The Status of the Far Eastern Civilization/World System: Evidence from City Data*

David Wilkinson

INTRODUCTION

Andre Gunder Frank's *Re-Orient* and *Centrality of Central Asia* raise several interesting issues of a potentially empirical character, some of them relevant to our current topic of "city systems in East Asian civilization." Did a separate Far Eastern civilization/world system ever coexist with some others in the Old World, loosely united by a single trading network or oikumene? Or were Old World cities always a single "world-system" so strongly integrated as to be part of a single social process? And whatever the degree of organization of the Old World cities, as loose trading oikumene or tightly bound social system, was that collective entity always, sometimes, or never Sinocentric?

Frank would, I believe, defend the answers (a) that all the Afro-Eur-Asian civilizations/world-systems were tightly bound into a single system and process, through a linkage in Inner Asia (as we shall call it for the purposes of this paper); and (b) that at least for some time before the 19th century the single world-system into which they were bound was Sinocentric, or at least not Eurocentric, and specifically not Eurocentric for the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries.

One set of data that may bear on these questions, and serve at least in part as a source of answers, is to be found in Tertius Chandler's pioneering collection of city size data estimates (1987). Chandler's table set titled "Tables of World's Largest Cities: The Largest 75 Cities, 2250 B.C.–1975" (1987: 460 ff.) seems rel-

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ABSTRACT

T. Chandler's city data are used to inquire whether, and when, East Asia was a world system in itself, or part of a larger Old World world-system; and whether, and when, the east end of the Old World oikumene was more "advanced" than the west end. On the available data, (1) A.G. Frank's thesis of a single Old World world-system is less well supported than the thesis of a long coexistence of a plurality of world systems, including a separate Far Eastern system; (2) Frank's thesis of the general economic lead of "China" over "Europe" is supported; (3) there is evidence of an interesting medieval outrunning of the "west end" by the "east end" economy, which begs further investigation.

evant and useful here. Evidence bearing on the empirical "centrality of Central Asia," upon the integration through Inner Asia of the Old World oikumene as a world-system, and conversely upon the individuality of its various components, should be present in the answers to the questions, How many of the largest cities were Inner Asian; and, What relation is there between the population of the largest Inner Asian cities, and that of the largest Old World cities? When and if Inner Asian cities were many, and large by comparison with outlying cities of what I have labeled (1987, 1992–93) "Central Civilization" (mostly found in Southwest Asia, North Africa and Europe), "Indic Civilization," and "Far Eastern Civilization," both the integration of an Old World world-system and the "centrality of Central Asia" become more plausible propositions than when Inner Asian cities are few and relatively small.

Chandler's tables for 2250 BC (only 8 cities @ a threshold of circa 30,000) and 2000 BC (9 @ 25K) show no cities east of present Iran (see the maps for these years). At these dates, on these data, there is no evidence of an Old World-wide world-system.

An Indic city appears in the 1800 BC table (10 @ 20K), and there is at least one Indic city from 1200 BC (15 @ 24K) on. Far Eastern cities appear in Chandler's tables for 1360 BC (16 @ 24K) and thereafter. Furthermore, the populations of the largest Far Eastern cities (e.g. Sian, Loyang, Lintzu) and, to a lesser degree, the largest Indic cities (e.g. Ayodhya, Hastinapura, Kausambi), become comparable to those of the largest cities—Egyptian Thebes and Memphis, Mesopotamian Babylon) of what I have labeled "Central Civilization" (the polycultural fusion of Egyptian/Northeast African with Mesopotamian/Southwest Asian Civilization after c. 1500 BC). For these times, then, an Old World world-system is conceivable.

However, no cities appear in Inner Asia in Chandler's tables for 1800 BC, 1600 BC (11 @ 24K), 1200 BC, 1000 BC (14 @ 25K), 800 BC (17 @ 25K), 650 BC (20 @ 30K), or 430 BC (51 @ 30K). This seems consistent with a reading which finds separate Central and Far Eastern (and Indic) world systems coexisting at these times.

From 200 BC on (55 @ 30K), however, Inner Asian cities begin to be found in Chandler's tables. An Inner Asian convergence and joining of the three major world systems becomes possible, and should be explored in appropriate detail.

200 BC

One city in western Inner Asia, Balkh, appears, as the easternmost urban extension of what I would call Central Civilization; the simultaneous appearance of Peshawar, a city on the northwest Indic frontier, and the absence of any other Inner Asian city, suggests that the trade nexus here does not include the Far Eastern Civilization. Balkh is 1/4 the size of the largest Central system city, Alexandria; Peshawar is 1/9 the size of the largest Indic system city, Patna. I would accordingly incline to view Balkh and Peshawar as parts of the semiperipheries of two world systems/civilizations, each of which is growing toward the other along a linking trade route.

AD 100 (75 @ 30K)

Now a collection of Inner Asian cities appears in Chandler's list: Merv and Balkh; Peshawar; plus westward extensions of the Far Eastern system, Tunhuang and Kanchow. Peshawar, the Kushan capital, is the largest Indic city, but Balkh is 1/10 the size of the largest Central city (Rome), and Kanchow 1/9 the size of the largest Far Eastern city (Loyang). I would therefore interpret this distribution as the further extension eastward of the Central semiperiphery, the beginning of a matching extension westward of the Far Eastern semiperiphery, and a noteworthy northward movement of the Indic core.

AD 361 (50 @ 40 K)

All the Inner Asian cities listed AD 100 turn up missing. This is not just an artifact of the shrinkage of the list (75 to 50) and rise of the threshold (30K to 40K): had the same restrictive criteria been applied to the AD 100 list, only Tunhuang would have dropped out. The "rimland" world-systems seem to have pulled their semiperipheries back from Inner Asia.

AD 500 (50 @ 40K)

Merv and Balkh have returned. They are 1/9 the size of the largest Central cities, Constantinople and Ctesiphon. There is no matching extension of the Indic city set northward, or of the Far Eastern westward. I would therefore read this as evidence that Central Civilization is extending its semiperiphery into western Inner Asia.

AD 622 (51 @ 40)

Merv remains; Samarkand replaces Balkh; Kashgar appears, soon to be a target of the T'ang Far Eastern state. Merv is 1/10 the size of the largest Central city, Ctesiphon, Kashgar 1/8 the size of the largest Far Eastern city, Changan. Because of its trade connections, Kashgar might be seen as a shared Indic-Far Eastern semiperipheral extension into Inner Asia now matching that of Central Civilization; but hardly more than that.

AD 800 (56 @ 40K)

In this table, Bokhara joins Merv and Samarkand; Jayapuram extends Indic northward; Lhasa complements Kashgar as an Indic-Far Eastern link. But Samarkand is 1/9 the size of the largest Central city, Baghdad (Merv and Bokhara are smaller), Lhasa 1/6 the size of Changan. Jayapuram is 3/5 the size of Kanauj, the largest Indic city. The Indic core seems to have shifted northward somewhat, the Far Eastern somewhat westward, but a bit less; Constantinople having declined precipitously, the Central core has also shifted eastward somewhat, though not to Inner Asia. If this movement were to continue, an Inner Asian confluence might ensue.

AD 900 (61 @ 40K)

Bokhara, Samarkand, Kashgar and Lhasa remain; Jayapuram and Merv are gone; Balasaghun is added. Again comparing the largest Inner Asian extension of a civilization to its largest city, Bokhara is 1/9 the size of Baghdad, Kashgar 1/10 the size of Changan; Indic has no northward extension. The Indic core has shifted south again, as has its semiperiphery; the Far Eastern core has shifted east again. In the net, the rimland world systems have moved apart, losing all the ground gained in the previous table.

AD 1000 (70 @ 40 K)

A larger clustering of cities appears in western Inner Asia: Bokhara, Samarkand, Kashgar, Balasaghun and Lhasa continue; Ozkend (Far Eastern), Ghazni (Central) and Thaneswar (Indic) are added. But Bokhara and Samarkand are 1/6 the size of Cordova, Ozkend 1/6 the size of Kaifeng; Thaneswar is 3/5 the size of Kanauj. The situation seems to repeat AD 800, with a bit more emphasis: the lost ground has been more than made up, the rimland systems are flowing toward each other again.

AD 1100 (70 @ 40K)

Bokhara, Samarkand and Balasaghun remain; Lahore replaces Ghazni; Ozkend, Thaneswar and Lhasa are gone. Bokhara is now 1/3 the size of Constantinople, Balasaghun 1/10 the size of Kaifeng. Central Civilization has continued to "flow" eastward, but Indic and Far Eastern have pulled back.

In any series of snapshots taken at intervals, intervening transitory events are lost. I did not map Chandler's table for AD 1150 (nor his later tables at less than hundred-year intervals). But AD 1150 may have been Inner Asia's chance for true centrality: in that table, Seljuk Merv equals Constantinople as the world's largest cities. But this amounts to a core shift eastward in central Civilization: no comparable core shift toward Inner Asia is shown for either Indic or Far Eastern civilizations, and Merv's size will soon decline again.

AD 1200 (73 @ 40K)

To Merv, Bokhara, Samarkand and Balasaghun, this table adds Herat and Ghor. Afghanistan-based Islamic conquerors of Delhi have momentarily erased the boundary between Central and Indic civilizations. Balasaghun is 1/6 the size of Hangchow, Bokhara 1/3 the size of Fez. What is implied is some net movement since 1100 of the Central and, to a lesser degree, the Far Eastern semiperipheries towards each other. Unification of the Old World world-systems seems nearer in sight then ever. But….

AD 1300 (75 @ 40K)

All of the Inner Asian cities of AD 1200 have vanished. This is one consequence of the Mongol destruction of the Khwarezm state (Khorasan), an Inner Asian semiperipheral extension of Central Civilization. (The Mongol destruction in Inner Asia, and the failure of their invasions of India, incidentally restore the autonomy of Indic civilization, as well as its relative isolation.) Two westward extensions of Far Eastern civilization are seen, Turfan and Kashgar, the latter 1/9 the size of Hangchow.

AD 1400 (75 @ 45K)

Only Samarkand is found in Inner Asia, 1/3 the size of Cairo; as Tamerlane's capital, its size reflects a real power shift, but his invasions of India have eliminated Delhi and forced Indic civilization even farther from any Inner Asian convergence. Ming-Mongol wars have also removed the westward extensions of Far Eastern Civilization, so the Inner Asian linkage is even weaker than in AD 1300, indeed the weakest since the AD 361 table.

AD 1500 (75 @ 50K)

There has been a partial recovery in Inner Asia: to Samarkand add resuscitated Bokhara and Turfan. But Samarkand is only 1/7 the size of Cairo, and Turfan but 1/11 the size of Peking. The wounded Central and Far Eastern civilizations have resumed their expansion towards a juncture; so, but to a much lesser degree, has Indic, where Delhi reappears. The move toward fusion is about where it was AD 622.

AD 1600 (75 @ 60K)

Of Inner Asian cities, only Bokhara makes this list, 1/7 the size of Constantinople. A powerful linkage is indeed being established—I would by this time judge that the Indian subcontinent has probably been recruited into the Central world-system; but the linkage is overseas, reflected in the appearance in this table of Goa. No Indic or Far Eastern Inner Asian city outpost appears. Inner Asian linkage is back to about the AD 500 level.

AD 1700 (75 @ 60K)

Bokhara continues, at 1/9 the size of Constantinople. No Far Eastern city-outpost is found in Inner Asia. If an Indic world-system persists, it has a significant northward extension in Srinagar, 1/3 the size of Ahmedabad. (I have however not previously treated Srinagar, which appears in Chandler's lists in 430 BC, 200 BC, AD 100, AD 361, AD 500, AD 622 as an "Inner Asian" link city, but as a dead end of a north Indic route.)

AD 1800 (75 @ 77K)

Bokhara is gone; Peshawar replaces Srinagar; again, no Far Eastern city-outpost is found in Inner Asia. The Indian subcontinent is by now certainly integrated into the Central system; the second largest British city is Lucknow.

AD 1900 (75 @ 350)

An enormous Eurocentric growth in city numbers and sizes has left Inner Asia completely off the list. Even assuming that a Far Eastern world-system persists—I would suspect that it too has by now been absorbed into the Central system—its connections are in seaports like Tientsin, Shanghai and canton.

CONCLUSION

I would conclude that Chandler's data are more consistent with the inter-pretation that there were several Old World world-systems, the three largest of which merged after 1500 mainly as a result of European states' overseas imperial, especially trade-imperial, expansions, than with the interpretation that finds only one Old World world-system, with a strong continental connection through Inner Asia. Assuming the Old World world-systems were indeed many, not one, till a modern date, there remains Frank's other issue: was the real-world history of these world-systems in some sense "Sinocentric," requiring a "re-Orienting" of our history-writing?

The Chandler data may have a bearing on the "empirical Sinocentricity"

Table 1 – Which Had the Largest City?

	Europe	China
1360 BC		Ao
1200 BC		Anyang
1000 BC		Sian
800 BC		Sian
650 BC		Lintzu
430 BC		Yenhsiatsu
200 BC		Changan
AD 100	Rome	
AD 361	Constantinople	
AD 500	Constantinople	
AD 622		Changan
AD 800		Changan
AD 900		Changan
AD 1000	Cordova	
AD 1100		Kaifeng
AD 1200		Hangchow
AD 1300		Hangchow
AD 1400		Nanking
AD 1500		Peking
AD 1600		Peking
AD 1700	Constantinople	
AD 1800		Peking
AD 1900	London	

issue. As a first approximation, we may ask, at any moment, which competing party had the largest city, implying the largest political extraction of, or indus-trial exchange for, surplus food production. One could see this as a comparison between the claims of "Europe" and "China" for the status of "most advanced soci-ety." However, neither "Europe" nor "China" seems to me to be genuine world-systems; I will therefore give the question more gradations, and ask it for Central and Far Eastern world-systems as well; and not omit Indic.

As no "European" or "Chinese" city does appear, and no "Central" city could appear, before Chandler's 1360 BC table, we shall begin this follow-up inquiry at that time. For each date thereafter, the largest city in either "Europe" or "China," and the largest in either Central, Indic, or Far Eastern civilizations, is named in Tables 1 and 2, in its appropriate column; ties are reflected by multiple entries. (Note that "Thebes" is the Egyptian city, not the Greek city.)

Table 2 – Which Had the Largest City?

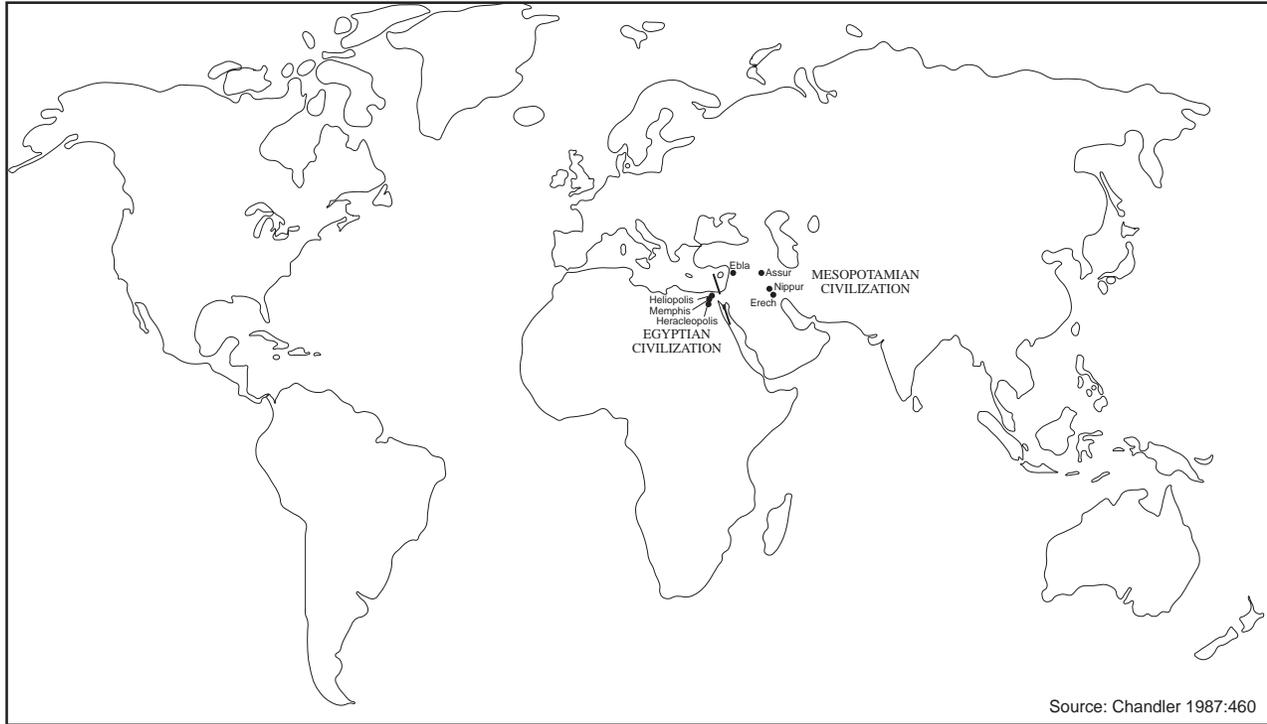|	Central	Far Eastern
1360 BC	Thebes	
1200 BC	Memphis	
1000 BC	Thebes	Sian
800 BC	Thebes	Sian
650 BC	Nineveh	
430 BC	Babylon	
200 BC		Changan
AD 100	Rome	
AD 361	Constantinople	
AD 500	Constantinople	
AD 622	Ctesiphon	
AD 800	Baghdad	
AD 900	Baghdad	
AD 1000	Cordova	
AD 1100		Kaifeng
AD 1200		Hangchow
AD 1300		Hangchow
AD 1400		Nanking
AD 1500		Peking
AD 1600		Peking
AD 1700	Constantinople	
AD 1800		Peking
AD 1900	London	

In this set of comparisons, "China" generally outperforms "Europe." However, Central Civilization (which is usually non-Eurocentric) generally outperforms Far Eastern (which is usually Sinocentric) until late in the Northern Sung dynasty, when the balance radically shifts for 600 years. Both facts are interesting; given the greater antiquity of the Central system, it is the shift that perhaps should seem surprising. There was a noteworthy economic reform struggle in the late Northern Sung. Has inadequate attention hitherto been given to the competitive merits, at the civilization/world-system scale, of the reforms of Wang An-shih (fl. 1069-1074)?

This inquiry by no means exhausts the interesting questions raised by Frank's arguments, nor indeed has it exhausted the data potentially relevant to such questions in Chandler's collection. The relative weight of the easterly and westerly ends of the Old World oikumene could be further explored, for instance, by looking at more urban data than only primate city sizes; perhaps a decentralized, multistate, multipolar system will show better on that measurement. Evidence bearing on the empirical Sinocentrism of the history of the oikumene may, for instance, be present in the answer to the question: what proportion of the largest cities, in each snapshot year, was Far Eastern (as a fraction of the whole collection, and also vs. Central or Indic)? What proportion of the total population of the largest cities was Far Eastern?

And of course Chandler's tables are hardly the last word on city sizes. Historical and archaeological progress will revise such data (cf. e.g. Chandler 1987 vs. Chandler and Fox, 1974), and any conclusions therefore drawn are as tentative as necessary. Normal science may well revise data and theories at a rate proportional to the number of workers in the field (Wilkinson's Law of Obsolescence?). Ask any astronomer how it feels to find that "Everything you know is wrong"; some are exhilarated, some depressed. Pending future exhilaration and depression—much of both are to be expected from Inner Asian archaeology—we use what there is.

In this necessarily tentative manner, we would conclude, at this point and on the available data, that (1) Frank's thesis of a single Old World world-system is less well supported than the thesis of a long coexistence of a plurality of world-systems, including a separate Far Eastern system; (2) Frank's thesis of the general economic lead of "China" over "Europe" is supported, if one accepts these as genuine systemic entities; but even if one does not, as I do not, (3) there yet remains evidence of an interesting medieval outrunning of the Central by the Far Eastern world-system, which begs further investigation.

Ebla
●Assur
●Nippur
MESOPOTAMIAN
CIVILIZATION
Erech
Heliopolis
Memphis
Heracleopolis
EGYPTIAN
CIVILIZATION

Source: Chandler 1987:460

Cities and Their Civilizations in 2250 B.C.

● = Largest cities, threshold c. 30 thousand, 8 total in table, 7 on map (no location posted for Agade), derived from Chandler's list (1987) via Wilkinson (1992-1993). Map shows only those civilizations which had cities on this list.

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Assur
Mari
Lagash
Nippur
Susa
MESOPOTAMIAN
CIVILIZATION

Heliopolis
Memphis
Thebes
Ur
EGYPTIAN
CIVILIZATION

Source: Chandler, 1987:460

Cities and Their Civilizations in 2000 B.C.

● = Largest cities, threshold c. 25 thousand, 9 total, derived from Chandler's list (1987) via Wilkinson (1992-1993). Map shows only those civilizations which had cities on this list.

MESOPOTAMIAN
CIVILIZATION

● Mari

Isin ●   ● Susa

INDIC
CIVILIZATION

● Mohenjo-daro

Heliopolis
Memphis
Heracleopolis
Asyut
                 Thebes
EGYPTIAN   ● Kerma
CIVILIZATION
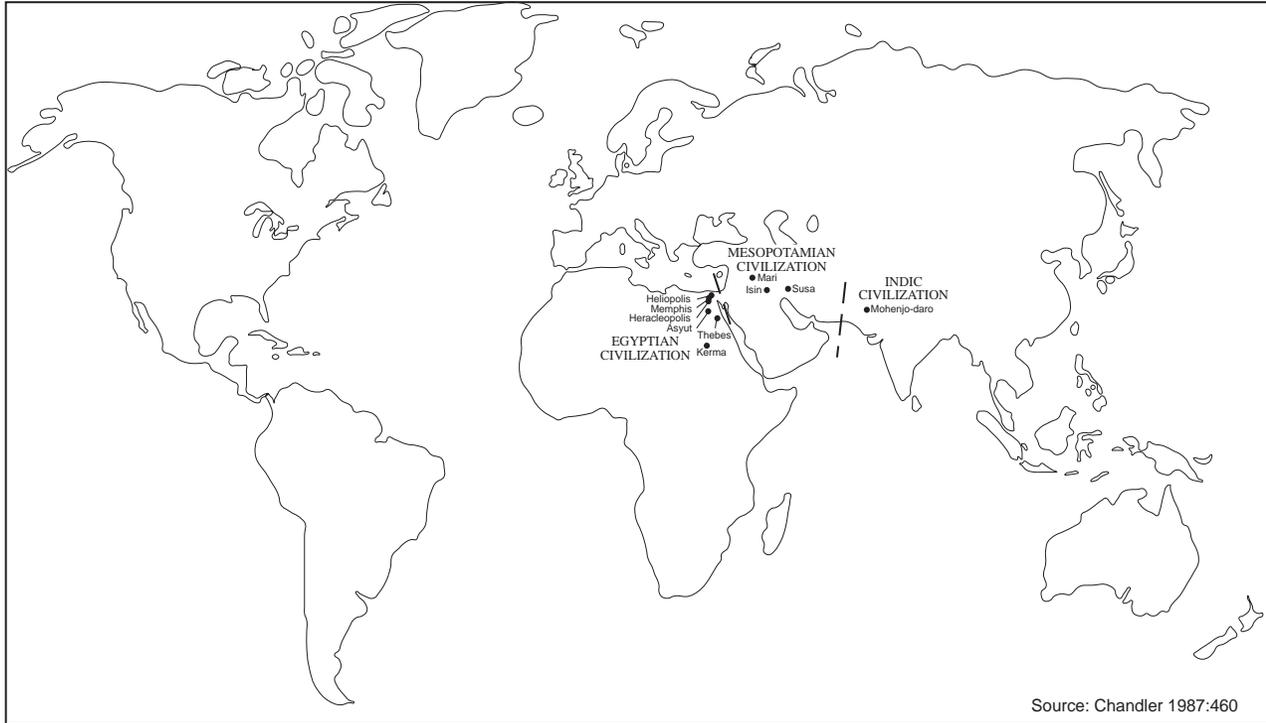
Cities and Their Civilizations in 1800 B.C.

● = Largest cities, threshold 20 thousand, 10 total, derived from Chandler's list (1987) via Wilkinson (1992-1993). Map shows only those civilizations which had cities on this list.

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Source: Chandler, 1987: 460

Cities and Their Civilizations in 1600 B.C.

● = Largest cities, threshold c. 24 thousand, 11 total, derived from Chandler's list (1987) via Wilkinson (1992-1993). Map shows only those civilizations which had cities on this list.

Cities and Their Civilizations in 1360 B.C.

● = Largest cities, threshold c. 24 thousand, 16 total, derived from Chandler's list (1987) via Wilkinson (1992-1993). Map shows only those civilizations which had cities on this list.

AEGEAN
CIVILIZATION

FAR EASTERN
CIVILIZATION

Mycenae
●Khattushash
●Duras
Argos ●Nineveh
●Dur-Kurigalzu
●Susa

Anyang ●
●Ao

INDIC
CIVILIZATION

Heliopolis ●Tanis
Memphis ●Erech
●Thebes CENTRAL
CIVILIZATION

●Ayodhya

Source: Chandler 1987:460

Cities and Their Civilizations in 1200 B.C.

● = Largest cities, threshold c. 24 thousand, 15 total, derived from Chandler's list (1987) via Wilkinson (1992-1993). Map shows only those civilizations which had cities on this list.

CENTRAL
CIVILIZATION

FAR EASTERN
CIVILIZATION

INDIC
CIVILIZATION

Nineveh
Jerusalem
Heliopolis
Memphis
Babylon
Erech
Susa
Thebes
Saba
Hastinapura
Kweiteh
Changan
Loyang
Pyongyang

Source: Chandler 1987:460

Cities and Their Civilizations in 1000 B.C.

● = Largest cities, c. threshold 25 thousand, 14 total, derived from Chandler's list (1987) via Wilkinson (1992-1993). Map shows only those civilizations which had cities on this list.

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CENTRAL
CIVILIZATION

FAR EASTERN
CIVILIZATION

INDIC
CIVILIZATION

Van
Sm ● Nineveh
Js ● Calah
● Babylon ● Susa
Heliopolis
Memphis
Thebes ●
Saba

● Hastinapura

Pyongyang
Chicheng
Changan ● ● Loyang
Kingchow

Js Jerusalem
Sm Smyrna

Source: Chandler 1987: 460

Cities and Their Civilizations in 800 B.C.

● = Largest cities, threshold c. 25 thousand, 17 total, derived from Chandler's list (1987) via Wilkinson (1992-1993). Map shows only those civilizations which had cities on this list.

AEGEAN
CIVILIZATION

CENTRAL
CIVILIZATION

FAR EASTERN
CIVILIZATION

INDIC
CIVILIZATION

Pyongyang

Van

Hsintien • Lintzu

Miletus

Ni • Ca • Ecbatana

Changan • • Loyang

Js • Susa

Sais

Babylo

Kausambi

Kingchow

Memphis

• Ayodhya

Napata •

Marib •

Ca Calah
Js Jerusalem
Ni Nineveh
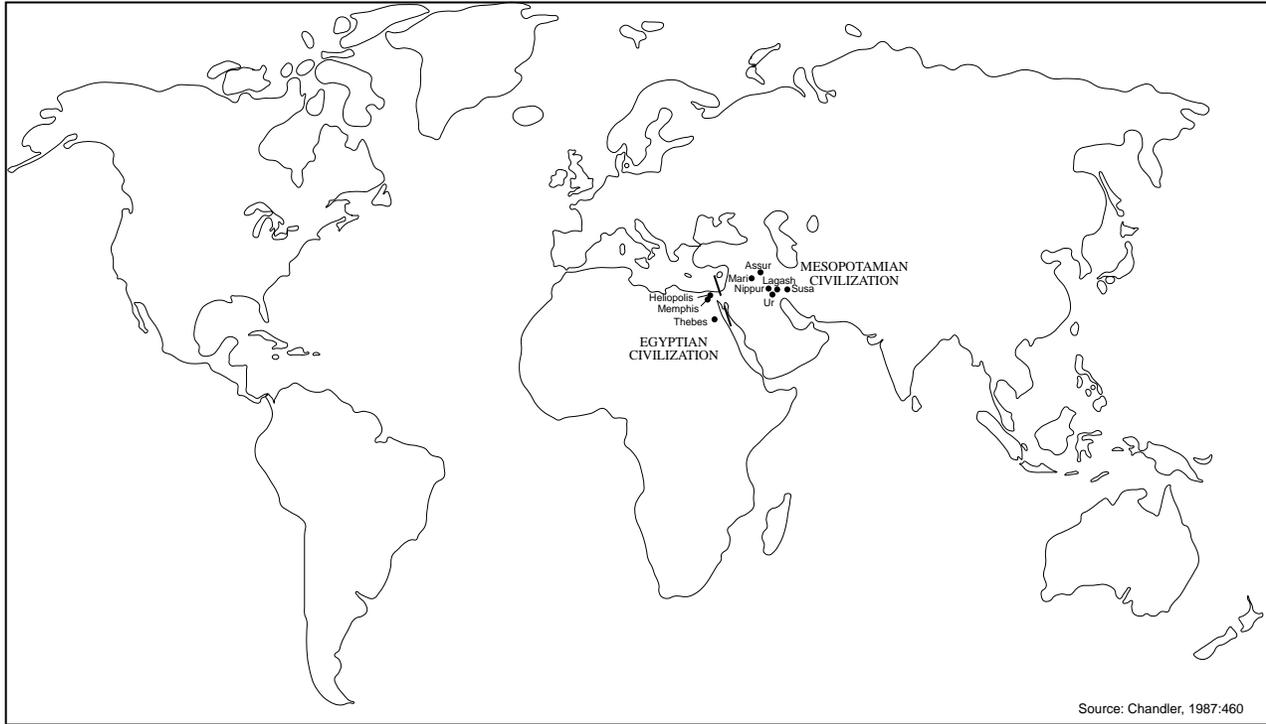
Source: Chandler, 1987: 460

Cities and Their Civilizations in 650 B.C.

• = Largest cities, threshold 30 thousand, 20 total, derived from Chandler's list (1987) via Wilkinson (1992-1993). Map shows only those civilizations which had cities on this list.

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CENTRAL CIVILIZATION

FAR EASTERN CIVILIZATION

Rome
Corcyra
Ct
Kerch
Tt   Ct
Ar
At
Me
Cr   Sp
Agrigentum   Ge   El   Ep   Sardis
Carthage   Sc   Js   Damacus   Sidon
Cyrene   Tyre   Ecbatana
Memphis   Babylon   Susa
Persepolis

INDIC CIVILIZATION

Srinagar
Benares
Kausambi   Vaisali
Ayodhya   Patna
Ra   Champa
Dantapura

Yenhsiatsu
Taiyuan
Fg   Loyang
Luchen
Lt   Soocho
Changsh   Hsueh   Fg   Fenghsiang
Lt   Lintzu
Pyongyang

CENTRAL CIVILIZATION

Meroe   Marib

Trichinopoly
Anuradhapura

Ra   Rajagriha

Cuicuilco

MEXICAN CIVILIZATION

Ar Argos
At Athens
Cr Croton
Ct Corinth
El Elis
Ep Ephesus
Ge Gela
Js Jerusalem
Me Messina
Sc Syracuse
Sp Sparta
Tt Tarentum

Source: Chandler 1987: 461

Cities and Their Civilizations in 430 B.C.

● = Largest cities, threshold 30 thousand, 51 total, derived from Chandler's list (1987) via Wilkinson (1992-1993). Map shows only those civilizations which had cities on this list.

Source: Chandler 1987: 461

Cities and Their Civilizations in 200 B.C.

• = Largest cities, threshold 30 thousand, 55 total, derived from Chandler's list (1987) via Wilkinson (1992-1993). Map shows only those civilizations which had cities on this list.

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CENTRAL CIVILIZATION

London
Lyon Milan
Nimes Capua
Rome Th Byzantium
Seville Ostia At Pm Angora
Cadiz Cl Sm Antioch Edessa
Carthage Gy Epl Nisibis Rayy Men Balkh Tunhuan
Leptis Apame Seleucia Ecbatana Kanchow
Syracuse Babylon Stakhr
Alexandria Petra Jullundur Srinaga
Memphis Ayodhya Chengdu
Oxyrhynchus Benares Patna
Teotihuacán Ujjain Dohad Patna
Patala Paithan Tosali
Broach Changsha Canton
Junnar
Zafar Kolhapur Kavery
Madurai Anuradhapura

Peshawar
Aror

MEXICAN
CIVILIZATION

CENTRAL
CIVILIZATION

INDIC
CIVILIZATION

Tunhuan
Peking Hwando
Kanchow Ta Namhan
Loyang Kyongju
Changan Pc
Na So Kashiwara
Wu Hangchow
Kingchow

FAR EASTERN
CIVILIZATION

At Athens
Ct Corinth
Ep Ephesus
Gy Gortyna
Pm Pergamum
Sm Smyrna
Th Thessalonica

Na Nanking
Pc Pengcheng
So Soochow
Ta Taiyuan
Wu Wuchang

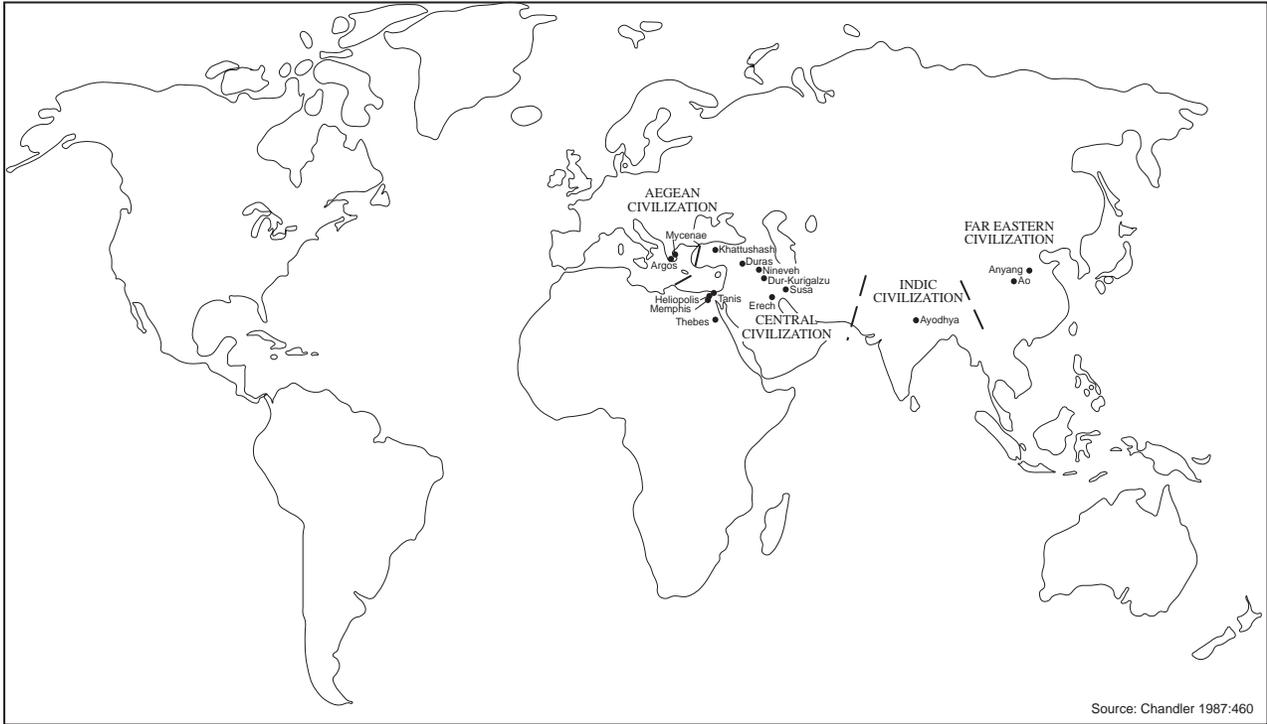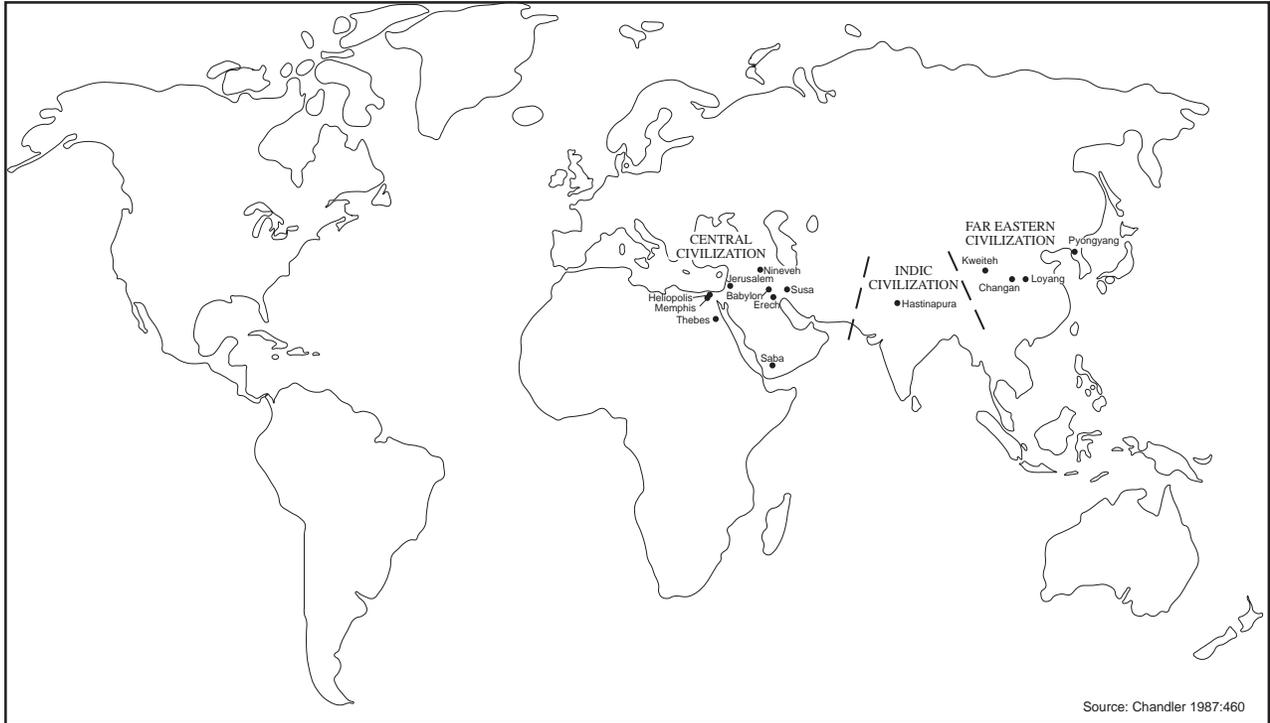Source: Chandler, 1987: 463

Cities and Their Civilizations in A.D. 100

● = Largest cities, threshold 30 thousand, 75 total, derived from Chandler's list (1987) via Wilkinson (1992-1993). Map shows only those civilizations which had cities on this list.

CENTRAL CIVILIZATION

FAR EASTERN CIVILIZATION

Trier

Constantinople

Vienne Milan
Arles Rome
Thessa-
lonica
Caesarea
Dvin
Edessa
Carthage U Athen Sm Nisibis
Syracuse Antioch Ravy Nishapur
Hippo Ds Ctesiphon
Leptis Jerusalem
Alexandria Stakh

Taxila Srinagar

Hwando
Liaotung
Ye Kyongju
Changan Nanking
Chengdu Wuchang Soochow

Aror
Benares Ayodhya
Ujjain Patna
Tamralipti
Prome

CENTRAL CIVILIZATION

INDIC CIVILIZATION

Axum Marib

Kavery
Kanchi
Anuradhapura

Indrapura

MEXICAN CIVILIZATION

Teotihuacán

Ds Damascus
Sm Smyrna

Source: Chandler, 1987: 464
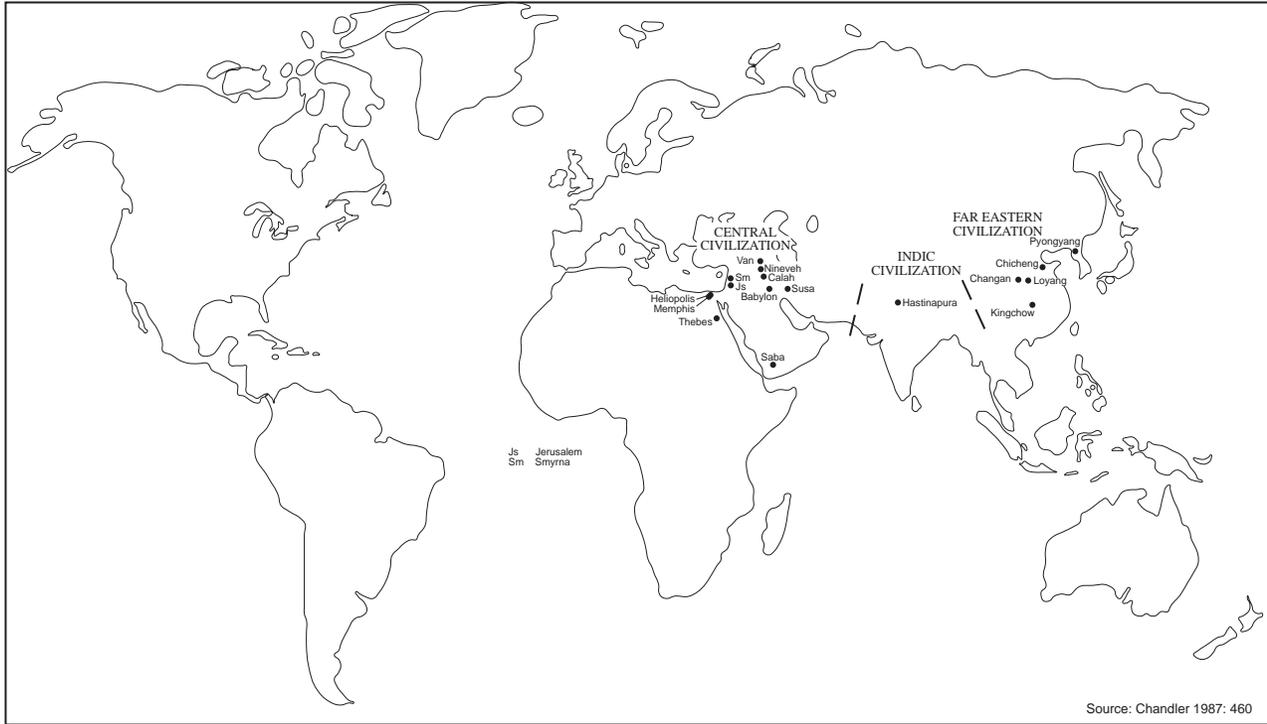
Cities and Their Civilizations in A.D. 361

• = Largest cities, threshold 40 thousand, 50 total, derived from Chandler's list (1987) via Wilkinson (1992-1993). Map shows only those civilizations which had cities on this list.

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CENTRAL CIVILIZATION

FAR EASTERN
CIVILIZATION

Rome
Constantinople
Caesarea
Carthage
Antioch
Alexandria
Coptos
Edessa
Amida
Nisibis
Damascus
Jerusalem
Ctesiphon
Nishapur
Merv
Rayy
Isfahan
Stakhr
Balkh
Srinagar
Sialkot
Zafar

CENTRAL CIVILIZATION

Gwalior
Mandasor
Ayodhya
Benares

INDIC
CIVILIZATION

Kavery
Kanchi
Anuradhapura

Prome

Indurapura

Tatung
Pengcheng
Ye
Changan
Loyang
Wuchang
Chengdu
Pyongyang
Ungjin
Kyongju
Yangchow
Soochow
Nanking

Teotihuacán
Balakbal
Tikal

MEXICAN
CIVILIZATION

Source: Chandler 1987: 465

Cities and Their Civilizations in A.D. 500

• = Largest cities, threshold 40 thousand, 47 total, derived from Chandler's list (1987) via Wilkinson (1992-1993). Map shows only those civilizations which had cities on this list.
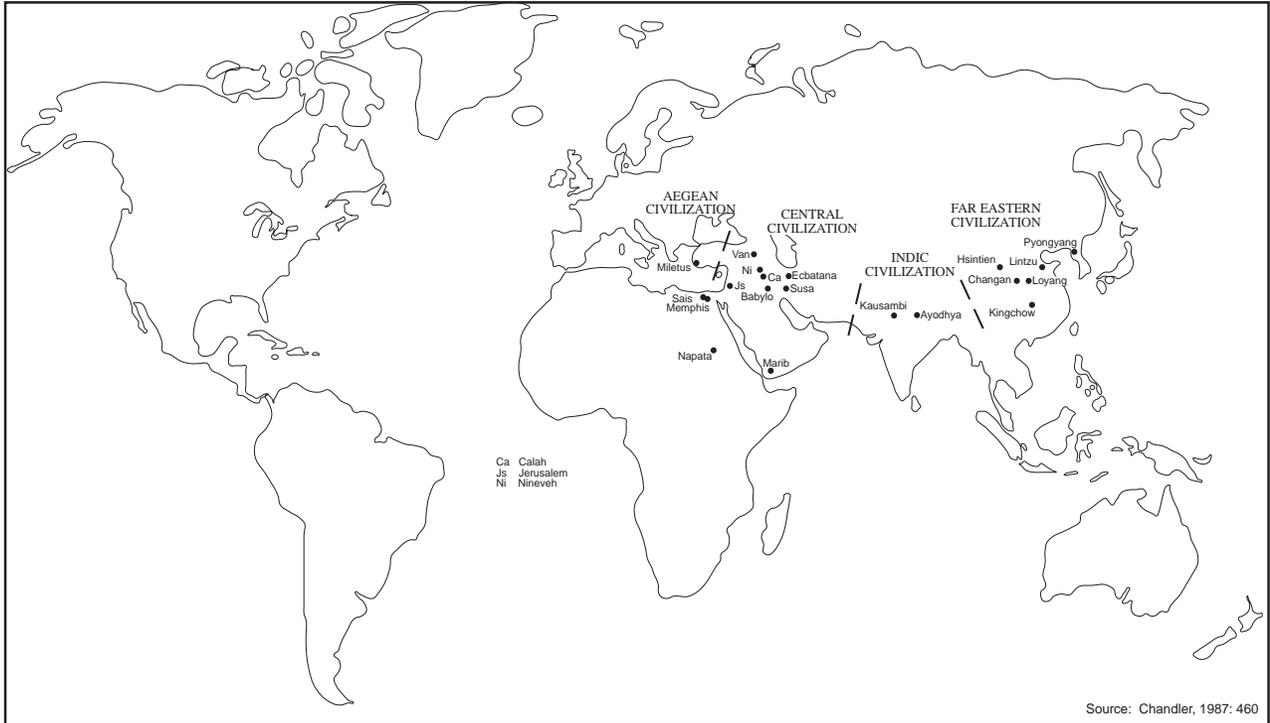
Source: Chandler 1987: 466

Cities and Their Civilizations in A.D. 622

• = Largest cities, threshold 40 thousand, 51 total, derived from Chandler's list (1987) via Wilkinson (1992-1993). Map shows only those civilizations which had cities on this list.

David Wilkinson

CENTRAL CIVILIZATION

FAR EASTERN
CIVILIZATION

JAPANESE
CIVILIZATION

Rome

Constantinople

Samarkand

Kashgar

Kyongju

Cordova

Cs   Malatya
Bd

Bokhara

Merv
Nishapur

Loyang
Changan

Kaifeng

Yangchow
Soochow
Hangchow
Nanchang

Kyoto

Kairwan

Ds
Js Kufa

Rayy
Km
Basra

Jayapuram

Lhasa

Chengdu

Nanking

Alexandria
Fostat

Anba

Benares

Tali

Wuchang

Qus

Mansura

Kanauj

Patna

Mecca

Anhilvada

Ujjain
Ellora

Canton

Tollan

Tajin

WEST AFRICAN
CIVILIZATION

Gao

Bezwada
Kanchi
Madurai

Copan

MEXICAN
CIVILIZATION

Tikal

INDIC
CIVILIZATION

Indrapura

Bd   Bagdad
Cs   Caesarea
Ds   Damascus
Js   Jerusalem
Km   Kermanshah

Prambanan

INDONESIAN
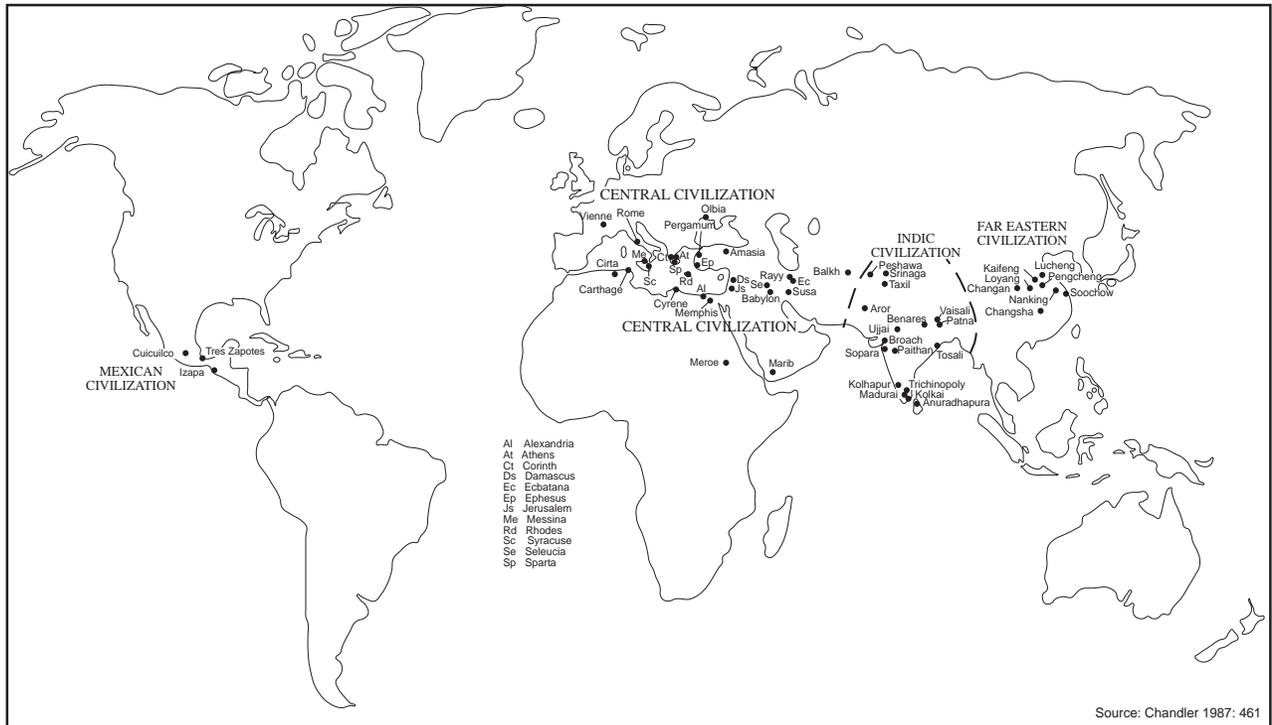CIVILIZATION

Cities and Their Civilizations in A.D. 800

• = Largest cities, threshold 40 thousand, 56 total, derived from Chandler's list (1987) via Wilkinson (1992-1993). Map shows only those civilizations which had cities on this list.

CENTRAL CIVILIZATION

FAR EASTERN
CIVILIZATION

Thessalonica Preslav Atil
Constantinople
Merid Rome Caesare Samarkand Balasaghun
Seville Cordova Tarsus Ani Bokhara Kashgar Silow
Kairwan Bagdad Rayy Nishapur Peking Kyongiy
Jerusale Kufa Hamadan Loyang Kaifeng
Alexandria Changan Nanking Kyoto
Fostat Lhasa Yangchow
Qu Siraf Benare Chengdu Soochow JAPANESE
Tollan Mansura Kanauj Bihar Wuchang Hangchow CIVILIZATION
Tajin Av Chunar Tali Nanchang
Cambay Canton
Ellora Nanning
MEXICAN CENTRAL CIVILIZATION Manyakheta Vengipura
CIVILIZATION INDIC Kanchi
CIVILIZATION Tanjore Angkor
Madurai

Av Anhilvada

Prambanan
INDONESIAN
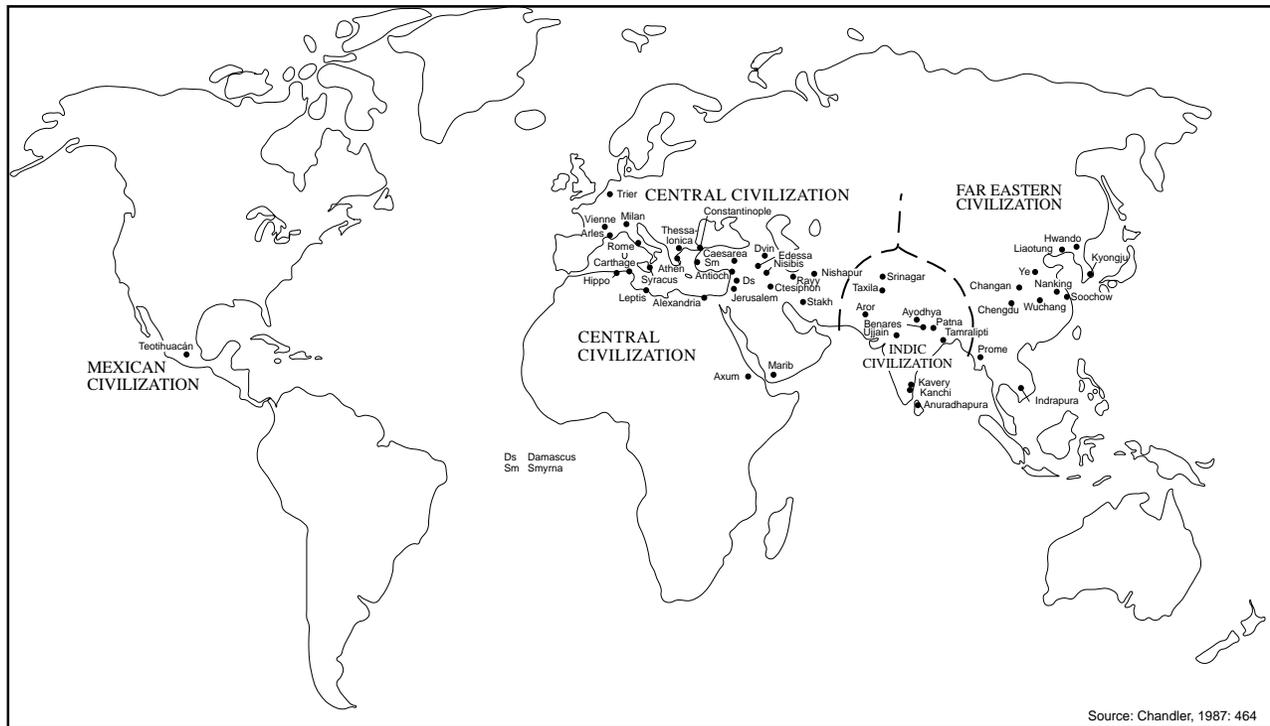CIVILIZATION

Source: Chandler, 1987: 468

David Wilkinson

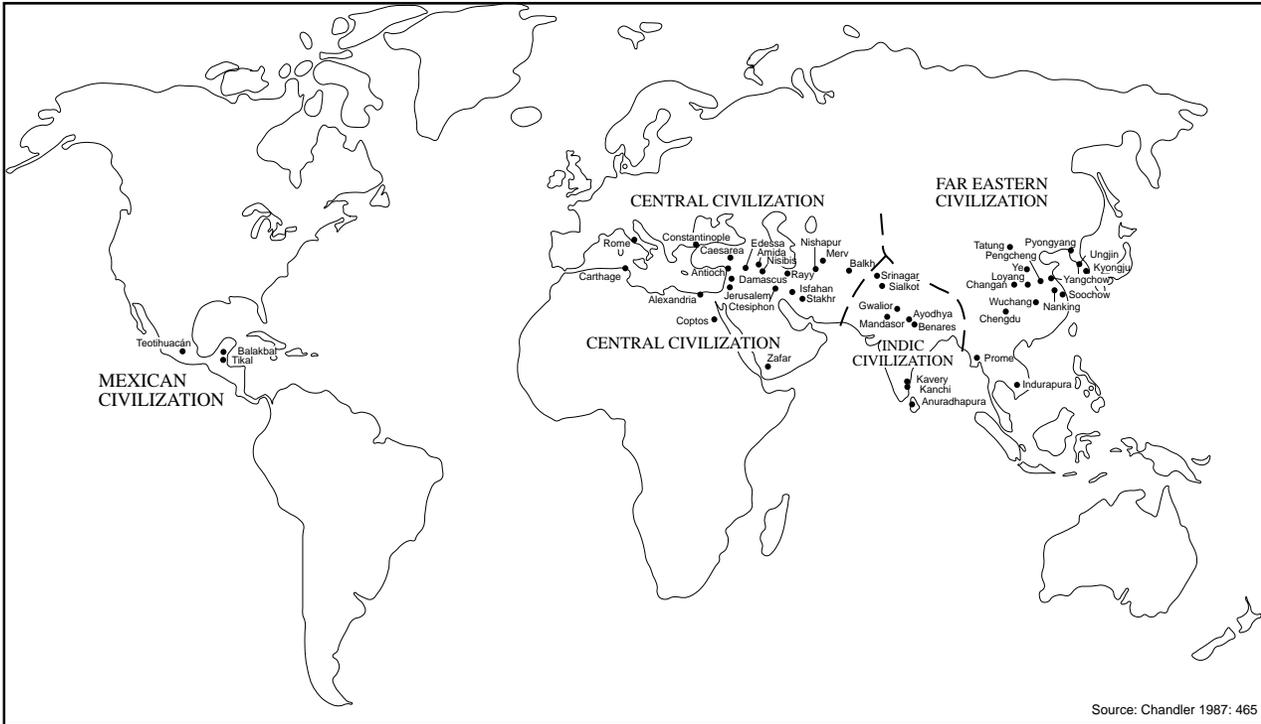# Cities and Their Civilizations in A.D. 900

• = Largest cities, threshold 40 thousand, 61 total, derived from Chandler's list (1987) via Wilkinson (1992-1993). Map shows only those civilizations which had cities on this list.

CENTRAL CIVILIZATION

● Kiev

FAR EASTERN
CIVILIZATION

Venice
Ochrida

Cordova
Seville

Po

Constantinopl

Cs

Th
Kairwan

Amid
Ani

Ap
Tinnis

Bd

Js
Cairo

Rayy

Basra

Isfahan
Shiraz
Siraf

Samarkand
Bokhara

Nishapur

Ghazni

Balasaghun
Ozkend
Kashgar

Thaneswar

Liaoyang
Peking
Loyang

Tsinchow

Chengd

Lhas

Sia

Tali

Sy

Py
Songdo

Kf
Na

Wu

Ya
So
Ha

JAPANESE
CIVILIZATION

Kyoto

Fucho

Qus

Hasa

Mansura

Kanauj
Av Ku
Ujjain

Chutan
Bn

Chuanchow

Nanning

Pagan

Canton

Ha Hangchow
Kf Kaifeng
Na Nanking
Py Pyongyang
So Soochow
Sy Siangyang
Wu Wuchang
Ya Yangchow

CENTRAL CIVILIZATION

Somnath

Cambay

Manyakheta

Angkor

MEXICAN
CIVILIZATION

Tollan Tajin

INDIC
CIVILIZATION

Tanjore

Ap Aleppo
Bd Bagdad
Cs Caesarea
Js Jerusalem
Po Palermo
Th Thessalonica

Av Anhilvada
Bn Benares
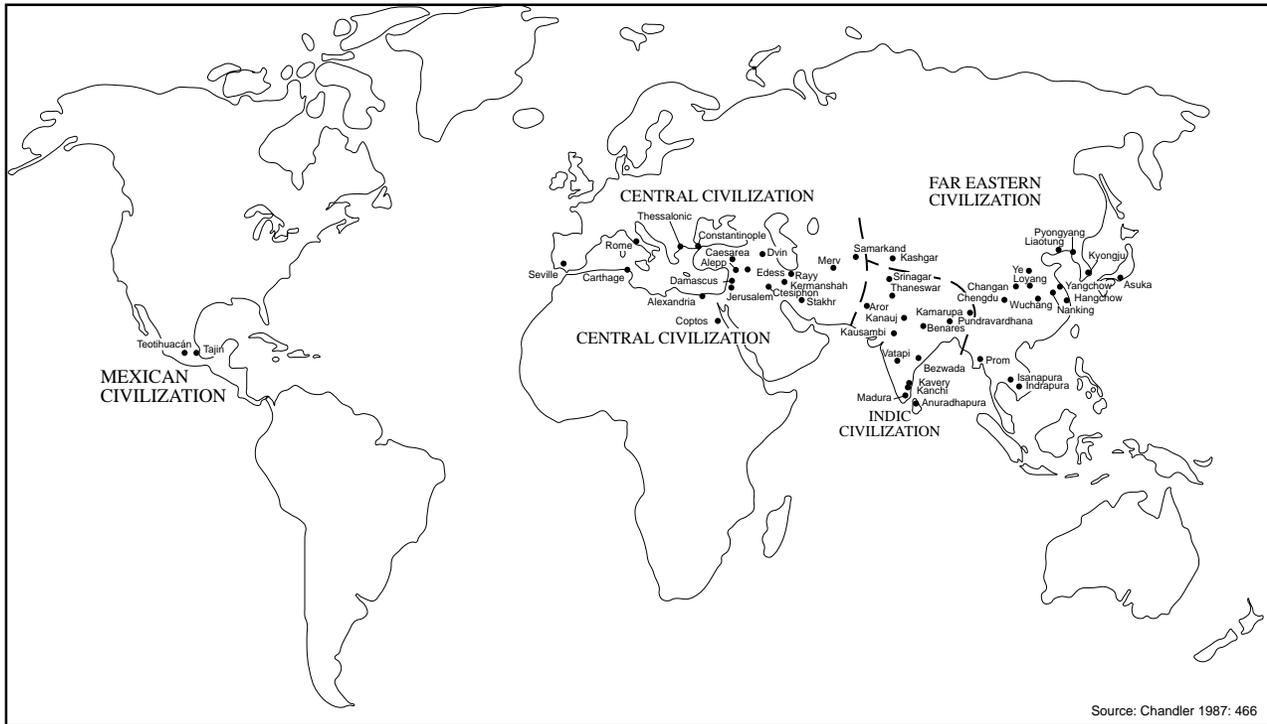Ku Khajuraho

Prambanan

INDONESIAN
CIVILIZATION

Cities and Their Civilizations in A.D. 1000

● = Largest cities, threshold 40 thousand, 70 total, derived from Chandler's list (1987) via Wilkinson (1992-1993). Map shows only those civilizations which had cities on this list.

CENTRAL CIVILIZATION

FAR EASTERN
CIVILIZATION

Kiev

Thessalonica
Venice
Milan

JAPANESE
CIVILIZATION

Cahokia

MISSISSIPPIAN
CIVILIZATION

Granada
Cordova
Seville
Fez
Meknes

Constantinople
Salerno
Bougie
Palermo

Diyarbekir
Kayseri Sivas
Edessa
Bagdad
Basra

Bokhara
Balasaghun
Samarkand
Merv
Rayy Nishapur

Peking Liaoyang Pyongyang
Chengting Songdo
Ninghsia Loyang Kaifeng
Tsinchow Sian Ya
Siangyang Na So
Wuchang Ha
Chuanchow
Canton Fuchow
Kyoto

Marrakesh

Cairo Tinnis
Qus
Mecca

Isfahan
Bust
Mansura
Anhilvada

Lahore
Kanauj Benares
Dhar Ramavati
Cambay
Kalyan
Pagan

Tali
Yunnanfu

Ha Hangchow
Na Nanking
So Soochow
Ya Yangchow

MEXICAN
CIVILIZATION

Cholula

CENTRAL CIVILIZATION

Kanchi
Polonnaruwa

INDIC
CIVILIZATION

Angkor
Indrapura

Source: Chandler, 1987: 470
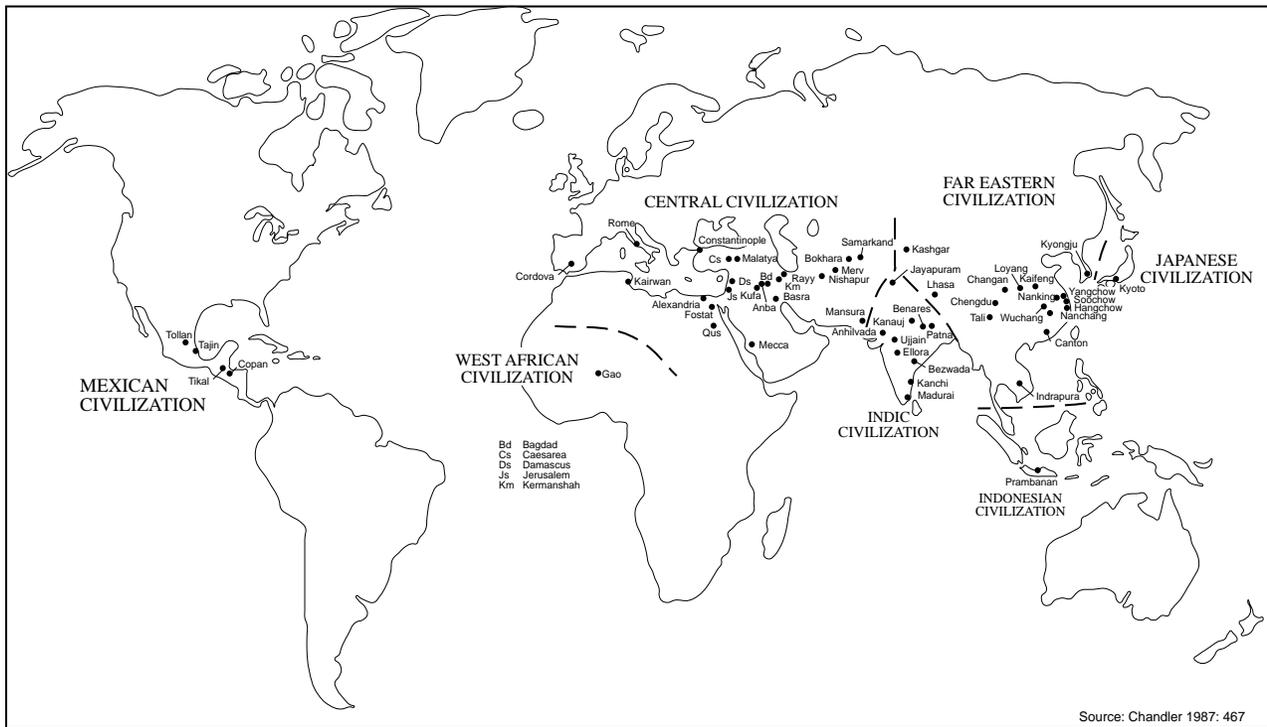
Cities and Their Civilizations in A.D. 1100

● = Largest cities, threshold 40 thousand, 70 total, derived from Chandler's list (1987) via Wilkinson (1992-1993). Map shows only those civilizations which had cities on this list.

David Wilkinson

CENTRAL CIVILIZATION

FAR EASTERN CIVILIZATION

JAPANESE CIVILIZATION

London
Cologne
Rouen
Paris
Milan Venice
Cordova
Seville
León
Granada
Pa
Ceuta
Rabat
Bougie
Marrakesh
Fez
Cp Kr
Konia
Sivas
Tiflis
Mosul
Qom
Ap
Ds Bd
Rayy
Alexandria
D
Acre
Basra
Cairo
Qus
Bokhara
Merv
Samarkand
Ghor
Isfahan
Herat
Qish
Balasaghun
Ninghsia
Hweining
Peking
Loyan
Sian
Siangyang
Chengdu
Wu
Kf
Na
Ya
So
Ha
Sj Kt
Fuchow
Chuanchow
Canton
Tali
Pagan
Gaur
Kalinjar
Delhi
Haripunjai
Cambay
Puri
Angkor
Kanchi
Polonnaruwa
Kamakura
Kyoto

CENTRAL CIVILIZATION

Tenayuca

MEXICAN CIVILIZATION

Ha Hangchow
Kf Kaifeng
Kt Kingtehchen
Na Nanking
Sj Shangjao
So Soochow
Wu Wuchang

Ap Aleppo
Bd Bagdad
Cp Constantinople
Ds Damascus
Dt Damietta
Kr Kayseri
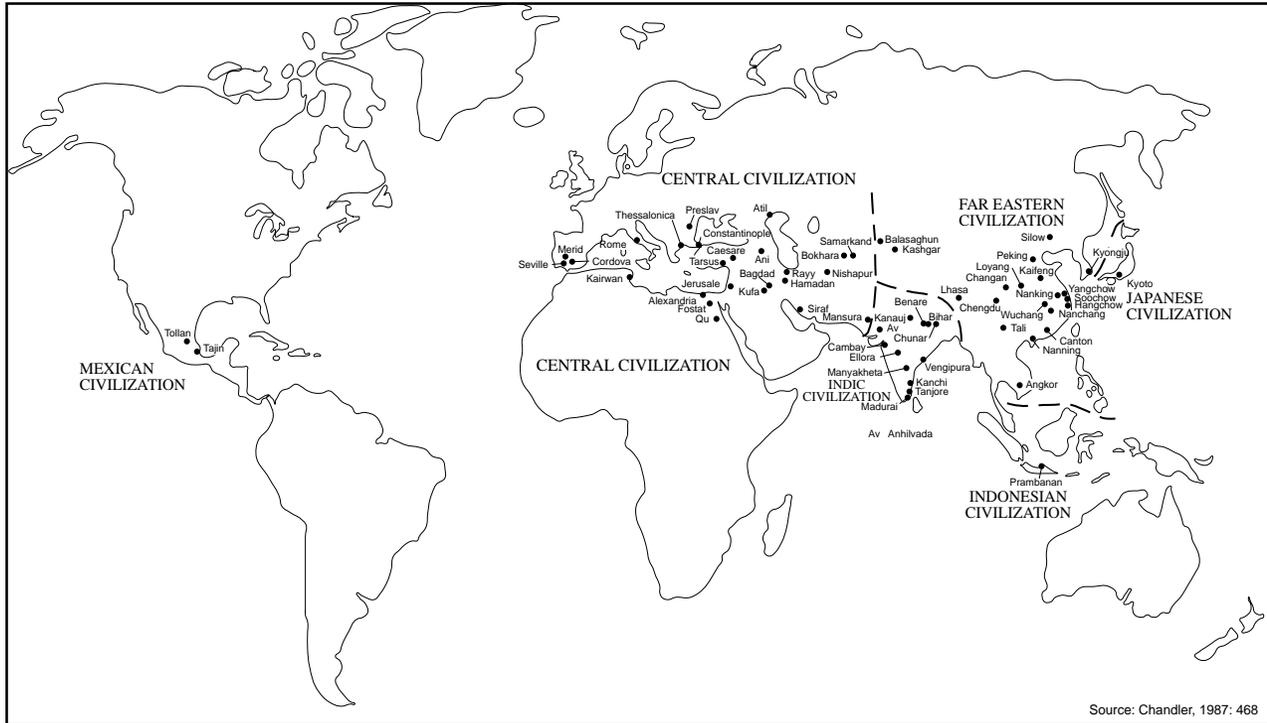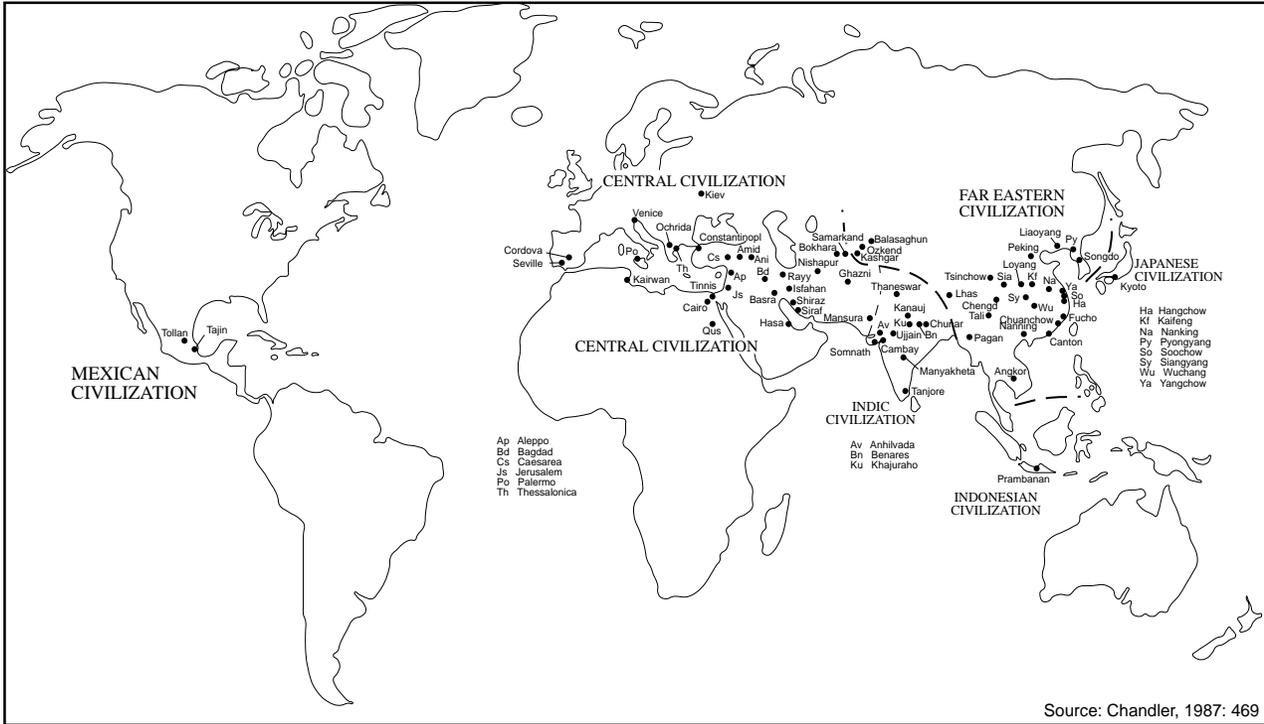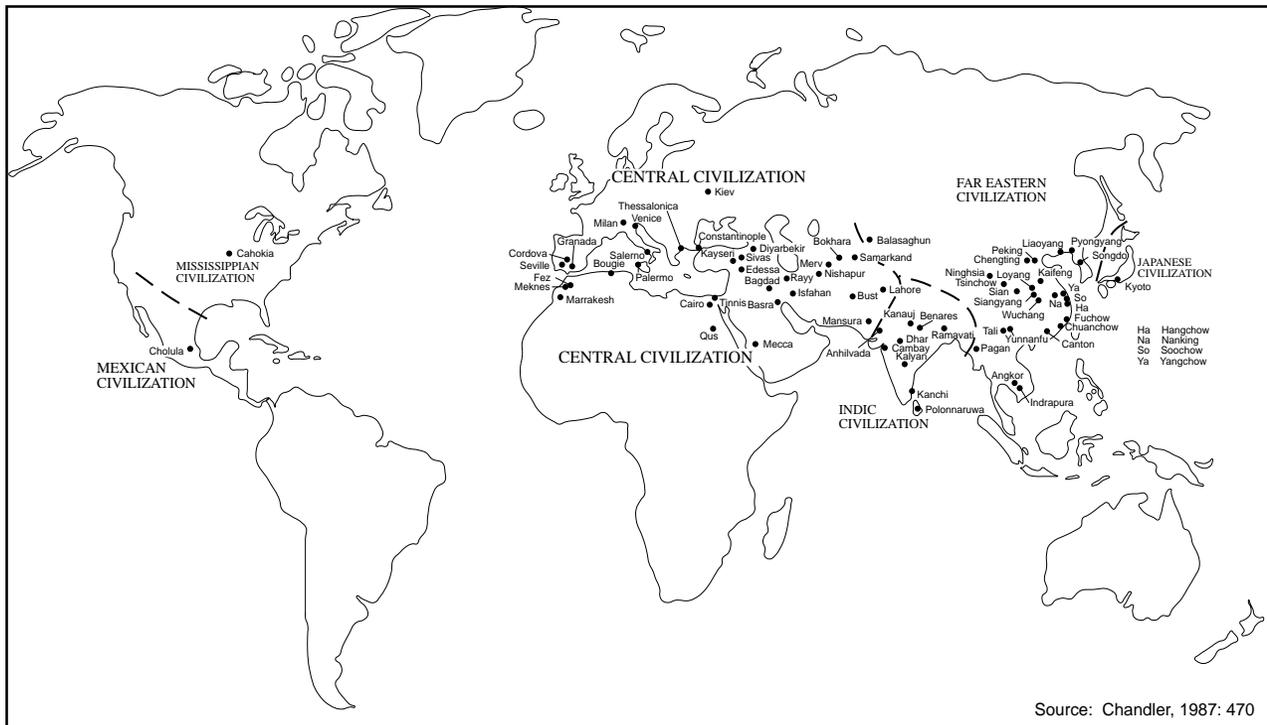Po Palermo

Cities and Their Civilizations in A.D. 1200

• = Largest cities, threshold 40 thousand, 73 total, derived from Chandler's list (1987) via Wilkinson (1992-1993). Map shows only those civilizations which had cities on this list.

CENTRAL CIVILIZATION

FAR EASTERN
CIVILIZATION

JAPANESE
CIVILIZATION

Bruges
Lo
Cologne
Rouen
Ghent
Prague
Paris
M Venice
Gn Bologna
Fl Th
Cordova
Np
Cp
Seville
Granada
Konia
Ceuta
Bougie
Tunis
Sale
Fe
Tlemcen
Meknes
Marrakesh

Caffa
Sarai
Trebizond
Tabriz
Bagdad
Damascus
Isfahan
Alexandri
Damietta
Cairo
Yezd
Qus
Hormuz

Turfan
Kashgar
Peking
Taiyuan
Ninghsia
Kaifeng
Sian
N
Ya
Kyoto
Kamakura
So
Ha
Delhi
Chengdu
Wu Kt
Fuchow
Gaur
Yunnanfu
Chuanchow
Canton

CENTRAL CIVILIZATION

Texcoco

MEXICAN
CIVILIZATION

Mali
Njimiye

WEST AFRICAN
CIVILIZATION

Bo Bologna
Cp Constantinople
Fl Florence
Gn Genoa
Lo London
Ml Milan
Np Naples
Th Thessalonica

Cuttack
Thana
Warangal
Sukotai
Angkor
Vijaya
Quilon
Madurai
Kayal

INDIC
CIVILIZATION

Majapahit

INDONESIAN
CIVILIZATION

Ha Hangchow
Kt Kingtehchen
Na Nanking
So Soochow
Wu Wuchang
Ya Yangchow

Source: Chandler 1987: 474

Cities and Their Civilizations in A.D. 1300

● = Largest 75 cities, 40 thousand +, derived from Chandler's list (1987) via Wilkinson (1992-1993). Map shows only those civilizations which had cities on this list.

David Wilkinson

CENTRAL CIVILIZATION

Bruge
Lo
Ghent
Prague
Novgorod
Troki
Rouen
Caffa
Paris
Milan
Venice
Gn
Florence
Cp
Bursa
Trebizond
Tabriz
Lisbon
Toledo
Va
Seville
Granada
Aleppo
Sultaniya
Karaman
Damascu
Bagdad
Marrakesh
Fez
Tunis
Tlemcen
Cairo
Damiett
Shiraz
Hormuz
Qus
Samarkand

FAR EASTERN CIVILIZATION

Peking
Seoul
Taiyuan
Kaifeng
Ya
Sian
Na
So
Ta
Ningpo
Chengdu
Wu
Kt
Fuchow
Nanchang
Chuanchow
Yunnanfu
Canton

JAPANESE CIVILIZATION

Kyoto

MEXICAN CIVILIZATION

Azcapotzalco
Texcoco

WEST AFRICAN CIVILIZATION

Mali
Oyo

PERUVIAN CIVILIZATION

Riobamba

INDIC CIVILIZATION

Anhilvada
Cuttack
Pandua
Cambay
Ava
Gulbarga
Pegu
Vijayanagar
Calicut
Quilon
Luang
Hano
Prabang
Ayutia
Vijaya

Ha Hangchow
Kt Kingtehchen
Na Nanking
So Soochow
Wu Wuchang
Ya Yangchow

Cp Constantinople
Gn Genoa
Lo London
Va Valencia

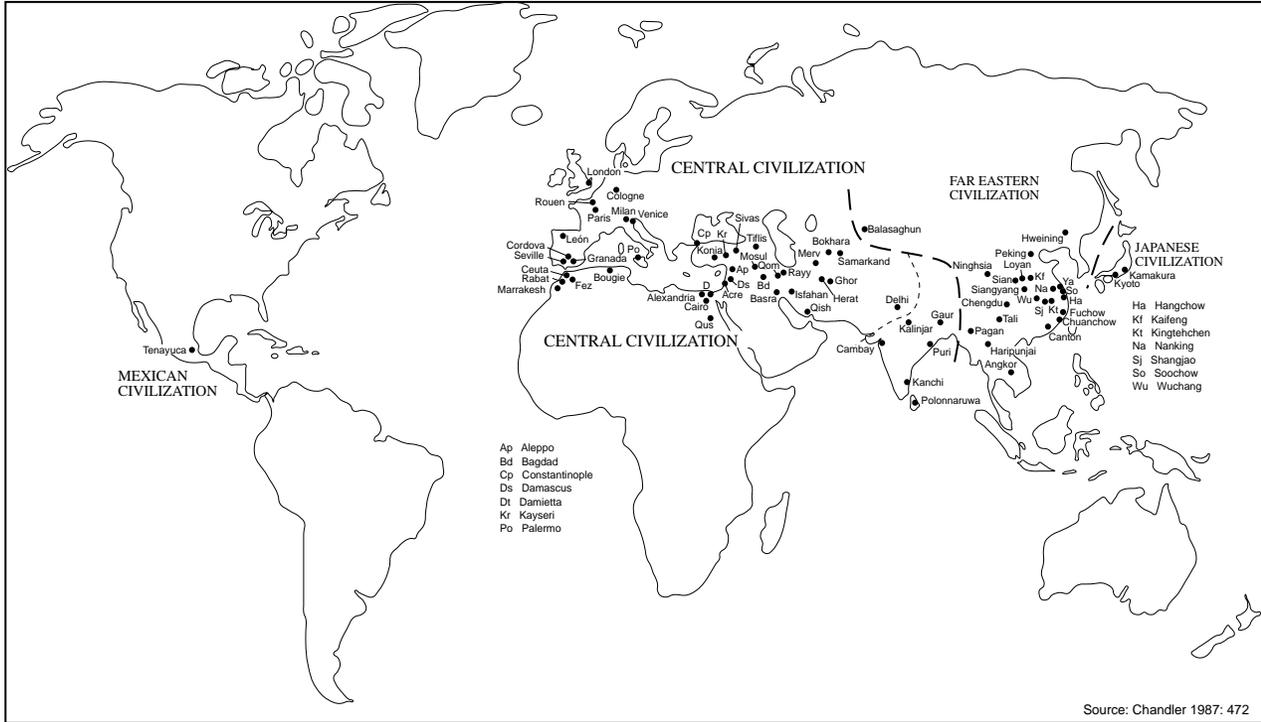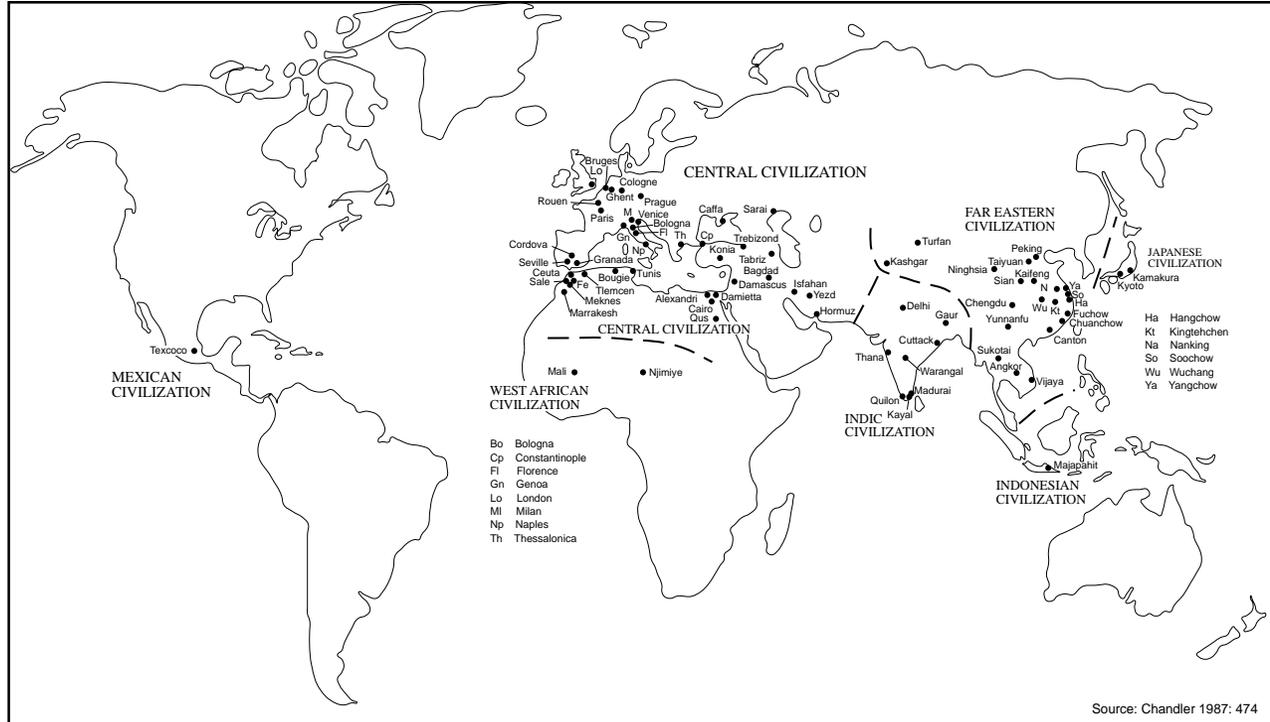Source: Chandler, 1987: 476

Cities and Their Civilizations in A.D. 1400

• = Largest 75 cities, 45 thousand +, derived from Chandler's list (1987) via Wilkinson (1992-1993). Map shows only those civilizations which had cities on this list.

FAR EASTERN CIVILIZATION

CENTRAL CIVILIZATION

Bruge L · Ghent · Pg · Pskov · Moscow · Smolensk
Rouen · Milan Ve · Tirgovishtea
Paris · Bo · Fl
Gn · Constantinople · Turfan · Peking · Hsuchow
Lisbon · Np · Ad · Bursa · Tabriz · Bokhara · Taiyuan · Seoul
Seville · Granad · Samarkand · Sian · Kaifeng
Marrakesh · Fez · Tunis · Aleppo · Damascus · Chengdu · Wu · Na Ya
Cairo · Shiraz · Hormuz · Delhi · Na · Ha
Hormuz · Amber · Jaunpur · Gau · Yunnanfu · Ng · Fuchow
Chitor · Mandu · St · Ava · Chuanchow
Tatta · Bh · Arakan · Cuttack · Canton
Ahmedabad · Pegu
Cambay · Ayutia
Ahmednagar · Vijayanagar

MEXICAN CIVILIZATION
Texcoco · Tenochtitlan

CENTRAL CIVILIZATION

WEST AFRICAN CIVILIZATION
Gao · Kano · Oyo

INDIC CIVILIZATION

PERUVIAN CIVILIZATION
Cuzco

Ad Adrianople
Bo Bologna
Fl Florence
Gn Genoa
Lo London
Np Naples
Pg Prague
Ve Venice

Bh Burhanpur
St Satgaon

Ha Hangchow
Na Nanking
Ng Nanchang
So Soochow
Wu Wuchang
Ya Yangchow

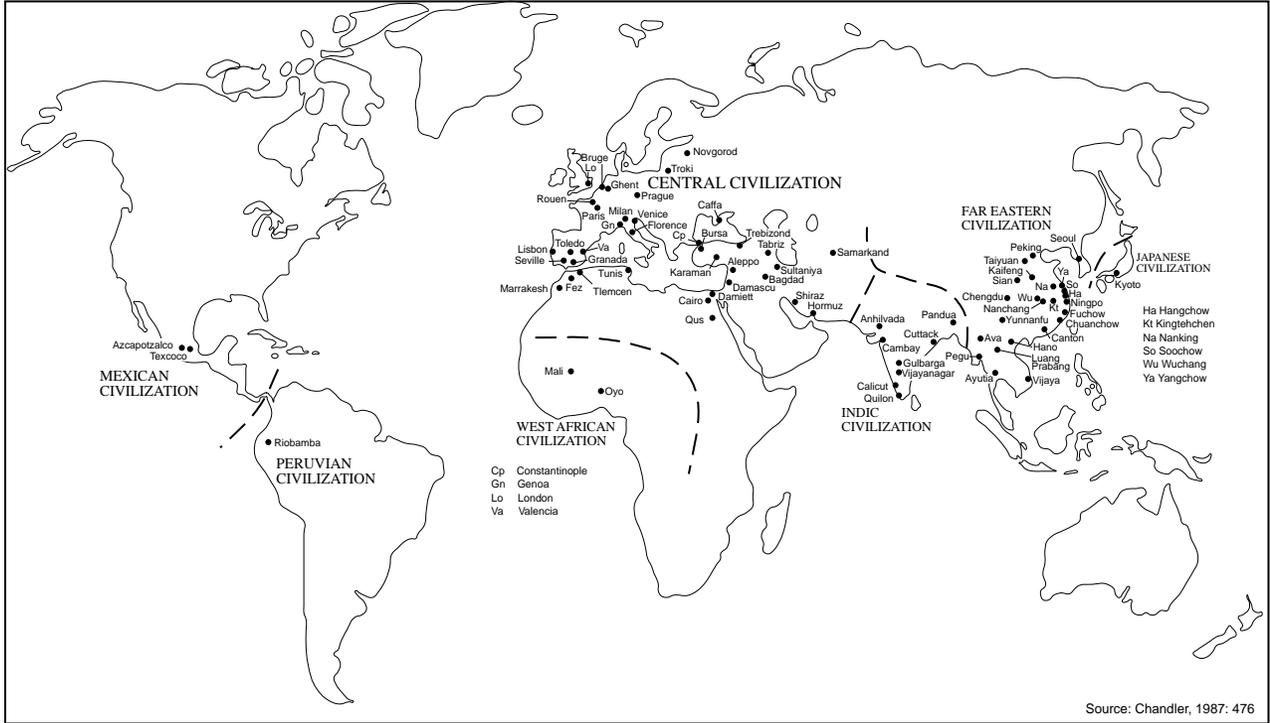Source: Chandler, 1987: 478

Cities and Their Civilizations in A.D. 1500

● = Largest 75 cities, 50 thousand +, derived from Chandler's list (1987) via Wilkinson (1992-1993). Map shows only those civilizations which had cities on this list.

David Wilkinson

London
Moscow
CENTRAL CIVILIZATION
FAR EASTERN CIVILIZATION
Prague
Roue
Paris Milan Ve Bucharest
Gn Bo
Ro Fl
Madrid Ad Cp
Lisbon Va Po Burs Tabriz Bokhara
Seville Gr Messina Aleppo Qazvin
Marrakesh Fez Algiers Damascus
Cairo
Isfahan
CENTRAL CIVILIZATION
CENTRAL CIVILIZATION

Changchun
Peking
Taiyuan Hs
Kaifeng Sian
Chengdu Na So
Wu Ha
Kt
Fuchow

JAPANESE CIVILIZATION
Sumpu
Ky Yedo
Osaka
Yamaguchi

Agra
Ahmedabad Ud Pa Rajmahal
Ujjain Canto
Cambay Ho Arakan
Surat Bi Ah Cuttack Toungoo
Goa Hyderabad Ayutia
Penukonda

Ha Hangchow
Hs Hsuchow
Kt Kingtehchen
Ky Kyoto
Na Nanking
So Soochow
Wu Wuchang

CENTRAL CIVILIZATION

Kazargamu
Katsina
Oyo Zaria

Ad	Adrianople
Bo	Bologna
Cp	Constantinople
Fl	Florence
Gn	Genoa
Gr	Granada
Np	Naples
Po	Palermo
Ro	Rome
Va	Valencia
Ve	Venice

Ah	Ahmednagar
Bi	Bijapur
Ho	Hooghly
Pa	Patna
Ud	Udaipur

CENTRAL CIVILIZATION
Potosi

Source: Chandler, 1987: 481

Cities and Their Civilizations in A.D. 1600

● = Largest 75 cities, 60 thousand +, derived from Chandler's list (1987) via Wilkinson (1992-1993). Maps shows only these civilizations which had cities on this list.
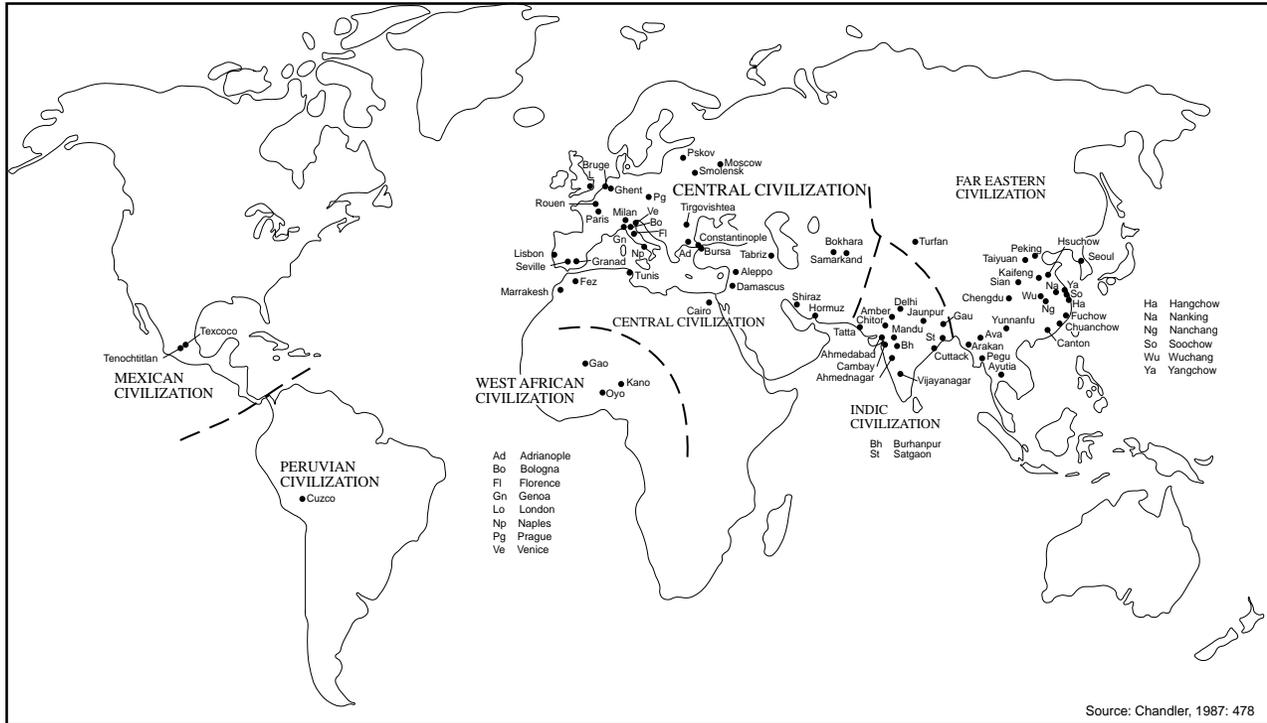
Cities and Their Civilizations in A.D. 1700

• = Largest 75 cities, 60 thousand +, derived from Chandler's list (1987) via Wilkinson (1992-1993). Map shows only those civilizations which had cities on this list.
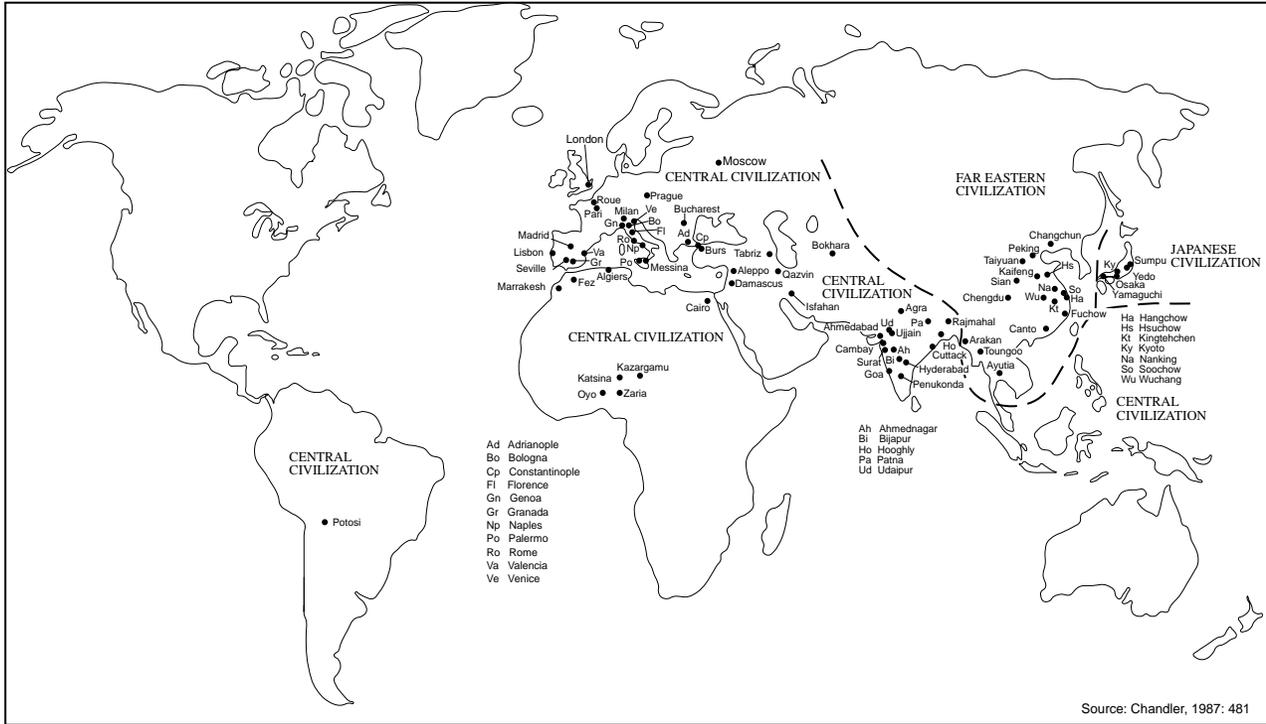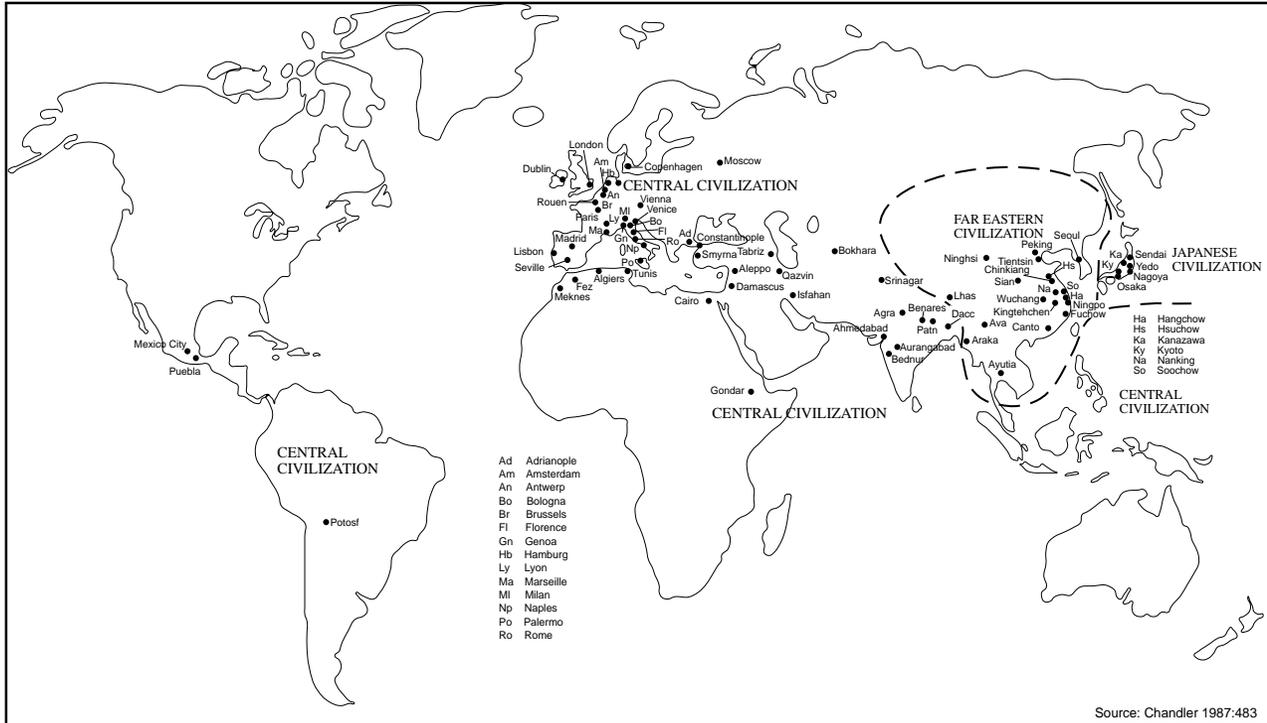
Source: Chandler 1987:483

David Wilkinson

Labels on map:

London, Am, Hb, Dublin, Copenhagen, Moscow, CENTRAL CIVILIZATION, An, Rouen, Br, Vienna, Venice, Paris, Ly, Bo, Ma, Ml, Gn, Fl, Ad, Constantinople, Lisbon, Madrid, Np, Ro, Smyrna, Tabriz, Bokhara, Seville, Po, Tunis, Aleppo, Qazvin, Algiers, Damascus, Isfahan, Srinagar, Fez, Cairo, Agra, Benares, Lhas, Meknes, Ahmedabad, Patn, Dacc, Ava, Canto, Aurangabad, Araka, Bednur, Ayutia, Gondar, CENTRAL CIVILIZATION

Mexico City, Puebla, CENTRAL CIVILIZATION, Potosí

FAR EASTERN CIVILIZATION, Seoul, Peking, Ka, Sendai, JAPANESE CIVILIZATION, Ninghsi, Tientsin, Hs, Ky, Yedo, Nagoya, Chinkiang, Sian, Na, So, Osaka, Wuchang, Ha, Ningpo, Kingtehchen, Fuchow, CENTRAL CIVILIZATION

Legend:

Ad	Adrianople
Am	Amsterdam
An	Antwerp
Bo	Bologna
Br	Brussels
Fl	Florence
Gn	Genoa
Hb	Hamburg
Ly	Lyon
Ma	Marseille
Ml	Milan
Np	Naples
Po	Palermo
Ro	Rome

Ha	Hangchow
Hs	Hsuchow
Ka	Kanazawa
Ky	Kyoto
Na	Nanking
So	Soochow

Edinburgh
St. Petersburg
Glasgow · Am
Hb
Lo · Copenhagen · Moscow
Dublin · Berlin
Manchester · Ru · Prague · Vienna
CENTRAL CIVILIZATION
Paris · Ml · Venice
Bordeaux · Ma · Ly
Adrianopl
Madrid · Ro · Constantinople
Lisbon · Ba · Np
Seville · Po · Smyrna
Cadiz · Tunis
Damascus
Bagdad
Cairo
CENTRAL CIVILIZATION
Peshawar
Lucknow · Delhi
Ahmedabad · Ujjain · Pa · Bn · Da
Baroda · Calcutta
Surat · Hyderaba
Bombay · Madra

FAR EASTERN CIVILIZATION
Peking · Seoul
Tientsin
Lanchow · Sian · Kf · Soochow · Sh
Chengdu · Wu · Hangchow
Changsha · Kt · Ningpo
Amarapura · Fuchow
Foshan
Canton

JAPANESE CIVILIZATION
Kyoto · Yedo
Osaka · Nagoya

Kf Kaifeng
Kt Kingtehchen
Sh Shanghai
Wu Wuchang

Surakarta

CENTRAL CIVILIZATION

Mexico
CENTRAL CIVILIZATION

· Oyo

Am Amsterdam
Ba Barcelona
Hb Hamburg
Lo London
Ly Lyon
Ma Marseille
Ml Milan
Np Naples
Po Palermo
Ro Rome
Ru Rouen

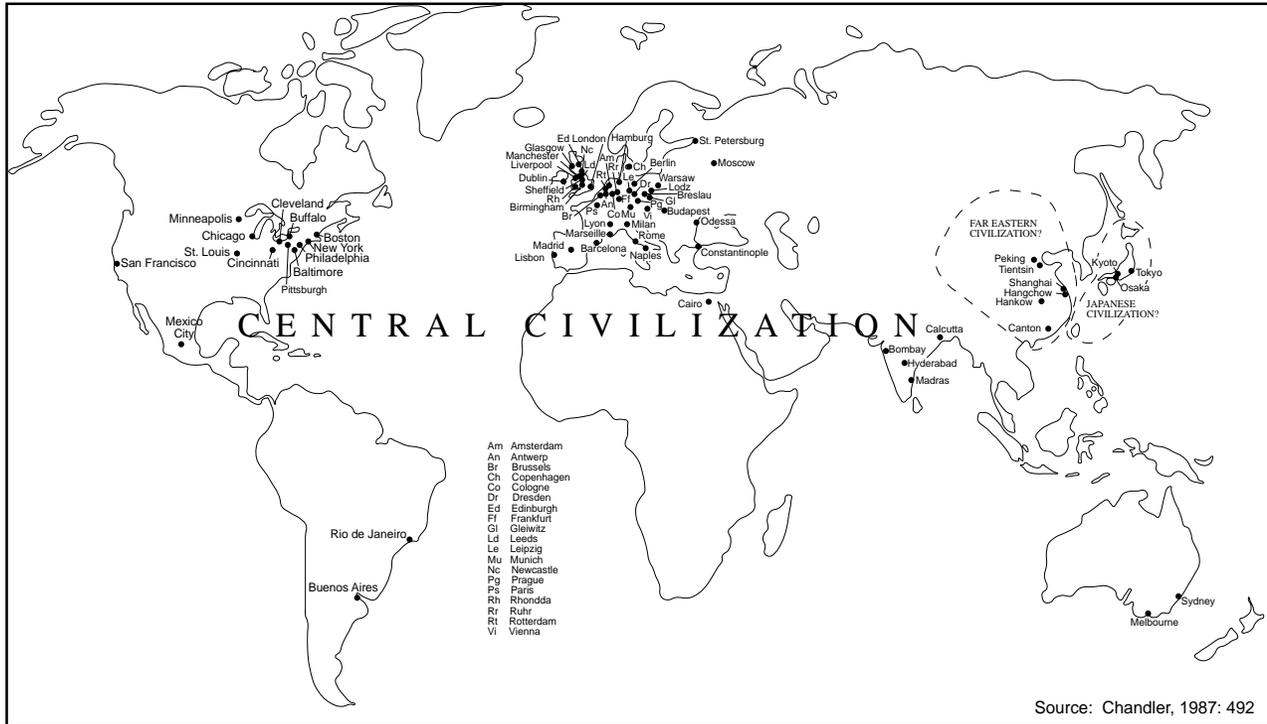Bn Benares
Da Dacca
Pa Patna

Source: Chandler, 1987: 485

Cities and Their Civilizations in A.D. 1800

· = Largest 75 cities, 77 thousand +, derived from Chandler's list (1987) via Wilkinson (1992-1993). Map shows only those civilizations which had cities on this list.

Cities and Their Civilizations in A.D. 1900

• = Largest cities, threshold 350 thousand, 75 total, derived from Chandler's list (1987) via Wilkinson (1992-1993). Map shows only those civilizations which had cities on this list.

Source: Chandler, 1987: 492

CENTRAL CIVILIZATION

FAR EASTERN CIVILIZATION?

JAPANESE CIVILIZATION?

Am Amsterdam
An Antwerp
Br Brussels
Ch Copenhagen
Co Cologne
Dr Dresden
Ed Edinburgh
Ff Frankfurt
Gl Gleiwitz
Ld Leeds
Le Leipzig
Mu Munich
Nc Newcastle
Pg Prague
Ps Paris
Rh Rhondda
Rr Ruhr
Rt Rotterdam
Vi Vienna

David Wilkinson

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