# 知识地理学

空间与地方间的叙事转型与重构

Transition and Reconstruction of Narration from Space to Lace 孙俊◎著

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## 知识地理学

空间与地方间的叙事转型与重构

孙俊◎著

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#### 内容简介

本书介绍了由科学地理学到科学知识地理学再到知识地理学的思想旅程,并最终重构了知识的景观。

本书由科学分布的空间不平衡性观察开始,首先阐述科学空间不平衡性的由来及基于地方的地点、区域、全球空间的地理框架;其次以地理学为案例分析现代科学知识生产中的不同知识传统"类并""凝结"的可能性,从而搭建了一种对称性的科学知识生产景观;最后又以对称性的知识景观将科学知识和本土知识两种地方性知识容纳在同一空间框架之下,重构了知识生产的对称性模型。

本书对科学史、科学社会学、地理学相关领域的研究者具有一定的参考价值,也适合文化研究、历史地理、民族学等相关领域的研究者阅读。

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空间与地方间的叙事转型与重构 -

曾任美国地理学家联合会 [The Association of American Geographers, AAG; 现地理学家美国联合会 (The Association of American Geographers)] 主席的戈里奇 (Reginald G. Golledge) 在主席演讲中说,地理学的知识性质已发生了变化,由关注"what""where"的传统转变为了"how""why"的传统,由描述传统转变为了认知传统(正文有引述)。这种转变是扩张性的。古代地理学有"科学之母""哲学之母"的说法,说的是古代地理学的"百科全书式"特征,也与古代环境知识在人类知识中的比重和重要性有关。当然,在本质上,我们说古代也有地理学,仅用来理解今天的地理学形成的渊源关系,古代知识系统的世俗性、庞杂性暗示了它在历史分析剖面上具有相当的弹性。近现代地理学的兴起受分析性思维的支配,所以在费尔曼 (Nevin M. Fenneman) 1919 年、德赖尔 (Charles R. Dryer) 1920 年、巴罗斯 (Harlan H. Barrows) 1923 年的 AAG 主席演讲中都可见植物学、动物学、化学、地质学等学科形成过程中与地理学之间"儿女"与"母亲"的紧张张力(均发表于 AAAG)。我们今天所见的地理学分支学科,都在 20 世纪的各种传统的延续、碰撞、重组之后得以成型。

与此同时,新的转型和扩展一直持续,而且都似乎具有相同的旨趣。就转型来说,动物地理似乎是较为激进的一个领域。动物地理起源很早,老普林尼(Pliny the Elder, AD 23—AD 79)的作品中已见系统的 zoogeography 传统的起源和发展,历经林奈(Carl von. Linnaeus, 1707—1778)、达尔文(Charles Darwin, 1809—1882)等代表性人物的发展,以区系为核心的 zoogeography 取得了长足的发展。20世纪90年代以来形成的 animal geographies 传统与前一个传统截然不同,新的传统关注的是在人的参与下如何改变了动物在微观和宏观上的分布和习性,以及在伦理的层

面上人类如何强制性地改变了动物空间,并以此建立以人类为中心的世界体系,并进一步演变为以欧洲为中心的"文明-边缘"世界体系。这一思潮倡导"超越人的地理世界"(more-than-human geographies),从空间层面上挑战人与动物的身心二元论 $^{\odot}$ 。尽管可以用中文均称为"动物地理学",但就其旨趣来说,zoogeography与 animal geographies 的相关性并不强。这是地理学领域中典型的转型。

扩展的方面比较多,但这些方面也呈现了继承与断裂的趋势。文学地理,因 为文学在任何区域均是存在的,即使在没有文字的社会中也可能存在某种形式的 可以称为"文学"的东西。理论上说,不同形态的文学,甚至是可计量的文学地 理学家的分布,可以视为"文明"程度的空间表征,比如梅新林所著《中国文学 地理形态与演变》(上海人民出版社, 2014)。不过, 自 20 世纪初康拉德(Joseph Conrad) 在 Geography and Some Explorers 中揭示文学在帝国建构中的幻象开始, 文学家就致力于观察文学渲染下的世界图景的非正当性。这一群体关注欧洲人是 如何想象东方,以及如何以这种想象论证、支持了欧洲人对非欧洲土地、财富、 人民占有和挪用的正当性的。这一思潮一直持续,并最终在萨义德(Edward W. Said)的"东方主义"中集中发酵,形成了文学中的地理批评(geocriticism)传统, 这一传统与文学中的文学批评相并列(经典片断见 Palgrave 出版社和 Macmillian 出版社于 2015 年始联合出版的 "Geocriticism and Spatial Literary Studies"丛书 )。 教育地理也是一门新兴领域,国内外均如此。在国外,自 20 世纪 50 年代就有教育 地理研究的呼吁,不过它在 20 世纪 90 年代才被人们广泛认识到。教育地理的转型 是相当激烈的,它先前关注的是地理环境对教育的影响,以及教育活动的分布问题, 仅仅是借用地理学的思维和方法来研究教育的空间分布问题。20世纪90年代以来, 空间分布不再是重要的问题,重要的是社会关系、结构、权力如何塑造了教育空间, 经济对教育空间的影响、人种冲突在教育教学中的体现、阶层分化与学区划分的表 现、教育特殊现象(比如"名校效应")背后的权力因素等都是新的关注点。

正如本书所探讨的,科学地理学的发展也体现了 20 世纪 90 年代前后的继承与断裂的特征。大致从 20 世纪 30 年代起,关于地理环境对科学活动的影响,以

① Johnson N C, Schein R H, Winders J (eds.). The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Cultural Geography. Oxford: Wiley & Sons, 2013.

及科学活动的分布问题就被科学史家注意到,部分科学史家还将地理环境作为解释或影响科学活动空间分布问题的因素之一。但一直到 20 世纪 90 年代,对科学的地理维度的思考仅处于偶然性进入的状态,它并不是一个受到持续关注的领域。20 世纪 90 年代,元科学经历了无空间性到空间性的转变之后,也就是科学知识社会学的地方主义兴起之后,科学知识再也无法被看作独立于时空的事物,它的进步也不是线性的,地理对科学活动的内在的影响才受到重视。

就其学科渊源而言,20世纪30年代起科学史家对科学活动空间不平衡的偶然的地理的解释,到20世纪70年代的热衷于科学活动空间不平衡的"汤浅现象"的发现及后来的修正,主流的方面都不关注科学性质本身,也不关注社会因素本身,空间问题只是一种填充,自然也无需追问空间为何。20世纪70年代之后,受科学社会学的影响,科学活动的空间不平衡性解释中出现了社会文化因素的解释,尔后形成了本书所说的"地理历史化"和"历史地理化"解释路径,是一种区域分析的认知形态。20世纪90年代,受科学知识社会学影响,科学知识生产中的地方、区域和空间关系成为解释的重点。科学知识社会学影响下形成的地方主义强调了科学知识生产中的地方性,并将科学知识的有效性限制在地方中,从而(按部分科学的文化研究学者的看法)又陷入了形而上学的窠臼中。以利文斯通(David N. Livingstone)为代表的地理学家提出的"科学地理学"试图在科学知识生产和传播的地点、区域、空间中建构新的解释框架,即科学知识在地点中被生产,在区域中被抵抗、修改、接受,从而达到全球空间的景观。这一框架目前正被实践,或许也有问题,但作为一门新的研究领域已被认可。

本书的前半部分是对以上问题的梳理和论述。但存在的一个问题是以上讨论 基本都承认了只有一种科学,至少科学即指西方近现代科学的这个指涉并未被攻破。关键的问题在于对非欧洲社会来说,他们长期发展的知识系统与今天的知识系统关系如何。一般的观点认为,非欧洲社会的知识传统被替换了,即由一种本土知识系统被替换成了现代科学知识系统。在这样的观照中,非欧洲社会面对诸如"李约瑟问题"时难以举足,甚至有伤自尊。当前,"李约瑟问题"被认为是错误的,因为所涉及的是社会文化语境与知识系统的问题,但这仍然解释不了两种不同的知识系统如何在时间轴上被替换抑或别的形式发展。在利文斯通等的工作 之后,本书后半部分从中国地理学史的角度论证了两个问题:①西方地理学在古代和近现代知识形态上有很大的不同,用西方发展的线索追问中国发展的线索本身存在误区;②西方地理学进入中国,不仅遇到了抵抗、修正和接受,事实上中国近现代地理学早期一直继承着其前一阶段的遗产,其内容也被纳入新的体系中,新旧两种知识系统存在一个"归并""凝结"的过程。尽管在"归并""凝结"过程中传统的成分越来越少,现代的成分越来越多,但这并不妨碍得出一种新的结论,即中国近现代地理学是两种传统"归并""凝结"的结果。事实上,西方近现代地理学也可能有此过程,至少按当前的陈述,它存在一个古代传统与近现代传统的转型过程,这个过程在空间上或许没有"归并""凝结",但在时间上则是存在的。何况,西方近现代地理学体系在建构过程中可能吸取了不少非欧洲社会的知识成分(这一点本书暂时没有涉及)。

在欧洲科学被视为地方性知识的一种之后,另一种地方性知识也应当被体察到,即本土知识。本土知识的有效性并不低于科学知识,甚至在某些方面要比科学知识有用,这是本书在科学地理学的基础上作的第二项扩展。假如基于中国地理学史的分析得到的是一项由异质的到同质的、多元的"归并""凝结"后的空间结构,那么考虑到科学知识与本土知识时,得到的空间结构本身是异质的。当然,两种异质性的知识体系如何共处也构成了本书结构的一部分。当两种异质性的知识系统被放在同一平面,并考虑到历史上不同传统的知识与科学的关系时,一种基于知识论的知识景观和知识史被提上议程。因此,本书标题采用的是"知识地理学"而不是"科学地理学"。

知识地理学一词在创新地理研究中比较常见,但正如本书将要说明的,创新地理并不关心知识为何的问题,或明或暗地,知识在创新地理中仅指科技知识。与此不同,本书所说知识地理学至少包含了科学知识和本土知识这两种地方性知识,在此意义上的知识地理学概念并未形成,本书也只是尝试性地建议了同时考虑科学知识和本土知识这两种地方性知识的复数的知识和地理的"geographies of knowledges"一词来作为主标题的内涵。它的副标题"空间与地方间的叙事转型与重构"事实上是一种对知识的空间性的解读。按照本然的观点(view from nowhere),科学知识的客观性、普遍性支持下的无地方性同时也规定了对它的理解和努力主

要是在时间上,空间的意义仅限于资源和支撑。这一理解正被解构,甚至被指为神话。科学知识社会学派在此有极大的贡献,但如本书将引述的,科学知识社会学的地方主义又落入了某种形而上学的窠臼,科学知识地理学则试图调和无地方性和地方性之间的冲突。在这一点上,科学知识从无地方性到地方性之间的争论成为了第一条主线,即副标题中的"转型"。

第二、三条主线与第一条主线息息相关,或者说在第一条主线的任务完成之后就应当考虑同为地方性知识的科学知识和本土知识到底是何关系。这一关系当前是比较保守的,甚至也可以说是模糊的,因为本书无法提供一条完全整合两种地方性知识的建议,只是倡导了一种对称的知识地理观(symmetrical geographies),若整合的企图能够实现,那么将是混合地理观(hybrid geographies)。倡导对称的知识地理观本身是一种话语,但作为话语分析的渊源在科学知识社会学中早已成熟,并特别地在对地图与表述的激进地图学中得到了具体的体现。从这个角度上来说,倡导对称知识地理观本质上源于科学知识无地方性与地方性之争中形成的话语分析传统,与之相关的理论主要有福柯(Michel Foucault)的知识一权力观、德里达的修辞学和萨义德的东方主义。换言之,知识一权力支撑了对称知识地理观的合法性,这是本书副标题中的"重构"的含义。也由此,本书最终将知识地理学定位在地方基础之上,空间则成为一种结果,它可以体现空间与地方、知识与权力、科学知识与本土知识这三条线索上,并可以通过这三条主线的讨论最终构型基于地方的知识地理景观(place-based landscape of knowledges)。

本书共九章。第一章主要叙述当前关于知识地理学的研究概貌和关键问题。通过重访赖特和索尔,发现这两位学者较早地提议了科学地理学和本土研究的旨趣,他们的思想也在本书中得到继承。继赖特和索尔之后的知识地理学呈现班杂的景象,这也是本书所欲讨论的问题,在叙述了这一班杂的景象之后,本书提议了重组斑杂景象的路径:知识地理学既关心知识的"what""where",又关心知识的"how""why"。

第二章主要讨论科学的空间。科学的空间是指科学活动的分布可能在空间中得到表达。这一章的主要资料来源于关于科学活动中心的讨论,它给出了差不多近五百年的科学活动地域运动。由于资料的限制,这里的科学活动只包括自然科学。

第三章讨论科学的地域建构。这一章涉入了科学的空间编造,将科学理解成受社会文化因素的社会活动,它通过各种中心期之间的时空关系而得到观察。这一章并未打算将科学活动与空间和时间分隔开,基于科学与哲学、教育、经济等活动的"中心"转型的时空结构,本章提议了一种"历史地理化"和"地理历史化"的科学活动中心转型解释框架。

第四章进一步讨论科学和空间的双重性质。首先,第四章讨论科学概念本身 所隐藏的空间信息,一种无地方性到地方性的旅程在科学史中被呈现出来,其间 的矛盾也得到了说明。在此基础上,弥合空间与地方的解释框架以利文斯通的《将 科学置于地方》为中心而得到说明,即科学知识生产有着在地点中生产,在区域 中传播,在全球空间中能够被观察的旅程。

第五、六章是案例性的说明,在《将科学置于地方》的基础上从全球地理学史和中国地理学史这一特殊的场景出发,说明科学是如何在"异域"得到承认和吸收,又是如何被修改的。这两章采用了编史学的方法,最主要的限制在于我们无法从整个科学史的图景中观察,而一项编史学的考察则是可取的路径。这两章最后表明,科学知识的生产和传播并不是在均质空间中运动的,西方与东方两种知识传统并未表现出"替换"性的关系,更多的是一种"类并""凝结"的结果。尽管结果是一样的,基于此种观察的性质却不相同,"碰撞"取代了"替换"或"传播"的科学史解释模型。

第七章考察了科学事业与世界体系建构的关系。严格说来,科学活动的无空间性、欧洲科学的优先性,都是世界体系的重要构成部分,这在沃勒斯坦(Immanuel Wallerstain)的"世界体系"学说中已得到了相当明确的证明。尽管本章无力触及科学在世界体系中的全部角色,但地理学特别是地图的角色则得到了说明。这一说明是基于哈利(Brain Hall)的地图史研究事业而进行的,它表明了我们所熟知的作为科学事业重要组成部分的地图事业与现代欧洲世界体系建构更为亲密的关系,最终也表明了在科学活动中权力的无处不在。换句话说,它表明了科学事业在欧洲世界体系建构中可明确观察到的内容,科学本身由权力编织。

第八章在前几章的基础上前行的同时又发生了一个巨大的转折。本土知识直接地受被证明的科学知识的地方性的影响,同时又与后殖民研究相联系,被识别

基于前述问题结论一章陈述了被认知的知识生产与传播及知识景观的变迁模式图。我们将当前可见的知识景观称为对称知识地理学,最主要的依据是当前两种地方性知识都能够被识别。与之相对应,单一的科学知识传播模型/无地方性知识模型体现了广义的对称性,科学知识地理学模型/科学地方性知识模型考虑了双方的对等关系,但并不是最彻底的,这种对称关系暂称之为第一对称性;知识地理学模型/两种地方性知识模型在当前是最为对称的知识话语体系,此种话语所体现的原则暂称之为第二对称性。关于对称性问题的宣称,本质上与拉图尔(Bruno Lataur)的工作息息相关。

与本书相关的内容是在近年的学习过程中完成的,导师潘玉君教授、武友德教授、贾星客教授、李和宽教授,北京大学蔡运龙教授、唐晓峰教授,南京师范大学汤茂林教授、潘晟教授,华东师范大学叶超教授,台湾师范大学潘朝阳教授,高雄师范大学施雅轩副教授,英国布里斯托大学科学学院地理系 Robert J. Mayhew教授和爱丁堡大学科学与工程学院地球科学系 Charles W. J. Withers 教授等给予教益良多。谨致谢忱!本书的部分章节基于笔者刊于《地理学报》《地理研究》《地理科学进展》《中国历史地理论丛》《科学技术哲学研究》《自然辩证法通讯》《自然辩证法研究》《科学学与科学技术管理》或《地图》(中国台湾)等刊论文的修改,感谢以上期刊及外审专家的指导和鼓励!

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孙 俊 2016年10月27日 Transition and Reconstruction of Narration from Space to Place -

A preface in English is indispensable in contemporary Chinese publishing, mostly because of the difficulty in cross-cultural communication. Simultaneously Chinese geographers have learned much from the Anglophone and it should also pay attention that they have changed the nature and landscape of intellect in the past decades. A typical field is geography of science, or accurately speaking, geography of scientific knowledge.

This book is written in Chinese, and I concern much on Anglophones' contribution to Chinese readers. Conversely, this special preface in English is mainly focuses on the contribution of Chinese geographers and philosophers to geography of scientific knowledge. This ongoing enterprise has advanced the geographical understanding of science, and this book deals with topics such as space and place in science and its history, in geography and its history, in knowledge-power and Indigenous knowledge, in geography of science and "science of geography". Related to these complicated but at the same time could be ordered topics, Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida, Edward Said, (John) Brian Harley, David N. Livingstone, Charles W. J. Withers, Steven Shapin, Bruno Latour and others have made quite significant contribution, but for my poor English writing, I can not present their contribution completely in this short preface. However, what the Chinese have done is beneficial I think.

The journey of spatiality in science and history of science could be divided into three phases. Before the emerging of sociology of scientific knowledge (SSK, thereafter), spatiality was absent or unimportant in science and its history. For George Sarton, for instance, a history of science is necessarily progressive, and his "New Humanism" pinned human hopes on science's progress and spread: 'The New Humanism derives its main inspiration from the past, yet it is turned towards the

future. 'D Sarton emphasized the unity of nature, knowledge and mankind in his "New Humanism," and put them as the basic three aspects of his principles of "New Humanism," however, all of these different things are simplified as single, linear—a single nature needs a unified mankind to overcome it with a single science. Thomas Kuhn's masterpiece The Structure of Scientific Revolutions (1964) challenged Sartonian history of science, especially the way of science evolution. Sociologists such as Barry Barnes, Steven Shapin, David Bloor and Bronu Latour asserted they were inspired by Kuhn, and changed the nature of scientific knowledge—from placelessness to localism, in their laboratory studies. This change is critical, yet dogmatical, according to Joseph Rouse<sup>3</sup>, for localism can not overcome the global spatiality of science.

Shapin encourages sociologists to learn something from geographers<sup>(4)</sup>, I think this did happened in the past two decades, and the geographical sensibilities have got considerable attention in the science studies at the intersection of history of science, philosophy of science and SSK in the past two decades. Livingstone's concise yet rich survey Putting Science in Its Place (2003) puts issues of space—location, place, site, migration, region—at the heart of scientific endeavor, sketches the contours of scientific knowledge production at "sits", resisted, accepted and modified in "places" or "regions", and circulated in "spaces", which represents a shift in orientation from a geography of science to a geography of scientific knowledge. It's a historical geography survey, however, twists together gaps and key differences in science studies.

Beyond that, it is noteworthy that what I want to say firstly, as one of the "terrae incognitae" in John K. Wright's famous paper Terrae Incognitae, geography of knowledge has been proposed to "deal potentially with knowledge and belief of all kinds" earlier<sup>®</sup>, and current discussion in science studies mostly rotates around science as what it looks like in the West, but this should not be taken to imply that this is the only practices that warrant the name science. Besides the geography of science I am

① Sarton G. 1924. The new humanism. ISIS, 6 (1): 9-42.

② Ibid; Sarton G. 2007. The Study of the History of Science. Trans. Henliu Chen. Shanghai: Shanghai Jiao Tong University Press. Chapter 1. (in Chinese)

<sup>3</sup> Rouse J. 1996. Engaging science: How to understand its practices philosophically. Cornell University Press. 22.

<sup>4</sup> Shapin S. 1998. Placing the view from nowhere: Historical and sociological problems in the location of science. Trantions of the Institute of British Geographers, 23 (1): 5-12.

<sup>(5)</sup> Wright J K. 1947. Terrae incognitae: The place of the imagination in geography. Annals of Association of American Geographers, 37 (1): 1-15.

re-proposing here, the relationship between science and others knowledge is another issue that Wright investigated and that is still at the center of a current Indigenous turn in geography. Synchronously, I re-propose Carl O. Sauer as the other pioneer of geography of knowledge. In his pieces such as Geography of the Upper Illinois Valley and History of Development (1926), About Nature and Indians (1939), and Terra Firma: Orbis Novus (1962) , Sauer has inquired the Indian relationship to nature, and suggested us to learn something from the Indians. Current Indigenous turn in geography is re-proposed by these two pioneers I think, and I put Sauer and Wright at the first place of geography of knowledge after a short rereading discretely in the introduction.

At present, plural "geographies" of science or scientific history are seemingly rightful, likewise I propose plural "knowledges" to combine both scientific knowledge and Indigenous knowledge. However, I am very conservative, for I can not overcome the gap of scientific knowledge and Indigenous knowledge, in other words, they are two different forms of knowledge in this book, and I am withdrawing from making great efforts to put Indigenous knowledge in an "umbrella term" of science itself. What I am proposing is "symmetrical" geographies of knowledges in the conclusion of this book, but I ever thought "hybrid" geographies possible. This is the first thing I want to say here, and it's the meaning of the title "Geographies of Knowledges" of this book.

Secondly, the aspect I want to say is the sub-title" Transition and Reconstruction of Narration from Space to Place." A sketchy journey of spatiality of science is presented at the beginning paragraphs in this short preface, but I think I can not catch all aspects of this journey, what I am working is only how the journey of spatiality of science from placelessness to localism, to geography now. This is the meaning of "transition" "from space to place", here "space" implying present but abstract and unimportant; "place" implying essential and primary. The "reconstruction" means that, considering "symmetrical" geographies of knowledges and by adding Indigenous knowledge into the space of knowledge, we simultaneously emphasize the symmetry of space and place, scientific knowledge and Indigenous knowledge.

Thirdly, the "physical geography" of science is largely absent in Anglophone

① All of them are collected together in Carl Sauer on culture and landscape, Denevan W M, Mathewson K (eds.). 2009. Carl Sauer on culture and landscape: readings and commentaries. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.

debating. In my opinion, "physical geography" refers to not only research materials in various physical environments interested researchers, but also special needs in different societies. Hybrid rice and artemisinin (qinghaosu) are two classical examples of revelation (through discovery), for instance. Both Yuan Long-Ping and Tu You-you and their colleagues have spent several years on dealing with abundant materials (wild rice for Yuan, and herbs for Tu) from south China to meet the urgent requirements of Chinese government to solve different social problems, but they did not succeed until they got a gift from the nature. Cultivated rice is considered to have been domesticated from wild rice thousands of years ago, and a great breakthrough of hybrid rice happened when a male sterile wild rice plant was find in nature in the autumn of 1970. Similarly, the discovery of artemisinin happened when Tu and her colleagues obtained a nontoxic and neutral extract from Artemisia annua L., a kind of herbaceous plant widely spread in the southern field of China, that was 100% effective against parasitemia on 4 October 1971. Zhu Ya-zong has emphasized this several times<sup>®</sup>, and I agree that geography has influenced the content of science rather than the speed of development of science typically in John Desmond Bernal's monumental work Science in History: "within limits, no region can be a centre of economic or cultural advance for long without having adequate natural resources, ...which of the geographically possible areas will become a focus of advance depends rather on the forms of society and their economic and political concomitants. Here geographical factors may still play some parts...." 2 Personnally, I think Harold Dorn's The Geography of Science (Dorn, 1991) followed Bernal's tradition much for Dorn's geography of science was synonymous with an ecological constructivism that priorities material environment over other factors. Livingstone and Withers label Dorn's endeavor as "uncritical reductionism," <sup>®</sup> but I think how physical (not only natural) geography influences the content of science is still important in contemporary science development. Of course, the stir of physical and

① Zhu Ya-zong. 1997. There should be a place for geography of science and technology. Studies in Dialectics of Nature, 13 (9): 69; Zhu Ya-zong. 2003. How geographical environment influences innovation. Studies in Philosophy of Science and Technology, 20 (5): 61-66; Zhu Ya-zong. 2013. The scientific breakthrough diversity and the freedom to explore. Journal of Guangxi University for Nationalities: Natural Science, 19 (1): 26-29.

② Bernal J D. 1965. Science in History, Volume 4: The Social Sciences: A Conclusion. Third edition. England: Penguin Books: 1240-1241.

<sup>3</sup> Livingstone D N. 1995. The spaces of knowledge: Contributions towards a historical geography of science. Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 13 (1): 5-34, 15; Withers C W J. 2007. Placing the Enlightenment: thinking geographically about the age of reason. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press: 246, note. 17.

human geography on science was, and is snarled in various regions.

Fourthly, all of these aspects are restricted to "production in space"—how space, region, and place influence the content and speed of science (what we called "geography of science" above), but an alternative perspective is neglected largely, i.e. the "production of space" <sup>①</sup> driven by science ("science of geography" above) . This has been dealt with in geography of innovation, and now a versatile contribution from Springer's "Knowledge and Space" series. As an important tradition, Chinese geographers' attention is deep from this perspective, as they response to Deng Xiaoping's manifesto "science and technology is the primary productive force." In this tradition, however, Chinese geographers incline to emphasize the applied dimensionality with positivistic methodology, failing to discover the geographical sensibilities in the production of knowledge; in other words, they are indifferent to the nature of both science and space.

Finally, considering both the geographical and historical qualities of knowledge from the perspective of history of science, a panorama and landscape of science could be caught but the nature has changed for "as things move over space, so their meanings may change" "migration always involves modification" ; for the global panorama and landscape of science" is embedded in the broader context of history" and geography has no privileged place of origin." 
© Consequently, the panorama and landscape of global science "is a constantly developing consequence of circulation." (a) In this perspective, science is a global enterprise within a global history is possible, but at the same time it is also a global geography and history full of opposition, transmission and reception. In doing so, the geographical sensibilities are of vital importance to science and its history in nature, and I enlarge this speculation to knowledges that combine scientific and Indigenous.

Why these could be made? Because we are from a perspective of geography rather than history. From a perspective of history, we may belittle Indigenous knowledge for it is empirical, scattered, embodied, and backward (this is not always

Lefebvre H. 1991. The production of space. Blackwell: Oxford.

<sup>2</sup> Withers, 2006: 10; see also Livingstone D N. 2003. Putting science in its place: geographies of scientific knowledge. Chicago: University of Chicago Press: 4.

<sup>3</sup> Roberts L. 2009. Situating science in global history: local exchanges and networks of circulation. Itinerario, 33 (1): 9-30, 24-25.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

true now); for finding a high-efficiency way for development, we could give it up. However, geography must consider all of its factors in a space. In this perspective, at least, Indigenous knowledge must be considered, and this is a chance to discover something wonderful. Simultaneously, geography has a connatural privilege in inquiring diversity in space and variability among places. We do find these now: variability of geographies of science and diversity of geographies of knowledges.

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### 前言

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