

## AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDY ABOUT THE ROAD NETWORK OF BOHAI

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This paper is based on my report titled “The road network of Bohai” originally published in 2011 by Bensei Publication Japan. Now I considerably rewrote it to include newly acquired data.

The territory of Bohai 渤海 included southern parts of the present-day provinces of Jilin 吉林省 and Heilongjiang 黑龍江省 in China, the southern part of Primorsky Region in Russia, and the north-eastern part of North Korea. It was called “the flourishing land in the East 海東盛國” in “Xin tang shu 新唐書”. According to the “Jiu tang shu 旧唐書” and “Xin tang shu”, a people from Goguryeo 高句麗 and Mohe 靺鞨 people escaped from where they were imprisoned in Yingzhou 營州 (Chaoyang 朝陽, Liaoning 遼寧) after the fall of Goguryeo in 668. Their leader Da Zuerong 大祚榮 then founded the country of Zhen 震 in 698, which would later become Bohai. “Xin tang shu” called the Bohai base “Old Nation 旧国 (Jiuguo)” until the reign of the second Bohai king, Da Wuyi 大武芸. He died in 737, and Da Qinmao 大欽茂 took the throne as the third king of Bohai. “Xin tang shu” contains records of the king moving the capital to Xianzhou 顯州 in its “Geographical Records 地理志” volume (presumably ex-

isting around Helong 和龍, Jilin province) during the Tianbao 天寶 Era (742-755), and it is known that Da Qinmao changed the capital from Old Nation to Xianzhou in the 740s. At the end of the Tianbao Era (ca. 755), Da Qinmao moved the capital from Xianzhou to Shangjing 上京. He again changed the capital from Shangjing to Dongjing 東京 during the Zhen'yuan 貞元 Era (785-804), and died in 793 (the ninth year of Zhen'yuan). The fourth king to inherit the throne, Da Yuanyi 大元義, was murdered shortly after taking the throne due to his jealous and abusive nature, and Da Huayu 大華瓊, the fifth king to ascend to the throne, once again changed the capital from Dongjing back to Shangjing in 794. Subsequently, Shangjing remained the capital until the 229-years-long Bohai history ended after the attacks by the Qidan 契丹 in 926.

“Xin tang shu” notes that roads stretched from Bohai five capitals 渤海五京 to its outlying regions. This paper investigates Bohai trade routes through archaeological phenomena in the territories of Bohai.

*Key words:* Bohai, trade roads, 24 stones, road to Japan, Tribute road, Yingzhou road, Qidan road, road to Heishui Mohe.

### 1. Archaeological remains related to the trade routes (Fig. 1)

#### 1.1. Previous research

Investigation of the 24 stones 二十四塊石. The first archaeological investigation related to Bohai trade routes was the 1957 survey of Bohai remains in the upper basin of the Mudan River 牡丹江 conducted in the Jilin Province. This survey discovered the remains of distinct structures along with 24 stones in four locations: Dunhua 敦化, Guandi 官地, Haiqingfang 海青坊, and Yaodianzi

腰甸子。In subsequent year, students from the Department of History at the Jilin University who participated in the survey reported their results in “Survey of the Remains of the Dunhua County 24 stones.” (The 2nd group... 1958). That report describes the buildings functioning as warehouses during the Bohai era based on the excavated roof tiles dated to that period. In addition, because the locations of the 24 stones run along the old road connecting Shangjing to Dunhua, they hypothesized that they represented foundation stones for altars that were temporarily set up while transporting the body of the Bohai king died in Shangjing to the Liudingshan 六頂山 Tombs in Dunhua.

Archaeologists in the Jilin Province conducted another distribution survey for the archaeological remains in 1960, and Wang Chengli 王承礼 reported a portion of those results in the “Survey of the Bohai Remains Along the Upper Mudan River of Dunhua, Jilin” (Wang Chengli 1961). Regarding to the historical function of the 24 stones, Wang Chengli speculated that they were from structures memorializing the Bohai royal family that were placed on the route connecting Old Nation with Shangjing. He noted that further investigations were required to determine their purpose.

The 24 stones are thought to be from buildings related to the Bohai trade route. However, this theory has been solely based on their geographical location instead of concrete survey results related to the trade route, such as the excavation of road remains. In 1992, Li Jiancai 李健才 asserted in “Study on the 24 stones” that these architectural remains were built during the Bohai period, and examples of the excavated roof tiles showed their continued use through the Liao 辽 and Jin 金 Dynasties. He argues that they were part of station buildings located along the trade route from the Bohai period through the Liao and Jin Dynasties (Li Jiancai

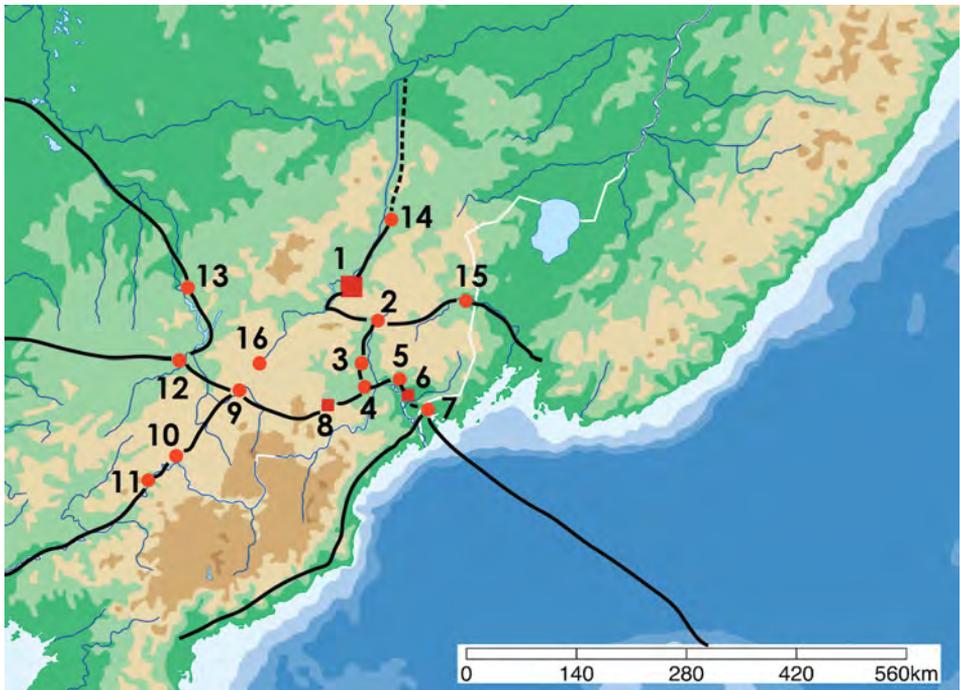


Fig. 1. Geographic distribution of sites

1992). The understanding that the 24 stones were from remains of buildings comprising portions of station facilities connected to trade routes used from the Bohai period through the Liao and Jin Dynasties became generally accepted via Li Jiancai's paper.

In 2005, the Institute of Cultural relics and Archaeology of Jilin Province conducted an excavation of the 24 stones remains at Jiangdong 江東 and Linsheng 林勝 (Institute... 2009). The Jiangdong remains are on the right bank of the Mudan River and they found the oven for cooking and warming with its flue. They also found the roof tiles of Jin Dynasty 金代. At Linsheng remains, they reported digging the roof tiles of Jin Dynasty. Based on these is highly probable that the 24 stones are the remains of the Jin Dynasty buildings, making it necessary to reexamine the traditional understanding that they represent remains of Bohai structures.

Investigating the trade routes. The paper "The Bohai Zhongjing 中京 and the tribute Road" by Li Jiancai and Chen Xiangwei 陳相偉 is an early study among the researches related to the Bohai trade routes (Li Jiancai, Chen Xiangwei 1982). Li Jiancai hypothesized that Xigucheng walled town 西古城 was Zhongjing, one of the five capitals of Bohai, and estimated that the Tribute road went to Shangjing via Zhongjing (Xigucheng walled town) and through the Wangqing 汪清 basin.

"Xin tang shu" notes that Dongjing was placed for the Road to Japan 日本道. Wang Xia 王俠's "Bohai Remains in Hunchun 琿春 and the Road to Japan" (1982), and Li Qiang 李強 and Hou Limin 侯莉閩's "Discussion on the Land road of the Early Bohai Route to Japan" (1994) are representative of prior research on the Road to Japan (Wang Xia 1982; Li Qiang, Hou Limin 1994). Wang Xia separates the Road to Japan into two periods: the early period covers the span from Bohai's founding in 698 until around 755 when the third king, Da Qinmao, established the capital at Shangjing. Any subsequent events are in the later period. Wang Xia assumes that the early Road to Japan started at the Aodong walled town 敖東城 on the Dunhua plateau, which he presumes where the capital called the Old Nation 旧国 was located. It then crossed Haerbaling 哈爾巴嶺, followed the Buerhatong 布爾哈通 River, and reached modern Yanji 延吉. Finally, it followed the Tumen 圖們 River going into Hunchun. He presumes that the later Road to Japan reached Hunchun via the Wangqing basin from Shangjing. For both routes, Wang Xia considers the departure port for Japan to be in Posiet Bay in Russia's Primorsky Region, and the Kraskino walled town remains to be connected to the harbor.

Li Qiang's understanding is basically shared with that of Wang Xia for the Road to Japan. However, since the topography of the Haerbaling route from the Dunhua plateau to the areas around Xigucheng walled town remains was unreliable, and there are few Bohai remains along the Buerhatong River, it is unlikely that this route existed. Instead, he infers the route started on the Dunhua plateau and went south along the Fuxing 福興 River (Antu County 安圖縣), then went down the valley from the upper reaches of the Changren 長仁 River to arrive at the Toudao 頭道 basin containing the Xigucheng walled town remains. Multiple Bohai remains have been confirmed on this route. The route from Xigucheng walled town remains to the Kraskino walled town remains is basically the same as the one Wang Xia describes.

## 1.2. Archeological investigations on the Road to Japan

Wang Xia and Li Qiang hypothesized that the first Bohai capital, Old Nation, was on the Dunhua plateau, and that the first Road to Japan started there. However, while the Aodong walled town and Yongsheng 永勝 remains were likely candidates for the remains of Old Nation, recent surveys have confirmed that they were constructed during the Jin Dynasty. Thus, the evidence for placing Old Nation on the Dunhua plateau has disappeared. The valley course of the Changren River' as Li Qiang asserts, is the path of the early Road to Japan that has the Changren remains where Bohai roof tiles were unearthed, while the Changren grave remains contained the Goguryeo-style stone chamber tomb. The possibility that this valley course was some kind of trade route in the first half of the 8th century is undeniable.

Unearthed green-glazed roof tiles, building decorations, and the road to Japan. Among the Bohai remains, there have been reported 10 remains which yield the green-glazed roof tiles or building decorations. Of these, Shangjing and Baliancheng walled towns are remains related to the king capitals of Bohai. The Xinsheng 新生 and Liangzhongchang 良種場 remains are temples that belonged to the Baliancheng walled town remains which are thought to be the king capital called Dongjing 東京 since 785 till 794 A.D. At the Hadadukou 哈達渡口 site (Cheng Song, Jin Taishun 1983), approximately 2 km northwest of Shangjing which was the capital of Bohai kingdom since the middle of 8th century till 785 and since 794 till 926, on the right bank of the Mudan River, many relics have been found in a 150 × 8 m area. A Bohai roof tile, green-glazed brick and green-glazed pottery were collected on this site. Nearby this remains, on the opposite bank of the Mudan River, there are Sanlingtun 三靈屯 tombs, which are presumed to be the Bohai king's tomb complex. So these six sites are related to the Bohai Shangjing.

The following four sites have yielded green-glazed roof tiles and building decorations, but they are not related to the Bohai king capitals.

Xingfu 幸福 remains (Xingfu Village, Chunyang 春陽 Town, Wangqing County, Yanbian 延邊 Korean Autonomous Prefecture, Jilin Province) (Zheng Yongzhen, Pu Runwu 1985). This site is located on the plains of the left bank of the upper Gaya 嘎呀 River, close to the border of Ning'an 寧安 City in the Heilongjiang Province. Flat roof tiles, lotus-inscribed disk shape roof tile, and green-glazed roof tiles were picked up from an area measuring 110 m east-west and 80 m north-south.

Xintian 新田 building remains (Xintian Village, Baicaogou 百草溝 Town, Wangqing County, Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture, Jilin Province) (Collection... 1993). Located in approximately 80 km from the Xingfu remains, this site is on the right bank bench of the Gaya River. Bohai roof tiles were scattered across on the artificial flat field. The green-glazed roof tiles and unglazed roof tile, bricks were collected.

Beida 北大 walled town remains (Beida Village, Xing'an 興安 Township, Yanji 延吉 City, Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture, Jilin Province) (Ministry... 1941). This site was called the Ynajjie Bei walled town remains 延吉街北土城 around 1940. The short report of the site was written in the investigation report which was published by the Manchukuo's Department of Education 滿州国文教部. At the time of survey, these remains were in the military camp and the land was artificially flatted. Ryosaku Fujita 藤田亮策, who contributed to the survey, measured the rectangular remains of the corridors by foot, recorded

125 steps east to west and 192 steps north to south. Building remains were in the center, and it appeared that foundation stones dotted the area. The report informs that many roof tile shards and many green-glazed roof tiles were collected within the walled town. Today it is difficult to assess the state of the remains, as they are currently part of the urban area of Yanji. Although those remains can now be thought of as gone, a report from the 1940s maintains that the remains were surrounded by a 500×500 m long wall, and inside the walled area the foundation of a building remained preserved.

Dongliudong 東六洞 No. 2 remains (Mijiang 密江 Township, Hunchun City, Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture, Jilin Province) (Liu Jingwen 1990). This site is located on the bench of the left bank of Tumen River. According to the report, this building measures 21.5 m north-south and 6 m east-west, and an outer wall constructed from the river stones retained its height up to approximately 0.5 m high. There is no cooking oven within the building, but the southeast corner of the building features a burnt soil. The room floor was covered with a yellow soil. Bohai roof tile and architectural decorations glazed with green and yellow were excavated in the area around the building. The report described that the Bohai roof tiles showed the characteristics of the latter half of the Bohai period, i.e. the 9th century. Roof tiles from the Liao and Jin Dynasties were also excavated. Among the glazed architectural decorations there is a fragment thought to be the eye of a lion's head, as well as a sample thought to be a Chiwei 鷓尾 roof tile fragment.

Remains of a building with a similar structure were also unearthed at the Shuaiwanzi 甩灣子 site, located about 15 km downstream from the Dongliudong No. 2 remains along the Tumen River. Glazed relics have not been found there, whereas a roof tile kiln from the Bohai era was discovered nearby, so there is some possibility that functionality of these remains differs from that of the remains at Dongliudong No. 2. These buildings are actually placed at fixed distances along the Tumen River, so it is reasonable to consider the possibility that these remains also served the station-like purposes associated with the road to Japan.

The route of the Road to Japan. Running from Shangjing to the Kraskino walled town remains, the Road to Japan supposedly goes south of Jingbo Lake, turns east from Jingbo County, and passes Wufenglou. It then crosses a mountain pass, and descends into a valley formed by a tributary of Gaya River. It follows the river course south, and passes the Xingfu and Xintian remains until it reaches the Beida walled town remains. Then, it follows the Tumen River downstream, passes Dongjing (Baliancheng walled town remains), and finally arrives at the Kraskino walled town site. Multiple architectural remains were found along this path, including the sites of Wufenglou 五鳳樓 remains, Hongyun 紅雲 temple, Luotuo mountain 駱駝山, Zhongda River 中大川 walled town, Gaocheng 高城 walled town, and Shitouhezi 石頭河子 walled town. The line connecting these locations indicates the route of The Road to Japan. Noteworthy is that the four previously mentioned remains where green-glazed roof tiles were found are arranged along the Road to Japan, as proposed by Wang Xia and Li Qiang. It is possible that the roofs of the buildings were constructed with the green-glazed roof tiles, then used as a station building for foreign envoys traveling along the Road to Japan.

## 2. The reconstruction of Bohai trade routes and remains of the walled towns

The Road to Japan. Heading for the Japan Sea from Shangjing, the Road to Japan apparently branched off the path to get connected with Xianzhou where

the king moved the capital to during the Tianbao Era. The junction point between the roads is about 250 km from Shangjing, and located within the Tumen river basin. Incidentally, the Beida walled town remains in Yanji City are presumably located near this fork in the road. When turning left to head east and going down the Tumen River, Dongjing can be reached approximately in 100 km. The Kraskino walled town remains are 50 km farther. The distance from Shangjing to the Kraskino walled town is approximately 400 km. At the Posyet Bay near the Kraskino walled town the Road to Japan gets connected to the sea route to Japan. The mission ship crossed the Japan Sea, and made landfall in Dewa 出羽 (Yamagata and Akita prefectures), Hokuriku 北陸 (Ishikawa and Fukui prefectures) and San'in 山陰 (Tottori and Shimane prefectures) in Japan. Then it reached Heijo Kyo 平城京 (8th century, Nara city) or Heian Kyo 平安京 (9th century, Kyoto city), the ancient imperial capitals of Japan, via land routes such as the Hokuriku-do 北陸道 (the road from Hokuriku to Capital of Japan).

The Tribute road. When turning right to head west at the fork in the Road to Japan near the Beida walled town remains, it takes approximately 50 km to reach Xianzhou. Xianzhou has been hypothesized to be in around Helong City; Jilin Province, and Xigucheng walled town remains have been also thought to be its place. Most Chinese archaeologists believe that Xigucheng walled town remains had two representations: the imperial capital in Xianzhou province and Zhongjing, one of the five capitals. Recently, the Institute of Cultural relics and Archaeology of Jilin Province conducted excavations centered on the palace remains of Xigucheng walled town site. Their excellent report provides key information for learning about the entire picture of the Xigucheng walled town remains. The report presented three patterns of roof tile (disk shape roof tiles) unearthed from the Xigucheng walled town site: dual-petal lotus flowers, palmetto, and heart-shaped lotus petals. Of these, the most frequently occurring pattern is the heart-shaped lotus petal disk shape roof tile, which accounts for around 80% of the total. Identical heart-shaped lotus petal disk shape roof tiles have also been unearthed in Shangjing. According to Koichi Tamura's research (Tamura Koichi 2006), the heart-shaped lotus disk shape roof tile found in Xigucheng walled town can be dated to the 9th century. Thus, it is no longer possible to date it to the middle of the 8th century during the Tianbao Era, when Jia Dan indicated that it was "the place where the king made his capital." However, the dual-petal lotus roof tile could possibly be identified as coming from the mid-8th century. Therefore, I think the dual-petal lotus roof tile shows us that the beginning of Xigucheng walled town was the mid-8th century when Jia Dan described the King having made his capital at Xianzhou. I think, the "beginning of Xigucheng" was in fact the king capital of Xianzhou. And A.D. 755, after the king moved his capital to Shangjing, the Xigucheng was used as a "sub"-capital or detached palace. Then in the early 9th century when the "five capitals system" had started, the Xigucheng was set as Zhongjing.

When going west from Zhongjing and circumventing the foot of the Changbai Mountain 長白山, the road leads to Fusong 撫松 City in the Jilin Province. Xin'an 新安 walled town is located on the right bank of the Toudao Songhua River 頭道松花江 flowing through here. The distance from Zhongjing to Xin'an walled town remains is approximately 280 km. The Xin'an remains are located in a valley plain on the right bank of the Toudao Songhua River, where shards of potteries are broadly scattered. Because the lotus petal design roof tile which belongs to Bohai period had been unearthed here, this appears to be the remains of the central town in this area during the Bohai period.

Continue on for another 120 km west from Xin'an walled town remains, and you get to the Linjiang 臨江 City, where the reaches of the Yalu 鴨綠 River are at hand. This is the presumed location of Shenzhou 神州, recorded in "Xin tang shu" as being on the road to the King capital at Xianzhou. Although it has been said that some Bohai relics were unearthed during some construction work within the city bounds, no proper excavations have been undertaken. Thus, archaeological information from Shenzhou has not been proven valid.

From here, go down the Yalu River for approximately 120 km to reach Ji'an 集安 City. During Goguryeo period, since 1st century to 5th century, Ji'an 集安 was the King Capital City. In Bohai period it was called Wandou 丸都 County, and it was thought to be the West capital of Bohai. It is approximately 380 km from Wandou to the Yalu River estuary. The "tribute road" continues across the sea along the Liaodong 遼東 Peninsula, and arrives at Chang'an 長安 the capital of Tang dynasty via Shandong 山東 Peninsula.

The Yingzhou 營州 road. Down the Toudao Songhua River from Xin'an walled town remains in Fusong, Sumi 蘇密 walled town (Huadian 樺甸 City, Jilin Province) is located near the confluence with the Huifa 輝發 River. The distance from the Xin'an remains is approximately 200 km. The Sumi walled town site is on the south bank of the Huifa River. Its horizontal position exhibits a concentric square formation. The shape of inner wall is square with an axis running north-south. It's measuring 337 m to the east, 369 m to the west, 334 m to the south, and 341 m to the north for a circumference of 1381 m. The shape of outer wall is a rectangle oriented north-south with the east wall measuring 697 m, south wall 535 m, west wall 747 m, and north wall 611 m with a total circumference of 2590 m. The southwest and southeast sides are surrounded by a double-layered moat. In addition, the main axis of the inner wall runs north-south, whereas the main axis of the outer wall is directed slightly to the northwest. For a long time the area demarcated by inner wall remains was thought to be constructed during the Bohai period, and the area demarcated by outer wall was thought to be constructed during the Liao or Jin Dynasties. But after recent archaeological investigation I have heard that archaeologists in China started to change their minds about the fact that inner wall was built from Liao to Jing dynasties and outer wall was built during the Bohai period. "Xin tang shu" notes that the Bohai Yingzhou 營州 road was under the jurisdiction of the Changling 長嶺 Province, so it is possible that the Sumi walled town was Changling's provincial town.

The Qidan road. The location of the Fuyu 扶余 Province, which controlled the Qidan road, is allegedly around the Jilin City. Regarding remains that correspond to the Fuyu provincial walled town, some believe that they were on the Dongtangshan 東潭山 site on the right bank of the Secondary Songhua River 第二松花江. However, judgment should be reserved until publication of the details, including whether there are relics from the Bohai period.

When heading toward the Qidan or Yingzhou roads from Shangjing, it is possible to imagine a route going through the Dunhua plateau, in addition to the one through Zhongjing. The tomb of the third daughter, Princess Zhenhui 貞惠公主, of the third Bohai king Da Qinmao is on the Dunhua plateau. This may be the location of Old Nation 旧国, which was established there at the founding of the Bohai Kingdom. It is possible to imagine that the route to the Dunhua plateau via Jingpo Lake 鏡泊湖 from Shangjing and the route to the Dunhua plateau from Zhongjing presumed by Li Qiang (which would be the old Road to Japan, if Old Nation was on the Dunhua plateau) merge, and arrive at Changling

Province (Sumi walled town remains) via Fuyu Province (Jilin City). Similar to the Beida walled town remains on the Road to Japan, there was a tendency in Bohai to establish a large walled town where roads diverge. Therefore such large town remains which are not yet found, should exist on the Dunhua plateau.

The road to the Heishui Mohe 黑水靺鞨. Additionally, the Nanchengzi 南城子 walled town remains (Hualin 桦林 Town, Mudanjiang City, Heilongjiang Province) is approximately 100 km north from Shangjing. The length of its walls is as follows: the north-south wall is 580 m, east-west wall is 450 m; many roof tiles have been unearthed there. It appears that while there are Bohai remains (e.g. Xingnong 興農 walled town remains) at the lower reaches of the Mudan River 牡丹江 flowing west of the Nanchengzi walled town remains, no large walled town remains equal to the Nanchengzi have been found. Nanchengzi walled town was built in association with the trade routes connecting the people of Heishui Mohe 黑水靺鞨 and Shangjing. Those people lived between the lower reaches of the Mudan 牡丹江 and Songhua 松花江 rivers, as well as in the middle course of the Amur River 黑龍江. The Nanchengzi site was apparently a prefectural walled town which controlled the north extremity region of the Bohai king capital Shangjing.

In addition, the Dachengzi 大城子 walled town (Dongning 東寧 County, Heilongjiang Province), which is in the middle course of the Suifen River 綏芬河, is located to the east from Shangjing, approximately 300 km away via modern Mudanjiang City. However, it is also possible to reach Dachengzi walled town remains from Shangjing by going south along the Road to Japan, turning east from Tianqiaoling 天橋嶺 in Wangqing County 汪清縣, going back up the Gaya River 嘎呀河, passing the watershed, then going down to the Suifen River. This route is also approximately 300 km long. From where the road forks at Tianqiaoling 天橋嶺 until close to the watershed, the area is dotted with walled town remains, such as Zhuanjiaolou remains 轉角樓遺址 and Jiguan remains 鷄冠遺址. Thus, this may have been the route from Shangjing to Dachengzi walled town site. The Dachengzi walled town is located on the right bank of the Suifen River, and has a wall 3570 m long. Other than the Bohai king capital, Dachengzi walled town is the largest walled town in the Bohai kingdom, and is presumed to be the provincial walled town for the Shuaibin 率賓 Province.

### 3. Summary

This paper investigated the relationship between the presumed route of the Road to Japan, trade routes, and walled town remains. It confirmed the existence of multiple architectural remains and walled town remains, and that green-glazed roof tiles were found on four sites along the presumed line for the Road to Japan connecting Shangjing and Kraskino walled town remains. The routes of the Tribute, Yingzhou, and Qidan roads have not been confirmed as having green-glazed roof tiles, so their importance is inferred to the Bohai-Road to Japan. The Bohai walled town remains are concentrated around the middle courses of the Tumen and Mudan Rivers, and large walled towns were built on the outer borders, such as Xin'an, Sumi, Nanchengzi, Dachengzi walled town remains, and Kraskino. These were previously hypothesized to be provincial or prefectural walled towns. But by this time study I could make sure that they were placed at the intersections of trade routes. These large walled town sites were established at the points of contact between the territories where the Bohai had effective control and Bohai's border regions.

I think the road from the Bohai king capital to the capital of Japan and the capital of Tang and other places should exist since the beginning of this kingdom. The first Japanese mission to Bohai was sent in the year of 728. In that year, Bohai was under King Da Wuyi 大武芸 rule. So the first Japanese mission visited the king capital and met Da Wuyi. At that time King capital of Bohai was settled at Jiuguo 旧国. They took the road from the port to King capital. This was the early road to Japan.

The history of Bohai road, I think, had two stages. At the first stage it was a traditional road since before Bohai kingdom had been established. By this time study, it was obvious that the majority of unearthened roof tiles belong in the 9th century. So I think that in the 9th century official buildings were constructed along the road. I think this was the second stage of the road of Bohai functioning.

The reconstruction of trade routes in all of the Bohai territories and the placement of large walled towns at the intersections intensified during the reign of the tenth king, Da Renxiù 大仁秀, who ascended the throne in 810. This shows us why “Xin tang shu” described Bohai kingdom as being the “Flourishing land in the East”.

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## ИССЛЕДОВАНИЕ ДРЕВНИХ ДОРОГ БОХАЙСКОГО ПЕРИОДА

Ёситака КОДЗИМА

Дороги древнего Бохая описаны в исторических хрониках как пути из бохайской столицы к соседним народам. В этой работе, привлекая памятники, которые, возможно, были связаны с сетью бохайских дорог, я предлагаю рассмотреть древние пути бохайского времени.

В данной работе я исследовал не только дорогу в Японию (日本道), но и попытался изучить связь между древними дорогами и равнинными городищами. В результате я обнаружил много остатков строений и равнинных городищ вдоль пути от Верхней столицы Бохая (渤海上京) до Краскинского городища. Прежде всего, есть четыре памятника, на которых была собрана кровельная черепица, покрытая зелёной глазурью. До сегодняшнего дня было всего восемь бохайских памятников, где найдена черепица с зелёной глазурью. Из них четыре считаются царскими дворцами (王城) или Пятью столицами (五京), остальные четыре памятника находились вдоль дороги в Японию. Это с очевидностью указывает на огромную значимость транспортно-го пути в Японию в бохайское время.

Равнинные городища, относящиеся к бохайскому времени, в основном концентрируются в бассейнах рек Тумэньцзян (图们江) и Муданьцзян (牡丹江). Я думаю, что бассейны этих двух рек должны быть центральной зоной Бохая. Интересно, что вокруг центральной зоны Бохая расположены довольно крупные равнинные городища. Например, городища Синьаньчэн (新安古城), Сумичэн (苏密城), Наньчэнцзы (南城子古城), Дачэнцзы (大城子古城) и Краскинское. Считалось, что эти большие городища были центральными городами областей (府) или округов (州), ясно, что они должны были располагаться на важных перекрестках путей. Столь крупные памятники занимали пограничные зоны между основными землями Бохая и его приграничной территорией.

Много кровельной черепицы, относящейся ко второй половине VIII–IX вв., найдено в ходе раскопок Баляньчэна (八连城), который считается восточной столицей Бохая, и Сигучэна (西古城), считающегося его Средней столицей (中京). Я полагаю, что временем, когда было завершено строительство этих двух городищ, должна быть вторая половина VIII в. Исходя из этого вывода по результатам археологических исследований, я думаю, что система “пяти столиц” началась со второй половины VIII в. А в четвёртой четверти VIII в. Восточная столица (东京) построена в качестве царской резиденции. Я предполагаю, что начиная с этого времени, в зоне Бохая создавалась сеть дорог. Кровельная черепица, найденная на больших городищах, расположенных вокруг центральной зоны Бохая, вся относится ко второй половине VIII–IX вв. Это подсказывает нам не только датировку строительства городищ, но также и время устройства сети дорог.

В настоящей статье автор использовал материалы своего отчёта “The Road Network of Bohai”, изданного в 2011 г. Bensei Publication Japan, значительно переработав текст с учётом результатов новейших исследований.

**Ключевые слова:** Бохай, торговые пути, 24 камня, путь в Японию, Tribute road, дорога Инчжоу, дорога к киданям, дорога к хэйшуй мохэ.