founded in India. The colonizers situated Cakranegara on the periphery of the Hindu world and sought a more ideal city design. The temple Pura Meru is located in the heart of the city, the word “meru” referring to a sacred mountain in Hindu cosmology, as well as to the center of the world. The city’s blocks and neighborhoods are extremely regular, giving Cakranegara an impression of orderliness. The history of Lombok Island is reflected in its cities, as is the fortunes and decline of the cultures of the Sasak tribe, of Balinese Hinduism, and of Islam. Cakranegara is a mandala city strongly influenced by the principles of spatial organization characteristic of Bali. Consequently, it does not manifest the same concentric rectangles or the city walls so conspicuous in India. In Bali, residences are enclosed within neighborhoods, which in turn are enclosed within cities. Cakranegara thus has characteristics that set it apart from the other two cities discussed in this book, Madurai and Jaipur.

Besides *Mandala Cities*, Funo has been engaged in other studies that elucidate aspects of other Asian cities, including “the great Yuan urban districts” based on traditional Chinese cities and the Muslim characteristics of the Mughal cities of India. In 2008 Funo published *Mugaru toshi, Isuramu toshi no kūkan hen’yō* (Spatial Transformations in Mughal and Islamic Cities). Since cities reflect myriad historical and regional influences on culture, the author should be able to find rich sources of research material for some time to come.

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This work by Tanigawa Ken’ichi is a new compilation of the author’s ethnological research on the sea routes linking Japan and the Ryukyu archipelago. As a book for the layman, this new work does not always take the specialist into consideration. Nevertheless, Tanigawa’s review titled “‘Ryūkyū kokuō no shutsujì’ o megutte” (On “The Lineage of the King of the Ryukyu Islands”), included in volume 6 of *Tanigawa Ken’ichi Zenshū* (The Collected Works of Tanigawa Ken’ichi), appears nearly intact in this new book in chapters 2, 5, and 7, and thus this volume preserves the high quality of Tanigawa’s scholarship. By focusing on the theme of sea routes, the book extracts the essence of the author’s research and rearranges it in a new format. Hence, the book is well worth reading, even by specialists in the subject.

In his depiction of the sea routes between Japan and the Ryukyu archipelago, Tanigawa’s work is replete with first-rate, multifaceted studies and richly sourced inquiries, resulting in a book that treats a diverse range of subject matter. The table of contents, listed below, is evidence of this diversity.

- Introduction: East China Sea: Prehistoric Routes
- Chapter 1: *Kuroshio* Currents: Flora and Fauna Routes
- Chapter 2: The Entry of Minamoto no Tametomo and the Southern Flight of the Heike: Route of the Defeated Heike
- Chapter 3: Kyushu, Amami, and the Ryukyu Archipelago: Routes of Medieval Merchants
- Chapter 4: Excursions of Sea Nomads (*Ebune*): Routes of the Nomadic Fishermen
- Chapter 5: Sagara clan and Nawa clan: Routes of Remnants of the Southern Court
- Chapter 6: Japan, Korea, and the Ryukyu Archipelago: Trilateral Trade Routes
- Chapter 7: The Southern Expansion of Iron Culture: Routes of the Blacksmiths
- Chapter 8: Sailing Ships and Dugout Canoes: Transport and Fishing Routes
- Concluding chapter: Mediating between Japan and the Ryukyu Kingdom: “Emotional” and “Physical” Routes

Tanigawa brings a unique ethnological knowledge to the narratives of each chapter, which he interlaces with his erudition in history, archaeology,
natural science, and literature. His knowledge of the sea routes from the Nansei Islands to Kyushu and from the Ryukyu kingdom to Japan, combined with his familiarity with the Tsushima Straits and the East China Sea, result in a multifaceted portrayal. Many researchers are quoted in conjunction with his broad treatment of the subject. Unfortunately, in most cases bibliographical information on the papers and books to which he refers is omitted. Even if a laymen’s edition dictates against copious citation of academic works, it is imperative that a book in this format have at least a list of references at the end of the volume.

Two scholars preceded Tanigawa in this field of research: Yanagita Kunio and Orikuchi Shinobu. The assertion made by Yanagita that rice cultivation was transmitted to Japan from the southern trade routes, and the claim made by Orikuchi that the lineage of the Ryukyu kings originated with the Heike, were identified as problematic in subsequent research and were later discredited. Nevertheless, Tanigawa examines in detail each point in dispute, and while he corrects the ideas of Yanagita and Orikuchi that do not correspond with the facts, he also retains respect for their motifs and images of the sea routes, preserving their themes as much as possible in his own work.

Japan and the Ryukyu archipelago have been linked by sea routes since ancient times, and migrations of people from Japan promoted formation of the kingdom of Ryukyu. Tanigawa’s main assertions underlying the book are based on these two suppositions. The points that he derives from these suppositions can be summarized as follows:

• The legend of Minamoto no Tametomo and the defeated members of the house of Heike who fled to the Ryukyu archipelago and the link to Nawa clan and the first Sho dynasty as argued by Orikuchi probably reflect a degree of historical truth about the migration of people from Japan.

• One historical period in the Ryukyu archipelago (around the eleventh century) is marked by the transmission to the archipelago of stone pots produced in Nagasaki and by Ryukyuan production of imitation clay pottery. Perhaps the Ebune sea nomads are intimately linked with this movement.

• Iron introduced from Japan was highly prized in the Ryukyu archipelago. As is evident in many place names and folklore, the introduction of iron had an effect on Ryukyuan society.

• Ryukyuan history and society were no doubt influenced by constant intercourse via the sea route that Yanagita argues for. Tanigawa adds that this sea route was probably traveled by the Ebune and Tokara Islands peoples, and by fishermen from Itoman and Kudaka.

• In recent years the history of the Ryukyu archipelago has been written with an emphasis on the Ryukyu kingdom’s having its own unique history. But since Japan and the Ryukyu archipelago strongly influenced each other’s
history through the sea trade, it is inappropriate to treat the two countries independently.

Scholars of the Ryukyu kingdom widely acknowledge the relationship between formation of the Ryukyu kingdom and migration of people from Japan. Yet some of Tanigawa’s bolder theories linking place names and folklore with previous research, such as the intervention in the Japan-Ryukyu trade by the Ebune, requires more circumspect scrutiny, his compelling narrative notwithstanding. Of course, this is a topic for future research imposed on subsequent scholars including myself.

Lastly, I would like to comment on an issue discussed repeatedly in this book: whether the Ryukyu kingdom developed independently or under the influence of Japan. If we interpret this issue from the point of view of cultural interaction, independent development and development under the influence of Japan are not necessarily exclusive. From the start, the Ryukyu kingdom interacted in a multifaceted context that included Okinawa, the Amami Islands, and Japan, with each acting on the others and being acted upon in turn. It is entirely possible that common elements were autonomously contextualized. Autonomous contextualizations and common elements, as well as the existence of the separate contexts that influence them, need to be treated as independent issues.

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This book, edited by SENDA Minoru, consists of three parts, the first of which is titled “Heritage of Traditional Geography” (all titles are translated) and consists of five chapters. In the first chapter, WATANABE Yoshio discusses the etymology of the term “chiri” (topography), which derives from a belief in Chinese geomancy (fengshui 風水), and how the East Asian study of geography is positioned vis-à-vis the Western study of geography. In
chapter 2, TAKAHASHI Seiichi examines the distribution of *ishigantō* 石敢当, a type of stone talisman used in Shuri, the old capital of the Ryukyu Islands, as an indication of the diffusion of Chinese geomancy. Chapter 3, by MINAMIDE Shinsuke, analyzes spatial structure and territory in Malacca, a port city and state on the Malayan Peninsula. In chapter 4, AKIYAMA Motohide, focusing on the enclosed spaces of Chinese courtyards (*siheyuan* 四合院, traditional Chinese walled housing compounds), discusses the traditional use of spatial structures and their underlying philosophy. Chapter 5, the last chapter of part 1, by NARUMI Kunitada, describes the development of compasses and other surveying equipment for making maps in the Edo period (1603–1867).

Part 2, titled “Geography in the Early Modern Era,” also consists of five chapters. In chapter 6, the lead chapter, SENDA Minoru, through the maps and globes used at the emperor’s enthronement and during lectures in the imperial presence, infers that the Meiji emperor was cognizant of world geography. In chapter 7, “The Religion of Geography: Notes on *Chijinron* [The Earth and Man],” DOI Hiroshi discusses *Chijinron*, a book published by UCHIMURA Kanzō in 1894. In *Chijinron*, UCHIMURA, a convert to Christianity, developed a syncretic cultural worldview informed by Christian sensibilities and awareness of Europeans and Americans. In chapter 8, KOJIMA Yasuo analyzes the reception and development of early modern geography in the twentieth century. In chapter 9, KIM Doo-Chul explains how the Korean Confucian scholar JANG Ji-yeon (1864–1921) adapted traditional and early modern geography as a means to stimulate patriotic enlightenment. In chapter 10, the final chapter in part 2, KOBAYASHI Shigeru and WATANABE Rie discuss the transfer of plane-table survey and triangulation from Europe and America to Meiji Japan, and from there to China and Taiwan.

Part 3, titled “The Colonial Era and Beyond,” consists of four chapters. In the first two chapters of this part, TSUTSUI Yukino and FUJIMAKI Masami discuss the role of geography in Vietnam and Malaysia during the political and social changes that occurred in those countries after independence in 1945 and 1957, respectively. In chapter 13, NOMA Haruo discusses tropical geography in various European nations, a discipline that developed as a result of those countries’ maintaining colonies in the tropics. In his analysis NOMA also covers comparative research on Asian rice culture by Pierre GOUROU (1900–1999). In chapter 14, SHIBUYA Shizuki writes about the research of ASAKA Yukio (1910–1994), a Japanese geographer of colonial Korea.

As an anecdotal matter, I found, while doing fieldwork in Vietnam, that few Vietnamese passers-by could accurately give directions using a map. On
the other hand, most Vietnamese were very conversant with the general geographical shape of their country. Readers with experience abroad may agree that this is true in many Asian countries. This situation arises from early-modern maps based on triangulation and other geographical information. Just how well were such maps understood, and how were they used? Few people, it seems, knew their living spaces based on early-modern maps. Even today, most people’s knowledge is informed by other, more traditional or individual spatial concepts and perceptions of geography.

This book, in my view, should be read in the light of research on cultural interaction, bearing two particular points in mind. The first concerns the Eastern shift of Western learning. Early-modern geography and early-modern scholarship that began in the West encountered, confronted, and merged with traditional East Asian knowledge and scholarship. As in many disciplines in the humanities, traditional concepts of geography and methods of understanding space changed through encounters with early-modern Western scholarship on geography, fused with early-modern geography in each country, or were segregated. The second point concerns the fate of geography as a fundamental tool for analyzing space and place in cultural interaction. An awareness of geography influences the worldviews that individuals form.

Two areas should be explored in future cross-cultural research. First, maps and geography can be developed as tools for demarcating, asserting, and expanding control over territory and nations. Chapter 6, by SENDA Minoru, and chapter 9, by KIM Doo-Chul, discuss this aspect of geography. Thongchai WINICHAKUL’s seminal work Siam Mapped (1994) elucidates how awareness of Thailand as a nation-state, country, territory, and cultural entity evolved from a cognizance of geography. Second, there are times when objective geographical perceptions provide a foundation for transcending spatial boundaries. As DOI in chapter 7 and NOMA in chapter 13 indicate, UCHIMURA Kanzō and Pierre GOUROU sublimated geography so that it transcends territorial nations and specific geographical boundaries, and is free from thinking constricted by a focus on confined spaces. More scholarship is needed in these two areas.

Sometimes a priori spatial frameworks (i.e. center and periphery) for understanding the phenomena of geography, culture, and history are set in modern national territories. When we discuss cultural interaction, we should endeavor to question unconditionally our underlying assumptions concerning geography.


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