

TRENDS IN THE COMPARATIVE HISTORY OF THE TRADITIONAL CAPITALS IN EAST ASIA: Origins of “the Traditional Capitals Epoch”¹

INTRODUCTION: THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE TRADITIONAL CAPITALS OF THE 7TH AND 8TH CENTURIES

The aims of the present article are twofold: 1) to systematically describe the present stage of the rapidly developing research being done mainly in Japan on the comparative history of the traditional capitals (*tojiō* 都城) in East Asia during premodern times and 2) to focus specifically on the characteristic features of the subject during the 7th and 8th centuries. The comparative historical study of East Asian traditional capitals, while aimed at all phases of premodern history, has of late developed in Japan with specific focus on the 7th and 8th centuries, because these two centuries mark the initial construction of the traditional capitals on the Japanese Archipelago, accompanying the birth of a political state structure. Furthermore, the fact that the traditional capitals built during that time in Japan were strongly influenced by their counterparts in continental China and on the Korean Peninsula is the major factor behind the recent growth in interest among Japanese historians.

The latest research coming out not only on the traditional capitals in Japan but also their counterparts throughout East Asia has clearly shown that the 7th and 8th centuries were epoch-making in terms of both the

history of the traditional capitals and the formation of ancient states in the region. The reason why these two centuries provide the key to clarifying the history of the traditional capitals in East Asia is that they mark the continuous construction of these urban areas along with the formation of state structures and thus deserve to be called “the traditional capitals epoch” and form the focus of any attempt to review the study of the traditional capitals done to date.²

In order to answer such questions as 1) why “the traditional capitals epoch” of East Asia originated during the 7th and 8th centuries, 2) what were the characteristic features of capitals of that epoch, and 3) what was the influence of that epoch on the rest of premodern history that followed, it will be necessary to place its traditional capitals within a very broad spatial context, the analysis of which calls for historical comparison. The present review will present the recent research findings, attempting to provide the answers to such questions.

It should also be mentioned that the study of premodern traditional capitals had become a complex amalgam of specialists vying with one another within such varying disciplines as historiography, the history of ideas, literary history, social and economic history, archeology, architectural history, art history, environmental history, historical geography, and regional studies, but such individual efforts have reached their limits, necessitating joint interdisciplinary research efforts and the adoption of comparative historical methodology, which above all calls for greater levels of cooperation among interested scholars. The field of comparative traditional-capital history that has been growing and progressing steadily in recent years needs stronger interdisciplinary cooperation.

1. ORIGINS OF “THE TRADITIONAL CAPITALS EPOCH” IN EAST ASIA

The body of research literature that presently exists regarding the capitals of 7th and 8th century East Asia is so vast that a comprehensive description would be impossible to pursue in the present review. This is also true when looking merely at the accumulation of research in Japan, where, as mentioned above, the construction of capitals accompanied the formation of its ancient state. Be that as it may, focusing on what has been happening in recent years, we observe a significant turn towards comparative analysis of similar urban areas in the countries of East Asia in the Japanese historian’s search to explain the important features of their country’s ancient capitals. Let it suffice here to introduce the recent

trends characteristic of Japan's various research institutes involved in the study of East Asian capitals and speculate on what will be happening in the future.

Beginning with national, publically funded organizations, there are Nara National Research Institute for Cultural Properties (est. 1952),³ Archaeological Institute of Kashihara, Nara Prefecture (est. 1938),⁴ National Museum of Japanese History (est. 1983),⁵ and International Research Center for Japanese Studies (est. 1987),⁶ all of which for the past few years have sponsored study groups, international symposia, etc., dealing with the historical comparison of the traditional capitals and published their findings. Next, there is the remarkable progress being made by the various research organizations specifically related to the comparative study of the history of capitals in East Asia. They include Center for Research of Ancient Culture, Nara Women's University (est. 2005) [Nara Joshi Daigaku 21-seiki COE... 2005a, 2005b, 2007a, 2007b, 2008, 2009a, 2009b; Nara Joshi Daigaku Kodaigaku... 2010, 2011, 2012; Tateno 2009], Urban-Culture Research Center, Osaka City University (est. 2003) [Osaka Shiritsu Daigaku... 2003-], Center for Historical Studies-East Asia, Senshu University (est. 2007) [Senshū Daigaku... 2008-11], Meiji University Research Institute for Japanese Ancient Studies (est. 2009) [Yoshimura and Yamaji 2007], Institute of East Asian Epigraphy and Stone Artifacts, Meiji University (est. 2006) [Kegasawa 2011], Toyo Bunko (est. 1924) [Tamura 2005], Society for the Study of the Comparative History of East Asian Traditional Capitals (est. 2004) [Hashimoto 2011], Conference for Research on Ancient Capital Systems (est. 2006) [Sekiyama 2010], and Urban Historical Society of Japan (est. 1990) [Toshishi Kenkyūkai 2005]. All of these organizations have continued over the years to invite scholars from all over East Asia to participate in academic conferences and publish their proceedings. There is also the analysis of traditional cities conducted by the Research Group on Asian Cities and Architecture under the leadership of Ōji Toshiaki 応地利明 and Funo Shūji 布野修司 [Funo 2003]. Their analysis is useful for the study of the origins of "the traditional capitals epoch" during the 7th and 8th centuries.

There are nationally funded and other types of research organizations in Korea that correspond to those in Japan and China in the effort to further the study of their own traditional capitals of the Three Kingdoms through the Unified Silla period within the context of East Asia as a whole [Kungnip Kyōngju Munhwajae Yōn'guso 2002; Kungnip Munhwajae Yōn'guso and Kungnip Kyōngju Munhwajae Yōn'guso 2003; Ch'ungnam Taehakkyo Paekche Yōn'guso 2004, 2010; Wōn'gwang Taehakkyo Mahan Paekche Munhwa Yōn'guso 2005; Kungnip Puyō Mun-

hwajae Yŏn'guso and Kungnip Kaya Munhwajae Yŏn'guso 2010; Nakao, Satō, and Ogasawara 2007]. In Vietnam, excavation of Thang Long (present day Hanoi), the capital of that kingdom since the establishment of Lý dynasty in the 11th century, presented that country's historians with the opportunity to join in the comparative study of East Asian traditional capitals [Shibayama 2006; Momoki 2011]. It was in 2008 that the Mongolian Academy of Sciences and the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut joined forces in the first excavation of the Uighur city of Ordu-Baliq, which was built in the early 7th century as a large-scale “nomadic” capital [Huettel and Erdenebat 2009].⁷

In China the Society for Ancient Capital Studies, which aim to establish the traditional capital studies, has been active since 1980 [Zhongguo Gudu Xuehui 1985–2008]. Another interesting recent development is the many research organizations which have taken advantage of accumulating archeological findings and increased funding to locate in historic towns to study ruins of their capitals in loco.⁸ There is no doubt that the history of traditional capitals in China is entering a brand new phase of development.

Considering the fact that over half of the above-mentioned research has been conducted since the turn of the century, we seem to be in the midst of a boom in the study of the traditional capitals in East Asia. It is almost certain that such lively scholarly activity is closely related to trends in East Asian politics, economics, and culture against a backdrop of the expansion of the region's economic role in world trade. The search for the origins of the “East Asian World” which has continued to flourish during the 20th and 21st centuries is certainly one of the driving factors in the growing interest in the history of the region's capitals during the 7th and 8th centuries.⁹ That being said, we should also recognize that it is only natural that despite a historical phenomenon common to the whole region, researchers are interested mainly in placing the traditional capitals within the context of the history of their respective countries. In any case, there is no doubt that recent developments in the field should inevitably lead to a more detailed and precise field of comparative historical study.

2. EAST ASIAN TRADITIONAL CAPITALS OF THE 7TH AND 8TH CENTURY

2.1 Origins of “the Traditional Capitals Epoch”

Figure 1 depicts the the traditional capitals representative of East Asia

during the 7th and 8th centuries, “the traditional capitals epoch,” while Figure 2 shows the changing face of these structures in the post-epoch period (13th–18th century). As shown in Figure 1, it was the year 630 when the Tang dynasty established an empire encompassing both nomadic and agricultural regions upon the achievements of the preceding Sui dynasty, which had been able to unify China at the end of the 6th century after a long period of decentralization, marking the birth of an era during which ancient states governed from traditional capital cities were formed throughout East Asia. “The traditional capitals epoch” may be summarized chronologically as follows.

583	The Sui dynasty constructs the new city of Daxing 大興 in the southeast section of the Han dynasty’s capital of Chang’an.
605	The Sui dynasty constructs the city of Luoyang.
Early 7th C	Tufan constructs the capital city of Lhasa.
667	The Japanese capital of Ōmi 近江 is constructed.
676	The kingdom of Silla unifies the Korean peninsula and remodels Jincheng 金城, modeled after the Tang capital of Chang’an.
694	Japanese capital is moved to Fujiwara 藤原 (Aramashi 新益).
Late 7th C	Bohai (Balhae) constructs Jiuguo 旧国 and during the 8th century moves the capital to the five consecutive cities of Shangjing 上京, Zhongjing 中京, Dongjing 東京, Nanjing 南京, and Xijing 西京.
710	Japanese capital is moved to Heijō 平城.
740	Japanese capital is moved to Kuni 恭仁.
744	City of Naniwa 難波 is reconstructed as Japan’s capital city. Uighur capital of Ordu-Baliq is constructed.
738	The kingdom of Nanzhao constructs its capital city of Taihe 太和.
779	Nanzhao capital is moved to Yangjumie 陽苴咩 (Dali 大理).
784	Japanese capital is moved to Nagaoka 長岡.
794	Japanese capital is moved to Heian 平安 (Kyoto) permanently.

The principle motive behind the construction of traditional capital cities was the Sui dynasty's unification of China that had been divided since the 3rd century. Unification had been achieved in the midst of a migration of nomadic peoples into agrarian regions throughout the Eurasian continent during the 4th and 7th centuries, on a scale rivaled only once again in world history by the maritime migration of Europeans that took place between the 16th and 18th centuries [Seo, forthcoming]. This earlier mass migration of people and culture was probably the result of a movement of both nomads and cultivators to increasingly southern latitudes due to dropping yearly atmospheric temperatures in the Northern Hemisphere. It was an era of "dynasties of conquest" formed by the invasion of purely agrarian regions by nomadic peoples from the agro-pastoral zone where agricultural communities bordered on pastoral societies. The Sui dynasty, many of whose ruling strata were of nomadic origins, can be defined as one type of "dynasty of conquest."¹⁰

This migration of nomadic peoples triggered a movement of people in every region of the Afro-Eurasian continental landmass, throwing its society in an unprecedented state of chaos. There were drastic decreases in population; ties of kinship and regionality which had formerly functioned to organize people into social units were ripped asunder, leaving millions of humans in complete social isolation. Consequently, world religions aiming at the salvation of individuals, regardless of gender or place of origin, thus replacing traditional systems of belief geared towards kinship, regional, and occupational groups spread throughout Eurasia. What is important here is that the spheres of Buddhism, Islam, and Christianity also created extensive commercial spheres never before known to man, resulting in transportation and information networks connecting the whole Afro-Eurasian continental landmass from east to west. Furthermore, world religions with universal aims completely independent of the places of origin or occupations of its adherents also gave birth to ideas about kingship in political states ruling over both pastoral and agrarian communities, giving divine legitimacy to political regimes attempting to govern expansive complex territories populated by multiethnic peoples. These political states included the Sui-Tang dynasties and Tufan, which embraced Buddhism, the Islamic Umayyad and Abbasid caliphates, and the Christian Eastern Roman (Byzantine) and Frank empires [Eliade 1978–85, etc.].

The unification achieved by the Sui dynasty led to the abandonment of the Eastern Wei/ Northern Qi dynasty capital of Ye 鄴 and the Southern Dynasties capital of Jiankang 建康 in favor of the establishment of a centralized state mechanism based in the city of Daxing. The capital of

Daxing was built according to the fundamental ideas of Confucianism, though reference was also made to Buddhist ideas about kingship. The Tang dynasty then occupied the Sui capital and in 630, after victory in a protracted war against the Tujue, the most powerful military state in East Asia at that time, formed the first state polity in East Asia to rule over both nomadic and agrarian peoples [Seo 2010a]. This reunification of continental China via the military strength of the Tang dynasty and the consequent expansion of its sphere of governance and network of administrative cities centered upon the capital of Chang'an caused so much fear and tension among its neighboring regions that state polities began to be formed based on government mechanisms and diplomatic policies geared towards protecting themselves from the Chinese super power. Each of these states built capitals rivaling Chang'an and established diplomatic relations with the Chinese in the interest of national security. All of the traditional capitals listed in the above chronology located in Tufan (Unified Tibet), Nanzhao, Uighur Mongolia, Bohai (Balhae), Korea, and Japan were all built with the purpose of dealing with the region's super power, since prior to the 7th century nothing rivaling them had ever been planned or constructed.

In sum, reasons behind the advent of "the traditional capitals epoch" of the 7th and 8th centuries are twofold. First, the reunification of China under the Tang dynasty and the expansion of administrative cities centered around Chang'an caused a great deal of fear and tension among China's neighbors, causing the political forces in those regions to form states and construct their capital cities in the interest of national security. Secondly, the states that were formed in East Asia during this time (including the Tang dynasty) were probably competing among themselves in the construction of the traditional capitals with infrastructure that would make them viable in terms of military defense, diplomacy, and international trade. In response to the expansion of the Tang dynasty's geographical sphere of governance, state polities were established in Tufan, the Tibetan empire, by unifying the Tibetan Plateau, in the Uighur empire of the Mongolian highlands, in the kingdom of Bohai (Balhae) on China's northeast border, in the kingdom of Nanzhao on China's southwest border, in the kingdom of Silla on the Korean Peninsula, and on the Japanese Archipelago, all accompanied by the construction of capitals to house governments to rival Chang'an and from which diplomatic missions would be dispatched to negotiate with the Tang court. At the same time, state formation in East Asia resulted in both military rivalry and peaceful diplomatic and trade relations among the established polities. The international relations across East Asia today began at this period. What is

particularly noteworthy here is that the construction and fitting out of traditional capital cities necessitated the construction and fitting out of a network of subordinate administrative cities for the purpose of diplomacy and tribute. The fact that a number of such states with capital cities and subordinate administrative networks came into existence at just about the same time also meant that a system of tribute to be paid to the capitals had to be set up and a system of diplomatic relations had to be established among those states with their capital cities as the main stage.¹¹

2.2 The Present State of Research on the Traditional Capitals

Chang'an and Luoyang

“The traditional capitals epoch” during the 7th and 8th centuries began with the construction of Daxing (Chang’an) and Luoyang by the Sui dynasty. In 582 (Kaihuang 開皇 3, Sui) Emperor Wen began construction of the new capital of Daxing in the southeast section of the Han dynasty capital of Chang’an [Shangxi-sheng Wenwu Guanli Weiyuanhui 1958; Zhongguo Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo Xian Tangcheng Fajuedui 1963].¹² Daxing was already constructed in 583 (Kaihuang 4, Sui). Then in 605 (Daye 大業 1, Sui) the dynasty’s second emperor Yang began construction of Luoyang at a location 10 km west of the Han and Wei dynasties’ capital of the same name [Zhongguo Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo Luoyang Fajuedui 1961; Zhongguo Shehui Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo Luoyang Gongzuodui 1978].¹³ The construction of these two capitals in China marked the starting point of the efforts by other states in East Asia to build their own comparable capital cities during the 7th and 8th centuries.

Tufan's Lhasa

It was Songtsän Gampo/Srong-btsan sGam-po (b. ca. 581, d. 649) who in the early 7th century unified the Tibetan Plateau into a primitive state and built his capital city on the northern bank of an upper tributary of the Yarlung Tsangpo River and named it Lhasa (*lha* could indicate the “town of a clan” [according to Tibetan expert Yamaguchi Zuihō 山口瑞鳳], or mean “land of mountain goats” or “land of Buddha”).¹⁴ It is said that at the time Lhasa was constructed Songtsän Gampo ordered statues depicting Gautama Buddha to be brought to the capital from Nepal and Tang China. The statue from China brought by Princess Wencheng was worshiped at Ramoche Temple (*ramoche* meaning “Lhasa’s largest building”), and the statue brought from Nepal by Princess Khri b’Tsun was worshiped at Tulnang (Jokhang) Temple [Yamaguchi 1987–88, 2:17–50,

328–48].¹⁵

The urban plan of Lhasa was centered around the two above-mentioned Buddhist temples. These Chinese and Indian Buddhist temples lined along its northern and southern sides facing one another, symbolizing the location of Tufan between the Indian subcontinent and continental China. After the revival of Bon, the Tibetan folk religion, and its clash with Buddhism, which began in the 9th century, Chinese Buddhism declined and was gradually replaced by Buddhist liturgy of Indian and Nepalese tradition, which then developed into what today is known as the unique Tibetan tradition [Yamaguchi 1983:740–82]. As a side note, Lhasa's Potala Palace was not built until the 17th century, having been completed in 1660.

The construction of Lhasa was accompanied by the establishment of ties to the Tang capital of Chang'an (so-called "Tangfan Gudao 唐蕃古道" [the old route between Tang and Turfan]), involving the frequent exchange of embassies between the two cities [Satō 1959, 1978: chap. 2, 1986; Yamaguchi 1983]. In addition, a trunk line was built connecting Lhasa to Hindustan (the Gangetic Plain of North India). At the end of the 8th century this trunk line was used to transport 12 Buddhist missionaries from India to Lhasa, while monks by the names of Liangxiu and Wensu were invited from China's Buddhist community. A struggle between Indian and Chinese Buddhism for leadership in Tibet ensued with the Indian tradition claiming victory [Yamaguchi 1987–88, 2:332–33]. Indeed, one cannot properly consider Lhasa's situation without a great deal of emphasis on its relationship with India.

Capitals of 7th and 8th century Japan

On the Japanese Archipelago, a series of capitals was constructed: Ōmi (667) [Hayashi H. 2001, 2005], Fujiwara/Aramashi (694) [Yagi 1996; Hayashibe 2001; Ozawa 2003; Terasaki 2002; Kinoshita 2003], Heijō (710) [Ōi 1996; Inoue K. 2004, 2008; Nara-ken Heijō Sento... 2001; Watanabe 2001; Tateno 2001; Yoshimura, Tateno, and Hayashibe 2010], Kuni (740) [Takigawa 1967; Ogasawara 2011], New Naniwa (744) [Naniwakyūshi wo Mamorukai 1997; Sekiyama 2010], Nagaoka (784) [Yamanaka 1997, 2001; Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan 2007], Heian (794) [Inoue M. 1978; Kitamura 1995; Hashimoto 1995; Yoshikawa 2002; Nishiyama 2004; Nishiyama and Fujita 2007; Kinda 2007; Kyōraku 2008].

Nanzhao's Taihe and Yangjumie

The ancient state of Nanzhao, located on the Yunnan-Guizhou Plateau,

built its capital of Taihe on the western shore of Lake Erhai in 738, followed by the construction of Yangjumie (Dali) north of Taihe in 779 [Fujisawa 1969; Fang 1987; Lin 1991; Li Kunshen 1992; He 2006a, 2006b; Zhang Zhenqi 2010, 1:120–51].¹⁶ The decision to construct Nanzhao's capitals on the west bank of the Erhai lake intended to locate them on the overland transportation routes connecting to Lhasa and Chang'an [Fang 1987; Fujisawa 1969; Hayashi K. 2001; Zhang Zengqi 2010, 2:324–34]. As the result, the inland transportation routes in Southwest China were getting renovated.

Vietnam's Thang Long

It was by virtue of the start of excavation of the Thang Long site in present day Hanoi that the reconstruction of the urban form of the capital in the Lý dynasty became a focus in the history of East Asian traditional capitals [Momoki 2010, 2011; Sakurai 2012; Nishimura 2004; Tomoda, Satō, and Shinmen 2012.]. Thang Long is believed to overlap the site of one of the Tang dynasty's military installations (*duhufu* 都護府) set up on its borders with Inner and Outer Mongolia, Jungal, Talim, Central Asia, Korea, and Southeast Asia (Annan) to protect those borders and govern the ethnic groups residing there. The place of Thang Long has been one of political, economic, and cultural centers in Southwest China and Southeast Asia since the founding of the Tang dynasty.

The Uighur cities of Ordu-Baliq and Bay-Baliq

The Uighur Khanate of the Mongolian Steppe built Ordu-Baliq (Karabalgasun, the capital of Uyghur Khaganate) in 744, followed by Bay-Baliq (Fugui cheng 富貴城, Baibali 白八里) in 757 [Tasaka 1941; Moriyasu and Ochir 1999:196–98, 199–208]. The present site of Ordu-Baliq contains ruins of what seems to be the walls of the capital city. According to the survey conducted by Moriyasu Takao 森安孝夫 the castle's northern wall measured 424 m or 423 m, the western wall 335 m, the southern wall 413 m or 418 m, and the eastern was 337 m or 342 m [Moriyasu and Ochir 1999:199]. Ordu-Baliq is as far as we know the first walled capital city to have been built by a nomadic state.

In recent years, researchers have argued that the construction of cities by nomadic states began before the Common Era and were initially settlements to which merchants were confined for the purpose of controlling foreign trade [Luo 2012]. The campsites of government (*yazhang* 牙帳) of the Xiongnu and Tujue khanates was located on the vast grasslands bordering the east bank of the Orhon River, however, the nomadic capital city which was populated by merchants, artisans, and non-productive

classes, had not yet come into existence. These centers are not the capital of the nomadic empire. Therefore, there seems to be no doubt that Ordu-Baliq was the first genuine capital city among Asia's nomadic peoples.

The excavation of the Ordu-Baliq site was begun in 2008 in a joint project involving the Mongolian Academy of Sciences and the German Deutsches Archäologisches Institut [Huettel and Erdenebat 2009; Arden-Wong 2012]. The excavation made clear the actual situation of the large "nomadic capital" which appeared in the first half of 7th century in the nomadic area. The route linking the Orhon River *yazhang* with Chang'an ("Cantian Kehandao 参天可汗道" [the road to the heavenly khagan]) was completed during the period of the Tujue's subjugation by the Tang dynasty, on which a total of 66 stages were located [*Jiu-Tangshu*, vol. 2, "Chronicle of Emperor Taizhong, part 1"]. A overland route connecting Ordu-Baliq with Chang'an (known as the Uighur Route) was also opened [Tasaka 1941; Saitō 1999], over which the trade in silk and Uighur horses was conducted.

The five capitals of Bohai (Balhae)

Following the construction of Jiuguo at the end of the 7th century the kingdom of Bohai (Balhae) built from the turn of the century five capitals in succession: Shangjing, Zhongjing, Nanjing, Dongjing, and Xijing [Zhongguo Shehui Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 1997; Tamura 2005; Yang and Jiang 2008; Heilongjiang-sheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 2009; Sakayori 2009]. With the exception of Shangjing, little is known about their construction, an unfortunate situation that will hopefully be remedied by future research breakthroughs, but the circumstances surrounding Bohai's transportation routes are becoming more clear [Kawakami H. 1989; Kojima 1999, 2011].¹⁷

Silla's Jincheng

After unifying the Korean Peninsula in 676, the kingdom of Silla rebuilt the city of Jincheng into a large-scale capital based on the concept of Chang'an [Tanaka 1992; Hwang 2006]. In the Republic of Korea, both the public and private research organizations dealing with the history of traditional capitals have been busy placing the capitals built from the Three Kingdoms through the Unified Silla period within the context of their counterparts throughout East Asia and have achieved a definite level of expertise on the subject [Kungnip Kyōngju Munhwajae Yōn'guso 2002; Kungnip Munhwajae Yōn'guso and Kungnip Kyōngju Munhwajae Yōn'guso 2003; Ch'ungnam Taehakkyo Paekche Yōn'guso 2004, 2010; Wōn'gwang Taehakkyo Mahan Paekche Munhwa Yōn'guso 2005; Kung-

nip Puyö Munhwajae Yön'guso and Kungnip Kaya Munhwajae Yön'guso 2010; Nakao, Satō, and Ogasawara 2007]. The details concerning the preparation of a transportation network centered around this Chang'an-styled Unified Silla stronghold have been published by Tanaka Toshiaki 田中俊明 [1992] and Hwang Inho 黄仁镐 [2006].

2.3 Similarities and Differences among East Asian Traditional Capitals: The Case of China and Japan

It goes without saying the capitals built by the ancient states of East Asia, including the Tang dynasty, were designed to be the center of each polity. One of the most important was for the traditional capital city to function as a center for diplomacy, without which none of the states would have been able to maintain their political independence. Consequently, the plans of the traditional capital cities of each state earmarked them as stages on which diplomatic decorum and protocol would be enacted,¹⁸ and with the institutionalization of contact and exchange among the capitals, common principles of diplomacy were established among the states of East Asia that determined the traditional capital cities as their venues. In addition, a uniform East Asian system of weights and measures was adopted based on Tang standards, as were the dimensions and designs for palaces and Buddhist temples throughout the region [Kariya 1991; Wu and Cheng 1957; Yabuta 1969; Guojia Jiliang Zongju, Zhongguo Lishi Bowuguan, and Gugong Bowuyuan 1984; Qiu 1992; Fujimoto, Tabata, and Higuchi 1999; Zhang Shiqing 2004].¹⁹ The architectural structures of all the capitals of the period, beginning with palaces and entrance gates, exhibit many similarities due to the fact that they were constructed using fundamentally identical dimensions.

On the other hand, we also observe interregional differences in the ideas about kingship that determined certain aspects of each capital. For example, when comparing an edict issued in 582 by Sui Emperor Wen [*Suishu*, vol. 1, “Chronicle of Emperor Gaozu, part 1” (Beijin: Zhonghua Shuju): 17–18; Xin 2009] with an edict issued in 708 by Japanese Emperor Genmei [*Shoku Nihongi*, vol. 4, “Article of 15th day of 2nd month” (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1989): 130], the wording is so similar that there is no doubt that the latter was based on the former [Nabeta 1982]. However, there are significant differences in content, the most noteworthy being the absence from the Genmei edict of any mention of the Confucian idea of *xixing geming* 易姓革命 (change of dynasty decreed by Heaven, *tian* 天) as the fundamental reason for determining the capital. In China, from the time of the Han dynasty capital at Luoyong through to the Ming

and Qing dynasties capitals at Beijing, despite the occurrence of revisions in various aspects of kingship in accordance with changes in Confucian ideas, the construction of traditional capital cities was based invariably on the idea of *xixing geming* [Seo 2011b, 2011c]. However, *xixing geming* was consciously ignored when determining Japanese traditional capital cities.

Dynastic China's historical capital cities were surrounded by altars worshipping both the gods of the heavens and those of the earth. These altars were based on the Confucian idea of *wude zhongshi* 五德終始 (the natural transitional flow of the five elements: wood→fire→earth→metal→water), and the capital city was a cultural stage on which imperial regime change proceeded (circulated) in like manner. These ideas concerning the will of heaven in legitimizing kingship and how it devolved dynastically were rooted in the historical reality of China's numerous dynasties of conquest [Seo 2011b, 2011c]. In contrast to Chinese political thought, in which the Lord of Heaven (*tiandi* 天帝) is eternal, but earthly dynasties, having been ruled by *tianzi-huangdi* 天子-皇帝, the Son of Heaven-Emperor, are not, the Japanese idea of kingship did not recognize dynastic change, but rather identified the emperor and family with the eternal, transcendental existence of a divine being. Such an idea is antithetical to the Chinese presuppositions concerning regime change; that is, 1) the separation of the divine and earthly rulers, *tiandi* and *tianzi-huangdi*, and 2) the will of the former legitimizing the enthronement of the latter. These differences in ideas about the nature of kingship were clearly reflected in the urban structure of the traditional capitals of China and Japan, which is why despite the similarities in physical plans, the traditional capitals of Japan did not exist as stages on which Confucian rites of kingship were performed and thus were bereft of Chang'an's altars dedicated to the gods of heaven and earth.

The sharp departure of the Japanese idea of one eternal unbroken line of imperial succession (*bansei ikkei* 万世一系) from the Chinese concepts of orderly dynastic regime change determined both Japanese-style ruling institutions and of course the character of where they were implemented, the succession of capital cities that culminated in Heian-Kyō (Kyoto). All of the facilities which Chang'an had dedicated to legitimizing dynastic regime change and the Confucian rites performed at them were conspicuously absent from the capital planning of the Japanese.²⁰ In Japan where not kinship but the king himself (dynasty itself) was considered possessing a divine character, there was no need for the abstract concepts of Confucianism and the function of the mausolea worshipping China's dynastic ancestors (*taimiao* 太廟) was relegated to a sacred place, called

the Shrine at Ise 伊勢神宮 dedicated in perpetuity to the worship of the imperial line's ancestors.²¹ On the other hand, the importance given to the four legendary beasts (*shishen* 四神: blue dragon of the east, white tiger of the west, red phoenix of the south, black snake-turtle of the north) in Japanese ancient capitals probably stems from the fact that they presented no contradiction to traditional ideas about kingship. In sum, the capitals of Japan were in fact "seats of *tennō* 天皇," while those of China were "seats of *tianzi*."²²

It is in this manner that while the capitals of ancient Japan closely resemble the Tang dynasty's Chang'an at first glance, the reasoning and symbolism upon which they came into existence is completely different. Although the designers of Japan's imperial institutions without a doubt incorporated certain Confucian elements into their theoretical framework, in substance the system represents a conglomeration of ideas about Heaven (*tian*) popular throughout East Asia as a whole and Korean shamanism in particular, nature worship indigenous to the Japanese Archipelago, and universal Buddhist ideas filtered through Chinese and Korean adaptations. (See for example the Japanese "*ritsuryō*" codes regulating the worship of indigenous gods [Jingi-Ryō 神祇令] and the behavior of Buddhist priests and nuns [Sōni-Ryō 僧尼令].) Buddhism in particular, with its ingrained neutrality as a world religion with completely foreign origins, was closely embraced by the states on China's periphery as a means of relativizing kingship as practiced by the Tang and Sui dynasties [Yoshikawa 2011; Kawakami M. 2011]. The reason why the traditional capitals of Japan do not exhibit exterior castle contours similar to their Chinese counterparts is also related to Japanese ideas about kingship that rejected Confucian perceptions [Seo 2011b].

On the occasion of the Japanese state's first political unification of the archipelago during the 7th century, its rulers were indeed forced to take into consideration Confucian perceptions of kingship, since they were the most advanced ideas of the time. And there is no doubt that from the construction of the capital city at Fujiwara (*Aramashi no miya*) through the successive capitals of Nagaoka and Heijō up through the final version of Heian, all the urban plans were designed with reference to Confucian ideas about kingship dating back to the Han dynasty. Beginning with the imperial residences that formed the centers of those plans, the adoption of legal codes,²³ state name, periodization (*gengō* 元号, *nianhao* 年号), calendar, official historiography, and form of currency were all elements of forming an independent, legitimate dynastic state based on Confucian ideas concerning kingship. Once these elements were put in their proper place and order, it would be possible to claim state legitimacy in the face

of political forces within and without the archipelago. The Sui and Tang dynasties, which were themselves descendants of nomadic political regimes ruling part of China since the Northern Wei period, formed states that aimed at unifying the whole empire based on Confucian ideology.

On the other hand, Japan ended up establishing kingship institutions, *tennōsei* 天皇制, that opposed the Chinese imperial system, *tianzi-huangdi* system, which was made possible for Japan because Japan was not the tributary state. It was impossible for the three Korean kingdoms of Goguryeo, Paekche, and Silla and the kingdom of Bohai (Balhae) as the tributary states of the Tang [Yoshida 1997, 2006]. While claiming that the state of Japan, ruled by divine emperors, “*tennō*” as the God, was the true “civilized world of the middle kingdom” in its diplomatic relations with the Korean Peninsula and Northeastern Asia, in its relations with the Tang court, Japan acted the role of tributary, indicating a flexible, dual strategy based on the diplomatic realities of East Asia at the time [Seo 2008].

The Japanese had no other alternative but to avoid using the indigenous term, *tianzi* or *huangdi* on the diplomatic realities of the Tang, for their ruler in order to avoid fighting with the Tang dynasty for legitimacy in ruling the world around them. In 859, Shilong, the eleventh king of Nanzhao who had accepted a peerage under the Tang dynasty, suddenly claimed himself to be emperor of the world and established new state and era names for his regime, resulting in the Chinese resorting to military action. Moreover, it was only natural that the nomadic rulers of the Mongolian steppe and the Tibetan Plateau, who boasted military strength equal to the forces of the Tang dynasty, would adopt titles of kingship, such as *qayan* and *bTsan-po* intended to rival the Chinese imperial title. The choice of the term “*tennō*” as the title of the rulers of the Japanese Archipelago was probably a move bordering on the precarious when viewed from the realpolitik of their international status in East Asia.

2.4 The Transition from Inland to Coastal Capitals between the 13th and 18th Centuries

The change that eventually occurred in the location of the capitals of East Asia happened in response to the movement of their counterparts in continental China. The formation of cities and states in East Asia is intimately related to the birth of the region’s oldest urban network located in the lower reaches of the Huang He river basin. This is because this region was an important locus for the exchange of commodities of different regions produced by occupations unique to the ecology of the middle and

lower Huang He. Due to the separation of nomadic from agrarian life that took place as the result of dramatic climatic drying and cooling 2000 years before the Common Era, an environment came into existence characterized by pastoral regions and agrarian regions divided by belts of mixed nomad-cultivator habitats. Consequently, the agrarian regions bordering on these belts of mixed lifestyle, the agro-pastoral zone, became centers of trade and military defense which grew into urban areas. Around 1000 BC these cities began to consolidate in a number of state polities, giving birth to the urban network that covered continental China.

Then from the 9th century CE on, the trunk line transportation routes of East Asia gradually began to move from inland to coastal points of destination; and the political centers among the major nomadic groups moved from the northwest portion of the Chinese continent northeastward, while the granaries of the region moved from its northern portion southward.²⁴ Consequently, China's urban network was transformed from an inland network centered on Chang'an to a coastal one centered on Beijing. This inland to coastal movement in continental China was accompanied by similar movements of capitals and urban networks in Southeast Asia, the Korean Peninsula, and the Japanese Archipelago.

This movement and the concomitant changes wrought in East Asian international relations can be understood through a comparison between Figure 1 depicting the form of capitals involved in the urban network centering on Chang'an and Figure 2 depicting the capitals and urban network centered on Beijing. Summarizing the characteristic features of capitals of the 7th and 8th centuries evident in Figure 1: 1) Most of the capitals were located inland and were served by inland transportation routes. 2) Many of the plans of capitals located in agrarian regions were checkerboard shaped, while those of Tufan, Nanzhao, and the like conformed to the natural geophysical features of their environs. 3) We can distinguish between capitals with exterior walls (Chang'an, Luoyang, Lhasa, Shangjing, Zhongjing, Dongjing, Taihe, and Yangjiumie) and those without exterior walls (Ordu-Baliq [with interior walls], Jincheng, and the capitals of Japan (southern wall with a main gate)). 4) The majority of these capitals were centers of rich cosmopolitan culture with multiethnic populations. 5) All the capital contained temples practicing the world religion of Buddhism.

In contrast, the characteristic features of the capitals of the 13th through 18th centuries depicted in Figure 2 may be summarized as follows: 1) The majority are located in coastal areas and are connected via a coastal urban network and inland water and land routes. 2) With the exception of the grid plan city Beijing, all were built with irregular shapes in

conformance with their geophysical surroundings. 3) Their populations are characterized by a rising urban commercial class and secular cultures unique to their regions. 4) Buddhist temples have been indigenized, and facilities devoted to folk religion are also present within the capital cities.

That is to say, Figure 1 shows an era of capital cities that came into existence in the midst of the chaotic migration of human beings throughout the entire Afro-Eurasian continental landmass, regardless of agricultural or pastoral ecology. State polities were formed in the midst of both ecological zones, all centered around inland capital cities, from which the world religion of Buddhism spread for the purpose of quelling aggression among the states and among whom common standards ranging from diplomatic decorum to weights and measures were established. In contrast, the East Asia of the 13th through 18th centuries depicted in Figure 2 finds a number of state polities with relatively stable political regimes, developed economies, and unique cultural traditions ensconced in capitals in coastal locations connected by both maritime and inland water transportation routes.

Theses change that occurred in both the location and urban structures of capitals could be said to symbolize the gradual secularization and modernization of East Asian society and culture. “The traditional capitals epoch” of the 7th and 8th centuries traces its origins to the reunification of continental China in the midst of inland transformation. Then together with changing Eurasian continental transportation trunk lines from the 9th century on, the location of capitals was transferred to coastal regions, and between the 13th and 18th centuries these traditional capital cities were gradually transformed into the capital cities of modern nation-states.

CONCLUSION: TOWARDS A THEORETICAL MODEL OF EAST ASIAN TRADITIONAL CAPITALS

In the spring of 2005, this reviewer was given the opportunity to give a group of Taiwanese and Chinese historians interested in the capitals of China a guided tour of the Japanese city of Nara. After passing the south gate of Tōdaiji Temple (reconstructed during the Kamakura period) and its grounds, we entered the site of the Heijō-Kyō standing before Suzaku Gate, which was reconstructed in 1998. The question arose among the visitors of why the gate to the Japanese capital was smaller than the gate to one of its Buddhist temples. Indeed, in the traditional capitals of

China built according the Confucian system of decorum, as expressed in the strict provisions of the “*liling*” building code (Yingshan-ling 營繕令) regarding the imperial palace and residences of officials, would never allow any other structure in capital to exceed the scale of emperor’s abode. However, in regions bordering China which in ancient time were forced to develop their own indigenous traditions concerning kingship in defiance of Confucian dictates placing the dynasties of China at the center of the world, the universal character of Buddhism as a world religion, regardless of how Sinicized it had become, was a very effective means of relativizing and neutralizing the “*pax Sinica*” world order based on Confucian ideology. It was therefore only natural that in the capitals of the states formed on Tang China’s periphery, which embraced the universal ideas of Buddhism in defiance of Confucianism, would construct their temples on a scale equivalent to the residences of their rulers.

The traditional capital, being a space and locus embodying in the most subtle of ways the historical simultaneity common to a number of different regions, the issues involving the whole era of its prominence reveal urban structure, culture, etc., centered upon the character of political organization, which has shown both the importance and interesting character of studying these ancient urban phenomena in recent years.

The comparative approach to the capitals of antiquity, through a comparison of the characteristic features of capital cities of the premodern world, will reveal the character of contemporary capital cities within the context of the theoretical and empirical study of their historicity. The number of capitals is as numerous as the number of premodern states that were formed in world history; and in many of these cases, we can observe where they were built and excavate structures that have remained, enabling us to investigate on site common functions and symbolism, as well as regional differences, making them an excellent subject for comparative study.

This review dealing with a hypothesis on the origins of “the traditional capitals epoch” of East Asia has focused on phenomena concerning the construction of capitals common to the region during the 7th and 8th centuries which have come to light in recent years. Proposing the birth of such an epoch characterizing the region as a whole is to offer an alternative viewpoint to the present world view that perceives ancient East Asian as a predominately agrarian region, by showing at least one common characteristic shared by the region’s polities regardless of nomadic or agrarian lifestyles and offering the possibility of a more comparative view of international relations carried on among them. Finally, comparative study offers the opportunity to go beyond the study of traditional capitals

per se and place them within the context of the urban networks of which they comprised the primary nodes. The historical characters of traditional capitals will be only showed clearly by this work.

—Originally written in Japanese

NOTES

- 1 This review is an abridged English version of three previously published Japanese articles [Seo 2011a, 2013a, 2013b].
- 2 The term “traditional capital” (*tojō* 都城) as employed in the present article indicates the physical seat or locus of kingship within premodern states and is distinguished from the term “modern capital” (*shuto* 首都), the seat of government within modern states. These two seats of governance differ both in function and symbolic meaning. That is to say, governance over the premodern state was legitimized by means of recognition by supernatural forces. For this reason, the premodern traditional capital was built as the seat of governance for rulers who acted as mediators between the supernatural world and the everyday lives of their subjects. In contrast, governance within the modern nation-state is legitimized through the recognition and support of its citizens. In this sense, modern capital cities do not function as seats of governance for governors, but rather for the nation’s people. The most typical architectural structure in the traditional capital is the royal palace, whereas in the modern capital city that structure is the square or hall of the people. For a more detailed discussion on the differences between premodern and modern seats of governance, see Seo [2003, 2005, 2006]; and regarding the historical transition of the traditional capital into the modern capital city, see Seo [2010b].
- 3 This institute has for many years been mainly involved in the excavation of the capital of Heijō-Kyō, held a number of exhibitions and symposia and published an index for the comparative analysis of traditional capitals in East Asia. See Kodai Tojōsei Kenkyū Shūkai Jikkō Inkai [1998]; Nara Bunkazai Kenkyūjo [2002, 2003, 2009]; Nara Bunkazai Kenkyūjo and Asahi Shinbunsha Jigyō Honbu Ōsaka Kikaku Jigyōbu [2002].
- 4 This institute has been mainly involved in the excavation of the traditional capitals of Asuka-Kyō and Fujiwara-Kyō, while adopting an approach to the problem surrounding the origins of the institution of the traditional capital that significantly differs with methodology adopted by the Nara Institute for Cultural Properties. See Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kokogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan [2008, 2011].
- 5 This museum conducts almost all of its research on the history, arche-

ology, folklore, and architecture of Japan, but has recently become a contributor to the effort to place ancient Japanese traditional capitals in the historical context of their counterparts throughout East Asia. See Yamanaka and Nitō [2007]; Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan [2007]; Tamai [2007]; Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan and Tamai [2013].

- 6 This research center is exclusively concerned with studying Japanese culture. See Senda [2012]; Uno [2005, 2010]; Wang and Uno [2008].
- 7 See Huettel and Erdenebat [2009] and the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut website (http://www.dainst.org/sites/default/files/imagecache/keyvisual/media/crop_daikv_10.jpg).
- 8 For example, in Xian (Shaanxi Province), the site of the Han and Tang dynasty capital of Chang'an, a large series of historical treatises have been published by scholars centered around Shaanxi Normal University, calling for a field of research known as "Chang'an Studies." To begin with, the initial publication of the *Chang'an Series* [Li Bingwu 2009] resulted in eight volumes, divided into a general introduction and one volume each on politics, economics, literature, art, religion, history and geography, and the cultural legacy of Fanmen-si Temple. According to editor-in-chief Li Bingwu 李炳武, the series will ultimately comprise six-parts containing 150 volumes. Next, a collection of important research to date on the history of Chang'an was published in 2007 by the same university's Center for Historical Environment and Socio-Economic Development in Northwest China under the editorship of its director Hou Yongjian 侯甬坚 [2007], following the resumption in 2006 of the university's Institute of Chinese Historical Geography series [Wei 2006–], originally published under the editorship of its director Shi Nianhai 史念海, when 2 volumes [Shi 1993–95] were released before the project was suspended by Shi's death. Finally, the university's College of Chinese Language and Literature began publication of the journal in 2010 [Shanxi Shifan Daxue Wenxueyuan 2010–]. Other projects include the continuing publication of the *Ancient City Xi'an* series [*Gudu Xian Congshu Bianzuan Weiyuanhui* 2002–8].

At the Beijing University Center for Research on Ancient Chinese History, China's leading research institute dealing with the history of Chang'an during the Sui and Tang periods, a similar field of "Chang'an Studies" along the lines of "Dunhuang Studies" and "Bamboo and Wood Document Studies" is being promoted by Rong Xinjiang 荣新江 [2003, 2009]. For recent developments in this new field, see Li Xiaocheng [2009]. There has also been a call for a field of "Luoyang Studies" among interested scholars in Japan [Kegasawa 2011] and China, and the thoughts of this reviewer on the subject may be found in Seo [2011d].

- 9 On this point, the comparative history of 7th and 8th century East Asian traditional capitals may exhibit in terms of general historical con-

- ditions similarities to the recent historical study of modern intra-Asian foreign trade by Hamashita Takeshi 濱下武志 [1990] and Sugihara Kaoru 杉原薫 [1996], despite differences in specific issues for analysis.
- 10 The fact that both the Sui and Tang royal families have been regarded as dynasties with bloodlines stemming from foreign (non-Han) nomads dating back to as early as the Northern Wei period is clear from the terms Taugas, Tabgač, and Tamghaj (non-Han tribes from nomadic kingdoms) by which Eurasian nomads and Serindic peoples referred to the Tang dynasty [Sugiyama 1992:43; Shiratori 1970; Yule and Cordier 1914, 1:29; Needham 1954:168–69].
 - 11 The body of research on the character of East Asian diplomatic relations during the 7th and 8th centuries is enormous. For the latest findings, see Suzuki [2011].
 - 12 These are still the basic research on the construction of the Sui capital of Daxing. Although many archeological reports have come out since the publication of the above works, none of them are as comprehensive. For the latest research, see Xin [2007, 2009]; and this reviewer's views on the subject may be found in Seo [2012].
 - 13 These are still the basic research on the Sui dynasty's Luoyong, but the plan of the capital reconstructed in these works has been significantly revised based on recent archeological findings. The archeological reports published on the urban structure of Luoyong during the Sui and Tang dynasties are collected in Yang and Han 2005. For the findings from most recent excavation work, see for example Luoyang-shi Wenwu Zhantan Guanli Bangongshi [2008a, 2008b]; Luoyang-shi Wenwu Guanliju [2009]. This reviewer's thoughts on the subject, although rather dated, may be found in Seo [1997].
 - 14 Although historiographical materials do exist, although fragmentary, on the urban structure of Lhasa, no conventional research exists at present on the subject; and no excavation of the site has been attempted. On Lhasa from the 17th century on, see Larsen and Sinding-Larsen [2001]. See also Takada [1998]; Ishihama [2006].
 - 15 Yamaguchi Zuihō [1987–88, 2:329] dates the construction of Ramoche Temple at 646 and Tulnang Temple at 651. Yamaguchi also argues that the legend about Wencheng bringing the statue on the occasion of her marriage to Songtsän Gampo has been confused with the later marriage of Princess Jincheng (698–740), daughter of Li Shouli, to the king of Tibet. Rather, Wencheng was first wed to Songtsän Gampo's son King Gungtsong Gungtsen, then she was re-wed to Songtsän Gampo after his son's death [Yamaguchi 1987–88, 2:17–50]. See also Ishihama [1999:26–47].
 - 16 The reconstruction of Taihe's urban plan here is based on Zhang Zhenqi 張增祺 [2010, 1:123]. On the occasion of this reviewer's visit to the site in August 2010, the remains of Jingan Castle to the west of Taihe and a portion of the walls of Yangjumie had been excavated.

- 17 Kawakami Hiroshi 河上洋 [1989:101] shows a transportation map reconstructed from the available historiographical sources, and Hanguk Kyowŏn Taehakkyo Yŏksa Kyoyukkwa [2004:58–59] presents a map depicting Bohai’s foreign trade, which differs somewhat from Kawakami’s. See also Yang and Jiang [2008]; Akabame [2011]. Although at the present stage, much still needs to be clarified on both the location of and trunk lines linking the five capitals of Bohai, recent research findings are steadily filling the gap.
- 18 On diplomatic decorum in Chang’an, see Iwami [1998].
- 19 Concerning East Asian weights and measures, the study of which dates back as far as the Edo period in the work of the Japanese philologist Kariya Ekisai 狩谷椽齋 published in 1835 [Kariya 1991]. On the existence of common architectural dimensions, Inoue Kazuto 井上和人 [2008] shows that the Japanese traditional capital of Heijō can be almost exactly superimposed upon the urban plan of Chang’an.
- 20 There is no doubt that the rulers of Japan were from antiquity fully aware of Chinese ideas about dynastic regime change and were duly influenced by them in actual political process. One obvious example is the ritual for worshipping the emperor of heaven by Emperor Kanmu on the outskirts of the newly constructed capital of Nagaoka (Ch. *jiaoshi* 郊祀; Jp. *koten saishi* 郊天祭祀) to legitimize the transition of the imperial bloodline from the descendants of Emperor Tenmu to those of his brother Emperor Tenchi. Of course, this act legitimizing a shift in intralineal descent by no means indicates any Japanese adherence to the Chinese ideas of dynastic regime change.
- 21 In China as well, before the reforms in state ritual brought about by the rise of Confucianism during the mid-Han period, there were similar sacred places on the periphery of traditional capital cities which functioned as important stages on which perform kingship rites. Confucian reformers in their creation of extremely abstract concepts of kingship removed these sacred places and replaced them with places of the capital that symbolized their ideas concerning the will of heaven in relation to legitimate dynastic regime change.
- 22 On the characteristic features of ancient Japanese kingship, see Otsu [1999]; Mizubayashi [2006]. It is only natural that kinship would develop differently on the Japanese Archipelago within a political environment bereft of the violent regime changes experienced by the dynasties of conquest throughout the Afro-Eurasian continental landmass. The indigenous periodization of this Japanese *sans dynasty* historical experience into Nara (capital), Heian (capital), Edo (bakufu), Meiji (emperor), etc., periods is indicative of the uniqueness of that experience in East Asian history.
- 23 Although the articles of Japanese “*ritsuryō*” codes fundamentally differ from their Chinese counterparts, Chinese “*luling*” cords based on the Confucian idea of *xixing geming*. Japanese “*ritsuryō*” is unrecognizable

- as original “*liling*” based on Chinese political thought.
- 24 On the close relationship of the economic and cultural movement from Huabei to Jiangnan with the creation of the transportation network after construction of the great canals by the Sui dynasty, see Shiba [1988].

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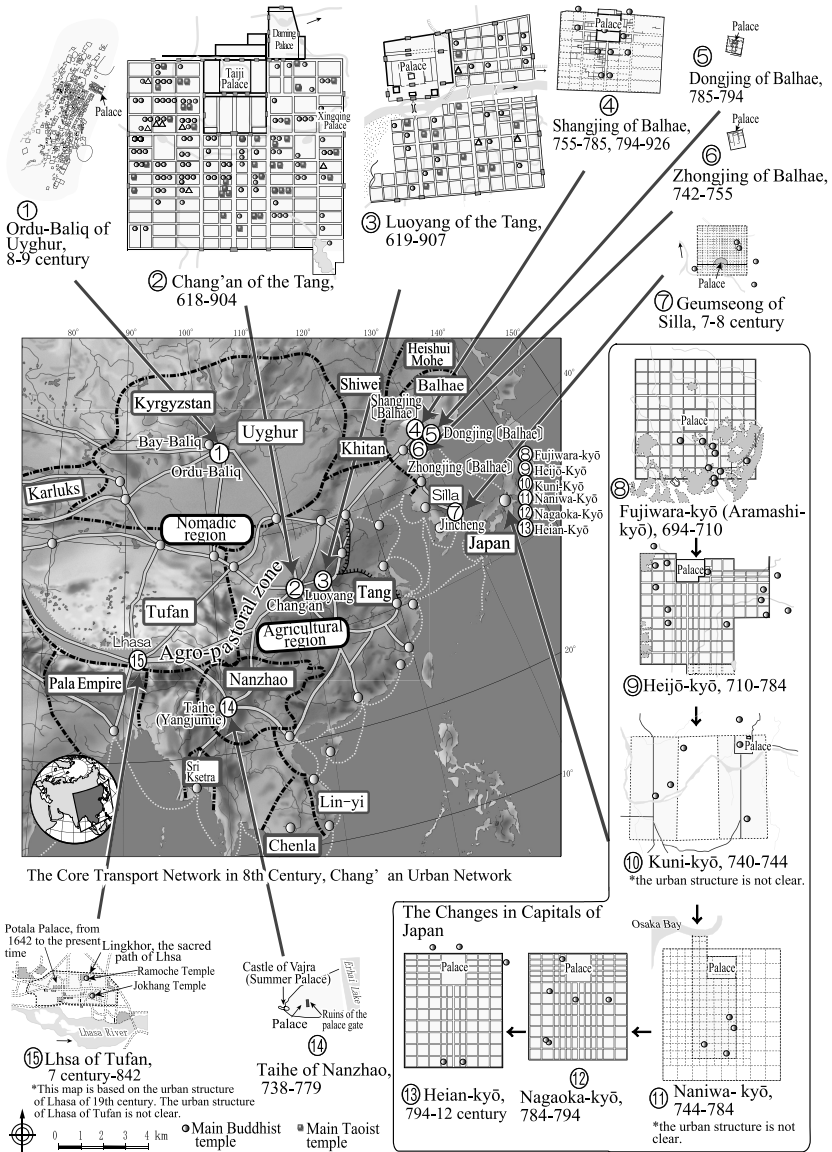


Fig.1 The Origin of “the Capitals Epoch” :Traditional capitals of the 7th and 8th centuries in the East Asia [Seo, 2006]

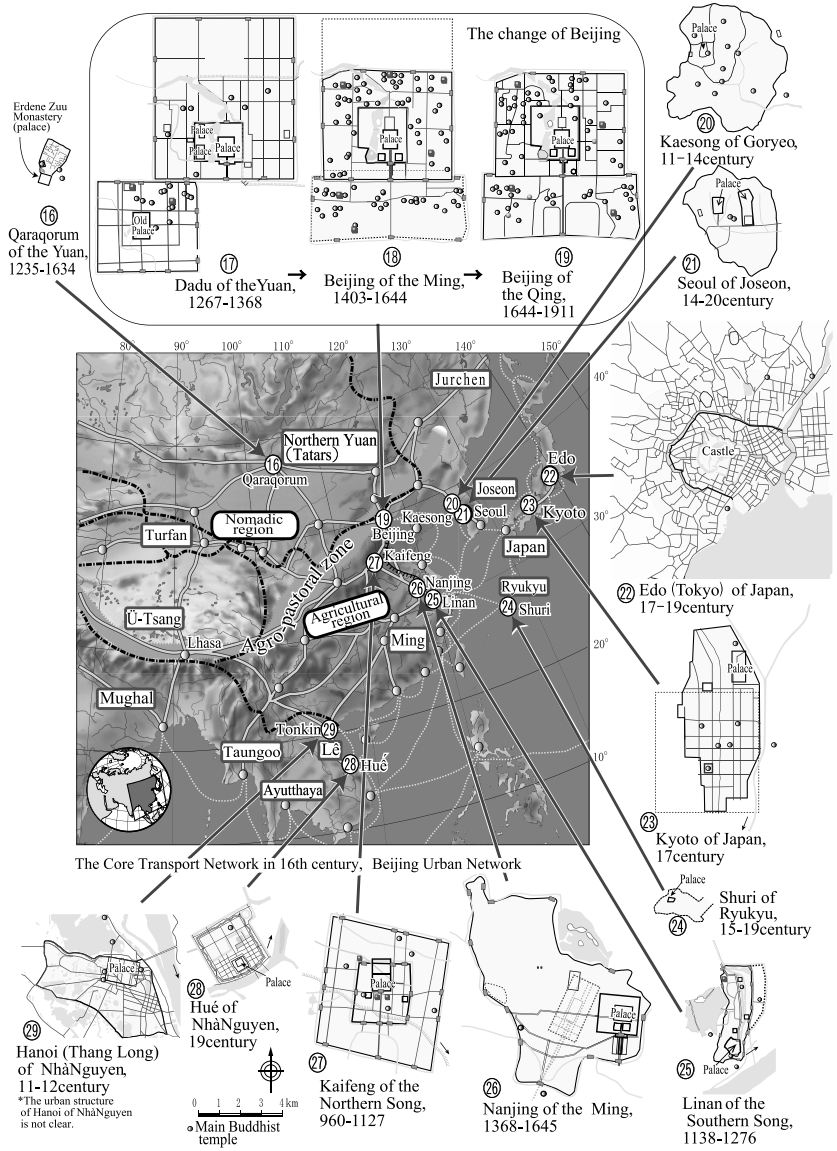


Fig.2 After "the Capitals Epoch": Traditional capitals from 13th to 18th centuries in the East Asia [Seo, 2006]