

COMPARATIVE AND GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES ON JAPANESE ARCHAEOLOGY

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF
MEDIEVAL TOWNS:
CASE STUDIES FROM
JAPAN AND EUROPE

EDITED BY SIMON KANER, BRIAN AYERS, RICHARD PEARSON
AND OSCAR WRENN

ARCHAEOPRESS ARCHAEOLOGY



ARCHAEOPRESS PUBLISHING LTD
Summertown Pavilion
18-24 Middle Way
Summertown
Oxford OX2 7LG

www.archaeopress.com

ISBN 978-1-78969-426-0
ISBN 978-1-78969-427-7 (e-Pdf)

© Archaeopress 2020
© Simon Kaner, Brian Ayers, Richard Pearson and Oscar Wrenn, and the individual authors 2020

Published with support from the Sainsbury Institute for the Study of Japanese Arts and Cultures

Layout designed by Colin Edwards

Cover: Excavated medieval street frontage in Kyoto, adapted by Colin Edwards. Layout designed by Colin Edwards.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying or otherwise, without the prior written permission of the copyright owners.

Printed in England by Severn, Gloucester

This book is available direct from Archaeopress or from our website www.archaeopress.com

Published with assistance from

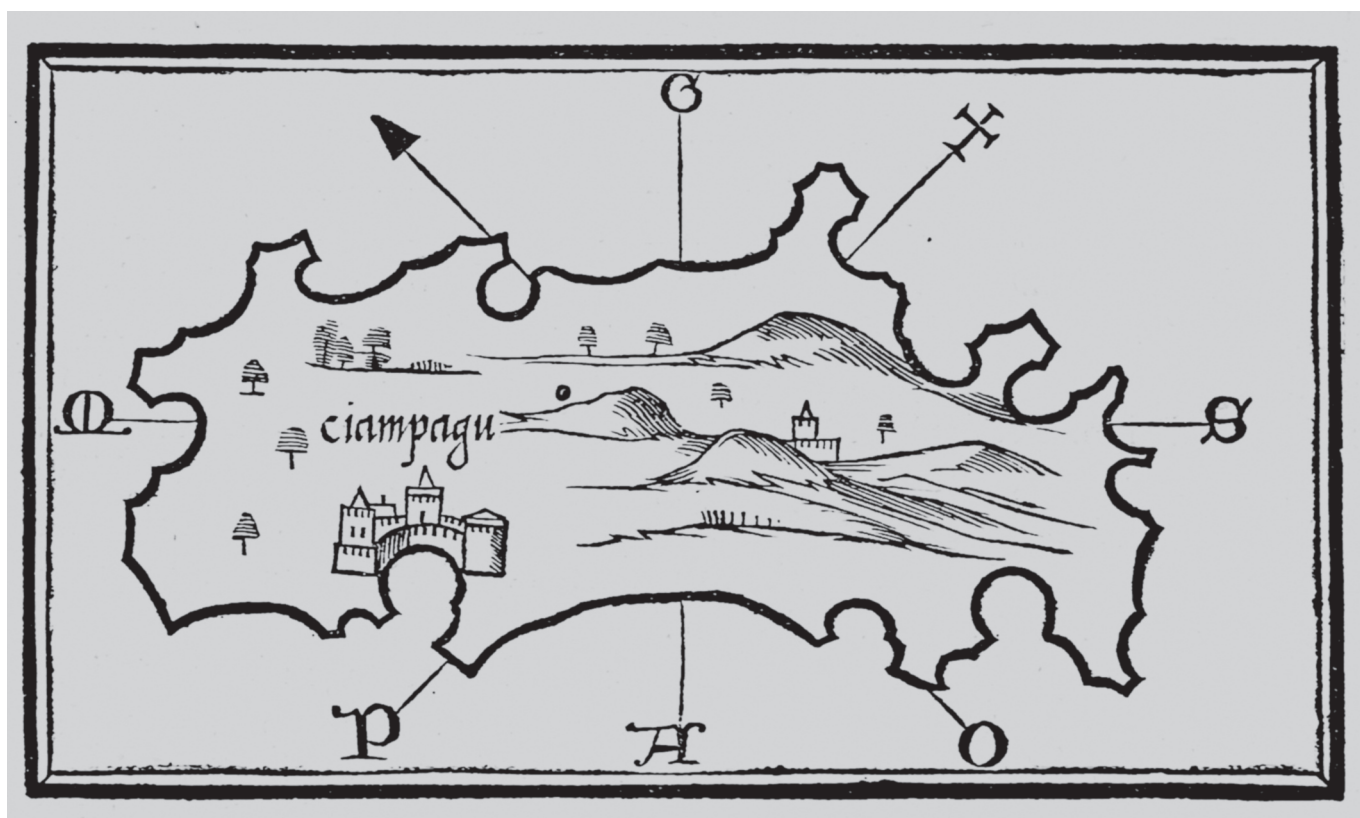


Centre for Archaeology
and Heritage



Contents

Foreword and acknowledgements	1
Chapter 1	3
The archaeology of medieval towns in Japan and Europe: an introduction	
<i>Brian Ayers and Simon Kaner</i>	
Chapter 2	13
Japanese medieval trading towns: Sakai and Tosaminato	
<i>Richard Pearson</i>	
Chapter 3	27
Ichijōdani: the archaeology of a Japanese medieval castle town	
<i>Ono Masatoshi</i>	
Chapter 4	42
The establishment and transformation of Japan's medieval capital, Kamakura	
<i>Oka Yōichirō</i>	
Chapter 5	55
The development of Hakata as a medieval port town	
<i>Ōba Kōji</i>	
Chapter 6	61
The formation of medieval castle towns: a comparative archaeology of encastlement in Japan and Europe	
<i>Senda Yōshihiro</i>	
Chapter 7	72
Five medieval European towns: Bruges, Göttingen, Norwich, Ribe and Rouen - a pictorial introduction	
Chapter 8	84
Medieval urbanism and culture in the cities of the Baltic – with a comparison between Lübeck, Germany and Sakai, Japan	
<i>Manfred Gläser</i>	
Chapter 9	107
Permanent urban frameworks ('armature') and economic networks in Northern France c.700 – c.1100	
<i>Henri Galinié</i>	
Chapter 10	115
Medieval ceramic production in the Aegean, 1100-1600 AD: some considerations in an east-west perspective	
<i>Joanita Vroom</i>	
Chapter 11	125
Afterword	
<i>Richard Pearson</i>	
Glossary	129
List of contributors	133
Index	135



An early European map of Japan from the *Libro di Benedetto Bordone*, a book describing all the islands of the world, published in Venice in 1528.

Image from the Cortazzi Collection,
Lisa Sainsbury Library,
Sainsbury Institute for the Study of Japanese Arts and Cultures.

Periodisation of Japanese history

c. 70,000 – 16,000 BC:	Palaeolithic
c. 16,000 – c. 500 BC:	Jōmon
c. 500 BC – AD 300:	Yayoi
AD 300 – 710:	Kofun
710 – 784:	Early Historic (capital at Heijō, modern Nara)
794 – 1185:	Heian (capital at Heian, modern Kyōto)
1185 – 1600:	Medieval
1603 – 1868:	Early Modern (centre of government moved to Edo, modern Tōkyō, though imperial family and court remain in Kyōto)
1868 – present:	Modern (capital moved to Tōkyō)



Maps of medieval Europe and Japan indicating key locations mentioned in the text

A comparative timeline including key episodes mentioned in the texts

1000	1100	1200	1300
1008 Murasaki Shikibu completes <i>Tale of Genji</i>	1115 Rebellion of the Saxons (modern Germany)	1206 Ghenghis Khan establishes Mongol Empire	1346 Battle of Crécy
1054 Schism in Christianity between Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox	1138 Old Lübeck destroyed	1215 Magna Carta signed by King John of England	1381 Translation of Bible into English
1066 Battle of Hastings: William of Normandy becomes King of England	1143 First foundation of German Lübeck by the Earl of Schauenburg	1223 Establishment of Kamakura <i>banyaku</i>	1392 Establishment of Joseon dynasty in Korea
1073 Tsurugaoka Hachimangū Shrine in Kamakura is founded	1158 Foundation of Hanseatic League	1226 Lübeck becomes a free city	1399 Ōei Disturbance in Sakai in which 10,000 houses are destroyed
1088 Earliest European university, at Bologna	1172 Rudolf I of the Hapsburgs recognises Rothenburg as a free city	1274 and 1281 Attempted Mongol invasions of Japan	
1099 First Crusade and establishment of Kingdom of Jerusalem	1185 Battle of Dan'noura: Minamoto defeat Taira	1293 Kamakura earthquake	
	1192 Kamakura becomes official capital and Minamoto no Yoshitomo appointed Sei-I Taishōgun	c. 1298 Marco Polo publishes his <i>Travels</i> and mentions Zipangu (Japan), isles of gold	
	1199 Death of Minamoto no Yoritomo	1299 Establishment of Ottoman Empire	
		1323 Sin'an shipwreck, near Mokpo, Korea	
		1333 Siege of Kamakura and restoration of imperial power	

Periods in Japanese history

Heian 794-1185	Kamakura 1185-1333	Muromachi 1333-1568
--------------------------	------------------------------	-------------------------------

960-1279 Song dynasty	1279-1368 Yuan dynasty	1368-1644 Ming dynasty
---------------------------------	----------------------------------	----------------------------------

Chinese dynasties

1400	1500	1600	1700
<p>1404-1549 Trade opened up between Japan and Ming Dynasty, China, including 19 tribute missions</p> <p>1405 Chinese Admiral Zheng He begins exploration of Indian Ocean</p> <p>1408 Destruction of Endsee Castle, Germany</p> <p>1416-1477 Ōnin War</p> <p>1453 Constantinople captured by Ottoman Turks</p> <p>1478 Taking of old Kiyosu Castle, Owari plain, by the Shiba clan</p> <p>1483 Asakura clan become rulers of the Echizen region of Japan</p> <p>1485 Battle of Bosworth: Henry Tudor becomes King Henry VII of England</p> <p>1492 Christopher Columbus reaches the New World</p>	<p>1517 Reformation begins as Martin Luther issues his <i>Ninety-Five Theses</i></p> <p>1523 Ningbo Incident: Japanese trade with China ceases</p> <p>1550s Direct trade established between Japan and Europe</p> <p>1569 Sakai is taken by Oda Nobunaga</p> <p>1573 Defeat of Asakura clan by Oda Nobunaga</p> <p>1581 Construction of Himeji Castle</p> <p>1582 Assassination of Oda Nobunaga</p> <p>1588 Spanish Armada attempts to invade England</p>	<p>1590 Reunification of Japan</p> <p>1592-1598 Japanese invasions of Korea</p> <p>1597 Death of 26 Christian martyrs in Nagasaki</p> <p>1598 Toyotomi Hideyoshi dies</p> <p>1600 Battle of Sekigahara won by Tokugawa Ieyasu</p> <p>1603 Tokugawa Ieyasu becomes Shogun and Edo de-facto capital</p> <p>1609 Establishment of trading post by Dutch on Deshima Island, Nagasaki Bay</p> <p>1613 <i>The Clove</i>, captained by John Saris, becomes the first English ship to land in Japan</p> <p>1614-15 Siege of Ōsaka Castle and destruction of Toyotomi family</p>	
	<p>Azuchi-Momoyama 1568-1600</p>	<p>Edo 1600-1868</p>	

1644-1912
Qing dynasty

Foreword

Simon Kaner

This book arises from a long-held fascination with medieval archaeology, and in particular with the particularities of medieval urban forms in different cultural contexts.

The idea for a comparative investigation into medieval towns in Japan and Europe has its origins in the mid 1990s, when two specialists in Japanese medieval archaeology, Maekawa Kaname and Uno Takao, brought groups of students from Toyama University to undertake field research at Swavesey in Cambridgeshire. In the 1200s Swavesey had been a planned medieval town, an 'inland' harbour on the River Ouse, with important trading links out into the Wash via the great port of Kings Lynn, out into the North Sea and so to continental Europe. With the establishment of the Sainsbury Institute for the Study of Japanese Arts and Cultures in 1999, with its headquarters in the Cathedral Close in the historic city of Norwich, one of the most important medieval centres in England, new opportunities arose to explore medieval urban archaeology in Japan and England. The urban archaeology of Norwich was being investigated by Brian Ayers, first directing the Norfolk Archaeology Unit and then as County Archaeologist for Norfolk. The excavations of medieval Norwich in the 1970s and 1980s were the largest archaeological investigations of a medieval city in Europe.

Other initiatives were underway at the same time which encouraged us to give further consideration to the benefits of bringing differing traditions of medieval urban archaeology into contact with each other. Professor Richard Hodges had established his Institute for World Archaeology at the University of East Anglia in Norwich in the mid-1990s, with a particular focus on the great classical and medieval centre of Butrint, a World Heritage Site in southern Albania. At the same time, Maekawa Kaname was establishing his ABC Medieval Archaeology Project, designed to bring an internationally-informed multi-disciplinary approach to medieval archaeology in Japan. Excavations of medieval sites in Japan outnumber those of other periods, although for many Japanese archaeologists and historians, the medieval period was firmly regarded as the preserve of the historian. Maekawa and his group set out to change that perception.

Acknowledgements

The 2004 conference was attended by a number of specialists who were not able to contribute to this volume: William

Bowden, now Professor of Archaeology at the University of Nottingham; Jane Grenville of the University of York; Matthew Johnson, now Professor of Archaeology at Northwestern University; Maekawa Kaname, at the time Professor of Archaeology at Chuo University in Tōkyō; Martin Morris of Chiba University. We are grateful to the Japan Foundation who supported not only the conference, but also the subsequent research visit to Japan by Brian Ayers. Thanks are also due to Cathy Potter who worked so hard to ensure that the conference was a success, Nakamura Oki, at the time Handa Japanese Archaeology Fellow, and the staff of the Sainsbury Institute for the Study of Japanese Arts and Cultures. We are also grateful to all those who helped with the research visit to medieval sites in Japan in 2007. Subsequent to the conference, Richard Pearson selected the papers by Ono Masatoshi, Oka Yōichirō, and Ōba Kōji, contacted the authors, and drafted translations, as well as editing a rough translation of the paper by Senda Yoshihiro.

The book would not have been completed without the enthusiastic assistance of Morishita Masaaki who as Handa Fellow at the Sainsbury Institute assisted with the translation of Chapter 6 along with Kikuchi Atsuko. Lucy North provided invaluable advice on editing the papers. The book was designed by the ever-patient Colin Edwards. Thanks also to Mary Redfern for comments on some of the papers. The editors would particularly like to thank the Trustees and Management Board of the Sainsbury Institute for their support.

Chronologies: The medieval period in Japan and Europe

Archaeologists and historians divide up the past in a number of ways. The English terms 'Medieval' and 'Middle Ages' is comparable to the Japanese term *chūsei*. But of course in Europe there remains debate about exactly what periods are covered by medieval. In some parts of Europe the medieval begins with the end of the Roman Empire. In China it is perhaps most applicable to the period between the end of the Han dynasty (206 AD) and the start of the Song (960 AD). In Japan the term *chūsei* is usually used from the move of the effective capital to Kamakura from Heian, modern Kyōto, in 1185, until the reunification of Japan at the end of the sixteenth century and the establishment of the Tokugawa

shogunate with its new capital at Edo, modern Tōkyō. Emperors, even if for long period without any real power, continued to sit on the throne throughout this often turbulent period in Japanese history, and Emperor reign dates are often used as the basis for chronology in Japan.

A note of Japanese names and terms

Japanese names are given throughout in Japanese name order (family name followed by given name, e.g. Senda Yoshihiro).

The archaeology of medieval towns in Japan and Europe: an introduction

Brian Ayers and Simon Kaner

Encountering urban forms in Japan and Europe

This book arises from a belief that the trajectories to urbanisation at each end of the Eurasian landmass and the details of the resulting urban forms merit comparison, and that archaeology can provide an important perspective on the developments of towns in both Japan and Europe, complemented by history, art history and other aspects of urban studies.

The first encounters between Japan and Europe were between urbanised societies. In the sixteenth century, Jesuit missionaries, who were among the first Europeans to come into contact with Japan, described some of the towns and cities they encountered, including the great ‘free city’ of Sakai. Following the Portuguese occupation of Malacca in 1511, direct trade with Japan was established by the 1550s. The first English account of Japanese urban centres is given by John Saris, captain of the *Clove*, the first English East India Company ship to come to Japan in 1613, a decade after most of Japan was unified in the year that King James I of England and VI of Scotland brought those two countries together under the Act of Union. This first Tokugawa shogun, Ieyasu, created a new capital for Japan at Edo, modern day Tōkyō, bringing an end to the medieval centuries of political and military strife, and establishing a new social order which was to bring peace to Japan for two and a half centuries. Not many Englishmen were to follow in Saris’ footsteps, and contact with Europe was subsequently restricted to knowledge and commodities brought by annual visits by the Dutch East India Company through their factory on Dejima, an artificial island in Nagasaki Bay on the southern tip of the main southern island of the Japanese archipelago, Kyūshū.

Saris’ diary records how: ‘We were rowed through, amongst divers Ilands ... well inhabited and divers proper towns built upon them’. He said of Hakata: ‘The Towne seemed to be as great as London is within the walls, very wel built, and even, so as you may see from the one end of the streete to the other’. The early English visitors provoked great interest and excitement, the people ‘making such a noise around us, that we could scarcely heare on another speake, sometimes throwing stones at us (but that not in many Townes). ... The best advice

that I can give those who hereafter shall arrive there, is that they passe on without regarding those idle rablements, and in so doing, they shall find their eares onely troubled with the noise’ (Cooper 1995 cited in Batten 2006, 134). Saris’ account recalls the vivid evocations of urban life portrayed by travellers to European towns from the somewhat sniffy assessment of 10th century Viking Hedeby by the Arab Al-Tartushi (Jones 1973: 175-7) or the more approving assessment of late 17th century Norwich by Celia Fiennes in 1698 (Morris 1984: 136-8).

Japanese medieval urban forms in context

These accounts confirm that Japanese society was already well urbanised. Indeed the earliest urban forms in the Japanese archipelago date to prehistoric times. Large early settlements, occupied over centuries and on occasion for millennia, include Sannai Maruyama on the northern tip of the main island of Honshū, inhabited by up to a thousand people between four and six thousand years ago (Habu 2008). Some of the first written accounts of Japan, provided by Chinese chroniclers, describe the urban forms at the centres of polities ruled by the first regional leaders in the archipelago. Archaeology has provided direct evidence for the existence of such centres from around two thousand years ago, most notably at Yoshinogari in Kyūshū (Hudson and Barnes 1991). The definition of such settlements as urban, however, is as contentious as calling the central places of Iron Age Europe towns (Cunliffe 2005). In the eighth century, the first Chinese-style planned city was built in Japan. Laid out based on the model of the Tang dynasty capital at Chang-an, this gridded city, including an imperial palace, Buddhist temples and extensive administrative and residential facilities, was constructed at Heijō, modern-day Nara (Tsuboi and Tanaka 1991). In 784 the capital was moved to Heian (present-day Kyōto). These capitals, home to the Imperial family and the new urban elite, housed the flowering of literate civilisation in the archipelago (Hempel 1983). Archaeological investigations in Nara, Kyōto and Ōsaka have uncovered material which bring these early capitals vividly to life, complemented by early historical records (Wheatley 1978). Intriguingly, however, the urban form did not spread beyond these capital areas, and it was not until the decline of centralised absolute power that urban life was taken up extensively elsewhere in the archipelago.

The first planned cities in Japan, the capitals of Heijō (modern-day Nara), Nagaokakyō, and Heian (modern-day Kyōto) were laid out on a grid, employed the Chinese principles of city planning, in particular feng shui, and were modelled after the Tang dynasty capital of Chang'an. Chang'an itself has been the focus of extensive study (Xiong 2000; see also Heng 1999, which also deals with Suzhou, and Xu 2000 for further studies about Suzhou). However the approach adopted to most urban historic sites in East Asia has been historical, architectural and art historical. Xiong writes: 'Because of its disciplinary limitations, however, archaeology is prone to overemphasising the stylistic, material and technical aspects of a civilisation. It is ill-equipped to deal with the social, intellectual and institutional transformations of an urban centre as complex as that of Sui-T'ang Chang'an' (Xiong 2000, 2-3). As archaeologists we would take issue with this statement, and instead assert that the archaeological record not only provides invaluable evidence for what actually happened in cities, but also complements use of available historical and art historical sources. Indeed archaeology can provide an important counterpoint to idealised representations of medieval cities, such as the remarkable screen paintings of the city of Kyōto, the *Rakuchū rakugai-zu*, sumptuous painted screens apparently showing everyday life in the metropolis, but just as affected by the biases of the producer and consumer as any other historical document (see McKelway 2006). One of the earliest of these pairs of screens, created by Tosa Mitsunobu, the chief of the Imperial Painting Bureau, was commissioned by Asakura Sadakage (1473-1512), the *daimyō* of Echizen province, who ruled from his regional capital at Ichijōdani, the subject of Chapter IV in this volume.

Early archaeological investigation of Chinese dynastic capitals at Chang'an and Luoyang was undertaken by Japanese scholars in the first years of the 20th century (cf Xiong 2000, 2-4). Zhu Jianfei (2004) provides a useful summary of the history of early dynastic capitals in China, leading up to the establishment of the capital at Beijing in the first part of the 15th century, whose urban structure was finalised in 1553. Although a large part of the city was dominated by Imperial and other administrative structures, the southern areas, beyond the main city wall, comprised a series of bustling commercial zones. On the Korean peninsula, with which Japan engaged through diplomatic and trade missions, piracy and military intervention during the period under discussion in this volume, urban centres had existed since the Chinese Han Empire established commanderies in the 1st century BC, notably at Lelang near present day Pyongyang (Pyeongyang), the capital of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea). The capital of the Joseon dynasty was established by King Taejo at Hanyang (Hanseong, modern-day Seoul, on the banks

of the Han River in west-central Korea) between 1394 and 1405, replacing the capital of the earlier Goryeo dynasty (918-1392) at Kaesong, or Gaegyeong, whose remains now lie a few kilometres north of the demilitarised zone that separates North and South Korea, which was the focus of recent investigations by the Museum of London (Pratt 2006, 86). This work suggested that some 1800 of the original 200,000 traditional buildings in this city survived to the recent past. As well as palaces and administrative buildings, there were extended areas given over to markets, including for horses, pork, and shops for oil, cosmetics, paper and hemp (Kim 2004, 68, 100-101). The great majority of people in Korea from the 10th to the 17th centuries lived in village communities which included the larger tile-roofed residences of the *yangban* class of civil and military officials, and the humbler thatched roof dwellings of the farmers (see Kim 2004, 108-109), although there were also many fortresses, commercial and industrial centres, the latter flourishing especially as government control of handicrafts gave way to private initiatives from the early 16th century.

This volume is concerned with medium and small-scale medieval urban forms in Japan, rather than with the major urban centre of Kyōto. Part of the reason for this is that Japanese urban archaeology has flourished in the smaller centres, and indeed abandoned and deserted medieval towns provide opportunities for wide area investigation rather than the more constrained keyhole procedures required in still thriving cities. It has proved easier to understand the layout and development of sites such as Ichijōdani or Kusado Sengen-chō, rather than Kamakura or Kyōto. This is in contrast to much European urban archaeology, where many of the major excavation campaigns since the 1970s have been in the greater cities and towns such as London, York, Norwich, Tours and Lübeck, but as John Schofield emphasises at the end of his recent survey of the archaeology of medieval London, in the case of many large cities, it is often still too early to draw firm conclusions (Schofield 2011: 262).

Within Japan, the archaeology of medieval Nara and Kyōto, which boast the highest density of surviving medieval structures in the country, clearly deserve closer attention than the present volume can offer. Kyōto at least has already generated a western-language literature of its own, starting with the pioneering gazetteers of Ponsonby-Fane, first published in 1908 (Ponsonby-Fane 1956) and culminating in the monumental historical atlas overseen by Nicolas Fiévé (2008, Stavros 2016). The cityscapes of Kyōto are equally represented in the burgeoning literature on ancient cities as cultural heritage (Stavros 2016 and see papers in Fiévé and Waley 2003).

Medieval towns and cities in both England and Japan attract great attention as tourist destinations and as favoured locations to inhabit. In England many medieval towns and cities lost

much of their historic cores through unsympathetic redevelopment in the postwar years. In Japan, the majority of historic urban centres were destroyed in the systematic programme of bombing at the end of the Second World War. And yet in both countries, there is now a common interest in enhancing rather than obliterating what has become known as the historic urban environment. In England, it is recognised that attention to the historic environment can play a very important role in fostering a sense of place and local identity. And similar sentiments have given rise to ‘town making’ (*machizukuri*) in contemporary Japan.

The papers in this volume are offered in response to a perceived need to bring Japanese medieval archaeology to a wider audience, to help realise the potential for the Japanese archaeological record to contribute to broader discussions in medieval archaeology. The approach adopted is comparative in nature. In this it complements the approach taken in McClain et al (1994) for the post-medieval cities of Paris and Edo, and an exhibition of post-medieval urban archaeology (Edo-Tokyo Museum 1996).

Comparisons of scale

William Wayne Farris defines medieval Japanese towns as centres with five thousand or more inhabitants (Farris 2006). During the 13th century, in the decades following the abandonment of Kyōto in 1185 which marks the start of the medieval era in Japan, and the establishment of Kamakura as the political capital of Japan, it is estimated that between 200,000 and 300,000 people, or some five percent of the total population of the archipelago, were living in urban environments which included cities such as Kyōto and Kamakura, ports like Tosaminato and Kusado Sengen, and former provincial capitals (Farris 2006: 86). By the middle of the 15th century there were over fifty identified urban centres, the largest still being Kyōto, with an estimated population of 200,000. There was a small number of towns with populations between 15,000 and 40,000, including Hakata, Ōtsu on Lake Biwa, and Kashiwazaki on the Japan Sea coast, and a series of smaller centres including Zuisenji in Etchū province and Ishidera in Ōmi. By the late 16th century the number of towns had increased sixfold. The proportion of the population living in towns remained the same as in the 13th century, at around five percent, but this number now represented between half a million to 700,000 people. Urban centres now included local political centres, towns focused on religious establishments, post stations, ports and market towns (Farris 2006, 152-3). From around 1520, improvements in food supplies, supported by the expansion of irrigation works, enhanced commercial activities leading to the establishment of new ports and markets, and shifting political contexts which saw local *daimyō* founding new

administrative centres around their castles, were factors that led to the intensification of urbanisation in the earlier 16th century (Farris 2006: 246).

Hans Andersson, in a recent review of the development of medieval towns in Europe, notes that ‘there are important qualitative and quantitative changes beginning in the later part of the 12th century and peaking in the 13th century, which make this period especially important in the history of urbanisation’ (Andersson 2011). Towns got bigger in area and their populations increased, as many new towns were established across Europe. Intensification in trade, commercial activity and developments in the legal, administrative, and religious underpinnings of the organisation of society are all cited as reasons. The emergence of urban hierarchies with, in the case of England, London at the top and a series of provincial centres including Norwich and Winchester, is perhaps comparable to the situation in Japan. However, the scale of urbanisation does differ. For example, there are estimated to have been some 4000 towns by 1320 in Germany alone, although only fifty are thought to have had populations exceeding the 5000 required by Farris to define a town in medieval Japan. The largest, Cologne, had perhaps 50,000 inhabitants, a quarter of the population of Kyōto at the same time (Andersson 2011).

Comparisons of process

The trend towards urbanisation was not, however, a steady progression. Plague and famine took their toll, and the 14th and 15th centuries in Europe saw shifts in the urban network as many fewer, if any, new towns were founded. Major centres such as London and Copenhagen became increasingly important and distinguished from their provincial counterparts. The remains of failed towns can be found across Europe and Japan. The pattern of urbanisation established during the medieval period, however, was to shape the landscape in both Japan and Europe until the advent of industrialisation.

The process whereby Japan became an urbanised society is of interest in its own right but also bears comparison with the history and archaeology of urbanisation elsewhere. Japan has one of the richest archaeological records of anywhere in the world. Each year many thousands of archaeological sites across the archipelago are investigated and the findings meticulously recorded, albeit in Japanese. Over half of these investigations produce material dated to Japan’s medieval era, comprising a dataset unrivalled in most other countries. And yet this material remains largely unknown by medieval scholars elsewhere. Within Japanese scholarship, archaeology is only recently being incorporated into accounts of the medieval period, largely regarded as the preserve of the historian and art historian

(Mass 2002, Hall and Mass 1974). This book arises from an attempt to redress this situation, and it is hoped that the case studies presented will stimulate further research.

The study of urban development in Japan is beginning to change. The foreword to a new translation of key works by the pre-eminent social historian of medieval Japan, Amino Yoshiyuki, makes explicit reference to the archaeology of medieval towns (Amino 2012, xxxvii–xl), referring to the formal burial grounds and market places which he considers to be urban in character. In an excellent introduction to Amino's book, translator Alan Christy sets Amino's concern with such 'urban spaces' in terms of the prevailing emphasis by Japanese historians on the overwhelmingly agricultural and rural nature of premodern Japan, and how effectively Amino counteracts this with his view of peasants 'also engaging in maritime commerce, proto-industrial production, or financial activities' (2012, xvii). Amino deconstructs the myth of the self-sufficient rural community by demonstrating how important 'networks, routes, circulations – and exchange - of goods, peoples and cultures' have been since the prehistoric period' (2012, xviii). Christy continues: 'For Amino, the terms rural and urban have little to do with scale and everything to do with the character of everyday life. An urban settlement is inescapably part of a circulation network. It is a place where exchange is a fundamental activity, where production is premised on consumption elsewhere, and where equivalences between things are determined. Amino characterises as urban town after town that most Japanese would think of as hopelessly isolated and miniscule. He highlights the vast networks and constant mobility that he believes animated the Japanese past. With the proliferation of urban nodes covering the islands, even the images of rural communities where agriculture was dominant are unstable, for the 'city' is no longer far away' (ibid: xviii–xix). This new concordance between history, archaeology and art history is already beginning to manifest itself in new generations of interdisciplinary research projects and publications (Keirstead 1992, Maekawa 1991, 2004, Pitelka in preparation, Stavros 2016).

The archaeology of medieval towns: case studies from Japan and Europe

This volume forms part of a project whose origins lie in a conference held in Norwich in 2004. The conference had two prime purposes: to promote wider awareness and understanding of the dramatic strides that have been made in Japanese urban archaeology in recent decades; and bring Japanese and European specialists together to explore similarities and dissimilarities in urbanism as a force for change in medieval world cultures. The conference was followed by a

research visit to Japan, taking in many of the medieval urban centres discussed in the present book. The scale and scope of medieval urban archaeology in Japan and Europe places a comprehensive comparative survey beyond the bounds of this volume. Instead it seeks to leave a permanent marker of the unprecedented interaction between Japanese and European medieval urban archaeologists represented by the Norwich conference, intended to provide an inspiration to future collaboration and a starting point to insert an awareness of the Japanese record into the increasingly globalised debate about medieval towns.

We therefore selected four previously published papers which we felt were good exemplars of the Japanese approach, translated and adapted them, and set them alongside three papers by European specialists. The case studies in this volume were chosen to illustrate not only parallels and significant differences in methodological approach, but also parallels in results and the challenges that currently face urban archaeology as a discipline both in Japan and elsewhere.

Where possible at the 2004 conference, papers were paired and contributors were encouraged to seek comparanda, a difficult task as European speakers were often completely ignorant of work in Japan, and Japanese scholars similarly impeded with regard to European activities and concerns. Manfred Gläser, in seeking to compare the towns of Lübeck and Sakai, provided perhaps the bravest such attempt, identifying some eleven areas of comparison ranging from observations on each town's role as a major trading centre to the different markets experienced by local craftsmen. His approach, however, together with a number of striking observations that occurred during the conference itself (such as the development of distinctive urban housing styles—see Grenville and Morris, 1997 and 2006 respectively), drives home the point that, while urban products will clearly vary in form and appearance from eastern Asia to western Europe, the social, economic and political considerations that drove urban formation, development and occasional decline are universal phenomena. Such phenomena, perhaps curiously (or perhaps not so curiously; there may have been hidden mutual influences and contacts), flourished within the same millennium on opposite sides of the globe.

It is the process of urbanisation as a socio-economic development, common to both Japan and Europe, which is clearly fruitful to explore. In doing so, however, it is helpful to reflect upon the nature of the archaeological resource, the methodologies by which that resource is investigated, the products of such investigation and the theoretical and analytical frameworks within which discoveries are assessed, synthesised and presented.

Definitions, methodologies, resources

The nature of the archaeological resource is not one that is necessarily easy to determine. The concept of what constituted a ‘town’ in medieval Europe, not only in the early medieval period but also during the ‘High Middle Ages’, is one that has taxed scholars for generations. Approaches to the issue have developed from a straight historical, legalistic definition (often revolving around such issues as whether a place had a right to a market), through adoption of a ‘criteria’-based approach (the *Kriterienbündel* propounded by Ennen in 1953, whereby a place can be considered urban if it contains two or more attributes such as defences, a planned street system, a mint or a diversified economic base) to a recent assessment that views urban settlements as expressions in part of the ‘cultural zone’ within which they were located (Hermann 1991). This last divides Europe into an ‘Inner Zone’, essentially countries bordering the Mediterranean but including France as far north as Normandy, a ‘Middle Zone’ that encompassed central Europe from the Black Sea to the North Sea (and included England), and an ‘Outer Zone’ of northern Europe including all of Scandinavia and European Russia.

Hermann’s definitions specifically derive from the relationship of each area to the Roman Empire and the legacy of that empire. Thus the Middle Zone includes countries such as England that were within the empire but where Romanisation was effectively eradicated after the beginning of the 5th century, while most of France remained within the Inner Zone because of the enduring impact of Roman civilisation, in particular that of towns. In this context, it is particularly useful to have Henri Galinié’s paper in this volume as he explores the origins of urbanism within France north of the Loire (thus encompassing the border territory of Hermann’s Inner and Middle Zones) in an assessment of the legacy of different forms of Roman town and their impact upon the subsequent medieval urban framework of France.

The problem of definition is one that has also been taken up in Japan. Maekawa has explored the issue of urban formation, postulating that villages coalesced and became multifunctional regional centres in a process that he identifies as *sonshuka*, or nucleation (Maekawa 1998). Interestingly, his work extends beyond the study of urban centres alone and shows that the nucleation he observes does not necessarily lead to urban development; it can just as easily lead to the creation of residential forts (*jōkan*) or to large villages, which survive in a rather fossilised form to the present day. While such an observation has obvious resonances within a European context (how ‘urban’ were some of the Alfredian *burhs* of late 9th-century Wessex, for example? Could some of them have been essentially Late Saxon *jōkan*?), Maekawa’s work also illustrates that any consideration of medieval urban centres must expect

variety and, occasionally, ‘urban’ centres may be found that do not necessarily appear to be urban.

The diversity of towns is explored in Galinié’s paper, where the approach is questioning and challenging, and he demonstrates that just as medieval towns often had different functions, so too did Roman ones, these differences also having an impact upon subsequent development. It is an approach grounded in archaeological observation, not necessarily that of excavation, but one that seeks to explore the relationship of a place to its hinterland, and to its socio-economic and political links, and to examine the importance of that place accordingly. One strength of the Norwich conference was that it made clear that such analysis is just as appropriate for other contexts. Richard Pearson, exploring the trading towns of Sakai and Tosaminato in Japan, describes two successful settlements, both with trade networks but operating within completely different spheres and therefore developing as different urban entities (this volume, Chapter Two).

Pearson’s assessment is based upon analysis of the material culture of each town, utilising material derived from excavations, notably ceramics. Such examination of recovered material is, of course, a traditional archaeological methodology; but Pearson adopts a broad approach, seeking to understand the significance of the ceramic assemblages within both their social and economic contexts. As with Galinié, these contexts are also political—the material can be seen as assisting understanding of the role of each town within its contemporary society and the needs and aspirations of both the ruling classes and those of the more affluent merchants. The influence of China, in particular, permeates Pearson’s paper—clearly, the impact of such a major advanced economy as a near neighbour to Japan was considerable.

The importance of the larger political context is clear within the northwest European case and brings a further parallel in urban studies. Not actually physically part of the European continent, England was a slow starter in post-Roman urban development: throughout the medieval period, its urban growth was clearly limited in comparison to that experienced elsewhere. European influence, however, was constant, usually through the medium of trade and, just as exploration of Japanese urban growth can be examined by archaeological study of tradable goods, so too have methodological studies in Europe grown over recent decades to encompass not only increased understanding of urban linkages but also the dynamics of urban economies. This extends beyond demonstrating trade contacts; recent work by scholars such as Astill has illustrated how the use of archaeological material can enable both the posing and the addressing of questions of long-term structural change within societies, questions beyond the reach of traditional historical sources (Astill 2000).

One further development in urban methodologies has been the recognition that towns never exist in isolation from their hinterland. Indeed, the concern with the relationship of a town to its hinterland - and the definition of that hinterland, which in the case of a Lübeck or a Sakai was certainly considerably greater than its immediate vicinity - has led to a growth in studies that seek to explore the urban/rural relationship. It is a theme alluded to in Pearson's paper with his reference to Maekawa's work, which explores the processes by which villages coalesced and, in certain cases, developed as urban centres. In Europe work is currently developing along a different trajectory; rather than examining the transition from rural to urban, it is exploring the interdependence of rural and urban economies and societies. Again it is the adoption of archaeological methodologies and the study of archaeological material that is assisting such study, as evidenced in the important British publication on town and country in the Middle Ages with the revealing subtitle *Contrasts, Contacts and Interconnections, 1100–1500* (Giles & Dyer 2005).

Thematic connections: landholdings, commerce and guilds, religion and defence

One of the attractions for participants at the Norwich conference was the opportunity to observe medieval urban culture as uncovered at a range of sites in both Japan and Europe. This culture was illustrated most obviously in artefacts, such as the extraordinarily rich assemblages of finds from Lübeck, the absurdly large coin hoards from sites such as that of the early 14th-century Sin'an shipwreck located near Mokpo, Korea, and the 450,000 Chinese coins dated to 1368 found at Shinori near Hakodate in Hokkaidō, or the wealth of ceramics uncovered from a range of sites in Sakai. However, while it is possible for artefacts to move from rural to urban centres and back again, urban living dictates that certain physical attributes develop in towns that are particular to densely populated societies. Perhaps the most striking manner in which this is demonstrated, and which came up for discussion at the seminar, can be found in the Japanese land divisions known as *tansaku*.

Maekawa considers *tansaku* to be key indicators of urban life. *Tansaku* refer to strips, or belts, of land, usually quite long and narrow, such as those located at site SKT 200 in Sakai, often occupied by buildings along the street frontage and with patches of cultivable land and subsidiary structures to the rear. The parallel with the standard European urban morphology of long tenement plots set at right-angles to street frontages is striking and must reflect a common solution to a shared urban problem, that of maximising space as equitably as possible within the constraints of a market economy. The

morphological parallels go further: as valuable economic units, towns attracted the attention of local lords, who often built urban castles or similar structures in them; specialised zones for industrial manufacture or trade have been located in medieval Japanese towns and are also common in Europe; and religious establishments of varying size and importance were located in both Japanese and European towns.

Archaeological work on the impact of this last urban category—the urban religious establishment—has revealed other interesting comparanda. It has long been recognised in Europe that ecclesiastical institutions were not only major stimulants to the urban economy, fostering building trades, carpenters, sculptors and painters, and specialist suppliers such as those of painted glass, but also frequently engaged in mercantile trade, either at a local level through rents and management of rural estates or more widely through the export of raw materials, utilising the mercantile functions of towns. As Pearson observes, exactly the same sort of interaction between religious establishments and towns existed in medieval Japan; by the 12th century, while elite merchants were conducting trade through Japanese ports, as their counterparts were beginning to do in Europe, trade was also being undertaken between China and Japan with Song ships dealing with representatives of temples and shrines and their associated estates.

Urban life provided the framework for the development of mechanisms and institutions that enabled such trade to foster. Merchants' guilds in England and continental Europe found expression in buildings which often still stand (such as the Merchant Adventurers' Hall in York) or whose archaeological traces remain to be discovered (as seems to have been the case at Alfstraße 38 in Lübeck; see Gläser, this volume).

Co-operative guilds, known as *za*, also existed in medieval Japan where medieval warehousing has been uncovered by excavation. The development of this and other urban building types is attested to not only by Morris and Grenville but also in the reports of work at sites such as Ichijōdani, where comprehensive excavation has revealed a range of urban structures representative of different classes within town society; see Ono, this volume as well as industrial buildings such as dyers' houses and a blacksmith's house.

Trade clearly had a physical impact upon the form of towns, beyond that of urban buildings. The mercantile town of Tosaminato on the tip of northern Honshū was constructed on a long sand bar next to a lagoon with a narrow opening to the Sea of Japan. The site was hardly propitious for settlement, other than that it was a prime location to exploit trade to and from Hokkaidō and across the Sea of Japan. However the physical circumstances are paralleled to a remarkable degree by the contemporary town of Great

Yarmouth in eastern England, also constructed on a sand spit with Breydon Water to its rear and the sea to the east, and therefore excellent regional and international links. The topography ensured development of long, linear settlements in both cases, with merchant quarters and, interestingly, major religious institutions at one end of the town - a shrine at Tosaminato and a large church at Great Yarmouth. Such comparative analogies should not be pushed too far but it is clear that topographic opportunities were exploited where possible for commercial advantage (as can be seen in the trading towns of Kusado Sengen and Bruges).

Urban castles were perhaps more common in Europe but they existed in Japanese towns as well (see Senda, this volume, and Turnbull 2009). During the research visit in 2008, we encountered an excellent example at Fukuyama, western Honshū, where investigations have not only uncovered the outworks of the castle there but also a dock protected from the Inland Sea. There is considerable scope for comparative work on the role of castles in towns. Of the three European castles illustrated here (Ribe, Rouen and Norwich), the recent extensive excavations at Norwich indicate the potential for such study both for increasing understanding of the role of the castle and of the relationship of the castle to the town (Popescu 2009).

Urban stone or brick defences, as seen in images from Bruges, Göttingen, Norwich and Ribe are not a common feature of Japanese towns but even there towns could be protected by earthworks, as at Ichijōdani or Tosaminato, and as seems to have been the case at Kamakura. Kamakura, like Kyōto, is an example of a town that was both an urban entity in its own right and a setting for aristocratic and royal display, as well as a focus of religious activity. The exceptional urban macro-planning evident in both Kyōto and Kamakura was practically unknown in contemporary Europe although works on a more minor scale can be seen at places such as late 9th-century Winchester (Biddle 1975) or the 13th-century bastide towns of southern France and north Wales (Coste & de Roux 2007). It could be argued that the 8th-century medieval Islamic city of Córdoba was an urban community planned with the symbolic care evidenced at Kyōto, indicating a further direction for comparative study (Murillo et al. 1997: 47ff).

As hinted at the outset, this volume was not conceived as a comprehensive comparative study of medieval urbanism in Japan and Europe, but rather as a sampler, hopefully stimulating further investigations. It is worth mentioning a few areas of high potential.

Further exploration of medieval perceptions of the role of religion as an important element of the urban experience in Japan and Europe would be rewarding. Religious sites acted both as a focus in urban layouts, as with the Tsurugaoka Hachimangū shrine at Kamakura, which is accessed by a

processional way (Wakamiya Ōji), and also provided 'sacred landscapes' with meaning for clergy and citizens alike, as recently argued regarding the cathedral precinct at Norwich (Gilchrist 2005).

Urban planning is another important area: consideration of the degree of topographical manipulation that was sometimes involved in successful town-building can be instructive. At Kamakura, excavation has demonstrated that the Nameri-gawa River east of the city was deliberately diverted in order to enable effective urban planning, while the valley site at Ichijōdani was sealed to the north and south by defensive ramparts. Ōba Kōji's paper shows how at Hakata two separate settlements on adjacent sand spits were joined together by infilling, to make a continuous surface and Gläser records the deliberate infilling of marshes at Lübeck, work which, in the 13th century, increased the urban area by almost fifty percent.

Although it is often difficult to compare the products of two urban civilisations so separated by distance and lack of contact, attempts can still be made. Morris (in a 'deliberately provocative' manner) suggested that the celebrated late 15th-century row houses of Tewkesbury in England have 'significant points of congruence' with the façades and layout of traditional houses in Kyōto (*kyō-machiya*) (Morris 2006, 21). Notwithstanding such potentially 'more mobile and transferable' urban design issues, it was also possible to observe remarkable similarities in both the processes of urbanisation and in the methodological approaches to the study of medieval towns. There is clearly great potential in further exploring the theoretical framework for such studies, but consideration of the analyses presented here demonstrates that medieval urban studies are in robust and challenging form in both Japan and Europe.

A further topic of great significance for understanding what was happening in Japan is the economic, social and political impact of China, particularly with regard to Chinese urbanisation, which must have had an influence upon developments in the Japanese archipelago (cf. Pearson et al. 2001). The European papers here are solidly north European. Future studies could usefully reference the Mediterranean world, building on the enthusiasm of Vroom, which usefully highlights methodological ways forward for the study of Byzantine ceramics, drawing upon the influence of Japanese studies, and eastern Europe. Given known medieval trade contacts between Europe and central (and possibly east) Asia, there is scope for exploring mutual influences, including consideration of medieval Islamic influence, the towns of the Caliphate being one of the greatest expressions of Islamic civilisation.

There is clearly also considerable scope for the sharing of

information with regard to methodological approaches and concepts of urban mentalities. An example is the recent development of spatial analysis in European archaeological theory in an attempt to understand the meaning behind certain actions and events as illustrated by physical structures. Johnson has observed that relationships within society can be explored through detailed analysis of buildings and their environmental context (Johnson 1993), an approach that Giles has adopted in an urban context to argue that the archaeological record can be seen as one which encodes ‘past cultural and ideological meanings’ (and can therefore be ‘decoded’ by archaeologists), and to examine the meaning that the structures and spaces of medieval urban guildhalls had for those who built and used them (Giles 2000). Ono Masatoshi is one Japanese scholar who has started to explore such issues. His paper in this volume contains interesting observations on the links between the ritual use of space in and around buildings. The Japanese urban environment was one certainly constructed with as much ‘meaning’ in the landscape as any European town, and the development of such methodological approaches bodes well for future explorations on how towns were used and viewed by their inhabitants.

It is perhaps also appropriate to reflect on the importance of archaeological work in medieval towns. As Schofield and Vince have observed of towns, ‘most of us live in them’ (Schofield and Vince 2003, 266) and we therefore observe the pressures that are inflicted daily on urban environments. These environments are the products of change in the past and it would be wrong to resist change in the future. However, sustainable *management* of that change relies upon an understanding of the environment that can only be obtained from detailed study, assessment, analysis and synthesis of information. Urban archaeologists therefore have a dual responsibility: to past societies, in order that their contribution to the present is represented faithfully and accurately; and to future societies, in order that urban landscapes and structures develop in harmony with the past, retaining a sense and spirit of place whilst adapting to modern needs and pressures. Observing the work of colleagues across the world assists both responsibilities.

Towns, and the urban dynamic, were famously characterised by Braudel as being like electric transformers that ‘increase tension, accelerate the rhythm of exchange and constantly recharge human life’ (Braudel 1985, 479). The study of towns through urban archaeology is one that is itself subject to constant change, as new concepts, methodologies and understandings develop. That process can only be enhanced by ensuring that such development is undertaken within a

wide view of the world, recognising that common human needs, for food, shelter, warmth and spiritual sustenance, and common human aspirations, for social and economic enhancement, will lead to common solutions, often manifest in urban structures and systems. We hope that the contributions to this volume demonstrate that study of the medieval towns of Japan is not irrelevant to a greater understanding of the European town; nor is the consideration of European urban phenomena alien to Japanese academic concerns. They may also illustrate something greater: the universality of the human experience.

As this volume was in preparation, we have witnessed a ‘global turn’ in medieval history and archaeology (Belich et al. 2016, Franklin 2018, Holmes and Standen 2018, Jervis 2017, Sindbaek and Nixon 2012-13). A brief review of the available literature, however, reveals that despite the proliferation of courses of study with ‘global medieval’ in the title, for example at the Universities of Edinburgh and York¹, the formation of large-scale research networks², and the birth of a new journal about ‘medieval worlds’ (Frankopan 2019), we are still a long way from a widespread awareness of the potential of Japanese medieval archaeology (although see Souyri 2016) for this global turn. With enhanced appreciation of the significance of the medieval in the modern world, we hope that this volume will inspire further attempts to integrate the Japanese record into a ‘critical and global engaged medieval archaeology’ (Franklin 2018).

¹ See for example, the MSc in *Art in the Global Middle Ages* at the University of Edinburgh <https://www.ed.ac.uk/history-classics-archaeology/centre-medieval-renaissance/msc-art-global-middle-ages> (accessed 2 June 2020) and *The Global Middle Ages: the Medieval period in a transcultural perspective* MA module at the University of York <https://www.york.ac.uk/medieval-studies/postgraduate-study/modules/global-middle-ages/> (accessed 2 June 2020).

² For example the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council sponsored research network on *Defining the Global Middle Ages*, based at the University of Oxford <https://globalmiddleages.history.ox.ac.uk> (accessed 2 June 2020) and the *Global Middle Ages Project* which started at the University of Texas <http://globalmiddleages.org/about> (accessed 2 June 2020).

References

- Amino, Y. 2012. *Rethinking Japanese history*. Ann Arbor, Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan.
- Andersson, H. 2011. The development of medieval towns. In: Carver, M. and Klapste, J. (eds.) *The archaeology of medieval Europe. Volume II. 12th to 16th centuries*. Aarhus, University Press: 370-378.
- Astill, G. 2000. Archaeology and the late-medieval urban decline. In: Slater, T. R. (ed.) *Towns in decline AD 100 – 1600*. Aldershot, Ashgate: 214 – 234.
- Batten, B. L. 2006. *Gateway to Japan: Hakata in war and peace 500-1300*. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press.
- Belich, J., Darwin, J., Frenz, M. and Wickham, C. (eds.) 2016. *The prospect of global history*. Oxford, University Press.
- Biddle, M. 1975. Planned towns before 1066. In: Barley, M. W. (ed.) *The plans and topography of medieval towns in England & Wales*. Council for British Archaeology, Research Report 14.
- Braudel, F. 1985. *The structures of everyday life: civilisation and capitalism 15th – 18th century*. Fontana Press, London.
- Cooper, M. (ed.) 1995. *They came to Japan: an anthology of European reports on Japan 1543-1640*. Michigan Classics in Japanese Studies No 15. Ann Arbor, Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan.
- Coste, M. and de Roux, A. 2007. *Bastides: Villes nouvelles médiévales* (Walled towns: medieval new towns). Villefranche-de-Rouergue, Rempart.
- Cunliffe, B. 2005. *Iron Age communities in Britain*. London, Routledge.
- Edo-Tokyo Museum 1996. *Unearthed cities: Edo, Nagasaki, Amsterdam, London, New York*. Tokyo, Tokyo Metropolitan Edo-Tokyo Museum.
- Ennen, E. 1953. *Frühgeschichte der europäischen Stadt (The early history of the European town)*. Bonn, Ludwig Röhrscheid.
- Farris, W. W. 2006. *Japan's medieval population: famine, fertility and warfare in a transformative age*. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press.
- Fiévé, N. (ed.) 2008. *Atlas historique de Kyoto*. Paris, UNESCO and Les Editions de l'Amateur.
- Fiévé, N. and Waley, P. (eds.) 2003. *Japanese capitals in historical perspective*. London, Routledge.
- Franklin, K. 2018. Living with medieval things: why we need a global medieval archaeology. *Global Journal of Archaeology and Anthropology* 3.5. DOI: 10.19080/GJAA.2018.03.555625 (Accessed 2 June 2020).
- Frankopan, P. 2019. Why we need to think about the global middle ages. *Journal of Medieval Worlds* 1.1: 5-10.
- Gerrard, C. 2003. *Medieval archaeology: understanding traditions and contemporary approaches*. London, Routledge.
- Gilchrist, R. 2005. *Norwich Cathedral Close: The evolution of the English cathedral landscape*. Woodbridge, Boydell and Brewer.
- Giles, K. 2000. *An archaeology of social identity: guildhalls in York, c. 1350 – 1630*. Oxford, British Archaeological Reports British Series 315.
- Giles, K. and Dyer, C. (eds.) 2005. *Town and country in the Middle Ages: contrasts, contacts and interconnections, 1100 – 1500*. Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph 22.
- Grenville, J. 1997. *Medieval housing*. Leicester, Leicester University Press.
- Hall, J. W. and Mass, J. P. (eds.) 1974. *Medieval Japan: essays in institutional history*. New Haven and London, Yale University Press.
- Habu, J. 2008. Growth and decline in complex hunter-gatherer societies: a case study from the Jomon period Sannai Maruyama site, Japan. *Antiquity* 317: 517-584.
- Hempel, R. 1983. *The Heian civilization of Japan*. London, Phaidon.
- Heng, C. K. 1999. *Cities of aristocrats and bureaucrats: the development of medieval Chinese cityscapes*. Singapore, Singapore University Press.
- Hermann, J. 1991. Siedlungsgeschichtliche Grundlagen und geschichtliche Voraussetzungen für die Entwicklung Berlins (Basics about the history of settlement and the historical preliminaries for the development of Berlin). In: Brachmann, H. and Hermann, J. (eds.) *Frühgeschichte der europäischen Stadt*. Berlin, Akademie-Verlag: 7-18.
- Holmes, S. and Standen, N. (eds.) The global middle ages. *Past & Present* 238. Supplement 13.
- Hudson, M. and Barnes, G. L. 1991. Yoshinogari: a Yayoi settlement in northern Kyushu. *Monumental Nipponica* 46(2): 211-235.
- Jervis, B. 2017. Assembling the archaeology of the global middle ages. *World Archaeology* 49: 666-680.
- Johnson, M. 1993. *Housing culture: traditional architecture in an English landscape*. Washington DC, Smithsonian Institution.
- Jones, G. 1973. *A history of the Vikings*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Keirstead, T. 1992. *The geography of power in medieval Japan*. Princeton, Princeton University Press.
- Kim, S. (ed.) 2004. *Atlas of Korean history*. Singapore, Stallion Press and Department of History Education and Korea National University of Education.
- Maekawa, K. 1991. *Toshi kōkogaku no kenkyū: chūsei kara kinsei e no hatten (Studies of urban archaeology: development from Medieval age to Modern age)*. Tokyo, Kashiwa Shobo.
- Maekawa, K. 1998. Chūsei sonraku to toshi - chiiki shakai ni okeru shisonka to toshi no seiritsu (Medieval villages and cities: regional village nucleation and the formation of cities). *Kōkogaku Kenkyū* 45(2): 41-60.
- Maekawa, K. 2004. *Chūsei sōgō shiryōgaku no kanōsei (The possibility of an integrated study of resources on the medieval period)*. Tokyo, Shin Jimbutsu Oraisha.

- Mass, J. P. 2002. *The origins of Japan's medieval world*. Stanford, Stanford University Press.
- McClain, J. and Wakita, O. (eds.) 1999. *Osaka: the merchant capital of early modern Japan*. Ithaca, Cornell University Press.
- McClain, J., Merriman, M. M., and Ugawa, K. (eds.) 1994. *Edo and Paris: urban life and the state in the early modern era*. Ithaca, Cornell University Press.
- McKelway, M. P. 2006. *Capitalscapes: folding screens and political imagination in late medieval Kyoto*. Honolulu, Hawaii University Press.
- Morris, C. 1984. *The illustrated journeys of Celia Fiennes c.1682-c.1712*. London, Macdonald.
- Morris, M. 2006. *Kyo-machiya*: tracing the development of the traditional town houses of Kyoto through the medieval centuries. *Vernacular Architecture* 37: 1-23.
- Murillo, J. F., Hidalgo, R., Carrillo, J. R., Vallejo, A. and Ventura, A. 1997. Córdoba: 300 – 1236 d.c., un milenio de transformaciones urbanas (Cordoba: 300-1236: a millennium of urban transformations). In: de Boe, G. and Verhaeghe, F. (eds.) *Urbanism in medieval Europe (Papers of the 'Medieval Europe Brugge 1997' conference volume 1)*. Zellik, Instituut voor het Archeologisch Patrimonium: 47-60.
- Ono, M. (ed.) 2006. Chūsei toshi no chōsa bunseki hōhō ni kan suru kenkyū (Methods of research and analysis of medieval towns in Japan). *Kōkuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan Kenkyū Hōkoku (Bulletin of the National Museum of Japanese History)* 127. Sakura, Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan.
- Pearson, R., Li, M. and Li, G. 2001. Port, city and hinterland: archaeological perspectives on Quanzhou and its overseas trade. In: Scottenhammer, A. (ed.) *The Emporium of the world: maritime Quanzhou, 1000-1400*. Leiden, Brill: 177-236.
- Pitelka, M. In preparation. *Daily life and destruction in medieval Japanese castle towns*.
- Ponsonby-Fane, R. A. B. 1956. *Kyoto, the old capital of Japan (794-1869)*. Kyoto, The Ponsonby-Fane Memorial Society.
- Popescu, E. 2009. Norwich Castle: Excavations and historical survey 1987-98. *East Anglian Archaeology* 132.
- Pratt, K. 2006. *Everlasting flower: a history of Korea*. London, Reaktion Books.
- Schofield, J. 2011. *Medieval London*. Sheffield, Equinox.
- Schofield, J. and Vince, A. 2003. *Medieval towns*. London, Continuum Press.
- Sindbaek, S. and Nixon, S. 2012-13. Beyond the frontiers of medieval Europe. *The European Archaeologist* 38: 76-77.
- Skinner, G.W. (ed.) 1977. *The city in late imperial China*. Stanford, Stanford University Press.
- Souyri, J.P.(ed.) 2013. Le Japon Médiéval. Au temps des samourais. *Archéothema* 30.
- Stavros, M.G. 2016. *Kyoto: an urban history of Japan's premodern capital*. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press.
- Tsuboi, K. and Tanaka M. 1991. *The historic city of Nara: an archaeological approach*. Tokyo, Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, and Paris, UNESCO.
- Turnbull, S. 2009. *Strongholds of the Samurai: Japanese castles 250-1877*. Oxford, Osprey Publishing Ltd.
- Wakita, H. with Hanley, S. B. 1981. Dimensions of development: cities in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Japan. In: Hall, J. W., Nagahara K. and Yamamura K. (eds.) *Japan before Tokugawa: political consolidation and economic growth 1500-1650*. Princeton, Princeton University Press: 295-326.
- Wheatley, P. 1978. *From court to capital: a tentative interpretation of the origins of the Japanese urban tradition*. Chicago, Chicago University Press.
- Xiong, V. C. 2000. *Sui-Tang Chang'an: a study in the urban history of late Medieval China*. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan.
- Xu, Y. 2000. *The Chinese city in space and time: the development of urban forms in Suzhou*. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press.
- Zhu, J. 2004. *Chinese spatial strategies: imperial Beijing 1420-1911*. London, Routledge Curzon.