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RONALD G. KNAPP, *China's Walled Cities*. Images of Asia Series. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 2000. vi + 110 pages. Line drawings, numerous photographs, bibliography, index. Hardcover, n.p.; ISBN 0-19-590605-5.

Cities and urban centers are symbols of civilizations. Traditional Chinese cities are characterized by their magnificent walls. In this book Knapp focuses on city walls to bring the Chinese cosmic order to light and he stimulates our imaginations on China and the Chinese with illustrations drawn from his extensive collection of images, including historic photographs, maps, and drawings. For foreigners it seems that walls are dividers in the urban/rural dichotomy. Every walled city, however, has its gates which are connectors between the urban and the rural. As Knapp clearly points out, "In sum, the city wall did not cleave either physical or practical dichotomy between the urban and the rural. While the wall stood as an apparent massive physical barrier between the city inside and the countryside outside, its gates marked the psychological knots that tied together the city and the open area beyond" (9).

In my opinion, however, the Chinese sense of centrality is expressed by walled cities (in the Chinese language the word *zhongguo* [Middle Kingdom] actually means "walled city"). According to Chinese ideology, there are five directions not four. In addition to east, west, south, and north, there exists the center (*zhong*). *Zhonghua* signifies Chinese civilization and *dongyi* (eastern barbarians), *xirong* (western barbarians), *beidi* (northern barbarians), and *nanman* (southern barbarians) are all non-civilized people. *Hua* means China and the Chinese people. Consequently, Chinese walled cities are *zhong* and *hua* at the same time. Even though Chinese civilization penetrates into the countryside, the essence of civilization is crystallized in walled cities. In other words China is not a vast expanse of land but an associational network of walled cities centered on the imperial capital. Knapp rightly states, "the Chinese perceived *Zhongguo*, the Middle Kingdom, what we in the West call China, as the center of the world and its imperial capital at its metaphorical center" (26).

According to the Chinese administrative hierarchy, there are *sheng* (provinces), *fu* (prefectures), and *xian* (counties). *Xian* is the smallest unit which is directly controlled by the central government. There have been between two and three thousand *xian* in Chinese history. Every *xian* has a principal walled city called *xiancheng* (*cheng* means both wall and city), which by itself represents a little China. In the long history of China, there were periods when Han Chinese had to accept subordinate social positions after non-Han Chinese conquered their land. Yet there are examples where the Han Chinese whose *xian* remained revived their system of civilization quite easily.

In the introduction (Chapter 1), Knapp points out that "they [city walls] are as much visual dividers as psychological and symbolic markers" (2). This statement is the key sentence of this book. In Chapter 2, which is entitled "Chinese Wall-Building Traditions," Knapp carefully examines the tradition of wall-building in general. As with his previous books on China, Knapp always pays attention to regional differences and historical developments. His remarks on site preferences, the influence of fengshui (Chinese geomancy), the external form

and internal form of the city, gate and corner tower, and most importantly wall-building technology itself provide the reader with clear images of walled cities.

From Chapter 3 to Chapter 5, Knapp discusses particular cities such as Chang'an and Xi'an, Beijing, Nanjing, and the relatively unknown small city of Pingyao. He chooses Chang'an and Beijing as two "great" cities. He states, "While Chang'an and Beijing were certainly not unchanging as the centuries passed, each shared an unrivalled splendour for nearly a thousands years, a prominence anchored in the immensity of their scale and layout, the magnitude of their urban population, and the grandeur of their external walls" (43–45). He shows us overall similarities and differences in detail between these two capitals.

It is quite interesting that the model plan of Chang'an was transferred to Korea and Japan and became the blueprint for the Silla capital of Kyongju, and of Heijō-kyō (present day Nara) and Heian-kyō (Kyoto) of Japan. Japan even adopted the inner plan of the city, but did not incorporate the wall-building tradition. In Japan walls were used to protect castles: shops, temples, and houses were built outside the castle. We can see these traits in the Imperial Palace (formerly Edo castle) in Tokyo today.

As for Beijing, Knapp traces her origins from the the Mongol conquest of the thirteenth century. He cites Steinhart's book in writing that the new city "adhered more closely to a classical Chinese city than any imperial city" (54). He follows the history of Beijing from the Yuan, Ming, and Qing periods. It is quite interesting to note that during the Qing dynasty there was ethnic segregation that separated the Manchu rulers in the north from the Chinese city in the south. It is striking that the glorification of the emperor is reflected in the city plan. Knapp writes that "the linkage between the double Zhengyangmen, the magnificent Tian'anmen, and the visible imperial palaces beyond inscribes the symbolic longitudinal axis of the imperial processional path" (66).

Knapp also refers to the meaning of Tian'anmen Square (which, according to him, is the largest public square in the world with a purported capacity of more than a half million people) in Beijing. He states that in modern China "imperial space" was transformed into "people's space" (71). But it seems to me that Tian'anmen Square is still controlled carefully by the Communist government and is not yet considered a "people's square."

Knapp repeats his assertion that, "It must be remembered, however, that the walls of Beijing were maintained throughout the Ming and Qing dynasties less as a protective shield against some perceived threat than as the symbolic architecture of a great capital city" (74). We can again recognize the function of walls for Chinese rulers and the people. Walls are symbolic monuments which represent an image of the world.

In the case of Nanjing, we find a peculiarity in that "the Ming founder scripted a plan in which a sprawling settlement with irregular shaped walls was protected by rivers and screened by mountains....Nanjing occupied a hub position relative to water and land transport" (77). So, "in Nanjing's case no wall was aligned precisely along a north/south meridian or an east/west parallel [and] individual gates themselves were not oriented to the cardinal directions" (82). Its serpentine walls reflect this peculiarity. The square shape, which reflects the Chinese perception of cosmic order, might be the ideal Chinese pattern for city planning. In practice, however, their strategy did not exclude the planning of serpentine walls.

Pingyao is a rather exceptional case, because Pingyao, mentioned above, is not a capital but a small city (47,000 people in 4.2 square kilometers) in Shanxi province. It has great meaning, however, in today's China. Pingyao really evokes "old China." Pingyao was built at the beginning of the Ming dynasty in 1370. The shape of Pingyao's walls is essentially square, with a perimeter of approximately 6.2 kilometers. The city is ringed by a moat from which much of the earth for the walls was obtained. The *Shilou* (market tower) is a symbol of Pingyao. Pingyao's wealth historically derived from banking. People from Shanxi, including

those from the Pingyao area, created a remittance banking system, a vital component of long-distance, countrywide commerce. Pingyao was once filled with some forty impressive temples, as well as other buildings that served its civil administration.

Pingyao's case reminds us, however, of "Chineseness" itself. In ancient times the early Yin Dynasty was also called Shang. The literal meaning of *shang* in Chinese is commerce. In my opinion, commercial activities are essential elements of Chinese urban life, and doing business is indispensable to Chinese identity. So the small but important commercial town of Pingyao is one good example of a Chinese city. We could compare China to the human body. Its capital might be the human heart, and other cities the arteries. All parts of the body have their capillary vessels. In a practical sense, the blood of Chinese society consists of money and goods.

The most striking feature of Pingyao is Qiaoqia Dayuan (the Qiao family manor). It is the most outstanding walled compound or estate. Knapp states, "The Qiao family estate is a walled city miniature that echoes well the nest structure of walls-in-walls characteristics of China's walled city" (96). From this we can understand the similarity between the emperor's palaces in the capital and the houses of influential persons in a local city.

As for city gates it is interesting to note that the Chinatowns in various countries formed by Chinese living overseas often have gates which distinguish their areas from other parts of the cities. Even though they do not have walls, their gates suggest that the Chinese living there have built imagined walls in their minds. For non-Han Chinese this is the key concept that helps to understand the Chinese image of socio-topological space. Again I have to stress that the Chinese perception of centrality and identity lies within these unseen walls.

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SOUTHEAST ASIA

HELLIWELL, CHRISTINE. *"Never Stand Alone": A Study of Borneo Sociality*. Borneo Research Council Monograph No. 5. Phillips, ME: Borneo Research Council, Inc., 2001. xiv + 279 pages. Maps, illustrations, bibliography, index. Cloth US\$35.00; ISBN 1-929900-02-3.

One of the key choices made in anthropological description is the identification of the social units of which the society under consideration is composed. People's lives, after all, are said to be based in these units, and the relationship between them, the social structure of the society, therefore strongly influences those lives. This book is a search for these units among the Gerai of the Ketapang District of Western Kalimantan (Indonesia), a search, therefore, for the locus of Gerai social structure.

The book consists of seven chapters. In the Introduction, the author introduces the theoretical background to her study, questioning the appropriateness of past studies on Borneo to her Gerai data. These studies, themselves part of a discussion on the basis of the structural endurance of society, tended to emphasize the household as the corporate social entity through which individuals gain membership in the larger social whole. Households, which one writer characterized as "sovereign countries" (3) were said to be independent of other such social units and occupy their own apartment in the longhouse or a separate dwelling in the village. Among the cognatic Bornean groups, it was argued, lacking an obvious structure based on exclusive descent groups, houses are a convenient set of socio-physical structures