

***Hou Shan* in Maps: Orientalism in Taiwan's Geographic Imagination**

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Abstract

This paper analyses the vernacular place name Hou Shan as an orientalist production. The term refers to the area now also known as Eastern Taiwan, a region relatively marginalized in the development of Taiwan as a modern space. The paper focuses particularly on how maps both produced and reinforced the image of Eastern Taiwan as a dangerous, uncivilized, and peripheral space. Maps from Qing Chinese and Japanese colonizing periods receive particular attention. The article argues for the suitability of the concepts of orientalism and especially internal orientalism in illuminating the political and cultural issues at stake.

Introduction

台灣物產饒沃，久為彼族垂涎...中互叢山，山之西...統呼為山前，早歸漢地，由官主之，山之東...統呼為山後，原屬番地，由番主之...名曰開山，不過鳥道一線，防不勝防...名曰撫番，不過招番領賞，濫賞何益...兼以山後陰凝成瘴，防墾兵民，類多中傷，以致開撫踵事虛糜...前有請罷山後之議，未免因噎廢食，我棄人取，勢所必至。

劉璈《巡台退思錄》光緒七年至十年 (1881-1884)

'Taiwan is rich in natural resources and has long been the envy of its neighbors', reported Qing official Liu Ao upon a visit to the island in 1881. 'In central Taiwan lie massive mountains. The area to the west of the mountain is called Mountain Front, which has long been a Han colony, controlled by government officials. The area to the east is Mountain Back, which is a barbaric land controlled by barbarians'. Liu went on to discuss the backwardness of the region behind the mountains and the difficulty of dealing with the peoples native to that area. In doing so, he participated in the construction of a durable expression of social power, one that persists even today.

Research Focus, Sources, and Methods

Social power comes in many forms. Critical scholarship insists that power is not confined to expressions of formal politics but can be enacted even in the most mundane acts of daily life. The topic of power thereby crosses the boundaries of and intertwines with most academic disciplines. This paper highlights an expression of *geographical* power that is embodied in a relatively common place name and represented through a seemingly mundane representational technology. It describes, illustrates, and analyses the notion of *Hou Shan* (後山) on maps of Taiwan. *Hou Shan*, a phrase that still resonates in contemporary Taiwanese society as a social-spatial stereotype of Eastern Taiwan's area and peoples, has a long history in Chinese thought and cartography. It also finds expression in Japanese and European sources. We argue that this persistent geographical imagination constitutes a discourse of orientalism, a fixing of geographical and social meaning within and about Taiwan. This paper first briefly describes the object, methods, and sources of our analysis. It next draws on the literature of critical human geography to lay out a case for maps and place names as expressions of power. The article then takes up the main task of describing, illustrating, and analyzing the origins of *Hou Shan* in the Taiwanese context, showing the continuity between historical cartographic expressions and more recent imaginings, and making a case for orientalism as an appropriate label for the discourse.

Within Taiwan, many kinds of place names exist. Some studies about Taiwan's place names have been published, particularly those utilizing historical perspectives. In addition to official names, some colloquial place names in Taiwan also carry special meanings. This study analyzes one such colloquial name: *Hou Shan*, which literally means 'behind the mountains'. It usually refers to Eastern Taiwan, located on the other side of the Central Mountain Range from the island's main population centers on the western plains. It especially connotes Eastern Taiwan's major cities of Taitung and Hualien. At the same time, the term makes reference to more than objective geographical space. Within Taiwan *Hou Shan* conjures an image of remote geographical space, far away from the center of the action in Taiwan. Identification of these meanings stems from analysis of various types of historical and contemporary sources. It draws on and goes beyond research in earlier work (Hsia 1996). Sources include official archival documents, gazetteers, and travel writings. We have used historical, content, and textual analysis to examine these data. While we focus on maps in this article, we of course do not mean to imply that the creation of meaning and usage for the term *Hou Shan* is rooted only in maps. The term also appears in travel writings, official documents, oral usage in everyday life, paintings and pictures, historical stories, legends, and so on. The space offered by an article does not, of course, allow for comprehensive discussion of each source consulted. In order to move the discussion forward, and as an initial effort to analyze the term, this article focuses on maps that have helped to produce and demonstrate the meanings of *Hou Shan*. The maps we analyze here are from early-modern (about 1600-1895), Japanese-colonial (1895-1945), and contemporary periods (post-1945), the three major periods of Chinese and other colonial contact with Taiwan.

The Power of Maps and Names

Maps are a vitally important medium through which geographical power is expressed. In the 1980s and 1990s, scholars began enunciating a critical perspective toward cartography. Represented most prominently by Brian Harley, this perspective held that a map was not a politically and ideologically neutral medium through which to convey geographical facts. The study of cartography had hitherto been concerned to trace technical and aesthetic advances in representation and to warn against faulty maps. Now the critical perspective insisted that many other issues were important. Maps could now be read as expressions of culture and ideology (Harley 1992). The meanings that maps convey are at least as important as the technical expertise they embody. Perhaps the critical perspective's most significant insight was the close relationship between cartography and manifestations of (especially state) power. Mapping, critical cartography argued, was essential to the extension of state power both internally and externally. Maps express and reify particular social categories and spatial relationships. They also invaluable aid the expression and maintenance of both bureaucratic efficiency and controlled violence (Yee 1994a). By charting and hypostatizing social and physical phenomena, states have more easily brought (often messy or fluid) social conditions under control. Cartography, this perspective argues, often served as a handmaiden to empire (Short 2001; Edney 1997).

Creating a map involves a multitude of choices. Many of these are seemingly technical or conventional (scale, perspective, projection, representational symbols, etc.). But other choices more clearly relate to social questions – and even technical and conventional choices have been shown to be thoroughly bound up with social questions (Wood 1992). What social elements are visually and textually foregrounded? What elements recede to the background or fail to appear altogether? As one example, Jeremy Black (1997: 17) notes the statist bias of most maps. Most maps show the world divided into the social categories and spaces that the state has constructed, or would like to construct. Few maps convey alternative visions and divisions of space. In this sense, Black argues, mapping 'is an educational process with a clear message about the natural way in which to order space' (see also Brückner 1999). Through such ordering of social space, maps have the potential to create and affirm stereotypical understandings of groups. Maps always come from a particular viewpoint, and this viewpoint often reveals deeply rooted ideas about selves, others, and their relationships. This concern over relationships between self and others, or similarly between center and margins, has been a key preoccupation of the Chinese cartographic tradition (Smith 1996). And while Susan Schulten (2001) writes specifically of the American mapping tradition, her argument is more broadly valid: maps not only tell us about relations between self and others; they also allow us to think about *what is possible* in those relationships.

This point about the power to create stereotypical imaginings also emphasizes the idea that maps are not to be read in isolation. John Pickles (1992), for example, writes of three layers of textuality within maps that must be attended to: the map itself, the map's immediate context, and its wider (including social-cultural) context. Space considerations preclude us from analyzing in close detail each

layer for each of the maps we present below, though we try to hint at the complexity of the issues. The larger point, however, is that mapping's stereotyping must be seen in relation to other notions of social space current within society. Here the focus is one such carrier of spatial meaning – *Hou Shan*. Cartographic representations and the place name *Hou Shan* worked hand-in-hand, as will be described below, to create a social-spatial stereotype of Eastern Taiwan.

Places, like persons and groups, typically have identifying names. Place names, however, are not only signs that identify or differentiate. Specific cultural and historical contexts also lie behind them. In addition, and with perhaps more frequency than with people or groups, place names may be changed to better fit social situations. In order to understand a place name, therefore, we need to clarify the context of naming, the meaning of the place name, and the images/symbolism the name evokes. Henri Lefebvre (1991: 193) has written, 'Every social space...once duly demarcated and oriented, implies a superimposition of certain relations upon networks of named places...'. Names can tell us as much about relationships across space as about characteristics within space. Names are one of the mutually interacting elements that constitute places. To Robert Sack, 'any place draws together nature, meaning, and social relations. The character of that place depends on this mix, which is always in contention and changing' (Sack 1997: 73).

***Hou Shan*: Origin of the Term's Meaning**

Geographers suggest that the apparently banal truism that people make and invent places deserves analytical attention (Valentine 1999). Throughout our everyday lives, even in the ways we utilize our bodies or make use of food, for example, we constantly negotiate space. We position ourselves physically, socially, morally, politically, and metaphorically in relation to others. The term *Hou Shan* refers to a type of spatial/historical experience in various subjective senses.

Hou Shan derives from the history of governance in Taiwan. Various regimes have governed Taiwan, of course, with many different modes of governmentality within and among those regimes. Generally speaking, however, maps themselves, mapping, and cartographers were all strictly controlled by the governments relevant to this study – the Qing (Hsia 1996), Japanese, and KMT. Governments managed the maps, they initiated mapping projects, and they hired cartographers as government officials. The maps, mapping skills, and level of detail the state utilized to take and maintain control changed through the historical phases, but the fundamental use the state made of maps to control space and their relative monopoly over those maps persisted.

Hou Shan was used first in Taiwan by the early Qing, when Chinese migrants who settled on the western Taiwan plain referred to the land to the east, a space interrupted by an intervening mountain barrier. *Hou Shan* referred to the many mountainous areas, from the perspective of early Qing settlement in Taiwan. During this period, *Hou Shan* and *Shan Hou* were usually equivalent terms, with the same meaning in both oral and written contexts. Until the late Qing era, *Hou Shan* was the official name for the Eastern Taiwan area. During more than 200 years of the Qing Dynasty, *Hou Shan* referred not only to a geographical location, but also carried additional meanings. First, *Hou Shan* meant the place not yet

governed or militarily controlled by the Qing. Second, it implied places that were difficult to reach. Third, *Hou Shan* connoted a place that was occupied by many aboriginals, who reputedly hunted the heads of those who invaded their territory. *Hou Shan* to Qing Chinese was thus an uncivilized space beyond imperial control, one marked by mysterious phenomena (Kang 2004).

This geographical imagination was particularly prominent in gazetteers. For example, the Gavalan County gazetteer (噶瑪蘭廳志) mentioned *Hou Shan* in 1831:

In Taiwan, Gavalan is just one of the parts of the wilderness that contain many aboriginal tribes. Holland did not touch it, Guo-Xin-Yeh also did not govern it. During the Qing dynasty, after 160 years of Sinicization, *Hou Shan* finally belonged to the Qing's territory.

David Sibley (1995) argues that dominant groups often create imaginary geographies that locate 'elsewhere' those who are thought to threaten the dominant group, clearly identifying the boundaries of society, both geographically and socially. Rooted in categorical distinctions between self and other, geographical divisions and moral judgments support one another (see also Yorgason 2003). When, as is often the case, spatial division no longer adequately separates the dominant from minority groups, Sibley suggests, strategies of intensive control by the dominant over 'unruly' space often result.

After the 1871 Mudanshe Incident (牡丹社事件), during which China became acutely aware of the threat of other powers with interest in colonizing Taiwan, the Qing court instituted a policy of Opening the Mountains and Pacifying the Savages (開山撫蕃). For the new policy to be implemented, it was necessary to bring *Hou Shan* onto the map, building roads across the mountains to the eastern coast, extending the reach of civil and military administrations, and recruiting Chinese immigrants to settle the land and establish villages. From that time forth, *Hou Shan* meant something slightly different. It now referred to a new territory that depended on Western Taiwan and whose social circumstances often made governing difficult.

***Hou Shan* in Maps**

Maps provide a good index or evidence for understanding the geographical knowledge and imagination held by the Qing administration. Cardell D. K. Yee (1994a) suggests that perhaps even more than Western maps, Chinese maps traditionally were explicitly expected to have a didactic function in society: '[G]eographic knowledge was part of the necessary equipment of the ruler, and maps could be used to transmit cultural values' (Yee 1994a: 86). Even during the Qing era, in the midst of what he describes as selective Westernization of mapping technologies, traditional ways of making and deriving meaning from maps remained strong (Yee 1994b; see also Smith 1996). These traditional sensibilities included the expectation that maps would serve roles beyond mathematical realism, as understood in the Western tradition. Although Chinese cartographers strove for representational accuracy, '[g]eometric and mathematical fidelity to observed reality was not an overarching aim...' (Yee 1994c: 128).

Variable perspective and scale on a single map, for example, was commonly accepted practice. More than mathematical precision, Chinese cartographers attempted to convey the vitality and essence of places. '[A]dherence to the physical world took no precedence over the subjective...Representation of physical appearance was a means of understanding underlying realities, the innerness of both object and artist' (Yee 1994c: 154, 158).

During the more than 200 years of Qing control, several types of cartographical system represented Taiwan. The first important one was traditional *shanshuihua* (山水畫法 mountain-water painting) mapping, a bird's-eye view aesthetically inspired by Chinese landscape painting. Most *shanshuihua* maps in early Qing Taiwan, including many excellent court maps and gazetteer maps, showed the island from the perspective of immigrants leaving South China to travel to Taiwan. Because of this perspective, the *shanshuihua* maps always presented the island with a horizontal axis (the length of the island – the north-south axis – was drawn horizontally).

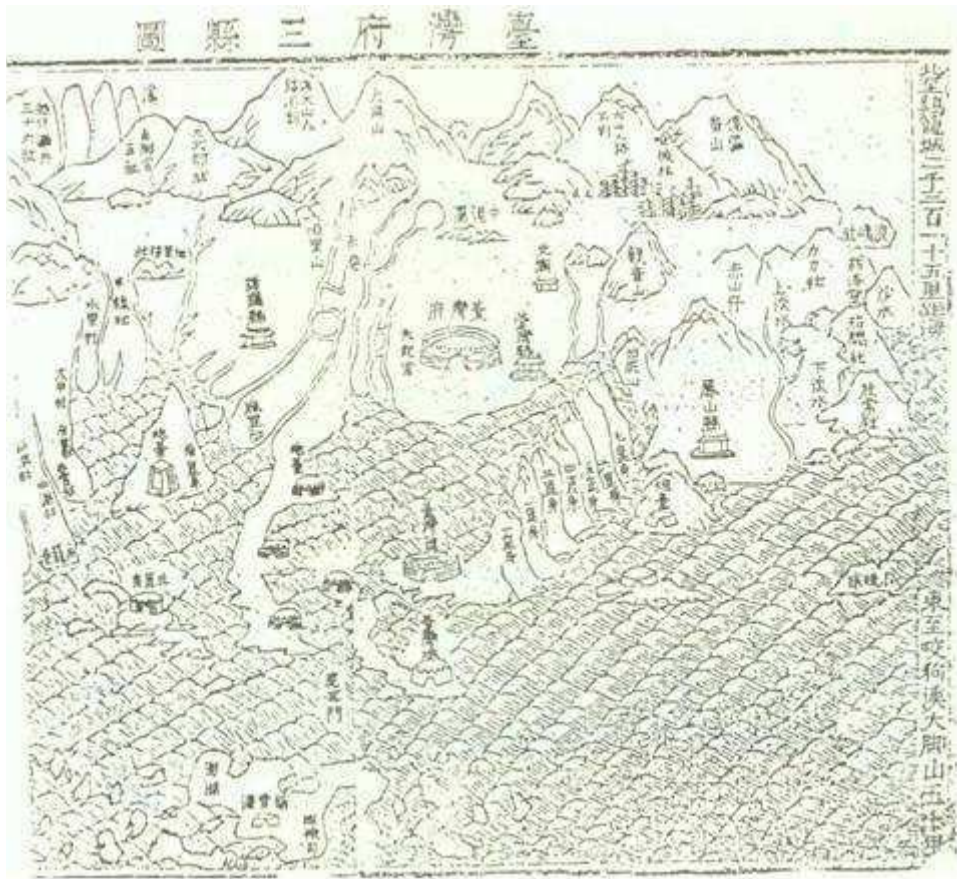


Fig.1: Kangxi Fujian Tongzhi Taiwan Futu (detail) ©

Fig. 1 shows detail from *Kangxi Fujian Tongzhi Taiwan Futu* (康熙福建通志台灣府圖). This was the earliest of the Qing's Taiwan maps, produced in 1684 and included in a Fujian province gazetteer (福建通志). It was seemingly mapped

rather hurriedly, only a relatively few days after the Qing navy had conquered and claimed Taiwan. Thus the map shows only a very limited number of basic features of the island. This traditional *shanshuihua* map portrays different places on the map at different scales. The political center is shown with the greatest detail and at the largest scale within the map. Nothing is drawn beyond the mountains; the few words of notation say that ‘nobody came here’, which meant of course that ‘no Chinese came here’. In such a manner, the geographical landmass of Taiwan could fit easily onto maps. First to appear visually was Taiwan’s coast and the plain. Then came the foothills and the large central mountain range, which presented an imposing physical presence. The unseen space beyond the bird’s-eye perspective was an indication of mystical space – *Hou Shan*. Thus the *shanshuihua* maps not only presented geographical ‘knowledge’ but also geographical ‘imaginings’ of the island from the point of view of governors and immigrants in early Qing Taiwan.



Fig. 2: *Qianlong Taiwan Yutu* (detail) ©

Fig. 2 shows detail from *Qianlong Taiwan Yutu* (乾隆台灣輿圖), a huge, traditional *shanshuihua* scroll map in color, 675×46cm, surveyed and produced between 1757-1759. It contains nearly a thousand place names and notes. Of all the Qing’s maps of Taiwan, it contains the best quality and fullest content. Like Fig. 1, this map orients the island of Taiwan horizontally, with a bird’s-eye view from the Western Sea (Taiwan Strait) looking toward the mountains in the east. This perspective shows the geography of Western Taiwan in great detail. The size and shape of this horizontal-axis map make it impossible to show the whole map in discernable detail. The part of the map shown here displays the Tainan area and its vicinity. Beyond the large central mountains, *Hou Shan*, or the eastern part

of the island, does not appear. This representation implies that *Hou Shan* is ungoverned and uncivilized, a place uninteresting to Qing governors and subjects, just like any other place outside of the Qing realm more generally. Some notes on the map, usually near the mountains, state: 'few bodies here', a phrase that unambiguously meant: 'few Chinese here'.

Simultaneously during the Qing Dynasty, with the Emperor Kangxi's support, Jesuit missionaries went to Taiwan to survey and map the island through Western cartographic techniques. As already indicated, Western methods were only selectively and incompletely taken on by Chinese map makers and readers. Nevertheless, Yee (1994b) argues, they did hold some importance in Chinese society. As a general rule, he suggests, maps made by Westerners were more important to higher levels of government than to lower. But overall, though Western-style maps had influence among some elites, they did not supplant traditional maps in either cultural or functional significance until at least the end of the Opium War (1839-1842). Jesuit maps showed Taiwan with a vertical north-south axis, with north at the top of the map, and with a carefully measured and recorded island outline. These maps were more accurate in outline, but contained more simplistic content than did *shanshuihua* maps.

Kangxi Tushu Jichen Taiwan Futu (康熙圖書集成台灣府圖) is the earliest Jesuit map of Taiwan (Fig. 3). It appears in the *Kangxi-Jesuit Atlas* and is based on the cartographic survey of Taiwan undertaken by missionaries in 1714. This map was the first to orient Taiwan vertically. The map shows the outline of island in precise detail for the west coast, but the east coast is empty, with nothing drawn. Thus even the early use of modern scientific methods did not immediately bring *Hou Shan* or eastern Taiwan onto the island's maps. From the viewpoint of the Qing government, *Hou Shan* was still beyond the horizon.

Fig. 4 also shows a Jesuit map, *Qianlong Yitong Yutu Taiwan Tu* (乾隆一統輿圖台灣圖). This particular map resulted from a remapping of the island in 1789. The west coast of the island is drawn on this map similarly to *Kangxi Tushu Jichen Taiwan Futu*. But there are two kinds of grid system on this map. Chinese cartography during the Qing Dynasty often sought to supplement Chinese mapping technology with Western mapping technology rather than replace the former with the latter. One result was superimposition of the Western latitude-longitude graticule (based on a spherical earth) upon the more traditional Chinese distance grid (based on a flat earth) (Yee 1994d). This later Jesuit map also shows more detail in place names. This map was the first map on which the outline of the east coast of Taiwan was recorded. Yet, the east coast is quite roughly and incorrectly portrayed. Nevertheless two bays and some rivers along the east coast appear. Though eastern Taiwan still appears relatively empty, this was one of the first maps to display Taiwan as a singular island entity.

Two very different mapping paradigms existed in early Qing Taiwan – *shanshuihua* cartography and Jesuit cartography. *Hou Shan* or Eastern Taiwan was almost completely absent from both. The Qing court's philosophy was that if a place was governed, it would literally be brought onto the map. An area that was not yet governed, which usually meant an 'uncivilized' place, should not be part of the map (Hsia 1996). To that point in time, then, the fact that almost all of the Qing's maps did not present the whole outline of Taiwan seems reasonable. The situation changed by the late nineteenth century.

Guangxu Yutu Bingshou Quantai Qian Houshan Zhongtu (光緒輿圖並說全臺前後山總圖) is one of the most excellent and important maps of Taiwan produced during the Qing Dynasty (Fig. 5). This map was finished in 1879 and published in



Fig. 3: Kangxi Tushu Jichen Taiwan Futu ©

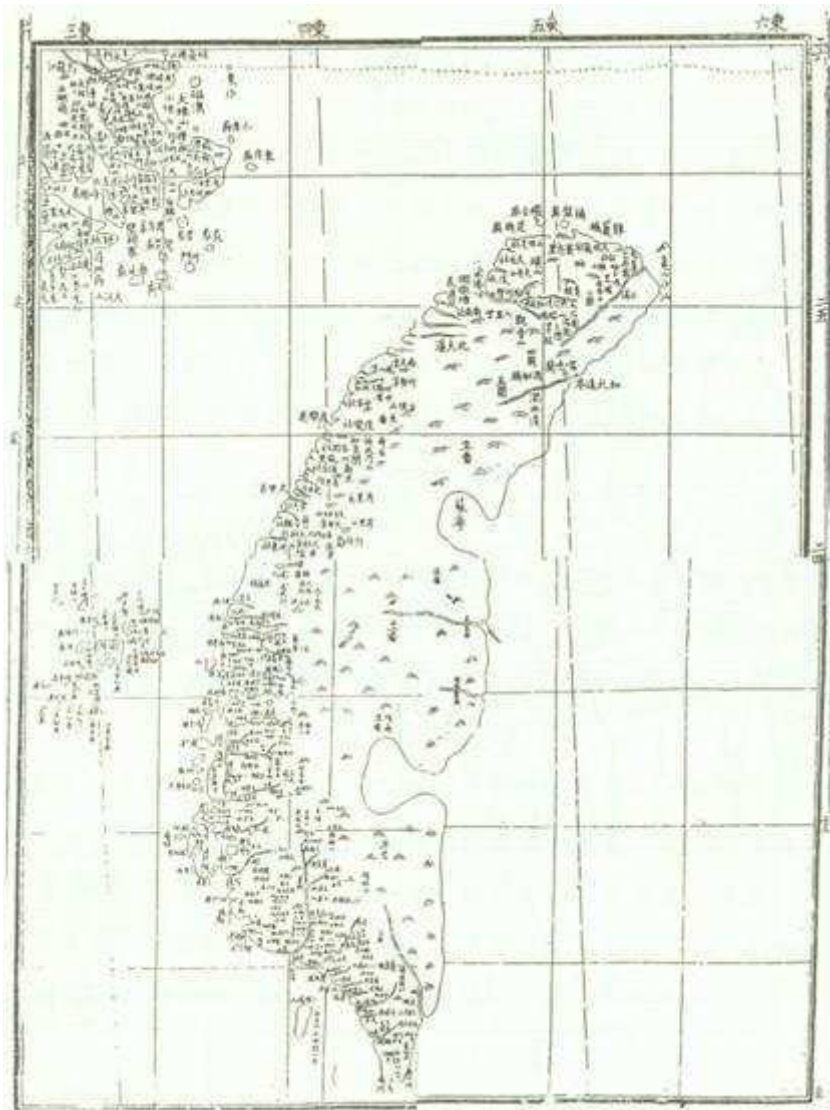


Fig. 4: Qianlong Yitong Yutu Taiwan Tu ©

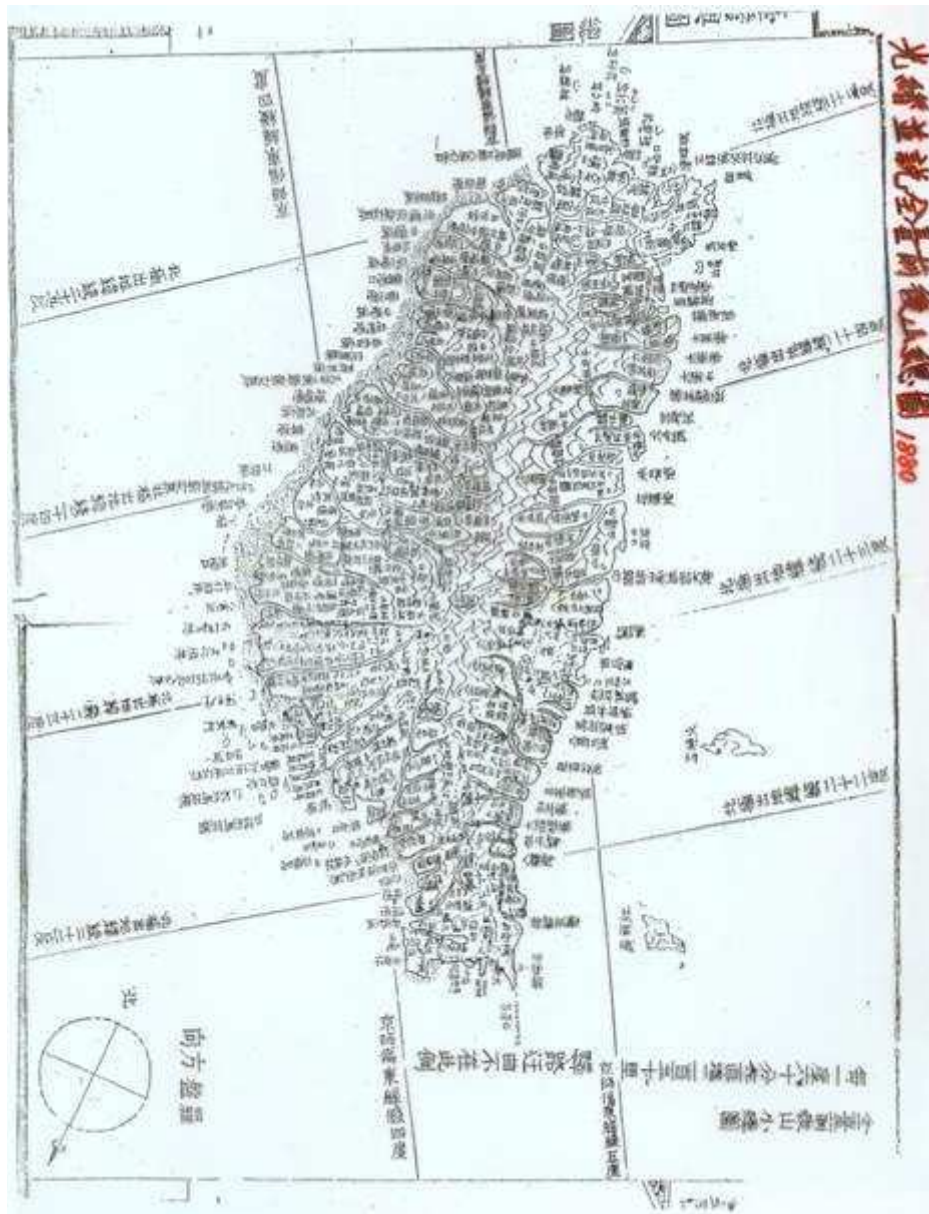


Fig. 5: *Guangxu Yutu Bingshou Quantai Qian Houshan Zhongtu* ©

1880, with a vertical axis orienting the island. There is a grid system on the map marking two meridians, measured in relation to a base in Beijing, and four lines of latitude, relying on a polar base. There are signs and notes about scale and a legend as well. The outline of the island is fairly accurate, better than most Qing maps. Place names are plentiful. Thus the map provides a rather comprehensive image of the landscape in late Qing Taiwan. After the 1871 Mudanshe Incident, the Qing court decided it needed to claim all of Taiwan to prevent other imperial powers from claiming the island. The best atlas of Qing Taiwan to that time was completed in 1880 – 光緒輿圖並說 (*Guang Xu Atlas*). This map is the first in the atlas. *Hou Shan*, or the eastern part of Taiwan, is mapped with similar

geographical precision as Western Taiwan. The number of place names is also similar to the west. The atlas, incidentally, contains another map focusing on *Hou Shan*. It is the best and most important map produced on eastern Taiwan during the Qing era. For this and some of the other maps shown in this article, other place names exist in the area of *Hou Shan*. Most of such place names were translated into Chinese from aboriginal languages. The practice of translation seems to focus the user's attention to the apparent lack of Chinese civilization in the *Hou Shan* area.

In traditional China, mapping was almost the exclusive prerogative of the state or court. They used maps primarily for governing and military affairs purposes. The state carefully managed the availability and distribution of maps. Thus officials and elites were almost exclusively the only people who could read maps in traditional Chinese society. They were the ones who had the ability, position, and motivation to govern, travel, write, and describe the different places they visited or learned about from literature and maps. We can therefore argue that other than more vernacular imaginings, there tended to be a rather singular geographical imagination and discourse about places in Chinese society. This discourse would have been extremely difficult for any other social group to challenge except perhaps at the most informal, local level.

From *Hou Shan* to Eastern Taiwan: Change and Continuity

Similar characteristics applied to Japanese mapping. During the Japanese colonization of Taiwan, maps were one of the most important tools of domination. The Japanese took the scientific study of Taiwan to a new level, as they used such instruments as land surveys and censuses to gain more intimate knowledge and control of not only the spaces of Taiwan, but also the people who belonged to those spaces (Yao 2006). Nevertheless the Japanese colonial state, like the Qing, still used and controlled cartography for purposes of governance. But, with the different political situation, some cartographers began to change the orientation of maps. Taiwan began facing north, toward Japan as the motherland. Nevertheless, this shifted orientation did not change the geographical imagination about *Hou Shan* within Taiwan itself.

In the fifty years during which the Japanese colonized Taiwan, the Japanese government used the term Eastern Taiwan, instead of retaining *Hou Shan* from the Qing period. This change was partly due to the different historical and geographical experiences of the Japanese colonizers. When they sailed south from Japan to Taiwan, the island could be imagined as divided into two parts: the right part and the left part, or west/east from the point of view of the sailors. This more equal east/west division of the island was more important to the Japanese than it had been to the earlier Qing. To the Japanese Eastern Taiwan held little of the Chinese sense of being beyond/behind the mountains. This geographic structure became an important factor in the creation of the Japanizing Eastern Taiwan Policy (内地化東台) in the early Japanese colonial period. Another important factor was the uneven development between eastern and western parts of Taiwan, particularly as it was accompanied by racial discrimination toward the majority population in *Hou Shan*, aboriginals who were considered much less civilized than the Han people in Western Taiwan. Eastern Taiwan or Hualien

Harbor were the official place names; these came to signify a new region for settling. *Hou Shan* instead started to be used in a colloquial and informal manner by the Chinese people in Taiwan.

Many types of early scientific cartography existed during the Japanese colonial period. As support for colonial modernity on Taiwan, including the needs of administration, military, planning, policing, and so on, the Japanese undertook many types of land surveys and produced many excellent maps of Taiwan. Bird's-eye maps were the most popular during the middle of the colonial period. Due to the topography of Taiwan, these maps utilized a sea-to-land perspective. They usefully promoted geographical knowledge of Taiwan within Taiwanese society. Not unlike traditional Chinese maps, different places tended to be drawn at different scales. Of course, Eastern Taiwan, including Hualien and Taitung, appeared on maps in this sea-to-land perspective. These maps clearly indicate a different attitude from the Japanese colonial government toward Eastern Taiwan from that held by Qing officials.

Fig. 6 shows a series of postcards that uses four individual cards to create a whole map of Taiwan (*Taiwan Quandao Niaokantu* – 台灣全島鳥瞰圖). This popular map was produced during the 1930s by a Japanese painter, Hatsuzaburo Yoshida (吉田初三郎), using bird's-eye perspective. The map views the island from over the sea looking toward the land. Unlike the Qing maps, this map uses an east-to-west view to portray the island's landscape. It also represents different places on the map at different scales; the major cities are shown at a larger scale and with greater detail. Like most of the bird's-eye maps in Taiwan's middle-Japanese period, this map tries to connect Taiwan to Japan. The right postcard shows Japanese place names and Mount Fuji (富士山) toward the remote margin of the map. (In the process it greatly distorts cardinal directions. Japan and Korea appear to be the only lands on the horizon west – rather than north – of Taipei. China, physically much closer to both the north and northwest of Taipei, is absent). The map clearly signals that all of Taiwan should face toward and belong to Japan. For this purpose Yoshida drew a sea route from Korea and Japan to northern Taiwan. In this map Eastern Taiwan receives the same weight as other places in Taiwan. It does, however, still appear to be (quite inaccurately in a technical sense) the back of the island *vis-à-vis* Japan.

Da Taluko Jiaotong Niaokantu (大太魯閣交通鳥瞰圖) was another popular bird's-eye-view map during the middle of the Japanese colonial period (Fig. 7). It was drawn in 1935 by Yoshida to show a important new road system established by the colonial government. The road connected Northern and Eastern Taiwan through the famous high cliff coast and also linked eastern and central Taiwan across the Central Mountain Range. In this map two main east coast harbor cities, Hualien (in reality a bit north of center on the east coast of Taiwan) and Suao (further north, nearly halfway between Hualien and Taiwan's northern tip), are portrayed much larger and with much greater detail than other places on the map. The rest of the east coast, as well as the northern coast, are severely shortened. The eastern half of Taiwan, which in reality features a more-or-less straight coastline for most of its length, appears harshly indented and convex. The mountain area the road system covered is given the main position on the map and

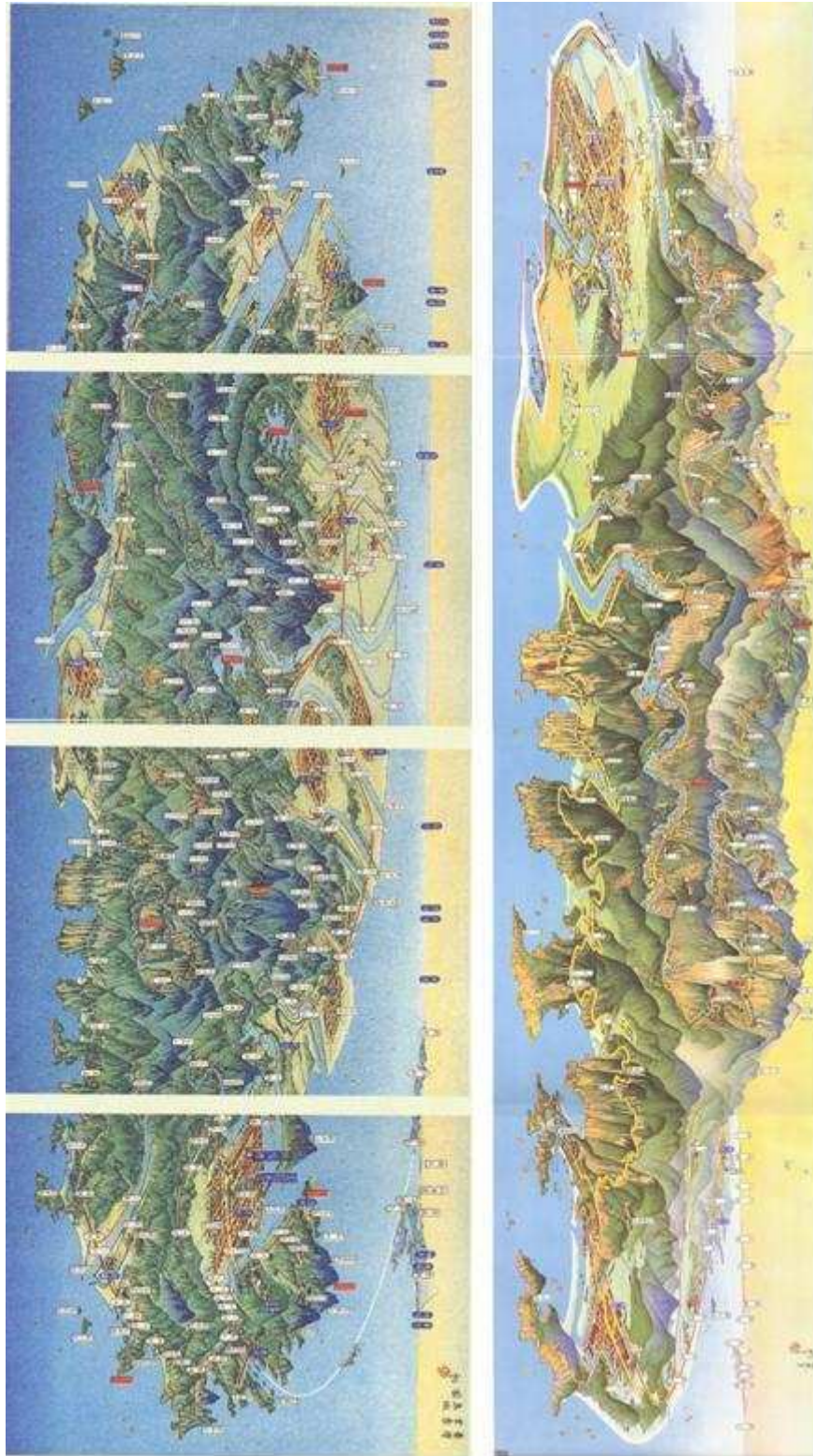


Fig 6 (left): *Taiwan Quandao Niaokantu* and Fig. 7 (right): *Da Taluko Jiaotong Niaokantu*

is also exaggerated. Like many other maps of this kind, Japanese lands and place names are portrayed in the right-top corner of map, with a sea-route linking Taiwan and Japan.

The Return to *Hou Shan*: New Meanings, But Outside Cartography

After World War II many Taiwanese migrated from Western to Eastern Taiwan in search of the economic positions the Japanese withdrawal had left vacant. At that time the Kuomintang government came to Taiwan, repeating the geographic direction of movement the Qing-era Chinese had used, from south China to Taiwan. The usage and social significance of the *Hou Shan* discourse have therefore risen again in Taiwan. But *Hou Shan* gathered additional meanings in the process. These include: a lack of resources and materials for a quality life, an underdeveloped region in Taiwan, and a place to punish prisoners and wayward officials. In analyzing post-World War II cartography, when most of the maps or atlases of Taiwan were based on the American army system, we no longer find differences in portrayals between 'eastern' and 'western' Taiwan. *Hou Shan*, as a special colloquial place name, did not appear on official maps, publications, or documents. Its existence was instead perpetuated orally in everyday life situations.

After the 1990s, with the rise of Taiwanese identity, many social movements sprang up around the island. In this context many residents of Eastern Taiwan gave *Hou Shan* a more positive interpretation. They pointed toward the spirit of pioneering and confronting challenges. For example, a local group in Taitung, organized by a writer, tried to promote a new sense of *Hou Shan* identity:

When 'Hou Shan culture' begins to appear with the image of tenderness and sincerity, penetrating every corner of Taitung, we have reason to believe that the ideology of the 'Hou Shan people' can emerge out of the shadow of obscurity and seclusion to see clearly the cultural countenance of itself. (Lin 1993: 7-8)

Simultaneously, Taiwan's nation-building efforts have emphasized Eastern Taiwan as a particular site of multi-ethnic culture. This movement has also promoted Eastern Taiwan as Taiwan's last allegedly 'pure' environment. Furthermore, for purposes of de-Sinicization, many in Taiwan have tried to create and stir Pacific imaginations by relating Taiwan's aboriginal peoples, a substantial proportion of whom live in eastern Taiwan, to other Austronesians. As natural purity and new ethnic linkages became part of the *Hou Shan* discourse, the term *Hou Shan* began to change somewhat within Taiwan from a negative stereotype to an image with some positive connotations.

Interpreting *Hou Shan*: Orientalism in Cultural Representation

Despite the more positive tone in recent years, we suggest that *Hou Shan* discourse constitutes a type of Orientalism, and even at certain times internal orientalism. Orientalism has of course been a popular concept for scholars since Edward Said's (1978) book of that title. It commonly refers to a particular type of othering process toward people, lands, and social systems. Orientalism produces

representations of exoticism, timelessness, danger, barbarity, backwardness, and sensuousness. Our use of the term draws on these well-known arguments by Said and others who have both extended his research agenda and critiqued aspects of his original formulation.

Said's *Orientalism* was his most important contribution to post-colonial theory – indeed, it was one of the founding texts of the field. Through this book Said argues that 'the Orient' is a construction – one produced within a frame of power, knowledge and geography (see also Gregory 2000: 556-567). Said regards Orientalism as both a discursive formation and material practice for the production and domination of 'the Orient' by 'the West': '[W]hat gave the Oriental's world its intelligibility and identity was not the result of his own efforts but rather the whole complex series of knowledgeable manipulations by which the Orient was identified by the West', (Said 1978: 40). From teaching to publication, conferences to media, etc., Orientalism constituted knowledge, aesthetics, and imagination of the East within the West. Above all else, the discourse of Orientalism made 'the Orient' appear as an essentially backward realm, originally outside of and untouched by the West.

As a type of geographical imagination, Orientalism specifies an asymmetrical position between self and other. Basically, the discourse of Orientalism presumes a set of positive characteristics that typify the West along with corresponding absences for the East: positive/negative, presence/absence, masculine/feminine, rational/irrational, democratic/despotic, and progressive/timeless. Through these binary oppositions, the West asserted for itself a position of primary significance and relegated the Eastern world to a secondary position, one that was only known through the stereotyping that accompanies othering.

Said's formulation of Orientalism has not gone uncriticized, of course. Derek Gregory, in *Geographical Imaginations* (1994) notes, as have many other critics, that Said's *Orientalism* was a product of its times, the late seventies. He points to *Orientalism*'s homogenization of the West's orientalizing discourses, the passivity with which those orientalized are implied to have accepted the process, and Said's failure to analyze critically the gender content of Orientalist discourse (Gregory 1994: 169-183; see also Lowe 1991). Others dispute the extent to which Orientalism's essentializing tendencies were unique to the colonizing West (van der Veer 1993: 23-24). Yao (2006) usefully questions the purported links between a rather unified discourse and highly varied colonial experiences.

Most discussions of imperialism and Orientalism indeed focus on 'the West's' actions toward the places where it asserted colonial or imperial control. Some scholars have even gone so far as to argue that the only true imperialism was that undertaken by the West. Against such claims, Emma Jinhua Teng (2004) has strongly argued that scholars ought to regard the geographically expansive actions of the Chinese state and Chinese people during the Qing Dynasty as 'imperialism'. Chinese expansion during this period carries a strong resemblance to western imperialism both in social relationships and in cultural constructions:

Chinese representations of the frontiers as exotic, uncivilized, and barbarous bear fundamental similarities to European Orientalism. If European culture, as Said argued, derived its sense of identity and strength by setting itself off against the Orient, Chinese civilization gained its sense of identity as 'the Middle

Kingdom' (*Zhongguo*) in opposition to the 'barbarians of the four directions' (*siyi*). Both traditions attempted to establish their own civilization as the normative ideal and to project 'over there' qualities and traits (lasciviousness and indolence, for example) that they sought to repress in their own societies. Painted in the broadest strokes, European Orientalism and Chinese discourse on barbarians can be regarded as comparable. Indeed, the similarities are striking and point to the existence of shared, cross cultural modes of constructing foreign 'others'. (Teng 2004: 12)

Teng argues that through various discourses and to multiple effects, Chinese settlers and Qing officials set themselves apart from the indigenous peoples of Taiwan. In doing so, they figured the land of Taiwan to reflect the differences they claimed the indigenous people represented. The Chinese increasingly throughout the eighteenth century associated the basic racial/ethnic markers of 'cooked' and 'raw' savages, for example, with territorial delimitations (Teng 2004: 131-145). The former term represented those aborigines who could presumably be civilized and perhaps even Han-icized, while the latter represented peoples who could not be brought into the orbit of Chinese civilization. A persistent marker of most fundamental otherness was the term *Hou Shan*, which referred to areas of raw wildness – both human and natural – of and beyond the Central Range on Taiwan. This naming of a place, even as something beyond the known civilized world, set colonization and dispossession in motion, as Paul Carter, Derek Gregory, and others have noted in different contexts, making the place simultaneously familiar to colonizers and alien to native inhabitants (Carter 1987; Gregory 1994: 171-172). Maps portraying Eastern Taiwan as empty or otherwise apart from Taiwan's social processes reinforced this otherness. Many of Said's arguments thus work quite well in analyzing *Hou Shan*.

Nevertheless, there are some points of difference between Said's argument and the Taiwan case. First, unlike most of the West's far-flung colonialisms, Taiwan was eventually marked by an integrative politics. The Chinese state governed all of the island, including even the eastern half, from the late Qing Dynasty. After World War II, the institutions were almost one and the same between Western and Eastern Taiwan. Second, the size or scale of Taiwan is smaller than the Western domination of the Middle East on which Said focuses. This means that the physical boundaries were more easily crossed within Taiwan. It was easier to migrate, travel, and maintain contact between the two parts of Taiwan. Third, unlike most cases of Orientalism where clear ethnic divides exist, the same social group eventually dominated in population and in politics/culture on both eastern and western parts of island – the Han, sometimes further differentiated as the Hoklo/Taiwanese people. The aboriginal peoples have not effectively challenged this situation since the Japanese colonial period in Taiwan.

In part to analyze situations similar to Taiwan's, some scholars have built upon Said's arguments by suggesting that 'internal Orientalism' is a significant phenomenon in its own right (Breckenridge and van de Veer 1993). Most discussions of orientalism focus on geographical othering that crosses boundaries of nation-states. But, some scholars argue, there is no necessary reason to think that Orientalism's exotification, essentialization, and defining of self through negative reference to the Other must take place outside a country's borders.

Louisa Schein (1997) helped initiate the discussion, especially in the Chinese context, by arguing that minority ethnicities in the contemporary People's Republic of China are subject to the same types of othering processes at the hands of Han Chinese that Said identifies (for a case in India, see Jewitt 1995). David Jansson (2003: 296) extended the idea geographically. 'Internal orientalism represents a discourse that operates within the boundaries of a state, a discourse that involves the othering of a (relatively) weak region by a more powerful region (or regions) within the state'. And, in a manner that resonates with the eventual more positive, self-produced visions of *Hou Shan*, Jansson further claims that internal Orientalism differs from Orientalism. Residence within the same nation-state makes it more likely that 'negative representations of the othered region will be complemented by positive representations', perhaps from voices within the othered region (Jansson 2005: 267).

In Taiwan, *Hou Shan* as a geographical space did not exist naturally or essentially. The social meaning of *Hou Shan* started to emerge *within* Western Taiwan and *for* Western Taiwan. Knowledge about *Hou Shan* was not the result of that region's own efforts, but rather of the production and manipulation of knowledge and domination by Western Taiwan society. *Hou Shan* as a geobody was identified from research, publication, teaching, media, writing, etc., in ways that disciplined the knowledge, culture, and imagination about it by Western Taiwan. The discourse of *Hou Shan* has utilized a series of binary, essentializing elements – developed/underdeveloped, core/peripheral, advanced/primitive, modern/mystical, priority/secondary position – that are rooted in Chinese-centrism. The discourse of *Hou Shan* is an expression of social power. It is a discourse about otherness, an otherness that helped sustain a sense of normality and centeredness, initially for Han Chinese ethnically, and later for Western Taiwan in a more social-spatial sense.

Conclusion

In this paper, we use the discourse of Orientalism to argue that *Hou Shan* is a kind of Orientalist geographical imagination and discourse of otherness in Taiwan. We have been particularly concerned to illustrate the role of maps in the discourse's origin. While this focus has precluded attention to the full variety of ways in which *Hou Shan* discourse functions as a type of internal Orientalism, it illuminates ways in which geographical imaginations make significant contributions to relations of power within Taiwan.

Orientalism generally, and internal Orientalism in particular, are not relationships of inevitable eternal duration, of course. For example, Europe's emerging identity, an expanding European Union, as well as Europe's high levels of immigration have recently produced rapid changes in the ways self and other are defined both ethnically and geographically. Old internal others are becoming part of the mainstream, and new groups and areas are taking on the role they vacated (Haldrup *et al.* 2006). Nevertheless, Orientalism is often quite persistent. During recent years – when nation-building efforts centering around Taiwan identity have become prominent – *Hou Shan* has been given additional meaning related to a pristine ecological environment and a multi-ethnic culture. But while new elements have accrued to the discourse, the notion of *Hou Shan* representing a

secondary/other position remains strong. Though space does not allow us to pursue this argument here, we suggest that eastern Taiwan retains in both informal and formal ways a backward position within Taiwan's geographical imagination. A few positive representations have not eliminated Orientalist habits and categories. Eastern Taiwan is still behind the mountains.

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