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**THE EXPLORATION OF CHU CAPITALS**

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*This dissertation is dedicated to my Father and Mother*

## **Abstract**

Among numerous vassal states of the Zhou dynasty in the Chinese Bronze Age, perhaps no one has prompted more heated discussion than Chu state. As far as time is concerned, Chu state has a history of more than eight hundred years and has profoundly influenced Chinese history in the following two millennia. In terms of territory, Chu was once the vassal state with the largest territory in the Zhou era. In its heyday, its territory covered almost half of ancient China.

Although senior scholars have done an enormous amount of work, there are still many mysteries about the Chu due to the vagueness of historical records and the lack of archaeological evidence. Among these, what attracted the attention of most scholars was the issue related to the Chu capitals.

Since the geographical locus of critical capitals has not been determined archaeologically, we can not have a clear picture of the urban culture and territorial change through most of the Chu state history. Therefore, the advancement of exploration on Chu capitals is crucial.

In recent years, with the exciting discoveries of several sites that might be linked to Chu capitals in time and space, and the accumulation of the latest archaeological materials that play an essential role in understanding Chu's geographical location, there are far more favorable conditions than in the past if we try to discuss this issue now.

Given this, we plan to do a holistic sorting and investigation on the Chu capitals (including the city sites identified as Chu capitals and the city sites presumed to be the Chu capitals) in this thesis from a long-term perspective.

The expected goals of this paper mainly include the following three aspects:

First and foremost, we look forward to making some concrete progress in studying Chu capitals under current conditions.

Secondly, as an investigation in a Western language of a regional culture from the Chinese Bronze Age, we intend to provide the most updated archaeological information and the most cutting-edge academic research related to Chu capital cities. It is also an attempt to offer a glimpse of the twenty-first-century image of the ancient Chu for English readers.

Finally, given the current dilemma of modern Chinese archaeology in reconstructing pre-Qin history, we hope to profitably reflect on the theoretical approaches we used when studying the early historical dynasties through our research.

Briefly stated, the structure of this thesis is as follows:

Chapter I starts with an overview of the Chu's historical context to offer a sketch-like understanding of the ancient Chu for the readers.

Chapter II focuses on the study of Danyang, the first capital of Chu, according to the historical records. A detailed analysis of the various hypotheses about the geographic location of Danyang is conducted and followed by an archaeological case study of unearthed remains from the disputed area.

Chapter III focuses on the study of Chu capital Ying. A detailed review and discussion of the most urgent issues related to Ying are carried out. An in-depth analysis of the three ancient city sites linked to Ying is the main content of this chapter.

Chapter IV introduces the capital cities in the late phase of Chu history, namely, Chencheng and Shouchun.

Chapter V summarizes our research results, reflects on previous studies' deficiencies, and proposes future improvements.

## **Keywords**

Chu State   Capital   Archaeological Culture   Historiographical Approach

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## Chapter I The sketch about Chu: a brief introduction

“Chu” 楚 is a Chinese character that looks simple but indeed contains infinite and far-reaching information. From the perspective of archaeological terms, Chu can at least be understood as four different levels of meaning. Including the name of a region, the name of a state, the name of the people with a shared ethnic identity,<sup>1</sup> and the name of the culture which emphasizes the archaeological, cultural characteristics.<sup>2</sup>

As a time-honored vassal state, Chu had experienced a process of birth, development, prosperity and fall from the period when it was initially awarded a fiefdom in the early Western Zhou dynasty under the reign of King Cheng of Zhou (mid-11th century BCE)<sup>3</sup> to the time when it was vanquished by a northwestern state called Qin in 223 BCE. Existed for nearly eight hundred years, it has profoundly influenced ancient Chinese history in the following two millennia.

In terms of territory, from a very meagre territorial base at the outset, Chu gradually grew to be a powerful state by several generations' efforts and eventually absorbed over sixty states and many tribal peoples.<sup>4</sup> At its greatest extent, Chu territory stretched from the exit of the Yangtze gorges in the west to the east coast, and from central-southern Henan to the Nanling range in the south.<sup>5</sup> Its actual influence has almost spread to half of ancient China.

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<sup>1</sup> Flad, Rowan K., and Pochan Chen. *Ancient Central China: Centers and Peripheries along the Yangzi River*. Cambridge University Press (2013): 108.

<sup>2</sup> According to the point of view put forward by Chinese archaeologists such as Xia Nai and Su Bingqi in the 1980s, see: Xia Nai 夏鼐. “Chu wenhua yanjiu zhong de jige wenti” 楚文化研究中的几个问题 (Several Issues in the Study of Chu Culture). *Jiangnan kaogu* 江汉考古 1 (1982): 1-2. Su Bingqi 苏秉琦. “Cong Chu wenhua tansuo zhong tichu de wenti” 从楚文化探索中提出的问题 (Questions Raised from the Exploration of Chu Culture). *Jiangnan kaogu* 江汉考古 1 (1982): 3-8.

<sup>3</sup> We designate dates as Before Common Era (BCE) and Common Era (CE), corresponding to the familiar B.C. and A.D.; dates in this dissertation should be assumed to be BCE unless otherwise noted.

<sup>4</sup> Blakeley, Barry B. “The geography of Chu.” In *Defining Chu: Image and Reality in Ancient China*, eds. Cook, Constance A., and John S. Major. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press (1999): 9.

<sup>5</sup> Mackenzie, Colin. “Chu Bronze Work: A Unilinear Tradition, Or a Synthesis of Diverse Sources?” In *New Perspectives on Chu Culture during the Eastern Zhou Period: [essays presented at a symposium held in April 1990 at the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery]*, ed. Thomas Lawton. Princeton: Princeton University Press [diff.] (1991): 107.

In recent years, there has been a phenomenal growth of scholarly interest in Chu's history and culture.<sup>6</sup> At the same time, perhaps no aspect of early Chinese history and culture has prompted more animated or controversial discussion than that associated with the Chu.<sup>7</sup> Although senior scholars have done an enormous amount of work, there are still many mysteries about the Chu due to the vagueness of historical records and the lack of archaeological evidence.

Among these mysteries, what attracted most scholars' increased attention was the issue related to the Chu capitals. Since the geographical locus of the critical capitals of Chu has not been determined archaeologically, we cannot have a clear picture of the urban culture and territorial change through most of the state's history.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, the advancement of exploration on Chu capitals is crucial.

Fortunately, with the accumulation of the latest archaeological evidence that plays an essential role in understanding Chu capitals and geographical location, there are far more favourable conditions than in the past if we try to discuss this issue now.

Given this, we plan to do a holistic sorting and investigation on the Chu capitals (including the city sites identified as the Chu capitals and the city sites presumed to be the Chu capitals) in this thesis from a long-term perspective.

Before discussing this specific issue, we'd better spend a little bit of time delineating Chu's general image. An overview of the historical context based on the handed-down documents and archaeological data would enable us to have a sketch-like understanding of the ancient Chu, which is also beneficial for us to carry out the following research in detail.

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<sup>6</sup> Blakeley, Barry B. "Recent Developments in Chu Studies: a bibliographic and institutional overview." *Early China* 11/12 (1985-1987): 371.

<sup>7</sup> Lawton, Thomas (ed.). *New Perspectives on Chu Culture during the Eastern Zhou Period*. Princeton: Princeton University Press [diff.] (1991): x.

<sup>8</sup> Cook, Constance A., and John S. Major, eds. *Defining Chu* (1999): 9.

## 1.1 The historical background

### 1.1.1 The Bronze Age of China

In the study of early Chinese history, the concept of the “Bronze Age”<sup>9</sup> is frequently mentioned. As proposed for classifying and studying ancient societies, the Bronze Age is the second principal period of the Three-age (Stone-Bronze-Iron) System.<sup>10</sup> It applies to when a great deal of social energy was devoted to producing metal artifacts, mostly bronze.<sup>11</sup>

The time of entering the Bronze Age varies from place to place in the world. From around 10000 BCE to 6000 BCE, with the eastern coast of the Mediterranean as the center, where now is around Turkey and Iraq, there left relatively rich copper smelting relics. The cultural center then spread out.<sup>12</sup> West Asia and Southeast Europe have entered the Bronze Age as early as 3500 BCE.<sup>13</sup>

The inhabitants of ancient China probably had a long history of using metal before starting the Bronze Age.<sup>14</sup> Although the pre-metallurgical working of native copper was found many centuries before that in several Heartland Neolithic cultures,<sup>15</sup> in the East Asian Heartland, the Bronze Age began some 4,000 years ago, coinciding with

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<sup>9</sup> Although similar sequences had been proposed by Johann von Eckart in the early eighteenth century and can even be found in the writings of Lucretius of ancient Rome, it is generally accepted that the term “Bronze Age” was defined by two nineteenth-century Danish scholars, Christian Jürgensen Thomsen and Jens Jacob Asmussen Worsaae. See: Wu Hung. *Monumentality in Early Chinese Art and Architecture*. Stanford: Stanford University Press (1995): 63.

<sup>10</sup> Chang, Kwang-chih 张光直. *Zhongguo Qingtong shidai 中国青铜时代 (The Chinese Bronze Age)*. Beijing: Sanlian shudian 北京: 三联书店 (2013): 2.

<sup>11</sup> Major, John S., and Constance A. Cook. *Ancient China: A History*. Taylor & Francis (2016): 4.

<sup>12</sup> This point of view comes from Xu Hong’s speech at “The Third China Public Archaeology-Forum Capital Normal University Annual Symposium” in 2015: “Bronze Spawns ‘China’-Archaeological Observations at the Beginning of China’s Bronze Age”.

<sup>13</sup> Li Boqian 李伯谦, and Tang Jigen 唐际根 (eds.). *Qingtongqi yu Zhongguo Qingtong shidai 青铜器与中国青铜时代 (Bronzes and the Bronze Age of China)*. Hefei: Zhongguo kexue jishu daxue chubanshe 合肥: 中国科学技术大学出版社 (2018): vii.

<sup>14</sup> Chang, Kwang-chih 张光直. *The Chinese Bronze Age* (2013): 4.

<sup>15</sup> Bronze tubes were once discovered from the Yangshao culture period.

the development of early proto-states and states.<sup>16</sup>

It is generally believed that the Bronze Age in China is slightly equivalent to the three generations of Xia 夏, Shang 商, and Zhou 周 in history. It has also been consistent with the occurrence, development and collapse of Chinese slavery. This period labels precisely the stage of development that we would want to call civilized.<sup>17</sup>

Nevertheless, there are still disputes about Chinese Bronze Age's exact start time.<sup>18</sup>

The mainstream view is that the arrival of the Bronze Age in China was roughly around 2000 BCE.<sup>19</sup> Authoritative reference books on Chinese archaeology, including *Encyclopedia of China (vol. Archaeology)*, also adopt this statement.<sup>20</sup>

Nevertheless, there are also divergences in the academic circles when ancient China entered the Bronze Age should be earlier than the 21st century BCE<sup>21</sup> or later than that time.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Major, John S., and Constance A. Cook. *Ancient China* (2016): 4.

<sup>17</sup> Loewe, Michael, and Edward L. Shaughnessy, eds. *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 BC*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1999): 137.

<sup>18</sup> For the discussion of the beginning of the Bronze Age in China, see: Jiang Xiaochun 蒋晓春. "Zhongguo Qingtong shidai qishi shijian kao" 中国青铜时代起始时间考 (Research on the Starting Time of the Bronze Age in China). *Kaogu 考古* 6 (2010): 76-82.

<sup>19</sup> As Kwang-Chih Chang said in *The Chinese Bronze Age*, the first appearance of metal wares (including bronze wares) was long before the Bronze Age. In the era of Erlitou 二里头 culture, the tremendous importance of bronze ware has become an unquestionable fact. The beginning of the Chinese Bronze Age will not be later than 2000 BCE. See: Chang, Kwang-chih 张光直. *The Chinese Bronze Age* (2013): 2. Similar viewpoint for reference: Bai Yunxiang 白云翔. "Zhongguo de zaoqi tongqi yu qingtongqi de qi yuan" 中国的早期铜器与青铜器的起源 (China's Early Bronze Ware and the Origin of Bronze Ware). *Dongnan wenhua 东南文化* 7 (2002): 25-37.

<sup>20</sup> Zhongguo dabaiké quanshu zongbianji weiyuanhui 中国大百科全书总编辑委员会 (ed.). *Zhongguo dabaiké quanshu (kaogu xue) 中国大百科全书 (考古学) (Encyclopedia of China) (vol. Archaeology)*. Beijing: Zhongguo dabaiké quanshu chubanshe 北京: 中国大百科全书出版社 (2002): 400.

<sup>21</sup> Li Xiandeng 李先登. "Shi lun Zhongguo gudai qingtongqi de qi yuan" 试论中国古代青铜器的起源 (The Discussion on the Origin of Ancient Chinese Bronze Ware). *Shixue yuekan 史学月刊* 1 (1984): 3-10.

<sup>22</sup> Li Ji 李济. *Zhongguo wenming de kaishi 中国文明的开始 (The Beginnings of Chinese Civilization)*. Beijing: Waiyu jiaoxue yu yanjiu chubanshe 北京: 外语教学与研究出版社 (2011): 34.

Since the Chinese Bronze Age refers to when bronzes had significant importance in the archaeological record, we believe that Michael Loewe and other scholars' statements are more appropriate in terms of the existing archaeological evidence. At present, the earliest clear evidence for primitive, small-scale metallurgy in China dates from about 2000 BCE. The transition to large-scale production, which seems to have occurred at sites in the middle Yellow River valley about the middle of the second millennium, is indicated by several changes.<sup>23</sup>

As for the end of the Bronze Age, like Gordon Childe once said, it comes to an end when methods have been devised for extracting economically and working the much commoner metal efficiently, iron, which then replaces copper and its alloys in the manufacture of the necessary implements.<sup>24</sup>

This phenomenon appeared in China around 500 BCE. The Bronze Age began to wane during the Warring States period when other materials, especially iron, eclipsed the importance of bronze.<sup>25</sup> Since pig iron is a relatively inexpensive metal suitable for mass production, after it appeared, it was immediately used in the instruments of production on a large scale and soon had a profound impact on Chinese culture and society.<sup>26</sup>

However, considering that bronzes in the Warring States period still had a significant impact on social production and life, many scholars still regard this period as the epilogue of the Chinese Bronze Age.<sup>27</sup> The end of the Bronze Age is defined as in 221 BCE, which time the first Emperor of Qin unified China.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Loewe, Michael, and Edward L. Shaughnessy, eds. *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 BC*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1999): 137.

<sup>24</sup> Childe, Vere Gordon. *The Bronze Age*. Cambridge University Press (1930): 1.

<sup>25</sup> Major, John S., and Constance A. Cook. *Ancient China* (2016): 4.

<sup>26</sup> Chang, Kwang-chih 张光直. *The Chinese Bronze Age* (2013): 12.

<sup>27</sup> Its late period overlaps with the Iron Age for hundreds of years. See: Chang, Kwang-chih 张光直. *The Chinese Bronze Age* (2013): 2.

<sup>28</sup> Major, John S., and Constance A. Cook. *Ancient China* (2016): 4. Also see: Li Boqian 李伯谦, and Tang Jigen 唐际根 (eds.). *Bronzes and the Bronze Age of China* (2018): 2.

To sum up, the length of the Bronze Age in China, from before 2000 BCE to after 500 BCE, roughly corresponds to the *sandai* 三代 (the Three Dynasties) in history.<sup>29</sup> Since the Qin and Han dynasties, China had wholly entered the Iron Age.

What we need to pay attention to is that the Bronze Age of China is set apart from all others by the enormous quantities of metal it has left us.<sup>30</sup> In fact, bronze was not widely used for agricultural implements. Still, it was mainly used to make non-productive objects, like vessels and musical instruments used in rituals, weapons and chariot fittings.<sup>31</sup> Therefore, the Chinese Bronze Age's most significant characteristic is that bronze is inseparable from sacrifices and wars. In other words, bronze is the symbol of political power.<sup>32</sup> What's more, the bronze age of China is the formation period of Chinese civilization.<sup>33</sup>

### 1.1.2 The Three Dynasties

The Bronze Age of China was also known as the era of the “Three Dynasties” (ca. 2100 BCE-200 BCE), a term derived from tales of mythic dynastic founders with sage-like and even magical powers.<sup>34</sup> These pre-imperial dynasties are individually known by the names Xia, Shang, and Zhou. What we need to be clear is that, although Xia, Shang and Zhou are seemingly simple Chinese characters, each of them contains at least two connotations at different levels.

Firstly, they can refer to political groups, which are also named as “the nations”. According to traditional histories handed down through time for over two thousand years, the states of Xia, Shang, and Zhou were ruled by *wang* 王 (kings) who followed one another in orderly dynastic succession, frequently father-to-son but

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<sup>29</sup> Chang, Kwang-chih 张光直. *The Chinese Bronze Age* (2013): 12-13.

<sup>30</sup> Loewe, Michael, and Edward L. Shaughnessy, eds. *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 BC*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1999): 137.

<sup>31</sup> Some weapons and chariots could have been used in warfare. See: Wu Hung. *Monumentality in Early Chinese Art and Architecture*. Stanford: Stanford University Press (1995): 65.

<sup>32</sup> Chang, Kwang-chih 张光直. *The Chinese Bronze Age* (2013): 22.

<sup>33</sup> Chang, Kwang-chih 张光直. *The Chinese Bronze Age* (2013): 2.

<sup>34</sup> Major, John S., and Constance A. Cook. *Ancient China* (2016): 59.



sometimes also brother-to-brother or uncle-to-nephew.<sup>35</sup>

Secondly, they can refer to the dynasties, for their characteristic system of hereditary monarchy within a single royal house or clan.<sup>36</sup> It is essential to remember that, there might be dozens (or more) of political entities dotting the terrain during this period, according to literature and archaeological evidence. One long-term theme in this period is the consolidation of these states, sometimes peacefully through intermarriage traditions, and sometimes violently, as larger states vanquished, extinguished, and incorporated the territories of their smaller and weaker neighbours.<sup>37</sup> (See the table below for the chronological sequence from Xia to Western Zhou<sup>38</sup>)

DYNASTY	KING	CALENDAR DATES (B.C.)
Xia	17 kings	2070–1600
Early Shang	19 kings	1600–1300
Late Shang	Pangeng, Xiaoxin, Xiaoyi	1300–1251
	Wuding	1250–1192
	Zugeng, Zujia, Linxin, Kangding	1191–1148
	Wuyi	1147–1131
	Wending	1112–1102
	Diyi	1101–1076
	Dixin	1075–1046
Western Zhou	Wuwang	1046–1043
	Chengwang	1042–1021
	Kangwang	1020–996
	Zhaowang	995–977
	Muwang	976–922
	Gongwang	922–900
	Yiwang	899–892
	Xiaowang	891–886
	Yiwang	885–878
	Liwang	877–841
	Gonghe	841–828
	Xuanwang	827–782
	Youwang	781–771

**Tab. 1 Chronology of early Chinese dynasties**

(Xia-Shang-Zhou Chronology Project)

<sup>35</sup> Major, John S., and Constance A. Cook. *Ancient China* (2016): 5.

<sup>36</sup> Same as above.

<sup>37</sup> Major, John S., and Constance A. Cook. *Ancient China* (2016): 103.

<sup>38</sup> Herein is the data published by: Xia Shang Zhou duandai gongcheng zhuanjiazu 夏商周断代工程专家组 (ed.). *Xia Shang Zhou duandai gongcheng 1996-2000 nian jieduan chengguo baogao (jianben)* 夏商周断代工程 1996-2000 年阶段成果报告(简本) (*The Phased Achievement Report of the Xia-Shang-Zhou Chronology Project from 1996 to 2000*) (simplified version). Beijing: Shijie tushu chubanshe Beijing gongsi 北京: 世界图书出版公司北京公司 (2000): 86-88. The table comes from: Lee, Yun Kuen. “Building the Chronology of Early Chinese History.” *Asian Perspectives* (2002): 18.

In the Xia dynasty, the Xia kingdom was believed by posterity to be the leader of all the states in northern China. In the 18th century BCE, the Shang kingdom, which developed from the plains downstream of the Yellow River, conquered the Xia and became the supreme ruler in the Shang dynasty. Later, the Zhou kingdom, which originated from the midstream and downstream of the Wei River, emerged as the most powerful kingdom and became the leader of all the states in northern China in the first half of the Zhou dynasty.<sup>39</sup>

Since the Three Dynasties were seen as the headwaters of the Chinese civilization,<sup>40</sup> many people hope to reconstruct the early dynastic history of China via archaeological research. Though, what has to be admitted is that the investigation into this period is challenging and highly controversial.

As for the study into the Xia dynasty, none of the unearthed text materials is adequate to prove the existence of the “Xia dynasty” at present. There are debates among the scholars over the questions regarding the Xia. Moreover, the discovery and excavation of the Erlitou 二里头 site have increased the enthusiasm for such conjectures and discussions.<sup>41</sup>

With the Shang dynasty, the central area transitions from proto-history to history. However, these documents recording the Shang era’s history were compiled about a millennium after the Shang’s fall. Therefore, the debate about how to use these documents for archaeological research has never stopped.

As for Zhou, which is the time range covered by this thesis, its situation is even more complicated. Historians divide the Zhou era into two periods, the Western Zhou 西周 (1046 BCE-771 BCE)<sup>42</sup> and the Eastern Zhou 东周 (770 BCE-256 BCE)<sup>43</sup>.

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<sup>39</sup> Chang, Kwang-chih 张光直. *The Chinese Bronze Age* (2013): 12-13, 92.

<sup>40</sup> Lee, Yun Kuen. “Building the Chronology of Early Chinese History.” *Asian Perspectives* (2002): 20.

<sup>41</sup> See: Allan, Sarah. “The Myth of the Xia Dynasty.” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 2 (1984): 242-256. Allan, Sarah. “Erlitou and the Formation of Chinese Civilization: Toward a New Paradigm.” *The Journal of Asian Studies* (2007): 461-496. Liu, Li. “Academic Freedom, Political Correctness, and Early Civilization in Chinese Archaeology: the Debate on Xia-Erlitou Relations.” *Antiquity* 83. 321 (2009): 831-843.

<sup>42</sup> When the capital is located at Haojing 镐京 in the vicinity of the present-day Xi’an city in the Wei River valley.

<sup>43</sup> The Zhou court was oppressed by the nomads in northern China and moved the capital eastward to a

The Western Zhou was, on the whole, a time of cohesiveness and dynastic strength. However, the Eastern Zhou marked a sudden diminution of the power and prestige of the Zhou kings. As time went on, the Zhou royal house ruled merely as a figurehead of relative insignificance. In general, the Eastern Zhou is divided into two specific phases: the Spring and Autumn period (770 BCE-450 BCE) and the Warring States period (450 BCE-221 BCE).<sup>44</sup> This continuous violence and chaos did not end until the unification of ancient China by the ruler of the Qin state in 221 BCE.

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site near the present-day city of Luoyang 洛阳, in the Yellow River plain.

<sup>44</sup> The Spring and Autumn period takes its name from the *Chunqiu* 春秋 (*Springs and Autumns Annals*), a chronicle kept by the rulers of the state of Lu. Its first entry dates to the equivalent of 722 BCE and the final entry corresponds to 481 BCE. In practice, the Spring and Autumn period is usually taken to include a slightly larger span of time. For more detailed explanation, see: Major, John S., and Constance A. Cook. *Ancient China* (2016): 105. The Warring States period derives its name from the *Zhanguo ce* 战国策 (*Record of the Warring States*), a work compiled early in the Han dynasty. There is a lot of controversy about the actual beginning time of the Warring States period, Lothar von Falkenhausen's view (450 BCE) is cited in this dissertation. See: Von Falkenhausen, Lothar. *Chinese Society in the Age of Confucius (1000-250 BC): The Archaeological Evidence*. Los Angeles: The Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles Press (2006): 8.

Time	Archaeological Periods	Historical Periods		Synchronisms in Old World History
		Broader/	Finer Division	
1050	1050	ca. 1046		End of New Kingdom (Egypt)
1000	EARLY WESTERN ZHOU	WESTERN		Aryan Invasions (India) David (d.ca. 962) (Israel)
950	950			Etruscan city states (Italy)
900	MIDDLE WESTERN ZHOU	ZHOU		Dark Age (Greece) 25th Dynasty (Egypt) Rise of Assyrian Empire (Mesopotamia, Syria)
850	850			Carthage founded (814) (N. Africa)
800	LATE WESTERN ZHOU	771	770	Rome founded (753)
750	770	770	TRANSITION PERIOD	Sargon II (enthroned 721) (Assyria)
700	EARLY SPRINGS AND AUTUMNS		722	Hallstatt Period (Central Europe) Assyrian invasions of Egypt (671, 663)
650	650		SPRINGS	
600	MIDDLE SPRINGS AND AUTUMNS		AND	<i>Zoroaster (ca.628-551)</i> Neobabylonian Empire (612-539) Greek colonies in Sicily
550	550	EASTERN	AUTUMNS	<i>Buddha (ca.560-480)</i> <i>Confucius (ca.551-479)</i>
500	LATE SPRINGS AND AUTUMNS		481	Achaemenid Empire (Persia/Mesopotamia/Syria Asia Minor/Egypt)
450	450	ZHOU	453	<i>Socrates (ca.470-399)</i>
400	EARLY WARRING STATES		403	Peloponnesian War (431-404) (Greece)
350	375 MIDDLE WARRING STATES		WARRING	Roman Republic (509-21) Alexander the Great (356-326)
300	300 LATE WARRING STATES		STATES	Maurya Empire (321-185) (India)
250	221 QIN	256	221	First Punic War (264-241)
200	206	249	206	Parthian Empire (Persia/Mesopotamia)

**Tab. 2 Chronology of Zhou era<sup>45</sup>**

<sup>45</sup> Source: Von Falkenhausen, Lothar. *Chinese Society in the Age of Confucius (1000-250 BC): The Archaeological Evidence*. Los Angeles: The Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles Press (2006): 8.

## 1.2 The rise and fall of Chu state

As far as time is concerned, Chu has a history of more than eight hundred years, played out entirely during the Zhou dynasty's tenure.<sup>46</sup> In terms of territory, Chu was once the vassal state with the largest region in the Zhou dynasty. In its heyday, its territory covered almost half of ancient China.

According to the records of historical literature, the original capital of Chu state was Danyang 丹阳 and then transferred to Ying 郢 during the reign of the King Wu of Chu. From 700 to 278 BCE, the capital was mainly in Ying. After Ying was captured by Baiqi (a general of Qin state) in 278 BCE, the Chu people declared the Chencheng 陈城 and Shouchun 寿春 as the capitals of the state successively. In 223 BCE, the state of Chu was finally occupied by Qin.

Based on the capital name changes recorded in the literature, Chu's history can be divided into three periods: early, middle and late for a brief introduction. These three periods also coincide with the formation, prosperity and decline periods of Chu.<sup>47</sup>

### 1.2.1 The early stage

The first stage of Chu's history is the period of founding state and "dwelling in Danyang", which probably spans the whole Western Zhou period. After the lead by Yu Xiong 鬻熊, the Chu people then started to create their never-interrupted history, which is available to investigate true sense, albeit the controversial about who first settled down in Danyang, Yu Xiong or Xiong Yi 熊绎.

Afterwards, Xiong Yi, the great-grandson of Yu Xiong, pioneered the nation's survival in Jing mountain, initiating their strenuous career building. From Yu Xiong or Xiong Yi to King Wu of Chu 楚武王, in about 350 years, the Chu people developed their own strength by centring on Danyang. However, where exactly Danyang is and

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<sup>46</sup> Cook, Constance A., and John S. Major, eds. *Defining Chu* (1999): 9.

<sup>47</sup> Before Chu was founded, it was ancient time, which will introduced in the nexts section. Because of its uncertain genealogy (time) and place of residence (region), it cannot be as a true history for detailed textual research.

whether it has been moved is still a matter of dispute.<sup>48</sup> What's more, there is little archaeological evidence of a distinctive Chu culture during this period (the Western Zhou era).<sup>49</sup>

As one of the vassal states of Zhou, the relationship between Chu and Zhou in this period experienced three stages: control, vacillation and conflict.

According to the *Shi ji* 史记 (*Records of the Historian*), the Chu leader Yu Xiong served King Wen of Zhou as a ritualist<sup>50</sup> and this hints that there were relations between Chu and Zhou before the conquest of the Shang.<sup>51</sup> Then, during the reign of King Cheng of Zhou, the Chu leader Xiong Yi was awarded a fiefdom at Danyang and sent tribute to the Zhou king.<sup>52</sup>

This kind of enfeoffment means that the early Western Zhou dynasty rulers formally incorporated the Chu people into the enfeoffment system of the Zhou royal family and recognized it as a vassal state under the rule of the Zhou court. The Chu people had to perform the obligations of pilgrimage, keeping the covenant and paying tribute. This was an early example of the *fengjian* 封建 system by which territories were assigned to members of the Zhou rulers' extended family for governance in perpetuity.<sup>53</sup>

Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that this kind of enfeoffment was obviously different from the clan enfeoffment of the Ji-clan 姬姓 nobles. Still, it arranged the Chu people into barbarous and remote land on a tiny scale. It can be seen that Chu's strength at that time was weak, and the status was inferior.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Major, John S., and Constance A. Cook. *Ancient China* (2016): 133.

<sup>49</sup> Cook, Constance A., and John S. Major, eds. *Defining Chu* (1999): 21.

<sup>50</sup> King Wen of Zhou, the dynastic founder, who died before the takeover from Shang was complete, but is still regarded as the first dynastic Zhou king.

<sup>51</sup> Cook, Constance A., and John S. Major, eds. *Defining Chu* (1999): 9-20.

<sup>52</sup> Same as above.

<sup>53</sup> Flad, Rowan K., and Pochan Chen. *Ancient Central China* (2013): 119.

<sup>54</sup> Guo Weimin 郭伟民. "Cong Chu guo de xingqi kan Changjiang liuyu zhi zaoqi guojia wenming moshi" 从楚国的兴起看长江流域之早期国家文明模式 (Viewing the Early State Civilization Model in the Yangtze River Valley from the Rise of Chu State). *Dongnan wenhua* 东南文化 6 (1993): 3.

The oracle bone carved with “Chu Zi Lai Gao” 楚子来告 (the viscount of Chu, actually the ruler of Chu, came to inform) of the early Western Zhou period unearthed in Zhouyuan 周原 area in 1977,<sup>55</sup> is regarded as the evidence to prove the close relationship between Zhou and Chu in this period.<sup>56</sup> What’s more, there is also a story of “Zhou Gong Ben Chu” 周公奔楚 (Duke of Zhou, a regent for the young King Cheng, went to the Chu for refuge at a troublesome point in his career)<sup>57</sup> according to the literature.

However, the relations between the two parties seem to have wavered when King Zhao of Zhou launched campaigns against the Chu (in about 960-957 BCE) to occupy the rich copper resources in the south and to expand the territory. The last of these campaigns ended in the disastrous loss of royal armies, and the Zhou king himself perished.<sup>58</sup>

After that, there were more and more conflicts between Zhou and Chu during the middle and late Western Zhou period. One example is that Chu leader Xiong Qu 熊渠 appointed his three sons as kings, which was mentioned on par with the Zhou king (more discussion later in this chapter).

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<sup>55</sup> See: Shaanxi Zhouyuan kaogudui 陕西周原考古队. “Shaanxi Qishan Fengchu cun faxian Zhou chu jiagu wen” 陕西岐山凤雏村发现周初甲骨文 (The Oracle Bone Inscriptions of Early Zhou dynasty Were Discovered in Fengchu village, Qishan, Shaanxi). *Wenwu* 文物 10 (1979): 38-43, 100-103. Gu Tiefu 顾铁符. “Zhouyuan jiagu wen ‘Chu zi lai gao’ yinzheng” 周原甲骨文“楚子来告”引证 (Quotations from the Oracle Bone Inscriptions “Chu Zi Lai Gao” Unearthed in Zhouyuan). *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古与文物 1 (1981): 72-75.

<sup>56</sup> See: Ma Shizhi 马世之. “Chu du Danyang diwang tan lun” 楚都丹阳地望探论 (Exploration of Danyang, the Capital of Chu). *Zhongzhou xuekan* 中州学刊 1 (1991): 110-117, 123. Wang Jianzhong 王建中. “Chu chu du Danyang xingshuai kao” 楚初都丹阳兴衰考 (Study of the Rise and Fall of Danyang, the Capital of Chu). In *Chu wenhua yanjiu lunji* 楚文化研究论集 (第三集) (*Collection of Studies on Chu Culture*) (vol. 3), ed. Chu wenhua yanjiu hui 楚文化研究会 (Chu Culture Research Association). Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe 武汉: 湖北人民出版社 (1994): 74-91.

<sup>57</sup> Cook, Constance A., and John S. Major, eds. *Defining Chu* (1999): 9-20.

<sup>58</sup> Pines, Yuri. *Zhou History Unearthed: The Bamboo Manuscript Xinian and Early Chinese Historiography*. New York: Columbia University Press (2020): 122.

### 1.2.2 The middle stage

The second stage of Chu's history is the period with capital "Ying" (roughly from the early Spring and Autumn period to the mid-Warring States period). During the reign of King Wu or King Wen of Chu, the capital was moved to Ying.

With the fall of the Western Zhou dynasty, King Ping of Zhou moved his capital to Luoyang. Throughout the Spring and Autumn period and the Warring States period, the imperial court was on the wane. Simultaneously, the *zhuhou* 诸侯 (feudal vassals) took up the potency, fiercely fighting against each other. Great powers stood across this land, and the most potent chiefs rose one after another.

Therefore, the tributary system centered on the Zhou king gradually changed into the situation of leading powers seeking hegemony, and the state of Chu also proceeded northward to seek authority. Thus, Zhou and Chu's relationship evolved into the relationship between the vassal states in Central Plains and the Chu.

During the early years of the Spring and Autumn period, Chu state was still a weak principality. It initially occupied a large area of land in the middle reaches of the Yangtze.<sup>59</sup> The Chu state gradually grew to be robust by several generations' efforts and crowned into its heyday. It began to swallow up the power of other vassal states and to expand the territory. Its center of gravity moved gradually and steadily east and south.<sup>60</sup> The Chu successfully absorbed more than forty smaller states in the two-and-a-half centuries of the Spring and Autumn period.<sup>61</sup>

By the Warring States period, Chu's territory had expanded to the southeast and northeast, its borders stretching south to the sea and northeast to the state of Lu.<sup>62</sup> Eventually, Chu absorbed over sixty states and many tribal peoples.<sup>63</sup> Its territory covered almost the southern half of China at that time.

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<sup>59</sup> Li Xueqin. "Chu Bronzes and Chu Culture." In *New Perspectives on Chu Culture during the Eastern Zhou Period*, ed. Thomas Lawton. Princeton: Princeton University Press [diff.] (1991): 15.

<sup>60</sup> Cook, Constance A., and John S. Major, eds. *Defining Chu* (1999): 167.

<sup>61</sup> Li Xueqin. "Chu Bronzes and Chu Culture." In *New Perspectives on Chu Culture during the Eastern Zhou Period* (1991): 15.

<sup>62</sup> Same as above.

<sup>63</sup> Cook, Constance A., and John S. Major, eds. *Defining Chu* (1999): 9.



In other words, the middle stage can also be understood as the most prosperous stage in the history of Chu. It ranked amid the “Five Hegemons”<sup>64</sup> in the Spring and Autumn period and the “Seven Kingdoms (or Seven Powers)”<sup>65</sup> of the Warring States period.

### **1.2.3 The late stage**

The last phase is the period of capital Chencheng and Shouchun (late Warring States period). In 278 BCE, the Qin general Bai Qi pulled down the capital Ying, forcing the Chu state to move the capital to Chencheng and Shouchun successively. Chencheng worked as the capital for 37 years and Shouchun for 18 years. The Chu existed only in the newly conquered eastern and southern fringes of its formerly massive territory by Qin’s defeat. In 223 BCE, the Chu state was eventually wholly wiped out by the Qin state.

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<sup>64</sup> The “Five Hegemons” refers to several especially powerful rulers of the Spring and Autumn period. The role of the hegemon was to protect the Zhou monarchy and act on its behalf in matters of inter-state relations. One common reckoning begins with Lord Huan of Qi and continues with Lord Wen of Jin, Lord Xiang of Song, Lord Zhuang of Chu, and Lord Mu of Qin.

<sup>65</sup> The “Seven Kingdoms (or Seven Powers)” refers to the seven leading states during the Warring States period. Namely, Qin, Qi, Chu, Yan, Han, Zhao, and Wei.

### 1.3 The image of Chu people in the literature

#### 1.3.1 The ancestors of Chu

Although the well-documented history of Chu began in the period of Yu Xiong (the late Shang dynasty to the early Western Zhou dynasty), a large number of ancient documents such as *Shi ji* and *Chu ci* 楚辞 (*Verses of Chu* or *Songs of Chu*) still trace the history of Chu to the ancient legend era. The chapter “Chu shi jia” 楚世家 (Hereditary household of Chu) of *Shi ji* says:

楚之先祖出自帝颛顼高阳。高阳者，黄帝之孙，昌意之子也。高阳生称，称生卷章，卷章生重黎。

重黎为帝喾高辛居火正，甚有功，能光融天下，帝喾命曰祝融。共工氏作乱，帝喾使重黎诛之而不尽。帝乃以庚寅日诛重黎，而以其弟吴回为重黎后，复居火正，为祝融。

吴回生陆终。陆终生子六人，坼剖而产焉。其长一曰昆吾；二曰参胡；三曰彭祖；四曰会人；五曰曹姓；六曰季连，芈姓，楚其后也。昆吾氏，夏之时尝为侯伯，桀之时汤灭之。彭祖氏，殷之时尝为侯伯，殷之末世灭彭祖氏。

季连生附沮，附沮生穴熊。其后中微，或在中国，或在蛮夷，弗能纪其世。

The founder ancestor of the Chu came from Deity Zhuanxu, the High Yang, who was the grandson of Huangdi and the son of Changyi. The High Yang begat Cheng who begat Juanzhang who begat Chong Li.

Chong Li resided (in the position of) Fire Regulator for Deity Ku, earning a lot of merits and bringing radiance to All Under Heaven, so Deity Ku called him “Invoker Smelter” (Zhu Rong). When Chief Gonggong rebelled, Deity Ku sent Chong Li to exterminate him, but Chong Li was unsuccessful, so the Deity terminated Chong Li on a Gengyin day. Then his younger brother Wuhui acted as Chong Li’s descendant and took over the position of Fire Regulator and the name Invoker Smelter.

Wuhui begat Lu Zhong, who begat six children who were born from him in a split-side manner. His eldest was Kunwu, second Canhu, third Pengzu, fourth the Hui people, fifth the Cao lineage, and sixth Ji Lian's Mi lineage from whom the Chu descend. The chiefs of the Kunwu often acted as officials during the Xia period, but during Jie's reign they were exterminated by Tang. The chiefs of Pengzu often acted as officials during the Yin period, but were wiped out when the Yin fell.

Ji Lian begat Fu Ju, who begat Xue Xiong, whose descendants from this point on thinned out, some being in the Central States and others with the Manyi peoples, so there is no record of his lineage.<sup>66</sup>

According to the account in these documents, the ancestors of the Chu people are Zhuangxi Gao Yang 颛顼高阳 (High Sun-essence), Lao Tong 老童 (Old Boy) and Zhu Rong 祝融 (Invoking Melter; also known as *huozheng* 火正, Fire Regulator).<sup>67</sup>

Ji Lian 季连, one of the offspring branches after Zhu Rong, refers to be the immediate forebear of the Chu people. But his descendants and pedigree and habitations are all unavailable to be examined in detail.

The bamboo slips of the Warring States period unearthed from Wangshan, Baoshan, and Xincui also mentioned the names of the ancestors sacrificed by Chu people, summarised as Lao Tong, Zhu Rong and Yu Xiong.<sup>68</sup>

In fact, the ancient epoch's genealogy was arranged in order under the concept of "Ancestral Unification" in the Eastern Zhou dynasty, which is challenging to be a shred of trustful evidence. It can be seen from the unearthed bamboo slips that this concept influenced the Chu people in the Warring States period. In the Western Han

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<sup>66</sup> The translated version of this text is referenced from: Cook, Constance A., and Luo Xinhui. *Birth in Ancient China: A Study of Metaphor and Cultural Identity in Pre-imperial China*. Albany: SUNY Press (2017): 80-82.

<sup>67</sup> Lao Tong 老童 appeared in *Shi ben* 世本 (*Roots of Generations*) and was considered the same person as Juanzhang 卷章 in *Shi ji*.

<sup>68</sup> Da Haobo 笄浩波. "Cong jinnian chutu wenxian kan zaoqi Chuguo zhongxin quyü" 从近年出土文献看早期楚国中心区域 (A Study on Central Area of Early Chu State in Perspective of Newly-excavated Documents). *Jiangnan kaogu* 江汉考古 2 (2011): 66.

dynasty, Sima Qian was also influenced by the idea of “Ancestral Unification” in the ancient books of the pre-Qin days when compiled *Shi ji*. He traced the ancestors of Xia, Shang, Zhou and many other states, Qin people, Chu people and many other tribes to Huangdi 黄帝 and Zhuanxu (Gaoyang).<sup>69</sup>

Therefore, such myths and legends, with insufficient systematic historical records and uncertain region and time, are challenging to be the objective evidence to trace Chu people’s ancestors and hard to match with Chu’s true history.<sup>70</sup>

During the Shang dynasty, a vassal group called “Jing-Chu” 荆楚 was likely to exist. It is mentioned in the poem “Yin Wu” 殷武 of the *Shi jing* 诗经 (*Classic of poetry* or *Book of Odes*)<sup>71</sup>, that Jing-Chu rebelled during the reign of Wu Ding and had to be suppressed by a Shang punitive expedition.<sup>72</sup>

Though, due to the lack of systematic historical records, there is still a great controversy in the academic world about whether there was a kinship between Jing-Chu in the Shang dynasty and Jing-Chu in the Zhou dynasty. It is precise because of the ambiguity of information that a fierce discussion on the ethnic origin of Chu has been triggered. Thus, scholars put forward four different points of views:<sup>73</sup>

The first point of view, “From the East”, holds that Chu people originated from the Huaiyi 淮夷 tribe in the east and the eastern Jiangnan 江汉 plain region.

The second point of view, “From the West”, holds that the Chu people originated from Northwest China and Southwest Asia.

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<sup>69</sup> Gao Chongwen 高崇文. “Shi lun Xi Zhou shiqi de Zhou Chu guanxi-jian lun Chu zu judi bianqian” 试论西周时期的周楚关系-兼论楚族居地变迁 (On the Relationship between the Chu State and the Zhou Empire in the Western Zhou Dynasty-also on the Transferring of the Habitats of the Chu Tribe). *Wenwu* 文物 3 (2014): 49.

<sup>70</sup> Same as above.

<sup>71</sup> The *Classic of Poetry* is the oldest existing collection of Chinese poetry, comprising 305 works dating from the 11th to 7th centuries BCE.

<sup>72</sup> Flad, Rowan K., and Pochan Chen. *Ancient Central China: Centers and peripheries along the Yangzi river*. Cambridge University Press (2013): 119.

<sup>73</sup> Huang Ying 黄莹. “Chutu wenxian yu Chu zu qi yuan yanjiu” 出土文献与楚族起源研究 (Research on Unearthed Documents and the Origin of Chu Clan). *Zhongyuan wenwu* 中原文物 4 (2015): 46-54.

The third point of view, “From the South”, is also known as the “From the Native” or “From the *Miaoman* 苗蛮”. It holds that the Chu people is a *Miaoman* native group that originated from the Jingzhou area of Hubei and were born and raised in the Jiangnan area.

The fourth point of view, “From the North”, also known as “From the Huaxia 华夏”, holds that the Chu people originated from the northern Central Plains.

Because the history of pre-Chu<sup>74</sup> (before the Chu leader Yu Xiong) is a blank, not to mention under the guidance of any literature, can we study textually and identify the archaeological culture of the pre-Chu period.<sup>75</sup> As a result, the discussion on the origin of the Chu people has now reached an impasse.

### 1.3.2 The barbaric stereotype

After the lead by Yu Xiong (Chu leader who served King Wen of Zhou), Chu people then started to create their never-interrupted history, which is available to investigate in the true sense. Afterwards, Xiong Yi, the great-grandson of Yu Xiong, was awarded a fiefdom during the reign of the King Cheng of Zhou. At this point, the image of Chu people gradually came to life on the historical stage.

It is not hard to find a word in historical documents that often describes the Chu people’s image, that is, *manyi* 蛮夷 (barbarians). For instance, in the chapter “Chu yu” 楚语 (Discourses of Chu) of the *Guo yu* 国语 (*Discourses of the States*)<sup>76</sup>, there is a story about Wang Sun Yu 王孙圉, the senior official of the state of Chu, discussing the national treasure:

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<sup>74</sup> The history before the founding of the state of Chu.

<sup>75</sup> Wang Hong 王宏. “Zaoqi Chu wenhua tansuo de jige wenti” 早期楚文化探索的几个问题 (Several Problems in the Exploration of Early Chu Culture). *Huaxia kaogu* 华夏考古 3 (2014): 75.

<sup>76</sup> The *Guo yu*, is an ancient Chinese text that consists of a collection of speeches attributed to rulers and other men from the Spring and Autumn period. It was probably compiled beginning in the 5th century BCE and continuing to the late 4th century BCE.

One day, Wang Sun Yu, a senior official of Chu state, was sent on a diplomatic mission to Jin. At a banquet held for him by King Ding of Jin, Zhao Jianzi, a senior official of Jin state, showed off his jade ornament to Wang Sun Yu and asked him about the value of “top gem” in a jade ornament. Wang Sun Yu replied that the amusing ornaments, including “top gem” in the Chu, were not a treasure. Chu’s treasures were the wise officials, like Guan She Fu and Yi Xiang, who assisted the monarch in governing the country. Also, Yunmeng, where a large number of goods and materials are manufactured, was the treasure of Chu. What’s more, all the belongings that could make the state get welfare and get rid of disasters are Chu’s treasures.<sup>77</sup>

The last sentence of Wang Sun Yu’s words was: “若夫哗器之美，楚虽蛮夷，不能宝也” (as for the beauty under boast, although people of Chu are barbarians, it cannot be treasured). It means that as for the beautiful jades that jingle and only have appearance without substantial ability, although Chu people are barbarians, they won’t be treasured in the Chu state.

Many similar records relate Chu people with “barbarians” in the chapter “Chu shi jia” 楚世家 (Hereditary household of Chu) of *Shi ji*, it says:

1. 熊渠生子三年。当周夷王之时，王室微，诸侯或不朝，相伐。熊渠甚得江汉闲民和，乃兴兵伐庸、杨蚕，至于鄂。熊渠曰：“我蛮夷也，不与中国之号谥。”乃立其长子康为句亶王，中子红为鄂王，少子执疵为越章王，皆在江上楚蛮之地。及周厉王之时，暴虐，熊渠畏其伐楚，亦去其王。

Xiong Qu has three sons. At the time of King Yi of Zhou, the royal family of Zhou declined. Some vassals refused to pay homage to the king, and they attacked each other. Xiong Qu was supported by the people in the Yangtze river and the Han river areas, so he dispatched troops to attack Yongcheng

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<sup>77</sup> If there is no special explanation, the ancient documents are translated by the author of this thesis.

and Yangyue to Hubei. Xiong Qu said, **“I am a barbarian. I do not need the posthumous title used in the states in the Central Plains.”** So he claimed independence from the Zhou and appointed his eldest son, Xiong Kang as king of Judan, his second son, Xiong Hong as king of E, and his youngest son, Xiong Zhici, as king of Yuezhang, all in the areas of Chu along the Yangtze river. When King Li of Zhou (mid-ninth century BCE) was furious and brutal in power, Xiong Qu worried that if he came to attack Chu, so Xiong took out his title of a king.<sup>78</sup>

2. (武王) 三十五年，楚伐随。随曰：“我无罪。”楚曰：“我蛮夷也。今诸侯皆为叛相侵，或相杀。我有敝甲，欲以观中国之政，请王室尊吾号。”随人为之周，请尊楚，王室不听，还报楚。

In the 35th year of King Wu (706 BCE), the state of Chu sent armed forces to suppress the Sui state. King of Sui state said: “I’m not guilty.” The king of Chu said, **“We are barbarians.** Nowadays, the feudal vassals betrayed the royal family of Zhou. They attacked and invaded each other. I have an army, so I want to take part in the Central Plains’ government affairs and ask the Zhou royal family to honour my title (the rank of nobility).” When the Sui state’s envoys went to Zhou’s capital for the Chu state and asked to honour the nobility’s rank for the Chu, the royal family of Zhou refused. Envoys of the Sui state came back with the report to the state of Chu.

3. (武王) 三十七年，楚熊通怒曰：“吾先鬻熊，文王之师也，蚤终。成王举我先公，乃以子男田令居楚，蛮夷皆率服，而王不加位，我自尊耳。”乃自立为武王。

In the 37th year of King Wu (704 BCE), Chu leader Xiong Tong growled, “our ancestor, Yu Xiong, was the teacher of King Wen of Zhou. He died very early. When King Cheng of Zhou promoted my ancestor, he only gave my ancestor a small land area and let him live in Chu. **All the barbarian tribes came to submit to my ancestor.** But king Cheng of Zhou did not

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<sup>78</sup> All translations in the text are mine unless otherwise indicated.

grant the rank of nobility, so I had to grant myself the honorific title of a king!” Therefore, the Chu leader Xiong Tong appointed himself “King Wu”.

In the above paragraphs, Sima Qian quoted the words of Xiong Qu (King of Chu in the Western Zhou dynasty) and Xiong Tong (King Wu of Chu in the early years of the Spring and Autumn period) as saying, “We are southern barbarians.”

In recent years, however, with the discovery and excavation of numerous high-level Chu tombs and the unearthing of countless exquisite cultural relics, we cannot help but ask whether the Chu people are indeed barbarian and whether the Chu culture is truly barbaric.

Contrary to this seemingly prejudiced view, we believe that Chu civilization was sophisticated, with a fine aesthetic sense.<sup>79</sup> As for why they have such a stereotypical image of Chu people, there might have at least five reasons, as shown in the following.

First, Chu’s name is related to plants, which implies that Chu people originated in a barbarous and remote place and struggled to earn a living. A Han etymological dictionary defines the words *chu* 楚 and *jing* 荆 as clusters of prickly bushes, “barbs”, connoting wildlands. The early graph representing the word *Chu* shows a foot surrounded by vegetation.<sup>80</sup>

Second, Chu people’s strength was feeble initially, and the political position that the Zhou king enfeoffed to the Chu was not senior at the beginning of the Western Zhou era. However, the Chu people showed strong territorial ambition and expansion desire in the process of development. With the victory of many annexation wars, Chu’s territory was gradually expanded and occupied almost half of China when the territory reached its maximum. No matter the Zhou royal family or other vassal states, they were fearful of and hostile to the Chu.

Third, Chu people themselves did not care much about the slander and hostility in words. On the contrary, they were inclined to take advantage of barbarian identity to

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<sup>79</sup> Major, John S., and Constance A. Cook. *Ancient China* (2016): 164.

<sup>80</sup> Cook, Constance A., and John S. Major, eds. *Defining Chu* (1999): 2-3.



eliminate the restrictions from etiquette's norms. The Chu leaders above-mentioned proclaimed themselves as kings and their sons as kings, which reflected this point.

Fourth, it also involves the mainstream writing of historical literature in ancient China. Most of the Chu-related narratives in the transmitted texts were created in the northern part of the Zhou world and are suspected to reflect "northern biases".<sup>81</sup>

In thinking about the Bronze Age of China (as we have already mentioned in section 1.1), it is essential to remember that Xia, Shang and Zhou were not the only states in that period. In contrast to this, there might be dozens (or more) of political entities dotting the terrain during this period. Although many of these were as culturally rich as the historically attested northern cultures, they left little history and were forgotten.<sup>82</sup> On the one hand, many available data of these entities was destroyed under the Qin dynasty. On the other hand, the bulk of the written records on early China handed down to the present concern only these three early states (Xia, Shang and Zhou) and were written mainly by their own historians.<sup>83</sup>

Since historians did preserve memories of the past, they also shaped these memories in ways to influence readers' values and perceptions.<sup>84</sup> These surviving texts, which were written by court scholars with northern roots clearly embodied a kind of derogation and negligence of the southern contributions. These non-Sinitic peoples who lived in the territories surrounding were viewed as uncivilized by the Hua-Xia 华夏 elites and called by various names, all of which had connotations of "barbarism".<sup>85</sup>

As for the study of Chu, problems arise from the fact that while it lay in the south, the compilers of the texts on which we rely (as well as later commentators) were largely northerners (including Sima Qian). This resulted in a "northern bias" vis-à-vis the historical role and cultural achievements of Chu.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Pines, Yuri. *Zhou History Unearthed* (2020): 122.

<sup>82</sup> Major, John S., and Constance A. Cook. *Ancient China* (2016): 99.

<sup>83</sup> Lee, Yun Kuen. "Building the Chronology of Early Chinese History." *Asian Perspectives* (2002): 20.

<sup>84</sup> Pines, Yuri. *Zhou History Unearthed* (2020): 122-123.

<sup>85</sup> Major, John S., and Constance A. Cook. *Ancient China* (2016): 103.

<sup>86</sup> Cook, Constance A., and John S. Major, eds. *Defining Chu* (1999): 51.

Finally, this kind of “northern biases” tradition in the ancient literature also led to the “northern-centrism (or the Central Plain focus)” in exploring the origin of Chinese civilization. A typical modern survey of Chinese history gives the impression that all Chinese culture diffused from northern China, namely the Central Plain of the Yellow river valley.<sup>87</sup> This long-standing “northern-centrism” view has led to an imbalance in our mind when exploring the culture of other regions, especially the southern region, which includes the territory of Chu state at that time

Nevertheless, new archaeological discoveries continue to redefine our understanding. Our imagination of the Chu people’s image has become more vivid by the continuous discoveries of sites and tombs, and the constant unearths of cultural relics related to the Chu.

#### **1.4 Previous archaeological studies on Chu capitals**

With an overview of Chu-related studies from ancient times to the present, we have to say that the Chu-related content is relatively abundant. Chu culture - a complexity of institutions and beliefs that evolved over time - has fascinated the Chinese since the Han period.<sup>88</sup>

From the Han dynasty to the Qing dynasty, scholars always made a study on the Chu. Their studies were mainly focused on the works and ideologies of Laozi 老子, Zhuangzi 庄子, Qu Yuan 屈原 and so on, and the vicissitudes of Chu’s cities were also taken into consideration. As historical materials were in short supply, few of the studies have covered other aspects of Chu.<sup>89</sup>

Beginning with a series of erratic and unscientific discoveries in Anhui province during the first decades of the twentieth century, the extraordinary richness of Chu

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<sup>87</sup> See: Cook, Constance A., and John S. Major, eds. *Defining Chu* (1999): 1-2. Liu Li, and Chen Xingcan. *The Archaeology of China: From the Late Paleolithic to the Early Bronze Age*. Cambridge World Archaeology. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press (2012): 11.

<sup>88</sup> Cook, Constance A., and John S. Major, eds. *Defining Chu* (1999): vii-viii.

<sup>89</sup> Dong Haozhi 董灏智. “Chu guo Ying du xingshuai shi kaolue” 楚国郢都兴衰史考略 (Research on the Rise and Fall of the Chu State’s Ying Capital). M.A dissertation, Northeast Normal University 东北师范大学 (2008): 1.

artistic traditions attracted more attention increasingly.<sup>90</sup>

In 1933 and 1938, the mausoleum in Lisangudui 李三孤堆, ShouXian county, Anhui province, was ransacked illegally. So far, this is the only mausoleum whose owner has been confirmed as the king of Chu. Its owner is King You of Chu 楚幽王, namely Xiong Han 熊悍. Nearly four thousand pieces of artifacts were unearthed in this mausoleum, including hundreds of bronze wares. It was for the first time that Chu's artifacts were unearthed on a large scale.

Since Shouchun was the capital of Chu at the end of the Warring States period, most of the artifacts unearthed in the vicinity are fabricated in the later Warring States period. It can be said that the archaeologists' understanding of Chu's culture was broadened for the first time after they delved into the last phase of the Warring States period.<sup>91</sup>

From then on, many of Chu's tombs, which date back to the Warring States period and are situated in Changsha of Hunan province, have been ransacked illegally. As the excavations were not conducted scientifically, scholars could not clarify the stratification and the relationship among the unearthed objects that had coexisted in the tombs. Consequently, there were often some misjudgments as to the era when the excavated objects were fabricated.

From the 1950s to the 1970s, the archaeological excavation of Chu's tombs and relics began to be conducted in a scientific manner in Hunan province, Hubei province, Henan province and other places. As excavation was conducted successively in the Jinancheng 纪南城 site and the Jijiahu 季家湖 site, Chu tombs (groups) in Changsha, Yutaishan, Zhaojiahu and other sites, the relevant research was conducted continuously. The basic chronological framework has been established for the Chu tombs, dating back to the Eastern Zhou dynasty. The archaeological characteristics of the Chu culture in the East Zhou period have been recognized gradually.

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<sup>90</sup> Lawton, Thomas (ed.). *New Perspectives on Chu Culture during the Eastern Zhou Period* (1991): ix-x.

<sup>91</sup> Yu Weichao 俞伟超. "Guanyu Chu wenhua fazhan de xin tansuo" 关于楚文化发展的新探索 (New Exploration on the Development of Chu Culture). *Jiangnan kaogu* 江汉考古 1 (1980): 23.

Though, the problem confronting any scholar investigating Chu's history is that virtually all our evidence, both archaeological and literary, comes from the latter half of Chu's existence. The picture of Chu before the Eastern Zhou period is somewhat more muddled. There is little evidence for a distinctive Chu culture during the Western Zhou period.<sup>92</sup> We know little about Chu in the Western Zhou period, especially in the earlier phase of the Western Zhou.

Therefore, professor Xia Nai and Su Bingqi put forward the research topic of exploring the early Chu culture at the second annual meeting of the Chinese Archaeological Society (with the theme of studying Chu culture) in 1980. Since then, the prelude to the study of early Chu culture has been kicked off.

After the research into Chu's culture has reached a particular phase, we began to delve into the earlier stage of Chu culture, which is also an essential subject in Chinese archaeology. Among all these subjects, the hot points and the complex problems are being discussed by the scholars, such as the origin of Chu ethnic, the location of Dangyang, the identification of the sites which are related to early Chu culture, the region where the early Chu culture was distributed and centralized, the formation of Chu state and its early development. From the 1980s to the 1990s, there were several upsurges of interest in exploring Chu capitals.

Around the capitals' geographical position during the more than eight hundred years of Chu, only the location records of the Chencheng and Shouchun in the late Warring States period have been clearly left in literature. However, the geographical location of Danyang, where the Chu people lived in the Western Zhou period and the geographical place of the capital Ying of the Eastern Zhou period are still very vague.

If we accept the *Shi ji* record, the location of Danyang is clearly an essential key to finding the roots of Chu culture. Besides, the location of Ying is vital in discerning the evolution of Chu culture during the long phase (some four centuries) in which the state expanded into ever-widening geographical and cultural spheres.<sup>93</sup> In other words, the exploration of these two capitals' locations is crucial to the study of Chu

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<sup>92</sup> John S. Major. "Conclusion". In *Defining Chu* (1999): 168

<sup>93</sup> Blakeley, Barry B. "The geography of Chu." In *Defining Chu* (1999): 10.

culture.

Combined with historical documents and archaeological materials, scholars have been engaged in a heated debate over the locations of Chu capital in the earlier stage - Danyang and Chu capital in the middle stage -Ying.

Most of the archaeologists identify Danyang firstly from the perspective of literature and then search archaeological evidence to explain its location with their views when they discuss the location of Danyang. It is currently inferred that the locations where Danyang may be located include Dangtu, Zigui, Zhijiang, Nanzhang, Xichuan and Shangxian. None of these hypotheses is overwhelmingly superior and persuasive.

The problem about capital Ying is relatively complicated. Many experts believe that “Ying” is not a fixed place but a reference to the capital of Chu. The Chuhuangcheng site, the Jinancheng site, and the Jijiahu site have all been argued to be the Chu capital Ying.<sup>94</sup> (as shown in Fig. 1)

Since the records on the same issue can vary with different documents, even the same document can lead to totally different conclusions because of readers’ different understanding. Also, as for historic sites scientifically excavated and their unearthed relics, scholars have various opinions on the judgment of their era, and it is not easy to reach a consensus. Because of this, the exploration of the location of Chu capitals has slowly reached a deadlock.

Suppose the locations of two critical capitals of Chu state (in other words, the scope of Chu’s activities for most of the time) cannot be determined. In that case, we cannot have a comprehensive understanding of Chu’s geography and territory, which is fundamental to any consideration of Chu culture. Therefore, we believe that the exploration of Chu capitals, especially the capitals in the early and middle stage of Chu, is one of the most tasks in the Chu study at present.

Fortunately, in recent years, new archaeological discoveries and new studies continue to redefine our understanding of Chu capitals drastically. For instance, the chapter *Chu ju* 楚居 (Chu dwellings) of Tsinghua bamboo slips, published in 2010, is hailed

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<sup>94</sup> Flad, Rowan K., and Pochan Chen. *Ancient Central China* (2013): 134.

for its impressively minute narrative about the lineage of kings of the Chu state generation by generation and the places of their residence and capitals. This text records Chu's history from the semi-legendary progenitor of the Chu royal lineage, Ji Lian, down to King Dao (r. ca. 400-381 BCE).<sup>95</sup> No sooner was this material organized and released to the public that a discussion upsurge was engendered in the academic circle.

In June 2012, due to engineering construction, twelve bronze *yongzhong* 甬钟 (bell) and one bronze *ding* 鼎 (tripod) were unearthed under the rescue excavations at Yichang Wanfunao site in Zhijiang. Among these relics, one bell was carved "The grandson hereby presented the precious bell, Chu Ji Bao zhong, to Chu Gong. May you be blessed for thousands of years!" on the *zheng* 钲 part of the bell, aroused widespread attention in the Chu academic world.<sup>96</sup>

This is the first time Western Zhou bronzes with the inscription "Chu" have been unearthed in the central area of the early Chu culture, which is believed to fill the vacancy in the early studies of Chu culture. The excavation of Chu's royal wares in the Western Zhou dynasty in Zhijiang is considered to provide very favourable proof for the "Zhijiang hypothesis" of Chu's first capital, Danyang.

New archaeological evidence like these continues to play an essential role in understanding the capitals and Chu's geographical locus. There are far more favourable conditions than in the past if we try to discuss this issue now. Moreover, some other related issues such as the overall investigation and systematic research on the capital cities of Chu state, can also be further deepened.

In view of this, we plan to do a holistic sorting and investigation on the Chu capitals (including the city sites identified as the capital of Chu and the city sites presumed to be the capital of Chu) in the following chapters. We intend to summarize the exploration of Danyang, Ying, Chencheng and Shouchun in recent years, review the insufficiency of the former research and current methods, and advance some personal

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<sup>95</sup> Pines, Yuri. *Zhou History Unearthed* (2020): 69.

<sup>96</sup> Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiu suo 湖北省文物考古研究所, et al. "Hubei Yichang Wanfunao yizhi fajue jianbao" 湖北宜昌万福埡遗址发掘简报 (A Preliminary Excavation Report on Wanfunao Site, Yichang, Hubei). *Jiangnan kaogu* 江汉考古 4 (2016): 32.

opinions on the location of Chu capitals, migration dynamics and the capital system.



**Fig. 1 Capitals (or city sites) of Chu and capitals of other states  
in Zhou era**

## Chapter II Chu capital in the early stage: Danyang

### Introduction

Danyang 丹阳 is the name of the earliest Chu capital recorded in historical documents. According to *Shi ben*, the Chu leader Yu Xiong lived (resided) in Danyang.<sup>97</sup> In addition, there is a more detailed record of this period of history in Chapter “*Chu shi jia*” 楚世家 (*Hereditary household of Chu*) of *Shi ji* 史记 (*Records of the Grand Historian*)<sup>98</sup>. As shown below:

周文王之时，季连之苗裔曰鬻熊。鬻熊子事文王，蚤卒。其子曰熊丽。熊丽生熊狂，熊狂生熊绎。熊绎当周成王之时，举文、武勤劳之后嗣，而封熊绎于楚蛮，封以子男之田，姓芈氏，居丹阳。

During the time of King Wen of Zhou, the descendant of Ji Lian was called Yu Xiong. Yu Xiong's son served King Wen but died early. His son was called Xiong Li. Xiong Li begat Xiong Kuang, who begat Xiong Yi. During Zhou King Cheng's time, because Xiong Yi aided King Cheng and was the descendant of ancestors who worked hard for King Wen and King Wu, he was granted cultivated fields to rule with the rank of Zinan (the lowest of the five political ranks) among the Man people of Chu with the lineage name Mi. He resided at Danyang.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> The earliest record of Yu Xiong's residence is described in *Shi ben*. *Shi ben* recorded the event of “the king's residence moving” 今王迁, from which could be known that the final draft of *Shi ben* was finished at the end of the Warring States period, when the King Zhao 赵王 changed his residence. It recorded the bloodline, family, name, residence of the kings and their dukes as well as officers from the era of the Three Sovereigns 三皇 and Five Emperors 五帝 during to the Warring States period. Sima Qian 司马迁 (ca. 145- 86 BCE) has selected materials from *Shi ben* when writing *Records of the Grand Historian* (also known as *Shi ji* 史记). Therefore, it is undeniable that *Shi ben* is of great value.

<sup>98</sup> Si Maqian 司马迁. *Shi ji* 史记 (*Records of the Grand Historian*). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 北京: 中华书局 (1982): 1691-1692.

<sup>99</sup> This English translation refers to: Cook, Constance A., and Luo Xinhui. *Birth in Ancient China: A Study of Metaphor and Cultural Identity in Pre-imperial China*. Albany: SUNY Press (2017): 81.



If we accept the records in historical documents, the location of Danyang is an essential key to finding the roots of Chu culture.<sup>100</sup> At the end of the Shang dynasty (when Yu Xiong was the leader of Chu), Chu people had already lived in Danyang. In the early period of the Western Zhou dynasty, the King Cheng of Zhou awarded the Chu leader Xiong Yi. Zhou acknowledged the Chu as a subordinate state of the Zhou royal family. Xiong Yi got the land and lived in Danyang.

Danyang, as the first capital city established after Chu was founded, its establishment also marked the formation of Chu state. It was not until the Spring and Autumn period that King Wu of Chu 楚武王 moved the capital from Danyang to Ying 郢. Danyang has been the capital of Chu for more than 350 years,<sup>101</sup> accounting for more than one-third of Chu's history.

Unfortunately, although Danyang is so essential, the exact location of Danyang was not further explained in *Shi ben* or *Shi ji*, resulted in the location disputation of Chu (state)'s capital, Danyang.

Many historians have different opinions on this issue, none of which has been recognized by far. Later generations have added many new proofs based on the predecessors, deriving many other novel theories and opinions and attracting numerous scholars to figure out this puzzle. However, no one has solved it yet.

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<sup>100</sup> Blakeley, Barry B. "The geography of Chu." In *Defining Chu* (1999): 10.

<sup>101</sup> There are different records of its earliest time when resided in Danyang: Yu Xiong period recorded in *Shi ben*; Xiong Yi period recorded in *Shi ji*. Different records also exist in the capital moving of from Danyang to Ying: King Wu of Chu period recorded in *Shi ben*; King Wen of Chu period recorded in *Shi ji*. Following the rule of "The earlier record is more believable than the later one", this paper selected *Shi ben* as major source of research materials. From Yu Xiong's period in the ruling of King Wen of Zhou to the period of King Wu of Chu in the early Spring and Autumn period, people in Chu regarded Danyang as their capital, which lasted for about 350 years.

As an academic hotspot and complicated issue in the study of Chu culture, it not only aroused heated debates among Chinese scholars but also attracted the attention of international sinologists.<sup>102</sup> However, where exactly Danyang is and whether it has been moved is still a matter of dispute.<sup>103</sup> Its exact location remains uncertain on both historical and archaeological grounds.<sup>104</sup>

In recent years, with the continuous discovery of archaeological data, the insufficiency of historical documents can be supplemented or criticized. There are far more favourable conditions than in the past if we try to discuss this issue now.

In this chapter, we intend to summarize and compare the discussions over the years about the location of Danyang. We will combine new materials on field archaeology in recent years and new academic trends to put forward further thoughts and suggestions on this issue.

First of all, we will start from the different hypotheses proposed by the predecessors about the location of Danyang. Since various documents have different records on the same issue, even reading the same document can draw different conclusions due to different understanding methods. Many opinions have been formed on the inference of location of Danyang.

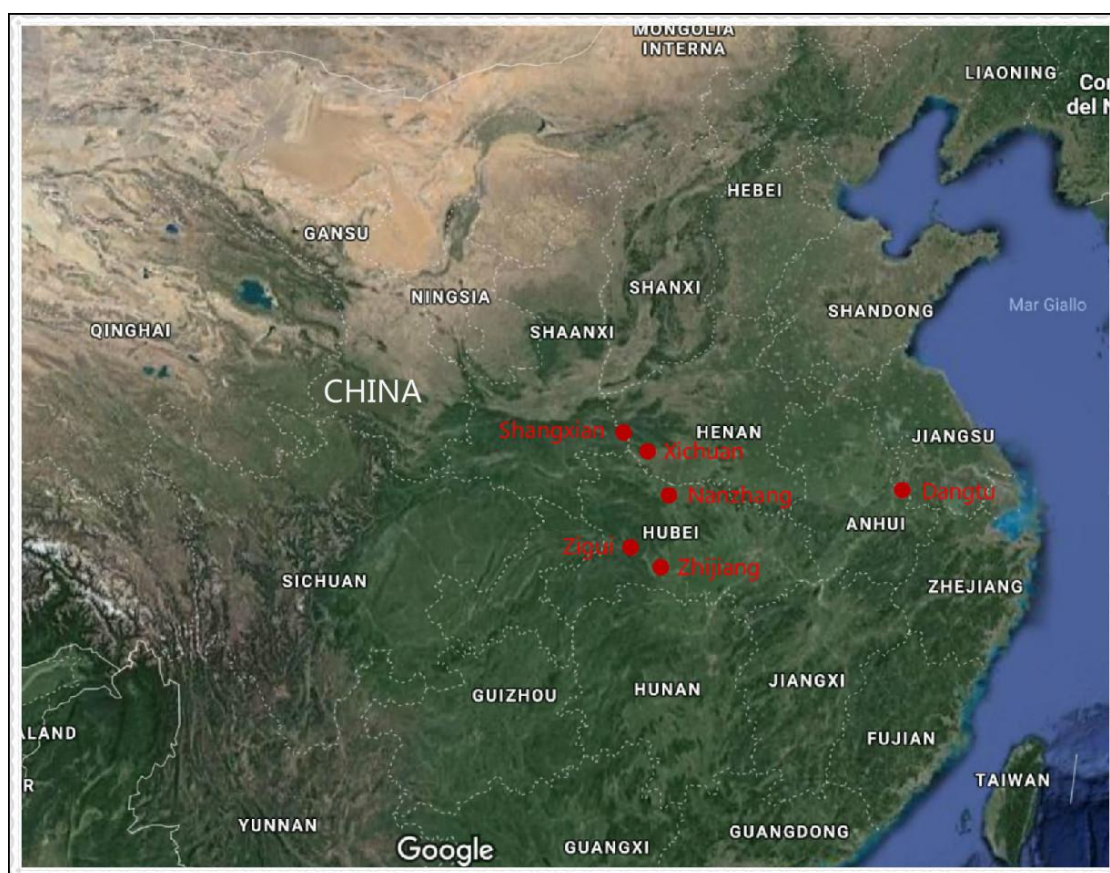
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<sup>102</sup> Refer to the following articles: Blakeley, Barry B. "Recent Developments in Chu Studies: a bibliographic and institutional overview." *Early China* 11/12 (1985-1987): 371-387, 446. Blakeley, Barry B. "In search of Danyang I: Historical geography and archaeological sites." *Early China* (1988): 116-152. Blakeley, Barry B. "On the location of the Chu capital in early Chunqiu times in light of the Handong Incident of 701 B.C." *Early China* (1990): 49-70. Blakeley, Barry B. "The geography of Chu." In *Defining Chu* (1999): 9-20. Flad, Rowan K., and Pochan Chen. *Ancient Central China: Centers and peripheries along the Yangzi river*. Cambridge University Press, 2013.

<sup>103</sup> Major, John S., and Constance A. Cook. *Ancient China* (2016): 133.

<sup>104</sup> Blakeley, Barry B. "The geography of Chu." In *Defining Chu* (1999): 13 .

There are four main “one-place hypotheses” successively: “Dangtu 当涂”, “Zigui 秭归”, “Zhijiang 枝江” and “Danxi 丹淅”. Later, the “itinerant hypotheses”<sup>105</sup> was derived: “Shangxian 商县-Danxi”, “Danxi-Nanzhang 南漳”, “Danxi-Zigui-Zhijiang”, “Zigui-Zhijiang”. Xu Shaohua called them as “Four Systems and Eight Sayings 四系八说”. Besides, scholars continue to put forward their new views and opinions on this basis. For example, Da Haobo proposed the hypothesis of “Shangluo 商洛-Danxi-Nanzhang-Juzhang 沮漳”.



**Fig. 2 The locations mentioned by Danyang hypotheses**

<sup>105</sup> Some scholars believe that the location of Danyang has not been changed since Chu was established in Danyang until King Wu of Chu has moved capital to Ying, the hypothesse of which is called “one-place hypotheses”. Other scholars hold the view that Danyang was not limited to one place, because Chu people had used the word “Danyang” as a permanent capital name. Every place that their capital was moved to was called “Danyang”. Such opinion is called “multiple places hypotheses”, which also known as “itinerant hypotheses”.

In this research, we will conduct a detailed analysis of the nine hypotheses mentioned above, guided by literature materials (including handed down documents and unearthed documents) and historical geography, and based on archaeological materials. We will discuss these hypotheses and judge their reasonableness carefully.

Secondly, in this chapter's case study, we will focus on the two hypotheses that are currently the most accepted in the academic world, namely the "Danxi hypothesis" and "Shangxian-Danxi hypothesis". Combined with the archaeological excavations we participated in the Dan river basin (the area where these two hypotheses are discussed), we will carefully sort out the relics of the Western Zhou period in the Dan river basin to construct the archaeological cultural sequence of the Western Zhou period in this area. Furthermore, we will discuss whether this area contains early Chu cultural factors and whether it is possible for the Chu people to build the first capital Danyang here.

Finally, we will summarize the exploration of Danyang. It is true that under the current conditions, we cannot say which of these hypotheses is absolutely correct. That is, we cannot clearly identify a particular area or a specific site as the location of Danyang. As Barry B. Blakeley once said, pushing to unwarranted conclusions achieves nothing.<sup>106</sup> However, suppose we can demonstrate what is wrong, reduce the noise and interference in the research, and peel off the doubts entangled in the debate about the location of Danyang. In that case, it may be closer to the solution of the problem in the future.

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<sup>106</sup> Blakeley, Barry B. "In search of Danyang I: Historical geography and archaeological sites." *Early China* (1988): 139.

## 2.1 One-place hypotheses

### 2.1.1 Dangtu hypothesis

#### *Literature materials*

This kind of opinion was first recorded in “*Dili zhi*” 地理志 (*Treatise on Geography*) of *Han shu* 汉书 (*History of the Former Han*), from which Ban Gu 班固 (32-92 CE) noted Danyang county 丹阳县 in the Danyang city 丹扬郡 as:

楚之先熊绎所封，十八世，文王徙郢。<sup>107</sup>

Danyang was decreed to be the capital by the first king of Chu, Xiong Yi.

The 18th king of Chu, King Wen of Chu moved the capital to Ying.<sup>108</sup>

Li Daoyuan 郦道元 (466/472-527 CE), a man in the Northern Wei dynasty, questioned this statement. He wrote in *Shui jing zhu* 水经注 (*Commentary on the Classic of rivers*):

《地理志》以为吴之丹阳，论者云：寻吴楚悠隔，蓝缕荆山，无容远在吴境，是为非也。<sup>109</sup>

*Han shu* (*Dili zhi*) believes that Danyang belongs to Wu (state). However, some opponents argue that Wu and Chu are far apart from each other. Xiong Yi is working so hard in Jingshan that he has no reason to settle the capital in Wu's territory. Therefore, such a theory in *Han shu* is not correct.

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<sup>107</sup> Ban Gu 班固. *Han shu* 汉书 (*History of the Former Han*). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 北京: 中华书局 (1964): 1592.

<sup>108</sup> If there is no special explanation, the ancient documents are translated by the author of this thesis.

<sup>109</sup> Li Daoyuan 郦道元. *Shui jing zhu* 水经注 (*Commentary on the Classic of rivers*). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 北京: 中华书局 (2009).

### ***Historical geography***

Among modern scholars, Wang Yuzhe agrees with this hypothesis and believes that Danyang, where Xiong Yi resided, is east of Dangtu county, Anhui province. From the residence records of Zhu Rong and his eight different descendants 祝融八姓 as well as Lu Zhong and his six different descendants 陆终六子, he infers that Chu people firstly originated in central Henan. Around the end of the Shang dynasty, it was moved east in places between Shandong and Jiangsu. In the early years of the Western Zhou dynasty, they were moved south from northern Jiangsu to the Yangtze river basin between Jiangsu and Anhui. After another four or five generations, it was at the governing time of Xiong Qu (the period of King Yi of Zhou's 周夷王 ruling) that it was moved west along the Yangtze River and finally stayed in between Yangtze River and Han river.<sup>110</sup>

### ***Archaeological materials***

In Dangtu county, Anhui province, there are few remains of Chu culture. Even the remains of Chu culture found in the Jianghuai area is mainly in the late Warring States period.<sup>111</sup> Therefore, the “Dangtu hypothesis” completely lacks archaeological evidence.

### ***Discussion***

From the perspective of historical documents, according to the fourth principle proposed by Barry B. Blakeley to explore the location of Danyang: a place name traceable even as far back as early imperial times cannot be presumed to date to remote antiquity. Neither can one assume that a place name that can be traced back to relatively early times (i.e., the Han) existed at the time of the Shang/Zhou transition

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<sup>110</sup> Wang Yuzhe 王玉哲. “Chu zu gudi ji qi qianyi luxian” 楚族故地及其迁移路线 (The Origin of Chu People and Its Migration Route). In *Zhou Shutao Xiansheng Liushi shengri jinian lunwenji* 周叔弢先生六十生日纪念论文集 (Collected Papers Commemorating the 60th Birthday of Mr. Zhou Shutao), ed. Zhou Jueliang 周珏良. (Unknown place of publication) (1950): 35-67.

<sup>111</sup> Zhang Changping 张昌平. “Zaoqi Chu wenhua zhi jiantao” 早期楚文化探索之检讨 (A Review of Early Chu Cultural Exploration). *Zhonghua wenhua luntan* 中华文化论坛 4 (1996): 52-54.

(the era at issue here).<sup>112</sup>

Danyang county in the Han dynasty was about 25 kilometers east (slightly north) of Dangtu county, Anhui province, where Jiangsu province and Anhui province were bordered today. In *Han shu*, Ban Gu only used the geographical data from the Qin and Han dynasties. He regarded the county name “Danyang” set in that period as the ancient place “Danyang” in Chu without further research. Therefore, this statement cannot be convincing.

From the perspective of historical geography, Wang Yuzhe’s view that Danyang is in Dangtu county, Anhui province, comes from the opinion that Chu nationality originated from the East. However, some scholars also believe that Chu nationality is a native nation born and grown in the Yangtze river basin and Han river basin. In addition to the “eastern origin hypothesis” and “native origin hypothesis”, there are also many other opinions such as “western origin hypothesis” and “Central Plains origin hypothesis”, all of which has not reached a final conclusion.<sup>113</sup>

Finally, from the perspective of archaeology, this area has not yet been identified by archaeological materials, making this argument hard to be authentic.

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<sup>112</sup> Blakeley, Barry B. “In search of Danyang I: Historical geography and archaeological sites.” *Early China* (1988): 118.

<sup>113</sup> Discussions of the origin of Chu, refer to the following article: Yang Kuan 杨宽. “Xi Zhou shidai de Chu guo” 西周时代的楚国 (Chu State in the Western Zhou dynasty). *Jianghan luntan 江汉论坛* 5 (1981): 101-108.

## 2.1.2 Zigui hypothesis

### *Literature materials*

Regarding this statement, the earliest record that can be found in the existing historical books is in the *Yi du ji* 宜都记, written by Yuan Song 袁崧 in the late Eastern Jin dynasty, which described: “Zigui county was the earliest feudal state of Chu leader Xiong Yi.”

Li Daoyuan quoted and added this statement in his book *Shui jing zhu* 水经注 volume 34 “*Jiangshui* 江水”:

江水又东经一城北，其城凭岭作固……北对丹阳城，城据山跨阜，周八里二百八十步，东北两面西临绝涧，西带亭下溪，南枕大江，险峭壁立，信天固也。楚子熊绎始封丹阳之所都也……又楚（子）之先王陵墓在其间。<sup>114</sup>

The river flows eastward to the north of a city, which is built and reinforced by mountains... It faces Danyang city to the north and is built by the hills and mountains... On both sides of the northeast is upon a steep stream. The west is close to the Tingxia river. The south of it is close to a great river. Its surrounding cliffs are as steep as walls, making it naturally a dangerous and important place. This was the feudal state when Chu leader Xiong Yi was first given by the King... The tombs of Chu’s ancestors are here.

Li Daoyuan not only recorded the origin of Danyang’s place name, but also pointed out that the palace and tombs of the kings of Chu are in between. Because Li Daoyuan’s historical achievements are highly recognized, later generations of scholars always follow his opinions. Such as “*Yudi zhi*” 輿地志, “*Kuodi zhi*” 括地志, “*Houhan shu*” 后汉书, “*Yuanhe junxian tu zhi*” 元和郡县图志, “*Taiping Huanyu Ji*” 太平寰宇记, “*Dushi fangyu jiyao*” 读史方輿纪要, etc. Since the Northern and Southern Dynasties, this is the major opinion in academic world.

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<sup>114</sup> Li Daoyuan 郦道元. *Shui jing zhu* 水经注 (Commentary on the Classic of rivers). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 北京: 中华书局 (2009): 276-284.



### *Historical geography*

Among modern scholars, Yang Kuan believes that it is more reasonable to think that Danyang is now in the southeast of Zigui county. He analyzed it from the perspective of historical geography and thought that it was closer to Jingshan 荆山 (Jing mountain) and Jushui 沮水 (Ju river).

In ancient literature, because Chu was built with Jingshan as its base are, it was also called Jing 荆 or Chu-Jing 楚荆, which was the same in the bronze inscriptions of the Western Zhou dynasty. Later, Jingshan is now in the northwestern area of Nanzhang county, Hubei province. Still, it should refer to the vast mountainous areas in this region in the Western Zhou dynasty, including the current Zhang river 漳水 basin. At that time, the Jingshan was supposed to be connected with Jushan 雎山 area. In a broad sense, the Jingshan may also include the Jushan area. He believes that this vast Jingshan was once the main base for the Chu state's early founding.<sup>115</sup>

### *Archaeological materials*

In this area, two archaeological sites are considered to be Danyang, namely the site of Chuwangcheng 楚王城 and the site of Lianyushan 鲢鱼山.

### *Chuwangcheng site*

Yang Kuan believes that the Chuwangcheng site currently in the southeast of Zigui county is Danyang.<sup>116</sup> However, such a statement has been opposed by many scholars.<sup>117</sup>

In 1979, the Jiangling Work Station of Hubei Provincial Museum conducted exploration and investigation of the Chuwangcheng site and performed partial

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<sup>115</sup> Yang Kuan 杨宽. "Xi Zhou shidai de Chu guo" 西周时代的楚国 (Chu State in the Western Zhou dynasty). *Jianghan luntan* 江汉论坛 5 (1981): 101-108.

<sup>116</sup> Same as above.

<sup>117</sup> Refer to the following articles:

Yu Weichao 俞伟超. "Guanyu Chu wenhua fazhan de xin tansuo" 关于楚文化发展的新探索 (New Exploration on the Development of Chu Culture). *Jianghan kaogu* 江汉考古 1 (1980): 17-30.

Gao Yingqin 高应勤, and Cheng Yaoting 程耀庭. "Tan Danyang" 谈丹阳 (Talk about Danyang). *Jianghan kaogu* 江汉考古 2 (1980): 23-26.

dissection of the west wall. After investigation, no cultural remains, relics, and strata belong to the Eastern Zhou dynasty or Western Zhou dynasty have been found.

The construction age of the existing city wall was not as early as the Southern and Northern Dynasties.<sup>118</sup> From this, we can judge that the construction of this city site is relatively late. It is inconsistent with the age of Chu's capital, Danyang.

### *Lianyushan site*

In 1958 and 1960, the Institute of Archaeology of the Chinese Academy of Sciences conducted two archaeological investigations and excavations in the Xiling Gorge of the Yangtze River. A total of dozens of ancient cultural sites were discovered, including some Zhou dynasty sites, especially the Lianyushan site that is about 5 kilometers east to Zigui county, where archaeologists have not only discovered pottery slabs with fine-rope shape, S shape, circle shape and string patterns, but also unearthed several square chiselled oracle bones.

In 1979, the archaeologists of the Hubei Provincial Museum conducted further exploration and investigation on Lianyushan site. In addition to a few stone tools, some pottery like *pen* 盆 (basin), *dou* 豆 (dish), *guan* 罐 (pot), *pan* 盘 (plate) and several pieces of oracle bones were unearthed (as shown in Fig.3). Because the age of these unearthed relics may belong to “the early Western Zhou dynasty” and “consistent with the location records in *Shui jing zhu*”,<sup>119</sup> some scholars have designated the Lianyushan site as Danyang, the initial capital of Chu.<sup>120</sup>

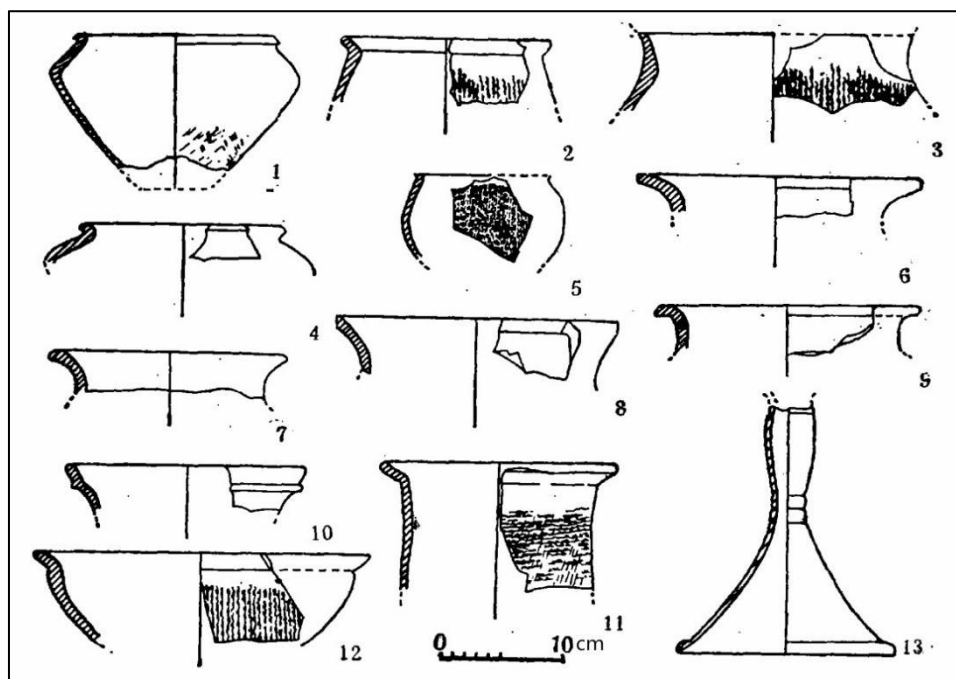
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<sup>118</sup> Wen Bigui 文必贵. “Zigui Chu wangcheng kantan yu diaocha” 秭归楚王城勘探与调查 (Exploration and Investigation of Chuwangcheng in Zigui). *Jiangnan Kaogu* 江汉考古 4 (1986): 23-26, 28.

<sup>119</sup> Wen Bigui 文必贵. “Zigui Lianyushan yu Chu du Danyang” 秭归鲢鱼山与楚都丹阳 (mountain Lianyu in Zigui and Danyang, the Capital of Chu). *Jiangnan luntan* 江汉论坛 3 (1982): 77-78.

<sup>120</sup> Liu Binhui 刘彬徽. “Shi lun Chu Danyang he Ying du de diwang yu niandai” 试论楚丹阳和郢都的地望与年代 (On the Location and Time of Danyang and Ying in Chu State). *Jiangnan kaogu* 江汉考古 1 (1980): 45-57.

Yang Quanxi and others raised objections to this statement.<sup>121</sup> From 1980 to 1981, they conducted more detailed investigations and partial trial excavations of Lianyushan site. They argue that this site is not Danyang, Chu's initial capital, but a general cultural site closely related to Bashu 巴蜀 culture in Western Hubei from Shang dynasty to Western Zhou dynasty.<sup>122</sup>



**Fig. 3 Pottery collected at the Lianyushan site (1/5)**<sup>123</sup>

1-9 guan 10-11 hu 12. pen 13. lamp holder

<sup>121</sup> Refer to the following articles: Yang Quanxi 杨权喜, and Chen Zhenyu 陈振裕. “Zigui Lianyushan yu Chu du Danyang” 秭归鲢鱼山与楚都丹阳 (Lianyushan in Zigui and Danyang, the Capital of Chu). *Jiangnan kaogu* 江汉考古 3 (1987): 71-78. Liu Xinfang 刘信芳. “Chu du Danyang diwang tansuo” 楚都丹阳地望探索 (Exploration of Danyang, the Capital of Chu). *Jiangnan kaogu* 江汉考古 1 (1988): 62-68, 82. Zhang Changping 张昌平. “Zaoqi Chu wenhua zhi jiantao” 早期楚文化探索之检讨 (A Review of Early Chu Cultural Exploration). *Zhonghua wenhua luntan* 中华文化论坛 4 (1996): 52-54.

<sup>122</sup> Yang Quanxi 杨权喜, and Chen Zhenyu 陈振裕. “Zigui Lianyushan yu Chu du Danyang” 秭归鲢鱼山与楚都丹阳 (Lianyushan in Zigui and Danyang, the Capital of Chu). *Jiangnan kaogu* 江汉考古 3 (1987): 71-78.

<sup>123</sup> Source: Yang Quanxi 杨权喜, and Chen Zhenyu 陈振裕. “Zigui Lianyushan yu Chu du Danyang” 秭归鲢鱼山与楚都丹阳 (Lianyushan in Zigui and Danyang, the Capital of Chu). *Jiangnan kaogu* 江汉考古 3 (1987): 73.

Their reasons can be concluded as follows:<sup>124</sup>

First of all, the site is relatively small in area, which only covers 4,000 square meters. No city walls or other essential relics have been found. Its cultural accumulation is not thick, and the cultural connotation is not rich. Secondly, the unearthed relics' age is older than the Western Zhou dynasty, which does not match the Danyang era. Thirdly, the excavated remains' cultural features are of strong Bashu culture characteristics rather than Chu cultural nature (as shown in Fig. 3). The fourth point is that this site's geographical situation is complex and sinister, with many high mountains and few flat grounds. It is located in the Xiling Gorge, making it inconvenient for transportation and highly unsuitable for farming because of the lack of a broader and more flat base for activities. Therefore, there are no conditions for Chu people to conduct activities or build capital. Finally, the site is located in the marginal area where the remains of the early Chu Culture (Juzhang river basin in Western Hubei) are currently found.

### ***Discussion***

From the perspective of literature materials, both the “Dangtu hypothesis” and “Zigui hypothesis” mentioned above have the defect that the literature proofs existed is relatively late. *Yi du ji* was written by Yuan Song 袁崧 (?-401 CE) in the late Eastern Jin dynasty, and *Shui jing zhu* was written by Li Daoyuan 郦道元 (466/472-527 CE) in the late Northern Wei dynasty. The writing of these documents was a thousand years later than when Chu settled its capital in Danyang, which cannot satisfy the fourth principle proposed by Barry B. Blakeley.<sup>125</sup>

From the perspective of historical geography, the clues come from the record of “Jingshan 荆山” in *Zuo zhuan* 左传 (*Mr. Zuo's Commentary to the Springs and Autumns*). It recorded the talk that Chu Youyin 右尹 (a kind of official position, relatively smaller than prime minister) Zige 子革 spoke to King Ling of Chu 楚灵王 in memory of the early life of the Chu people in the early Western Zhou dynasty:

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<sup>124</sup> Since the judgment of early Chu cultural remains is still controversial, we cannot agree with this last point.

<sup>125</sup> Blakeley, Barry B. “In search of Danyang I: Historical geography and archaeological sites.” *Early China* (1988): 118.

昔我先王熊绎，辟在荆山，篳路蓝缕，以处草莽，跋涉山林，以事天子。  
唯是桃弧棘矢，以共禦（御）王事。

In the past, our first king Xiong Yi lived in the remote area of Jingshan with a hard life and was not given any official position. He travelled through mountains and forests to serve the King of Zhou at that time. Only the bow made of peach wood and the arrow made of jujube wood can be used for royal affairs.

Based on this document, the specific location of Jingshan has been fascinatedly discussed by the later generations, derived of many different opinions instead of reaching a consensus.<sup>126</sup> According to many scholars, there are as many as five “Jingshan” that may be related to the Chu, which is distributed in Shaanxi, Hubei, Henan and even Anhui.<sup>127</sup>

We believe that since the specific location of Jingshan cannot be determined, and it is still unclear whether the Jingshan place name is consistent in ancient and modern times, so it can only be used as indirect geographical evidence.

In addition, it should also be considered that this area is under the ruling of Yong 庸 (state), a relatively large country here, in the Western Zhou dynasty. In the late Western Zhou period, Kui 夔 (state) separated from Chu used to exist in this area for more than two hundred years until Chu destroyed it in the 39th year of King Cheng of

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<sup>126</sup> The discussions on the location of Jingshan, refer to the following articles: Yichang bowuguan 宜昌博物馆, et al. “‘Chu zi she ju’ chu ying zai Dangyang fujin de Ju he-gu Ju Zhang he bu keneng zai Man he liuyu” “楚子涉沮”处应在当阳附近的沮河-古沮漳河不可能在蛮河流域 (The Place Where “The King of Chu Waded across the Ju” Should Be the Ju river near Dangyang-The Ancient Juzhang river Could Not Have Been in the Man river Drainage) (PartI,II). *Hunan sheng bowuguan guankan 湖南省博物馆馆刊* vol. 10 (2013): 158-166; vol. 11 (2014): 283-289. Zhang Changping 张昌平. “Zaoqi Chu wenhua zhi jiantao” 早期楚文化探索之检讨 (A Review of Early Chu Cultural Exploration). *Zhonghua wenhua luntan 中华文化论坛* 4 (1996): 52-54.

<sup>127</sup> Shi Quan 石泉. “Chu du Danyang ji gu Jingshan zai Dan, Xi fujin buzheng” 楚都丹阳及古荆山在丹、淅附近补证 (Supplementary Evidence that Danyang, Capital of Chu and Ancient mountain Jing are Located Near Dan river and Xi river). *Jiangnan luntan 江汉论坛* 12 (1985): 73-78.

Chu 楚成王 (634 BCE).<sup>128</sup> This area cannot be both Kui and Chu in the same period. From the perspective of archaeological materials, the Chuwangcheng site mentioned above was proved to be relatively late, which did not match the era Danyang belonged to after excavations and investigations. The unearthed remains in Lianyushan site cultural features are relatively early and even earlier than the Western Zhou period. What's more, the excavations and investigations of other sites show that it should be after the early Spring and Autumn period when Chu culture dominated in the Three Gorges area, which is also inconsistent with the time concept that the capital of Chu should be in the early days.

### 2.1.3 Zhijiang hypothesis

#### *Literature materials*

The first objection to the “Dangtu hypothesis” was proposed by Ying Rong 颖容 in the late Eastern Han dynasty. He described in *Chunqiu san shili* 春秋三释例: “The capital of Chu is now in the ancient town of Zhijiang county 枝江县”, placing the location of Danyang in Zhijiang county along the banks of the Yangtze River in southwest Hubei.

Du Yu 杜预 in Western Jin dynasty also agrees with such opinion. He described in *Chunqiu shili* 春秋释例: “King Cheng of Zhou had authorized the great-grandson Xiong Xi officer position in Chu, and given Danyang as Xiong Yi's residence, which is now in Zhijiang county, Nanjun”.

In *Shi ben*, the chapter “Ju” 居 (*Residence*), described “Yu Xiong of Chu lived in Danyang until King Wu of Chu moved the capital to Ying”. Song Zhong 宋衷 in the Eastern Han dynasty commented this sentence: “Danyang is located in Zhijiang

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<sup>128</sup> Sun Zhong'en 孙重恩, and Huang Yunfu 黄运甫. “Chu shi du Danyang kao bian” 楚始都丹阳考辨 (Textual Research on Danyang, the First Capital of Chu). *Zhengzhou daxue xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 郑州大学学报(社会科学版) 4 (1980): 80-89.

Yu Weichao 俞伟超. “Guanyu Chu wenhua fazhan de xin tansuo” 关于楚文化发展的新探索 (New Exploration on the Development of Chu Culture). *Jiangnan kaogu* 江汉考古 1 (1980): 17-30.

county, Nanjun 南郡.”

Zhang Shoujie 张守节 in Tang dynasty had quoted Ying Rong’s opinion in his book *Shiji Zhengyi* 史记正义. Kong Yingda 孔颖达, another scholar in the Tang dynasty, also commented on “*Huangong shi’er nian*” 桓公十二年 (*the Twelfth Year of Huan Gong*) of *Zuo zhuan*: “Danyang is in Zhijiang county, Nanjun.”

Later, Xu Guang 徐广 in the early Liu Song dynasty succeeding Eastern Jin in the 5th century also followed this view in *Ji jie* 集解.

In the Western Jin dynasty, Sima Biao 司马彪 had commented “Zhijiang county 枝江县” of Nanjun 南郡 of Jingzhou 荆州 in *Hou han shu* 后汉书: “Zhijiang feudal state is naturally a state of Luo 罗. Danyang ju 丹阳聚 is located in this place.” His description showed that “Danyang ju” was actually in Zhijiang’s territory.

After the Han and Jin dynasties, “Zhijiang hypothesis” was gradually popular among the academic world.

### ***Historical geography***

Huang Shengzhang and Niu Zhongxun inspected from the location of Jingshan and Ying, and they hold the view that “Zhijiang hypothesis” is more in line with the facts. They believe that Chu is initially located in the remote Jingshan in the Western Zhou period, namely the mountains of Nanzhang 南漳, and of the south and southwest region of Baokang 保康, which is also the origin of Jushui 沮水 (Ju river) and Zhangshui 漳水 (Zhang river). It is still called Jingshan at present. After the Zhou dynasty unified the whole country, King Cheng of Zhou authorized Xiong Yi officer positions in the Chu area with residence in Danyang.

According to the author’s field investigation at the Jijiahu 季家湖 site in 1978, it is preliminarily inferred that Danyang, the capital of Chu, should be here. It is located between Jingshan and Ying (Jinan city). Chu developed downstream along with the upstream of Ju river and Zhang river, passed through this city and finally reached Ying of Jiangling. They believe that Chu not only originated in the Juzhang river basin, but also mainly developed along the Ju river and Zhang river in the early period.

Notably, its political center did not leave this area for a short term.<sup>129</sup>

Gao Yingqin and Cheng Yaoting also hold a similar view. They believe that the Chu people originated at the foot of Jingshan (Jing mountain), went south to Yuan'an 远安 area, and then developed eastward along the fertile Ju river banks and Zhang river banks. It is of great possibility that Chu settled its capital in today's Zhijiang and Dangyang 当阳. After passing through this area, the capital was moved to Ying of Jiangling due to a gradually stronger nation's territorial expansion need.<sup>130</sup>

Besides, based on the historical facts of the "Anzhou six wares 安州六器" unearthed in Anlu 安陆 during the Song dynasty, Zong Desheng inferred that the south conquering route of King Cheng of Zhou was from Zeng 曾 (now near Biyang 泌阳, Henan) to Fang 方 (now Peng 彭, Nanhe 南河, a tributary of Han river), then passed through Lurong 庐戎 State (now Nanzhang 南漳, Hubei) and Yanshui 鄢水 river (now Man river 蛮河, a tributary of Hanshui river), and finally reached Kui 夔 (now Zigui 秭归). He believes that the initial capital of Chu must be located in Zhijiang if the conquering route of King Cheng of Zhou reaches as far as Kui.<sup>131</sup>

### *Archaeological materials*

From the late 1970s to the early 1980s, the series of archaeological discoveries in Dangyang of Jijiahu 季家湖 ancient city, the site of the late Western Zhou period at Mopanshan 磨盘山, and the tombs of Chu from the late Western Zhou period to the Eastern Zhou period at Zhaojiahu 赵家湖 made "Zhijiang hypothesis" once extremely popular among scholars. Both Jijiahu ancient city and the site of the late Western Zhou period at Mopanshan were speculated to be the capital of the Chu Dangyang. After that, the bronze bianzhong 编钟 (a kind of bell) unearthed at the Wanfunao 万

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<sup>129</sup> Huang Shengzhang 黄盛璋, and Niu Zhongxun 钮仲勋. "Chu de qiyuan he jiangyu fazhan" 楚的起源和疆域发展 (Chu's Origin and Territory Development). *Dili zhishi 地理知识* 1 (1979): 11.

<sup>130</sup> Gao Yingqin 高应勤, and Cheng Yaoting 程耀庭. "Tan Danyang" 谈丹阳 (Talk about Danyang). *Jiangnan kaogu 江汉考古* 2 (1980): 23-26.

<sup>131</sup> Zong Desheng 宗德生. "Chu Xiong Yi suo ju Danyang ying zai zhijiang shuo" 楚熊绎所居丹阳应在枝江说 (Danyang, where Chu Xiong Yi once lived, should be in Zhijiang). *Jiangnan kaogu 江汉考古* 2 (1980): 27-30.

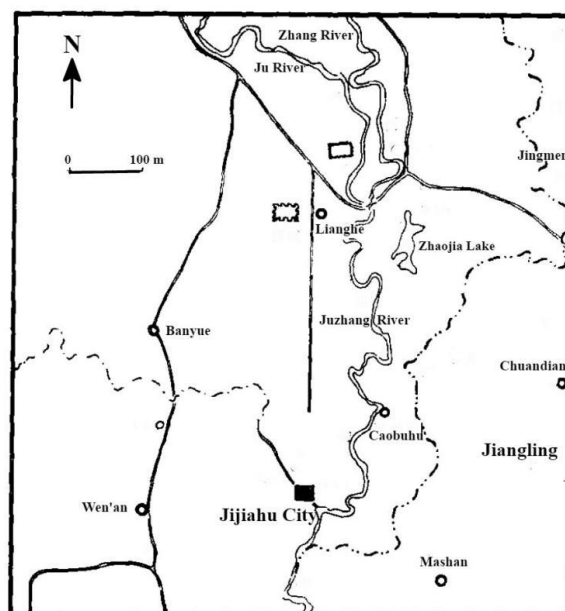


福培 site in Yichang 宜昌 in recent years are considered to be the new proof to prove that Danyang is located in Zhijiang.

#### *Jijiahu city site*

Some scholars who hold the view of “Zhijiang hypothesis” identified Jijiahu city in Dangyang county as Danyang to confirm their hypothesis after conducting historical geography research.<sup>132</sup>

The Jijiahu city site is located in the south of Jijiahu village, Caobuhu 草埠湖 town, Dangyang city, Hubei province (as shown in Fig. 4). In 1973, farmers excavated some important bronze wares on the west bank of Jijiahu Lake. In 1979, the Hubei Provincial Museum and the Yichang Cultural Relics Team investigated and carried out a trial excavation. The city walls and moats were found at Jiukouyan 九口堰 in the south of the city site. The building foundation of large houses was found at Yangjiashanzi 杨家山子 and Jijiapo 季家坡, and pieces of pottery and tile were unearthed in a considerable range.



**Fig. 4 Geographical location of Jijiahu city site<sup>133</sup>**

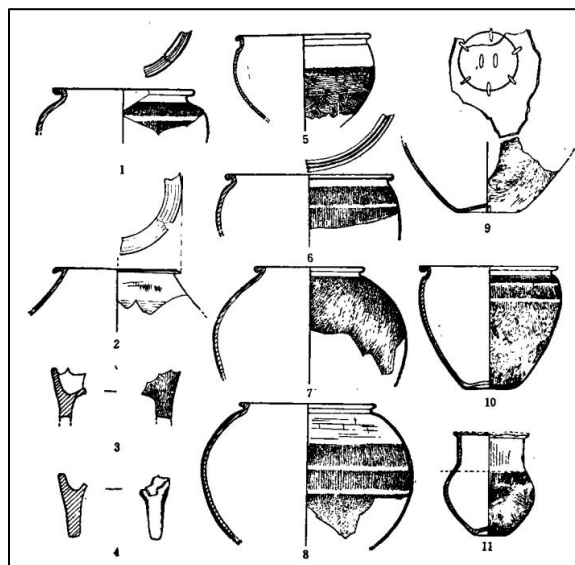
<sup>132</sup> See: Huang Shengzhang 黄盛璋, and Niu Zhongxun 钮仲勋. “Chu de qiyuan he jiangyu fazhan” 楚的起源和疆域发展 (Chu’s Origin and Territory Development). *Dili zhishi 地理知识* 1 (1979): 11. Gao Yingqin 高应勤, and Cheng Yaoting 程耀庭. “Tan Danyang” 谈丹阳 (Talk about Danyang). *Jiangnan kaogu 江汉考古* 2 (1980): 23-26.

<sup>133</sup> Modify based on: Gao Yingqin 高应勤. “Chunqiu Chu Ying yu Jijia hu gucheng” 春秋楚郢与季家

The city site is about 1600 meters long from north to south and 1400 meters wide from east to west, with more than 2.8 square kilometers. The city wall was built on flat ground with a width of 13.4 meters at the bottom, slopes at both sides and a residual height of 1.4 meters in the middle. It is rammed with cohesive soil.

Tombs of different sizes of Chu period are densely distributed around the city site. For example, more than ten kilometers north of the city site, there is the Zhaojiahu Tomb (Group). In the east, on the east bank of the Juzhang river, there is the Balingshan Tomb (Group). Besides, several kilometers to the west, there is Qingshan Tomb (Group). These tombs are obviously related to the Chu city of Jijiahu.

However, based on the analysis of the connotation and age of the cultural remains (as shown in Fig.5) inside and outside the Jijiahu ancient city, the age of the city site is the Eastern Zhou dynasty. The walls in the Western Zhou period have not been found yet. Most of the unearthed remains belong to the Warring States period, only a few of which can be as early as the Spring and Autumn period.



**Fig. 5 Pottery unearthed from Jijiahu city site<sup>134</sup>**

1-2 *li* 3-4 *li* (feet) 5-8 *fu* 9. *zeng* 10-11 *guan*

湖古城 (The Ying of Chu in the Spring and Autumn Period and Ancient Jijiahu City). *Huazhong Jianshu 华中建筑* 1 (1992): 64-65.

<sup>134</sup> Source: Yang Quanxi 杨权喜. "Dangyang Jijia hu Chu cheng yizhi" 当阳季家湖楚城遗址 (Chu City Site in Jijiahu, Dangyang). *Wenwu 文物* 10 (1980): 35.

This is especially true for the tomb materials found nearby. The two tombs cleaned up in the north of the rammed earth Foundation No.1 (the place where the bronze components and the “Qin wang bei ming” 秦王卑命 bronze bell were unearthed). From the perspective of the combination and shape of the components as well as the pattern, which showed that the burial time of Tomb M1 is about before the middle of the Warring States period, while the burial time of Tomb M2 is in the middle or late Warring States period.

Therefore, the upper time limit of Jijiahu city will not be earlier than the late Spring and Autumn period. Because it is inconsistent with the time when the Chu people lived in Danyang, it could not be Danyang that was first awarded to Chu. We believe that it is more likely to be one of the Capital Ying 郢 of Chu in the Eastern Zhou period. Further research of this city site will be presented in the next chapter of this paper.

### *Mopanshan site*

Given this, some scholars have put forward new opinions based on discovering the Mopanshan site that is 15 *Huali* north of the Jijiahu city site. They believe that the Mopanshan site may be the Danyang area we are discussing.<sup>135</sup>

However, according to the existing excavated materials,<sup>136</sup> the upper time limit of cultural remains can only be reached in the late Western Zhou period at the earliest, which is comparable to or slightly earlier than the Zhaojiahu tombs that were cleaned up nearby in the 1970s.<sup>137</sup> This is a great time deviation from the era of Danyang. In addition, from other comprehensive study directions such as location, scale, and

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<sup>135</sup> Gao Yingqin 高应勤. “Zai tan Danyang” 再谈丹阳 (Exploration of Danyang). In *Chu shi yanjiu zhuanji* 楚史研究专辑 (*Collection of Essays on Chu History*), ed. Hubei sheng Chu shi yanjiu hui 湖北省楚史研究会 (Chu History Research Association in Hubei province). Wuhan: Wuhan shifan xueyuan 武汉: 武汉师范学院 (1985): 60-64.

<sup>136</sup> Yichang diqu bowuguan 宜昌地区博物馆. “Dangyang Mopanshan Xi Zhou yizhi shijue jianbao 当阳磨盘山西周遗址试掘简报 (Preliminary Report on the Trial Excavation of the Western Zhou site in Mopanshan, Dangyang). *Jiangnan kaogu* 江汉考古 2 (1984): 7-12, 28.

<sup>137</sup> He Linyi 何琳仪. “Chu du Danyang diwang xinzheng” 楚都丹阳地望新证 (New Proof of the Location of Danyang, the Capital of Chu). *Wenshi* 文史 2 (2004): 11-18.

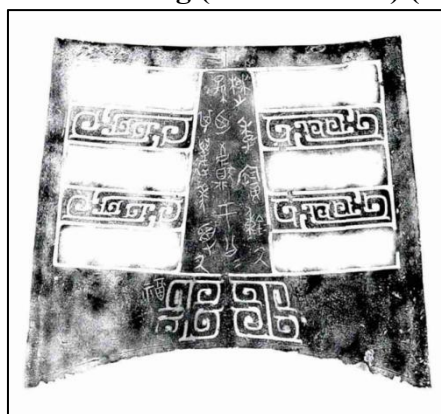
nature, it has no relation with Chu's initial capital in the early times.

### *Wanfunao site*

In June 2012, due to engineering construction, twelve bronze *bianzhong* 编钟 (bronze bell) and one bronze *ding* 鼎 (tripod) (TN03E20: 13, as shown in Fig.6) were unearthed under the rescue excavations at Yichang Wanfunao site in Zhijiang. Among these relics, one bronze bell (TN03E20: 1) was carved “楚季宝钟，厥孙乃献于公，公其万年受厥福” (The grandson hereby presented the precious bell, Chu Ji Bao Zhong, to Chu Gong. May you be blessed for thousands of years!) on the Zheng 钲 part of the bell (as shown in Fig.7), aroused widespread attention in the Chu academic world.



**Fig. 6 Bronze ding (TN03E20: 13) (1/8) <sup>138</sup>**



**Fig. 7 The inscription on the bronze bell (TN03E20: 1) <sup>139</sup>**

<sup>138</sup> Source: Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiu suo 湖北省文物考古研究所, et al. “Hubei Yichang Wanfunao yizhi fajue jianbao” 湖北宜昌万福垆遗址发掘简报 (A Preliminary Excavation Report on Wanfunao Site, Yichang, Hubei). *Jiangnan kaogu* 江汉考古 4 (2016): 32.

<sup>139</sup> Source: same as above.

This is the first time that Western Zhou bronzes with the inscription “Chu 楚” have been unearthed in the central area of the early Chu culture, which is believed to fill the vacancy in the studies of early Chu culture.<sup>140</sup> What’s more, the excavation of the royal wares of Chu in the Western Zhou period in Zhijiang is considered to provide very favorable proof for the “Zhijiang hypothesis” of the Chu’s capital, Danyang.<sup>141</sup> However, because the construction of the engineering infrastructure has destroyed the burial environment, there are no more details about this batch of bronzes’ excavation side, making the burial time and reasons unable to identify. Whether there are relations between bronzes and the site is still lack of adequate evidence.<sup>142</sup> Nevertheless, scholars have discussed the age of this batch of bronzes, especially focusing on the analysis of the casting, inscribing, using and burial age of the “Chu Ji Bao Zhong” among them.

Principal opinion believes that the casting age of “Chu Ji Bao Zhong” is in the middle period of the Western dynasty.<sup>143</sup> The inscribing time of this bronze bell is different from its casting time, which could be inscribed after it was cast and used for some time. The time of its signing is approximately in the late period of the mid-term of the Western Zhou dynasty 西周中期晚段 to the early period of the end-term of the Western Zhou dynasty 西周晚期早段.<sup>144</sup> However, some scholars believe that the casting date of the bell can be as early as the late period of the early-term of the

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<sup>140</sup> Yichang bowuguan 宜昌博物馆. “Yichang Wanfunao bianzhong chutu ji yizhi chubu kantan” 宜昌万福埡编钟出土及遗址初步勘探 (The Chime Bells Unearthed from Wanfunao site in Yichang and the Initial Exploration of the site). *Zhongguo wenwu bao* 中国文物报 008 (2012-09-28).

<sup>141</sup> Guo Dewei 郭德维. “Chu ji bao zhong zhi wo jian” 楚季宝钟之我见 (Some Thoughts on the Chu Ji Bao Bell). *Jiangnan luntan* 江汉论坛 11 (2012): 117-119.

<sup>142</sup> Da Haobo 笄浩波. “Chu ji bao zhong yu Yichang wanfunao yizhi ” 楚季宝钟与宜昌万福埡遗址 (The Chu Ji Bao Bell and the Wanfunao site in Yichang). *Kaogu xue jikan* 考古学集刊 vol. 22 (2019): 115-137.

<sup>143</sup> Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiu suo 湖北省文物考古研究所, et al. “Hubei Yichang Wanfunao yizhi fajue jianbao” 湖北宜昌万福埡遗址发掘简报 (A Preliminary Excavation Report on Wanfunao site, Yichang, Hubei). *Jiangnan kaogu* 江汉考古 4 (2016): 11-35.

<sup>144</sup> Huang Wenxi 黄文新, and Zhao Fangchao 赵方超. “Hubei Yichang Wanfunao yizhi chutu yongzhong niandai ji xiangguan wenti yanjiu” 湖北宜昌万福埡遗址出土甬钟年代及相关问题研究 (A Study on the Yong Bell Unearthed from Wanfunao site, Yichang, Hubei). *Jiangnan Kaogu* 江汉考古 4 (2016): 64-70.

Western Zhou dynasty 西周早期晚段.<sup>145</sup>

In 2013, the Hubei Provincial Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology, the Department of Archaeology of Wuhan University, and the Yichang Museum formed a joint archaeological team to investigate and excavate the Wanfunao site in Yichang. In 2015, this joint archaeological team officially excavated the site. A large number of potteries, a small number of bronzes and stone artifacts were unearthed.

After these two excavations, the excavators believe that the age of the remains and relics of the Wanfunao site can be divided into three phases: the late Western Zhou dynasty; the early Spring and Autumn period, and the middle Spring and Autumn period. The casting age of the burial bronzes and their time of being popular is generally early, not the same period as the site.<sup>146</sup>

In this regard, some scholars have put forward different opinions. Liu Binhui believes that the entire site's age should belong to the Western Zhou period and can be divided into three phases: early phase, middle phase, and late phase. The earliest age of the relics can be traced to the late period of the early Western Zhou dynasty, which is the earliest cultural site of Chu. The using age of bronze bells continued from the late period of the early Western Zhou dynasty to the early period of the late Western Zhou dynasty, which is at the same time as the Wanfunao site.<sup>147</sup>

Da Haobo firstly conducted a typological analysis of the pottery wares unearthed at the Wanfunao site. He suggests that the site's cultural remains could be divided into four phases and five stages, which were five successive developing stages from the late stage of the early Western Zhou dynasty to the early stage of the late Western

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<sup>145</sup> Liu Binhui 刘彬徽. "Lun Wanfunao chu yizhi ji qi chutu Chu ji bian yongzhong de niandai yu xiangguan wenti" 论万福垆楚遗址及其出土楚季编甬钟的年代与相关问题 (On the Chu Ruins at Wanfunao and the Date and Related Issues of the Unearthed Chu-style Chime Bells). *Hunan sheng bowuguan guankan* 湖南省博物馆馆刊 vol. 13 (2017): 234-241.

<sup>146</sup> Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiu suo 湖北省文物考古研究所, et al. "Hubei Yichang Wanfunao yizhi fajue jianbao" 湖北宜昌万福垆遗址发掘简报 (A Preliminary Excavation Report on Wanfunao site, Yichang, Hubei). *Jiangnan kaogu* 江汉考古 4 (2016): 11-35.

<sup>147</sup> Liu Binhui 刘彬徽. "Lun Wanfunao chu yizhi ji qi chutu Chu ji bian yongzhong de niandai yu xiangguan wenti" 论万福垆楚遗址及其出土楚季编甬钟的年代与相关问题 (On the Chu Ruins at Wanfunao and the Date and Related Issues of the Unearthed Chu-style Chime Bells). *Hunan sheng bowuguan guankan* 湖南省博物馆馆刊 vol. 13 (2017): 234-241.

Zhou dynasty.

Secondly, he made a detailed comparison with the nearby cultures of the same period. He speculated that this site belongs to a regional cultural type of the Zhou cultural system.

Thirdly, he analyzed the date of Chu Ji Bao Bell's casting and that of the engraving of its inscription and speculated that the bell was cast in the late stage of the mid-Western Zhou dynasty. Its inscription was engraved in the early stage of the late Western Zhou dynasty.

Finally, he speculated on the buried background of the bronze assemblage. He believed that these bronze wares were buried for a sacrifice offered to Xiong Yang 熊扬, the lord of the Chu state. The sacrifice was officiated by Xiong Zhi 熊挚, the ruler of the Wanfunao site.<sup>148</sup>

### ***Discussion***

From the perspective of literature materials, the earliest literature that regards this place as the location of Danyang is in the Eastern Han dynasty. However, the basis for this concept is still unknown, making it unable to meet the fourth principle proposed by Blakeley, namely: Neither can one assume that a place name that can be traced back to relatively early times (i.e., the Han) existed at the time of the Shang/Zhou transition (the era at issue here).<sup>149</sup>

From the perspective of historical geography, the proof is also insufficient. Xiong Yi lived in the remote Jingshan 荆山. Scholars who supported the “Zhijiang hypothesis” and “Zigui hypothesis” all believe that Jingshan in ancient time is in the south. However, to be in line with the historical facts that Danyang of Chu is tightly close to Jingshan, they also agree that the ancient Jingshan is the mountains in Nanzhang, South Baokang and the southwest areas, namely the vast Jingshan. Consequently,

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<sup>148</sup> Da Haobo 笪浩波. “Chu ji bao zhong yu Yichang wanfunao yizhi ” 楚季宝钟与宜昌万福埡遗址 (The Chu Ji Bao Bell and the Wanfunao site in Yichang). *Kaogu xue jikan* 考古学集刊 vol. 22 (2019): 115-137.

<sup>149</sup> Blakeley, Barry B. “In search of Danyang I: Historical geography and archaeological sites.” *Early China* (1988): 118.

whether it is the “Danyang” of Zigui in the Xiling Gorge or the “Danyang” of the Zhijiang in downstream of Ju river and Zhang river, both of them belong to the scope of Jingshan. Also, scholars who support the “Danxi hypothesis” also point out that Jingshan exists in upstream of Dan river and its downstream Xichuan area.<sup>150</sup>

This makes it reasonable and necessary to consider the feasibility and accuracy of using “Jingshan” as a clue to confirm the location of Danyang. Place name, although sometimes surprisingly stable, are also frequently susceptible to change over time. What’s more, we have no assurance that a particular appellation was applied to only one place.<sup>151</sup> There is a possibility that place names are the same in many different places. Given this, we believe that Jingshan can only be used as indirect geographic evidence for finding the location of Danyang.

In addition to this, there is no record of Danshan 丹山 and Danshui 丹水 in this area from the ancient historical literature. Consequently, it lacks the geographical entity from which Danyang is named. The landforms with the name of “Dan” are unable to be pointed out either. What’s more, the Zhijiang county mentioned by Ying Rong and Xu Guang has been proved to be a northerner place (now south of Yicheng). Zhijiang in the Yangtze River area is still the later place with the same name.<sup>152</sup>

From the perspective of archaeological materials, there are not enough such materials to prove it. After the previous introduction, it can be clearly realized that there may be great differences between the Mopanshan site or the Jijiahu site in Dangyang that are recognized as the possible location of Danyang and the actual period (time) of Danyang in history. The age identification of the newly discovered Wanfunao site in Yichang and its unearthed bronze bells also exists many disputations.

Since the 1970s, in combination with the history and culture research of Chu, archaeologists have carried out a series of archaeological investigations and excavations in the current Ju river basin in order to find the actual location of

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<sup>150</sup> Shi Quan 石泉. “Chu du Danyang ji gu Jingshan zai Dan, Xi fujin buzheng” 楚都丹阳及古荆山在丹、浙附近补证 (Supplementary Evidence that Danyang, Capital of Chu and Ancient Mountain Jing are Located Near Dan River and Xi River). *Jiangnan luntan* 江汉论坛 12 (1985): 73-78.

<sup>151</sup> Blakeley, Barry B. “In search of Danyang” *Early China* (1988): 118.

<sup>152</sup> Blakeley, Barry B. “In search of Danyang ” *Early China* (1988): 125.



Danyang, and obtained some archaeological materials.

However, in the current environment, all the remains and relics of the Western Zhou dynasty and Eastern Zhou dynasty discovered in today's Zhijiang and Dangyang is later than the late period of the Western Zhou dynasty. The cultural relics in the early and mid-term of the Western Zhou dynasty are scarce, the vacancy of which has not been filled yet by archaeological investigations and excavations over the years.<sup>153</sup> There is no access to understand the cultural features in the early and middle Western Zhou dynasty. It is exactly what the hypothesis that "The capital of Chu, Danyang, is in Zhijiang" cannot be explained.

#### **2.1.4 Danxi hypothesis**

This hypothesis holds that Danyang, the capital of Chu, is located in Xichuan 淅川 county in southwest Henan province today, on the north bank of Dan river 丹水 where Dan river meets Xi river 淅水 (also known as Jun river 均水). This area is at the junction of the three provinces of Shaanxi, Henan and Hubei today.

#### ***Literature materials***

##### *Handed down documents*

The earliest record can be found in *Suo yin* 索隐 by Sima Zhen 司马贞 in the early Tang dynasty. He commented on the Danyang battle between Qin and Chu (312 BCE) during the Warring States period recorded in *Shi ji*. He believed that Danyang is located in Danxi 丹淅 and this Danyang area is where the initial capital of Chu locates. As shown below:

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<sup>153</sup> Zhang Changping 张昌平. "Zaoqi Chu wenhua zhi jiantao" 早期楚文化探索之检讨 (A Review of Early Chu Cultural Exploration). *Zhonghua wenhua luntan* 中华文化论坛 4 (1996): 52-54.

《史记》卷四五《韩世家》：

(宣惠王)二十一年，与秦共攻楚，败楚将屈丐，斩首八万于丹阳。

注：《索隐》：故楚都，在今均州。

*Shi ji*, volume 45, *Han aristocratic family*:

Twenty-one years of King Xuanhui, together with the Qin, we attacked Chu, defeated Chu general, Qugai, 80,000 people were beheaded in Danyang.

Note: *Suo Yin*: So Chu capital is in today's Junzhou.<sup>154</sup>

《史记》卷八四《屈原贾生列传》：

怀王怒，大兴师伐秦。秦发兵击之，大破楚师于丹、淅，斩首八万，虏楚将屈白，遂取楚之汉中地。怀王乃悉发国中兵以深入击秦，战于蓝田。

注：《索隐》：二水名。谓于丹水之北，淅水之南。丹水、淅水皆县名，在弘农，所谓丹阳、淅。

*Shi ji*, volume 84, *Collected biographies of Qu Yuan and Jia Sheng*:

King Huai of Chu angrily attacked Qin on a large scale. Qin raised an army to defeat Chu army in Dan river and Xi river. As a result, 80,000 people of Chu was decapitated, and the Chu general Qu Gai was captured. Qin took Hanzhong. King Huai of Chu has informed the fact, so he sent soldiers in the country to fight Qin in-depth and fight in Lantian.

Note: *Suo Yin*: Dan and Xi are the names of two rivers. It is said to be in the north of Dan river, the south of Xi river. Dan and Xi are both county names in Hongnong, the so-called Danyang and Xi.

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<sup>154</sup> In the early years of the Tang dynasty, the place where Dan river and Xi river meet belonged to Junzhou.

Based on the critical thinking of “Zigui hypothesis” and “Dangtu hypothesis”, Song Xiangfeng in the Qing dynasty held the view in his book, *Guo ting lu* 过庭录, volume 9, “Chu Yu Xiong ju Danyang xi Ying kao” 楚鬻熊居丹阳武王徙郢考 (Research on Yu Xiong of Chu’s Living in Danyang and King Wu of Chu’s Moving the Capital to Ying), that Danyang is located in the border of Danxi 丹淅 area: “Danyang in the Warring States period is located in the east of Shangzhou 商州 and the west of Nanyang 南阳, where Dan river and Xi river met and flowed into Han river, for which can be named Danxi. The fiefdom of Yu Xiong is exactly at this place.” He also further explained in combination with *Zuo zhuan* 左传 (*Mr. Zuo’s Commentary to the Springs and Autumns*): “Yu Xiong was firstly given the yang 阳 area of Dan river as the fiefdom, and then Xiong Yi started to move residence to the foot of Jingshan.”

Song Xiangfeng believed that “Danyang” recorded in the battle between Qin and Chu during the Warring States period was located in Danxi area, because this place was still called Danyang, for which he reversely inferred that Danyang, the residence of Yu Xiong in the late Shang dynasty and the early Western Zhou dynasty, should also be here.

In addition to the above two pieces of literature, the records of the Danyang battle between Qin and Chu in *Shi ji* also appeared in:

《史记》卷四〇《楚世家》：

十七年春（楚怀王），与秦战丹阳，秦大败我军，斩甲士八万，虏我大将军屈匄，裨将军逢侯丑等七十余人，遂取汉中之郡。<sup>155</sup>

*Shi ji*, volume 40, *Chu aristocratic family*

In the spring of the 17th year of King Huai of Chu, Qin defeated Chu’s army in the battle of Danyang. Qin killed 80,000 soldiers of Chu and captured more than 70 people, including our general Qu Gai and deputy general Feng Houchou. Hence, Qin took the counties of Hanzhong.

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<sup>155</sup> Si Maqian 司马迁. *Shi ji* 史记 (*Records of the Grand Historian*). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 北京: 中华书局 (1982): 1724.

《史记》卷五《秦本纪》：

十三年，庶长章击楚于丹阳，虏其将屈匄，斩首八万。又攻楚汉中，取地六百里，置汉中郡。<sup>156</sup>

*Shi ji*, volume 5, *Biographic sketches of Qin*:

Thirteen years of Qin, Shu Zhang (One of Qin's official positions) Weizhang attacked Chu in Danyang, slaughtering their general Qu Gai and beheading 80,000 people. He also attacked Hanzhong of Chu, took 600 li's land and set up Hanzhong county.

The above four materials have recorded the same thing of Qin defeated Chu. For the place where Qin and Chu battled, three materials used "Danyang" and the other used "Danxi" without any explanation. Therefore, some scholars believe that they should be in the same place without any doubt.<sup>157</sup>

Danyang battle between Qin and Chu during the Warring States period was launched angrily by King Huai of Chu when he found that he was deceived by Zhangyi 张仪, the purpose of which is to take up the six hundred *li* 里 of Shangyu land 商於之地 where Qin promised to give. Shangyu land, located in the old city of Xichuan county in Henan and its northwest area, was controlled by the Qin dynasty. The war was fought on the border between Qin and Chu, which is in the Dan river's lower reaches. Therefore, it is reasonable to believe that "Danyang" in the Warring States period is located in the lower reaches of the Dan river. Some scholars even identified the Jigang 吉岗 Tomb of Chu in Xichuan as the tomb of the fallen sergeants of Chu during the Danyang battle between Qin and Chu.<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>156</sup> Si Maqian 司马迁. *Shi ji* (1982): 207.

<sup>157</sup> Liu Xinfang 刘信芳. "Chu du Danyang diwang tansuo" 楚都丹阳地望探索 (Exploration of Danyang, the Capital of Chu). *Jiangnan kaogu* 江汉考古 1 (1988): 62-68, 82.

<sup>158</sup> Hu Yongqing 胡永庆. "Qin Chu Danyang dazhan yu Xichuan Jigang Chu mu" 秦楚丹阳大战与浙川吉岗楚墓 (The Battle between Qin and Chu in Danyang and The Tomb of Chu in Jigang, Xichuan). *Zhongyuan wenwu* 中原文物 4 (2003): 51-54.

It provides the most substantial evidence that the current place name (Danyang) can be traced as early as before the Han dynasty. It is of the highest relative possibilities for an older Danyang (in the Shang and Zhou dynasties).

Because the evidence of the place name of ancient Danyang that Song Xiangfeng has based on are persuasive, he gradually gained support from many scholars.<sup>159</sup> In addition, sinologist like Barry B. Blakeley<sup>160</sup>, Rowan Flad<sup>161</sup>, Heather A. Peters<sup>162</sup> and others are also optimistic about this statement.

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<sup>159</sup> The *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji* 中国历史地图集 (*Historical Atlas of China*) compiled by Gu Jiegang 顾颉刚 marked the Danyang of Chu in the Western Zhou dynasty in the lower reaches of Dan river, and pointed out using words that Danyang in the Western Zhou dynasty was in today's Xichuan, Henan province. In addition, the following scholars' articles are available for reference: Feng Yongxuan 冯永轩. "Shuo Chu du" 说楚都 (Capital Cities of Chu). *Jiangnan kaogu* 江汉考古 2 (1980):13-21. Ma Shizhi 马世之. "Chu du Danyang diwang tan lun" 楚都丹阳地望探论 (Exploration of Danyang, the Capital of Chu). *Zhongzhou xuekan* 中州学刊 1 (1991): 110-117, 123. Pei Mingxiang 裴明相. "Chu du Danyang shi tan" 楚都丹阳试探 "Exploring Danyang, the Capital of Chu". *Wenwu* 文物 10 (1980): 72-75. Luo Taoxiang 罗桃香. "Shi lun Chu 'ju Danyang' wenti" 试论楚"居丹阳"问题 (Discussing Chu's 'Residence in Danyang'). *Zhongyuanwenwu* 中原文物 2 (1992): 16-21. Wang Jianzhong 王建中. "Chu chu du Danyang xingshuai kao" 楚初都丹阳兴衰考 (Study of the Rise and Fall of Danyang, the Capital of Chu). In *Chu wenhua yanjiu lunji* 楚文化研究论集 (第三集) (*Collection of Studies on Chu Culture*) (vol. 3), ed. Chu wenhua yanjiu hui 楚文化研究会 (Chu Culture Research Association). Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe 武汉: 湖北人民出版社 (1994): 74-91. Duan Yu 段渝. "Xi Zhou shidai Chu guo jiangyu de jige wenti" 西周时代楚国疆域的几个问题 (Several Issues on the Territory of Chu State in the Western Zhou dynasty). *Zhongguoshi yanjiu* 中国史研究 4 (1997): 24-33. Zhang Shuo 张硕, and Yin Hongbing 尹弘兵. "Chu man de kaoguxue guan cha" 楚蛮的考古学观察 (Archeological Observation of Chu Barbarian). *Zhongguo wenhua yanjiu* 中国文化研究 3 (2011): 80-87. Gao Chongwen 高崇文. "Shi lun Xi Zhou shiqi de Zhou Chu guanxi-jian lun Chu zu judi bianqian" 试论西周时期的周楚关系-兼论楚族居地变迁 (On the Relationship between the Chu State and the Zhou Empire in the Western Zhou dynasty-also on the Transferring of the Habitats of the Chu Tribe). *Wenwu* 文物 3 (2014): 49-56.

<sup>160</sup> Blakeley, Barry B. "In search of Danyang I: Historical geography and archaeological sites." *Early China* (1988): 118.

<sup>161</sup> Flad, Rowan K., and Pochan Chen. *Ancient Central China* (2013): 110.

<sup>162</sup> Cook, Constance A., and John S. Major, eds. *Defining Chu* (1999): 99-117.

### *Unearthed documents*

The unearthed literature evidence related to “Danxi hypothesis” mainly includes three types: “Chuzi lai gao 楚子来告” oracle bones unearthed in Zhouyuan 周原; the bamboo slips of Chu unearthed from Geling 葛陵, Xincai 新蔡; and the bamboo slips collected by Tsinghua University that have been widely discussed in recent years.

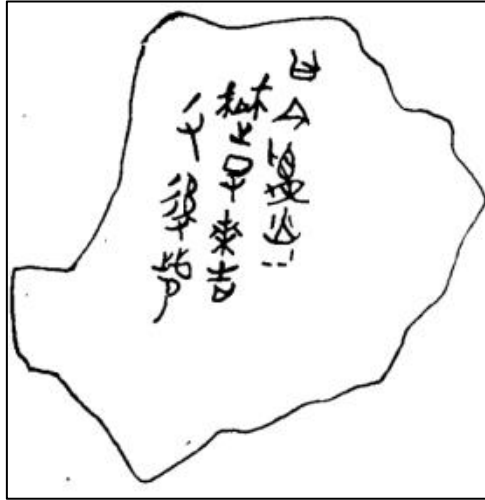
#### *Oracle bones unearthed in Zhouyuan*

In 1977, Zhouyuan archaeological team discovered a large number of oracle bones when they excavated the foundation site of Group A in Fengchu 凤雏 village, Qishan 岐山. The age of the foundation site of this group belongs to the early Western Zhou dynasty, the usage of which is initially regarded as the royal palace architecture for the ancestral temple. Among these unearthed oracle bones, a piece of oracle tortoise shell numbered H11: 83 recorded ten words in total in three rows, which wrote “*Yue jin qiu, Chu zi lai gao, fu hou zai*” 曰今秋, 楚子来告, 父后哉 (the viscount of Chu, actually the ruler of Chu, came to inform)

Therefore, the age of oracle inscriptions is presumed to be before or after the time when King Wu of Zhou conquered Shang, which belongs to the early Western Zhou period. This unearthed oracle bone is believed to have confirmed the unusual relationship between Chu, Chu’s leader (perhaps Yu Xiong 鬻熊) and Zhou in the last years of the Shang dynasty.<sup>163</sup>

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<sup>163</sup> See: Shaanxi Zhouyuan kaogudui 陕西周原考古队. “Shaanxi Qishan Fengchu cun faxian Zhou chu jiagu wen” 陕西岐山凤雏村发现周初甲骨文 (The Oracle Bone Inscriptions of Early Zhou dynasty Were Discovered in Fengchu village, Qishan, Shaanxi). *Wenwu* 文物 10 (1979): 38-43, 100-103. Gu Tiefu 顾铁符. “Zhouyuan jiagu wen ‘Chu zi lai gao’ yinzheng” 周原甲骨文“楚子来告”引证 (Quotations from the Oracle Bone Inscriptions “Chu Zi Lai Gao” Unearthed in Zhouyuan). *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古与文物 1 (1981): 72-75.



**Fig. 8 Oracle bone H11: 83 unearthed from Zhouyuan<sup>164</sup>**

*The bamboo slips of Chu unearthed from Geling, Xincai*

In 1994, a large tomb of Chu was discovered in Geling, Xincai, Henan province. Archaeologists unearthed 1,571 bamboo slips from the tomb, most of which are records of divination and prayer, that is, people's question on the disease and their prayer for the health of the deceased (tomb owner) during his lifetime and the descendants' sacrifice as well as prayer for their ancestors of Chu at that time.

Based on a large number of chronicle bamboo slips, it can be inferred that the absolute age of the tomb is the fourth year of King Su of Chu 楚肃王 (337 BCE)<sup>165</sup>, and the tomb owner is Pingye Jun 平夜君 (officer position) Cheng 成, a descendant of Pingye Jun Ziliang 子良, the son of King Zhao of Chu 楚昭王.<sup>166</sup>

<sup>164</sup> Source: Shaanxi Zhouyuan kaogudui 陕西周原考古队. "Shaanxi Qishan Fengchu cun faxian Zhou chu jiagu wen" 陕西岐山凤雏村发现周初甲骨文 (The Oracle Bone Inscriptions of Early Zhou dynasty Were Discovered in Fengchu village, Qishan, Shaanxi). *Wenwu 文物* 10 (1979): 43.

<sup>165</sup> Liu Xinfang 刘信芳. "Xincai Geling Chu mu de niandai yiji xiangguan wenti" 新蔡葛陵楚墓的年代以及相关问题 (The Age of the Chu Tomb in Geling, Xincai and Some Related Problems). *Changjiang daxue xuebao 长江大学学报* vol.27, 1 (2004): 5-8.

<sup>166</sup> Henan sheng wenwu yanjiusuo 河南省文物研究所. *Xincai Geling Chu mu 新蔡葛陵楚墓 (The Chu Tomb in Geling, Xincai)*. Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe 郑州: 大象出版社(2003): 183.

Among these bamboo slips, the pieces of NO. A3: 11/24 have attracted the attention of scholars exploring the location of Danyang.

昔我先出自邾 (均)、追 (归) 宅兹浞 (沮) 章 (漳), 以选遷處 (居)  
[于郢]

He Linyi explained the words written on this bamboo slip: “In the past, my ancestors came from Jun 均, used to live in Ju river and Zhang river basin, and then decided to move to Ying.”

He conducted an investigation based on literature handed down. He believed that the word on the bamboo slip and “Junling 均陵” recorded in *Shi ji*, and even the word “Shunyang 顺阳”, “Junzhou 均州” and “Junxian 均县” are named after “Junshui 均水” (Jun river). It is in a continuous line, “Junshui” in the Western Han dynasty was actually “Yu river 育水” or “Xichuan 淅川” afterwards.

He linked the bamboo slip with the Danyang disputation in the early Chu. He pointed out that the word “Jun 均” in the unearthed literature is actually the “Danyang” of Xiong Yi’s time, which perfectly matches the description of “Danyang” in “Junling 均陵” or “Junzhou 均州” recorded in the handed down literature. Based on this, he believes that Danyang should be in the Danxi area, and its specific location should be in the area of Danjiangkou Reservoir in current Hubei.<sup>167</sup>

#### Chapter *Chu ju* 楚居 (*Chu Residences*) of Bamboo Slips

Bamboo slips from the Warring States period collected by Tsinghua University, commonly known as Tsinghua Bamboo Slips, which was re-got from Hong Kong in July 2008, totalling about 2500 pieces. Since the bamboo slips have initially been stolen by thieves from an ancient tomb, the exact source is unknown. They are considered to be fourth-century BCE bamboo slips that likely originated from the middle Yangzi region, a product of a Chu scribe.<sup>168</sup>

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<sup>167</sup> He Linyi 何琳仪. “Chu du Danyang diwang xinzheng” 楚都丹阳地望新证 (New Proof of the Location of Danyang, the Capital of Chu). *Wenshi* 文史 2 (2004): 11-18.

<sup>168</sup> Cook, Constance A., and Luo Xinhui. “Introduction”. In *Birth in Ancient China* (2017): xi.



The main contents are about classics and historical books, including documents related to handed down and unearthed materials, as well as many lost books discovered for the first time.

One of them describes the residence and migration of 23 Chu kings, from Ji Lian 季连, the semi-legendary progenitor of the Chu royal lineage,<sup>169</sup> to kings (King Dao of Chu 楚悼王, King Xiao of Chu 楚肃王) in the middle of the Warring States period. There are 16 pieces of bamboo slips with no original title because the style is similar to *Ju pian* 居篇 in *Shi Ben* 世本, the organizers and researchers of Tsinghua Bamboo Slips named it *Chu ju* 楚居.

*Chu ju* takes the pedigree of the kings of Chu as well as the migration and residence of kings as clues, which is of great value to the study of Chu's historical geography and culture. After being sorted out and officially published, extensive and heated discussions in the academic circle have aroused. The content of *Chu Ju* begins as follows:

季连初降于隈山，抵于穴穷，前出于乔山，宅处爰波，逆上洲水，见盘庚之子，处于方山，女曰妣佳，秉兹率相，晋胄四方。季连闻其有粵，从及之盘，爰生[彡呈]伯、远仲，游徜徉，先处于京宗。

穴畚迟徙于京宗，爰得妣列，逆流哉水，厥状聶耳，乃妻之，生伉叔、丽季。丽不从行，溃自胁出，妣列宾于天，巫[并戈]赅其胁以楚，抵今曰楚人。

至畚绎与屈紃，使若嗑卜徙于夷屯，为榷室，室既成，无以内之，乃窃郟人之牲以祭，惧其主，夜而内尸，抵今曰夕，夕必夜。

Ji Lian at first descended onto Gui mountain and then went into a cave. Once emerging from Qiao mountain, he resided at Huanpo (a slope), then moving up the Chuan river, he had an audience with Pan Geng's daughter who resided at Fang mountain. His daughter, named Ancestress Wei (Bird?), had grasped the virtue of compassion. She wandered throughout the Four Regions. Ji Lian heard that she sought marriage, so he pursued her as far as

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<sup>169</sup> Pines, Yuri. "Chu Identity as Seen from Its Manuscripts: A Reevaluation." *Journal of Chinese History* 2.1 (2018): 1-26.

Pan. Eventually, she gave birth to Ying Bo (Elder Son Ying) and Yuan Zhong (Middle Son Yuan). The delivery was normal and auspicious. At first, they resided in Jingzong (Capital-Main Shrine).

Later on, Xue Yin (Ji Lian's descendant, a third son, "Cave Drinker") journeyed to Jingzong and eventually got (word of) Ancestress Lie (Break Apart) up the Zai river. She was mature with long delicate ears, so he took her as his wife and she gave birth to Dou Shu (Middle Sibling Dou) and Li Ji (Youngest Son Li). Li did not follow (Shu) (down the birth canal) but came out through a split in her side. Ancestress Lie's (spirit) went to visit Heaven. Shaman Xian (?) cut into (sewed? wrapped? confronted the demon in?) her side with thorns, hence the modern term *chu ren* "the People of the Thorns." <sup>170</sup>

When it came to the time of Yin Yi and Qu Xun, they had Ruo Yi divine about moving to Yitun and then created a Pian-room. After the room was finished, they had nothing to put in it, so they stole a calf from the Ruo people to sacrifice. Fearing (discovery by) the owner, they waited until night to put the corpse into (the room). Hence, today this is called "sacrifice," as "sacrifice" must be at night.<sup>171</sup>

According to many scholars' interpretation of the brief text of *Chu Ju*, we can conclude the residence and migration route of Chu kings from the late Shang dynasty to the Western Zhou dynasty as "Jingzong 京宗-Yitun 夷屯-Fajian 发渐-Panghan 旁岬-Qiaoduo 乔多-Ruo 郟".

Yu Xiong, Li Ji and Xiong Kuang lived in Jingzong. Xiong Yi, Xiong Zhi, Xiong Da, Xiong Fan, Xiong Xi and Xiong Qu all live in Yitun. After that, Xiong Qu moved to Fajian, and from Xiong Ai to Xiong Zhi, they lived in Fajian. After that, Xiong zhi moved to Panghan. Xiong Yan, Xiong Yong, Xiong Yan, Xiong Shuang, Xiong Xue,

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<sup>170</sup> Cook, Constance A., and Luo Xinhui. *Birth in Ancient China* (2017): 84.

<sup>171</sup> Cook, Constance A., and Luo Xinhui. *Birth in Ancient China* (2017): 72.

Xiong Xun, Xiong E to Ruo Ao Xiong Yi lived in Qiao duo. Later, Ruo Ao Xiong Yi moved to Ruo.<sup>172</sup>

We can see that the Chu kings lineage recorded in *Chu Ju* is basically the same as that recorded in *Shi ji*. However, most of the place names mentioned in the brief text are not recorded in the documents handed down from ancient times, and there is no explanation of these places in this text. Therefore, scholars have various views on the place which it recorded, and opinions vary at that time.

Among them, one problem that deserves our attention is the word “Danyang”, which has appeared many times in historical documents such as *Shi ji* and has become an important clue for later generations to explore the area of Chu people’s activities in the early period has never been found in the unearthed document Tsinghua Bamboo Slips *Chu ju*, which is a historical document specifically recording the migration and residence of Chu kings, up to now academic circles have different interpretations.

In this regard, scholars who support the “Danxi hypothesis” explain like this: The word “Danyang” described in *Shi ji* was not a specific place name at all at first, but a broad area of the *yang* 陽 area of Danshui river.<sup>173</sup> However, “Yitun” was the specific location and also belongs to the *yang* area of Dan river in terms of directions. Subsequently, “Danyang” was rumoured to be the actual place name.

The “Jingzong” where the ancestors of Chu lived was actually an office established by the people of Chu in Zongzhou 宗周 (capital of Zhou). The ancestors of Chu often lived in Jingzong to help the king of Zhou in order to close the relationship between Chu and Zhou. Therefore, the people of Chu sometimes lived in Jingzong and sometimes returned to his original residence.<sup>174</sup>

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<sup>172</sup> The Zhou era’s political tradition might best be characterized as a “kinship state” for the reason that the government and elite society were inextricably intertwined. According to *Shi ji*, the Chu ruling house belonged to the Mi 芈 xing 姓. In fact, “Xiong” 熊 appears in the initial position in Chu rulers’ names, which is reflected in both historical documents and unearthed materials with the formula “Xiong-X”. It has been suggested that Xiong was the shi 氏 (lineage) name of the main branch of the Chu ruling house. There are, however, no known examples of the main lineage of a territorial state having a shi name. See: Cook, Constance A., and John S. Major, eds. *Defining Chu* (1999): 9.

<sup>173</sup> In ancient China, the south of mountains and the north of rivers are called “*yang*” 陽.

<sup>174</sup> Gao Chongwen 高崇文. “Shi lun Xi Zhou shiqi de Zhou Chu guanxi-jian lun Chu zu judi bianqian”

### *Historical geography*

The evidence of Danxi hypothesis in historical geography is mainly developed from the following aspects: the mountain or river with the words “Dan”, “Chu” or “Jing”; the relationship between Zhou and Chu; the location relationship of other surrounding states; the geographical relationship with capital Ying.

#### *The mountain or river with the words “Dan”, “Chu” or “Jing”*

The origin of the place name “Danyang” may be related to mountains or waters with the words “Dan” 丹, “Chu” 楚 and “Jing” 荆. In the Dan river basin, the names of “Chuishui” 楚水, “Chushan” 楚山, “Danling” 丹岭 and “Danfeng” 丹凤 can be usually found,<sup>175</sup> which is the most common geographical evidence used by supporters of the “Danxi hypothesis”.

They believe that “Danyang” as the name of capital city should be named after waters or mountains just like other place names contained “Yang 阳”. “Danyang” refers to the north of Dan river, or the south of Dan mountain. Looks for the location of “Danyang” should not be separated from the location of Dan river or Dan mountain, and both of these two locations should together be the clues to determine the location of the capital of Chu, Danyang.<sup>176</sup>

Danshui (Dan river) is an ancient river name. In *Shan hai jing* 山海经 (*Classic of mountains and seas*) Guo Pu 郭璞 has quoted in *Zhushu jinian* 竹书纪年 (*Bamboo Annals*) as: “Houji fang Dizhu yu Danshui” 后稷放帝朱于丹水 (King Shun banished King Yao’s son, Danzhu, in the Dan river).

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试论西周时期的周楚关系-兼论楚族居地变迁 (On the Relationship between the Chu State and the Zhou Empire in the Western Zhou dynasty-also on the Transferring of the Habitats of the Chu Tribe). *Wenwu* 文物 3 (2014): 49-56.

<sup>175</sup> Wang Jianzhong 王建中. “Chu chu du Danyang xingshuai kao” 楚初都丹阳兴衰考 (Study of the Rise and Fall of Danyang, the Capital of Chu). In *Chu wenhua yanjiu lunji* 楚文化研究论集 (第三集) (*Collection of Studies on Chu Culture*) (vol. 3), ed. Chu wenhua yanjiu hui 楚文化研究会 (Chu Culture Research Association). Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe 武汉: 湖北人民出版社 (1994): 74-91.

<sup>176</sup> Sun Hua 孙华. “Chu guo guodu diwang santi” 楚国国都地望三题 (Three Problems on the Location of Chu State’s Capital). *Huazhong shifan daxue xuebao (renwen shehui kexue ban)* 华中师范大学学报 (人文社会科学版) 4 (2005): 51-59.

Chapter *Danshui* 丹水 of *Shui jing* 水经 wrote:

丹水出京兆上洛县西北冢岭山，东南过其县南。又东南过商县南，又东南至于丹水县，入于均。

Dan river originates from the Zhongling mountain northeast of Shangluo county, Jingzhao, and flows through the southeast area of the county. Then it passes through the south area of Shangxian and Danshui county and finally flows into Jun river.

*Shui jing zhu* 水经注 commented:

即丹水上源之一，名楚水，发源于上洛县（今陕西商县）西南的楚山，山水皆以“楚”名。

It is one of the sources of Danshui (Dan river), called Chushui (Chu river), which originated from Chushan (Chu mountain) southwest of Shangluo county (today's Shangxian in Shannxi province). Thus all its peaks and waters are named after “Chu”.<sup>177</sup>

Chu mountain and Chu river have already been recorded in the Wei and Jin dynasties (220-589 CE). The two characters, “Jing” and “Chu”, were generally used with the same meaning in ancient time, so Chushan (Chu mountain) can also be called Jingshan (Jing mountain).<sup>178</sup>

Shi Quan believes that Jingshan is one of the famous mountains in the ancient Chu's territory. It is close to Chu capital and moves accordingly with the change of Chu capital. Two ancient Jing mountains should be related to the location of the Chu capital.

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<sup>177</sup> Feng Yongxuan 冯永轩. “Shuo Chu du” 说楚都 (Capital Cities of Chu). *Jianghan kaogu* 江汉考古 2 (1980):13-21.

<sup>178</sup> See: Ma Shizhi 马世之. “Yu nan Chu wenhua wenti shi tan” 豫南楚文化问题试探 (A Tentative Study of Chu Culture in Southern Henan). *Shixue yuekan* 史学月刊 4(1982): 33-38. Shi Quan 石泉, and Xu Dekuan 徐德宽. “Chu du Danyang diwang xin tan” 楚都丹阳地望新探 (New Exploration of Danyang, the Capital of Chu). *Jianghan luntan* 江汉论坛 3 (1982): 67-76.

The first one, near Shangxian county in the upstream of Dan river in Shaanxi today, which is the earliest location where Xiong Yi of Chu conducts activities here. The second one, the bordering place of Deng county and Neixinag county in today's east of Xichuan county and west of Tuan river, which is the location of Jingshan after the capital Danyang of Chu is moved to Danxi area in the middle and late Western Zhou dynasty to the early Spring and Autumn period. It is located in the east of Danyang at that time, whose straight-line distance is less than 44 kilometers.<sup>179</sup>

### *The origin of Chu*

The origin of Chu nationality mainly includes four hypotheses: “east-coming hypothesis”; “west-coming hypothesis”; “aboriginal-coming hypothesis”, and “north-coming hypothesis”.

Some scholars believe that the Chu people may have lived in the Danxi area before accepting the Zhou dynasty's fiefdom. For example, Sun Chong'en and Huang Yunfu thought that the Chu people lived in the western part of the Nanxiang 南襄 basin in the early days, namely the lower reaches of the Dan river, also known as the Liguangqiao 李官桥 small basin, which is the current Danjiangkou Reservoir area. And this area is the so-called Danyang that is in the north of the Dan river. Because this is a place where Chu people have lived for a long time, this fiefdom should be as the old one when awarded to Chu by the King of Zhou, which is called “Danyang”.<sup>180</sup>

Wang Jianzhong holds the view that the people of Chu after Yu Xiong's time are “living in *zhongguo* 中国 or *manyi* 蛮夷”. Part of the Mi clan “in *zhongguo*” moved to the Han river basin and resided in the Jingshan area since after the middle term of Shang dynasty due to the conquering and persecution of the Shang dynasty. From the late Shang dynasty to the early Western Zhou dynasty, the descendants of Jilian with

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<sup>179</sup> Shi Quan 石泉. “Chu du Danyang ji gu Jingshan zai Dan, Xi fujin buzheng” 楚都丹阳及古荆山在丹、淅附近补证 (Supplementary Evidence that Danyang, Capital of Chu and Ancient mountain Jing are Located Near Dan river and Xi river). *Jiangnan luntan* 江汉论坛 12 (1985): 73-78.

<sup>180</sup> Sun Zhong'en 孙重恩, and Huang Yunfu 黄运甫. “Chu shi du Danyang kao bian” 楚始都丹阳考辨 (Textual Research on Danyang, the First Capital of Chu). *Zhengzhou daxue xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 郑州大学学报(社会科学版) 4 (1980): 80-89.

the surname of Mi gradually moved to the Dan Xi river basin and acclaimed Yu Xiong as their leader resided in “Danyang”. Its relative location is in between the Dan river area from Shangxian county of Shanxi province to Xichuan county of Henan province with the convergence places of Dan river and Xi river being its central area.<sup>181</sup>

Zhang Shuo and Yin Hongbing have studied the distribution range of *Chu man* 楚蛮 (the ethnic groups within Chu’s territory) and inferred the location of Danyang based on the spatial correlation between Chu state and *Chu man*. According to their analysis, they believe that *Chu man* was only distributed in Handong and Hanbei area during the Shang dynasty, and began to enter the southwest area of Han river and the hinterland of Jiangnan area after the mid-term of the Western Zhou dynasty. Therefore, the early Chu and its capital Danyang can only be located in the Dan river area (north of the Han river).<sup>182</sup>

Some scholars also argue that the early residence of Chu people is the Xinzheng area, which is the so-called “*Zhu Rong zhi xu*” 祝融之墟 (residence of Zhu Rong), The migration of Chu people in the early days usually follow the principle of “the closer, the better”. Therefore their new residence cannot be too far away from their original one. <sup>183</sup>

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<sup>181</sup> Wang Jianzhong 王建中. “Chu chu du Danyang xingshuai kao” 楚初都丹阳兴衰考 (Study of the Rise and Fall of Danyang, the Capital of Chu). In *Chu wenhua yanjiu lunji* 楚文化研究论集 (第三集) (*Collection of Studies on Chu Culture*) (vol. 3), ed. Chu wenhua yanjiu hui 楚文化研究会 (Chu Culture Research Association). Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe 武汉: 湖北人民出版社 (1994): 74-91.

<sup>182</sup> Zhang Shuo 张硕, and Yin Hongbing 尹弘兵. “Chu man de kaoguxue guan cha” 楚蛮的考古学观察 (Archeological Observation of Chu Barbarian). *Zhongguo wenhua yanjiu* 中国文化研究 3 (2011): 80-87.

<sup>183</sup> Ma Shizhi 马世之. “Chu du Danyang diwang tan lun” 楚都丹阳地望探论 (Exploration of Danyang, the Capital of Chu). *Zhongzhou xuekan* 中州学刊 1 (1991): 110-117, 123.

*The relationship between Zhou and Chu in the Western Zhou period*

Song Xiangfeng wrote in his book of *Guo ting lu*: “鬻熊为周师，以功德受封，当与周京稍近” (Yu Xiong was the great master in the Western Zhou dynasty and was awarded fiefdom for his achievements. Consequently, his given fiefdom should be closer to the capital of Zhou). Yu Xiong was the teacher of King Wen of Zhou, and Yu Xiong lived in Danyang. Only the “Danyang” at the lower reaches of the Dan river meets the condition of being closer to Zhou.<sup>184</sup>

Also, the unearthed materials mentioned above, namely the oracle bone carved with “*Chu zi lai gao* 楚子来告” in the early Western Zhou dynasty unearthed in Zhouyuan area in 1977,<sup>185</sup> are regarded as the evidence to prove the close relationship between Zhou and Chu in the late Shang dynasty and early Western Zhou dynasty.<sup>186</sup>

*Location relationship of other surrounding states (Ba 巴, Pu 濮, Deng 邓, Ruo 郟)*

As *Zuo zhuan* recorded, Zhan Huanbo 詹桓伯, the nobility in the Eastern Zhou dynasty, used to recall the territory of the prosperous Western Zhou dynasty and said, “The state of Ba, Pu, Chu and Deng are all our *nantu* 南土 (southern territory)”.

According to this literature, some scholars first explored the geographic range of southern territory in the early years of the Western Zhou dynasty and then discussed Ba, Pu, and Deng’s geographic locations. By identifying these three states’

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<sup>184</sup> Sun Zhong’en 孙重恩, and Huang Yunfu 黄运甫. “Chu shi du Danyang kao bian” 楚始都丹阳考辨 (Textual Research on Danyang, the First Capital of Chu). *Zhengzhou daxue xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 郑州大学学报(社会科学版) 4 (1980): 80-89.

<sup>185</sup> See: Shaanxi Zhouyuan kaogudui 陕西周原考古队. “Shaanxi Qishan Fengchu cun faxian Zhou chu jiagu wen” 陕西岐山凤雏村发现周初甲骨文 (The Oracle Bone Inscriptions of Early Zhou dynasty Were Discovered in Fengchu village, Qishan, Shaanxi). *Wenwu* 文物 10 (1979): 38-43, 100-103. Gu Tiefu 顾铁符. “Zhouyuan jiagu wen ‘Chu zi lai gao’ yinzheng” 周原甲骨文“楚子来告”引证 (Quotations from the Oracle Bone Inscriptions “Chu Zi Lai Gao” Unearthed in Zhouyuan). *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古与文物 1 (1981): 72-75.

<sup>186</sup> See: Ma Shizhi 马世之. “Chu du Danyang diwang tan lun” 楚都丹阳地望探论 (Exploration of Danyang, the Capital of Chu). *Zhongzhou xuekan* 中州学刊 1 (1991): 110-117, 123. Wang Jianzhong 王建中. “Chu chu du Danyang xingshuai kao” 楚初都丹阳兴衰考 (Study of the Rise and Fall of Danyang, the Capital of Chu). In *Chu wenhua yanjiu lunji* 楚文化研究论集 (第三集) (*Collection of Studies on Chu Culture*) (vol. 3), ed. Chu wenhua yanjiu hui 楚文化研究会 (Chu Culture Research Association). Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe 武汉: 湖北人民出版社 (1994): 74-91.



geographical locations, the location of the collocated Chu can also be determined accordingly.<sup>187</sup>

*Nantu* 南土 (southern territory) refers to the area from the south of Feng 丰-Hao 镐-Chengzhou 成周 line to the belt between Han and Huai, which is the location of vassal states awarded in the middle reaches of Han river and places between Huai 淮 and Ru 汝 in the early Western Zhou dynasty. In the early years of the Western Zhou dynasty, the southern territory does not yet include the areas south of the Han river and the middle reaches of the Yangtze river.

The geographical locations of Ba, Pu and Deng are all in the Han river's upper reaches. Among them, Ba (state) is in the southeast of Shaanxi and north of Daba mountain 大巴山. The capital of Deng (state) is at the Dengcheng 邓城 site northwest of Xiangfan 襄樊, Hubei. Chu and Pu (state) are close to each other from the Western Zhou dynasty to the Spring and Autumn period. Pu is currently located in the Gun river 滚河 basin of Zaoyang 枣阳 county, Hubei.

Chu is collocated with these three states, for which should have a similar location. Otherwise, it will lose the value and meaning that the Western Zhou dynasty's royal family establishes fiefdoms to protect the state of Zhou.

In addition, some scholars determine the location of the capital of Chu by analyzing the geographical location of Ruo (state). According to the records of the unearthed document "*Chu Ju*", Xiong Yi moved the capital to Yitun, who helped the king practice divination from Ruo (state). Besides, People in Chu have stolen cattle from people in Ruo for sacrifice in the new residence. Therefore, it can be concluded that Chu and Ruo are not far apart in the early Western Zhou dynasty.

According to the relevant studies, the location of Ruo is currently in the area southwest of Neixiang county, southeast of Xichuan (Shangji), east of Xi river of Xixia county (ancient Xi city 古析邑) to the north, and east of the lower reaches of

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<sup>187</sup> Duan Yu 段渝. "Xi Zhou shidai Chu guo jiangyu de jige wenti" 西周时代楚国疆域的几个问题 (Several Issues on the Territory of Chu State in the Western Zhou dynasty). *Zhongguoshi yanjiu* 中国史研究 4 (1997): 24-33.

Dan river when Xi river met with it to the south.<sup>188</sup> Chu and Ruo must be close to each other. It will only make sense that Chu is in the west of Ruo and located in the Xichuan county west of the Nanyang basin.

*The geographical relationship with capital Ying*

Besides, other scholars reversely infer the location of Danyang by analyzing the location of Ying, the capital of Chu in the Spring and Autumn period.<sup>189</sup>

However, according to Barry B. Blakeley's sixth principle for determining the location of Danyang: the location of Ying is still undetermined. Therefore, arguments for a site of Danyang cannot be based on an a priori assumption that it was in southwest Hubei.<sup>190</sup> We agree with this point of view; therefore, apart from the introduction, we will not consider this research perspective.

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<sup>188</sup> Shi Quan 石泉, and Xu Dekuan 徐德宽. "Chu du Danyang diwang xin tan" 楚都丹阳地望新探 (New Exploration of Danyang, the Capital of Chu). *Jianghan luntan* 江汉论坛 3 (1982): 67-76.

<sup>189</sup> Ma Shizhi 马世之. "Chu du Danyang diwang tan lun" 楚都丹阳地望探论 (Exploration of Danyang, the Capital of Chu). *Zhongzhou xuekan* 中州学刊 1 (1991): 110-117, 123.

<sup>190</sup> Blakeley, Barry B. "In search of Danyang I: Historical geography and archaeological sites." *Early China* (1988): 118.

## *Archaeological materials*

### *Longcheng site*

Those who support the “Danxi hypothesis” initially pointed out that Danyang should be at the Longcheng site in the Liguangqiao basin at the Dan river’s lower reaches where Dan river and Xi river met with each other.<sup>191</sup>

Longcheng is now submerged by Danjiang Reservoir. Before the establishment of the reservoir, the west of Longcheng is tall-standing mountains and its east is undulating hills. The famous Liguangqiao basin southwest of Henan lies in the middle. Dan river flows from northwest to southeast, created the fertile floodplain in the basin. Longcheng is located in the northeast of this basin.

According to the materials investigated by the Xichuan County Museum, the city is slightly square with 900 meters long from north to south and 800 meters wide from east to west. Three remaining wall foundations created by layering rammed earth still existed with 8 meters thick and 1-3 meters high. The layer of rammed earth is 7-10 cm thick with a round rammer. The diameter of the rammer is 8-10 cm, and pottery pieces from the Spring and Autumn period and Warring States period are contained in the rammed layer, which proved that the Longcheng site is established in the Spring and Autumn period at the latest.

However, the Longcheng site has been submerged in the Danjiang Reservoir before the lower layer of this site has been cleaned up, making the construction time unavailable to be identified.

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<sup>191</sup> See: Ma Shizhi 马世之. “Chu du Danyang diwang tan lun” 楚都丹阳地望探论 (Exploration of Danyang, the Capital of Chu). *Zhongzhou xuekan 中州学刊* 1 (1991): 110-117, 123. Wang Jianzhong 王建中. “Chu chu du Danyang xingshuai kao” 楚初都丹阳兴衰考 (Study of the Rise and Fall of Danyang, the Capital of Chu). In *Chu wenhua yanjiu lunji 楚文化研究论集 (第三集) (Collection of Studies on Chu Culture)* (vol. 3), ed. Chu wenhua yanjiu hui 楚文化研究会 (Chu Culture Research Association). Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe 武汉: 湖北人民出版社 (1994): 74-91. Pei Mingxiang 裴明相. “Chu du Danyang shi tan” 楚都丹阳试探 “Exploring Danyang, the Capital of Chu”. *Wenwu 文物* 10 (1980): 72-75. Zhang Xixian 张西显. *Chu du Danyang zai tan 楚都丹阳再探 (Explore Danyang, the Capital of Chu)*. Chu wenhua yanjiuhui diliuci nianhui 楚文化研究会第六次年会 (The Sixth Annual Meeting of Chu Culture Research Association). Henan sheng Xichuan xian bowuguan 河南省淅川县博物馆 (Xichuan county Museum, Henan province) (1992).

Some people believe that the Longcheng site is the Danyang in Chu's early years since a large number of Chu tombs have been discovered in Longshangang, west of Longcheng. However, the earliest cultural relics unearthed at this site are in the mid-term Spring and Autumn period. No cultural relics of the Western Zhou dynasty have been found yet. Plus, it is still doubtful whether it is the Chu capital Danyang with the constraints of objective conditions. It will depend on the future underwater archaeological work to discover more persuasive and valid evidence.

### *Tombs at Xiasi*

Elaborate burials dated to the Springs and Autumns period at Xiasi in Xichuan, Henan, may relate to the early Chu elite in the Dan river region of southwestern Henan and northwestern Hubei.<sup>192</sup> The nine principal tombs at Xiasi, range in date from the second quarter of the sixth to the first quarter of the fifth century BCE.

By far, the largest tomb at Xiasi is the partly looted tomb 2. Its principal occupant, named in inscriptions as *Chu shu zhi sun Peng* 楚叔之孙棚 (Peng, descendant in a junior line of Chu), is in all likelihood identical with Yuan Zi Feng 袁子冯, a distant relative of the Chu royal house who served as *lingyin* 令尹 (Chief Minister) from 551 BCE until he died in 548 BCE.<sup>193</sup>

When the owner of the tomb was buried, the capital of Chu was in Ying. Regarding the discovery of tombs of these Chu nobilities unearthed in Xiasi that is thousands of miles away from Ying, some scholars explain it with the etiquette of “*Gui zang*” 归葬 (Those who died in a foreign state are buried to their birth place). They believe that Xiasi is related to Danyang. Died people are buried in Xiasi to show their yearning for ancestors and the attachment for the ancient capital Danyang.<sup>194</sup>

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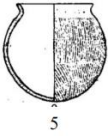
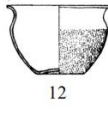

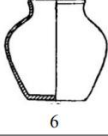

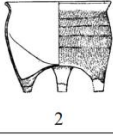
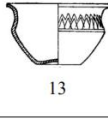
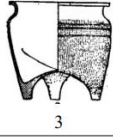
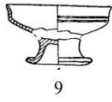

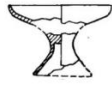

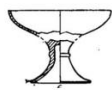

<sup>192</sup> Flad, Rowan K., and Pochan Chen. *Ancient Central China* (2013): 254.

<sup>193</sup> Loewe, Michael, and Edward L. Shaughnessy, eds. *The Cambridge history of ancient China* (1999): 520-525.

<sup>194</sup> Pei Mingxiang 裴明相. “Chu du Danyang shi tan” 楚都丹阳试探 “Exploring Danyang, the Capital of Chu”. *Wenwu* 文物 10 (1980): 72-75.

*Zhujiatai site*

He Linyi believes that “Danyang” at Xiong Yi’s time may be in the current Danjiangkou Reservoir between Xijiadian and Caodian. Zhujiatai site of the Western Zhou dynasty has been discovered in this place,<sup>195</sup> whose upper time limit is the mid-term of the Western Zhou dynasty and the lower time limit is from the late Western Zhou dynasty to the mid-term of Spring and Autumn period.<sup>196</sup>

Period \ Utensil		Utensil			
		<i>li</i>	<i>guan (weng)</i>	<i>dou, gui</i>	<i>pen, yan</i>
Early Western Zhou	early stage				
	late stage				
Mid Western Zhou	early stage				
	late stage				
Late Western Zhou					
					

**Tab. 3 The stage diagram of the Western Zhou remains of Zhujiatai site (3/20)** <sup>197</sup>

<sup>195</sup> Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogusuo Changjiang gongzuodui 中国社会科学院考古所长江工作队. “Hubei Junxian Zhujiatai yizhi” 湖北均县朱家台遗址 (The Zhujiatai Site in Junxian County, Hubei Province). *Kaogu xuebao* 考古学报 1 (1989): 25-56.

<sup>196</sup> He Linyi 何琳仪. “Chu du Danyang diwang xinzheng” 楚都丹阳地望新证 (New Proof of the Location of Danyang, the Capital of Chu). *Wenshi* 文史 2 (2004): 11-18.

<sup>197</sup> The drawing of this figure is based on the following two articles: Tan Yuanhui 谭远辉. “Shi lun Zhujiatai Xi Zhou yizhi yu Chu wenhua de guanxi” 试论朱家台西周遗址与楚文化的关系 (The Relation Between Zhujiatai site of Western Zhou dynasty and the Chu Culture). In *Chu wenhua yanjiu lunji* 楚文化研究论集 (第三集) (*Collection of Studies on Chu Culture*) (vol. 3), ed. Chu wenhua yanjiu hui 楚文化研究会 (Chu Culture Research Association). Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe 武汉:

1. *li* (feet) (T83④: 6)
2. I *li* (T92④B: 6)
3. II *li* (T92④B: 7)
4. III *li* (T93④: 10)
5. I *guan* (T84④B: 6)
6. II *guan* (T13③B: 9)
7. *guan* (T33④: 5)
8. *gui* (T93④: 9)
9. I *dou* (T92④B: 5)
10. II *dou* (T15③B: 4)
11. III *dou* (T15③A: 3)
12. I *pen* (T13③A: 8)
13. II *pen* (T92④A: 4)
14. *yan* (T30③A: 6)

Tan Yuanhui carefully staged the unearthed relics at Zhujiatai site (as shown in Tab. 3). He argues that the early relics are considered a group of typical Zhou-style artifacts, whose pottery features, shapes and decorative lines, and combinations are highly consistent with Zhou Culture. Therefore, the relics of that time should belong to the Zhou Culture system.

Since the middle period, there has been a difference between the Zhujiatai site and the Zhou culture's relics of the same time, showing the duality of Zhou Culture and Chu Culture. It has absorbed Zhou Culture's traditions and revealed the initial form of Chu Culture, which is a significant transition period.

In the late years, Zhujiatai relics are basically free from the bound of Zhou Culture. In addition to the pottery combinations and features that still have the colour of Zhou Culture, the shape of pottery has already formed its own style-the style of Chu Culture.<sup>198</sup>

Based on this, he concluded that the direct origin of Chu Culture is the Zongzhou 宗周 Culture of the Central Plains instead of the indigenous culture of the Jiangnan river basin. To be precisely, Chu Culture is a brand-new culture that develops with the integration of some indigenous factors in Jiangnan area based on Zhou Culture, rather than a mixed culture dominated by indigenous factors generated by the impact of Zhou Culture based on the indigenous culture.

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湖北人民出版社 (1994): 38. Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogusuo Changjiang gongzuodui 中国社会科学院考古所长江工作队. "Hubei Junxian Zhujiatai yizhi" 湖北均县朱家台遗址 (The Zhujiatai Site in Junxian County, Hubei Province). *Kaogu xuebao* 考古学报 1 (1989): 47.

<sup>198</sup> Tan Yuanhui 谭远辉. "Shi lun Zhujiatai Xi Zhou yizhi yu Chu wenhua de guanxi" 试论朱家台西周遗址与楚文化的关系 (The Relation Between Zhujiatai site of Western Zhou dynasty and the Chu Culture). In *Chu wenhua yanjiu lunji* 楚文化研究论集 (第三集) (Collection of Studies on Chu Culture) (vol. 3), ed. Chu wenhua yanjiu hui 楚文化研究会 (Chu Culture Research Association). Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe 武汉: 湖北人民出版社 (1994): 36-47.

## *Discussion*

From the literature perspective, the literature supporting the “Danxi hypothesis” has some specific advantages over other theories. The historical literature this hypothesis based on is relatively earlier, which is the Danyang Battle between Qin and Chu (312 BCE) recorded by *Shi ji*. The “Danyang” where the Dan river and Xi river met is the earliest existed place name of Danyang, which is also the earliest literature basis of this hypothesis.<sup>199</sup>

However, it is still uncertain whether it can be inferred that the Danyang of the Western Zhou dynasty is also located in this area even if the Danyang of the Warring States period is located in Danxi.

Besides, three types of unearthed literature have also been discussed as the evidence, namely, the oracle bone “*Chu zi lai gao*” unearthed in Zhouyuan area; Bamboo Slips of Chu in Geling, Xincai; and the *Chu Ju* (Bamboo Slips collected by Tsinghua University) that has been widely discussed in recent years.

The oracle bone unearthed in Zhouyuan area, which describes that the King of Chu went to the capital to worship the King of Zhou in the early years of Western Zhou dynasty, proving the close relationship between Zhou and Chu in the early Western Zhou dynasty with little controversy. However, there are always many different opinions about the explanations of the latter two types of bamboo slips.

Through the above statements, we can see that scholars have different opinions and cannot agree on interpreting the name of the residence of Chu King in the Western Zhou dynasty read in *Chu Ju*. Everyone basically explained the location of the new place names in *Chu Ju* according to their views when exploring the Danyang terrain and speculated on the changing track of Chu people’s early activities.

Scholars who advocate Danyang in the north, such as Gao chongwen 高崇文, believe that the Chu people originally lived in the Dan river basin. Chu joined Zhou at the beginning of the Western Zhou dynasty. In the place of Haojing Zongzhou, the “Jingzong” served Zhou kings. In King Cheng of Zhou period, Xiong Yi was sealed in

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<sup>199</sup> Xu Shaohua 徐少华, and Yin Hongbing 尹弘兵. *Chu du Danyang tansuo 楚都丹阳探索 (Study on Chu’s Capital Danyang)*. Beijing: Kexue chubanshe 北京: 科学出版社 (2017).

the “Yitun”, north of Dan river, to establish Chu state. Then, Zhou and Chu became hostile, Xiong Qu moved eastward several times along the Han river. At the end of the Western Zhou dynasty, Xiong Yi moved to the “Ruo” area of the meeting places of Dan and Xi rivers. In the early Spring and Autumn period, Chu entered Xiangyi Plain. Scholars who advocate Danyang in the south, such as Da Haobo 笪浩波, believes that the central area of Chu State from Xiong Yi to Ruo Ao Xiong Yi was in the area from Jing mountain to Yicheng Plain south of Han river. At the beginning of the Western Zhou dynasty, the “Jingzong” where Yu Xiong and Xiong Kuang lived was located in the area of Julong mountain, in Jing mountain between Ju river and Zhang river. It is now in Baokang county, Hubei province. Xiong Yi moved from Julong mountain to Yi river regions to live, but it is still within Jing mountain. The ancient Yi river, one of the Han river’s tributaries today, originated in Baokang county and flowed through Nanzhang and Yicheng. The “Yitun” is somewhere near the ancient Yi river, which is probably in Wu’an town. Subsequently, they gradually moved eastward along the Man river, with “Fajian”, “Panghan”, “Qiaoduo” all along the Man river basin. At the end of the Western Zhou dynasty, Xiong Yi moved to “Ruo”, which is the “Ruo” in Yicheng. From then on, the Chu people moved to the plain from the mountain area. From the perspective of historical geography, mountains or waters with the words “Dan”, “Chu” and “Jing” can be found in the Danxi area, which is consistent with the description of “Xiong Yi lived in Danyang and the remote Jingshan area”. Also, Danxi area is the closest place to Fenghao 丰镐 and Qiyi 岐邑 of Western Zhou dynasty, among other sites supported by many other hypotheses.

Chu is the fiefdom of Zhou, and Chu and Zhou already have a close relationship before establishing the Western Zhou dynasty. In the early years of the Western Zhou dynasty, King Cheng of Zhou awarded Xiong Yi as the duke, similar to that of in Ba, Pu and Deng, composing one of the four states in the southern territory of Zhou. The southern region of Zhou at that time includes Nanyang basin and the middle and upper reaches of the Huai river. The border of the southern territory has not crossed Han river. Therefore, the “Danxi hypothesis” is superior to other hypotheses in terms



of spatial system and relevance.<sup>200</sup>

From the perspective of archaeological materials, the earliest unearthed relics of Longcheng site near the Chu tombs in Xiasi belonged to the Spring and Autumn period, which is relatively late compared to Danyang's existence time. Because the Liguanqiao basin where Longcheng site is discovered is now the Danjiang Reservoir and all the second platform under the ground has been submerged by water,<sup>201</sup> the further excavation of the second platform of Longcheng site can only by the future underwater archaeological work, so as to determine whether it contains the remains of the Western Zhou dynasty before the further discussion is conducted.

The age of tomb materials of Xiasi, Heshangling, and Xujialing in Xichuan are not earlier than the middle Spring and Autumn period. Therefore it cannot directly support the location of Danyang in the Western Zhou dynasty.

Scholars have conducted a more detailed typological analysis of the relics of the Western Zhou dynasty unearthed in Zhujiatai site in Junxian,<sup>202</sup> and tried to identify the Zhou culture and the Chu culture it may contained through the pottery features, colors, shapes as well as decorative lines, the thought of which is correct.

From the perspective of archaeology, the prerequisite for identifying the location of Danyang is to discover the relics from the late Shang dynasty to the early Zhou dynasty, which is not equipped with in Danyang and Zhijiang area in the middle reaches of Juzhang river. In comparison, the Danxi area has relatively rich relics from the Shang dynasty to the early Western Zhou dynasty, which has the prerequisites for discussing the location of Danyang. However, it is still necessary to do a lot of work

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<sup>200</sup> Xu Shaohua 徐少华, and Yin Hongbing 尹弘兵. *Chu du Danyang tansuo* 楚都丹阳探索 (Study on Chu's Capital Danyang). Beijing: Kexue chubanshe 北京: 科学出版社 (2017): 51.

<sup>201</sup> Liu Xinfang 刘信芳. "Chu du Danyang diwang tansuo" 楚都丹阳地望探索 (Exploration of Danyang, the Capital of Chu). *Jiangnan kaogu* 江汉考古 1 (1988): 62-68, 82.

<sup>202</sup> Tan Yuanhui 谭远辉. "Shi lun Zhujiatai Xi Zhou yizhi yu Chu wenhua de guanxi" 试论朱家台西周遗址与楚文化的关系 (The Relation Between Zhujiatai site of Western Zhou dynasty and the Chu Culture). In *Chu wenhua yanjiu lunji* 楚文化研究论集 (第三集) (Collection of Studies on Chu Culture) (vol. 3), ed. Chu wenhua yanjiu hui 楚文化研究会 (Chu Culture Research Association). Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe 武汉: 湖北人民出版社 (1994): 36-47.

to prove that these relics of Shang and Zhou dynasties are related to Danyang.<sup>203</sup>

In the case study of this chapter, we will carefully sort out the relics of the Western Zhou dynasty in the Dan river basin to establish the archaeological cultural sequence of the Western Zhou dynasty in this area and explore whether it contains the factors of early-staged Chu culture.

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<sup>203</sup> Xu Shaohua 徐少华, and Yin Hongbing 尹弘兵. *Chu du Danyang tansuo* 楚都丹阳探索 (Study on Chu's Capital Danyang). Beijing: Kexue chubanshe 北京: 科学出版社 (2017): 55.

## 2.2 Itinerant hypotheses

The place-name in history constantly changes. It will be unreasonable to infer the historical events by today's name. Besides, for the capital of Chu, the location always varies with the title remaining the same. This situation has happened in the capital Ying, which can also occur in Danyang. Therefore, scholars have created the "itinerant hypotheses" to prove their hypothesis based on the four hypotheses mentioned above of the location of Danyang.

The "itinerant" hypotheses were derived: "Zigui-Zhijiang", "Shangxian-Danxi", "Danxi-Nanzhang", "Danxi-Zigui-Zhijiang". In addition, there are still scholars who continue to put forward their own new views and opinions on this basis. For example, Da Haobo proposed the hypothesis of "Shangluo-Danxi-Nanzhang-Juzhang".

### 2.2.1 Zigui-Zhijiang hypothesis

At the latest in the Tang dynasty, there is an opinion that "Danyang is initially in Zigui and then moved to Zhijiang". Du You 杜佑 in the Tang dynasty has commented on "Zigui 秭归 county" of Jingzhou 荆州 in Badong 巴东 in his book of *Tong dian* 通典:

周成王封楚熊绎，初都丹阳，今县东南故城是也，后移枝江，亦曰丹阳。

King Cheng of Zhou awarded Xiong Yi fiefdom in Chu with Danyang as its initial capital. Danyang is firstly located in the southeast of Zigui county, and then moved to Zhijiang, which is still called Danyang.

He also has commented on the "Zhijiang county" in Jiangling 江陵:

江陵枝江，古之罗国，汉旧县。楚文王自丹阳徙都，亦曰丹阳。旧丹阳在今巴东郡。

Zhijiang in Jiangling is the ancient place of Luo (state), an old county of the Han dynasty. Although King Wen of Chu moved the capital from Danyang, the new capital is also called Danyang. The old Danyang is currently located in Badong.

According to Du You's opinion, the old capital of Chu, Danyang, is in Zigui. After the capital was moved to Zhijiang, it is still called Danyang. *Taiping huanyu ji* 太平寰宇记 of Yue Shi 乐史 in the Northern Song dynasty, *Yudi jisheng* 輿地纪胜 of Wang Xiangzhi 王象之 in the Southern Song dynasty, *Dushi fangyu jiyao* 读史方輿纪要 of Gu Zuyu 顾祖禹 in the Qing dynasty and *Chunqiu dashi biao* 春秋大事表 of Gu Donggao 顾栋高 in the Qing dynasty also follow this opinion.

For instance, in *Chunqiu dashi biao* 春秋大事表, Gu Donggao in the Qing dynasty wrote:

盖诸侯迁都，常仍（用）旧名，故有两丹阳，分别指秭归与枝江而言。

Because the old name of the capital is always used again, there are two Danyang, which refers to Zigui and Zhijiang, respectively.

Among modern scholars, Liu Binghui also supports this hypothesis. He believes that Chu nationality is a native nationality, born and raised in the Jiangnan river basin. The initial Danyang of Chu is in Zigui. With the gradual prosperity of Chu, Chu develops down the Yangtze river towards the Jiangnan Plain. It may have moved Danyang to Zhijiang county by Xiong Qu or his next generation.<sup>204</sup>

However, the archaeological evidence he relied on, that is, the Lianyushan site in Zigui and Jijiahu ancient city, is inconsistent with the time of Danyang as we discussed earlier, which cannot fully convince readers.

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<sup>204</sup> Liu Binhui 刘彬徽, "Shi lun Chu Danyang he Ying du de diwang yu niandai" 试论楚丹阳和郢都的地望与年代 (On the Location and Time of Danyang and Ying in Chu State). *Jiangnan kaogu* 江汉考古 1 (1980): 45-57.

Liu Binhui 刘彬徽, *Zaoqi wenming yu Chu wenhua yanjiu* 早期文明与楚文化研究 (Research on Early Civilization and Chu Culture). Changsha: Yuelu shushe 长沙: 岳麓书社 (2001): 26-37.

### 2.2.2 Shangxian-Danxi Hypothesis

This hypothesis was proposed by Shi Quan on the basis of the Xichuan hypothesis. He sorted out lots of literature and held the view that Chu people in the early Western Zhou dynasty were closely related to the Zhou, and their residence must be close to each other. The Shangxian 商县 (formerly known as Shangzhou, in recent years renamed Shangzhou city) in the upper reaches of the Dan river valley, which is the closest to the Guanzhong 关中 Plain, has a series of waters and mountains named “Chu” and “Jing”.

Given this, he believed that the Danyang where Xiong Yi resided in the early Western Zhou dynasty might be located in the Shangxian basin that only separated from the Haojing in Guanzhon area from the Qinling 秦岭 mountains. The Danyang at the foot of Chu mountain from the late Western Zhou dynasty to the early Spring and Autumn period was near the Danxi area before the capital was moved to Ying in the early Spring and Autumn period. The Danyang of Danxi area has lasted for more than two hundred years as the capital of Chu.<sup>205</sup>

Among the hypotheses of the location of Danyang, this opinion has quoted relatively earlier literature. It is consistent with the historical facts that Jingshan and Danyang are close to each other, and Zhou and Chu have a close relationship. Therefore, it has been supported by some scholars.<sup>206</sup>

For example, from the perspective of unearthed literature, Zhou Hongwei 周宏伟 made a new explanation of the No.11 and No. 24 bamboo slips of Chu unearthed in Xincai. He believes that the correct explanation of the bamboo slips should be:

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<sup>205</sup> Shi Quan 石泉, and Xu Dekuan 徐德宽. “Chu du Danyang diwang xin tan” 楚都丹阳地望新探 (New Exploration of Danyang, the Capital of Chu). *Jianghan luntan 江汉论坛* 3 (1982): 67-76.

Shi Quan 石泉. “Chu du Danyang ji gu Jingshan zai Dan, Xi fujin buzheng” 楚都丹阳及古荆山在丹、浙附近补证 (Supplementary Evidence that Danyang, Capital of Chu and Ancient mountain Jing are Located Near Dan river and Xi river). *Jianghan luntan 江汉论坛* 12 (1985): 73-78.

<sup>206</sup> See: He Guangyue 何光岳. *Chu yuanliu shi 楚源流史 (History of the Origin of Chu)*. Changsha: Hunan renmin chubanshe 长沙:湖南人民出版社 (1988): 186. Wang Hongxing 王红星. “Chu du tansuo de kaoguxue guancha” 楚都探索的考古学观察 (Archeological Observations on the Exploration of Chu Capitals). *Wenwu 文物* 8 (2006): 63-68, 96.

昔我先出自邕（雍）、逯（商），宅兹沮、章（漳），台（以）选迁处。

We can compare the aforementioned opinion of He Linyi 何琳仪 (supporting “Danxi hypothesis”) <sup>207</sup> with Zhou Hongwei’s explanation of the bamboo slips. It can be seen that they have different identification about “邕” and “逯” these two words, resulted in their different conclusions. He identified “邕” as the word of “Jun”均, while Zhou identified it as “Yong”邕（雍）; He identified “逯” as the word “Zhu”追 while Zhou identified it as the world of “Shang”商.

Therefore, Zhou Hongwei’s deduction is as follows: The ancestors of the Chu people before Xiong Yi was awarded fiefdom by King Cheng of Zhou lived in the northern foothills of the Huashan 华山 (Hua mountain) east of the Guanzhong Plain in Shannxi, which belongs to the so-called “Yong”雍 area wrote on the bamboo slips. The so-called Yongzhou Jingshan 雍州荆山 in *Shangshu* 尚书, or the Beitiao Jingshan 北条荆山 in the Han dynasty, actually refers to the current Hua mountains.

The Danyang that was awarded to Xiong Yi by King Cheng of Zhou as fiefdom is now in the Dan river valley where the Shangzhou district of Shangluo, Shaanxi, is located. He believed that Shi Quan’s statement of Danyang’s location in Shangxian (now Shangzhou district) was correct. From the early Western Zhou period to Xiong Qu’s time, Chu people’s ruling center lasted for about 150 years. During the reign of Xiong Qu, Chu people began to penetrate into Jiangnan area and stayed here until the capital was moved to Ying in the 51st year of King Wu of Chu, Xiong Tong (689 BCE). <sup>208</sup>

From the perspective of historical geography, this itinerant hypothesis’s based materials are roughly the same as that of the “Danxi hypothesis”. Including the names of mountains and waters related to “Dan”, “Jing” and “Chu”; geographical space with

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<sup>207</sup> He Linyi 何琳仪. “Chu du Danyang diwang xinzheng” 楚都丹阳地望新证 (New Proof of the Location of Danyang, the Capital of Chu). *Wenshi* 文史 2 (2004): 11-18.

<sup>208</sup> Zhou Hongwei 周宏伟. “Xincai Chu jian yu Chu du qianxi wenti de xin renshi” 新蔡楚简与楚都迁徙问题的新认识 (The Chu Bamboo at Xincai and the New Knowledge on the Migration of Chu Capital Cities). *Beida shixue* 北大史学 0 (2009): 44-81, 448.

other surrounding states (Pang, Ba, Pu, Deng), as well as Zhou-Chu relationship and transportation location in the Western Zhou dynasty.

Many place names related to the activity areas of Chu such as “Chushui” 楚水, “Chushan” 楚山, “Danling” 丹岭, “Danshui” 丹水 and “Cangye” 苍野 appeared in the not-too-long upper reaches of the Dan river, which concentrated on the west of the upper reaches of the Dan river, and is the current Shangluo area in the northwest, southwest and southeast of Shangxian.<sup>209</sup>

From the perspective of archaeological materials, twelve relics of the Western Zhou dynasty have been discovered in Shangzhou city, Shaanxi province, which are concentrated on both banks of the Dan river and have the characteristics of settlement groups.

For instance, in 1977-1978, the cultural relics of the Zijing 紫荆 site is very rich unearthed by Xi'an Banpo Museum about 7 kilometers southeast of Shangzhou. Among them, the cultural layer of the Zhou dynasty in the second platform has unearthed a group of potteries such as *li* 鬲, *yu* 盂, *dou* 豆 and *guan* 罐 that are of Zhou Culture.

According to the investigation of archaeologists, in addition to the Zijing site in Shangzhou, the ancient cultural sites such as the Xianzhichang 县纸厂 site, Wangyuan 王塬 site, and Tangyuan 唐塬 site, there are cultural relics of the Western Zhou dynasty superimposed on the cultural relics of Yangshao 仰韶 or Longshan 龙山.<sup>210</sup>

Also, archaeologists have done some work in recent years at the Donglongshan 东龙山 site (about 300,000 square meters) on the north bank of the Dan river about 3 kilometers southeast of Shangzhou and the Gongjiawan 巩家湾 site in Danfeng 丹凤. Relics of the Western Zhou dynasty are discovered in all these sites.

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<sup>209</sup> Sun Hua 孙华. “Chu guo guodu diwang santi” 楚国国都地望三题 (Three Problems on the Location of Chu State's Capital). *Huazhong shifan daxue xuebao (renwen shehui kexue ban)* 华中师范大学学报 (人文社会科学版) 4 (2005): 51-59.

<sup>210</sup> Xu Shaohua 徐少华. *Zhoudai nantu lishi dili yu wenhua* 周代南土历史地理与文化 (*The Historical Geography and Culture of Southern Territory in Zhou dynasty*). Wuhan: Wuhan daxue chubanshe 武汉: 武汉大学出版社 (1994): 243.

They argue that the main features of the relics of the Western Zhou dynasty in the upper reaches of Dan river is relatively different with Zhou Culture although impacted by its strong influence. However, such relics are close to the similar relics in Zhenwushan 真武山 site in Xiangfan 襄樊, Hubei, which may belong to the category of Chu Culture.<sup>211</sup> In the case study of this chapter, we will conduct further research on this.

### 2.2.3 Danxi-Nanzhang hypothesis

This statement is proposed by Zhang Zhengming, Wang Guanghao and others, who believe that Danyang is firstly in the Danxi area. Xiong Yi or Xiong Ai 熊艾 is forced to move the capital to Baokang, Nanzhang and Yicheng of Jingshan area in the middle and lower reaches of Han river with its capital name still being as “Danyang”.<sup>212</sup>

### 2.2.4 Danxi-Zigui-Zhijiang hypothesis

This view was put forward by Liu Xinfang, who interpreted it from the perspective of Xiong Qu’s *fenfeng* 分封 (enfeoffment) for his three sons. He believes that the initial location of Danyang where Xiong Yi was awarded to is in the Danxi area. Because Xiong Yi was only designated as the land of *Zinan* 子男 (nearly 50 *li*), the scope of Danyang must be small, and its city must be quite rough. There are not any sites of the early Western Zhou dynasty with the characteristics of Chu Culture discovered in Danxi area, because Chu surrendered to Zhou at this time and did not form its own political and cultural system. Besides, Chu has not stayed in Danyang for a long time before it going south. Therefore, Danxi is no longer the center of Chu.

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<sup>211</sup> See: Wang Hongxing 王红星. “Chu du tansuo de kaoguxue guan cha” 楚都探索的考古学观察 (Archeological Observations on the Exploration of Chu Capitals). *Wenwu* 文物 8 (2006): 63-68, 96.

<sup>212</sup> Wang Jianzhong 王建中. “Chu chu du Danyang xingshuai kao” 楚初都丹阳兴衰考 (Study of the Rise and Fall of Danyang, the Capital of Chu). In *Chu wenhua yanjiu lunji* 楚文化研究论集 (第三集) (*Collection of Studies on Chu Culture*) (vol. 3), ed. Chu wenhua yanjiu hui 楚文化研究会 (Chu Culture Research Association). Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe 武汉: 湖北人民出版社 (1994): 74-91. Wang Guanggao 王光镐. *Chu wenhua yuanliu xinzheng* 楚文化源流新证 (*A New Demonstration on the Origin of Chu Culture*). Wuhan: Wuhan daxue chubanshe 武汉大学出版社 (1988): 107, 356.



Then Xiong Qu 熊渠 started to conquer the south with his eldest son Kang 康 living in Zigui, named Danyang. After that, Xiong Qu's other son Hong 红 successfully took up the throne and went back to Zigui for succeeding the king's position, making himself the ancestor of the vassal state of Kui 夔. The powerful Zhi Ci 执疵 eventually replaced Hong and became the King of Chu, changed his name to Xiong Yan 熊延. He lived in the Juzhang river basin, so the name of Danyang was also moved to Zhijiang. The royal family of Chu moved to Zigui from the initial Danxi area and then to the Zhijaing (Juzhang river basin). Danyang in the lower reaches of the Juzhang river was always the political, economic, and military center of Chu before King Wen of Chu moved the capital to Ying.<sup>213</sup>

### 2.2.5 Shangluo-Danxi-Nanzhang-Juzhang hypothesis

This statement was proposed by Da Haobo. He started his work with the materials from archaeological excavations and archaeological investigations, conducted analysis on the distribution characteristics of the relics related to the Chu culture in Hubei province. He mainly focused on the areas recorded in literature related to the early location of Danyang, such as Juzhang river, Jiangnan plain, mountains in the upper, middle and lower reaches of Han river, Xiajiang 峡江 area, Xiangyi Plain and Suizao 随枣 Corridor area. By comparing the distribution characteristics of the sites in these four areas from the Western Zhou dynasty to the Eastern Zhou dynasty, using the “central location theory” to analyze, and combined with literature research, the central area of Chu Culture can thus be deduced.

He believes that the early Chu people were a mountainous group and were wandering with their central areas being different at different times. In the early Western Zhou dynasty, the activity area of Chu people was in Shangluo area in the upper reaches of the Dan river. Subsequently, they moved down along the Dan river, firstly resided in the convergence place of Dan river and Xi river, then moved to the Jingshan in the

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<sup>213</sup> Liu Xinfang 刘信芳. “Chu du Danyang diwang tansuo” 楚都丹阳地望探索 (Exploration of Danyang, the Capital of Chu). *Jiangnan kaogu* 江汉考古 1 (1988): 62-68, 82.

north of the Nanzhang county in Hubei. In the middle and late Western Zhou dynasty, the Chu people moved to the ancient Juzhang river basin in the south of the Jing mountain and finally settled down, created the splendid Chu culture with the integration of Jiangnan indigenous culture.<sup>214</sup>

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<sup>214</sup> Da Haobo 笄浩波. “You Chu wenhua yicun de fenbu tedian kan zaoqi Chu wenhua de zhongxin quyue” 由楚文化遗存的分布特点看早期楚文化的中心区域 (Exploring the Central area of Early Chu Culture Based on the Distribution Characteristics of Chu Culture Remains). *Huaxia kaogu* 华夏考古 1 (2010): 95-104.

## 2.3 Case study: Archaeological research on the cultural relics of the Western Zhou dynasty unearthed in Dan river basin

### 2.3.1 Introduction

Dan river is the biggest branch of the Han river.<sup>215</sup> Its total length is about 287 km, with a flowing area of 16, 182 square kilometers.<sup>216</sup> It originates from the southern foot of the Fenghuang mountain in the Qinling area (northwest of Shangluo city, Shaanxi province). The north source and south source of the river have met at Heilongkou, and then the river passed through Shangzhou district, Danfeng county, and Shangnan county of Shangluo city. It flows out of the border of Shaanxi at places near Jingziguan. It runs through the whole territory of Xichuan, Henan from northwest to southeast, flows into the Han river at Danjiangkou in western Hubei, and is currently injected into Danjiangkou Reservoir. The river section above Jingziguan is located in the Qinling area and belongs to the valley's upper and middle reaches. The part that flows into Henan and Hubei is the lower reaches. The tributaries along its flowing routines are Wuguan river, Qi river, Xi river, Tao river and etc.<sup>217</sup>

Dan river across three areas-the southeastern area of Shaanxi province, the southwestern area of Henan province and the northwestern area of Hubei province. Located on the transitional zone between Yellow river valley and Yangtze river valley, Dan river is the significant channel for south-north exchanges from ancient time. At the same time, Dan river basin is considered one of the possible central activity regions for Chu people in the Western Zhou dynasty (the period when Chu people lived in Danyang), namely, one of the potential distribution regions of the early-staged

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<sup>215</sup> Da Haobo 笄浩波, and Li Xiangsheng 李想生. "Shengjing de xuanze yu Chu wenhua de xingqi" 生境的选择与楚文化的兴起 (The Adaption to Ecological Environment and the Formation and Development of the Chu Culture). *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古与文物 1 (2012): 35-42.

<sup>216</sup> Ren Jianmin 任建民. "Danjiang liuyu shuiwen tezheng qianxi" 丹江流域水文特征浅析 (Analysis on the Hydrological Characteristics of Dan river basin). *Xibei shuili fadian* 西北水力发电 4 (2002): 57, 59.

<sup>217</sup> Da Haobo 笄浩波, and Li Xiangsheng 李想生. "The Adaption to Ecological Environment and the Formation and Development of the Chu Culture" (2012): 35-42.

Chu culture.

In this case study, we will focus on the two hypotheses currently the most accepted in the academic world, namely the “Danxi hypothesis” and “Shangxian-Danxi hypothesis”. Combined with the archaeological excavations we participated in the Dan river basin (the area where these two hypotheses are discussed), we will carefully sort out the relics of the Western Zhou period in the Dan river basin to construct the archaeological cultural sequence of the Western Zhou period in this area. Furthermore, we will discuss whether this area contains early-staged Chu cultural factors and whether it is possible for the Chu people to build the first capital Danyang here.

### **2.3.2 Space-time scope of the research**

The time frame of this case study mainly focuses on the Western Zhou period (ca. 1046-771 BCE). However, some of the materials used in this research may extend up to the late Shang dynasty or down to the early Spring and Autumn period.

The spatial range of this case study is mainly concentrated in the area where the main stream and its tributaries of Dan river flow through, which is roughly equivalent to the border area of the three provinces (Henan, Hubei and Shannxi) east of the Danjiangkou Reservoir, and the east area where Henan, Hubei and Shannxi are adjacent. In the current administrative divisions, it includes areas such as Shangzhou district, Danfeng county, and Shangnan county of Shangluo city, Shaanxi province, and Xichuan county and Xixia county of Nanyang city, Henan province.

### **2.3.3 Research object**

This case study’s research object is the materials unearthed from field archaeological investigation, exploration and scientific excavation, mainly including the various relics in the residence site such as house site, cellar, ash pit, ash ditch and some unearthed remains in tombs. Because pottery is one of the essential standard tools for distinguishing different cultures and cultural types, the pottery group, especially the typical ones, can best reflect its own characteristics of certain archaeological cultural

remains. Consequently, this research mainly focuses on the pottery remains of the Western Zhou dynasty unearthed from specific sites in the Dan river basin and conducts detailed analysis and research on them.

The archaeological relics of the Western Zhou period excavated and unearthed in the Dan river basin are mainly divided into residence sites and tombs. From the archaeological survey in 1979 and the survey of cultural relics since the 1990s, more than 20 sites of the Western Zhou dynasty registered in the upper reaches of the Dan river.<sup>218</sup>

By far, Zijing 紫荆 site<sup>219</sup> and Donglongshan 东龙山 site<sup>220</sup> in Shangxian county, Gongjiawan 巩家湾 site<sup>221</sup> in Danfeng county, Guofenglou 过风楼 site<sup>222</sup> in Shangnan county, and Chenyuan 陈源 site<sup>223</sup> in Shangzhou district are typical sites that have been confirmed as the remains of the Western Zhou dynasty in the

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<sup>218</sup> Shangluo diqu kaogu diaochazu 商洛地区考古调查组. “Danjiang shangyou kaogu diaocha jianbao” 丹江上游考古调查简报 (Preliminary Report of Archaeological Investigation in the Upper Reaches of Dan river). *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古与文物 3 (1981).

<sup>219</sup> Shangxian tushuguan 商县图书馆, and Xi'an Banpo bowuguan 西安半坡博物馆. “Shaanxi Shangxian Zijing yizhi fajue jianbao” 陕西商县紫荆遗址发掘简报 (Preliminary Report on the Excavation of the Zijing site in Shangxian, Shaanxi). *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古与文物 3 (1981).

<sup>220</sup> Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiuyuan 陕西省考古研究院, and Shangluo shi bowuguan 商洛市博物馆. *Shangluo Donglongshan* 商洛东龙山 (*Donglongshan site in Shangluo*). Beijing: Kexue chubanshe 北京: 科学出版社 (2011).

<sup>221</sup> Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo 陕西省考古研究所, and Shangluo diqu wenguanhui 商洛地区文管会. “Shaanxi Danfeng xian Gongjiawan yizhi fajue jianbao” 陕西丹凤县巩家湾遗址发掘简报 (Preliminary Report on the Excavation of the Gongjiawan site in Danfeng county, Shaanxi). *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古与文物 6 (2001): 3-12, 28.

<sup>222</sup> Shaanxi sheng wenwuju 陕西省文物局. “Shangnan Guofenglou yizhi kaogu” 商南过风楼遗址考古 (Archaeological Work at the Guofenglou site in Shangnan). In *Shaanxi wenwu nianjian* 陕西文物年鉴 (*Yearbook of Cultural Relics of Shaanxi province*) (2006). Xi'an: Sanqin chubanshe 西安: 三秦出版社 (2007): 25-26.

<sup>223</sup> See: He Xiaolin 何晓琳. “Hanshui zhongyou liuyu Xi Zhou dao Chunqiu zaoqi kaoguxue wenhua puxi yanjiu-Chu wenhua de qiyuandi ji qi zaoqi fazhan” 汉水中游流域西周到春秋早期考古学文化谱系研究--楚文化的起源地及其早期发展 (Archaeological Study in the Middle valley of the Han river from the period of Western Zhou to the Early Spring and Autumn). Ph.D. dissertation, Peking University 北京大学 (2011). Zhang Tian'en 张天恩. “Dan jiang shangyou Xi Zhou yicun yu zaoqi Chu wenhua guanxi shixi” 丹江上游西周遗存与早期楚文化关系试析 (The Relationship between the Western Zhou Remains in the Upper Dan river and the Early Chu Culture). In *Zhou Qin wenhua yanjiu lunji* 周秦文化研究论集 (*Collection of Researches on Zhou Culture and Qin Culture*), ed. Zhang Tian'en 张天恩. Beijing: Kexue chubanshe 北京: 科学出版社 (2009): 166-175.

archaeological excavations in the upper and middle reaches of the Dan river.

With the extensive development of the cultural relics protection on the middle route of the South-to-North Water Transfer Project in recent years, many residence sites and tombs of the Western Zhou dynasty and the Eastern Zhou dynasty are discovered in the downstream area of Dan river, in which Longshangang 龙山岗 site<sup>224</sup>, Xiawangang 下王岗 site<sup>225</sup>, Xiazhai 下寨 site<sup>226</sup>, Shuanghezhen 双河镇 site<sup>227</sup>, Shenmingpudong site (wenkan goudong didian) 申明铺东遗址 (文坎沟东地点)<sup>228</sup>, Penyao 盆窑 site<sup>229</sup> and Qianhe 前河 site<sup>230</sup> in Xichuan county are the major ones that contain cultural relics of the Western Zhou dynasty.

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<sup>224</sup> Henan sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiuyuan 河南省文物考古研究院, et al. "Henan Xichuan Longshangang yizhi Xi Zhou yicun fajue jianbao 河南淅川龙山岗遗址西周遗存发掘简报 (Preliminary Report on the Excavation of the Western Zhou Remains at the Longshangang site in Xichuan, Henan). *Zhongguo guojia bowuguan guankan 中国国家博物馆馆刊* 7 (2015): 39-52.

<sup>225</sup> See: Henan sheng wenwu yanjiusuo 河南省文物研究所, et al. *Xichuan Xiawanggang 淅川下王岗 (Xiawanggang site in Xichuan)*. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe 北京: 文物出版社 (1989). *Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo Shanxidui 中国社会科学院考古研究所山西队*, et al. "Henan Xichuan xian Xiawanggang yizhi Xi Zhou yicun fajue jianbao" 河南淅川县下王岗遗址西周遗存发掘简报 (Preliminary Report on the Excavation of the Western Zhou Remains at the Xiawanggang site in Xichuan, Henan). *Kaogu 考古* 7 (2010): 3-16.

<sup>226</sup> He Xiaolin 何晓琳. "Hanshui zhongyou liuyu Xi Zhou dao Chunqiu zaoqi kaoguxue wenhua puxi yanjiu-Chu wenhua de qiyuandi ji qi zaoqi fazhan" 汉水中游流域西周至春秋早期考古学文化谱系研究--楚文化的起源地及其早期发展 (Archaeological Study in the Middle valley of the Han river from the period of Western Zhou to the Early Spring and Autumn). Ph.D. dissertation, Peking University 北京大学, 2011.

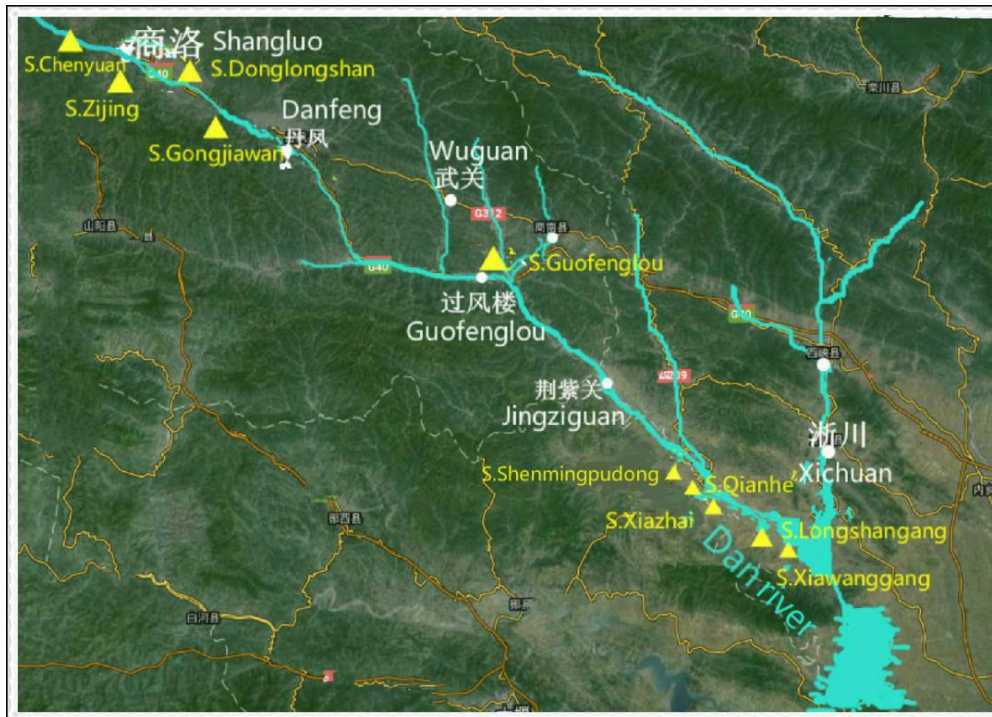
<sup>227</sup> Beijing daxue kaoguxi 北京大学考古系, and Nanyang shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 南阳市文物考古研究所. "Henan sheng Xichuan Shuanghe zhen yizhi fajue jianbao" 河南省淅川双河镇遗址发掘简报 (A Brief Report on Excavation of the Ruins of Shuanghe Town, Xichuan, Henan province). *Kaogu yu wenwu (xianqin kaogu zengkan) 考古与文物 (先秦考古增刊)* (2002): 13.

<sup>228</sup> Zhengzhou daxue lishi xueyuan kaoguxi 郑州大学历史学院考古系, et al. "Henan Xichuan Shenmingpu dong yizhi Wenkangou dongdidian Longshan yu Xi Zhou yicun fajue jianbao" 河南淅川申明铺东遗址文坎沟东地点龙山与西周遗存发掘简报 (The Excavation of the Remains of the Longshan Culture and Western Zhou Dynasty at Wenkangou Locus East of Shenmingpu site in Xichuan, Henan). *Wenwu 文物* 3 (2017): 4-18.

<sup>229</sup> The author of this paper participated in the excavation of this site. The unearthed materials at this site are still being sorted out and have not been published yet.

<sup>230</sup> Same as above.

The location of each site is shown below:



**Fig. 9 Ten typical archaeological sites of the Western Zhou period  
in Dan river basin**

### 2.3.4 Research ideas and methods

In terms of the published archaeological excavation reports of the sites mentioned above that we have collected so far, most excavators of these sites believe that the site's unearthed relics are related to the Chu culture or the early-staged Chu culture (the period when Chu people lived in Danyang).

However, in addition to the preliminary report on the excavation of the Western Zhou remains at the Xiawanggang site in Xichuan<sup>231</sup> that has conducted a relatively detailed classification and staging research on the unearthed relics of the Western Zhou dynasty, the excavation reports of the remaining sites only roughly compare the

<sup>231</sup> Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo Shanxidui 中国社会科学院考古研究所山西队, et al. "Henan Xichuan xian Xiawanggang yizhi Xi Zhou yicun fajue jianbao" 河南淅川县下王岗遗址西周遗存发掘简报 (Preliminary Report on the Excavation of the Western Zhou Remains at the Xiawanggang site in Xichuan, Henan). *Kaogu* 考古 7 (2010): 3-16.

unearthed potteries with the similar relics discovered in other sites to identify the age and cultural features of the relics, which is questionable for its accuracy.

Sorting out the previous studies' achievements, it can be found that scholars mostly discussed the relationship between part of the sites in this river basin and the early-staged Chu culture, possibly due to the inadequate archaeological materials. Besides, the unearthed remains of the Western Zhou dynasty in the whole river basin have not been collected together to conduct detailed research. The evolution pedigree and chronological framework of the pottery in the Western Zhou dynasty in this area have not been established, and the features of the archaeological culture are not clear either.

Therefore, conducting comprehensive research on the relics of the Western Zhou dynasty unearthed in typical sites in the Dan river basin, figuring out the cultural features of the Western Zhou dynasty in this river basin, and basically establishing the evolution pedigree and chronological framework of the pottery in the Western Zhou dynasty in this area are our fundamental works in terms of archaeology to prove that Danyang, the first capital of Chu, is possibly in the Danxi river basin.

Only by perfecting the archaeological chronology, confirming the nature of archaeological culture, and studying the temporal and spatial interaction of its cultural relics can we further explore the related issues, including the dispute about the location of Danyang.

Firstly, in this case study, we will conduct a detailed comparative analysis and typological study on the relics of the Western Zhou period unearthed from ten specific sites in the Dan river basin. For sites with fewer unearthed artifacts and their relics have not been overlapped or broken, a comparative analysis is conducted between the relics and similar artifacts not controversial in ages and unearthed in surrounding areas. For sites with many more unearthed artifacts and their relics have been overlapped or broken, a typological study is conducted on selected typical artifacts unearthed in these sites.



Secondly, we will discuss the period of the relics and the cultural features of the sites. Furthermore, we will summarize the archaeological cultural types of the Western Zhou period in this river basin and what kind of archaeological cultural factors are contained in each cultural type. In addition, the interaction between the various cultural types in this basin, and their connection with the contemporary culture of the surrounding areas, are also within the scope of our investigation.

Finally, we will explore which cultural type of Western Zhou dynasty in the Dan river basin is most likely to contain early-staged Chu cultural factors, that is, which kind of archaeological culture is most likely to be used by the early Chu people, and whether it is possible for early Chu people to build the first capital Danyang here.

### **2.3.5 Research results**

Through the research, it can be clearly found that the cultural features of Dan river basin in the Western Zhou period are quite complex. Artifacts unearthed in each site within the river basin are different in the category (as shown in Tab. 5), the shape, the material and the color of the pottery (as shown in Tab. 6). Both have similarities and differences between the artifacts of the same period unearthed in surrounding areas such as Guanzhong area and Jiangnan area.

According to the actual situation of the unearthed artifacts, we divide the relics of the Western Zhou dynasty in Dan river basin into four types and name them by its typical site: Chenyuan type; Guofenglou type; Xiawanggang type and Longshangang type (as shown in Tab. 4).

Chenyuan type of the upstream region of the Dan river basin and Longshangang type of the downstream of the region of the Dan river basin should belong to the local type of the Zhou culture during the Western Zhou period. Guofenglou type of the middle reaches of the Dan river basin should belong to a unique indigenous culture type of the basin during the Western Zhou period. Xiawanggang type of the downstream of the region of the Dan river basin should belong to an indigenous culture type of the basin during the Western Zhou period that was affected by Zhou culture. Various

cultural types in this basin interacted and connected with the culture of the surrounding areas.

<b>Period Type</b>	<b>Early Western Zhou</b>	<b>Middle Western Zhou</b>	<b>Late Western Zhou</b>
<b>Chenyuan type</b>	Zijing site		
			Chenyuan site
			Donglongshan site
		Gongjiawan site	
<b>Guofenglou type</b>	Guofenglou site		
<b>Xiawanggang type</b>	Xiawanggang site		
<b>Longshangang type</b>	Longshangang site		
		Xiazhai site	
			Shuanghezhen site
	Shenmingpudong site (wenkan goudong didian)		

**Tab. 4 Four cultural types of the Western Zhou period in Dan river basin and the chronological diagram of the sites**

Type	Site	Utensil	<i>li</i>	<i>pen</i>	<i>dou</i>	<i>guan</i>	<i>weng</i>	<i>yan</i>	<i>zun</i>	<i>fu</i>	<i>qi</i> <i>gai</i>	<i>bo</i>	<i>zhi</i>	<i>bei</i>	<i>gui</i>	<i>hu</i>	<i>ding</i> <i>zu</i>
Chenyuan Type	Zijing site		√	√	√	√		√	√								
	Chenyuan site		√	√	√	√	√				√						
	Donglongshan site		√	√	√	√	√			√	√						
	Gongjiawan site		√	√	√	√	√	√									
Guofenglou Type	Guofenglou site		√			√	√	√	√			√	√				
Xiawanggang Type	Xiawanggang site		√	√	√	√	√	√						√		√	√
Longshangang Type	Longshangang site		√			√											
	Xiazhai site		√		√	√	√	√									
	Shuanghezhen site		√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√				√		
	Shenmingpu dong site		√	√	√	√	√	√									

**Tab. 5 Summary of categories of pottery unearthed from the sites**

Type	Site	Feature	mud (clay)							sand-mixed							
			gray	gray-brown	brown	red	red-brown	orange-yellow	black	black (appearance)	gray	gray-brown	brown	red	red-brown	orange-yellow	black (appearance)
Chenyuan Type	Zijing site		√								√						
	Chenyuan site				√					√	√		√		√		
	Donglongshan site		√			√	√				√			√	√		
	Gongjiawan site		√			√	√		√						√		
Guofenglou Type	Guofenglou site		√	√	√					√	√	√	√	√			
Xiawanggang Type	Xiawanggang site		√				√		√	√	√	√	√	√			
Longshangang Type	Longshangang site							√		√	√			√	√		
	Xiazhai site				√								√	√	√		
	Shuanghezhen site		√				√			√	√	√	√	√			√
	Shenmingpu dong site		√							√		√	√				

**Tab. 6 Summary of the features (materials and colors) of pottery unearthed from the sites**

The specific characteristics of each type are introduced as follows:

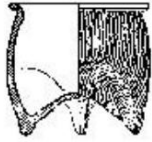
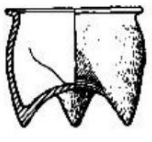
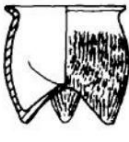

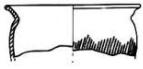

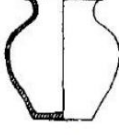
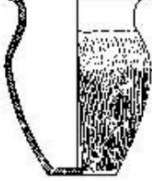
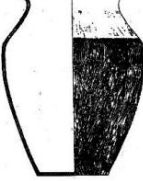
### *Chenyuan type*

Chenyuan type mainly includes four sites in the upper reaches of the Dan river. We believe that the Chenyuan type should belong to the local type of Zhou Culture in the Western Zhou dynasty with Zijing site as representative in the early period and Chenyuan site, Gongjiawan site Donglongshan site as a representative in the middle and late period. This type mainly includes two cultural factors, a cultural factor of Zhou and a local cultural factor.

In the early stage of the Chenyuan type, the cultural factor of Zhou reflected by the unearthed artifacts are undeniable (as shown in Fig. 10-11). For instance, the pottery materials are mainly fine mud pottery or sand-mixed grey pottery; the combination of potteries mainly consists of vessel forms including *li* 鬲 (tripod), *pen* 盆 (basin), *dou* 豆 (dish) and *guan* 罐 (pot). There also exists *li* with flat crotch and empty cones (T24②: 01, Zi), pot with high collar and round shoulders (H114: 02, Zi), basin with an extravagant mouth, constraint neck and round shoulder (T32②: 01, Zi), shallow *dou* with coak, *yan* 甗 (steamer) with pointed crotch bag, big mouth *zun* 尊 (wine vessel) (H114: 01, Zi), etc. The decorative lines are mainly *shengwen* 绳纹 (rope pattern). All these cultural features are highly consistent with the artifacts of the Zhou culture in Guanzhong 关中 area during the same period.

In the middle and late stages, the artifacts type continues with the basic pottery combination of Zhou style. The generation of projecting stripe *li* (F1-2: 5, Chen) and bronze-imitated *li* (F1-3: 5, Chen; H119: 10, Dong); the development of pottery basin and pot from round shoulders, folded shoulders, and to folded belly; the appearance of binding edge *dou* (H119: 5, Dong); convergent egg-shaped *weng* 瓮 (urn) (F1-1: 7, Chen) with three legs and hollow bad-shaped *weng*; the foot of *li* developed from the hollow cone (0: 16, Gong), truncated cone (H23: 1, Gong) and to pillar type (H17: 1, Gong) (as shown in Fig. 12) all these changes are synchronized with the development of similar artifacts in Guanzhong area.


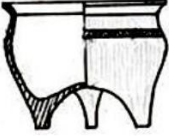
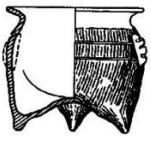
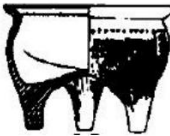

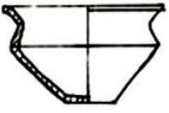
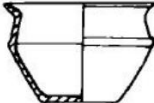
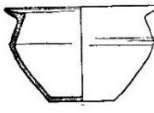

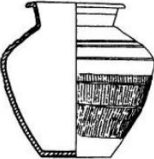
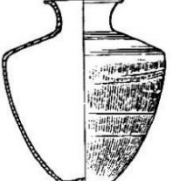

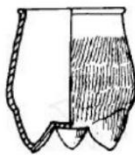
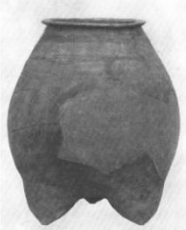
However, at this time, some local culture has gradually become prominent. For instance, the sand-mixed gray pottery and red-brown pottery are significantly increasing in terms of pottery features. Clay pottery with red inside and black outside also appeared, which is different from the gray pottery in Guanzhong area. There is also a difference in shape and color between the *li* (straight-belly, arc-crotch and hollow-cone) (0: 16, Gong) and the *li* of typical Zhou-style. Extravagant mouth three-legged urns (Y1: 3, Dong), short pillar-type urns (Y1: 1, Dong), curved abdomen basins, and short collar jars are unique. Wavy additional pile patterns and triangular pattern ribbons on the ornamentation also starts to appear on the decorative line. Besides, the row houses of long strip found at the Chenyuan site are different from Guanzhong area in terms of architectural form.

Area Type	Chenyuan Type	Guanzhong Area	
<i>li</i> (tripod)	 1	 5	 6
<i>pen</i> (basin)	 2	 7	
<i>guan</i> (pot)	 3	 8	
<i>zun</i> (wine vessel)	 4	 9	

**Fig. 10 Comparison of the early Western Zhou remains of Chenyuan type (Zijing site) with those of the same period in Guanzhong area<sup>232</sup>**

1. *li* (T24②: 01) 2. *pen* (T32②: 01) 3. *guan* (H114: 02) 4. *zun* (H114: 01)  
5. *li* (M4: 5) 6. *li* (M19: 1) 7. *pen* (H124: 72) 8. *guan* (M318: 1) 9. *zun* (H413)  
1-4. Zijing (1-3 1/8; 4.1/12) 5. 2002 Zhouyuan (1/6) 6. 1987 Zhangjiapo (1/10)  
7. 1999 Zhouyuan (1/16) 8. 1983-86 Zhangjiapo (1/10) 9. 1955-57 Zhangjiapo (1/18)

<sup>232</sup> The picture of the artifacts come from their respective excavation reports. “*li*” represents the name of the artifact; “T24②: 01” is the unearthed number of the artifact; “Zijing” represents the artifact unearthed from the Zijing site; “1/8” means that the drawing ratio of the utensil is 1: 8. If there is no other special explanation, it means that this figure or table is made by the author of this paper.

Area Type	Chenyuan Type	Guanzhong Area
<i>li</i> (tripod)	 <p>1</p>  <p>2</p>	 <p>8</p>  <p>9</p>
<i>pen</i> (basin)	 <p>3</p>  <p>4</p>	 <p>10</p>  <p>11</p>
<i>guan</i> (pot)	 <p>5</p>	 <p>12</p>
	 <p>6</p>	
<i>weng</i> (urn)	 <p>7</p>	 <p>13</p>  <p>14</p>

**Fig. 11 Comparison of the mid to late Western Zhou remains of Chenyuan type (site) with those of the same period in Guanzhong area**

1. *li* (F1-2: 5) 2. *li* (F1-3: 5) 3. *pen* (F1-1: 2) 4. *pen* (F1-3: 18)
  5. *guan* (F1-3: 2) 6. *guan* (F1-3: 4) 7. *weng* (F1-1: 7) 8. *li* (M371: 2)
  9. *li* (M157: 105) 10. *pen* (H6③) 11. *pen* (M160: 6)
  12. *guan* (M370: 3) 13. *weng* (H102: 41) 14. *weng* (T22:2)
- 1-7 Chenyuan (1. 1/6; 6. 1/11; 7. 1/10; 2-4,7 schematic diagram) 8-9, 12. 1983-86  
Zhangjiapo (8 .1/6; 9. 1/10; 12. 1/6) 10. Shangquan Beicun 11. 1967 Zhangjiapo (1/5)  
13. 1962 Fufeng Qijia (1/15) 14. 1955-57 Zhangjiapo (Keshengzhuang) (1/13)



Period	Unit	Utensil		<i>pen</i>			<i>dou</i>	<i>guan</i>		<i>weng</i>
		<i>li</i>		A-type	B-type	C-type		A-type	B-type	
Mid Western Zhou	Collected									
Late Western Zhou (early stage)	H23									
Late Western Zhou (late stage)	H7									
	H17									

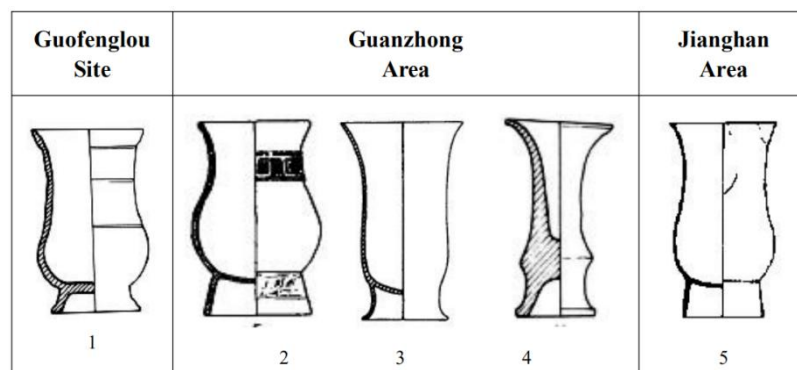
Fig. 12 The stage diagram of the Western Zhou remains of Chenyuan type (Gongjiawan site) (1/12)

1. A *li* (0: 16) 2. B *li* foot (H23: 1) 3. *li* foot ( H17: 1) 4. A I *pen* (H7: 2) 5. A II *pen* (H17: 2) 6. B *pen* (H7: 3) 7. C *pen* (H23: 2) 8. C *pen* (H7: 1) 9. *dou* (0: 17) 10. A *guan* (H23: 3) 11. A *guan* (H7: 4) 12. A *guan* (H17: 3) 13. A *guan* (H17: 4) 14. B *guan* (H7: 5) 15. *weng* (H23: 4)

### ***Guofenglou type***

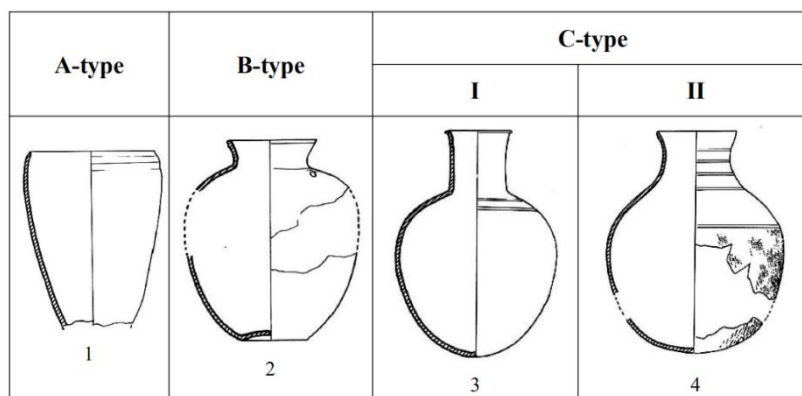
Guofenglou type is mainly represented by Guofenglou site, which represents a unique local indigenous culture type of the basin during the Western Zhou period. We believe that Guofenglou type contains three different cultural factors: cultural factors from the late Shang dynasty to the early Western Zhou dynasty, local cultural factor and Zhou cultural factor. The first cultural factor appeared in the earliest period of Guofenglou, and then mainly dominates by local cultural factor. In the late stage of the early Western Zhou dynasty, the cultural characteristic of Zhou gradually penetrated.

The cultural factors from the late Shang dynasty to the Early Western Zhou dynasty are reflected in the shape of convergent pottery *bo* 钵 (bowl) (specimen A, Guo), bronze-imitated pottery *zhi* 觥 (wine vessel) (F2-3: 1, Guo, Fig. 13), and A-type convergent pot (F1: 3, Guo, Fig. 14).



**Fig. 13 Comparison of the pottery *zhi* (wine vessel) unearthed from the Guofenglou type (site) with the copper *zhi* and pottery *zhi* unearthed in the surrounding area (1/4)**

1. pottery *zhi* (F2-3: 1) 2. copper *zhi* (M16: 3) 3. copper *zhi* (M166: 2)
4. pottery *zhi* (IA1M6: 13) 5. copper *zhi* (M28: 6)
1. Guofenglou 2. 1967 Zhangjiapo 3. 1983-86 Zhangjiapo
4. 1999 Zhouyuan 5. Lutaishan



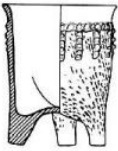

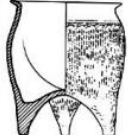
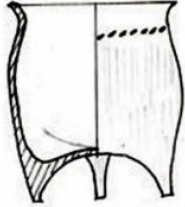
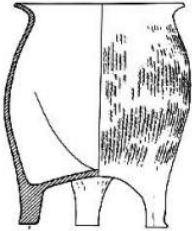
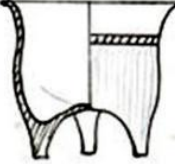
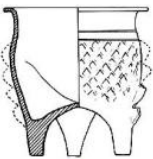
**Fig. 14 The pottery *guan* (pot) unearthed from the Guofenglou type (site)**

(1. 1/6; 3-4 1/10)

1. A *guan* (F1: 3) 2. B *guan* (F1: 8) 3. CI *guan* (F2-5: 5) 4. CII *guan* (F2-5: 3)

Local cultural factors are an essential part of the Guofenglou type, which is mainly reflected in the following aspects: the inter-connected row houses built with wood and grass mixed with mud; unearthed potteries dominated by sand-mixed red pottery, red-brown pottery and gray pottery; artifacts mainly consist of *li*, *yan*, pot and urn, instead of *dou* and basin; the decorative line is mostly ultra-fine rope pattern, plus with special pile patterns (F1: 2, Guo) and ridge patterns (H1①: 1, Guo).

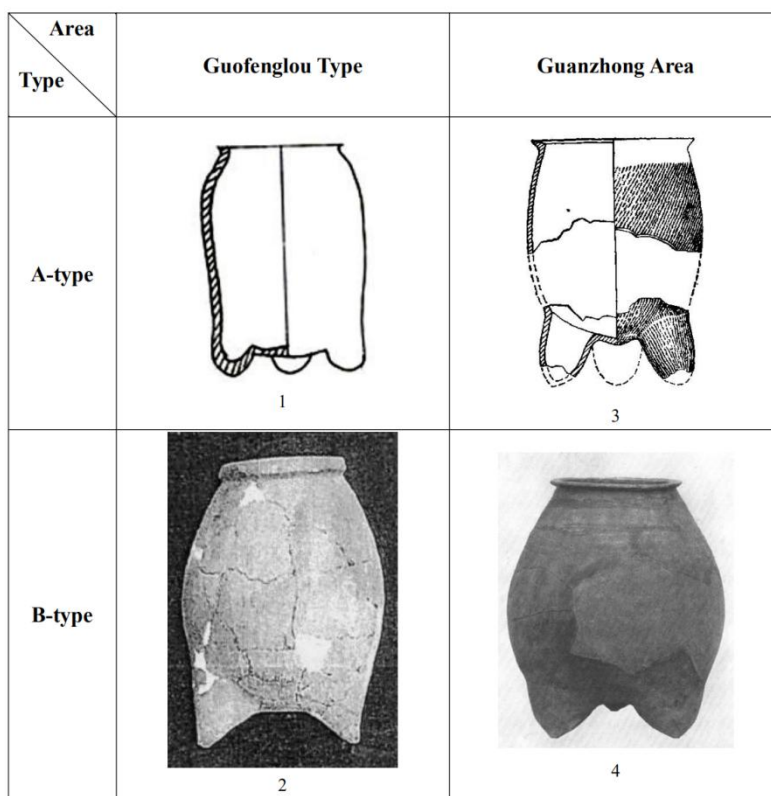
Specifically, *li* with vertical shoulders and abdomen (round crotch; flat feet, cone-pillar feet or round-pillar feet), straight-necked and round-bellied pots (F2-5: 5, Guo), and the flat feet with constricted mouth and bulging belly of *yan* (F1: 1, Guo) are all different from the surrounding areas and have great local features (as shown in Fig. 15).

<p><b>A-type</b> round crotch flat feet</p>	 <p>1</p>	
<p><b>B-type</b> round crotch cone-pillar feet</p>	<p><b>I</b></p>	<p><b>II</b></p>
	  <p>2      3</p>	 <p>4</p>
<p><b>C-type</b> round crotch round-pillar feet</p>	<p><b>I</b></p>	<p><b>II</b></p>
	  <p>5      6</p>	
<p><b>D-type</b> flat crotch round-pillar feet</p>	 <p>7</p>	

**Fig. 15 The pottery *li* (tripod) unearthed from the Guofenglou type (site) (1/10)**

- 1.A *li* (F1: 2) 2. BI *li* (F2-3: 5) 3. BI *li* (T4②: 1)  
4.BII *li* (H1②: 1) 5. CI *li* (F2-2: 1) 6. CII *li* (H1②: 2) 7. D *li* (H1①: 1)

Also, the transformation of the three-legged urn by the ethnic groups using this archaeological culture can be clearly found (as shown in Fig. 16). Two kinds of different three-legged urns have been unearthed in Guofenglou site in total. One is the urn with a straight body (F2-3: 2, Guo). Its three-legged part is the papillary hollow pouch pattern, which is the same as the production method in the Guanzhong area. However, the overall body is taller, and the distance of three legs are made wider, which seems like a local transformation. The other is a constricted egg-shaped urn (specimen B). Its body the is the same as that found in the Guanzhong area, but the shape of three legs are triangular, which is relatively unique.



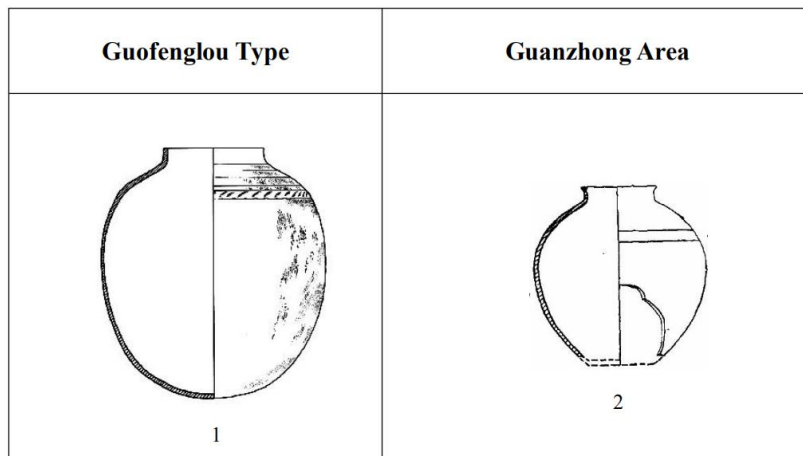
**Fig. 16 Comparison of the pottery three-legged *weng* (urn) unearthed from the Guofenglou type (site) and the pottery three-legged *weng* of the same period unearthed in Guanzhong area**

1. A *weng* (F2-3: 2) 2. B *weng* (specimen B)  
3. *weng* (T31③: 39) 4. *weng* (T22: 2)

1-2 Guofenglou (1. schematic diagram 2.1/20)

3. Fufeng Yijiabu (1/10) 4. 1955-57 Zhangjiapo (Keshengzhuang)

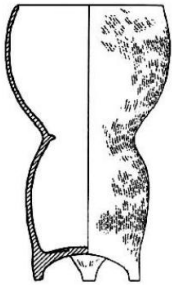
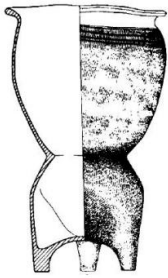
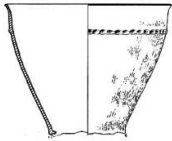
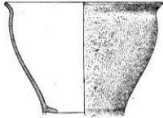

The cultural factors of the Western Zhou dynasty are reflected in the straight-necked, round-shouldered urn (F2-4: 1, Guo, Fig. 17) and the constricted egg-shape urn with three legs (specimen B, Guo, Fig. 17), sand-mixed pottery *li*, extravagant mouth *yan* (Fig. 18) appeared in the site, and the flat crotch features of pillar-type *li* appeared in a later time. The nearly square single houses unearthed seem to be similar to the houses of the style of Zhou.



**Fig. 17 Comparison of the pottery *AI weng* (urn) unearthed from the Guofenglou type (site) and the pottery *weng* of the same period unearthed in Guanzhong area**

1. *AI weng* (F2-4: 1) 2. *weng* (T31③B: 1)

1. Guofenglou (1/20) 2. Fufeng Yijiabu (1/10)

Area Type	Guofenglou Type	Jiangnan Area	Guanzhong Area
A-type	 1	 3	
B-type	 2		 4  5

**Fig. 18 Comparison of the pottery *yan* (steamer) unearthed from the Guofenglou type (site) and the pottery *yan* unearthed in the surrounding area**

1. A *yan* (F1: 1) 2. B *yan* (H1②: 3) 3. *yan* (M46: 30) 4. *yan* (H202) 5. *yan* (T315: 3)

1-2 Guofenglou (1. 1/10; 2. 1/20) 3. Suizhou Yejiashan (1/10)

4-5 1955-57 Zhangjiapo (1/20)

Period	Utensil Unit	<i>li</i>				<i>guan</i>			<i>weng</i>	<i>weng</i> (three-legged)		<i>yan</i>		<i>bo</i>	<i>zhi</i>
		A-type	B-type	C-type	D-type	A-type	B-type	C-type	A-type	A-type	B-type	A-type	B-type		
Early Western Zhou	F1	 1				 8	 9					 15		 17	
	F2, T4②		 2	 3	 5			 10	 11	 12	 13	 14			 18
	H1②		 4	 6									 16		
Mid Western Zhou	H1①				 7										

**Fig. 19 The stage diagram of the Western Zhou remains of Guofenglou type (site) (1-8 15.18. 1/20 ; 10-13 16. 1/40)**

1. A *li* (F1: 2) 2. BI *li* (F2-3: 5) 3. BI *li* (T4②: 1) 4. BII *li* (H1②: 1) 5. CI *li* (F2-2: 1) 6. CII *li* (H1②: 2) 7. D *li* (H1①: 1) 8. A *guan* (F1: 3)  
 9. B *guan* (F1: 8) 10. CI *guan* (F2-5: 5) 11. CII *guan* (F2-5: 3) 12. AI *weng* (F2-4: 1) 13. A three-legged *weng* (F2-3: 2)  
 14. B three-legged *weng* (specimen B) 15. A *yan* (F1: 1) 16. B *yan* (H1②: 3) 17. *bo* (specimen A) 18. *zhi* (F2-3: 1)



### *Xiawanggang type*

Xiangwanggang site is the typical representative of Xiawanggang type (Fig. 21). This type represents an indigenous cultural type influenced by Zhou culture during the Western Zhou period in the Dan river basin. Almost all pottery types can be found original form in Zhou culture, but at the same time, there is also a clear difference from its original style.

All the tombs of this type are vertical pits with no burial implements being discovered. There are single-time (single-person) burial tombs and joint (multi-person) burial tombs. The burial types are divided into upright burial and body bent burial. Only one funerary object is found in the single-person tomb, but fourteen burial objects in the multi-person tomb are unearthed.




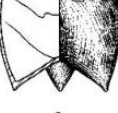




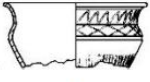
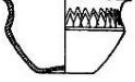


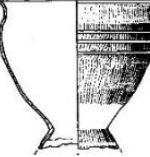

This type mainly includes three different cultural factors: the cultural factor of Shang, local cultural factor, and Zhou's cultural factor. Different from Guofenglou site (another aboriginal cultural type), the local cultural factor is more vital in Guofenglou type, while Xiawanggang type is based on the cultural characteristics of Shang and Zhou.

The cultural factor of Shang appeared in the early days of the Xiawanggang type, mainly reflected in the characteristics of divided crotch bag-shaped hollow cone *li* (A-type, Xia), its extravagant mouth, folded and squared border, convergent neck, divided crotch and hollow cones are the typical characteristics of pottery *li* of Shang dynasty.

The cultural factors of Zhou are mainly reflected in the material and color of pottery, which is often sand-mixed gray pottery or gray-brown pottery. In terms of artifacts types, there is a set of pottery combination, including *li*, *pen*, *dou* and *guan*. The production changes in *li* from the divided crotch to joint crotch are basically the same as that of the Western Zhou dynasty in the Guanzhong area. The production method of the crotch is the same as the style of Zhou. The shape of the shoulder-folded basin and other artifacts is similar to that of the Guanzhong area. What's more, the characteristics of the square chiselled oracle bones are also the same as the style of Zhou.

Local cultural factor is reflected in the shape of pottery *li*, which is relatively thin and tall, nearly rectangular or square overall, with a small neck and straight or slightly bulging abdomen wall. Potteries like straight belly basin (A-type, Xia), big mouth jar (A-type, Xia), high collar pot (B-type, Xia), bulging belly *yan* (H137: 1, Xia), pottery cup (A-type and B-type, Xia) and pottery pot (H121: 6, Xia) are of local features. In addition, an oracle bone with round holes is also different from the oracle bones of the style of Zhou.

The comparison of the Xiawanggang type remains with those of the same period in the surrounding area and the stage diagram of the remains as shown below:

Area Type	Xiawanggang Type	Guanzhong Area	E'xibei Area
<i>li</i>	 1	 7	 14
<i>li</i> (feet)	 2	 8	 10
	 3		 11
<i>pen</i>	 4		 12
<i>guan</i>	 5	 9	
<i>yan</i>	 6		 13

**Fig. 20 Comparison of the Xiawanggang type remains with those of the same period in the surrounding area (1/10)**










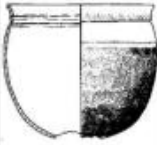

1. *li* (T4①: 45) 2. *li* ( H133:14) 3. *li* (feet) (H133: 16) 4. *pen* (H137: 2)

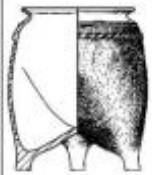




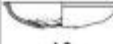
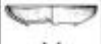

5. *guan* (H121: 4) 6. *yan* (H137: 1) 7. *li* (M322: 1) 8. *li* (M18: 1)

9. *guan* (H423: 5A) 10. *li* (feet) (T0407④: 6) 11. *li* (feet) (T0407④: 10)

12. *pen* (T92④A: 4) 13. *yan* (H79: 9) 14. *li* (ZMH1: 1)

1.1971-74 Xiawanggang 2-6 2008 Xiawanggang 7. 1983-86 Zhangjiapo 8. 1984-85 Fengxi 9.1955-57 Zhangjiapo 10-11 Danjiangkou Guanyinping 12. Junxian Zhujiatai 13. Xiangfan Zhenwushan 14. Zaoyang Maogoudong

Period	Utensil Unit	<i>li</i>			<i>pen</i>	<i>dou</i>		<i>guan</i>	<i>weng</i>		<i>yan</i>	
		A-type	B-type	C-type	A-type	A-type	B-type	A-type	A-type	B-type	A-type	B-type
Early Western Zhou	M24	 1							 16			
	T4①	 2				 10					 18	
	H135		 3		 8							
	H16		 4		 9			 15	 17			

Late Western Zhou (early stage)	H90												
	H17												
	T16①												
Late Western Zhou (late stage)	H137												

**Fig. 21 The stage diagram of the Western Zhou remains of Xiawanggang type (site) (1/15)**

1. AI *li* (M24: 11) 2. AIV *li* (T4①: 45) 3. BI *li* (H135: 2) 4. BII *li* (H16: 1) 5. CI *li* (H90: 1) 6. CII *li* (H17: 1) 7. CIII *li* (T16①: 108) 8. AI *pen* (H135: 1) 9. AII *pen* (H16: 7) 10. AI *dou* (T4①: 69) 11. AI *dou* (H90: 2) 12. AII *dou* (H90: 3) 13. AIII *dou* (H137: 4) 14. B *dou* (H137: 5) 15. AII *guan* (H16: 9) 16. AI *weng* (M24: 6) 17. BI *weng* (H16: 6) 18. A *yan* (T4①: 46) 19. B *yan* (H137: 1)

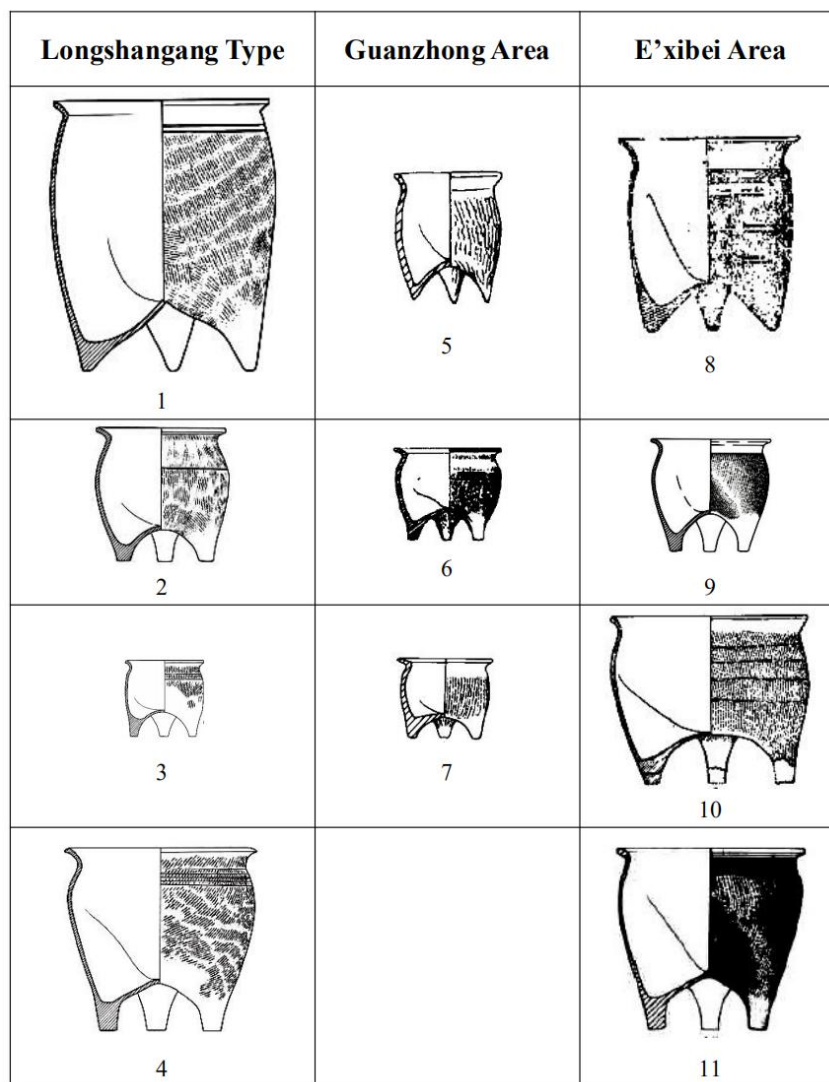
### *Longshangang type*

Longshangang site is representative of Longshangang type (Fig. 22-24), which also includes Shuanghezhen site, Shenmingpudong site (wenkan goudong didian) and part of the remains of Xiazhai site (H124, H320). The relics unearthed from these sites have strong commonalities in both the horizontal and vertical development trends. Observing the unearthed artifacts of this type, it can be regarded that they may belong to the local type of Zhou culture in the Western Zhou dynasty. This type mainly includes three different cultural factors: the cultural factor of Shang, the cultural factor of Zhou and the local cultural factor.

The cultural factor of Shang is mainly reflected in the early truncated cone *li* (A-type: H1: 1, Long) with an extravagant mouth, folded border, similar to the *li* of the early time of Xiawanggang type, which should also be the product under the same influence of Shang Culture.

Zhou Culture is reflected in the shape of some artifacts, such as joint crotch pillar feet type *li* with extravagant mouth and curved border (B-type: M8: 1, H528: 1, Long), flat crotch pillar feet *li* with curved border (C-type, Long), curved border basin with an extravagant mouth (H22: 4, Shen), binding edge *dou* (A-type: G: 2, Shuang), small mouth pot (B-type: H38: 9, H38: 7, Shen), folded shoulder urn (G: 17, Shuang), extravagant mouth *yan* (H21: 1, Shen) (Fig. 1.3.16, 2), pottery *zun* (T1③: 38, Shuang) and *gui* (G: 16, T1③: 24, Shuang).

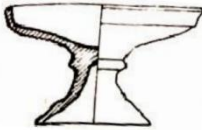

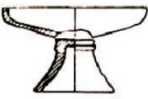
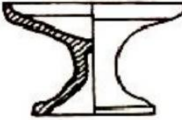
The local cultural factor is reflected in the material and color of potteries, dominated by sand-mixed gray pottery or red-brown pottery, which is different from Xiawanggang type but similar with Guofenglou type. In addition, there are also sand-mixed or mud orange-yellow pottery. Artifacts such as curved border bulging belly *li* (B-type: T1③:14, Shuang), straight-collar folded-shoulder straight belly pot (B-type: H320: 2, Zhai) and wide crotch pillar-type feet of *yan* (A-type: H32: 3, Shen) are also of unique characteristics. Besides, oracle bones with round holes are also different from the oracle bones of Zhou's style (square chiselled oracle bones).



**Fig. 22 Comparison of the pottery *li* (tripod) unearthed from the Longshangang type with those of the same period in the surrounding area (1/10)**

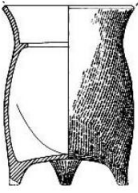
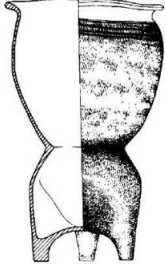

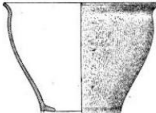
1. A *li* (H1: 1) 2. BI *li* (M8: 1) 3. BII *li* (H528: 1)  
 4. C *li* (H338: 1) 5. *li* (WM1: 3) 6. *li* (M37: 1) 7. *li* (T144G1②: 3)  
 8. *li* (ZMH1: 1) 9. *li* (M65: 21) 10. *li* (T92④B: 6) 11. *li* (H36:4)

- 1-4 Longshangang 5. Qishan Wangjiazui 6. 1983-86 Zhangjiapo  
 7. Fufeng Shaochen 8. Zaoyang Maogoudong 9. Suizhou Yejiashan  
 10. Junxian Zhujiatai (3/20) 11. Xiangfan Zhenwushan

	A-type	B-type
I	 1	 3
II	 2	 4

**Fig. 23 The pottery *dou* (dish) unearthed from the Longshangang type (Shuanghezhen site) (1/5)**

1. AI *dou* (G: 2) 2. AII *dou* (T1②:11, 12) 3. BI *dou* (G: 1) 4. BII *dou* (G: 14, 15)

Area Type	Longshangang Type	Jiangnan Area	Guanzhong Area
A-type	 1	 3	
B-type	 2		 4

**Fig. 24 Comparison of the pottery *yan* (steamer) unearthed from the Longshangang type (Shenmingpudong site, wenkan goudong didian) and the pottery *yan* unearthed in the surrounding area**

1. A *yan* (H32: 3) 2. B *yan* (H21: 1) 3. *yan* (M46: 30) 4. *yan* (H202)  
1-2 Shenmingpudong (1. 1/10; 2. 1/20) 3. Suizhou Yejiashan (1/10)  
4. 1955-57 Zhangjiapo (1/20)



### 2.3.6 Discussion

Based on the materials currently available, at least Chenyuan type and Guofenglou type these two culture types in the Western Zhou dynasty in the Dan river's upper and middle reaches. Chenyuan type represents the local type of Zhou culture in the Western Zhou dynasty, while the Guofenglou type represents a local indigenous culture type.

In the early Western Zhou period, the Chenyuan type and Guofenglou type developed, respectively. The materials and color, shape and decorative lines of artifacts unearthed in Chenyuan type are consistent with the typical Zhou culture. At this time, the artifacts such as *li* with flat feet, *yan* with a bulging belly and flat feet, and convergent pot unearthed in Guofenglou type are dominated by local culture in pottery features, artifact types and shapes.

In the mid-Western Zhou period and after, the Chenyuan type located in the upper reaches of the Dan river was influenced by the local indigenous culture. Namely, Guofenglou type, artifacts such as sand mixed gray-pottery and red-brown pottery started to appear. The emergence of three-legged urn and row houses also seem to be related to the Guofenglou type. However, from the early to late Western Zhou dynasty, the shape and development of most artifacts of Chenyuan type are still the same as the typical Zhou style in Guanzhong area.

There are at least Xiawanggang and Longshangang two kinds of cultural types in the lower reaches of Dan river. The earliest shape of divided crotch *li* of these two types is relatively similar. The style of extravagant mouth, folded border, square lips, convergent neck, divided crotch and cone bag-shaped feet may be the same influence of Shang culture, but they developed towards different trends since then.

The pottery *li* in Xiawanggang type continues with the tall and thin shape of the previous period, while the pottery *li* in Longshangang type is gradually the same as the characteristics of the bronze-imitated pottery *li* in Guanzhong area. Though, oracle bones with round holes are discovered in both Longshangang and Xiawanggang, which is different from Zhou's style. It is still uncertain whether it is the result of a

mutual exchange or the common production method.

These four cultural types in the Western Zhou dynasty in Dan river basin all contain the unearthed relics of the early Western Zhou dynasty, which is consistent with our exploration of the location of Danyang in terms of time and also the premise for our further discussion.

Based on the previous analysis, the latter two types of indigenous cultures (Guofenglou type and Xiawanggang type) should be included in consideration of looking for the relics of early-staged Chu, especially for Guofenglou type, which is very different from the typical Zhou style in Guanzhong area in terms of pottery color, the shape of some artifacts and architectural features. It may be the archaeological culture used by an ethnic group living in Dan river basin at that time.

However, whether this ethnic group is the early Chu people and whether this type is the early-staged Chu culture we are looking for can still not be confirmed. Based on the available materials, it will be very irresponsible if we give an utterly affirmative answer. We suggest that in the future, more detailed archaeological excavations should be carried out in the Dan river basin, especially in the Guofenglou and Xichuan areas. Only in this way can we use more unearthed materials to verify our current views.

## Conclusion

Guided by literature materials and historical geography and based on archaeological materials, we have conducted a detailed analysis of the various hypotheses about Danyang's geographic location proposed by the predecessors. In this chapter, we have listed all kinds of evidence that can be collected so far and distinguished four main one-place hypotheses (Dangtu, Zigui, Zhijiang and Danxi) and five itinerant hypotheses.

Among them, the “Dangtu hypothesis” appeared earliest in historical documents. It was first recorded in *Han shu* 汉书 (*History of the Former Han*). Ban Gu (32-92 CE) considered Danyang located in today's Dangtu county, Anhui province. Though, this statement was later refuted by Li Daoyuan (466/472-527 CE) and others.

In modern times, this hypothesis has been praised by a few scholars (such as Wang Yuzhe). Still, in the end, this hypothesis has gradually been abandoned due to weak arguments and lack of archaeological evidence. It is now being echoed by no one, existing with no longer arguable to others.

The “Zigui hypothesis” was first seen in the documents of the Eastern Jin dynasty. After Li Daoyuan cited and supplemented this version, it gradually became the mainstream statement.

Nevertheless, with the development of field archaeology, especially to cooperate with the Three Gorges Reservoir, the archaeological community has conducted comprehensive investigations and excavations in the Xiajiang area. The excavations show that the Chu cultural relics in the Zigui area were not earlier than the late Western Zhou dynasty and did not occupy a dominant position until the middle of the Spring and Autumn period. What's more, the Lianyushan site and Chuwangcheng site identified by Zigui hypothesis supporters were also inconsistent when the Chu people lived in Danyang. So the opinion that Danyang was in Zigui is not supported by archaeological finds.

Therefore, our current discussion focuses on the “Zhijiang hypothesis” and the “Danxi hypothesis”. Their corresponding geographical locations are the Juzhang river basin and the Dan river basin.

After the previous research, we found that the attempt to locate Danyang in Zhijiang or the present Juzhang river is precarious.

From the perspective of literature materials, the earliest literature regarding Zhijiang as the location of Danyang is in the Eastern Han dynasty. However, the basis for this concept is still unknown.

From the perspective of historical geography, scholars who support the “Zhijiang hypothesis” use “Jingshan” (Jing mountain) and “Juzhang” (Juzhang river) as the main clues to confirm the location of Danyang. The specific location of Jingshan has been fascinatedly discussed by the later generations, derived of many different opinions instead of reaching a consensus. According to many scholars, there are as many as five “Jingshan” that may be related to Chu, which is distributed in Shaanxi, Hubei, Henan and even Anhui. We believe that since the specific location of Jingshan cannot be determined, and it is still unclear whether the Jingshan place name is consistent in ancient and modern times, so it can only be used as indirect geographical evidence.

From the perspective of archaeological materials, the proof is also insufficient. The age of the Jijiahu city site, Mopanshan site and other vital sites identified by scholars who hold the statement that Danyang was in Zhijiang is relatively late. There is a significant time gap between the time when Yu Xiong or Xiong Yi lived in Danyang.

What’s more, the cultural relics in the early and mid-term of the Western Zhou dynasty are scarce in this area, the vacancy of which has not been filled yet by archaeological investigations and excavations over the years. There is no access to understand the cultural features in the early and middle Western Zhou dynasty. It is exactly what the hypothesis that “The capital of Chu, Danyang, was in Zhijiang” cannot be explained.

We believe that “Zhijiang hypothesis” is based on relatively late literature, and it is entirely unsupported in archaeology and ethnic origin, and it is challenging to explain geographically.

Generally speaking, the “Danxi hypothesis” is superior to the “Zhijiang hypothesis” whether from the perspective of literature or historical geography. What’s more, the Dan river basin is the area most archaeological clues accumulate.

The historical literature this hypothesis based on is relatively earlier, which is the Danyang battle between Qin and Chu (312 BCE) recorded by *Shi ji*. The “Danyang” where the Dan river and Xi river met is the earliest existed place named Danyang, and the Dan river is the only verifiable pre-Han “Dan” place-name.<sup>233</sup>

From the perspective of historical geography, mountains or waters with the words “Dan”, Chu” and “Jing” can be found in the Danxi area. Also, the Danxi area is the closest place to Fenghao and Qiyi of Western Zhou, among other places supported by many other hypotheses. We cannot ignore that the relationship between Zhou (state) and Chu (state) was very close during the Western Zhou period, which is the facts confirmed by literature and archaeological discoveries.

During Xiong Yi’s ruling period, King of Chu used to attend the “Qiyang meeting 岐阳之会” held by King Cheng of Zhou, which has proved that Chu belongs to the political system of enfeoffment of the Zhou in the early western Zhou dynasty and has a low political status. There is also a story of “Zhou Gong Ben Chu 周公奔楚” (Duke of Zhou Chu went to Chu for refuge).

The oracle bone unearthed from Zhouyuan, which describes that the King of Chu went to the capital to worship the King of Zhou in the early years of Western Zhou dynasty, proving the close relationship between Zhou and Chu in the early Western Zhou dynasty with little controversy.

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<sup>233</sup> Blakeley, Barry B. “On the location of the Chu capital in early Chunqiu times in light of the Handong Incident of 701 B.C.” *Early China* (1990): 50.

The intimate ties between Chu and Zhou in Western Zhou times outlined above are more easily understood from the perspective of Chu being situated in the nearby Dan valley than along the quite distant Yangtze.<sup>234</sup>

What's more, according to the records of the unearthed document “*Chu Ju*”, Xiong Yi moved the capital to Yitun, the person who helped the king to practice divination is from Ruo (state). Also, People in Chu have stolen cattle from people in Ruo for sacrifice in the new residence. Therefore, it can be concluded that Chu and Ruo are not far apart in the early Western Zhou dynasty. The location of Ruo was currently in the area southwest of Neixiang county, southeast of Xichuan, east of Xi river of Xixia county to the north, and east of the lower reaches of Dan river when Xi river met with it to the south. It will only make sense that Chu is in the west of Ruo and located in the Xichuan county west of the Nanyang basin.

From the perspective of archaeological materials, the earliest unearthed relics of the Longcheng site belonged to the Spring and Autumn period, which is relatively late compared to Danyang's existence time. The age of tomb materials of Xiasi, Heshangling, and Xujialing in Xichuan is not earlier than the middle Spring and Autumn period. These make the “Danxi hypothesis” once faced a dilemma.

In recent years, however, with the implementation of the cultural relics protection of the middle route of the south-to-north water transfer project, some of the archaeological remains of the Shang and Western Zhou dynasty have been found here. According to the known materials, some relics' age may be as early as the early Western Zhou period. Only on this basis can we discuss the possibility of this site or this area being the location of Danyang at Xiong Yi's time in the early Western Zhou. (In comparison, no relics of the Shang dynasty or the early and middle Western Zhou dynasty are found in the middle reaches of the Juzhang river, namely the area identified by the “Zhijiang hypothesis”)

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<sup>234</sup> Blakeley, Barry B. “The geography of Chu.” In *Defining Chu: Image and Reality in Ancient China*, eds. Cook, Constance A., and John S. Major. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999, p. 11.

In the case study section of this chapter, we combed and analyzed the existing archaeological remains of the Western Zhou dynasty in Dan river basin through archaeological stratigraphy, typology, chronology and cultural factors analysis.

We try to establish the development sequence of the archaeological culture of this region during the Western Zhou period, to understand the Western Zhou cultural features of this area, and to identify the most likely early-staged Chu cultural factors.

Based on the previous analysis, two types of indigenous cultures (Guofenglou type and Xiawanggang type) should be included in consideration of looking for the relics of early-staged Chu, especially for Guofenglou type, which is very different from the typical Zhou style in Guanzhong area in terms of pottery color, the shape of some artifacts and architectural features. It may be the archaeological culture used by a specific ethnic group living in the Dan river basin at that time. However, it is still necessary to do a lot of excavation work to further prove that these relics are related to Chu people in terms of archaeology.

As a summary, through detailed research and analysis of this chapter, we hold the viewpoint that Danyang in the Western Zhou period may not be the name of capital or a specific location, but a region near the Dan river basin. One possible speculation is that Chu people did not settle in Danyang as their capital but resided in the Danyang area. In general, the scope of activities of the early Chu people in the Western Zhou period should be in the Dan river basin at the earliest.

However, more detailed archaeological excavations should be carried out in the Dan river basin. Only in this way can we use more unearthed materials to verify our current views.

Also, we must pay attention to that, the archaeological materials we quoted must be consistent with the time of the Chu capital. Some previous studies are of great casualty exactly because researchers do not strictly follow the principle that the age of archaeological relics must be consistent with the age of Danyang.

Previous researches are easy to be less rigorous and objective when using archaeological materials to prove the characteristics of the Chu capital, because once relics of the Shang and Zhou dynasties are unearthed in the area believed as the capital of Chu, predecessors always hastily identify the area as the capital of Chu ignoring the differences of corresponding conditions such as the age and cultural features of relics compared with Danyang.

In view of this, it is necessary to make some strict restrictions on the archaeological argument of the capital so as to avoid casualty. It may be challenging to find the exact site of Danyang, but it must be located in the archaeological sites of the same time with Yu Xiong or Xiong Yi. It will be unreliable to use archaeological materials earlier or later than their age.

We believe that with the gradual reduction of the scope of research, the increasingly clear focus of research and the comprehensive development of field archaeology, the exploration of Danyang, the first capital of Chu, will have important breakthroughs in the future.



### Chapter III Chu capital in the middle stage: Ying

#### Introduction

In the first chapter of this thesis, we have discussed Danyang, the capital of Chu in the early stage (Western Zhou period). Now it's time to turn our attention to Chu capital in the mid-stage (early Spring and Autumn period to the middle Warring States period), namely the capital Ying.

Traditional views have always believed that the capital of Chu state moved from Danyang to Ying about in the early Spring and Autumn period. Since then, from the Spring and Autumn period to the Warring States period, from King Wu of Chu (or King Wen of Chu,<sup>235</sup> the son of King Wu) to the reign of King Qingxiang of Chu, the capital of Chu state has been in Ying within about 400 years (only temporarily moved to Ruo during the reign of King Zhao of Chu). Until 278 BCE, that is, in the 21st year of King Qingxiang of Chu, the capital Ying of Chu state was captured by general Bai Qi of the Qin state, the capital of Chu moved east to Chencheng, then moved to Shouchun, and finally, it was destroyed by Qin until 223 BCE.

Ying, as the longest used and most crucial capital name in the history of Chu state, where is precisely its location? According to historical documents before the Tang dynasty, the ancient site of capital Ying was in Jiangling (today known as Jingzhou district, Jingzhou city, Hubei province).

It has been proposed more explicitly since the Wei and Jin dynasties that the capital Ying was located at the Jinancheng of Jiangling. This statement continued to be adopted in some important geographical works of Tang, Sui and later dynasties, including *Kuo di zhi* 括地志, *Yudi jisheng* 輿地纪胜, and *Yudi guangji* 輿地广纪.

Since Jinancheng is the relatively explicit ancient site of the capital Ying of Chu recorded in the literature, the department of cultural relics and archaeology has conducted large-scale archaeological investigations and excavations on the

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<sup>235</sup> Loewe, Michael, and Edward L. Shaughnessy, eds. *The Cambridge History of Ancient China* (1999): 1027.

Jinancheng city site and its surrounding areas since the 1950s. At present, the terminus postquem of Jinancheng has been relatively clear, that is, as the capital of Chu, it was finally captured by general Bai Qi of Qin in 278 BCE.

However, there is a significant dispute about the upper limit of the Jinancheng city site's age, which has not been solved. With the in-depth development of archaeological work, we find that the age of the city site and surrounding tombs was relatively late, mostly after the late Spring and Autumn period, mainly during the Warring States period. Its upper limit of age can hardly be traced back to the middle of the Spring and Autumn period and even to the early Spring and Autumn period. Therefore, the Jinancheng remains are not sufficiently the early Spring and Autumn date.<sup>236</sup>

This is quite different from the historical records that the capital Ying began in the early Spring and Autumn period. So if we still take Jinancheng as the ancient site of the Chu capital from the Spring and Autumn period to the Warring States period, there are some incomparable missing links in the chronology that they cannot correspond to. Currently, we can only confirm that Jinancheng is the capital of Chu in the Warring States period. Thus, is there a possibility that the Chu capital in the Spring and Autumn period was in another place?

In recent years, archaeologists have discovered several large-scale city sites of Chu state in the Spring and Autumn period in Yicheng and Dangyang in succession, such as the Chuhuangcheng city site in Yicheng, the Jijiahu city site in Dangyang, etc. It provides new clues for us to study the capital site of Chu in the Spring and Autumn period. They have all been argued to be the later Chu capital of Ying.<sup>237</sup>

Meanwhile, the bamboo slips of Chu unearthed in recent years are also worthy of our attention. Among these unearthed bamboo slips, such as the Chu bamboo slips of Xincai, Wangshan and Baoshan, some place names of Chu that are linked with the word "Ying" frequently appear.

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<sup>236</sup> Blakeley, Barry B. "On the Location of the Chu Capital in Early Chunqiu Times in Light of the Handong Incident of 701 B.C." *Early China* (1990): 52.

<sup>237</sup> Flad, Rowan K., and Pochan Chen. *Ancient Central China* (2013): 134.

These place names, which can be called “X-Ying”(×郢), are most closely represented in Chapter *Chu ju* of Tsinghua Bamboo slips. There are as many as 14 records about “X-Ying” in *Chu ju* published in 2010. However, most of these place names cannot be identified at present. How to understand their nature, their relationship with Ying, their relationship with the capital of Chu state, etc., which have made the researchers feel puzzled.

There are also more and more disputes and differences in the research on the capital Ying of Chu state due to the emergence of these issues. To sum up, the discussions mainly focus on the following three aspects:

- (1) Who moved the capital of Chu from Danyang to Ying;
- (2) How to understand the concept of Ying and its relationship with X-Ying;
- (3) The specific location of Ying and whether there is migration or not.

The determination of the above-mentioned basic concepts of the capital Ying of Chu is an essential and important work to explore the capital city of Chu in the middle stage. Therefore, in the first part of this chapter, we will carry out a detailed review and discussion of the first two issues mentioned above, mainly from historical documents and unearthed documents, combined with previous studies.

In the second part of this chapter, we will conduct an in-depth analysis of the three ancient sites related to capital Ying, namely the Chuhuangcheng site, Jijiahu site and Jinancheng site, by using the materials from archaeological excavations in recent years. The study of the Jinancheng city site will be the focus of this part.

Finally, in the third part of this chapter, we will discuss the third question mentioned above, namely, the location and migration of Ying. We look forward to forming a comprehensive understanding of Chu capital in the middle stage by combining the evidence of historical documents, unearthed documents and archaeological materials.

### 3.1 Controversial issues related to Ying

#### 3.1.1 Who moved the Chu capital from Danyang to Ying

The records in the historical documents about who moved the Chu capital to Ying and when it happened is, however, so brief that ongoing discussions have been aroused among scholars of later generations. Blakeley once described this kind of controversy caused by discrepancies in the literature.<sup>238</sup>

The historical figures involved in this topic include King Wu of Chu and King Wen of Chu, the two rulers of Chu who successively took the throne. The historical period involved is from the thirty-fifth year of the former king's reign (706 BCE) to the first year of the later king's reign (689 BCE).

*Shi ben* 世本 (*Book of Origins*) is the first historical document recording the event of “King Wu of Chu moved the capital to Ying”.<sup>239</sup> The chapter *Ju* 居 (*Residence*) of *Shi ben* described it like this:

楚鬻熊居丹阳，武王徙郢。

The Chu leader Yu Xiong lived (resided) in Danyang, King Wu moved to Ying.

In addition, Du Yu 杜预 of the Western Jin dynasty left concerned records in the chapter *Shizu pu* 氏族谱 of *Chunqiu shili* 春秋释例:<sup>240</sup>

楚国，...成王封熊绎于楚，...居丹阳。...武王居郢，今江陵是也。

The State of Chu, ... the King Cheng of Zhou enfeoffed Xiong Yi with the state of Chu, ... and Xiong Yi lived in Danyang. ... The King Wu lived in Ying, the site known as Jiangling today.

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<sup>238</sup> Blakeley, Barry B. “On the Location of the Chu Capital in Early Chunqiu Times in Light of the Handong Incident of 701 B.C.” *Early China* (1990): 51.

<sup>239</sup> *Shi ben* contains 15 chapters and it is one of the most important historical literatures concerning the age of pre-Qin. In the footnote of the introduction section of the first chapter, we have already indicated in detail that *Shi ben* a historical document has important reference value.

<sup>240</sup> *Chunqiu shili*, volume 9, *Shizu pu*.

Differently, the scholars who consider the onset of Ying serving as the capital started during the reign of King Wen of Chu, conclude mainly based on historical materials *Shi ji* and *Han shu*. For example, *Shi ji* wrote:<sup>241</sup>

文王熊贛立，始都郢。

Xiong Zi (King Wen of Chu) ascended the throne and set the capital Ying,

Besides, the original annotation to “Jiangling”江陵, in *Dili zhi* 地理志 of *Han shu*, goes:

故楚郢都，楚文王自丹阳徙此。

The capital Ying of the State of Chu in ancient time, to which the King Wen of Chu moved the capital from Danyang.

When it comes to the specific time of moving the capital, the academic circle also shows various opinions:

Scholar Song Xiangfeng of Qing dynasty judged in *Guo ting lu* 过庭录, volume 9, “Chu Yu Xiong ju Danyang xi Ying kao” 楚鬻熊居丹阳武王徙郢考 (Research on Yu Xiong of Chu’s Living in Danyang and King Wu of Chu’s Moving the Capital to Ying) that the movement of Chu capital from Danyang to Ying was carried out in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of King Wu of Chu (706 BCE) by inferring from the historical background of territory exploring and expanding by King Wu of Chu Xiong Tong 熊通 and his attacking, integrating and ruling the land of the east of Han river.

In the article *Analysis of Chu Capital*, Zhang Zhengming thought of the stories of King Wu’s moving to Ying and King Wen’s setting capital Ying to be seemingly different but essentially the same. He presumed it possible that the Chu capital movement to Ying took place in the fifty-first year of the reign of King Wu (690 BCE), the time when King Wu demised, and King Wen succeeded to the throne.<sup>242</sup>

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<sup>241</sup> Similar description has also been found in the chapter *Shi'er zhuhou ninbiao* 十二诸侯年表 of *Shi ji*.

<sup>242</sup> Zhang Zhengming 张正明. “Chu du bian” 楚都辨 (Analysis of Chu Capital). *Jiangnan luntan* 江汉论坛 4 (1982): 66.

Shi Quan showed his opinion in the article *When Was the Capital of Chu moved to Ying* in the light of records in *Shi ben* and *Zuo zhuan*. He considered it more practical that King Wu moved the capital from Danyang to Ying in his later years (703 BCE-699 BCE), but that the announcement of Ying being officially set up as the capital was made ten years later, which was in the first year of the reign of King Wen (689 BCE).<sup>243</sup>

When endless quarrels prevail between concerned parties, the chapter *Chu ju* of Tsinghua Bamboo Slips offers us a clue of significance to address the puzzle. It said:

至武王畬（通）自宵徙居免，焉始□□□□福。衆（众）不容于免，乃渭（围）疆涅之波（陂）而宇人焉，氏（抵）今日郢。

King Wu of Chu moved from Xiao to Mian. Later, the drastic growth of the population overloaded Mian. King Wu then commanded to break down the nearby “Jiangying” slop embankment, draining out the water and making the site habitable for people. After its expansion and establishment, the new capital was formed. So far, the capital began to be called Ying.<sup>244</sup>

The first chapter of this dissertation focuses on exploring the previous capital Danyang of the state of Chu. We mentioned the introduction to the origin of the designation “Chu people” that *Chu ju* adopts. The above paragraph is talking about the source of the Chu capital Ying being called so. Capital Ying had initially been named Mian 免 and after its expansion, re-named Ying 郢, or Jiang Ying 疆郢 and Mian Ying 免郢.

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<sup>243</sup> Shi Quan 石泉. “Chu du heshi qian Ying” 楚都何时迁郢 (When Was the Capital of Chu moved to Ying). *Jiangnan luntan* 江汉论坛 4 (1984): 76-78.

<sup>244</sup> Da Haobo 笄浩波. “Cong Qinghua jian *Chu ju* kan Chu shi de ruogan wenti” 从清华简《楚居》看楚史的若干问题 (Viewing Several Issues in Chu History from the Chapter *Chu ju* of Tsinghua Bamboo Slips). *Zhongguo shi yanjiu* 中国史研究 1 (2015): 83-93.

Based on the view of *Chu ju*, we could be sure that the title of Ying as the capital name began from the reign of King Wu of Chu. We also agreed with Da Haobo for his idea that it was at the same time when the Chu capital was named Ying and Xiong Tong made himself king of the state of Chu.

Before King Wu of Chu, the Chu capital had appeared only as a location name. And during this period, the rulers of this state had been respectfully called Gong 公 (i.e. Duke in English) while the later rulers of the state changed to call themselves as Wang 王 (i.e. King in English) after King Wu Xiong Tong. Ying's resignation came to being concurrent with the crown title of King of the state of Chu. Both served as a mark of Chu people to represent their political status, that is, to announce on oath to the world that the Chu was a kingdom as equal as Zhou in all respects.<sup>245</sup>

### 3.1.2 How to understand the concept of Ying and X-Ying

#### *The concept of Ying*

“Ying” is explained as “capital of the state of Chu” in *Shuowen jiezi* 说文解字 (*Origin of Chinese Characters*), with a description as:

郢, 故楚都, 在南郡江陵北十里, 从邑, 呈声。

Ying refers to the capital of the state of Chu, which was located ten *li* 里 north of Jiangling county, Nanjun prefecture, in ancient time. A pictophonetic character, the Chinese character Ying follows character 邑 (yi) in the meaning and character 呈 (cheng) in the pronunciation.

Duan Yucai noted:

南郡江陵, 今湖北荆州府治江陵县。府治即故江陵城, 府东北三里有故郢城。

Jiangling, Nanjun prefecture, is known today as Jiangling county, the site of the prefectural government of Jingzhou, Hubei province. Ten *li* northeast of

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<sup>245</sup> Da Haobo 笪浩波. “Cong Qinghua jian *Chu ju* kan Chu shi de ruogan wenti” 从清华简《楚居》看楚史的若干问题 (Viewing Several Issues in Chu History from the Chapter *Chu ju* of Tsinghua Bamboo Slips). *Zhongguo shi yanjiu* 中国史研究 1 (2015): 93.

Jiangling city stands the ancient Ying city.

It is recorded *Shi ben* that “the King Wu of Chu moved the capital to Ying.” Before the Chu people’s movement to Ying, no such a Chinese character 郢 (Ying) was founded in the literature handed down by generations. It can thus be implied that the character Ying appeared in the early Spring and Autumn period, and its presence has a bearing on the capital of Chu state.

The documents that followed the records about Ying are coherent in general, all recognizing it as the proper term of the Chu capital, with its location being Jiangling, Hubei province, today.

Since the Chu moved her capital from Danyang to Ying in the early Spring and Autumn period, the geographical position of the capital Ying of Chu has never been changed until Bai Qi, a military general of the state of Qin, stormed and conquered it in 278 BCE.

However, the brief text of *Chu ju* mentioned above brings us with a fresh insight into the meaning of Ying. We can know from *Chu ju* that Ying refers in origin meaning to the city that is established by “embanking a protective dyke”.

In *Chu ju*, given that the character 涅 (Ying) originally means mud and sediment,<sup>246</sup> “Jiang Ying” is supposed to refer to a relatively shallow water area with less water.<sup>247</sup> The reconstruction of Jiang Ying - borrowing space from a water area and thus expanding the living space - is the later age called “zhu wei zi”筑圩子 (embankment of a protective dyke surrounding low-lying fields). The area which is reshaped by such a method is called 郢 (Ying), so the re-established 疆涅 (Jiang Ying) was re-named as 疆郢 (Jiang Ying). Though an outcome of expansion on Mian 免, Jiang Ying inevitably took the place of Mian progressively due to its scaling out of the old

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<sup>246</sup> Li Xueqin 李学勤. “Qinghua jian *Chu ju* yu Chu xi Xun Ying” 清华简《楚居》与楚徙郢都 (Chapter *Chu ju* of Tsinghua Bamboo Strip Manuscripts and Chu’s Moving to Xun Ying). *Jiangnan kaogu* 江汉考古 2 (2011): 108-109.

<sup>247</sup> Zhao Ping’an 赵平安. “Shi shi *Chu ju* zhong de yizu diming” 试释《楚居》中的一组地名 (A Trial Interpretation of a Group of Place Names in *Chu ju*). *Zhongguo shi yanjiu* 中国史研究 1 (2011): 74-79.



city later.<sup>248</sup>

### ***The concept of X-Ying***

#### *X-Ying in historical documents*

It can be implied from the above discussion that in the records and description of historical documents, the Chu capitals as the highest administrative office are all named Ying, with its present location in Jiangling, Hubei province. However, we also noticed the presence of some other names of Chu places containing the character 郢 (Ying) in the documents, such as Jiao Ying 郊郢 and Yan Ying 郢郢.

#### A. Jiao Ying

The name Jiao Ying can be found in the records about the Battle of Pusao 蒲骚之战 (701 BCE) which was ended with the Chu army defeating the Yun army in *Zuo zhuan*.<sup>249</sup>

君次于郊郢，以御四邑。

杜预注：“四邑，随，绞，州，蓼也”，“郊郢，楚地。”

You may station at Jiao Ying to resist the aggression of the four allied states.

Du Yu annotated: “The four states refer to the Sui state, Jiao state, Zhou state, and Liao state,” and “Jiao Ying, a place of the State of Chu.”

#### B. Yan Ying

The name Yan Ying can be found in *Zhan guo ce* and *Shi ji*. “Yan Ying is the *Zhu guo* 柱国 of Chu,” wrote the *Zhan guo ce*.<sup>250</sup> “The *Zhu guo* means the capital of a state,” Gao You annotated. That is to say, Yan Ying was the capital of the state of Chu.

In the chapter *Chu shi jia* of *Shi ji*:

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<sup>248</sup> Same as above.

<sup>249</sup> *Zuo zhuan, Huan Gong shiyi nian*.

<sup>250</sup> *Zhan guo ce, Qi ce san*.

故曰秦为大鸟，负海内而处，东面而立，左臂据赵之西南，右臂傅楚鄢郢，膺击韩魏，垂头中国，处既形便，势有地利，奋翼鼓鹤，方三千里，则秦未可得独招而夜射也。

Therefore, the Qin state is an ambitious eagle. It backs on the continent for inhabiting, stands upright with facing eastward, adjoins the southwest of the Zhao state on the left, neighbors Yan Ying of the Chu state on the right, and faces the Han state and Wei state in the front. Qin is wishful to occupy the Central Plains alone. Superior in the political situation and advantageous in the geographical position, the eagle Qin can hover over the area with a radius of one thousand and five hundred kilometers. It thus can be inferred that it is impossible for one state alone to fetter the eagle Qin state and shoot it as a capture overnight.<sup>251</sup>

#### *X-Ying in unearthed documents*

Such place names as “X-Ying” mentioned above are founded more frequently in the Chu bamboo slip materials unearthed in recent years, including the Xincai Chu bamboo slips, Wangshan Chu bamboo slips, Baoshan Chu bamboo slips, etc.

There are a total of six place names related to X-Ying that appeared in the above bamboo slip materials. If the data of X-Ying is connected in order of time, then the arrangement is as follows: <sup>252</sup>

Xincai Chu bamboo slips (The turn of the early to mid-Warring States period):

藍郢、鄢郢、肥遺郢

Wangshan Chu bamboo slips (Late stage of the middle Warring States period):

菽郢

Baoshan Chu bamboo slips (Late stage of the middle Warring States period):

藍郢、菽郢、郢郢、郢郢

<sup>251</sup> *Shi ji, Chu shi jia.*

<sup>252</sup> Wu Liangbao 吴良宝. *Zhanguo Chu jian diming ji zheng* 战国楚简地名辑证 (*Textual Research of the Place Names in Chu Bamboo Slips of the Warring States Period*). Wuhan: Wuhan daxue chubanshe 武汉: 武汉大学出版社 (2010): 67.

Researchers have conducted a series of textual research and identification on these X-Ying's historical and geographical location. All of them believe that there is at least some relation between X-Ying and the Chu capital. These places might be the *bie du* 别都 or *pei du* 陪都 (secondary capital or alternate capital) of the Chu state, or its key cities and towns, or a temporary imperial palace and dwelling places for the Kings of Chu for short stays away from the capital.<sup>253</sup> Nevertheless, the researchers hold different opinions on these X-Ying's corresponding geographical positions and their nature, yet reaching a unified view.

The chapter *Chu ju* of Tsinghua bamboo slips, published in 2010, is hailed for its impressively minute narrative about the lineage of Kings of the Chu state generation by generation and the places of their residence and capitals. No sooner was this material organized and released to the public that a discussion upsurge was engendered in the academic circle.

Every researcher expects to answer persuasively such questions as the nature of Ying and X-Ying, the relationship between them, and their geographical positions by studying the material, *Chu ju*. But regrettably, we have found that far from being solved one after one, these questions become more sophisticated and even bring the researchers with extra confusions.

As long as more than 600 Chinese characters, *Chu ju* involves over 30 place names. Most of the names have never even been heard of, except a few have been found in the literature handed down from ancient times or the documents unearthed previously.<sup>254</sup> With up to 14 pieces of records concerning X-Ying, this document is merited as the most concentrated on recording these X-Ying. Nevertheless, the specific locations of most place names remain unknown, and the views and

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<sup>253</sup> Wu Liangbao 吴良宝. *Zhanguo Chu jian diming ji zheng* 战国楚简地名辑证 (*Textual Research of the Place Names in Chu Bamboo Slips of the Warring States Period*). Wuhan: Wuhan daxue chubanshe 武汉: 武汉大学出版社 (2010): 37-68.

<sup>254</sup> Zhou Hongwei 周宏伟. "Chu ren yuanyu Guanzhong pingyuan xinzheng: yi Qinghua jian *Chu ju* xiangguan diming de kaoshi wei zhongxin" 楚人源于关中平原新证-以清华简《楚居》相关地名的考释为中心 (New Evidences of the Chu People from the Guanzhong Plain: Focusing on Some Place: names of the *Chu ju* of Tsinghua Bamboo Slips). *Zhongguo lishi dili luncong* 中国历史地理论丛 vol. 27, 2 (2012): 5-27.

explanations of their nature are varying.

Instead of sticking to the idea that the X-Ying has to be the capital, the researchers who sorted out *Chu ju* interpret the concerned X-Ying into *wang ju* 王居 (the imperial palace), saying that “since King Wu, the state of Chu has often named the imperial palace Ying...Rather than as a fixed name of a place, Ying serves as a general name of the dwelling of the Kings after King Wu.” X-Ying is considered the name of specific cities and towns. We agree with this view.

However, some scholars expressed disagreement with this idea. For example, Shoubin thinks of X-Ying not to be a city or town name, but a palace name, after combining the ancient books and records with the unearthed Chu bamboo slips.<sup>255</sup> Other scholars have suggested that Ying called by Chu people actually means the administrative center rather than the king’s residence.<sup>256</sup>

### ***The relationship between Ying and X-Ying***

Understanding the relationship between Ying and X-Ying is an inevitable question in exploring Chu capital in the middle stage. Judging from *Chu ju* we know that Ying originally meant the city established by “embanking a protective dyke”. Since King Wu of Chu, however, Ying has started to be the designation of the capital city.

The residence of the king of Chu is uncertain, almost every generation has migrated, and even one generation of the king of Chu lived in many places. After that, each place to which the King of Chu moved his dwelling or temporary residence was named X-Ying.

In our opinion, if these X-Ying cities are all regarded as the capital of Chu, the movement of the capital to another place would be dramatically frequent, which is out of common sense. In the pre-Qin period, only the places where the ancestral temple was located could be called capital. Moving the capital city has always been a

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<sup>255</sup> Shou Bin 守彬. “Cong Qinghua jian *Chu ju* tan X Ying” 从清华简《楚居》谈“X 郢” (Talking about “X Ying” from the Chapter *Chu ju* of Tsinghua Bamboo Slips). *Jianbo wang* 简帛网 (2011-01-09).

<sup>256</sup> Zi Ju 子居. “Qinghua jian *Chu ju* jiexi” 清华简《楚居》解析 (Analysis of the Chapter *Chu ju* of Tsinghua Bamboo Slips). *Jianbo yanjiu wang* 简帛研究网 (2011-03-30).

domino-level huge matter for ancient nations.

We can also feel this tendency from Constance A. Cook's description of *Chu ju*:

Once the Chu identity was created and the sacred enclosure consecrated, the text (of *Chu ju*) becomes a patriarchal history of royal ancestor spirits and their migrations from one Chu “dwelling, residence, political social center” (*ju* 居) to another.<sup>257</sup>

In this sense, most of these places called X-Ying should not be capital Ying, but just King's residence. However, due to their long stay, they also deal with state affairs there.<sup>258</sup> We consider it more acceptable to understand these X-Ying as an important city or town which stood not far from the capital Ying and in which the Chu Kings once lived.

Except for these X-Ying, which are the names of important cities or towns, we believe that there are very few X-Ying with the nature of Chu capital in *Chu ju*.

Wei Ying 为郢, for example, there are nine Chu kings or Chu monarchs who once lived here (King Wen, King Mu, King Zhuang, King Gong, King Kang, Jia Ao, King Ling, King Zhao, and King Hui). Some important events are also related to Wei Ying.

In recent years, scholars have also tried to identify the location of Wei Ying. The Chuhuangcheng site in Yicheng,<sup>259</sup> the Guojiagang site in Yicheng,<sup>260</sup> and the Jijiahu site<sup>261</sup> have all been regarded as Wei Ying.

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<sup>257</sup> Cook, Constance A., and Luo Xinhui. *Birth in Ancient China* (2017): 82.

<sup>258</sup> Yin Hongbing 尹弘兵. “Chu du Jinancheng tanxi: jiyu kaogu yu chutu wenxian xin ziliao de kaocha” 楚都纪南城探析: 基于考古与出土文献新资料的考察 (Analysis of Jinancheng City Site, the Capital of Chu State, Based on New Data from Archaeological Materials and Bamboo Slips). *Lishi dili yanjiu* 历史地理研究 2 (2019): 46-57.

<sup>259</sup> Zhao Qingmiao 赵庆森. “Chu ju ‘Wei Ying’ kao” 《楚居》“为郢”考 (Research on “Wei Ying” of *Chu Ju*). *Guji zhengli yanjiu xuekan* 古籍整理研究学刊 3 (2015): 25-28.

<sup>260</sup> Zhao Ping'an 赵平安. “Chu ju ‘Wei Ying’ kao” 《楚居》“为郢”考 (Research on “Wei Ying” of *Chu Ju*). *Zhongguoshi yanjiu* 中国史研究 4 (2012): 5-10.

<sup>261</sup> Da Haobo 笄浩波. “Cong Qinghua jian Chuju kan ‘Wei’ Ying zhi suo zai” 从清华简《楚居》看“为”郢之所在 (The Study on the Position of “Wei Ying” in the Chapter *Chu ju* of Tsinghua Bamboo Slips). *Zhongguo lishi dili luncong* 中国历史地理论丛 4 (2016): 27-33.

So, which view is closer to the historical truth? We first need to conduct a specific analysis of the relevant city sites, and based on an in-depth understanding of the age and nature of the site, then we will come back to discuss this issue.

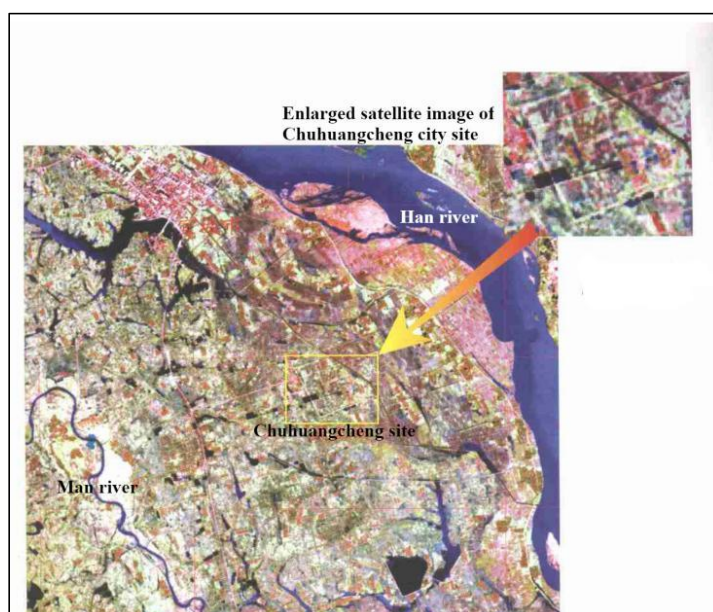
## 3.2 Archaeological discoveries related to Ying

### 3.2.1 Chuhuangcheng site

#### *Location selection and scale*

Geographical coordinates of the site of Chuhuangcheng are east longitude 112°18' 47", north latitude 31°29' 28". It is located in Huangcheng village, Zhengji town, about 7.5 km south of Yicheng city, Hubei province.<sup>262</sup>

The city site is built on the edge of the eastern terrace and surrounded by a vast plain. It is about 4 km away from Chi lake in the south, about 8 km away from the Man river in the west, and about 6 km away from Han river in the east (as shown in Fig. 25).

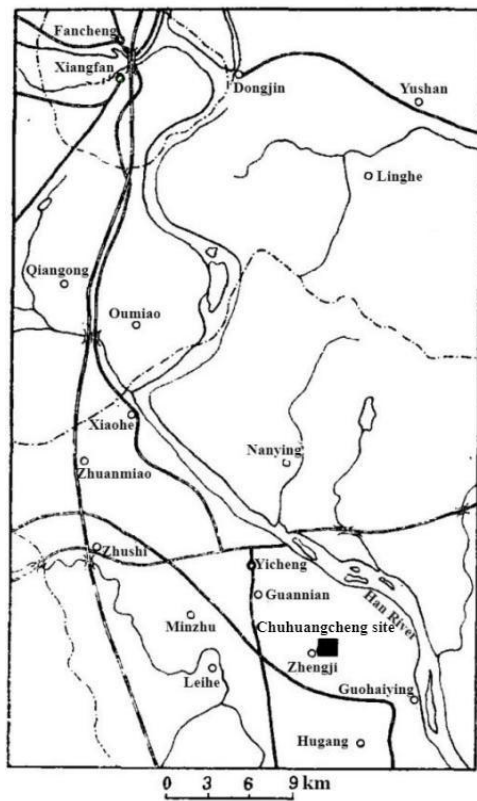


**Fig. 25** Satellite image of Chuhuangcheng city site<sup>263</sup>

<sup>262</sup> Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 湖北省文物考古研究所, and Yicheng shi bowuguan 宜城市博物馆. “Hubei Yicheng Chuhuangcheng chengzhi bei chengqiang 2017 nian fajue jianbao” 湖北宜城楚皇城城址北城墙 2017 年度发掘简报 (Preliminary Excavation Report of 2017 Excavation of North City Wall at the Chuhuangcheng City Site in Yicheng, Hubei). *Jiangnan kaogu* 江汉考古 5 (2019): 26-37.

<sup>263</sup> Source: Sun Chaohui 孙朝辉, and Li Fuxin 李福新. “Jiyu RS he GIS de Chuhuangcheng kaogu

In terms of the geographical location of Chuhuangcheng city site, it is located in the narrow plain between Yicheng and Jingmen, with Xiangfan in the north, Jingzhou in the south and Han river in the east. Its location advantages of waterway and land transportation are undeniable. The water transportation network is developed, and water transportation is convenient. In terms of land transportation, it is the vital communication line of Jingzhou to the Central Plain, bypassing Xiangyang and Nanyang. It is also of great military importance.



**Fig. 26 Geographical location of Chuhuangcheng (left figure)<sup>264</sup>**



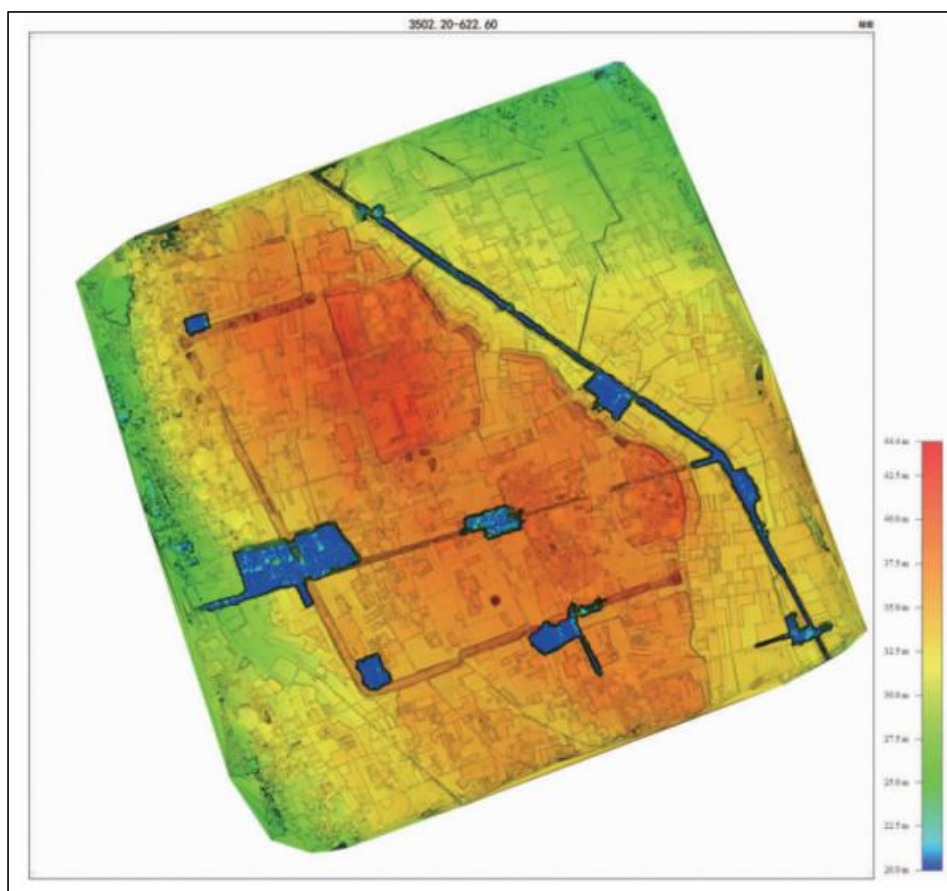
**Fig. 27 Remains distribution plan of Chuhuangcheng (right figure)<sup>265</sup>**

diaocha” 基于 RS 和 GIS 的楚皇城考古调查 (Archaeological Investigation of Chuhuangcheng City Site Based on RS and GIS). *Yaogan xinxi* 遥感信息 4 (2001): 50.

<sup>264</sup> Source: Chuhuangcheng kaogu fajuedui 楚皇城考古发掘队. “Hubei Yicheng Chuhuangcheng kancha jianbao” 湖北宜城楚皇城勘查简报 (Brief Report on the Investigation of the Chuhuangcheng City Site in Yicheng, Hubei Province). *Kaogu* 考古 2 (1980): 108.

<sup>265</sup> Source: Hubei sheng wenwu guanli weiyuanhui 湖北省文物管理委员会. “Hubei Yicheng ‘Chuhuangcheng’ yizhi diaocha” 湖北宜城“楚皇城”遗址调查 (Investigation on the Chuhuangcheng City Site in Yicheng, Hubei Province). *Kaogu* 考古 8 (1965): 377-382.

Archaeological exploration shows that the Chuhuangcheng site faces south with about 20° to the north by west. The plane of the city is slightly rectangular except that the eastern city walls are not neat. It can be seen from the existing scale that it is about 1.84 km long from south to north, and it is about 1.72 km wide from east to west, and the city area is 2.2 square kilometers.<sup>266</sup> In the city's central part, the northeastern terrain is relatively higher, and the rest is flat.



**Fig. 28 Digital elevation model of Chuhuangcheng<sup>267</sup>**

<sup>266</sup> Same as above.

<sup>267</sup> Source: Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 湖北省文物考古研究所, and Yicheng shi bowuguan 宜城市博物馆. “Hubei Yicheng Chuhuangcheng chengzhi bei chengqiang 2017 nian fajue jianbao” 湖北宜城楚皇城城址北城墙 2017 年度发掘简报 (Preliminary Excavation Report of 2017 Excavation of North City Wall at the Chuhuangcheng City Site in Yicheng, Hubei). *Jiangnan kaogu* 江汉考古 5 (2019): 27.



According to the water spectrum signs on the remote sensing image, the moats outside the city and the ancient river channel in the city are found on the satellite image.

The ancient watercourse starts from the west of the city, turns south around the small imperial city, then turns back to the middle of the south wall of Zijincheng, and flows out of the city along the south wall east wall from the Great East Gate.

According to the topographic map's verification, the ancient watercourse's elevation is lower than the surrounding area, and the eastern section is lower than the western section. Now, this ancient watercourse has been covered by paddy fields.<sup>268</sup>

### ***Excavation process***

In the 1960s, Shi Quan took a preliminary exploration of the Chuhuangcheng city site after sorting the documents. Subsequently, Wang Shancai of the Hubei Provincial Heritage Management Committee conducted two field investigations of this site. He initially got a clear picture of terrain. He collected some specimen of cultural relics, including fragments of *li* (tripod), *guan* (jar), *pen* (basin), *weng* (urn), *dou* (stemmed vessel) and other pottery, bronze arrowheads, bronze mirrors, Coin Banliang 半两钱, Coin Yibi 蚁鼻钱, gold, tiles and others.<sup>269</sup>

From 1976 to 1977, the archaeological excavation team of Chuhuangcheng excavated a unit in the city site, dissected a section of the city wall. Besides, they found three ancient tomb groups outside the city and excavated thirteen of them. A topographic map of the ancient city site was made at that time.<sup>270</sup>

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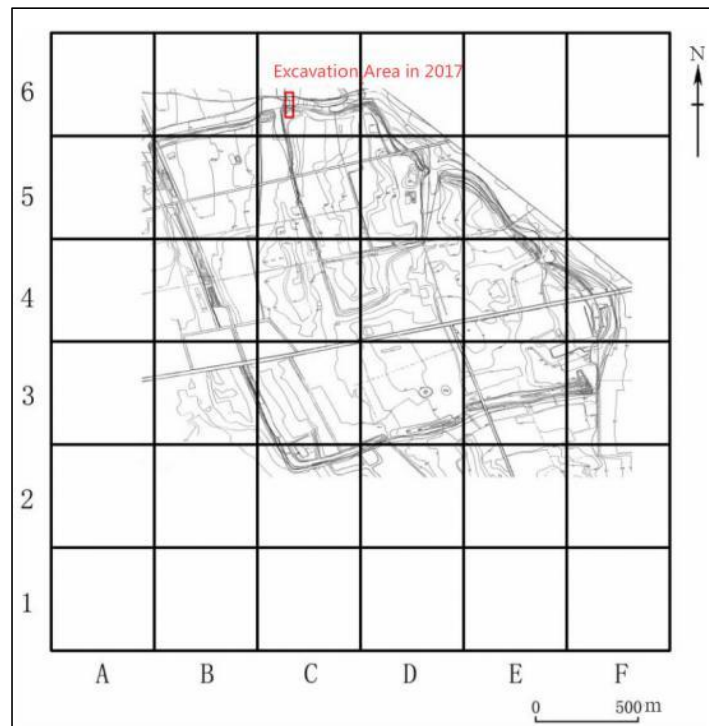
<sup>268</sup> Sun Jiabing 孙家柄. "Chu du yaogan kaogu" 楚都遥感考古 (Remote Sensing Archaeology of the Capital of Chu). *Ditu 地图* 5 (2003): 16-19.

<sup>269</sup> Hubei sheng wenwu guanli weiyuanhui 湖北省文物管理委员会. "Hubei Yicheng 'Chuhuangcheng' yizhi diaocha" 湖北宜城“楚皇城”遗址调查 (Investigation on the Chuhuangcheng City Site in Yicheng, Hubei Province). *Kaogu 考古* 8 (1965): 377-382; Chuhuangcheng kaogu fajuedui 楚皇城考古发掘队. "Hubei Yicheng Chuhuangcheng kancha jianbao" 湖北宜城楚皇城勘查简报 (Brief Report on the Investigation of the Chuhuangcheng City Site in Yicheng, Hubei Province). *Kaogu 考古* 2 (1980): 108-113, 134.

<sup>270</sup> Chuhuangcheng kaogu fajuedui 楚皇城考古发掘队. "Hubei Yicheng Chuhuangcheng Zhanguo Qin Han mu" 湖北宜城楚皇城战国秦汉墓 (The Tombs of the Warring state Period and Qin-Han Dynasties at the Chuhuangcheng City Site in Yicheng, Hubei Province). *Kaogu 考古* 2 (1980): 114-122, 196.

From March to July 2017, they conducted archaeological excavations of the north city wall of this site. Dissection shows four layers of pressed earth, a moat and various remains below the pressed earth.<sup>271</sup>

Apart from this work, no comprehensive excavation is carried out on the Chuhuangcheng site. Therefore, the overall picture of this city site is still unknown. In this article, we can only focus on the research from the perspective of urban defense.<sup>272</sup>



**Fig. 29 Schematic diagram of excavation location of Chuhuangcheng in 2017<sup>273</sup>**

<sup>271</sup> Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 湖北省文物考古研究所, and Yicheng shi bowuguan 宜城市博物馆. “Hubei Yicheng Chuhuangcheng chengzhi bei chengqiang 2017 nian fajue jianbao” 湖北宜城楚皇城城址北城墙 2017 年度发掘简报 (Preliminary Excavation Report of 2017 Excavation of North City Wall at the Chuhuangcheng City Site in Yicheng, Hubei). *Jianghan kaogu* 江汉考古 5 (2019): 26-37.

<sup>272</sup> The excavation materials of Chuhuangcheng site introduced below are mainly derived from the excavation reports published in 1980 and 2019.

<sup>273</sup> Source: Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 湖北省文物考古研究所, and Yicheng shi bowuguan 宜城市博物馆. “Hubei Yicheng Chuhuangcheng chengzhi bei chengqiang 2017 nian fajue jianbao” 湖北宜城楚皇城城址北城墙 2017 年度发掘简报 (Preliminary Excavation Report of 2017 Excavation of North City Wall at the Chuhuangcheng City Site in Yicheng, Hubei). *Jianghan kaogu* 江汉考古 5 (2019): 27.

### *Urban defense*

Chuhuangcheng city site has typical urban defense features. There is a low-lying area outside the city as a moat; there are closed city walls with rammed earth around the city site; the four corners of the city walls have prominent elevation stands which should be used for defensive purposes.

### *City wall*

The surrounding area of Chuhuangcheng still has closed city walls with rammed earth. The northern, western and southern walls are linear, and the eastern wall is curved. The total length is 6420 meters, according to the latest measurement results.

The length of each city wall is shown in the table below:

<b>Location</b>	<b>Length (m)</b>
East wall	1952.6
West wall	1737.7
South wall	1323.1
North wall	1031.8

**Tab. 7 Length of the city wall of Chuhuangcheng**

The walls are made of tamped taupe and tan clay. The existing city wall's foundation is 26-44 meters wide with an average width of 34 meters and a residual height of 2-4 meters. The eastern wall is higher than the western one.

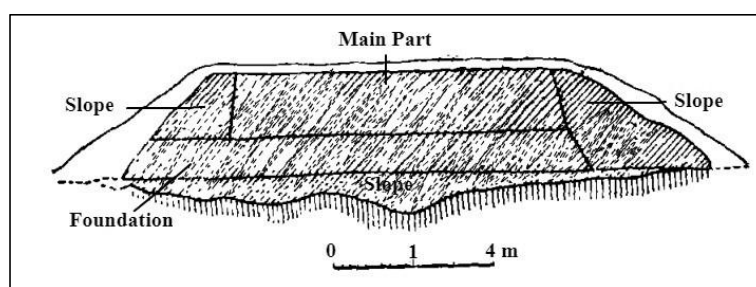
From 1976 to 1977, the archaeological excavation team once dissected the city wall at a gap in the eastern wall. The excavation helps us find that the wall comprises three parts: the wall body, the wall foundation and the slope protection (as shown in Fig. 30).

The lower part of the dissected wall body is 8.65 meters wide, and the upper part is slightly narrower. The wall slopes are different, and the residual height is 1.6 meters. Due to the slab construction, the outer wall is smooth and flat, and the plane of the

turn is slightly curved.

The rammed earth is sturdy taupe and yellow-brown clay, which is evenly paved. Each layer of the rammed earth is 8-12 cm thick.

The upper part of the wall foundation is 11.3 meters wide, and the lower part is 13.05 meters wide. The section is trapezoidal, and the inner side is parallel and level with the wall body. And the outer side is more than 2 meters higher. The depth of the wall foundation varies from terrain to terrain and is generally more than 1 meter. The surface on both sides of the wall is inclined at about 45°.



**Fig. 30 Section of the city wall of Chuhuangcheng<sup>274</sup>**

Inside and outside the wall, slopes are built. It is similar to the Jinancheng city site's wall structure (the city site we will discuss below). Same as the wall, the slope protection is flatly rammed. The slope on the outside of the wall is built on the wall foundation, and there is only one layer. The inner slope is leaning against the wall body and wall foundation, and it can be divided into three layers.

The outer slope is much narrower than the inner slope, and it is assumed that its original slope is much larger than the inside one. This construction method is not conducive to enemy attack but is conducive to defense.

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<sup>274</sup> Source: Chuhuangcheng kaogu fajuedui 楚皇城考古发掘队. "Hubei Yicheng Chuhuangcheng kancha jianbao" 湖北宜城楚皇城勘查简报 (Brief Report on the Investigation of the Chuhuangcheng City Site in Yicheng, Hubei Province). *Kaogu* 考古 2 (1980): 108.

### *City gate*

There are two gaps on each side of the city wall. It is assumed that they are city gates. According to the locals' names, they are called Great East Gate, Small East Gate, Great West Gate, Small West Gate, Great South Gate, Small South Gate, Great North Gate and Small North Gate.

Among them, the Great East Gate is the exit of the ancient watercourse. Due to the water in other gaps, the archaeological team only explored the Small Eastern Gate, and it finds that there are traces of the road.

### *Ancillary building*

The northwest corner of four corners of the city wall is destructed, the other three corners are still preserved. The southwest corner is low, with an elevation of 58.2 meters. The southeast corner is the most uplifted, with an elevation of 63.173 meters. It is an oval platform with a height of about 5 meters. The locals call it “Guan lou zi” 观楼子 (Guan Tower). Because the corner of the city is used to look and defend, some also believe it was a beacon tower.

### *Moat*

From the archaeological investigation of the Chuhuangcheng site published in 1980, there is no mention of the moat's remains. According to the latest remote sensing data, a clear low-lying area outside the city is found on the satellite image, which should be the moat at that time.<sup>275</sup> Since then, archaeological excavations carried out in 2017 have also confirmed the existence of the moat.

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<sup>275</sup> Sun Chaohui 孙朝辉, and Li Fuxin 李福新. “Jiyu RS he GIS de Chuhuangcheng kaogu diaocha” 基于RS和GIS的楚皇城考古调查 (Archaeological Investigation of Chuhuangcheng City Site Based on RS and GIS). *Yaogan xinxi 遥感信息* 4 (2001): 32-33, 50.

### *Districts and layout*

Apart from the exploration carried out in the 1980s, a comprehensive and systematic archaeological excavation has not been carried out in the Chuhuangcheng site, so the city site's overall picture is still unknown. It can be seen from existing materials that the Chuhuangcheng can be divided into the inner city and outer city.

#### *Inner city*

The inner city is located in the northeast corner of the outer city with 0.38 square kilometers. Its terrain is about 3 meters higher than the outer city. It is called Zijincheng 紫金城, Jincheng 金城 and Xiaohuangcheng 小皇城 by locals.

The East, south and west sides of the inner city had city walls, and the north side is close to the outer city. Viewed from some sections, the inner city's wall foundation is wider than that of the exterior wall. In the layer of rammed earth, there are rope-patterned tiles and bricks with geometric patterns.

There is a slope in the south of the inner city, which is called Sanjinpo 散金坡 or Shaijinpo 晒金坡. The local residents picked gold scraps hereafter the rainstorm. Later, the gold bullions with the words of "Ying Yuan" 郢爰 (gold currency, a kind of money by weight used the Chu state) and "Yan Yuan" 鄢爰 were discovered here.

The western edge of the inner city, known as the "Paomadi" 跑马堤, is said to be the place for training soldiers to resist the Qin state's army. Now there is no dyke, and the height is the same as that of the inner city.

#### *Outer city*

There are two palace regions of different sizes in the outer city. And the scale is not small. In the southern part of the city, there is a place about 200 meters away from the south wall, a 44-meter-diameter green brick tomb with a land area of about 1,500 square meters is built. The grave mound of the earth's surface is 6.5 meters. It is called Jinyinzhong 金银冢 or Jinjizhong 金鸡冢. It is speculated that it may be the tomb of Qin Jie 秦颉, a prefecture chief in the Eastern Han dynasty. "Jinji" seems to

be the transformation of “Qin Jie”.<sup>276</sup>

### *Pottery workshop*

It is worth noting that many pottery walling cribs for wells were found inside and outside Chuhuangcheng. In the southwestern part of the city, a lot of pottery rackets and pottery discarded because of failed firing are collected. It was speculated that it was a pottery workshop area at that time.

### *Unearthed artifacts*

The accumulation of cultural relics in Chuhuangcheng is wealthy. The earliest artifacts are relics of the Spring and Autumn period. What's more, there are still a large number of relics of the Qin and Han dynasties.

The Eastern Zhou dynasty's cultural relics, which are unearthed in this site and collected in recent years, mainly include bronze ware and pottery ware.

The former one includes the great bronze square pot, bronze tripod with flows, bronze pots with chains, bronze belt hook with inlaying gold and jade, bronze linchpin, Coin Yibi, bronze arrowhead and others.

Pottery ware includes *li* (tripod), *bo* (bowl), *dou* (stemmed vessel), *pen* (basin), *hu* (kettle), *guan* (jar), *weng* (urn), *yan* (steamer), spinning round, net pendant, pottery bracket and others.

### *Burial area*

There are two essential burial areas near the Chuhuangcheng site. One is the Leijiapo Tomb (Group), located in the suburbs of the western city and is about 400 meters away from the city. The other one is Weigang Tomb (Group). It is located in the west of city and is about 30 meters away from the city. Both of these are the tombs from the Warring States period to the Qin-Han dynasties.

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<sup>276</sup> Sun Jiabing 孙家柄. “Chu du yaogan kaogu” 楚都遥感考古 (Remote Sensing Archaeology of the Capital of Chu). *Ditu 地图* 5 (2003): 16-19.

There are four tombs in Leijiapo (LM1, 2, 8 and 10), and another four tombs in Weigang (WM1, 2, 3 and 4) have been excavated. They might be constructed during the middle time of the Warring States period. The tombs are all rectangular vertical caverns. There are three tombs owning tomb passages with slopes.

The funerary objects of these eight tombs are mainly pottery ware, and most of them are composed of two combinations of *ding* (tripod), *dun* (round container), *hu* (kettle). Lacquer woodware can be seen, but it is not well preserved.<sup>277</sup>

During the investigation, it is also found that there are some large grave mound piles in the Weigang area of the west of the city. After exploration, some tombs are proved to be the large pit tombs for the nobles of Chu state dispatched to the Yan 鄢.<sup>278</sup>

### ***Discussion on the era and nature of the site***

Regarding the age and nature of the Chuhuangcheng city site, scholars have different opinions. In the 1960s, Shi Quan took a preliminary exploration of the Chuhuangcheng city site after sorting the documents. He proposed that the site of Chuhuangcheng is likely to be ancient ruins of the capital Ying of Chu state and Jiangling ancient city of Han dynasty.<sup>279</sup>

This has caused some controversy, and some scholars have raised objections. For example, Huang Shengzhang believed that Chuhuangcheng was not the capital Ying, but the Yan Ying 鄢郢 of Chu, then it became Yicheng county in the Han dynasty.<sup>280</sup>

Based on the study of materials latest unearthed, we agree with Huang Shengzhang's viewpoint.

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<sup>277</sup> Chuhuangcheng kaogu fajuedui 楚皇城考古发掘队. "Hubei Yicheng Chuhuangcheng Zhanguo Qin Han mu" 湖北宜城楚皇城战国秦汉墓 (The Tombs of the Warring State Period and Qin-Han Dynasties at the Chuhuangcheng City Site in Yicheng, Hubei Province). *Kaogu* 考古 2 (1980): 114-122, 196.

<sup>278</sup> Same as above.

<sup>279</sup> See: Shi Quan 石泉. "Hubei Yicheng Chuhuangcheng yizhi chukao" 湖北宜城楚皇城遗址初考 (A Preliminary Study on the Chuhuangcheng City Site in Yicheng, Hubei Province). *Jiangnan xuebao* 江汉学报 2 (1963): 50, 54-61.

<sup>280</sup> Huang Shengzhang 黄盛璋. "Guanyu Hubei Yicheng Chuhuangcheng yizhi ji qi xiangguan wenti" 关于湖北宜城楚皇城遗址及其相关问题 (The Chuhuangcheng City Site in Yicheng, Hubei Province and Related Issues). *Jiangnan xuebao* 江汉学报 9 (1963): 62-67.



According to the excavation of the north city wall of the site in 2017, there are at least four rammed earth layers on the city wall. The bottom two stratum are considered the earliest walls, internal and external slopes. The relics unearthed in the rammed earth layer are mostly from the early Warring States period. The third layer was produced by repairing the wall in the early and mid-Warring States period. On the top layer, the Han dynasty's typical cloth-patterned tiles were unearthed, so we can clarify that the construction period of this layer is the Han dynasty.

From these findings, we can determine that the date of the site's city wall can be no earlier than the early Warring States period but maybe as late as the Han dynasty.<sup>281</sup> Moreover, the bronze seal with the words of "Han Yiyi Jun" 汉夷邑君 which is unearthed in this site confirms that Chuhuangcheng is undoubtedly the Yicheng of Han dynasty. The inner city mentioned above should also be built during this period.

What we need to pay attention to is that Yicheng was renamed in the third year the reign of Emperor Hui in the Han dynasty. According to historical records, it was called Yan before that. This indirectly proves that Chuhuangcheng was the location of Yan in the early days.

Given the characteristics of the unearthed relics that have been published so far, we feel that is inappropriate for some scholars to refer to this site as the capital Ying of Chu in the Spring and Autumn period. We believe that the Chuhuangcheng city site's era ranged from the early Warring States period to the Qin and Han dynasties and even later.

During the Warring States period, Chuhuangcheng was more likely to be the *biedu* 别都 of Chu state. It is located in the north of capital Ying (Jinancheng site), and it is an essential gateway to and from Ying. Therefore, many soldiers were stationed here, and it became the principal military town of Chu state. A considerable number of bronze arrowheads and other weapons unearthed from the southeast corner of the city wall

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<sup>281</sup> Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 湖北省文物考古研究所, and Yicheng shi bowuguan 宜城市博物馆. "Hubei Yicheng Chuhuangcheng chengzhi bei chengqiang 2017 nian fajue jianbao" 湖北宜城楚皇城城址北城墙 2017 年度发掘简报 (Preliminary Excavation Report of 2017 Excavation of North City Wall at the Chuhuangcheng City Site in Yicheng, Hubei). *Jiangnan kaogu* 江汉考古 5 (2019): 26-37.

can provide important evidence for our view.

In 279 BCE, after conquering Dengcheng (a vital place of Chu state in Han river valley), the army of Qin state (led by General Bai Qi) drove straightly to get close to Yan (Chuhuangcheng). After many attacks, Qin's army still failed to conquer the Yan because of the fierce resistance of the Chu people.

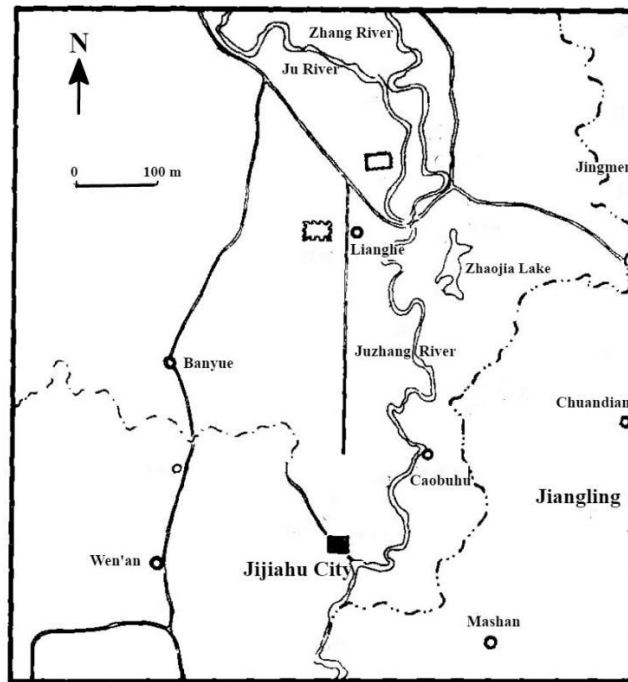
According to the records of *Shui jing zhu*, General Bai Qi used the favorable conditions of Yi river that it flows from the long valley of western hills to the northeast, he built a dam (to store water) and a hundred-*li* (a Chinese unit of length, 1 li is equal to 1/2 kilometers) channel to Yan (Chuhuangcheng). The water poured from the west of the city to the eastern part, and a deep pool was thus formed. Hundreds of thousands of soldiers and civilians of Chu in the city were drowned. The discovery of the ancient river channel based on the signs of the water spectrum on the remote sensing image may reveal the mystery of the entrance where the Qin army drew water into the city.

In the second year of the capture of Chuhuangcheng (278 BCE), Bai Qi led the army to directly attack the capital Ying (Jinancheng). This also confirmed the role of Chuhuangcheng as a military line of defense to protect the capital Ying of Chu from another aspect.

### 3.2.2 Jijiahu site

#### *Location selection and scale*

The Jijiahu city site is located in the south of Jijiahu village, Caobuhu town, Dangyang city, Hubei province. The ancient city site is located at the west part of Jiangnan alluvial plain and the west side of the Juzhang river basin. It is at the junction of four cities: Yichang, Dangyang, Zhijiang and Jingzhou. Its west bank is about 15 km south of the Yangtze River, 3 km east of Juzhang river and 35 km south-east to Jinan Cheng city site. The terrain is quite low-lying around the ancient city site, with rolling hills terrain to the west.<sup>282</sup>



**Fig. 31 Geographical location of Jijiahu<sup>283</sup>**

<sup>282</sup> The excavation materials of Jijiahu city site introduced below are mainly derived from the excavation reports published in 1980, see: Yang Quanxi 杨权喜. “Dangyang Jijiahu kaogu shijue de zhuyao shouhuo” 当阳季家湖考古试掘的主要收获 (The Main Achievement of the Archaeological Trial Excavation in Jijiahu City Site, Dangyang). *Jiangnan kaogu 江汉考古* 2 (1980): 87-90. Hubei sheng bowuguan 湖北省博物馆. “Dangyang Jijiahu Chu cheng yizhi” 当阳季家湖楚城遗址 (Jijiahu Chu City Site in Dangyang). *Wenwu 文物* 10 (1980): 31-41.

<sup>283</sup> Source: Gao Yingqin 高应勤. “Chunqiu Chu Ying yu Jijia hu gucheng” 春秋楚郢与季家湖古城 (The Ying of Chu in the Spring and Autumn Period and Ancient Jijiahu City). *Huazhong Jianzhu 华中建筑* 1 (1992): 56.

After preliminary investigation, it was founded that the plane of the ancient city site is irregular rectangle. The general scope of the city site: from Lujiafen in the north to Jiukouyan in the south; from the west bank of Jijiahu lake in the east to the east bank of west bank of new manmade river. It is about 1,600 meters long from north to south and 1,400 meters wide from east to west, with a total area of more than 2.8 square kilometers.

### *Excavation process*

In 1973, farmers excavated some important bronze wares on the west bank of Jijiahu lake. In 1979, the Hubei Provincial Museum and the Yichang Cultural Relics Team investigated and carried out a trial excavation. The city walls and moats were found at Jiukouyan in the south of the city site. The building foundation of large houses was found at Yangjiashanzi and Jijiapo, and pottery and tile pieces were unearthed in a considerable range. Besides, two small-sized tombs dating back to the middle of the Warring States period were discovered in the site of Lujiafen in the northern part of the city site. Apart from this, no newly announced excavation results have been seen so far.

### *Urban defense*

According to the introduction of the excavation report published in 1980, we believe that the urban defense of the Jijiahu city site mainly relies on natural defense barriers, and maybe there are a small number of artificial defense facilities.

### *Natural defense barrier*

First of all, let us observe the site selection of the city, which is located in the transitional area between hills and plains. Therefore it can take the offensive or defensive function as one chooses. The capital has a high terrain in the north and a low terrain in the south. Mountains are to the west and north of the city.

Besides, the city is backed by water in the east and south. It is located near the water, back mountain, so it occupies the convenience of both mountains and rivers. The eastern part of the city wall is close to the west bank of Jijiahu lake, i.e., the old Juzhang river's west bank. The city wall is separated from the other side by the river, making the river serve as a moat.

#### *Artificial defense facility*

In addition to making full use of natural conditions, it may strengthen the city's defense by artificially constructing some fortifications, such as the city wall and moat ruins found at the Jijiahu city site.

##### a. City wall

According to the survey, the north, west and south directions' city wall of Jijiahu are in straight lines. While the east of the city wall is close to the west bank of Jijiahu lake, so the east of the city wall showing an irregular trend with the change of terrain.

The south wall of the city site was found at Jiukouyan in the south part of Jijiahu. It was built on the cultural layer of the late Neolithic Age and was also pressed by the Eastern Zhou dynasty's cultural layer. The city wall was built on flat ground with a width of 13.4 meters at the bottom, slopes at both sides and a residual height of 1.4 meters in the middle. It is rammed with cohesive soil. The rammed layer is obvious. Each layer is about 8 cm thick and has a compact structure. Tamping dimples are not obvious, and only some irregular dimples can be seen.

The construction of the city wall shows that it was still in a relatively primitive way, such as no foundation trench was dug, the width of the city wall is relatively small, the ramming layer is relatively thin, and the moat is relatively narrow and shallow. It is speculated that ramming is to build the general shape of the wall first and then repair the facades on both sides of the wall and finally inner and outer slope protection.

#### b. Ditch

The ditch was discovered 34 meters south of the city wall. It is 9.8 meters wide and 0.98 meters deep with a spacing of 10-34 meters, and it is basically parallel to the south wall. There are apparent four layers of silt in the trench, and some pottery pieces from the Eastern Zhou period are contained in it.

According to the stratigraphic relationship and accumulation situation in the ditch, it can be concluded that the ditch and the south wall are contemporaneous. Presumably, it was formed by taking earth when building the south wall. Its width and depth may not compare with the moat later. However, the setting of the ditch can strengthen the city's defense to a certain extent.

#### *Districts layout and infrastructures*

Due to the lack of archaeological exploration and excavation of the site, we still cannot clearly understand the functional zoning and layout of Jijiahu city. Judging from the archaeological findings so far, the city site's central and northern part may be a palace area. There are many and dense rammed earth platforms in the northeast and north of the city, which may be aristocratic residential areas.

#### *Pottery workshop*

In the west of Yangjiashanzi, there is a large hollow place with a depth of more than 1.56 meters, where a large number of disorderly tiles, pottery and yellow clods were unearthed, among them, there are many deformed tiles and pottery pieces whose duration and degree of heating and colors are different, and they are presumed to be waste products from pottery kilns. This hollow place should be related to pottery making. It is supposed that there is a pottery-making workshop nearby.

### *Building foundation and water apron*

Within the Jijiahu site, some of the building foundations of the house and water aprons have been found in Building foundation No.1, Yangjiashanzi, and Jijiapo. The Building foundation No.1 is located in the middle of the northern part of the city site, which has unearthed the famous bronze bell “Qin wang bei ming” 秦王卑命, large bronze components, rope-patterned tube tiles and plate tiles.

In T1-T3 of Jijiapo, some remains of the house can be seen. In T1, it was found that a section of the water apron paved with rope pattern plate tiles, running from north to south, with a width of 1.5 meters from east to west. Its east is inclined to the bottom of the drainage ditch, and its west is connected with the abutment fill. The drainage ditch is close to the east edge of the water apron and has the same direction. The ditch's upper opening is 2.6 meters wide, the bottom is 0.3 meters wide, and the depth is 1 meter.

### *Unearthed artifacts*

The cultural relics unearthed are mainly pottery. In terms of color, these pottery were mainly gray pottery and red pottery. In terms of shape and type, pottery ware includes *li* (tripod), *dou* (stemmed vessel), *pen* (basin), *guan* (jar), *zeng* (steamer), *weng* (urn), *fu* (kettle), tube tile, plate tile and others. In terms of decoration, the surface of the pottery was mainly decorated with rope patterns. In terms of production methods, the pottery was made by wheels and models; the tiles were mainly molded and hand-made, with noticeable cutting marks.

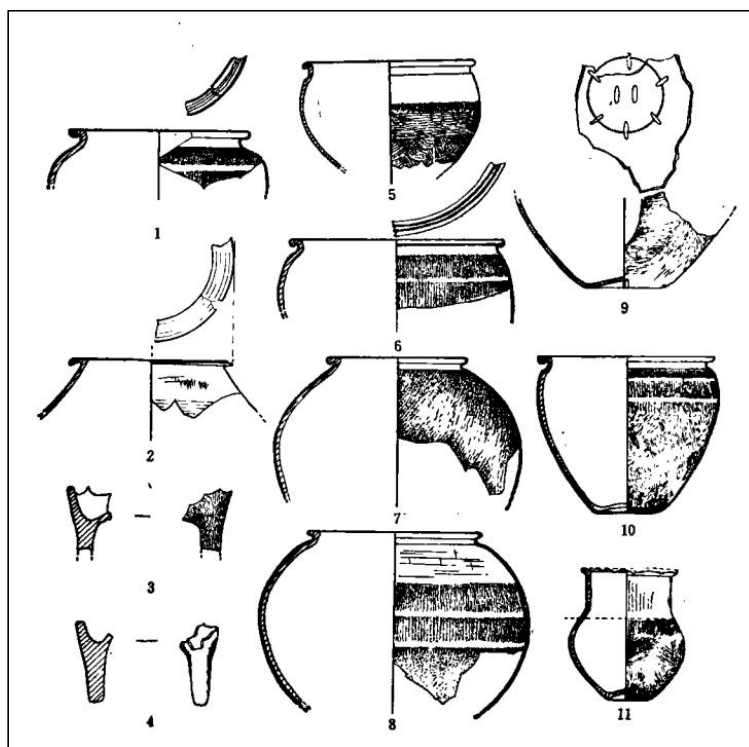


Fig. 32 Pottery unearthed from Jijiahu site<sup>284</sup>

1. I li (T1③: 6) 2. II li (H2: 1) 3. li (feet) (T1③: 7) 4. li (feet) (T7②: 3) 5. I fu (T1③: 1)
6. I fu (T1③: 5) 7. II fu (T1③: 4) 8. II fu (T1③: 3) 9. zeng (T3③: 6) 10. guan (T1③: 8)
11. guan (D1: 1)

### **Burial area**

In the north of Building foundation No.1 of Lujiafen, there are quite a several small and medium-sized tombs of warring states period.<sup>285</sup> Also, tombs of different sizes of Chu period are densely distributed around the city site. For example, more than ten kilometers north of the city site, there is the Zhaojiahu Tomb (Group). On the east bank of the Juzhang river, there is the Balingshan Tomb (Group). Besides, several kilometers to the west, there is Qingshan Tomb (Group).

<sup>284</sup> Source: Hubei sheng bowuguan 湖北省博物馆. “Dangyang Jijiahu Chu cheng yizhi” 当阳季家湖楚城遗址 (Jijiahu Chu City Site in Dangyang). *Wenwu* 文物 10 (1980): 35.

<sup>285</sup> Yichang diqu bowuguan 宜昌地区博物馆. “Dangyang Jijiahu Chu mu fajue jianbao” 当阳季家湖楚墓发掘简报 (Preliminary Excavation Report of the Chu Tombs of Jijiahu City Site, Dangyang). *Jiangnan kaogu* 江汉考古 1 (1991): 17-19.



### *Discussion on the era and nature of the site*

According to the existing documents and archaeological results, the Jijiahu city site is thought to be the Chu capital during the Spring and Autumn period. What's more, some scholars believed that Jijiahu was the first capital Ying (the one in the Spring and Autumn period) while Jinancheng was the second capital Ying (the one in the Warring State period). Scholars widely approved this point.<sup>286</sup>

Judging from the scale of the city site, the Jijiahu city site is roughly in line with the building system of the capital city in the Spring and Autumn period.

Judging from the age of the unearthed artifacts, the production time of the unearthed objects is a little earlier than those found in Jinancheng. It is worth mentioning that there are many differences between the pottery unearthed in the Jijiahu site and that unearthed in the Jinancheng site. For example, red pottery accounts for a more significant proportion (slightly less than grey pottery) of pottery unearthed at Jijiahu. While pottery *fu* and *guan* with large-mouth are not seen in Jinancheng. The shape features of *dou* and semicircle-shaped tiles are also different from those unearthed in Jinancheng.

Judging from the level of the unearthed objects, the discovery of some important bronze wares, such as the “Qin wang bei ming” bronze bell, bronze washbasin, bronze square pot inlaid with turquoise gemstones, and bronze architectural components, proves that Jijiahu is not a general city site.

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<sup>286</sup> See: Yuan Chunfu 袁纯富. “Chu Wen Wang shi du Ying zai Dangyang Jijia hu gucheng” 楚文王始都郢在当阳季家湖古城 (The Capital where the King Wen of Chu was Founded was the Ancient Jijiahu City in Dangyang). *Jingzhou shizhuan xuebao (zhexue shehui kexue ban)* 荆州师专学报(哲学社会科学版) 2 (1990): 76-78. Gao Yingqin 高应勤. “Chunqiu Chu Ying yu Jijia hu gucheng” 春秋楚郢与季家湖古城 (The Ying of Chu in the Spring and Autumn Period and Ancient Jijiahu City). *Huazhong Jianzhu* 华中建筑 1 (1992): 56-57. Guo Dewei 郭德维. “Zailun Jijiahu gucheng wei Chunqiu shi Ying du” 再论季家湖古城为春秋时郢都 (Re-discussion on Jijiahu Ancient City Site as Capital Ying in Spring and Autumn Period). In *Chu wenhua yanjiu lunji* 楚文化研究论集 (第十一集) (Collection of Studies on Chu Culture) (vol. 11), ed. Chu wenhua yanjiu hui 楚文化研究会 (Chu Culture Research Association). Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海: 上海古籍出版社 (2015): 149-154.

The delicate bronze bell “Qin wang bei ming”, which unearthed from the Building foundation No.1 of the Jijiahu site, with a height of 38 cm and a weight of 22 kg, is believed to be made by the brother of King Zhao in the late Spring and Autumn period.<sup>287</sup>

In 1974, on a rammed earth platform in the northeast of the middle of the city site, a bronze building component in the shape of a curved ruler was unearthed. It has been called the gold cylinder. According to this artifact’s pattern, scholars judged its era as the early Spring and Autumn period. Similar bronze components were also found in Capital Yong of Qin state in Fufeng, Shaanxi. Experts appraised that it is a type of bronze arched decoration on the palace architecture of the pre-Qin era. Analysis from this point alone proves that Jijiahu is not a city of general nature but a city site of the same nature as the capital of Qin.<sup>288</sup>

Judging from the relationship between Jijiahu and the surrounding Chu tombs, as mentioned above, tombs of different sizes of Chu period are densely distributed around the city site. Among them may include the tomb of the king of Chu (Tomb of Xiongjiazhong).

Therefore, whether it is from the city site’s scale, the age and the level of the unearthed objects in the city and its relationship with the surrounding large Chu tombs, it all proves that Jijiahu may be one of the capitals of Chu.

Nevertheless, we hold a negative attitude towards scholars referring to it as the first capital Ying of Chu, and continued as the Chu capital from the early Spring and Autumn period to the early Warring States period.

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<sup>287</sup> Guo Dewei 郭德维. “Zailun Jijiahu gucheng wei Chunqiu shi Ying du” 再论季家湖古城为春秋时郢都 (Re-discussion on Jijiahu Ancient City Site as Capital Ying in Spring and Autumn Period). In *Chu wenhua yanjiu lunji* 楚文化研究论集 (第十一集) (Collection of Studies on Chu Culture) (vol. 11), ed. Chu wenhua yanjiu hui 楚文化研究会 (Chu Culture Research Association). Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海: 上海古籍出版社 (2015): 149-154.

<sup>288</sup> Gao Yingqin 高应勤. “Chunqiu Chu Ying yu Jijia hu gucheng” 春秋楚郢与季家湖古城 (The Ying of Chu in the Spring and Autumn Period and Ancient Jijiahu City). *Huazhong Jianzhu* 华中建筑 1 (1992): 56-57.

Through research, we believe that the Jijiahu site is likely to be the location of Wei Ying 为郢 in *Chu ju*. According to Wei Ying's characteristics, its heyday was in the middle and late Spring and Autumn period, and it was reduced to a general city after the Warring States period. This is more in line with the era of the Jijiahu site. Still, the final confirmation needs more archaeological evidence in the future.

### 3.2.3 Jinancheng site

#### *Location selection and scale*

Geographically, Jinancheng city site is located at 112°09' - 112°12' east longitude and 30°24' -30°26' north latitude, about 28-33 meters in altitude.<sup>289</sup> It now stands in the north of Jingzhou district, Jingzhou city, Hubei province, about 5 kilometers away from the ancient city Jingzhou (that is, Jiangling county). Among the sites of Chu capitals in the southern part of China, Jinancheng city site is the largest and best preserved one.<sup>290</sup>

Surrounding Jinancheng city site is fertile soil and convenient water and land transportation. On the north is a boulevard connecting to the Central Plain; on the south is 10 kilometers away from the Yangtze river; the west is adjacent to mountainous land of western Hubei, and the east links with the affluent Jiangnan Plain.<sup>291</sup>

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<sup>289</sup> Wen Lei 闻磊, and Zhou Guoping 周国平. "Ying lu liaoyuan: Chu du Jinancheng gongcheng qu de kaogu fajue" 郢路辽远--楚都纪南城宫城区的考古发掘 (Archaeological Excavation of the Palace Area in Jinancheng City Site). *Dazhong kaogu* 大众考古 11 (2016): 19-28

<sup>290</sup> Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 湖北省文物考古研究所. "Jingzhou Jinancheng Fenghuotai yizhi ji qi xice chengyuan shijue jianbao" 荆州纪南城烽火台遗址及其西侧城垣试掘简报 (Preliminary Report on the Trial Excavation of the Beacon Tower Ruins and the City Walls of its West in Jinancheng City Site). *Jiangnan kaogu* 江汉考古 2 (2014): 11-21.

<sup>291</sup> Hubei sheng bowuguan 湖北省博物馆. "Chu du Jinancheng de kancha yu fajue" 楚都纪南城的勘查与发掘 (The Investigation and Excavation of the Ancient Chu Capital, Jinancheng City Site) (Part I). *Kaogu xuebao* 考古学报 3 (1982): 325-350.

The terrain near the city site is basically flat, on which there are only a few hills mildly rising and falling. Twenty-five kilometers away from the north of Jinancheng is Ji mountain, while Yutai mountain is situated 1 kilometer from the northeast. About 5 kilometers away from the west of the city is there Baling mountain running from north to south, along the west bottom of which the Juzhang river flows from north to south and eventually into the Yangtze river. Lying outside the east wall is Dengjia lake (as shown in Fig. 33).

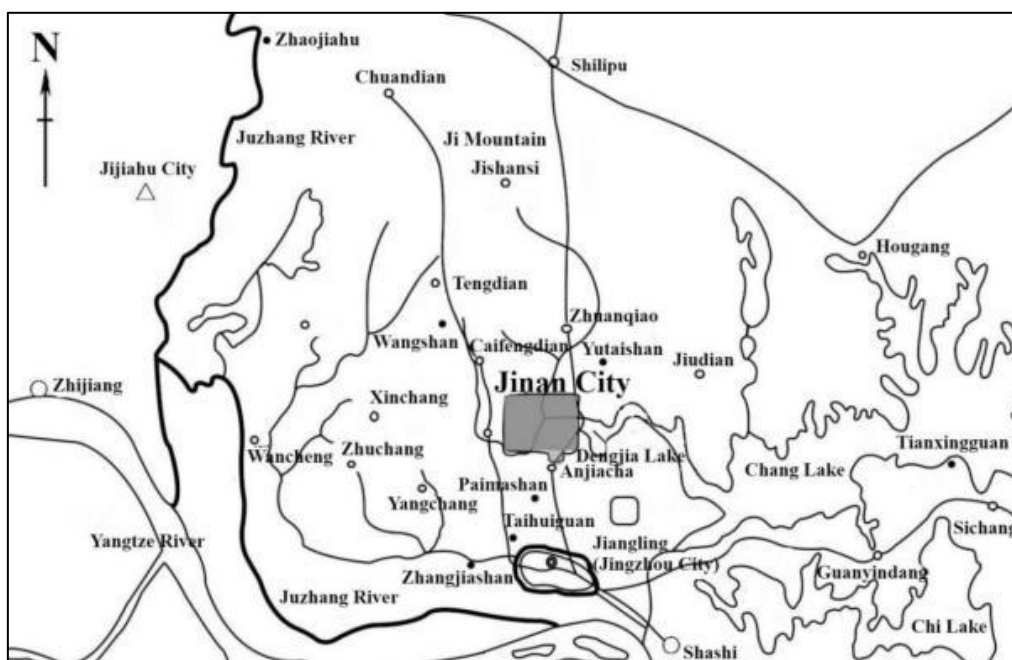
From the analysis of the site selection of Jinancheng, here are avenues assessing to Xiangyang and Nanyang, maintaining the land transportation with the Central Plain. The city's southern part is close to the Yangtze river, conducive to transporting materials through waterways (such as grain, wood, copper, lead, tin, bamboo and rhinoceros produced in the south of the Yangtze river); also, such a terrain provides better convenience and flexibility for quick mobilization of army during combats.

The higher terrain 10 meters or so above the riverside makes Jinancheng less susceptible to flooding and the impact of the Yangtze river's diversion. As a branch of the lake, the Dengjia lake outside the east of the city is conducive to solving water and irrigation in the city.<sup>292</sup> The connection of Chang lake to the Yangtze river ensures an unimpeded proceed of water transportation.<sup>293</sup>

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<sup>292</sup> Gao Jiehua 高介华, Liu Yutang 刘玉堂. *Chu guo de chengshi yu jianzhu* 楚国的城市与建筑 (*Chu State's Cities and Buildings*). Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe 武汉: 湖北教育出版社 (1996): 119.

<sup>293</sup> Sun Jiabing 孙家柄. "Chu du yaogan kaogu" 楚都遥感考古 (Remote Sensing Archaeology of the Capital of Chu). *Ditu* 地图 5 (2003): 16-19.



**Fig. 33 Geographical location of Jinan Cheng<sup>294</sup>**

Archaeological exploration shows that the Jinan Cheng city site is sitting in the north and facing the south, with 10 degrees to the east. The plain of the whole city wall is irregularly rectangular, with a slightly longer East-West direction. The Hubei Provincial Institute of Archaeology has conducted a remote sensing survey of the Jinan Cheng city site. According to the measurement results, the urban area is 15.68 square kilometers.<sup>295</sup>

The city site is higher in the north and south, and the terrain is particularly high in the Fenghuang mountain (in the southeast) and Motianling (in the northwest). The landscape in the middle is low. The ground in the city has now mostly become paddy fields.

<sup>294</sup> Source: Wen Lei 闻磊, and Zhou Guoping 周国平. “Ying lu liaoyuan: Chu du Jinan Cheng gongcheng qu de kaogu fajue” 郢路辽远-楚都纪南城宫城区的考古发掘 (Archaeological Excavation of the Palace Area in Jinan Cheng City Site). *Dazhong kaogu* 大众考古 11 (2016): 20

<sup>295</sup> Sun Jiabing 孙家柄, etc. “Chu gudu: Jinan Cheng de yaogan diaocha he fenxi” 楚古都--纪南城的遥感调查和分析 (Remote Sensing Investigation and Analysis of Jinan Cheng City Site, the Ancient Capital of Chu). *Yaogan xinxi* 遥感信息 1 (1993): 29-31.

It has been proved that four ancient rivers are flowing across the city. Of them, three rivers, namely Zhu river, Xinqiao river and Longqiao river, pass through the walls, freely entering or exiting the city.

The Zhu river starts at the central part (the water gate) of the north wall and flows into the city from north to south. The Xinqiao river turns to north at the midst of the south wall (the water gate) and then flows into the city. These two rivers merge into the Longqiao river at Banqiao in the middle of the city and turn eastward. From the Longhuiqiao at the east wall, they flow out of the city and inject into the Dengjia lake.<sup>296</sup>

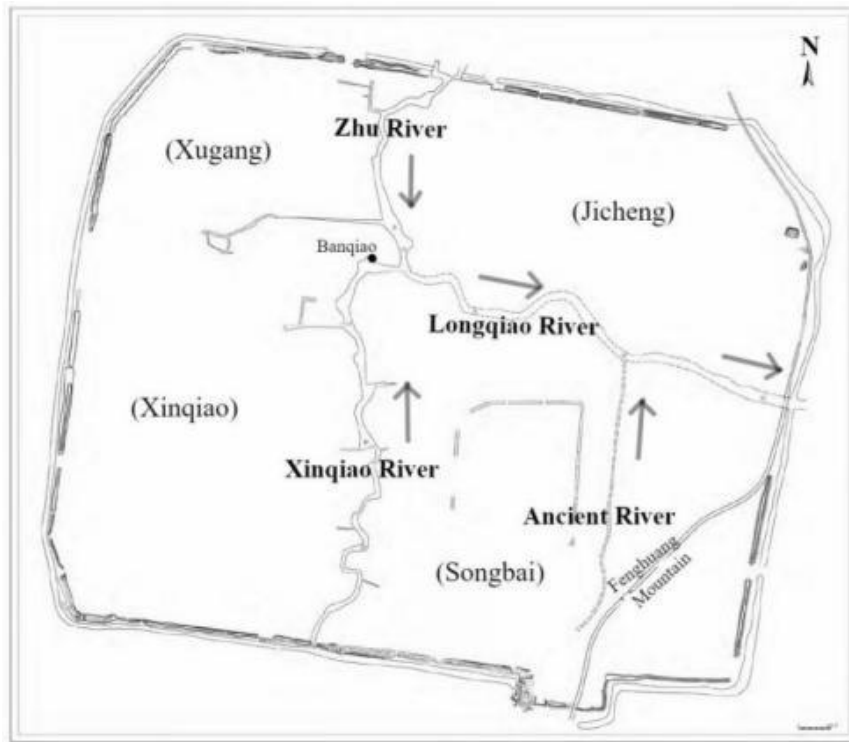
Besides, on the west slope of the Fenghuang mountain (in the southeast of the city), a pale river has disappeared. This river started from the south wall's inner side, flowed north into the Longqiao river, and served as a moat outside the palace area.<sup>297</sup>

The four ancient rivers connect and communicate with the moat. The Zhu river, Longqiao river and Xinqiao river are all covered underneath the stream-ways of today. While the ancient river at the west slope of the Fenghuang mountain has all been annihilated. At the sites where three ancient rivers pass through the city walls are there water gates, forming the same waterway system inside and outside the city. This system connects to the water systems of the Han river and the Yangtze river, which quite convenient for water transportation and shipping.

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<sup>296</sup> Hubei sheng bowuguan 湖北省博物馆. "Chu du Jinancheng de kancha yu fajue" 楚都纪南城的勘查与发掘 (The Investigation and Excavation of the Ancient Chu Capital, Jinancheng City Site) (Part I). *Kaogu xuebao* 考古学报 3 (1982): 325-350.

<sup>297</sup> Chen Zhenyu 陈振裕. "Dong Zhou Chu cheng de leixing chuxi" 东周楚城的类型初析 (A Preliminary Analysis of the Types of Chu Cities in the Eastern Zhou dynasty). *Jiangnan kaogu* 江汉考古 1 (1992): 61-70.



**Fig. 34 Rivers in Jinan Cheng<sup>298</sup>**

### ***Excavation process<sup>299</sup>***

The excavation of the Jinan Cheng city site and its surroundings began in the 1960s. Archaeologists conducted general exploration and trial excavation of the city site, surveying and mapping the existing topographical maps, and at the same time began to excavate the Chu tombs inside (in Taihuiguan, Wangshan, Shazhong, Shanjiawan) and outside the city site (in Gebeisi, Paimashan, Zhangjiashan). Many precious cultural relics were unearthed, such as the drum with tiger and bird statues, the sword of the King of Yue (Goujian), the gold and silver iron hooks, and the painted wood carving screen.

<sup>298</sup> Source: Wen Lei 闻磊, and Zhou Guoping 周国平. “Ying lu liaoyuan: Chu du Jinan Cheng gongcheng qu de kaogu fajue” 郢路辽远-楚都纪南城宫城区的考古发掘 (Archaeological Excavation of the Palace Area in Jinan Cheng City Site). *Dazhong kaogu* 大众考古 11 (2016): 21.

<sup>299</sup> Reference: Yang Lisheng 杨理胜, and Wen Lei 闻磊. “Jianxin sishi zai, zaixian Jinan Cheng” 艰辛四十载, 再现纪南城 (Forty-Years Harding Work Realizes the Restoration of Jinan Cheng). *Zhongguo wenwubao* 中国文物报 (2015-12-18).

In the 1970s, the National Cultural Relics Bureau and the Cultural Relics Department of Hubei province organized and mobilized national archaeological forces to carry out large-scale archaeological work in Jinancheng.

The investigation explored the city site in an all-around way. Thus, it had a general understanding of the city's basic layout and found out the original features of the city walls, city gates, urban architectural sites, moats, and ancient rivers.<sup>300</sup>

The staff found 84 rammed earth bases,<sup>301</sup> excavated the north gate of the west city wall, the building foundation No. 30 at Songbai, Chenjiatai site at Xinqiao. They also unearthed more than 600 tombs inside and outside the city.

Besides, they also discovered a large number of ancient water wells and kiln sites. Subsequent studies on the Jinancheng city site were carried out on the basis of archaeological excavation and research results during this period.

In the 1980s, the earliest ruin in Jinancheng was excavated (from the late Western Zhou dynasty to the early Spring and Autumn period), namely the Motianling Site. Besides, some pottery workshops, water wells, building foundations and other relics were found inside the site.

From 2011 to 2015, the Hubei Provincial Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology once again conducted investigations and archaeological work on the palace area of Jinancheng city site. This excavation clearly defined the palace's scope, confirmed the two stages of the earthen terracotta base, and discovered the kiln, the corridor, the front plaza and the ring boundary ditch. On this basis, the layout of the palace zone has been basically presented.<sup>302</sup>

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<sup>300</sup> Hubei sheng bowuguan 湖北省博物馆. "Chu du Jinancheng de kancha yu fajue" 楚都纪南城的勘察与发掘 (The Investigation and Excavation of the Ancient Chu Capital, Jinancheng City Site) (Part I). *Kaogu xuebao* 考古学报 3 (1982): 325-350.

<sup>301</sup> Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 湖北省文物考古研究所. "Jingzhou Jinancheng Fenghuotai yizhi ji qi xice chengyuan shijue jianbao" 荆州纪南城烽火台遗址及其西侧城垣试掘简报 (Preliminary Report on the Trial Excavation of the Beacon Tower Ruins and the City Walls of its West in Jinancheng City Site). *Jiangnan kaogu* 江汉考古 2 (2014): 11-21.

<sup>302</sup> Wen Lei 闻磊, and Zhou Guoping 周国平. "Ying lu liaoyuan: Chu du Jinancheng gongcheng qu de kaogu fajue" 郢路辽远--楚都纪南城宫城区的考古发掘 (Archaeological Excavation of the Palace Area in Jinancheng City Site). *Dazhong kaogu* 大众考古 11 (2016): 19-28.



So far, after more than 50 years of archaeological investigation, exploration and excavation work inside and outside of the city site, rich results have been achieved. The most important result is that the overall layout of Jinancheng has been basically clarified. Specifically, the city defense system including city walls, city gates, moats, observation decks; the infrastructure including traces of the road, rivers, water supply and drainage systems; the functional zoning and planning in the city. These basic parameters laid a solid foundation for the comprehensive research of Jinancheng.

### *Urban defense*

The urban defense of Jinancheng can be divided into two aspects: for external threats and for internal threats. In terms of resisting external threats, Jinancheng not only utilized the natural defense barrier of Fenghuang mountain, but also built up artificial defense facilities such as city walls, city gates, observation towers and moats.

On the other hand, against potential internal threats, Jinancheng employed natural rivers as a defense barrier for imperial residence. It also constructed the walls and the moats by artificial means, separating the palace from the outer city and thus strengthening the protection of the palace.

### *For the external threats*

#### A. Natural defense barrier

The *Sunzi bingfa* 孙子兵法 (*Sun Bin's Art of War*) said:

城在淖泽之中，无亢山名谷，而有付丘于其四方者，雄城也，不可攻也。军食溜水，[生水也，不可攻]也。城前名谷，倍(背)亢山，雄城也，不可攻也。城中高外下者，雄城也，不可攻也。城中有付丘者，雄城也，不可攻也。

The city built in a small swamp area and surrounded by no high mountains or deep valleys but by continuous hills is a solid city to which military attacks will not work. The troops here take in running water (that is, the water source is considerably ample and breaking through the city is not available). Cities facing a ravine and backing against towering mountains

are also solid, powerful cities; to them, military offensives will not succeed. To cities where the interior occupies a high position while the exterior is in lower terrain and is considered well-equipped, a military invasion is not feasible. Cities in which there are lying endless hills are also sturdy cities, and military movements will not be effective here.

Known from this book, cities harbouring mountains inside are classified as well-equipped cities to so solid and firm that invasions will not be achieved. In the south part of Jinancheng are a protrude outwards, well enclosing the Fenghuang mountain in the city. In this way, Jinancheng is shielded by mountain and relies on dangerous terrain as protection.

## B. Artificial defense facility

### City wall<sup>303</sup>

The city walls of Jinancheng are built of earth, rammed layer upon layer, most of which are still preserved on the ground. The north city wall is the most complete. The city wall is about 4,450 meters long (the straight distance from the center of the east wall to the center of the west wall); 3,588 meters wide from north to south (the straight distance from the center of the south wall to the center of the north wall). The perimeter is 15,506 meters (including the gaps and the city gates). The length of the walls on each side of Jinancheng is shown in the table below:

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<sup>303</sup> Reference: Hubei sheng bowuguan 湖北省博物馆. “Chu du Jinancheng de kancha yu fajue” 楚都纪南城的勘查与发掘 (The Investigation and Excavation of the Ancient Chu Capital, Jinancheng City Site) (Part I). *Kaogu xuebao* 考古学报 3 (1982): 325-350; Gao Jiehua 高介华, Liu Yutang 刘玉堂. *Chu guo de chengshi yu jianzhu* 楚国的城市与建筑 (*Chu State's Cities and Buildings*). Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe 武汉: 湖北教育出版社 (1996): 119-120.

Location	Length (m)	Starting and ending points
East wall	3,706	Starts at the north turning of the northeast corner and ends at the southeast corner.
West wall	3,751	Starts at the north turning of the northwest corner and ends at the south turning of the southwest corner.
South wall	4,502	Starts at the south turning of the southwest corner and ends at the southeast corner, including the protrude at the south wall.
North wall	3,547	Starts at the north turning of the northwest and ends at the north turning of the northeast corner.

**Tab. 8 Length of the walls on each side of Jinancheng<sup>304</sup>**

Except for the southeastern corner, the other three corners (northeast corner, northwest corner, and southwest corner) are all in tangential shapes. The southeastern corner has no corner-cutting but a protrude outwards located at the east segment of the south wall. At the city walls, there are 11 corners in total.

The bottom of the city wall is 30-40 meters wide, and the upper part is 10-20 meters wide. All the walls near the city gate's sides are significantly adducted, and the dome is 10 meters wide.<sup>305</sup> The residual height is 3.9-8 meters. If the height is 1/3 of the base width, it is estimated that the city's height maybe 13.3 meters.

Through the city wall's partial anatomy, we can see that the construction of the city wall in Jinancheng is slightly different from that in the north. In the northern regions, city walls are generally built directly on the ground. However, the construction of the walls in Jinancheng first levelled the original base and then cleaned up the softer silt. Next, the foundation trenches were dug for the city walls, digging to a harder red sand

<sup>304</sup> Source: Hubei sheng bowuguan 湖北省博物馆. "Chu du Jinancheng de kancha yu fajue" 楚都纪南城的勘查与发掘 (The Investigation and Excavation of the Ancient Chu Capital, Jinancheng City Site) (Part I). *Kaogu xuebao* 考古学报 3 (1982): 325-350

<sup>305</sup> Guo Dewei 郭德维. *Chu du Jinan cheng fuyuan yanjiu* 楚都纪南城复原研究 (Study on the Restoration of Chu Jinancheng). Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe 北京: 文物出版社 (1999): 50.

soil layer. Inside the foundation, trenches have dressed a layer of rubbles. This layer mainly consisted of large broken plate tiles and semicircular tile, of which the former tiles dominated and used for the basement of the walls. On this basis, rammed-earth construction was performed at last.<sup>306</sup> The built layer on the city wall is generally about 10 cm thick and quite obvious, of which the upper layer is colored in yellow, and the lower layer is grayish brown.

In addition to the main body wall section, there is slope protection inside and outside. There is a clear dividing line between the slope protection and the wall. The soil and the wall are not exactly the same. The slope protection soil is hard, and the earth color is yellow brown, brown gray or gray yellow. The inner slope is more heterogeneous than the outer slope, and the slope is gentle and about 10 meters wide. The slope of the outer slope is steep and about 6 meters wide. The protecting slope is not equipped with a foundation trench. Its construction was first to build the main wall to a certain height, then to pad with earth to be an external slope on the ground, and finally, to pile up the internal slope.

The characteristics of the walls of Jinancheng mainly include three aspects:

First, the wall corner, as a weak link in the defense of the city wall, is easily attacked by the enemy. Therefore, in the later literature, there is a saying that “if attacking the city, invade the corner first.” The three corners of Jinancheng (the northeast, northwest and southwest corners) are all cut-angles. They effectively eliminated the blind angle of vision. If enemies come to attack the city, these corners can also form a crossfire, significantly improving the military defense capabilities. Although the southeast corner is a right angle, the protrude at the west city wall at the corner wraps the highland of Fenghuang mountain in the city, helpful for occupying the commanding heights and convenient for viewing and alarming.

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<sup>306</sup> Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 湖北省文物考古研究所. “Jingzhou Jinancheng Fenghuotai yizhi ji qi xice chengyuan shijue jianbao” 荆州纪南城烽火台遗址及其西侧城垣试掘简报 (Preliminary Report on the Trial Excavation of the Beacon Tower Ruins and the City Walls of its West in Jinancheng City Site). *Jiangnan kaogu* 江汉考古 2 (2014): 11-21.

Second, broken rubbles working to be the foundation of city walls leave the walls great strength and excellent stability. They can also prevent moisture at the same time, ensuring the firmness of city walls.

Third, the slope protection design can protect the wall and facilitate the fixing of the splint and the upward movement when building the city. Also, the slope of the inner slope is gentle, convenient for soldiers to board the city and help the defense quickly. The slope of the outer slope is steep, making it difficult for the enemy to climb up, which is easy to defend.<sup>307</sup>

### City gate<sup>308</sup>

As the city's entrance and exit, the city gate is highly valued by both sides of the military. When it comes to military offensives, breaking through the city gate is the most effective way to conquer a city, for the limitations on the means of attacking a city made it almost impossible to destroy the city walls during the Spring and Autumn period and the Warring States period. However, for the party to defend the city, they had better give a full play to the city walls because it is an important means to relieve stress and also an essential channel for resource replenishment.

There are 28 gaps in the city walls of Jinancheng. Guo Dewei speculated that there should be at least two land gates and one water gate on each side of the wall.<sup>309</sup>

Through archaeological excavations can be identified seven gates currently: two gates at the north wall, west wall, and south wall, respectively, and one gate at the east wall.

The Cn1 and Cs1 are water gates, beneath which are ancient rivers running across the city and flowing waters till today. Besides, at the exit of the Longqiao river in the

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<sup>307</sup> Jiang Xiulin 蒋秀林. "Chunqiu Zhanguo Chu du yanjiu" 春秋战国楚都研究 (Research on Chu Capitals in the Spring and Autumn period and Warring States period). M.A dissertation, Shaanxi Normal University 陕西师范大学 (2018).

<sup>308</sup> The city gate is not numbered in the excavation report of Jinancheng. Thus, to facilitate the composition of the paper and to avoid repeats, in this paper a uniformed standard of denoting symbols is employed: the English uppercase letter C is used to refer to the relic type of the city gate, and the lowercase letters n/s/w/e to the direction and position of the city wall in which the city gate stands, and Arabic numbers 1/2 to specific city gate.

<sup>309</sup> Guo Dewei 郭德维. *Study on the Restoration of Chu Jinancheng* (1999): 57.

central-north part of the east wall stands the Longhui bridge named today. Flowing across under the bridge, an ancient river has been proved by prospecting. It is thus speculated that there is a water gate and labelled Ce1.

With this speculated water gate, there are eight city gates in total. On each side are standing two gates. On the east, north and south side, is located one water gate. To sum up, the city gates in Jinancheng contains five land gates and three water gates.<sup>310</sup>

The five land gates, gates Ce2, Cs2, and Cn2 are single-door channels and gates Cw1 and Cw2 are three-door channels. Regard the three water gates, and gate Cs1 is a three-door channel.<sup>311</sup>

At present, a comprehensive archaeological excavation of Cw1 and Cs1 is carried out. Based on the existing excavation materials, combined with the handed-down literature and other related archaeological discoveries, Guo Dewei was found to have researched the restoration of these two gates.<sup>312</sup> On this basis, Su Yingying, from the perspective of architecture, carried out further research on the water gate in the south wall, including the waterway construction technology of the watergate, the navigation of the water gate, the form of the gate, and the architectural form of the city wall building.<sup>313</sup>

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<sup>310</sup> Su Yingying 苏莹莹. “Chu guo Jinancheng nanyuan shuimen de fuyuan yanjiu” 楚国纪南城南垣水门的复原研究 (Study on the Restoration of the Water Gate of the South City Wall in Jinan City). M.A dissertation, Huazhong University of Science and Technology 华中科技大学 (2010): 9-10.

<sup>311</sup> Gao Jiehua 高介华, Liu Yutang 刘玉堂. *Chu guo de chengshi yu jianzhu* 楚国的城市与建筑 (*Chu State's Cities and Buildings*). Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe 武汉: 湖北教育出版社 (1996): 119.

<sup>312</sup> Guo Dewei 郭德维. *Study on the Restoration of Chu Jinancheng* (1999): 102-128.

<sup>313</sup> Su Yingying 苏莹莹. “Chu guo Jinancheng nanyuan shuimen de fuyuan yanjiu” 楚国纪南城南垣水门的复原研究 (Study on the Restoration of the Water Gate of the South City Wall in Jinan City). M.A dissertation, Huazhong University of Science and Technology 华中科技大学 (2010): 9-10.

Specific introduction to each gate is shown as below:<sup>314</sup>

### **The north:**

#### **The east gate in the north wall (water gate) - Cn1**

With an existing gap of 90 meters wide, the gate is located at the gap of the Zhu river flowing into the city from north to south. On both sides of the city gate, the city wall is narrowed inward and 10 meters wide. Many of its signs are considerably similar to the features of the water gate Cs1 on the west of the south wall. Thus, gate Cn1 is speculated to be a water gate build in the same architectural form as gate Cs1.

#### **The west gate in the north wall - Cn2**

The existing gap is 62 meters wide. The city wall on both sides of the city gate is shrunk inward and 10 meters in width. Mixed with various substances, the building soil is grayish brown and containing a lot of pottery pieces. A groove, 10 meters wide, was explored in the middle of the gap and presumed to be a doorway. The groove formation is simple, of which the upper layer is made of black-gray road soil, and the lower layer is of yellow-gray soil.

There are two rammed earth bases on the west of the city gate, which are supposed to be an annex to the city gate. There are braised soil, and a large number of red pottery pieces and grass ash piled up on the base. The two bases are about 15 meters apart. Between the two bases, a brown soil road with a width of about 5 meters was found, which was about 10 cm thick. The upper layer of the road is compacted by braised soil, pottery and yellow cinnamon soil; the lower layer is made of yellow bauxite. The road soil extends into the city more than 100 meters and then interrupted, failing to

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<sup>314</sup> Reference: Hubei sheng bowuguan 湖北省博物馆. “Chu du Jinancheng de kancha yu fajue” 楚都纪南城的勘查与发掘 (The Investigation and Excavation of the Ancient Chu Capital, Jinancheng City Site) (Part I). *Kaogu xuebao* 考古学报 3 (1982): 325-350. Guo Dewei 郭德维. *Chu du Jinan cheng fuyuan yanjiu* 楚都纪南城复原研究 (Study on the Restoration of Chu Jinancheng). Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe 北京: 文物出版社, 1999. Su Yingying 苏莹莹. “Chu guo Jinancheng nanyuan shuimen de fuyuan yanjiu” 楚国纪南城南垣水门的复原研究 (Study on the Restoration of the Water Gate of the South City Wall in Jinan City). M.A dissertation, Huazhong University of Science and Technology 华中科技大学, 2010.

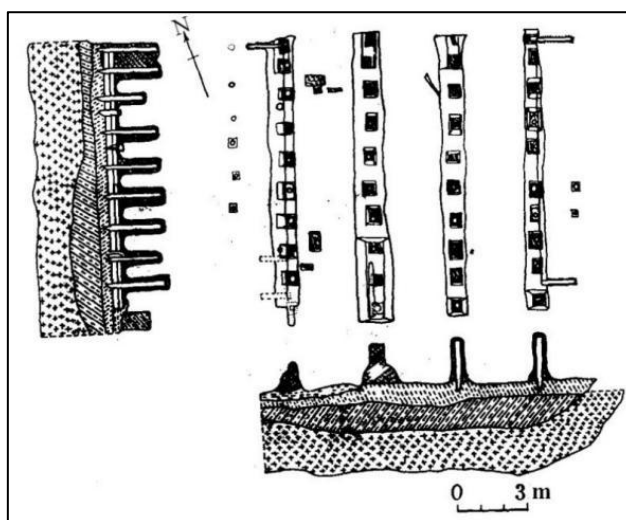
lead out of the city. Thus, it is speculated to be the road remains acceding to the annex building of the city gate at the time.

### **The south:**

#### **The west gate in the south wall (water gate) - Cs1**

The existing gap is 40 meters wide and is located in the gap between the Xinqiao river and the city wall. The remains of wooden structures were found in the ancient rivers, presumably the water gates. The main building of the water gate is made up of 4 rows of 41 wooden columns that form a three-door. The formation is muddy in the ancient river. The battlements on both sides of the water gate notch also have a narrowing of the adduction. On the eastern part of the water gate gap, a rammed earth platform was discovered, presumed to be an annex to the water gate.

The entire building is rectangular in shape, about 11.5 meters long from north to south and 15 meters wide from east to west. The relic area is 172.5 square meters. A total of 49 holes were found in ruins, and 37 holes still have wooden pillars. There is still a foundation in each hole. The holes and wooden columns are divided into six rows. The middle four rows (row No. 2-5, from east to west) are the wooden structure's main body, while the lateral two rows (row No. 1 and 6) are the ancillary buildings.



**Fig. 35 Remains of wooden structures (Gate Cs1) of Jinancheng<sup>315</sup>**

<sup>315</sup> Source: Hubei sheng bowuguan 湖北省博物馆. “Chu du Jinancheng de kancha yu fajue” 楚都纪南城的勘查与发掘 (The Investigation and Excavation of the Ancient Chu Capital, Jinancheng City



The four rows of 41 wooden columns in the main part constitute three doorways. The length of the wooden columns is different, generally 220-288 cm long. Its thickness is not equal, and the bottom diameter is 20-36 cm thick. The depth of their burying varies as well. The wooden columns include cylinders and square cylinders, most of which are cylinders and only three are found to be square wooden columns. All the columns are placed at corners. The upper end of the wooden column is rounded and pointed. The tip is cut like a knife. The sharp marks on them are clearly distinguishable when unearthed. Each column has several knife-cutting facets.

The base under the wood column is generally rectangular or irregularly trapezoidal. The spacing of the wooden columns is not equal, and the density is uneven. Among the three doorways formed, the east gate is 3.5 meters wide and 11.3 meters long; the middle gate is 3.5 meters wide and 11.7 meters long; the west gate is 3.7 meters wide and 11.5 meters long.

On both sides of the main building are placed baffles closely attached to the east side of the second row of wood columns and the west side of the fifth row of wood columns. They are slightly curved when excavated out from the earth. The baffles can prevent the soil from collapsing.

The outbuildings are located on either side of the main building, namely the first and sixth rows of wooden pillars. The first row has been destroyed because of the Xinqiao river. There are six pillar holes in the 6th row. It is speculated that the two rows should each have ten holes. There are three wooden pillars in the holes. The wooden columns are cylindrical and have a pointed shape at the upper end. On the columns are also found cut marks. The wooden column is short, with a length of 47-120 cm and a bottom diameter of 20-32 cm. There is no foundation in the hole. The construction of the outbuildings is mainly to stabilize the main building and increase support.

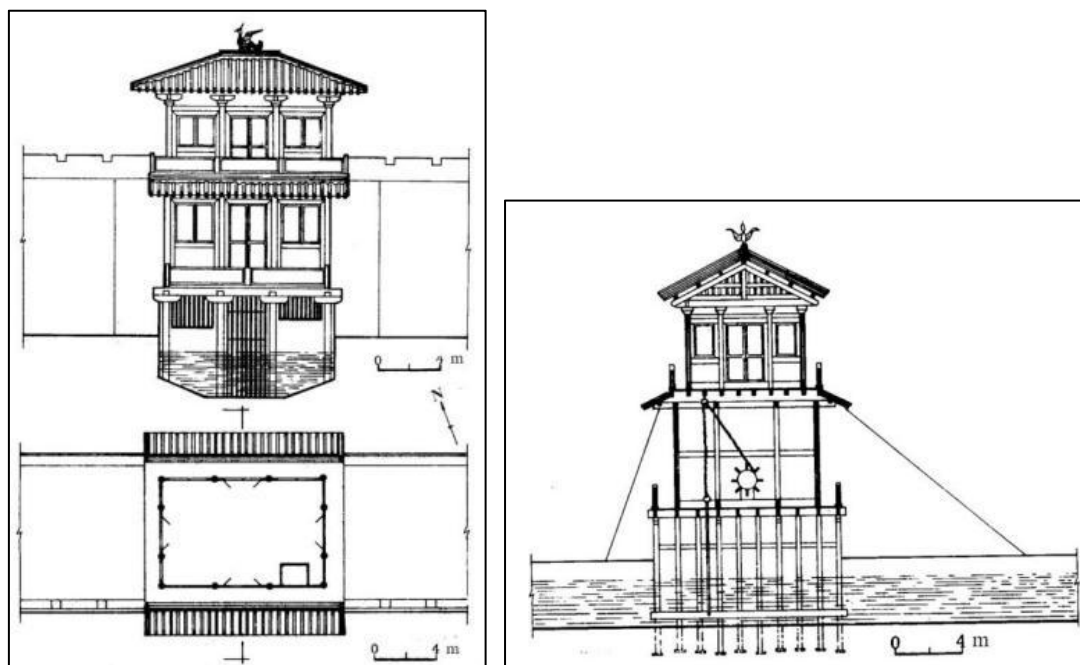
To build this wooden structure, it first needs to clean the bottom of the river. The central building part is made by digging a trench in the soil layer, digging a hole in the trench, embedding the foundation in the hole, and constructing the wooden pillar. The

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Site) (Part I). *Kaogu xuebao* 考古学报 3 (1982): 343.

annex building does not dig the trench first but directly drills the holes to embed the wooden pillar. After digging holes and standing the columns, their surroundings are filled with earth to tamp to be solid. Besides, the baffles are placed on the east and west sides of the main building, and shallow grooves are opened on the square corners. The baffle is embedded in the shallow groove to secure it. On the one hand, the baffle is arranged to ensure that the outer soil is not hollowed out by running water, and on the other hand, the soil on both sides can be prevented from slipping and blocking the river.

It is worth mentioning that pottery groups are often found in the north and south of trenches, pillars and ruins. These potteries were relatively intact and placed on the same plane when they were unearthed. Also, a human skeleton, three pairs of hemp shoes, a raft and a wooden comb, and a rope-shaped long-necked canister were found at the northern end of the wooden structure. A horse's head and other animal bones were also found nearby. These artifacts are speculated to be related to the ritual of foundation.

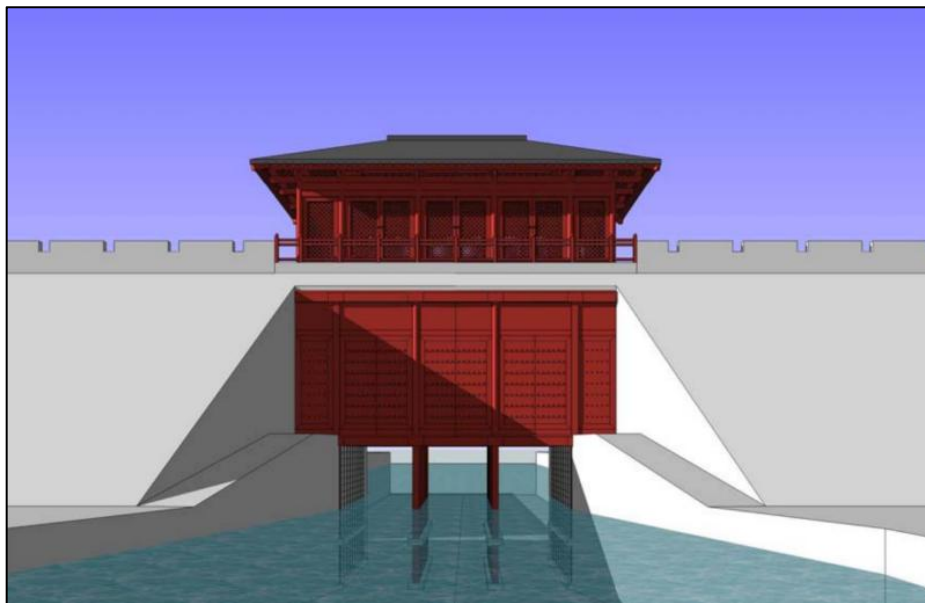


**Fig. 36 Restoration of the water gate Cs1 of Jinancheng (by Guo Dewei)<sup>316</sup>**

<sup>316</sup> Source: Guo Dewei 郭德维. *Chu du Jinan cheng fuyuan yanjiu* 楚都纪南城复原研究 (Study on the Restoration of Chu Jinancheng) (1999): 123-124.

Guo Dewei conducted a restoration study on the water gate.<sup>317</sup> He believes that the water gate should be a three-story building (as shown in Fig. 36). The lower level is a bridge that allows ships inside and outside the city to facilitate water transportation. It also allows people on both sides of the river to pass. Facilities such as gates are installed in the middle to manage vessel access. This design performs both the inspection and defense functions and the taxation function. The upper level serves as a watch and guard duty station.

On this basis, Su Yingying, from the perspective of architecture, engaged in further research on the river channel construction technology, the navigation of the water gate, the form of the city gate, and the architectural form of the gate tower(as shown in Fig. 37).



**Fig. 37 Restoration of the water gate Cs1 of Jinancheng (by Su Yingying)<sup>318</sup>**

<sup>317</sup> Guo Dewei 郭德维. *Chu du Jinan cheng fuyuan yanjiu* 楚都纪南城复原研究 (Study on the Restoration of Chu Jinancheng) (1999): 113-128.

<sup>318</sup> Source: Su Yingying 苏莹莹. "Chu guo Jinancheng nanyuan shuimen de fuyuan yanjiu" 楚国纪南城南垣水门的复原研究 (Study on the Restoration of the Water Gate of the South City Wall in Jinan City). M.A dissertation, Huazhong University of Science and Technology 华中科技大学(2010): 60.

### **The east gate in the south wall - Cs2**

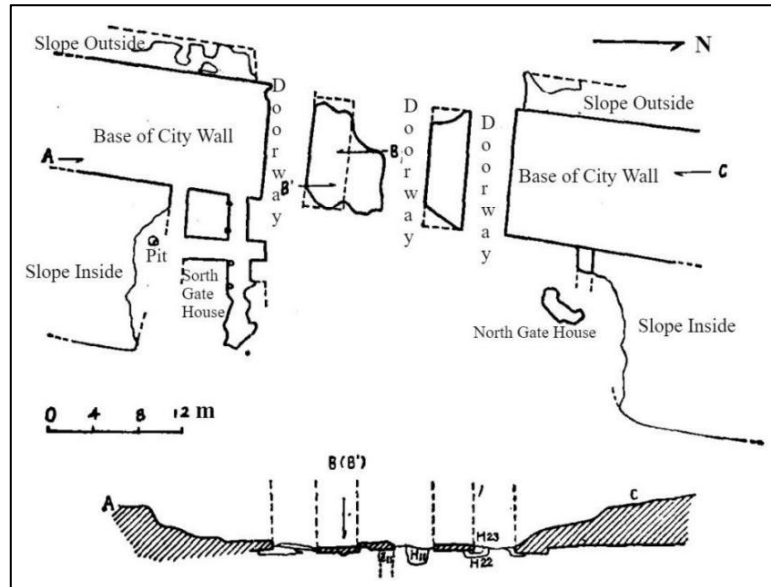
The existing gap is 20 meters wide. Exploration revealed a doorway that was 10 meters wide. Inside the doorway was found remains of brown road soil, about 30 cm in thickness, and its building soil is mixed and hard. A square rammed earth building foundation has been found, with a side length of 32 meters, at about 70 meters away from the west of the city gate, that is, within the southwest corner of the protrude in the south wall and also, named beacon towers of today. The base should be an auxiliary building of the city gate.

### **The west:**

#### **The north gate in the west wall - Cw1**

The existing gap is about 40 meters wide. The gate has three doorways and an annex to the city gate. The threshold is made of yellow earthworms, 10.1 meters long and 3.6 meters wide. The three doorways are separated by sills made of rammed earth walls and their widths are not equal. The base of the south gate road is 3.8-3.9 meters wide, the base of the north gate road is 3.84-4 meters wide, and the base of the middle doorway is 7.8 meters wide. In the building at the time, this was the biggest span. The three doorways are basically perpendicular to the city wall. The city wall close to the sides of the city gates narrows down inward, 10 meters in width. There is the soil in the gate of the city gate, the upper layer is water silt, and the lower layer is muddy black soil. Miscellaneous in substances, the soil trace seems to be the road to the city.

On the south side of the south gate road and on the north side of the north gate road stands a porter base attached to the wall's side. They are supposed to be used to guard the gate.



**Fig. 38 Plan and section of the ruins of the gate Cw1 of Jinancheng<sup>319</sup>**

The house bases of the south gate are preserved. Except for the southeast corner being washed away by the flood, the rest can also see the bauxite wall base and the doorway padding at that time. The concierge has two things in parallel. A well-preserved house in the west. Its indoor and outdoor width is 3.8-4.6 meters, and the depth is 3.8 meters; in front of the door wall, there is a “door groove” with a width of 3.7 meters and a depth of 1.4 meters. The interior is covered with a layer of grayish-white soil, about 30 cm thick. On the inside of the north wall (door wall), two pillar holes were found with diameters of 40 and 50 cm, respectively. The pillar hole breaks the base of the north wall, and the remaining depth is 3-10 cm, filled with light yellow soil.

The shape of a house in the east is incomplete, and the indoor residual is 2 meters wide and 3.8 meters deep. Among them, there is a “door groove”, two meters wide and two meters deep. The northern part of the room was washed away by water; in the southern part was there a layer of brown soil 10-15 cm thick, which might be the soil of the wall collapsed. On the inside of the north wall, two pillar holes were also found, each with a diameter of 35 and 40 cm. The pillar hole broke the foundation of the

<sup>319</sup> Source: Hubei sheng bowuguan 湖北省博物馆. “Chu du Jinancheng de kancha yu fajue” 楚都纪南城的勘查与发掘 (The Investigation and Excavation of the Ancient Chu Capital, Jinancheng City Site) (Part I). *Kaogu xuebao* 考古学报 3 (1982): 335.

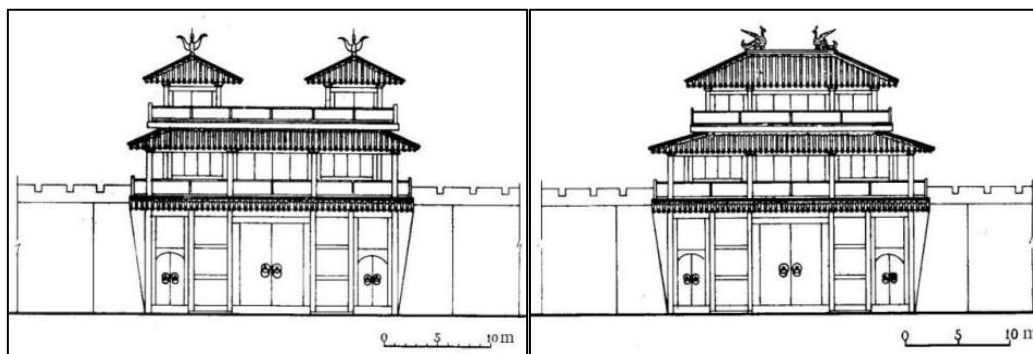
north wall, and its residual depth was 4-8 cm, and it was filled with pale yellow soil. The wall of the two concierges, the back wall is 1.4 meters thick, and the rest are 2 meters thick. There is a hole at 20 cm near the back wall of the concierge. The acupoint is cylindrical, with a diameter of 1.15 meters, a depth of 1.60-1.85 meters, and a bottom diameter of 0.92-0.96 meters. The pit walls are flat, and the traces of the excavation are obvious. The digging marks are 5-6 cm wide. The fill in the hole is relatively pure, and there is no humus such as grass and ash. This hole may be related to the concierge and is presumed to be a storage pit. A layer of rubble was found in front of the concierge.

In the north, gate house is now only preserved as a part of a house against the wall. The whole picture has been unclear. The rear wall base is about 2 meters long and 1.6 meters thick. From the location of some of the remaining bauxite in the east wall base, the north gate can be measured to be about 4.5 meters wide and about 3.5 meters deep. The size of the room is slightly smaller than the South Gate.

Based on the archaeological excavation materials, Guo Dewei integrated into the literature including the *Mozi* 墨子, the *Yue jue shu* 越绝书, the *Kao gong ji* 考工记, the *Sanfu huangtu* 三辅黄图, and the *Shui jing zhu* 水经注. He also referred to the remains of the Eastern Han dynasty, such as Huangshengqing que 皇圣卿阙 (built in 86 CE) in Pingyi county, Shandong province, Gaoyi que 高颐阙 (209 CE) in Ya'an county, Sichuan province, and numerous archaeological discoveries such as the ancient city of Zhao, Qianjiang Longwan Palace and the City gate of West Han dynasty in Chang'an, the Zhaogu No. 1 Tomb in Hui county, Langjiazhuang No. 1 Tomb in Linzi of Shangdong, as well as the portrait bricks of Han dynasty. With all the materials above, Guo Dewei carried out a compelling exploration of the restoration study of the north gate.

Combined with the literature and the unearthed cultural relics on the ground and underground, Guo Dewei restored the height of the city wall, about ten meters. On both sides of the door sill, that is, on both sides of the doorway, he also placed a wall-shaped square column, separately. The gate building was placed on the column. First, need to set up the vertical beam and then framed the beam. When the beam was

placed, a bucket arch was set up accordingly. He proposed two ways of restoration of the tower: one was “double squat” 双阙式 and the other was “four squats” 四阿重檐式. The structure of the bottom of the two types of gates was the same, but the styles of the upper part were different. The city gate is a wooden building with a four-slope roof. The roof should be covered with blue-gray tiles, heavy and cloistered.<sup>320</sup>



**Fig. 39 Restoration of the gate Cw1 of Jinancheng (by Guo Dewei)<sup>321</sup>**

### The south gate in the west wall - Cw2

The existing gap is 70 meters wide. The city walls at both ends of the city gate are converging inward and are 10 meters wide. In the south of the gap, traces of doorways and thresholds were found. The threshold is made of yellow earthenware, 10 meters long and 4.5 meters wide. The doorway was 10 meters wide and was disturbed by the later period. There are layers in the doorway. The upper layer is water silt; the lower layer is black ash soil, and the soil is more complicated. This is basically the same as the accumulation of strata in the north gate in the west wall.

<sup>320</sup> Guo Dewei 郭德维. *Chu du Jinan cheng fuyuan yanjiu* 楚都纪南城复原研究 (Study on the Restoration of Chu Jinancheng) (1999): 102-113.

<sup>321</sup> Guo Dewei 郭德维. *Chu du Jinan cheng fuyuan yanjiu* 楚都纪南城复原研究 (Study on the Restoration of Chu Jinancheng) (1999): 109.

## **The east:**

### **The north gate in the east wall (speculated to be a water gate) - Ce1**

At the gap where the Longqiao river flows out of the city (that is, the site of Longhui bridge) has been found an ancient river track by drilling. As speculated, there is supposed to be a water gate on the river. But it is now impossible to be proved because the site was severely damaged by the river assaulting and the construction of roads in the early years.

### **The south gate in the east wall - Ce2**

The existing gap is 40 meters wide. A groove is found in the middle of the gap and presumed to be a doorway. There is stratum accumulation in the groove, of which the upper layer is water silt, and the lower layer is yellow-brown soil. There is a rammed earth platform which should be an annex to the city gate.

### *Observation tower<sup>322</sup>*

The remains here are commonly referred to by local people as “Beacon Tower”. The ruins are located in the southwest corner of the southern part of the city. It is 30 meters west of the city wall, 40 meters south of the city wall, and 45 meters above sea level. The site is a high base, shaped like an irregular square, and is about 3-5 meters above the surrounding ground. The bottom is approximately rectangular and rounded, slightly longer from north to south, with a diameter of about 100 meters, and slightly narrower in the east-west direction, with about 80 meters. The top of the base is about 50-60 meters in diameter.

From October to December 2011, the Hubei Provincial Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology conducted a trial excavation. According to the preliminary test excavation report, the base and the city were planned simultaneously and were built

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<sup>322</sup> Reference: Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 湖北省文物考古研究所. “Jingzhou Jinancheng Fenghuotai yizhi ji qi xice chengyuan shijue jianbao” 荆州纪南城烽火台遗址及其西侧城垣试掘简报 (Preliminary Report on the Trial Excavation of the Beacon Tower Ruins and the City Walls of its West in Jinancheng City Site). *Jiangnan kaogu* 江汉考古 2 (2014): 11-21.



separately. The edge of the slope in the battlement is pressed against the edge of the platform's slope. After the completion, a groove is formed between the platform and the city, convenient for military patrols and rain drainage. On the platform's west side, a regular wedge-shaped column hole was found at a certain distance. This may be the corridor built at that time to facilitate the inspection of the upper city.

The excavator speculated a building on the foundation and thought that it was more likely to be used as an observation tower than to be a beacon tower. It is the commanding heights of the whole city. Standing here to look out far away, the observers can supervise the scenes and movements both inside and outside of the city.

### *Moat*

From the perspective of remote sensing images, there are apparent remains of moats around Jinancheng. There were no moats found in the four parts: the protrude at the south wall, Ce2, Cn2 and the big gap in the east of the north wall. The break may be related to the city gate.

Based on the interruption, Guo Dewei divided the moat into four natural sections:

The first section: starts at the west gate in the north wall (Cn2), stretches westward and passes the northwest corner, runs along the west wall and arrives at the southwest corner, and then continues along the west part of the south wall and runs eastward, and ends at the southwest corner of the protrude in the south wall. It is 7,660 meters in total length. The section from the southwest corner of the city to the south water gate (Cs2) employs the ancient track of the Xinqiao river.

The second section: starts at the southeast corner of the south wall, runs along the external side of the south wall, and passes through the southeast corner, and arrives at the south gate in the east wall (Ce2). The full length is 1,800 meters.

The third section: starts at the south gate in the east wall (Ce2), runs northward and crosses through the Longhui bridge, and ends at the big gap at the east part of the north wall. It is 4,440 meters in full length.

The fourth section: starts at the big gap at the east part of the north wall, runs westward and crosses above the Zhu river, and stops at the west gate in the north wall (Cn2), with a total length of 820 meters.

The moats should be formed when excavating the earth wall. Generally, 20 meters away from the city wall's outer perimeter, it flows through the opposite side of the city gate (such as Cw1). Turning 20 meters away from the city, the moat will be 40 meters away from the city wall.

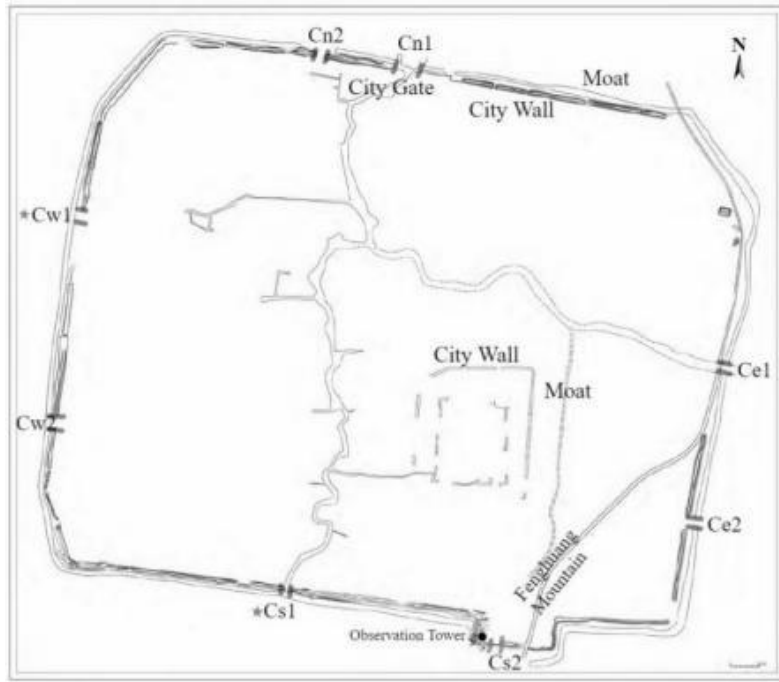
The depth of the moat is 4-6 meters below the surface. The rivers vary in width and are generally about 40-80 meters wide. In the higher places, such as the northwest corner of the city and the northeast corner of the city, the riverbed is narrowed, and the narrowest point is only 10 meters. Outside the southwest corner of the city, the terrain is low, and the riverbank where the moat flows into the ancient river. The riverbed here is widened, which can be up to 80-100 meters.<sup>323</sup>

It is sourced from the Zhu river in the north of the city. At the east gate in the north wall (Cn1), the moat is divided into three branches: one runs westward and along the city wall, bypasses the west wall and links to the Wangjia river; one runs eastward and along the city wall, bypasses the east wall and at the site of Longhui bridge, joins into the Dengjia lake; and the last one enters the city from the water gate in the north wall (Cn1) and merges at the Longhui bridge.<sup>324</sup> The moat links up with the ancient river tracks inside the city, together forming a complete system of protection, drainage and transportation.

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<sup>323</sup> Guo Dewei 郭德维. *Study on the Restoration of Chu Jinancheng* (1999): 52-54.

<sup>324</sup> Sun Jiabing 孙家柄, etc. "Chu gudu: Jinancheng de yaogan diaocha he fenxi" 楚古都--纪南城的遥感调查和分析 (Remote Sensing Investigation and Analysis of Jinancheng City Site, the Ancient Capital of Chu). *Yaogan xinxi* 遥感信息 1 (1993): 29-31.



**Fig. 40 Urban defense of Jinancheng<sup>325</sup>**

*For the inside threats*

Eighty-four contemporary bauxite bases were found inside the Jinancheng city site. Most of them are concentrated in the eastern part of the city, especially in the southeast part of the most densely packed, the largest number, arranged regularly. This area is considered to be the palace area of Jinancheng. To protect the palace and defend against possible threats, Jinancheng applied both natural and artificial defenses.

A. Natural defense barrier

The Xinqiao river and Longqiao river surround the periphery of the palace area, providing convenient drainage and water transportation and bearing defense against enemies.

<sup>325</sup> Source: Wen Lei 闻磊, and Zhou Guoping 周国平. “Ying lu liaoyuan: Chu du Jinancheng gongcheng qu de kaogu fajue” 郢路辽远--楚都纪南城宫城区的考古发掘 (Archaeological Excavation of the Palace Area in Jinancheng City Site). *Dazhong kaogu* 大众考古 11 (2016): 22.

## B. Artificial defense facility

Artificial defense facilities include the construction of moats and bauxite walls. The moat originates from the southwestern foot of Fenghuang mountain, and flows northward to the Longqiao river. The river is straight and has a total length of 1,850 meters. The upstream is 9-13 meters wide, and the downstream is 20 meters wide.

The rammed earth wall is parallel to the river and is very close. The wall base is 10 meters wide, and the residual height is only 50 centimeters. The wall has been explored to a length of 750 meters. Its southward part was destroyed. Its northern end is at right angles. The wall extended westward and detected to be 690 meters in a broken pattern. However, this is not the terminal point. Guo Dewei considers these two walls to be the east wall and north wall of the palace and that the rammed earth bases inside there are the foundations of the palace buildings.

From 2011 to 2015, the palace wall's southeast corner and two sections of the palace wall have been newly discovered.<sup>326</sup>

## *Infrastructures*

### *Street*

The soil of the roads in Jinancheng is difficult to identify, so the streets cannot be identified through exploration but analysis. Guo Dewei believes that the avenue connecting gate Cs2 and Cn1 is the central axis and the trunk road of Jinancheng. Gate Ce1 and Cw1 is connected through Banqiao, which forms another artery. It combines with the artery between gate Ce2 and Cw2 and the artery between gate Cs1 and Cn2 to form an artery in the shape of “井” in Jinancheng. This artery connects eight gates on the land. There is also a cross-shaped water channel connecting four water gates.<sup>327</sup>

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<sup>326</sup> Wen Lei 闻磊, and Zhou Guoping 周国平. “Ying lu liaoyuan: Chu du Jinancheng gongcheng qu de kaogu fajue” 郢路辽远--楚都纪南城宫城区的考古发掘 (Archaeological Excavation of the Palace Area in Jinancheng City Site). *Dazhong kaogu* 大众考古 11 (2016): 19-28

<sup>327</sup> Guo Dewei 郭德维. *Study on the Restoration of Chu Jinancheng* (1999): 89-90.

As for the estimation of the width of the artery in the city, let's take the data from the gate Cw1 as an example:

Width of the artery in the city = total width of gates= width of the middle gateway + width of south and north gateway + width of middle gate stacks

If we put specific data into this formula, the width of the street may be 22.64 meters.

(7.8 m+3.8 m+3.84 m+7.2 m=22.64 m)

### *Water supply and drainage*

As an essential element of urban development, water supply and drainage systems play an important role in ensuring the ordinary life, production, flood control and military defense of the city. The construction of ancient and modern cities in China and abroad focus on solving water supply and drainage. Jinancheng is no exception. The water supply and drainage system of Jinancheng is complete, scientific and reasonable.

According to current archaeological excavations, the water supply system of Jinancheng includes rivers and wells, which are the main sources of domestic water and the water for handicraft production and agricultural production.

Its drainage system is mainly composed of water aprons, drainage pipes, land drains, watercourses and moats. The wastewater discharged from the city's production areas and living areas passes through the drainage pipe and flows into the city's drainage channel. Then the water passes through the water gate and finally goes to the moat. In the rainy season, when the amount of precipitation is large, the water aprons will play a pioneering role in the drainage of the building area. A large amount of rainwater around the building is firstly collected in the water aprons and then discharged into the drainage pipes to receive the drainage process.<sup>328</sup>

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<sup>328</sup> Xiang Defu 向德富, and Chen Cheng 陈程. "Chu Jinancheng jipaishui xitong qianxi" 楚纪南城给排水系统浅析 (Analysis on Jinancheng City Site's Water Supply and Drainage System). *Huabei shuili shuidian xueyuan xuebao (sheke ban)* 华北水利水电学院学报(社科版) vol. 28, 6 (2012): 33-36.

#### A. Watercourse and moat

The river network in Jinancheng is mainly composed of the ancient watercourses in the city, the moats outside the city and the Dengjia lake. The river network is both an integral part of the military defense system of Jinancheng and its drainage system as well as an important water supply facility. The specific findings of the moats and ancient watercourses in Jinancheng have been detailed in the previous paragraph.

Zhu river, Xinqiao river, Longqiao river and the ancient watercourse found on the west slope of Fenghuang mountain are the water arteries for drinking water and water drainage in the city. The moat around the city is connected to the city's ancient watercourse through the city wall's water gate. The ancient watercourse and the various sections of the moat are merged into it. Then they flow to the east and flow out of the city and injected into the Dengjia lake. And as a natural reservoir, Dengjia lake regulates the water supply and drainage inside and outside of Jinancheng so that the water in the flood season can be drained away from the city in time. The river and canals in the city during the flood season will not dry up.

#### B. Water well

An important indicator of settled agriculture is the invention and application of sinking technology. The sinking technology's gradual maturity is an important reflection of completing the transition from terrace agriculture to plain agriculture. Studies have shown that Chu state's sinking technology and well irrigation technology are quite developed. Jinancheng has a high groundwater level and abundant water resources, which provides excellent natural conditions for constructing water wells. The number of wells in the city is numerous. They are densely distributed and diverse in shape.

According to Guo Dewei's statistics, there are more than 400 water wells have been discovered.<sup>329</sup> It is distributed on both sides of the Longqiao river north of the imperial palace. For example, from 1975 to 1976, 256 water wells were discovered

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<sup>329</sup> Guo Dewei 郭德维. *Study on the Restoration of Chu Jinancheng* (1999): 59.

only within a length of about 1,000 meters and a width of 60 meters in the new section of the Longqiao river.<sup>330</sup> In January 1979, 15 wells with pottery walling crib and three soil wells were found in the area of about 75 meters long and 14 meters wide on the south bank of the Longqiao river.<sup>331</sup>

In addition, water wells are also found in Zhoujiawan, Fanjiayuan, Yujiawan, Taojiawan, Yujiadang, Wenjiawan and other places. For example, in 1989, more than 20 water wells have been found in the water well-conserved area of Dongyuemiao, distributed in the range of about 500 square meters. The distance between the well and the well is almost zero, but there is no mutual break or order. Also, the remains of ancient wells are also found in places such as the gates of the west wall and south wall.

The ancient wells that have been found in Jinancheng are divided into five types: soil well, well with pottery walling crib, well with bamboo walling crib, well with wood walling crib and well with tile walling crib according to the equipment of the walling crib and the material of the crib.

#### Soil well

Dig a circular vertical hole-type pit on the flat ground. Due to long-term use, the wellhead is generally larger than the bottom of the well. The caliber is generally 1.5-2 meters, and sometimes it is more than 3 meters. The well wall is relatively smooth, and there is no acetabulum left during the well excavation. It is vertical, and the wellhead is smaller and smaller with the depth of the well. Due to the high water level in the Jinancheng, the well wall collapsed seriously, so it is difficult to clean the well's bottom. The conditions of the lower part of the wells are unknown. No signs of other architecture are found around.

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<sup>330</sup> Hubei sheng bowuguan 湖北省博物馆. "Chu du Jinancheng de kancha yu fajue" 楚都纪南城的勘查与发掘 (The Investigation and Excavation of the Ancient Chu Capital, Jinancheng City Site) (PartII). *Kaogu xuebao* 考古学报 4 (1982): 477-507, 535-540.

<sup>331</sup> Hubei sheng bowuguan Jiangling Jinancheng gongzuozhan 湖北省博物馆江陵纪南城工作站. "1979 nian Jinancheng gujing fajue jianbao" 1979 年纪南城古井发掘简报 (Preliminary Report on the Excavation of the Ancient Wells in Jinancheng City Site in 1979). *Wenwu* 文物 10 (1980): 42-49.

## Well with pottery walling crib

This type of well is popular in Jinancheng. Its number is 3/5 or 2/3 of the total number of wells.<sup>332</sup> The found wells are basically consistent in the shape of the potter of walling crib, and the thickness and texture are basically the same. The wall of the pottery walling crib is generally straight or the lower part of the crib is relatively smaller. And the upper and lower sides are flat, and the mouth wall is thicker than the middle one. There are round holes in the crib wall, and the outer wall of the ring is decorated with thick rope-shaped patterns. The fine sandy grey pottery is mainly used for making the crib. Sometimes, sand hopper red pottery is also used. All the pottery well crib is made by hand.

There are pottery cribs on the well's body, and the lower part of some pottery wells has braids such as bamboo and reed, which play the role of filtration and anti-sludge. At the bottom of the bottom section of the pottery well crib, a wooden frame is set up to support and fix the crib. The wooden frame is always in the shapes of “=”, “+” and “#”. The frame is made by lay 2-4 battens flatly, and the battens are not combined with a tenon joint. Each batten is inserted into the soil wall of the pit.

Generally, two layers of soil are filled in the well. The upper layer is a harder lime soil with many broken pottery pieces and tiles, which might be piled up after the water well is abandoned. The lower layer is gray-black mud where unearthed pottery shards, tile pieces, pottery seats, pots, urns and water pots.

Currently, there are different perspectives on the construction methods of the well with pottery walling crib. Chen Zuquan<sup>333</sup> and Wang Chongli<sup>334</sup> believe that the “drop shaft sinking” is adopted. The dug well pit is slightly larger than the pottery crib. When the pit is deep enough for a crib, a crib is placed in the pit immediately. At this time, the construction workers enter the walling crib and gradually dig down. And the

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<sup>332</sup> Guo Dewei 郭德维. *Study on the Restoration of Chu Jinancheng* (1999): 62.

<sup>333</sup> Hubei sheng bowuguan Jiangling Jinancheng gongzuozhan 湖北省博物馆江陵纪南城工作站. “1979 nian Jinancheng gujing fajue jianbao” 1979 年纪南城古井发掘简报 (Preliminary Report on the Excavation of the Ancient Wells in Jinancheng City Site in 1979). *Wenwu 文物* 10 (1980): 42-49.

<sup>334</sup> Wang Chongli 王崇礼. *Chu guo tumu gongcheng yanjiu 楚国土木工程研究 (Study on the Civil Engineering of Chu State)*. Wuhan: Hubei kexue jishu chubanshe 武汉: 湖北科学技术出版社 (1995): 186.



earth is lifted out with a rope. When the well hole is dug to a certain depth and the walling crib is gradually dropped, then construction workers can add a walling crib. Repeat the action until the whole well is made.

However, there are many bamboo cribs outside the pottery cribs, and it is impossible to place bamboo cribs with the “drop shaft sinking”. The bamboo crib is woven from the bottom up and can only be woven after the pit is dug, so the pottery crib can only be placed after the bamboo crib is finished. Therefore, Guo Dewei proposes that before making the well with a pottery crib, a circular vertical hole type-pit on the flat ground should be dug. After that, the pottery cribs are made up from the bottom up.<sup>335</sup>

#### Well with bamboo walling crib

The well with bamboo walling crib is a well where a cylindrical walling crib with bamboos and wickers. Its shape and structure is an improvement based on the soil well. Firstly, make a water well pit. And then erect the hard bamboos and wickers along the well wall at the bottom of the well and make them a weaving warp. Later, use softer bamboos and wickers to make the weaving weft and weave it from the bottom up. The bamboo crib is generally easy to be weaved, and a large gap is left to facilitate water seepage. For example, He I No. I69 Well has 12 strands of warp around the well wall, and each strand is twisted by 6-7 bamboo strips or wickers. The wefts are single and interlaced. How to fill the well with soil and the remains of this type of well is generally the same as the soil well.

Making a crib with bamboos reflects the wisdom of the people of Chu state about adjusting measures to local conditions. Bamboo is flexible and easy to weave with the pit's size; several bamboo strips are twisted into a braid and have good rigidity. In doing so, the wall of the pit will not collapse, and the mud will not flow into the well. Furthermore, the gaps of bamboos can facilitate water seepage.

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<sup>335</sup> Guo Dewei 郭德维. *Study on the Restoration of Chu Jinancheng* (1999): 66.

### Well with wooden walling crib

The well with the wooden walling crib can be divided into upper and lower parts. A wooden walling crib is built in the well's body, and two large trees are respectively cut into half-circle-shaped grooves, one of which has a smaller diameter. And then, the two grooves are combined into an elliptical walling crib. Standing on the two parallel pallets in the middle, two wooden columns are placed on each side of the two grooves. And two parallel supporting woods are arranged at the lower end of the walling crib. The supporting wood is combined in the crib wall with a tenon joint.

The well with wooden walling crib also reflects the wisdom of the people of Chu state. Make the two wooden grooves in different sizes so that the more minor wooden groove fit within the larger one. Therefore, the wooden grooves become the main channel for seepage. A wooden material is erected at the joint of the wooden walling cribs, and the gap between the two sides can be reduced to achieve the anti-sludge effect.

### Well with tile walling crib

Only one well with tile walling crib is found on Huangjiamiao (outside the west wall). The wellhead is 0.5 m away from the ground and has a diameter of 0.8 m. The construction method is to put the tiles to the well wall, stack them in rows and in the wrong seams. Then make them close to the pit walls, and form a circle to form the tile crib.

### Summary

Make a summary of the rules on change and development of the shape of water wells in Jinancheng. It should be based on the construction of the soil well. The area along the Jinancheng city site is covered with sticky soil, and the well wall is easily eroded. The well is easy to collapse once it is soaked in the rain. In order to overcome the shortcomings of the soil well, the people of Chu began to make pottery walling crib to protect the wellhead. Later, the lower part of the pottery walling crib is changed into a bamboo walling crib. At the same time, the wooden walling crib also became

popular.<sup>336</sup>

Pottery wells can be seen in the Chu state and other countries of East Zhou. However, wells with bamboo walling crib, wells with wooden walling crib and wells with tile crib seem to be only seen in Jinancheng. They reflect the wisdom of the Chu people adjusting measures to local conditions.

It can be seen from the distribution of the wells, and the location is not the same. Some are located in the residential areas or living areas, some have ditches, and some are next to kilns. It can be seen that these wells are used not only for life but also for production.

In terms of life, although rivers are passing through Jinancheng, there is also a dry season, and the rivers are easily polluted by domestic garbage. The wells can ensure that the city residents use clean and hygienic water in their daily lives. Besides, wells may also have the effect of storing or refrigerating food.

For example, the bottom of the Songbai No. J89 Well is made of pottery walling cribs, and the long-necked tank for water intake is not unearthed, but a complete large pottery urn is placed in the bottom of the well. The urn is 67 cm high. Its radius of body is 59 cm, and its diameter is 33 cm. It has a volume of about 0.14 cubic meters. It can store 145.5 kilograms of water. It is considered to be specially stored after sinking the well. And this well is considered to be a dry well that is intentionally used for storage or refrigeration.<sup>337</sup>

In terms of production, wells are used for irrigating farmland, watering vegetable gardens and others. The wells densely distributed near the kiln site are related to handicraft workshops such as pottery workshop.

For example, in the moat of the southeastern part of Jinancheng, a pottery workshop site is discovered, which exposes two kiln sites and seven wells. Each kiln side has

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<sup>336</sup> Wang Chongli 王崇礼. *Chu guo tumu gongcheng yanjiu* 楚国土木工程研究 (*Study on the Civil Engineering of Chu State*). Wuhan: Hubei kexue jishu chubanshe 武汉: 湖北科学技术出版社 (1995) 192.

<sup>337</sup> Hubei sheng bowuguan Jiangling Jinancheng gongzuozhan 湖北省博物馆江陵纪南城工作站. "1979 nian Jinancheng gujing fajue jianbao" 1979 年纪南城古井发掘简报 (Preliminary Report on the Excavation of the Ancient Wells in Jinancheng City Site in 1979). *Wenwu* 文物 10 (1980): 42-49.

supporting wells and mud pits.

### C. Water apron

The water aprons are mainly laid around the foundations of the building. When the rain falls, and the ponding suddenly increases, the excessive ponding around the building can be quickly drained out.

The water aprons in Jinancheng are mainly concentrated near the palace area. There are water aprons on the middle east side and the outer side of the south and north building foundations of the No.1 Foundation (F1) of Songbai Yuchi in Jinancheng. In the base of the building foundation, a slope whose inner part is higher is formed is made of semicircle-shaped tiles and pantiles. It is 2.5-3 meters wide.<sup>338</sup>

There are rows of piers at 12 meters outside the north wall of the Building Foundation No.30 at Songbai and 14 meters outside the south wall. And the water aprons are located outside the piers. Both of them are outwardly low-lying slopes with a slope of 4-5 degrees. There is a layer of dark gray burnt soil at the bottom of the water apron, and red gray pieces of pottery are placed on it. The eastern part of the water apron on the north does not exist. The existing water apron is 50 meters long and 5 meters wide from the north to the south. The water apron in the south is also damaged. The residual one is 37 meters long and 5.4 meters wide.<sup>339</sup>

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<sup>338</sup> Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiu suo 湖北省文物考古研究所. "1988 nian Chu du Jinancheng Songbai qu de kancha yu fajue" 1988 年楚都纪南城松柏区的勘查与发掘 (Preliminary Report on the Investigation and Excavation of Songbai Area in Jinancheng City Site in 1988). *Jiangnan kaogu* 江汉考古 4 (1991): 6-15.

<sup>339</sup> Hubei sheng bowuguan 湖北省博物馆. "Chu du Jinancheng de kancha yu fajue" 楚都纪南城的勘查与发掘 (The Investigation and Excavation of the Ancient Chu Capital, Jinancheng City Site) (PartII). *Kaogu xuebao* 考古学报 4 (1982): 477-507, 535-540.

#### D. Drainage pipe

The drainage pipe is a drainage facility connecting the water pipes. It extends from the interior, connects the water aprons and drainage ditches, and discharges the domestic sewage, wastewater and a large amount of rainwater during the rainy season into the drainage ditches. It is an essential part of the drainage system.

Several broken drainage pipes are found in the south and north water aprons of the Building Foundation No.30 at Songbai. They extend from the room and should be pipes for discharging sewage. There are three in the north and one in the south. The pipes are cylindrical, and their connectors are flat. A total of 21 sections are stored, and each section is 66.5 cm long. The diameter is 19 cm, and the wall thickness is 1-1.5 cm. The bottom of the pipes is made of pantiles and the pipes are covered with pan tiles, and the outside drainage system is connected to it.<sup>340</sup>

In addition, drainage pipes are also found in the House Foundation No.2 (F2) of Songbai Yuchi area in 1988 and the remains of pottery workshop on the south. They basically go from east to the west and are made by connecting sections one by one.<sup>341</sup>

#### E. Drainage ditch

Drainage ditches are widely distributed around the construction site of Jinancheng. It is generally connected to the drainage pipes and connects the drainage pipes with the city's watercourses. It is a crucial drainage and sewage disposal facility in the city. Drainage ruins are found in the House Foundation No.1 (F1) of Songbai Yuchi and House Foundation No.2 (F2) of Songbai Yuchi.

The drainage ditch in the F1 is close to the southeast of the building foundation, with a width of 1.2-3 meters and a depth of one meter. The pipe goes from the west to the

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<sup>340</sup> Hubei sheng bowuguan 湖北省博物馆. "Chu du Jinancheng de kancha yu fajue" 楚都纪南城的勘查与发掘 (The Investigation and Excavation of the Ancient Chu Capital, Jinancheng City Site) (PartII). *Kaogu xuebao* 考古学报 4 (1982): 477-507, 535-540.

<sup>341</sup> Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiu suo 湖北省文物考古研究所. "1988 nian Chu du Jinancheng Songbai qu de kancha yu fajue" 1988年楚都纪南城松柏区的勘查与发掘 (Preliminary Report on the Investigation and Excavation of Songbai Area in Jinancheng City Site in 1988). *Jiangnan kaogu* 江汉考古 4 (1991): 6-15.

east. Then it goes from the south to the north. It turns to the east at the northern section of the eastern water apron of the platform and enters the No.4 ancient watercourse 40 meters away. There are black mud, pottery shards, tiles, and many humus and plant ashes in the ditch.

The F2 drainage ditch is next to the east side of two wells. It goes from the north to the south. It is 1.3 meters wide, 0.2-0.3 meters deep, and 12 meters long. Light gray silt is filled into the ditch, and there are no relics.<sup>342</sup>

In 2013, archaeologists found two ditches with corners in the southeast and southwest corners of the palace area. There is a straight east-west gutter between the two corners. It is very regular. And it is suspected that there is an annular ditch. After more than two years of further exploration, the northwest and northeast corners as well as the northern middle, the eastern middle, and the western middle parts of the ditch were found. Therefore, a rectangular complete ditch system was restored, which was named as the annular boundary ditch.

This annular boundary ditch is basically located in the center of the palace area. The north side is 230 meters away from the north palace wall, and the east and west sides are about 135 meters away from the east and west palace walls, respectively. The plane is generally rectangular, the northeast and northwest corners are right angles, the southwest corner is an acute angle, and the southeast corner is an obtuse angle. It is 565-575 meters long from north to south and 463-525 meters wide from east to west. Each section of the ditch is of varying widths. They are between 7-18 meters. And the depth is about 1.6 meters.<sup>343</sup>

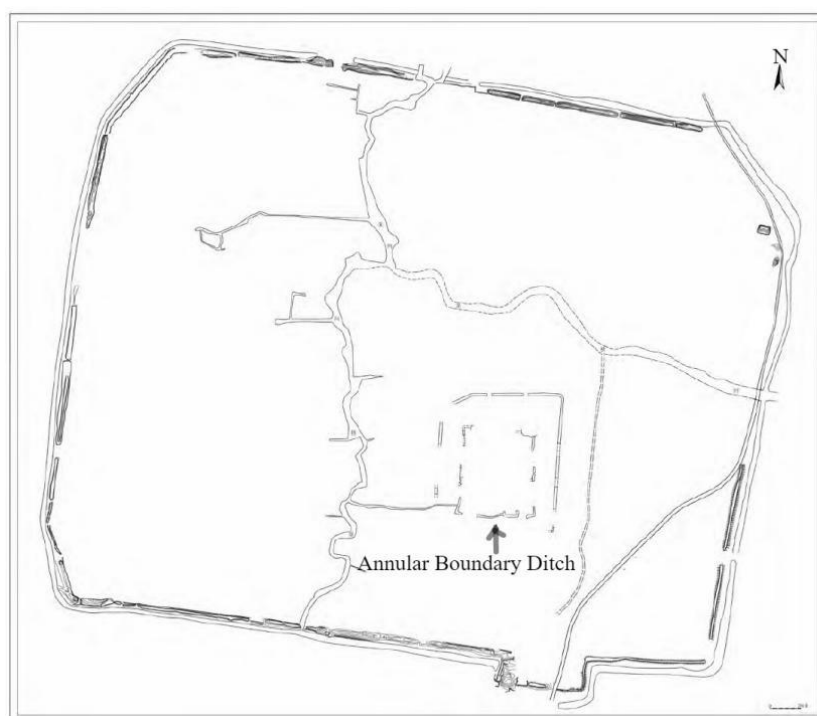
The ditch is distributed around the palace district. It is broad and deep enough to accommodate precipitation, which is suitable for drainage in the palace area and keep

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<sup>342</sup> Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiu suo 湖北省文物考古研究所. “1988 nian Chu du Jinancheng Songbai qu de kancha yu fajue” 1988 年楚都纪南城松柏区的勘查与发掘 (Preliminary Report on the Investigation and Excavation of Songbai Area in Jinancheng City Site in 1988). *Jiangnan kaogu* 江汉考古 4 (1991): 6-15.

<sup>343</sup> Wen Lei 闻磊, and Zhou Guoping 周国平. “Ying lu liaoyuan: Chu du Jinancheng gongcheng qu de kaogu fajue” 郢路辽远--楚都纪南城宫城区的考古发掘 (Archaeological Excavation of the Palace Area in Jinancheng City Site). *Dazhong kaogu* 大众考古 11 (2016): 19-28

the ground dry.



**Fig. 41 Annular boundary ditch of Jinancheng<sup>344</sup>**

### ***Districts layout***

As the Chu capital during the resurgence of Chu state, Jinancheng should be constructed by a practical design and sound plan. The layout of the capital cities in the pre-Qin period is mentioned in some ancient classics. *Zhouli-Kaogongji-Jiangren* 周礼·考工记·匠人 (*The Ritual Ethics of the Zhou dynasty: National Engineering Standards for Capital Construction*), for example, writes:

匠人营国，方九里，旁三门，国中九经九纬，经涂九轨，左祖右社，面朝后市，市朝一夫。

To construct the capital city, artisans will shape it to a square in the plane section, with each side lengthens to 9 *li* (a Chinese unit of length, 1 *li* is equal to 1/2 kilometers). On each side, there will be matched with three city

<sup>344</sup> Source: Wen Lei 闻磊, and Zhou Guoping 周国平. “Ying lu liaoyuan: Chu du Jinancheng gongcheng qu de kaogu fajue” 郢路辽远--楚都纪南城宫城区的考古发掘 (Archaeological Excavation of the Palace Area in Jinancheng City Site). *Dazhong kaogu* 大众考古 11 (2016): 22.

gates varying in size (two of which are side gates). Inside the city will eighteen avenues penetrate across it, of which nine are stretching in the longitudinal direction, and the other nine avenues are extending along the transverse direction. All the roads will be built to be so wide as to allow nine carriages to drive in a transverse line concurrently, that is, seventy-two *chi* (a Chinese unit of length, 1 *chi* is equal to 1/3 meters). Set up on the left side (east) of the imperial palace will be an ancestral temple, while on the right (west) will be a shrine of the god of earth and the god of grains. The front of the palace is somewhere that the officials were to pay respects to the sovereign, and the rear is a market. Both sections are shaped in squares, with each side being one-hundred-step long.

This passage is of inspiration for our studies on the city layout and design of capitals, despite that such a design is closer to an ideal capital arrangement planning and fails to completely correspond to the actual situations we have beheld in each capital city during the Eastern Zhou dynasty.

Subject to the geographical conditions and historical evolution, Jinancheng is now divided into four administrative villages: Xugang village (northwest), Xinqiao village (southwest), Jicheng village (northeast) and Songbai village (southeast). On this basis, archaeological practitioners classify the inner part of the Jinancheng into four major archaeological districts: the Xugang district, the Xinqiao district, the Jicheng district, and the Songbai district. However, the Songbai district in the southeast of the city can be further divided into four sub-zones if the division is carried out according to the ancient water channels explored and the directions of wall of the palace discovered.

Guo Dewei, in his book *Study on the Restoration of Chu Jinancheng* first came up with the idea to divide the Jinancheng into districts in accordance with the water system in ancient time.<sup>345</sup> He deemed that the Xugang village and Xinqiao village in the west part should be merged into one large district with Zhu river and Xinqiao river

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<sup>345</sup> Guo Dewei 郭德维. *Study on the Restoration of Chu Jinancheng* (1999): 85.



as the boundaries; that the east part of the city was supposed to be separated into three districts: the Jicheng village to be an independent zone (with the Longqiao river as the boundary), and the Songbai village to be torn into two zones of which the east part (namely, the southeast region of the city) was to be one zone, and the west part (namely, the middle south region of the city) was to be the other zone, with the east moat of the imperial residence as the boundary. Thereupon, Guo Dewei stands to carve out the Jinancheng into four districts: the west district, the northeast district, the southeast district and the middle south district.

We agree with his thought to subdivide the Songbai district, but the other idea of his remains to be discussed: to integrate the Xugang district and Xinqiao district in the west into one district.

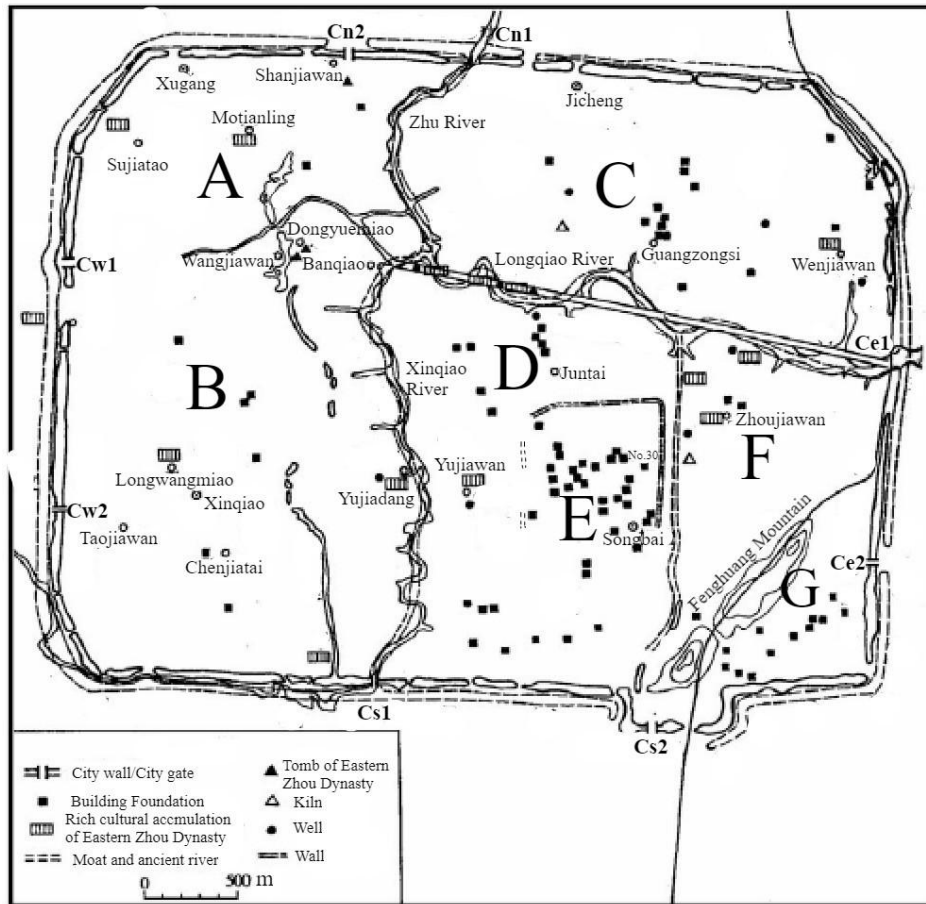
In order to compose the article more efficiently and to avoid unnecessary repetitions, capital letters in English are employed here to mark the different districts within the city, which are shown as below:

The Xugang district is labeled as district A, the Xinqiao district is marked as district B, and the Jicheng district is noted as district C.

The Songbai district can be divided into four zones, while the palace walls, the moats of the palace, and the ancient rivers channels midst the Fenghuang mountain serve to be the boundaries. The four zones include district D in the northwest, district E in the southwest, district F in the northeast, and district G in the southeast.

With Zhu river and Xinqiao river flowing along the north-south direction as the boundaries, the inner part of Jinancheng is divided into a few districts. The west part (district A and district B) is the district of civilian residence, within which the smallest number of tombs and ordinary workshop are distributed. The east part (district C - district G) is the residential district of the royal family, across which there are arranged with governmental offices and state workshops. Here, district D is the business zone which should be the “shi” 市 (market) of Jinancheng, and district E is the district of imperial palaces, the core part of the whole Jinancheng.

In the following text will each of the functional districts within Jinancheng be described in detail.



**Fig. 42 Districts and layout of Jinancheng<sup>346</sup>**

***District of imperial palace (district E)***

There are more than 300 rammed-earth building foundations exposed within Jinancheng. By archaeological explorations and discoveries, 84 of the construction bases have been preliminarily determined to be built during the Warring States period. They are centrally distributed across the east, especially in the southeast part of the city, where the bases crowd the most intensively. According to the interpretation of remote sensing images and field investigations, a total of 61 building foundations

<sup>346</sup> Source: Liao Hang 廖航. “Shilun Dong Zhou shiqi Jiangnan pingyuan xibu Chu guo shili de bianqian” 试论东周时期江汉平原西部楚国势力的变迁 (Chu’s forces changes in the Western Jiangnan Plain during the Eastern Zhou Dynasty). M.A dissertation, Wuhan University 武汉大学 (2017): 71. (modified)

have been confirmed currently to be located in the southeastern part of the city. With the greatest density, this part of the city is distributed with the most significant number of building foundations, accounting for 72.6% of the total. In additions, 15 foundations are situated in the northeast part, 6 in the southwest part, and 2 in the northwest part of the city.<sup>347</sup>

The majority of the rammed earth building foundations in the southeastern part of the city are concentrated in the E area, a district supposed to the core imperial residence district of Jinancheng. Through explorations in the 1970s, most of the remains of the left rammed-earth city walls with right angles were discovered to be buried under the land of the east and north part of the building foundation groups. The intensive construction era of these walls is earlier than that of *guocheng* 郭城, and thus, the wall ought to the city walls defending the imperial palaces. The remained part of the east wall was measured to be 750 meters, while the left section of the north wall was measured to 690 meters at that time. Part of the wall base was up to 10 meters in width, but whose thickness preserved to today is only 0.5 meters.

From 2011 to 2015, the Hubei Provincial Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology organized researchers to explore and excavate work in this area. In the exploration has been newly discovered the southeast corner of the palace wall and two sections of the palace wall. The southeast corner of the palace wall is about 15 meters long and about 12 meters wide. The corner is about 30 meters long and about 10 meters wide. The thickness is about 0.8 meters. The northern section of the western palace wall is about 120 meters long, with an overall width of 10-14 meters and a residual thickness of 5-25 centimeters. The southern section of the wall of the western palace is about 36 meters long, and the width and residual thickness of this section are basically the same as those of the northern area.

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<sup>347</sup> Xu Tuanhui 徐团辉. “Zhanguo ducheng fangyu de kaoguxue guancha” 战国都城防御的考古学观察 (The Archaeological Observation of the Defense of the Capital Cities during the Warring States Period). *Zhongyuan wenwu* 中原文物 2 (2015): 32-42.

The scope of the entire district of the palace is thus being clarified: the plane section of it shapes to be a rectangle, 908 meters long on the south-north side and 802 meters wide on the east-west side, with an area up to 726,612 square meters. Yet there has been no evidence of the numbers and sizes of the palace gates in the east, north and west sides. The explorations and discoveries of the north palace gate in 1975 have shown two gaps, which are suspected to be the gates of palaces.<sup>348</sup>

In addition, on the eastern side of the east rammed earth wall was explored an ancient river channel, flowing from north to south and approaching to the rammed earth wall in an almost parallel manner. The river originates from the southwest bottom of the Fenghuang mountain, that is, the northwest corner of the projecting part of the south wall, and flows northward into the Longqiao river. The water channel stretches straight and up to 1,850 meters in full length. It is supposed to be the moat guarding for the district of imperial palaces.

There are forty bases for bauxite construction in the E area. These bases are arranged in a concentrated pattern, among which the bases that are close to each other are only 5 meters apart. Some bases are large in scale. The most extensive base is 130 meters long and 100 meters wide. Up to now, there are still building foundations with a residual height of up to 2 meters, which are covered with a thick layer of rubbles.

According to Guo Dewei, who participated in the exploration that year, the palace's building base may be more than forty, and some of the bases may not be explored. For example, some of the bases were convex and convex, which was considered not like the house's base at the time. Or some of the bases seemed small at the time and not enough for the scale of the building. There are also some foundations that have been leveled into paddy fields or built modern houses, cemeteries, etc., which cannot be explored and are therefore not counted.<sup>349</sup>

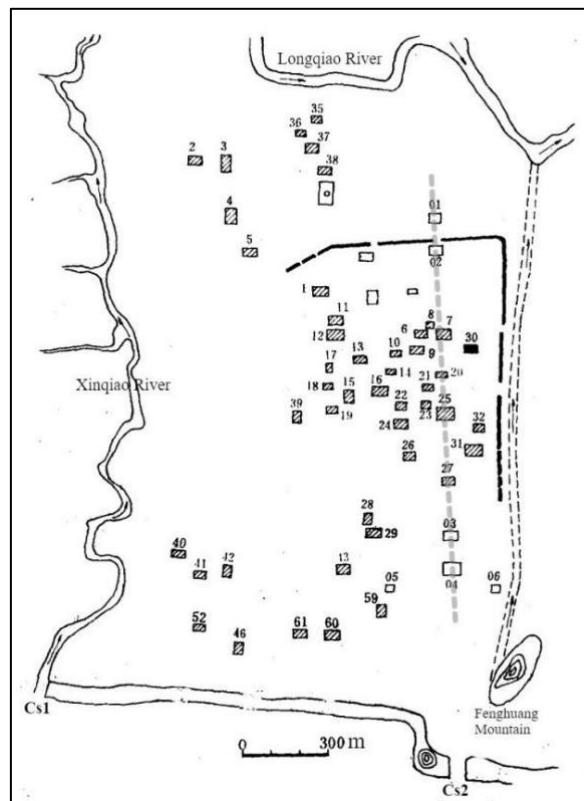
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<sup>348</sup> Wen Lei 闻磊, and Zhou Guoping 周国平. "Ying lu liaoyuan: Chu du Jinan Cheng gongcheng qu de kaogu fajue" 郢路辽远--楚都纪南城宫城区的考古发掘 (Archaeological Excavation of the Palace Area in Jinan Cheng City Site). *Dazhong kaogu* 大众考古 11 (2016): 19-28

<sup>349</sup> Guo Dewei 郭德维. *Study on the Restoration of Chu Jinan Cheng* (1999): 130.

According to the platform's distribution, Guo Dewei speculated that there is a "Main axis" in the palace area (as shown in Fig. 43), which consists of the building foundations No. 7, 20, 25, and 27, a group of bases arranged from north to south. The "main axis" is facing the south gate of the East Gate Cs2.

Combining with the records regards to the "Chaomen System" in *Li ji* 礼记 (*The Book of Rites*) and *Zhouli* 周礼 (*The Ritual Ethics of the Zhou Dynasty*), Guo Dewei made further speculation that the layout of the imperial residence follows the construction system of "三朝三门" (Three Courts with Three Gates).<sup>350</sup>

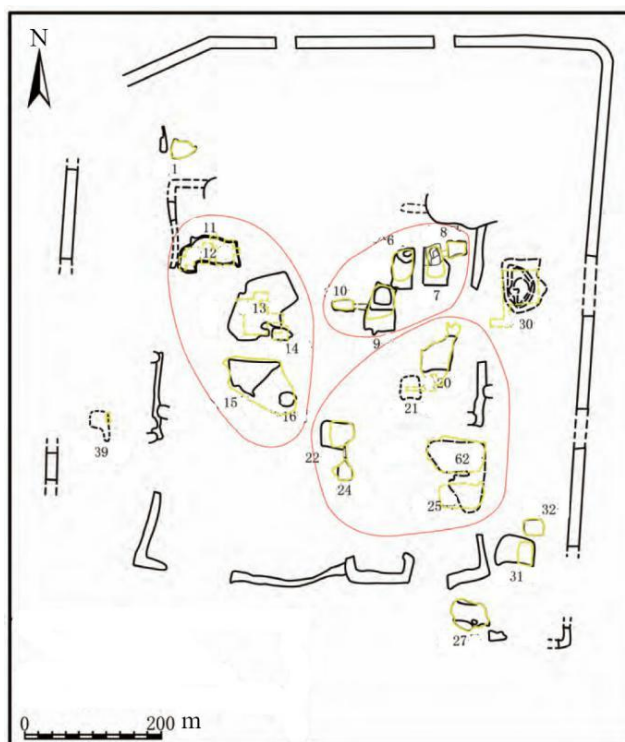


**Fig. 43 Distribution of the building foundations and the "Main axis" of Jinancheng (speculated by Guo Dewei)<sup>351</sup>**

<sup>350</sup> Guo Dewei 郭德维. *Study on the Restoration of Chu Jinancheng* (1999): 129-147.

<sup>351</sup> Source: Guo Dewei 郭德维. *Study on the Restoration of Chu Jinancheng* (1999): 131.

In the latest excavation from 2011 to 2015, archaeological staff conducted a detailed screening of the foundations identified in the 1975 exploration by exploring soil samples. The palace area platform is divided into three groups from the layout and regularity, and each group is three groups or three bases. The northwestern group is presumed to be the ancestral temple; the northeastern group is the residence of the king of Chu, the empress, the princess, the concubine and the attendant; the southeastern group Chu is summoned to see the minister of the court (as shown in Fig. 44).<sup>352</sup>



**Fig. 44 Three group of building foundations of Jinancheng<sup>353</sup>**

<sup>352</sup> Wen Lei 闻磊, and Zhou Guoping 周国平. 郢路辽远--楚都纪南城宫城区的考古发掘 (Archaeological Excavation of the Palace Area in Jinancheng City Site). *Dazhong kaogu* 大众考古 11 (2016): 19-28.

<sup>353</sup> Source: Wen Lei 闻磊, and Zhou Guoping 周国平. 郢路辽远--楚都纪南城宫城区的考古发掘 (Archaeological Excavation of the Palace Area in Jinancheng City Site). *Dazhong kaogu* 大众考古 11 (2016): 28.

Throughout investigations were also found Song No. 9 and No. 10 and Song No. 7 and No. 8 were arranged in a queue from east to west, as well as Song No. 22 and No. 24 organized in a line from south to north. These three groups of building foundations are linked by an earth path, between which there may be corridors. In the gentle slopes zone, thin rammed earth piles with larger areas were shaped in rectangles. They are speculated to be occasions for gathering for grand activities, that is, public squares. Besides, a relatively complete rectangular annular boundary trench was found in the palace district as well.<sup>354</sup>

### *No. 30 Building foundation*

Only the 30th building foundation has been discovered in the E area. This building foundation excavated the two phases of the two-story site (F1, F2). The latter building was formed based on the previous building, and the original platform was raised and enlarged. At present, the building base is the base of the latter building, and there are still many remains. The base of the first building has been destroyed, and it is not easy to recover. The latest excavations in 2015 confirmed the authenticity of the two phases of the bauxite, while a layer of consciously paved black stucco was found between the two phases of bauxite.

The existing base plane is rectangular, eighty meters long from east to west, 54 meters wide from north to south, and 1.2-1.5 meters high. The original building ground has been destroyed, leaving the wall base, 63 meters long from east to west and 14 meters wide from north to south. The house is facing south, and there is a partition wall in the middle of the center. It is divided into east and west rooms. The east room is 33.4 meters long, and the west room is 26 meters long.

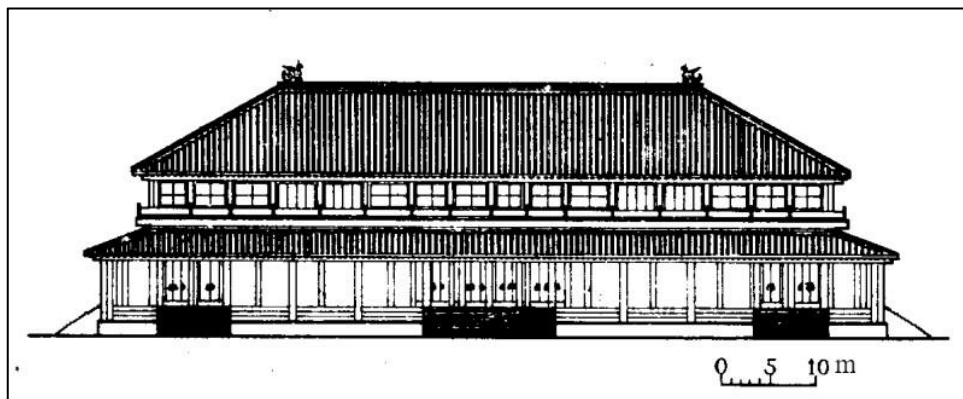
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<sup>354</sup> Wen Lei 闻磊, and Zhou Guoping 周国平. 郢路辽远--楚都纪南城宫城区的考古发掘 (Archaeological Excavation of the Palace Area in Jinancheng City Site). *Dazhong kaogu* 大众考古 11 (2016): 19-28.

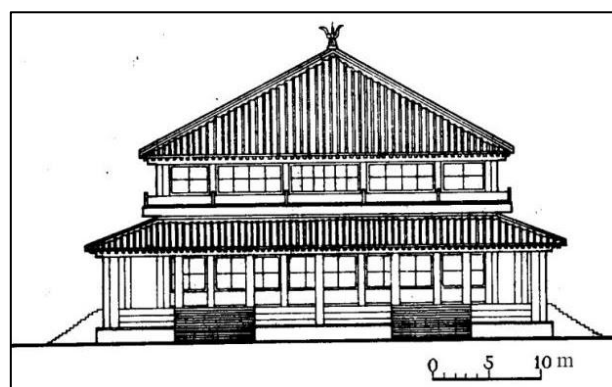
A small wall-based relic is parallel to the wall base at 3.8 meters outside the south and north walls. The north side is 29 meters long and 0.2 meters wide. There are water aprons at 13 meters outside the base of the North Wall and 15 meters outside the base of the South Wall, with a slope of 4-5 degrees. There are piers on the inside of the scattered water. Several drainage pipes were also found in the scattered water.

Guo Dewei carried out detailed restoration research based on No. 30 Building Foundation from the aspects of construction foundation, pier, up and down the mast, ground beam structure, upper building, interior layout and decoration.<sup>355</sup>

Shown as below is the restoration image of the building foundation:



**Fig. 45 Front elevation of the Building Foundation No. 30 of Jinancheng<sup>356</sup>**



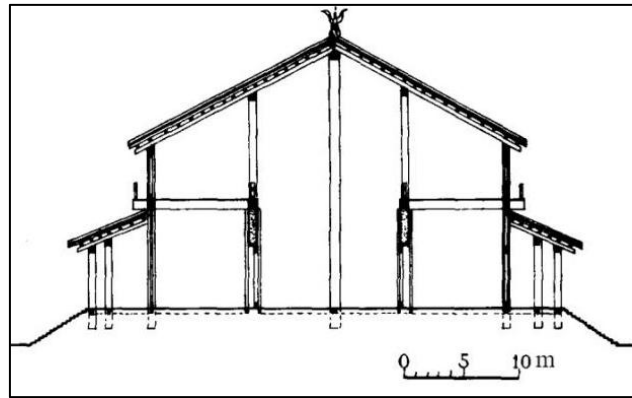
**Fig. 46 Side elevation of the Building Foundation No. 30 of Jinancheng<sup>357</sup>**

<sup>355</sup> Guo Dewei 郭德维. *Study on the Restoration of Chu Jinancheng* (1999): 148-168.

<sup>356</sup> Source: Guo Dewei 郭德维. *Study on the Restoration of Chu Jinancheng* (1999): 162.

<sup>357</sup> Source: same as above.





**Fig. 47 Side sectional elevation of the Building Foundation No. 30 of Jinancheng<sup>358</sup>**

***Residential area for the nobles (district C and district G)***

In the north of the Longqiao river and the east of the Zhu river, a group of large-scale buildings was found on the site of Guangzongsi. At present, 15 building bases have been discovered, the base of which is yellow-brown and muddy, and the upper and surrounding of the base are covered with braised soil and rubble. According to its scale, it is presumed to be a district of mansions for the noble.

Besides, in the southeast corner of Jinancheng, some areas of the south of Fenghuang mountain, rammed earth foundations were also found, which were presumed to be noble residential areas.

***Residential area for the civilians (district A and district B)***

Only two rammed earth foundations have been discovered in today's Xugang district. The scale is small, the plane is polygonal and curved, and the distance is far apart. Simultaneously, a large number of ash pits, wells, pottery pieces and tiles were pressed under the remains of the Gate Cw1, presuming that this area may be a civilian residential area.

<sup>358</sup> Source: Guo Dewei 郭德维. *Study on the Restoration of Chu Jinancheng* (1999): 163.

### ***Business district (district D)***

In the winter of 1975 and 1979, 274 wells were discovered in the strip shape of 1,000 meters long and 60 meters wide from the west section of Longqiao river from Banqiao to the east, and concentrated in the western part of this section of the river. A rich cultural accumulation was founded. It shows that Area D is a densely populated area. According to the system of 面朝后市 (the front of the palace is somewhere that the officials were to pay respects to the sovereign, and the rear is a market) (from *Zhouli*), this is the water transportation center where the three rivers meet in the north of palace and the south of the noble area. It is speculated that this is where the “Shi” 市 (market) of Jinancheng is located.

### ***Zone of handicraft workshop (district B, district E, the junction of the district C and D)***

The workshop area is the place where artisans engaged in handicraft production gather and produce. The handicraft workshops in Jinancheng mainly include pottery and tile workshops, smelting foundry workshops.

#### **A. Pottery and tile workshop**

The pottery and tile workshops are located in the dense place of the ancient kiln site in the city, such as the west section of the Longqiao river (the area between Guangzongsi and Banqiao at the junction of the district C and D), the west bank of the Xinqiao river (district B) and the Yujiawan (district E). These workshops mainly produce pottery and building bricks and tiles, and their construction dates are not earlier than the middle and early spring and autumn.

The pottery kiln sites currently excavated in Jinancheng city site can be divided into three types: kiln for making pottery for daily use, kiln for making ritual pottery in imitation of bronze and kiln for making pottery building materials.

The kiln sites for making pottery for daily use and the kiln sites for making ritual pottery in imitation of bronze are mainly located on the west bank of the Xinqiao river. The Xinqiao site excavated at the end of 1987 is an example, at which four

pottery-firing kilns, 29 wells, 14 ash-pits, 4 drains, 2 trenches and a house site were found.<sup>359</sup>

The four pottery kilns are numbered Y1, Y2, Y3, and Y4. Among them, the Y1 (as shown in Fig. 48) and Y4 pottery kilns are larger, and the Y2 and Y3 are smaller. The four pottery kilns are basically the same in shape and structure, all of which are semi-terrain-shaped elliptical kiln and thus also known as semi-reverse flame-type hoe kiln. From front to back, it is divided into three parts: the kiln front chamber, the kiln room (including the fire door, the fire hall, the kiln bed) and the chimney, which are basically on a central axis.

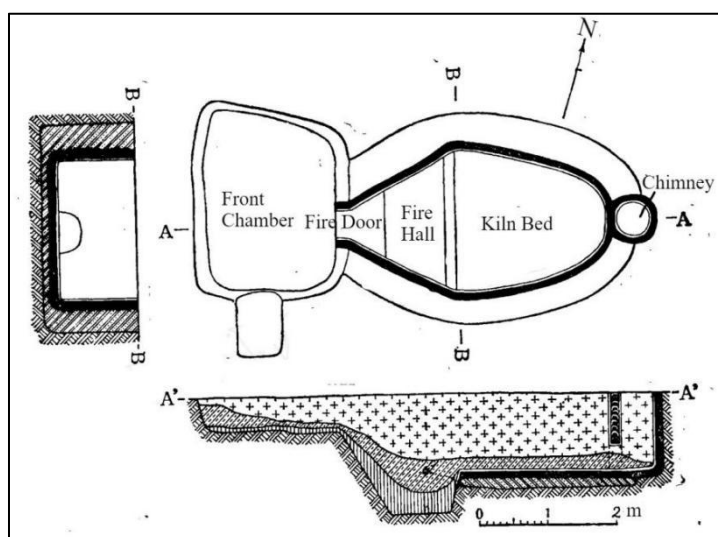


Fig. 48 Pottery kiln Site Y1 in Xinqiao Site<sup>360</sup>

It is speculated that the whole pottery kiln is constructed by first digging a pit down the ground and using gray loss to build a kiln wall and a kiln in the underground part. Then the kiln roof bracket was made, by which the kiln roof was enabled to be constructed subsequently. Following the roof building was trimming, the mud was smeared on the wall, the chimney was set up, and the kiln front room with simple wood and tile structure was built in succession. The last step was to put them under

<sup>359</sup> Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 湖北省文物考古研究所. “Jinancheng Xinqiao yizhi” 纪南城新桥遗址 (The Xinqiao Site at Jinancheng City Site). *Kaogu xuebao* 考古学报 4 (1995): 413-451.

<sup>360</sup> Source: Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 湖北省文物考古研究所. “Jinancheng Xinqiao yizhi” 纪南城新桥遗址 (The Xinqiao Site at Jinancheng City Site). *Kaogu xuebao* 考古学报 4 (1995): 417.

baking.

Combined with the above kiln site, water wells and ash pits, the production process of the pottery workshop on the west bank of the Xinqiao river can be roughly restored. After the kiln is built, the materials are taken from the surrounding areas, pits are taken, and some of the pits are leveled to serve as a warehouse for storing finished pottery or clay materials. Then the soil is washed at the well to remove the impurities in the soil, and the pure and fine clay is obtained. A part of the clay is used to make the adobe, dried and then burned into the kiln, and the excess clay is stored in the raw material warehouse, prepare to be used next time. Of the potteries finished, the qualified products are stored in the warehouse, and the defective products are broken and thrown into the garbage pit.<sup>361</sup>

The pottery unearthed from the site can be divided into pottery for daily use and ritual pottery imitation of bronze. The potteries for daily use include *li* (tripod), *yu* (bowl), *guan* (jar), *pen* (basin), *weng* (urn), *zeng* (steamer), *dou* (stemmed vessel) and long-necked jar. The ritual potteries in imitation of bronze cover *ding* (tripod), *fu* (rectangular container), *dun* (round container), *hu* (kettle), *fang* (square pot), *jian* (basin), *gui* (container), *lei* (container), *pan* (basin), *shao* (spoon), as well as others.

Also, decoration and accessories including animal-shaped ornaments, ornaments with human head and dragon body, and dragon-shaped accessories were found, as well as some models and tools for pottery making, such as the models for external parts of pottery covers, outer models, head paving models, pottery pats, bowl-shaped mats, spinning wheels, and so forth.

According to the unearthed large potteries (of which there is one unrecovered tripod with a diameter of 70-80 cm and the other tripod cover with a diameter of 72 cm. If hoping to use the above 70-80 cm caliber, the user should be one the crowd whose official rank at least a literati and officialdom or above) and the rich relics unearthed around it. The excavators considered the Xinqiao site as a pottery workshop. At the

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<sup>361</sup> Jiang Xiulin 蒋秀林. “Chunqiu Zhanguo Chu du yanjiu” 春秋战国楚都研究 (Research on Chu Capitals in the Spring and Autumn Period and Warring States Period). M.A dissertation, Shaanxi Normal University 陕西师范大学(2018): 50-51.

time, this workshop should be under the charge of Chu's royal family, used as the official kiln to burning into burial potteries.<sup>362</sup>

Besides the workshops for making pottery for daily use or making ritual pottery in imitation of bronze, there are also many kiln sites for making building materials in Jinancheng. They were found on the south bank of the Longqiao river and on the north of the palace, on the east side of the palace and around the Building Foundation No. 30. The relics unearthed in the kiln are mainly tiles, including bushes and slabs. Probably, these kilns are used exclusively for firing tiles.

In 2011-2012, two pottery kilns specializing in the production of tubular tiles, slabs and other building materials were also found around the platform of the Building Foundation No. 30. And the using time of these two kilns is very short. After the stoppage, these pottery kilns were artificially destroyed and backfilled. Archaeologists speculate that there may be other kiln sites nearby.<sup>363</sup> After a comprehensive archaeological exploration and investigation of the 4-square kilometer area of the palace area, they found kiln sites near several rammed earth foundations.

Analysis of the above three kiln sites dedicated to burning building materials, they are found to be mainly distributed in the area to the north and east of the palace. Also, a small number of kilns have been discovered being distributed near some of the palace bases. It is not difficult to know that these pottery kiln addresses should be selected nearby to specifically burn bricks, tiles, and other building materials, thus saving transportation costs. After the house was built, the kiln was immediately destroyed. The kiln residue, waste tile and other garbage are backfilled into the borrow pit, and the unfilled part is backfilled with yellow soil and brown soil to complete the leveling of the surrounding site.

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<sup>362</sup> Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 湖北省文物考古研究所. "Jinancheng Xinqiao yizhi" 纪南城新桥遗址 (The Xinqiao Site at Jinancheng City Site). *Kaogu xuebao* 考古学报 4 (1995): 413-451.

<sup>363</sup> Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 湖北省文物考古研究所. "Jingzhou Jinancheng yizhi Songbai qu 30 hao taiji 2011-2012 nian fajue jianbao" 荆州纪南城遗址松柏区 30 号台基 2011-2012 年发掘简报 (Preliminary Excavation Report on the 30th Platform of Songbai District in Jinancheng City Site, Jingzhou). *Jiangnan kaogu* 江汉考古 5 (2014): 10-27.

## B. Smelting and casting workshop

The smelting workshop is located in the B area of the southwestern part of the city. Currently, only six rammed-earth building foundations have been found in the area, and the distribution of the sills is very scattered. The Chenjiatai site in Area B (700 meters away from the south city wall, and 800 meters away from the west city wall) was found casting workshops made during the Warring States period.

Chenjiatai site is a building foundation made of rammed earth and 80 meters long from east to west. On it was there scattered water paved with broken tiles, which is 5 meters wide. Outside the scattered water is a drainage ditch, 2 meters wide and 1.8 meters deep. Eight column holes (whose mouth diameter is 15 centimeters and depth ranges between 20-80 centimeters) stood there in two parallel rows, with a row space of 0.5 meter. On each row, the spaces between the columns are 3.4 meters and 9.6 meters, respectively. A residual segment of the wall is 40 centimeters in thickness, and 0.2 meters in height remained.

In each of the northwest and east side of the base was found a casting furnace whose bottom is the only part left now. From the part that remained, both furnaces are found to be basically the same in structure, shape, and size. Their planes are both in squares with round corners, and the sides are 1.5 meters or so in length.

There is a piece of charcoal in the No. 1 furnace, and three tin climbing nails and a small amount of carbonized rice are found at the bottom. According to  $^{14}\text{C}$ , the age of carbonized rice was  $460\pm 100$  BC, which is equivalent to the era of the King Hui of Chu state. A copper rod was found in the northeast corner of the No. 2 furnace. The bottom of the furnace is a layer of tin, and some of the tin slags has penetrated into the soil.<sup>364</sup>

Simultaneously, tin slag, copper slag, a small amount of residual pottery, blast pipe and braised clods were found around the furnace. It is speculated that the two furnaces may be cast tin or bronze. In Chenjiawan, which is one km north of the Chenjiatai site, more than ten wells were exposed. Along the belt from the small dike to the

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<sup>364</sup> Gao Jiehua 高介华, Liu Yutang 刘玉堂. *Chu guo de chengshi yu jianzhu* 楚国的城市与建筑 (*Chu State's Cities and Buildings*). Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe 武汉: 湖北教育出版社 (1996): 128.

Wangjiawan not far from the northeast, tin blocks and a small amount of slag, braised clods and grass ash were unearthed. Judging from these ruins, the Chenjiatai area in area B should be an essential smelting workshop area at that time, mainly serving to manufacture daily necessities and the ritual pottery in imitation of bronze.

### ***Burial area***

The burial area in the Jinancheng city site can be divided into two areas within the city and outside the city. Two tomb zones of Shajiajiawan and Dongyuemiao were discovered in the city's northwest (district A).

The Shajiajiawan cemetery is located on a small hill southeast of the city gate (Cn2). It is about 180 meters to the north wall and about 300 meters to the Zhu river. Since 1965, five small tombs have been discovered and excavated in the cemetery. Potteries excavated include *li* (tripod), *yu* (bowl), *dou* (stemmed vessel), *guan* (jar) and so forth, from whose shapes and pottery combos, they belong to the categories yielded in early times among the ones from the Chu tombs in the western part of the Jiangnan Plain. Roughly, the tomb can be inferred to be built between the early Spring and Autumn period and the beginning phase of the late Spring and Autumn period, and that the owner of it be a civilian.<sup>365</sup>

The Dongyuemiao cemetery is located on the east side of Wangjiawan. In 1975, 15 tombs were discovered, and seven of them were excavated. From the tombs were only unearthed pottery combinations such as *li*, *yu*, *dou*, *guan* and long-necked jar. But from their overall shape, these potteries might be made later than that excavated from the Shajiajiawan. The tomb's age is generally in the middle of the Spring and Autumn period to the beginning of the Warring States period. The identity of the tomb is a civilian. It was built before constructing Gate Cw1, Gate Cs1 and Building Foundation No.30. It was the former Chu state cemetery before the construction of

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<sup>365</sup> Hubei sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo Jiangling gongzuozhan 湖北省文物考古研究所江陵工作站. "Jiangling Jinancheng Shanjiawan Chu mu fajue jianbao" 江陵纪南城陕家湾楚墓发掘简报 (Preliminary Report on the Excavation of the Chu Tombs in Shanjiawan Area of Jinancheng City Site, Jiangling). *Jiangnan kaogu* 江汉考古 4 (1989): 23-24.

Jinancheng. These cemeteries may also be situated in the suburbs of the old town during that era.<sup>366</sup>

Outside the Jinancheng are groups of Chu tombs, among which there are even the high level tombs such as the Tomb Feng Jiaxuan and the Tomb Pingtou. Across the area are also distributed smaller tombs. They shape the area to be one the densest in smaller Chu tombs around the entire territory of the Chu state.

The archaeological excavations of the Chu Tombs outside Jinancheng began in the 1960s. So far, the Wangshan Tomb M1-M2, the Shazhong Tomb M1, the Tengdian Tomb M1, the Tianxingguan Tomb M1-M2, the Qinjiazui Tomb, the Taihuiguan Tomb (group), the Paimashan Tomb (group), the Yutaishan Tomb (group), the Zhangjiashan Tomb (group) have been discovered and excavated. Some important reports of the excavation have been published. These books have recorded the studies of the tombs, the burial objects, the age and identity of the tombs, and the burial customs of the Chu tombs outside of Jinancheng.

### ***Sacrifices offering area***

At the northwestern part of the city's palace district (district E) are three building foundations. Standing at high terrain, they are considered to be the sites where ancestral temples are located. These three foundations respectively represent an ancestral shrine, a religious shrine, and a temple to the god of the land. In the light of the norms of the etiquette of the rites of the Zhou dynasty – “standing on the left is an ancestral shrine and one the right is a temple to the god of the land” – it is speculated that the building foundation Song No. 13 is a religious shrine and stands in the middle (Shenmiao 神庙), the Song No. 12 is standing on the left and thus an ancestral shrine (Zumiao 祖庙), and the Song No. 15 queues on the right and accordingly, is a temple to the god of the land (Shemiao 社庙).<sup>367</sup>

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<sup>366</sup> Hubei sheng bowuguan 湖北省博物馆. 楚都纪南城的勘查与发掘 (The Investigation and Excavation of the Ancient Chu Capital, Jinancheng City Site) (Part II). *Kaogu xuebao* 考古学报 4 (1982): 477-507, 535-540.

<sup>367</sup> Wen Lei 闻磊, and Zhou Guoping 周国平. 郢路辽远--楚都纪南城宫城区的考古发掘 (Archaeological Excavation of the Palace Area in Ji'nancheng City Site). *Dazhong kaogu* 大众考古 11



In the Hongguang village which is located outside the city and about 2 km from the southern wall of the Jinancheng (western section), archaeologists discovered 25 painted chime stones in a circular earthen platform in March 1970. These chime stones were found in the stratum, which containing artifacts from the Warring States period. When unearthed, the large chime stones are below, and the small ones are on. The strands of these relics are connected in pairs, neatly stacked in a semicircle. They ought to be buried intentionally in such a pattern at the time. These chime stones are made of blue-gray stone, which is shaped like a sinusoidal shape and a micro-arc. Most of the chime stones are well preserved, and a few have been damaged. Most of these chime stones kept patterns with a painted pattern and a slightly concave and convex pattern. As shown in Fig. 49, the painted design's main theme is the phoenix bird, with 1-3 phoenix birds as the main body, and the rest are filled and set with feather patterns.<sup>368</sup>



**Fig. 49 Painted chime stone No.14 in Hongguang village<sup>369</sup>**

As an ancient percussion instrument of music in China, chime stones have already been discovered being made as early as in the Neolithic period. Musical instruments were primarily served in sacrifices offering ceremony during the era of “国之大事，在

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(2016): 19-28

<sup>368</sup> Hubei sheng bowuguan 湖北省博物馆. “Hubei Jiangling faxian de Chu guo caihui shi bianqing jiqi xiangguan wenti” 湖北江陵发现的楚国彩绘石编磬及其相关问题 (The Painted Stone Chime of Chu State Discovered in Jiangling, Hubei and Related Issues). *Kaogu* 考古 3 (1972): 41-48, 69.

<sup>369</sup> Source: Hubei sheng bowuguan 湖北省博物馆. 湖北江陵发现的楚国彩绘石编磬及其相关问题 (The Painted Stone Chime of Chu State Discovered in Jiangling, Hubei and Related Issues). *Kaogu* 考古 3 (1972): 43.

祀与戎” (the great event of a nation is to offer sacrifices to the gods and to prepare for wars). This is attributed to the awareness of ancient people, by which they believed amusing the gods to be an indispensable activity during the sacrifices offering ceremonies. That amusing god requires dance performances accompanied by both songs and music.

The earliest archaeological discoveries of the chime stones made by Chu people were found in the Xiasi Tomb M1, M2, and M10 (Xichuan). Thirty-nine chime stones might have been made during the early Spring and Autumn period. Also, the chime stones were found in the Xujialing Tomb M3 (Xichuan), the Heshangling Tomb M1 and M2 (Xichuan), the Leigudun Tomb M2 (Suizhou), the Tomb of Zenghouyi and the Tianxingguan Tomb M2 (Jiangling). The phoenix pattern is a typical ornament in the Chu system, and it is also related to the sacrifice and communication with the gods.<sup>370</sup> Therefore, it is speculated that there may be places of sacrifice in this area of the southern suburb of Jinancheng.

### ***Population***

The population structure of Jinancheng includes nobles, soldiers, merchants, artisans, farmers, and slaves. So far, there is no direct evidence to prove the accurate population of Jinancheng. We can only estimate the population based on the handed down literature and archaeological unearthed data.

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<sup>370</sup> Sun Ji 孙继, and Xiang Defu 向德富. “Cong Hongguang cun fajue de caihui shiqing kan Jinancheng nanjiao jisi” 从红光村发掘的彩绘石磬看纪南城南郊祭祀 (An Investigation of the Sacrificial Offerings in the Southern Suburbs of Jinancheng City Site from the Painted Stone Chime Unearthed in Hongguang Village). *Hunan gongye daxue xuebao (shehui kexueban)* 湖南工业大学学报 (社会科学版) vol. 17, 2 (2012): 148-152.

In the article, *Several Issues Concerning China's Early State Forms*, Lin Yun, according to the records in the *Zhanguo-ce-Zhao-ce* 战国策·赵策 and *Mozi-Zashou* 墨子·杂守, pointed out that: "In the long history, various types of cockroaches generally maintain an index of 150-160 square meters per household."<sup>371</sup>

However, the index of 160 square meters per household is only suitable for estimating the ancient city population before the Eastern Zhou dynasty. It is not ideal for urban population estimation in the Eastern Zhou dynasty, especially in the Warring States period.

Based on the records of the population of Linzi City in the literature, Ma Shizhi combined with the scale of Linzi City discovered by archaeologists and calculated the index of average area for each house in Linzi City. Taking the results as a reference, he conducted estimation of the population of Jinancheng.<sup>372</sup>

In the *Zhanguo-ce-Qi-ce* 战国策·齐策, the words Su Qin reported to the King Xuan of Qi state were recorded, which went as: "临淄之中七万户，臣窃度之，下户三男子，三七二十一万" (In the seventy thousand households in Linzi, there are three males in each household and thus, two hundred and ten thousand males in total, as I estimated). However, the archaeological discovery proved that Linzi City covered 18.75 square kilometers, and the area index per household was 268 square meters. According to the household area index of Linzi, there were 59,700 households in Jinancheng. Calculated by five people per household, the total population of Jinancheng was 298,500, or about 300,000.<sup>373</sup>

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<sup>371</sup> Lin Yun 林云. "Guanyu Zhongguo zaoqi guojia xingshi de jige wenti" 关于中国早期国家形式的几个问题 (Several Issues Concerning China's Early State Forms). *Jilin daxue shehui kexue xuebao* 吉林大学社会科学学报 6 (1986): 1-12.

<sup>372</sup> Ma Shizhi 马世之. "Lue lun Chu Ying du chengshi renkou wenti" 略论楚郢都城市人口问题 (A Brief Discussion on the Issue of Urban Population in Chu Capital Ying). *Jiangnan kaogu* 江汉考古 1 (1988): 56-61.

<sup>373</sup> Same as above.

### *Discussion on the era and nature of the site*

Both the historical materials and archaeological discoveries prove that Jinancheng is one of the suspected capital of Chu state. This is acknowledged by most scholars. The founding time of the city, however, is still a question that is not entirely certain.

#### *The beginning of the city*

In terms of the founding time of Jinancheng, there are three main viewpoints:

- A. The early Spring and Autumn period;
- B. from the late Spring and Autumn period to the early Warring States period;
- C. from the middle to the late Warring States period.

Scholars who hold view A mainly rely on the historical documents as follows:

*Shi ji*: “When Xiong Zi worked as the king of Chu state, he established the capital in Ying.”

*Han shu*: “Jiangling is the ancient capital Ying of Chu state, King Wen of Chu relocated the capital of Chu state from Danyang to here.”

*Shi ben*: “Yu Xiong of Chu lived in Danyang, and King Wu of Chu relocated the capital to Ying.”

They believe that “Ying” in the historical documents is Jinancheng. From the early Spring and Autumn period (during the reign of King Wen of Chu or King Wu of Chu) to the time when Bai Qi, a general of Qin state, captured Ying, Jinancheng was the capital of Chu state. (The capital of Chu state was only relocated for a short time during the reign of King Zhao of Chu).

However, according to current archaeological information, the era of the site of Jinancheng is relatively late, and it can only be in the middle and late Spring and Autumn period at the earliest.

Guo Dewei, a representative of whom hold view B, believes that Jinancheng was established in the middle and later periods of the reign of King Hui of Chu and destroyed in the twentieth year of King Qingxiang of Chu based on documentary records and archaeological materials. It was the capital Ying of Chu state in the Warring States. This place has a more-than-200-year history of being a capital. It is

also the capital at the peak of Chu state.<sup>374</sup>

Based on the archaeological discovery of the site, some scholars believe that the walls of Jinancheng were built between the late Spring and Autumn period to the early Warring States period, so the age of its founding is generally at the same time (view B).

Yin Hongbing believes that the age of Jinancheng as the capital of Chu state is between the early and middle stages of the Warring States period and the early stage of the late Warring States period (view C). After Jinancheng was conquered by Bai Qi, the capital of Chu state was moved to the east.<sup>375</sup>

Yin tries to explore the age of Jinancheng from the perspective of the population.<sup>376</sup> He had done statistics on the small tombs of the Chu around the Jinancheng city site. He subdivided the tombs and inferred the exact time of the sudden increase in the population of Jinan, and further derived the most prosperous era of the city.

The results show that the number of tombs in this area is small throughout the Spring and Autumn period. In the early period of the Warring States period, the tombs increased slightly, and there was a certain increase in the early stage of the middle Warring States period, but the number was not large. Moreover, during these two periods, the level of tombs was also very low.

In the late stage of the middle Warring state period, the number of tombs increased sharply, and higher levels of tombs were concentrated. The number of tombs in the late Warring States period began to decrease, which was inferior to the previous period, but still far superior to other periods.

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<sup>374</sup> Guo Dewei 郭德维. *Study on the Restoration of Chu Jinancheng* (1999): 27.

<sup>375</sup> Yin Hongbing 尹弘兵. “Chu du Jinancheng tanxi: jiyu kaogu yu chutu wenxian xin ziliao de kaocha” 楚都纪南城探析: 基于考古与出土文献新资料的考察 (Analysis of Jinancheng City Site, the Capital of Chu State, Based on New Data from Archaeological Materials and Bamboo Slips). *Lishi dili yanjiu 历史地理研究* 2 (2019): 46-57.

<sup>376</sup> Yin Hongbing 尹弘兵. “Jinancheng yu Chu Ying du” 纪南城与楚郢都 (The Jinan City and Capital Ying of Chu). *Kaogu 考古* 9 (2010): 55-65.

Generally speaking, once a region is established as a national capital, it will inevitably lead to the growth and migration of the region's population. However, Yin's conclusion is still worthy of discussion. First of all, after the capital was established, the population growth would take some time, so the population of Jinancheng could not reach its peak in the short term. Secondly, population growth is related to not only political factors but also economic factors. The productivity of the middle Warring States period is more developed than that of the early Spring and Autumn period, which also promotes the growth of the population of Jinancheng to a certain degree.

So far, there is no cultural artifact with a definite chronicle that has been excavated in Jinancheng. But the Institute of Archaeology of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences has carried out  $^{14}\text{C}$  measurement on some relics in Jinancheng (as shown in Tab. 9).<sup>377</sup> These scientifically detected data can be used as one of our references.

We all know that the  $^{14}\text{C}$  measurement itself is error-producing, and it has positive and negative floating values. Therefore, one measurement result cannot be a reference. If the number of measurements is large, and those with large errors are discarded, and the measured results are relatively close, it is of great significance.

In the specimen data of Jinancheng, except for the sample data of ZK-0243 with distinct deviations, the other data are relatively close. The average age is between 545 BCE and 475 BCE. It is just from the late Spring and Autumn period to the early Warring States period.

According to the history of the Chu state, the reigns of King Zhao (515 BCE-489 BCE), King Hui (488 BCE-432 BCE), King Jian (431 BCE-408 BCE) and King Sheng (407 BCE-402 BCE) were at the time from late Spring and Autumn period and early Warring States period.

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<sup>377</sup> Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 中国社会科学院考古研究所(CASS). *Zhongguo kaoguxue zhong tan shisi niandai shujiji* 中国考古学中碳十四年代数据集 (*Radiocarbon Dates in Chinese Archaeology*) (1965-1991). Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe 北京: 文物出版社 (1992): 186-187.

$^{14}\text{C}$  dates, expressed in three manners:

1: Physical  $^{14}\text{C}$  dates relative to 1950 calculated using the corrected half-life of 5730.

2: Conventional  $^{14}\text{C}$  dates relative to 1950 calculated using the Libby half-life of 5568.

3: Dendrochronologically calibrated dates according to <Stuiver, M. and Reimer, P. J. ,1986, A computer for radiocarbon age calibration, 28 (2B): 1022-1030. >

Through research, we believe that this conclusion is trustworthy. Jinancheng was built roughly in the late Spring and Autumn period to the early Warring States period. During the early and mid-Warring States period, the capital of Chu had always been in Jinancheng and only had a temporary migration during the period of King Zhao of Chu. Until the late Warring States period, when the Qin general Bai Qi attacked and occupied Jinancheng in 278 BCE, Chu moved its capital to Chencheng.

### *The end of the city*

There is not much controversy about the lower limit of the age of Jinancheng. It is generally believed that the city was captured by Baiqi, a general from the Qin state, in 278 BCE.

A lacquered ear cup with the characters of “Sa qi nian” 卅七年 (year of thirty-seven), which is unearthed in the Qin tombs of Fenghuang mountain in Jinancheng is very similar to an artifact in the Qin tomb of Shuihudi. Characters of “Wu shi yi nian” 五十一年 (year of fifty-one) are on the door head of the tomb M7 of Shuihudi, indicating that both of them were made during the King Zhao of Qin state. The Thirty-seventh year of King Zhao of Qin state is 270 BCE, eight years after Bai Qi conquered the Ying in 278 BCE. It indicates that the Jinancheng was destroyed entirely after 278 BCE.<sup>378</sup>

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<sup>378</sup>Guo Dewei 郭德维. “Chu Ying du bianyi” 楚郢都辨疑 (The Analysis of Capital Ying of Chu State). *Jiangnan kaogu* 江汉考古 4 (1997): 38-48.

The <sup>14</sup> C Measurement Data of Remains in Jinancheng city site					
S/N	Test Content and Discovery Site	Physical <sup>14</sup> C dates	Conventional <sup>14</sup> C dates	Dendrochronologically calibrated dates	Provider and Collection Time(yyyy-mm)
BK76043	carbonized rice, on the platform of Chenjiatai Site	2410±100 BC460	2340±100 BC390	BC744-263	Hubei Provincial Museum 1975.06
BK76058	wooden walling crib of the well No. 167, the first section of Longqiao river	2550±85 BC600	2480±85 BC530	BC792-410	Hubei Provincial Museum 1976.01
BK76060	wood, the bottom of the well No. 79, Longqiao river	2660±90 BC710	2580±90 BC630	BC828-593	Hubei Provincial Museum 1976.01
BK79056	wood, the well No. 89	2540±100 BC590	2470±100 BC520	BC790-410	Archaeological team of Jinancheng 1979
ZK-0243	wood, wooden architecture under the city wall	1870±85 AD80	1820±85 AD130	AD74-324	Hubei Provincial Museum 1973.04
ZK-0243 (2)	wood, wooden architecture under the city wall	2430±75 BC480	2360±75 BC410	BC736-389	Hubei Provincial Museum 1973.04
ZK-0399	wooden walling crib of the well No. 167, Longqiao river	2455±80 BC505	2390±80 BC440	BC757-394	Hubei Provincial Museum 1976.01
ZK-0400	wooden walling crib of the well No. 93, the first section of Longqiao river	2365±80 BC415	2300±80 BC350	BC408-233	Hubei Provincial Museum 1976.01
ZK-0401	wood, the bottom of the wooden walling crib of the well No. 79, Longqiao river	2550±80 BC600	2480±80 BC530	BC791-410	Hubei Provincial Museum 1976.01

**Tab. 9 The <sup>14</sup>C measurement data of remains in Jinancheng city site<sup>379</sup>**

<sup>379</sup> Source: Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 中国社会科学院考古研究所(CASS). *Zhongguo kaoguxue zhong tan shisi niandai shujiji* 中国考古学中碳十四年代数据集 (*Radiocarbon Dates in Chinese Archaeology*) (1965-1991). Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe 北京: 文物出版社 (1992): 186-187.



### 3.3 The location and migration of Ying

In traditional literature research, the views on capital Ying's geographical position were more unified. That is, from the beginning of the Spring and Autumn period when the Chu king moved the capital to Ying to the time when general Bai Qi of Qin state attacked and occupied Ying, the geographical position of Ying has remained unchanged, which was Jinancheng in Jiangling.

However, in the period of "double evidence", in which literature research and archaeological verification were combined, there were numerous opinions on Ying's geographical position.

The question on the capital Ying of Chu is further complicated by various X-Ying records appearing in many unearthed bamboo slips of Chu in recent years.

After the publication of *Chu ju*, some problems were solved, such as the approximate time to move to Ying. But at the same time, some issues became more complicated, such as Ying and X-Ying, capital city and residence, which made the historical fog more obscure.

In this section, we will try to discuss this issue in conjunction with historical documents and archaeological discoveries previously studied.

#### 3.3.1 Historical documents

From the historical literature perspective, the geographical position of capital Ying is basically coherent in all records, that is, Jiangling, Hubei province, today. Give this account, the traditional opinion holds that the geographical position of capital Ying had not been changed since the King Wu of Chu until the Qin general Bai Qi attacked and occupied the capital city.

All the historical data before the Tang dynasty records the ancient site of capital Ying of Chu to be Jiangling (today known as Jingzhou district, Jingzhou, Hubei province).

For example:

Sima Qian of the Western Han dynasty recorded in *Shi ji*.<sup>380</sup>

江陵故郢都，西通巴蜀，东有云梦之饶。

Jiangling is the ancient site of Ying, the capital of Chu. It connects with Ba and Shu (two ancient states in modern Sichuan province) in the west and the fertile land of Yunmeng in the east.

Ban Gu, a celebrated scholar of the Eastern Han dynasty, continued the same statement as “Jiangling is the ancient site of capital Ying” in his *Han shu*.<sup>381</sup>

It has been proposed more explicitly since the Wei and Jin dynasties that the capital Ying was located at the Jinancheng of Jiangling. For instance, for the statement that “...started to be fear of the state of Chu” in *Zuo zhuan*, the Western Jin dynasty scholar Du Yu annotated, “Chu, namely the state of Chu, is current Jinancheng, north of Jiangling county, Nan prefecture.”<sup>382</sup>

“At seven *li* northeast of Jiangling stands the ancient Ying city (i.e. the capital Ying), with a city circumference of nine *li*,” Sheng Hongzhi wrote in the *Jingzhou ji* 荆州记 in the period of Liu Song. *Jingzhou ji* also recorded that:

楚昭王十年，吴通鄣水灌纪南城，入赤湖进灌郢城，遂破楚。

In the tenth year of the reign of King Zhao of Chu, the army of the state of Wu drained the water of Zhang river to pour into Jinancheng. The water flowed into the Chi lake and thereby watered the Ying city. As a result, the state of Qi broke through the State of Chu.

昔荆州城掘地得石函，有铁契云‘楚都郢邑’，代无绝。

Previously, from the underground of Jingzhou were stone caskets excavated, in which there are Iron Vouchers (an official certificate that the ancient emperor awarded meritorious officials to enjoy certain privileges for generations) with words ‘Capital Ying, the state of Chu’.

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<sup>380</sup> *Shi ji*, volume 129, *Huo zhi lie zhuan*.

<sup>381</sup> *Hanshu*, volume 28, *Dili zhi*.

<sup>382</sup> *Zuo zhuan*, *Huangong er 'nian*.

“The river water then also flows eastward through the south of Jiangling county’s ancient city, where once the capital of the state of Chu stood,” wrote Li Daoyuan of the Northern Wei dynasty in *Shuijing zhu*.<sup>383</sup>

This statement continued to be adopted in some important geographical works of Tang, Sui and later dynasties, including the *Kuo di zhi* 括地志, *Yudi jisheng* 輿地纪胜, and *Yudi guangji* 輿地广纪. Thereupon, it has become prevailing or conventional that the capital Ying was located in Jiangling.

“The King Ping of Chu set Ying as the capital, namely the Ying city, at four kilometers northeast of Jiangling,” wrote the *Kuo di zhi* 括地志 (*Overview of Local Chronicles*).

“Jingzhou is the center of Chu state. The city is shield by Xiangyang in the north, defended by Yiling in the west, and supported by Wuchang in the east. Depending upon the capital Ying did the Chu people grow into prosperity,” recorded the *Dushi fangyu jiyao* 读史方輿纪要 (*Reading Notes of the History and Geography Summary*).

It can be implied from the above discussion that in the records and description of historical documents, the Chu capitals as the highest administrative office are all named Ying, with its present location in Jiangling, Hubei province.

### 3.3.2 Unearthed documents

As we mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, in the materials of Chu bamboo slips unearthed in recent years, such as Xincai bamboo slips, Wangshan bamboo slips, Baoshan bamboo slips, etc., many place names that can be called “X-Ying” frequently appear.

In the newly discovered chapter *Chu ju* of Tsinghua Bamboo Slips, there are as many as 14 records concerning X-Ying. Scholars have analyzed and discussed many of these X-Ying, such as Mian Ying (or Jiang Ying)<sup>384</sup>, Jiao Ying<sup>385</sup>, Fan Ying<sup>386</sup>, Wei

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<sup>383</sup> *Shuijing zhu*, volume 28, *Mian shui*.

<sup>384</sup> Zhao Bingqing 赵炳清. “Chu ren shoufeng yu ‘Zhou gong ben Chu’ guanxi zhi kaobian” 楚人受封与“周公奔楚”关系之考辨 (The Textual Research of Appointing Chu and the Duke of Zhou’s

Ying<sup>387</sup>, etc.

They believe that some of them should be the capitals of Chu state, and they identified them in detail based on archaeological discoveries. However, because these names were discovered for the first time and were not found in traditional documents, there are different opinions on these X-Ying's geographic location and nature, and a unified view has not yet been formed.

### 3.3.3 Discussion of Ying's specific location and migration

We summarized previous studies on this issue and mainly formed the following four different views:

#### View A:

The first view, also the most traditional, is consistent with the handed-down classics, which believes that the capital Ying of Chu has always been in Jinancheng in Jiangling. Jinancheng, as the capital Ying of Chu, began at 689 BCE and ended at 278 BCE. There was a transient migration in the period of King Zhao of Chu.<sup>388</sup>

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Going to Chu). *Henan daxue xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 河南大学学报(社会科学版) vol. 54, 6 (2014): 81-86.

<sup>385</sup> Zhao Ping'an 赵平安. "Shi shi *Chu ju* zhong de yizu diming" 试释《楚居》中的一组地名 (A Trial Interpretation of a Group of Place Names in *Chu ju*). *Zhongguo shi yanjiu* 中国史研究 1 (2011): 74-79.

<sup>386</sup> Zhao Bingqing 赵炳清. "Chu ren shoufeng yu 'Zhou gong ben Chu' guanxi zhi kaobian" 楚人受封与“周公奔楚”关系之考辨 (The Textual Research of Appointing Chu and the Duke of Zhou's Going to Chu). *Henan daxue xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 河南大学学报(社会科学版) vol. 54, 6 (2014): 81-86.

<sup>387</sup> Zhao Ping'an 赵平安. "*Chu ju* 'Wei Ying' kao" 《楚居》“为郢”考 (Research on "Wei Ying" of *Chu Ju*). *Zhongguoshi yanjiu* 中国史研究 4 (2012): 5-10.

<sup>388</sup> Liu Binhui 刘彬徽. "Shi lun Chu Danyang he Ying du de diwang yu niandai" 试论楚丹阳和郢都的地望与年代 (On the Location and Time of Danyang and Ying in Chu State). *Jiangnan kaogu* 江汉考古 1 (1980): 45-57. Yu Weichao 俞伟超. "Guanyu Chu wenhua fazhan de xin tansuo" 关于楚文化发展的新探索 (New Exploration on the Development of Chu Culture). *Jiangnan kaogu* 江汉考古 1 (1980): 22.

### **View B:**

The second view believes that it is correct Ying in the Warring States period was in Jiangling, but the Ying in the Spring and Autumn period is not in Jiangling, but somewhere in Yicheng or the middle reaches of the Han river.

Nevertheless, when identifying Ying's specific geographical position in the Spring and Autumn period, there are some different opinions. The city sites involved include the Guojiagang site and the Chuhuangcheng city site in Yicheng, the Jijiahu city site in Dangyang.

There are some speculations for the migration routes of the capital:

- a. Chuhuangcheng - Jinancheng;<sup>389</sup>
- b. Jijiahu - Jinancheng;
- c. Chuhuangcheng - Jijiahu - Jinancheng.<sup>390</sup>

### **View C:**

The third view is that Ying has been in Jiangling from the Spring and Autumn period to the Warring States period, but Jiangling was in Yicheng in the Qin and Han dynasties, not the present Jiangling. Therefore, the capital Ying of Chu state from Spring and Autumn to the middle and late Warring States period has always been in Yicheng county, and Chuhuangcheng may be capital Ying.<sup>391</sup>

This is a view put forward by Shi Quan after a series of special studies. He pointed out that the Jiangling in the Qin and Han dynasties was initially located in today's Yicheng but was moved to the present Jiangling later due to the war. The relocation is

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<sup>389</sup> Zhang Zhengming 张正明. "Chu du bian" 楚都辨 (Analysis of Chu Capital). *Jianghan luntan* 江汉论坛 4 (1982): 64-68.

Wang Hongxing 王红星. "Chu Ying du tansuo de xin xiansuo" 楚郢都探索的新线索 (New Clues on the Study of Capital Ying of Chu State). *Jianghan kaogu* 江汉考古 3 (2011): 88-95.

<sup>390</sup> Guo Dewei 郭德维. "Chu Ying du bianyi" 楚郢都辨疑 (The Analysis of Capital Ying of Chu State). *Jianghan kaogu* 江汉考古 4 (1997): 38-48.

<sup>391</sup> Shi Quan 石泉. "Hubei Yicheng Chuhuangcheng yizhi chukao" 湖北宜城楚皇城遗址初考 (A Preliminary Study on the Chuhuangcheng City Site in Yicheng, Hubei Province). *Jianghan xuebao* 江汉学报 2 (1963): 50, 54-61.

Jiangling and a series of place names, mountain names, and water names.<sup>392</sup> Sinologist Blakeley once mentioned this point of view.<sup>393</sup>

#### **View D:**

The fourth point of view is that Jinancheng is only an *peidu* 陪都 in the middle and late Warring States period or an important central city of Chu state in the south.<sup>394</sup>

Wang Guanghao made a comprehensive comparison of the stratigraphic relationship of Jinancheng and the pottery unearthed by various units and proposed that the wall of Jinancheng was built in the late phase of the middle Warring States period and used up to the mid and late Warring States period. He believes that both from the time when the city was built or the cultural connotation of Jinancheng could only show that the nature of Jinancheng is the provisional capital of Chu Zai Ying 裁郢 in the middle and late Warring States period, not capital Ying.<sup>395</sup>

After investigating the above three city sites related to Chu capital in the second section of this chapter, we believe that, if we analyze from the perspective of the site's nature and era, the viewpoints A/C/D are not very convincing. In comparison, viewpoint B is the most reasonable statement at present.

However, when it comes to identifying the location of Chu capital, we believe that the Jijiahu site and Jinancheng site can be regarded as the capital Ying of Chu state in different periods. In contrast, the Chuhuangcheng site is more likely to be the significant military town of Chu than the capital.

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<sup>392</sup> Shi Quan 石泉. *Gudai Jing Chu dili xintan* 古代荆楚地理新探 (*The New Exploration of the Geography of Ancient Jingchu*). Hubei: Wuhan daxue chubanshe 湖北: 武汉大学出版社 (1988): 5.

<sup>393</sup> Blakeley, Barry B. "Recent Developments in Chu Studies: A Bibliographic and Institutional Overview." *Early China* 11/12 (1985-1987): 376; Blakeley, Barry B. "On the Location of the Chu Capital in Early Chunqiu Times in Light of the Handong Incident of 701 B.C." *Early China* (1990): 52.

<sup>394</sup> Yan Changgui 晏昌贵, and Jiang Xia 江霞. "Chu guo ducheng zhidu chutan" 楚国都城制度初探 (The Preliminary Study on the Capital System of Chu State). *Jiangnan kaogu* 江汉考古 4 (2001): 73-76.

<sup>395</sup> Wang Guanggao 王光镐. *Chu wenhua yuanliu xinzheng* 楚文化源流新证 (*A New Demonstration on the Origin of Chu Culture*). Wuhan: Wuhan daxue chubanshe 武汉大学出版社 (1988).

We speculate that Jijiahu was the capital of Chu in the middle and late Spring and Autumn period. Then, Chu moved its capital from Jijiahu to Jinancheng in the early Warring States period due to plundering resources and territory expansion. During the early and mid-Warring States period, the Chu capital had always been in Jinancheng and only had a temporary migration during the period of King Zhao of Chu. Until the late Warring States period, when the Qin general Bai Qi attacked and occupied Jinancheng in 278 BCE, Chu moved its capital to Chencheng.

As for the first capital Ying, where King Wu of Chu migrated from Danyang in the early Spring and Autumn period, although *Chu ju* provides us with important clues, it is not the final answer. It is still difficult to determine until more materials, especially archaeological evidence, appear.

## Conclusion

In this chapter, we focus on Chu capital in the middle stage, namely the capital Ying. In terms of time span, we discuss Chu capital from the early Spring and Autumn period to the middle Warring States period. That is, from the time when Chu king moved the capital from Danyang to Ying, to the time when general Bai Qi of Qin state attacked and occupied Ying (in 278 BCE), and Chu moved the capital to Shouchun.

In traditional literature research, the views on the capital Ying of Chu were more unified. That is, Chu has always been in Ying for more than four hundred years and has not migrated on a large scale. Its corresponding geographic location is Jinancheng in Jiangling, Hubei.

Nevertheless, in the period of “double evidence” in which documentary research and archaeological verification were combined, the discussion on Ying’s geographical location appeared quite divergent. The continuous accumulation of research materials has not only failed to make this historical fog more clear, but on the contrary, it has become more blurred.

Therefore, in the first section of this chapter, we first summarized the most discussed issues related to Chu capital Ying. Since the determination of these basic concepts of the capital Ying of Chu is essential and vital work to explore the capital city of Chu in the middle stage, we carried out a detailed review and discussion of these issues mainly from the perspective of historical documents and unearthed documents, combined with previous studies.

We answered the question of who moved the Chu capital from Danyang to Ying through analysis. Also, we discussed the basic concepts of Ying and X-Ying and the relationship between them.

Based on the view of *Chu ju*, we could be sure that Ying refers in origin meaning to the city that is established by “embanking a protective dyke”. The title of Ying as the capital name began from the reign of King Wu of Chu. It was at the same time when the Chu capital was named Ying, and King Wu (Xiong Tong) made himself king of the state of Chu.



In the early Spring and Autumn period, King Wu moved the capital from Danyang. The place where he lived first was Xiao, and then he moved to Mian. Later, the drastic growth of the population overloaded Mian. King Wu then commanded to break down the nearby slop embankment, draining out the water and making the site habitable for people. After its expansion and establishment, the new capital was formed. So far, the capital began to be called Ying.

After that, each place to which the king of Chu moved his dwelling or temporary residence was named X-Ying. Not all of these X-Ying can be regarded as the capital city names of Chu. In our opinion, most of these places called X-Ying should just be the residence of the king. We consider it more acceptable to understand these X-Ying as an important city or town which stood not far from the capital Ying and in which the Chu kings once lived.

Moreover, we believe that there are only very few X-Ying with the nature of the capital of Chu state. For instance, Wei Ying 为郢, which appeared many times in *Chu ju*, has the possibility of being the capital of Chu state for a period of time.

At this point, we cannot help but ponder the next question, namely, where are the geographical locations of these Ying that can be regarded as the capitals of Chu in the middle stage?

Using the materials from archaeological excavations in recent years, we conducted an in-depth analysis of the three ancient sites related to capital Ying, namely the Chuhuangcheng site, Jijiahu site and Jinancheng site.

We sorted out these ancient city sites from the perspectives of location selection and scale, excavation process, urban defense, infrastructure, districts layout, etc. Finally, We discussed the era and nature of these sites.

Regarding the Chuhuangcheng city site, we feel that it is inappropriate for some scholars to refer to this site as the capital Ying of Chu in the Spring and Autumn period. Given the characteristics of the unearthed relics that have been published so far, we believed that the era of the Chuhuangcheng city site ranged from the early Warring States period to the Qin and Han dynasties and even later. It was not the

capital Ying, but the Yan Ying 鄢郢 of Chu, then it became Yicheng county in the Han dynasty.

During the Warring States period, Chuhuangcheng was more likely to be the *biedu* 别都 of Chu state. It is located in the north of capital Ying (Jinancheng site), and it is an important gateway to and from Ying. Therefore, there were many soldiers stationed here, and it became the major military town of Chu state.

As for the Jijiahu city site, whether it is from the city site's scale, the era and the level of the unearthed objects in the city and its relationship with the surrounding large Chu tombs, it all proves that Jijiahu may be one of the capitals of Chu.

Though, we hold a negative attitude towards scholars referring to it as the first capital Ying of Chu and continued as the Chu capital from the early Spring and Autumn period to the early Warring States period.

Based on the study of materials latest unearthed, we believe that Jijiahu site is more likely to be the location of Wei Ying in *Chu ju*. According to the characteristics of Wei Ying, its heyday was in the middle and late Spring and Autumn period, and it was reduced to a general city after the Warring States period. This is more in line with the era of the Jijiahu site. However, the final confirmation still needs more archaeological evidence in the future.

The third site, namely the Jinancheng city site, which has the highest historical reputation and the most abundant materials unearthed, is the key research object of this chapter. Based on collecting nearly fifty years of excavation data and previous studies, we have launched an in-depth discussion on it.

Through research, we believe that Jinancheng was not the capital of Chu to which King Wu moved from Danyang in the early Spring and Autumn period. It was built roughly in the late Spring and Autumn period to the early Warring States period.

During the early and mid-Warring States period, the capital of Chu had always been in Jinancheng and only had a temporary migration during the period of King Zhao of Chu. Until the late Warring States period, when the Qin general Bai Qi attacked and occupied Jinancheng in 278 BCE, Chu moved its capital to Chencheng.

The rise of Jinancheng marked the beginning of the heyday of Chu culture. At the same time, the fall of Jinancheng marked the end of the heyday of Chu culture.

In the end, by gathering the aforementioned historical documents, unearthed documents and archaeological evidence, we went back to discuss the migration of Chu capitals of the middle stage in the third part of this chapter.

We speculate that Jijiahu was the capital of Chu in the middle and late Spring and Autumn period. Then, Chu moved its capital from Jijiahu to Jinancheng in the early Warring States period due to the need for plundering resources and territory expansion. Until 278 BCE, Chu moved its capital to Chencheng because the Qin army destroyed Jinancheng.

As for the first capital Ying, where King Wu of Chu migrated from Danyang in the early Spring and Autumn period, although *Chu ju* provides us with important clues, it is not the final answer.

We believe that the most effective way to solve this problem is to rely on future archaeological excavations. Of course, there may be different opinions and interpretations of some archaeological materials. However, once more archaeological materials, especially some critical materials that can explain the problem, are unearthed, the fog of history will be lifted.

## **Chapter IV Chu capital in the late stage: Chencheng and Shouchun**

### **Introduction**

During the later phase of the Warring States period, the Chu people declared Chencheng and Shouchun the state's capital successively. Chencheng worked as the capital for 37 years and Shouchun for 18 years. The last two capitals of the Chu state were credited with particular historical positions in the history of Chu state. They were elements of essential for studies of the capitals of Chu in the late stage.

Still, due to their short time as the capitals of Chu, coupled with the destruction of the war, or being overlaid by later relics, it is difficult to identify the relics of the Chu capital period.

At present, the archaeological exploration of the two city sites has not yet been fully launched. There are still disputes about their scale and specific layout, which need to be answered by further archaeological work in the future. In this chapter, we can only make a brief description based on the available information.

### **4.1 Records of historical documents**

Situated in the wars of annexation during the late Warring States period, the Qin state dominated the upper hand apparently while the Chu state crumbled and fled in one defeat after another, increasingly showing declines.

In 278 BCE, the Qin's General Bai Qi broken through Jinancheng, the capital Ying of Chu state. With the downthrow of Jinancheng and the loss of the heartland Jiangnan zone, the Chu people were forced to retreated to the Huai river basin and stood there on the defensive. Also, they shifted the political center eastward to Chencheng (known as Huaiyang now).

Chencheng was located in the central part of the Huang-Huai plain and worked as Chen's capital in the Spring and Autumn period. The King Hui of Chu set Chen county there to be a base of importance for Central Plain management in the late years of the period (478 BCE) after annihilating the Chen state.

We know from historical documents that, moving the capital to Chencheng, the Chu court embarked on a large scale of supplementing construction and expanding the building.

Despite being a capital only for a short time (37 years), the city witnessed the transition from the first year of the reign by King Hu of Chen (1066 BCE) to the tenth year of Chu King Kaolie's ruling (253 BCE) when he moved to Juyang.

Standing there, Chencheng beheld the whole process of the 813 years. The townsite stayed still there, and the city was kept in steady prosperity in spite of undergoing two destroys and three times additional constructions. Moreover, the city was given reinforcement in both the Qin dynasty and Han dynasty.

In the twenty-second governing year of King Kaolie (241 BCE), the Chu state failed to attack the Qin state by a vertical alliance with the Zhao state, Wei state, Han state, and Yan state. Thus, the Qin army took advantage to march further eastward. The Han state and Wei state territories were increasingly shrunk day by day, while the Qin force was approaching closer and closer.

With no other options, the Chu state had to move the capital again. The Chu people shifted downward along the Ying river and retreated to Shouchun<sup>396</sup> on the south bank of the Huai river as defense. Till 223 BCE, the Qin general Wang Jian destroyed the Chu state. Shouchun only served for 18 years as the last capital of the Chu state.

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<sup>396</sup> In the eighth year of the reign of King Kaolie of Chu (255 BCE), Chunshenjun was granted twelve counties in the north Anhui province. "Shouchun" was a fief owned by Chunshenjun 春申君 (Huang Xie 黄歇). He started to build cities, and the name of "Shouchun" originated from it.

As stated in *Shi ji*:

(楚考烈王)二十二年, 与诸侯共伐秦, 不利而去。楚东徙都寿春, 命曰郢。...王负刍...五年, 秦将王翦、蒙武遂破楚国, 虏楚王负刍, 灭楚名为[楚]郡云。

(King Kaolie of Chu) in the twenty-second year of his reign, the King, with the feudal princes, jointly launched a punitive expedition against the Qin state, but failed and fled. Thereupon, the Chu state moved the capital eastward to Shouchun, naming it the capital Ying...The King Fuchu...In the fifth year under his ruling, the Qin generals Wang Jian and Meng Wu broke through the Chu state and captured King Fuchu. The Chu state was ruined.

## 4.2 Archaeological discoveries

### 4.2.1 Chencheng site

#### *Location selection and scale*

According to historical documents, the geographical position of Chencheng (as the capital of Chu) is recorded to be roughly in the zone of Huaiyang county as known today.

Though, the situation there is sort of complicated as multiple sites of ancient cities - the capital of Chen state, the Chen county of Chu state, the Chu capital Chencheng, the Chencheng of Han dynasty and Jin dynasty, the Chenzhou of Tang dynasty and Song dynasty, and Huaiyang county of Ming dynasty and Qing dynasty in success - co-exist and overlapped there. Not yet have quite a large number of archaeological works been carried out at the site at present.

From the data held so far, Qu Yingjie once sorted out and analyzed the correlations and locations of the ancient Chencheng, the Chen county of Chu, the capital city of Chen, and today's Huaiyang county after combining with document records and archaeological materials.<sup>397</sup>

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<sup>397</sup> Qu Yingjie 曲英杰. *Xian Qin ducheng fuyuan yanjiu* 先秦都城复原研究 (*Study on the Restoration of the Capital Cities in the Pre-Qin Period*). Ha'erbin: Heilongjiang chubanshe 哈尔滨: 黑

Also, Xu Shaohua conducted investigations on the history, geography, and culture context of the Chu's capital Chencheng and the evolution and layout of the city by involving literature data and unearthed materials.<sup>398</sup>

Based on their explorations, the scale of the Chu Capital, Chencheng, can be generally defined to cover an area with 周四三十里 (a circumference of 30 *li*).<sup>399</sup> Going through from Han and Jin dynasties to Tang and Song dynasties and still standing there, the city embodies 2-3 smaller cities of different periods.

The ancient Chen state, the Chen county of Chu, the Huaiyang state of Han dynasty, and the Chen county might be established at the same site, namely, in the southwest of Guocheng, the Capital Ying of Chu and Chen. Slightly different, the Chenzhou City of Sui and Tang dynasties, as well as the later Huaiyang county of Ming and Qing dynasties, was situated in the north Guocheng.<sup>400</sup>

Observing the geographical location of Chencheng, we can find that: lying in the southeast part of the city were Huai river and the broad rear of the lower reaches of Yangtze region; obstructing in the south were Tongbai and Dabie mountain; in the west, the states of Zhou, Han and Wei were standing adjacent to one another; and in the north were standing the Wei state and Huang river to mark as the borders, by which the Qin army was impeded to reach the city for a while.

On the strength of its advantageous geographical position, firm governing foundation, and convenient transportation conditions, the Chu state, after the King Qingxiang of Chu relocated the capital in Chencheng, was granted a relatively stable circumstance and timing. There even did a short-lived momentum of “revitalization” came out for a time.

Successively annexing the nations in the north of Huai river (Tan state, Pi state, Zou state, Fei state, and Lu state), the Chu state yoked the Si river and the Yi river basins into the territory of Chu. Also, the state-organized the countries in the east of

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龙江人民出版社 (1991): 327-331.

<sup>398</sup> Xu Shaohua 徐少华. “Chu du Chencheng jiqi lishi dili tanxi” 楚都陈城及其历史地理探析 (On the Historical Geography of Chu Capital-Chencheng). *Shehui kexue 社会科学* 5 (2008): 152-159, 192.

<sup>399</sup> *Li*, a Chinese unit of length, 1 *li* is equal to 1/2 kilometers.

<sup>400</sup> Xu Shaohua 徐少华. “On the Historical Geography of Chu Capital-Chencheng” (2008): 152-159, 192.

Shanhaiguan at the time to defend against the Qin state jointly.

But eventually, they failed to resist the vigorous aggression of the Qin military. In the pace of the Qin army's fierce approaching, no longer safe was the Chencheng and the Chu population had no choice but to withdraw further southward to the region of Shouchun. There, the Chu state put up a last-ditch struggle to resist the attacks until ruined.

### ***Excavation process***

The archaeologists once carried out investigations and trial excavations within the downtown of Huaiyang county in 1980. They dug out at the south city wall an exploratory ditch and acquired a certain understanding of the multiple times of constructions of this ancient city.

From the condition of the exploratory ditch, the city wall was first built in the late Spring and Autumn period or a bit earlier. The wall was taller than 2 meters. It was later built additionally and reinforced several times. Combined with the records in documents, roughly after the King Hui of Chu destroyed the Chen state, the wall was widened 1.5-2 meters and heightened 1.5 meters.

The second time of additional construction was on a larger scale. The wall was lengthened extra 4 meters or so and raised more than 1 meter on the original basis. Inside, the tamping layer was laid down crossbars to strengthen the wall. It ought to be the additional building and expanding construction that was implemented after the King Qingxiang of Chu declared the city the capital.<sup>401</sup> The wall might be built to adapt to the demand of serving as the capital and strategic defense.

Moreover, the King Qingxiang of Chu state built around the Chencheng site some temporary dwelling palaces. One of them is the renowned Zhanghua Palace.

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<sup>401</sup> Cao Guicen 曹桂岑. "Chu du Chencheng kao" 楚都陈城考 (Research on Chencheng, the Capital of Chu). *Zhongyuan wenwu* 中原文物 (1981): 37-40.



Not yet has the archaeological work been entirely carried out around the Chencheng city site at present. It is difficult to clarify the architectural patterns and structures of various periods inside and outside the city by referring to the already collected profiles alone. Those information remains to be explored from further field excavations in the future. It is particularly needed to unravel and dissect a great many key parts in this way to know about the process of Chencheng's historical evolution.

### ***Burial area***

Close to the city site was distributed a considerable number of Chu's tombs as well. In accordance with the scales, shapes and structures, these tombs can be divided into large-scale tombs with sealing earth, middle-scale tombs with no sealing earth, and small-scale tombs with no sealing earth.

One category of the tombs is the large-scaled ones sealed with soil, including the Ma'an Tomb, Shuang Tomb, and Mohuang Tomb. Of them, the Ma'an Tomb, excavated out in the southeast of Chencheng and 5 kilometers away from the city from 1981 to 1983, is a joint burial tomb in the late Warring States period. The tomb is separated into two parts, the northern tomb and the southern tomb. Beneath each tomb is a large vertical tomb pit, and in the west part of each is an accompanying carriage-horse funerary pit.

The northern tomb, with the sealing soil left 4 meters high, were shaped into “甲” character in the plane section. The grave channel stretched eastward. Unlike them, the southern tomb was built in shape of “中” character in a horizontal plane, with the tomb passage extending eastward.

The carriage-horse pit in the west of the main tomb is 35 meters long from the north end to the south end and 4.7 meters wide from the east end to the west end. Inside it were eight carriages, twenty-four horses, and two dogs buried as companions.

Another carriage-horse grave also in the west was 40 meters long in the south-to-north direction and 3.7 meters wide in the east-to-west direction. Buried accompanying in this grave are twenty-three carriages, covering a complete variety of vehicles. All the carriages were made with exquisite parts. In addition to them are clay horse sculptures, more than twenty in number.

Based on the tomb's shape and structure as well as the scale of the carriage-horse pits, the owner of the southern tomb is speculated to be the king of Chu state.<sup>402</sup>

The non-soil-sealed middle- and small-scaled Chu tombs were concentrated around Pingliangtai in the southeast of the Chencheng site. Like the tomb M16 already unearthed, the middle tombs are in shape of “甲” character. Their grave paths ran in east orientation. On the walls of the funeral pits were established six raw-soil steps. The steps converge inward stair by stair, structured clear and neat.

From the tombs are excavated out burial articles including potteries, jade-made utensils, bronze containers, glasswares and bone-made artifacts. Known from the scale, shape, and structure of the grave, as well as the articles buried as accompany - a set of nine pottery tripods, chime bells, stone chimes, and a great number of delicate jade objects - the owner is supposed to be in high class when he or she was alive.

The way of burying an enormous batch of jade articles for accompanying is relatively rare among the Chu tombs explored out in the Hubei province and Hunan province. Nevertheless, the tombs share similarities in pattern with the ones of Wei stated found in Hui county. The burying pattern might be influenced by the funeral convention of the Central Plain.<sup>403</sup>

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<sup>402</sup> Henan sheng wenwu yanjiusuo 河南省文物研究所. “Henan Huaiyang Ma’anzhong Chu mu fajue jianbao” 河南淮阳马鞍冢楚墓发掘简报 (Preliminary Excavation Report on the Chu tombs in Ma’anzhong of Huaiyang, Henan). *Wenwu* 文物 10 (1984): 1-17.

<sup>403</sup> Henan sheng wenwu yanjiusuo 河南省文物研究所. “Henan Huaiyang Pingliangtai shiliu hao Chu mu fajue jianbao” 河南淮阳平粮台十六号楚墓发掘简报 (Preliminary Excavation Report on the Chu tomb No.16 in Pingliangtai Site of Huaiyang, Henan). *Wenwu* 文物 10 (1984): 18-27.

Almost all the small-scaled tombs belong to ordinary civilians. Standing vertically, they were all built-in rectangles with raw soils. The tombs are smaller in structures and shapes. Most of them were made along the south-north direction and accompanied by simple artifacts, a majority of which are potteries.<sup>404</sup> There are several pottery wares whose basic combinations include *ding* (tripod), *he* (case), *hu* (kettle); *ding* (tripod), *dun* (container), *hu* (kettle), *pan* (basin) and *yi* (ladle).

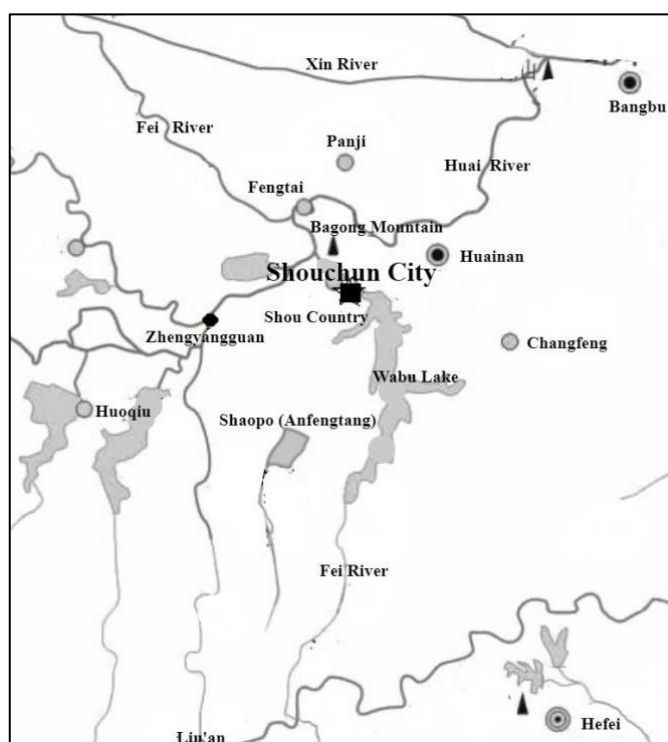
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<sup>404</sup> Henan sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiuyuan 河南省文物考古研究院. “2014-2015 nian Henan Huaiyang Pingliangtai Chu mu fajue jianbao” 2014-2015 年河南淮阳平粮台楚墓发掘简报 (Preliminary Excavation Report on the Chu tombs in Pingliangtai Site of Huaiyang, Henan in 2014-2015). *Jiangnan kaogu* 江汉考古 1 (2017): 26-35.

## 4.2.2 Shouchun site

### *Location selection and scale*

Shouchun city site is located in the area of Shouxian country, Huainan city, Anhui province today. Observe the geographical location of Shouxian city (Fig. 50). It is located in the southern part of the Huanghuai plain and on the southern bank of the Huai river's middle reaches. The city has convenient water and land transportation conditions, which is the main point of the north and south transportation lanes and has an excellent military barrier location advantage. In the north, there is Bagong mountain as a natural barrier. Fei river forms a natural moat on the east and north sides of the city. The rivers and lakes in the southwest together form into a dense water net, abundant in natural products.



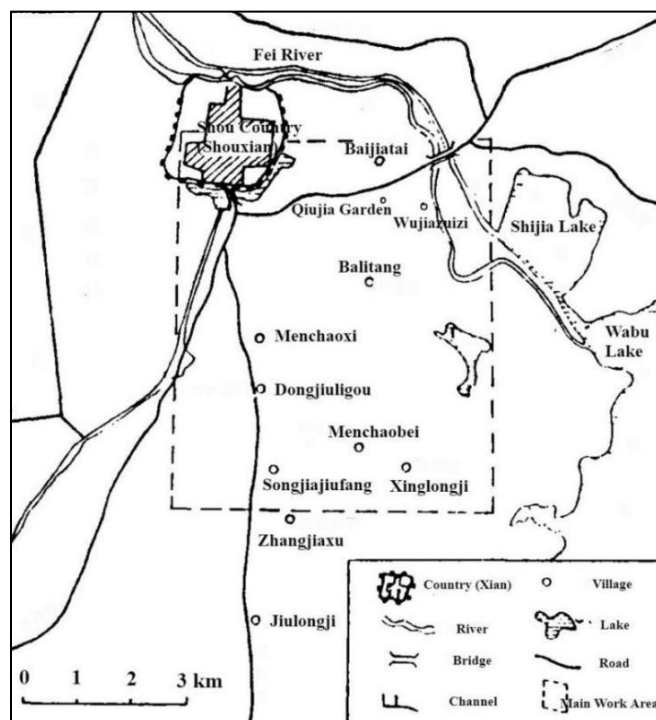
**Fig. 50 Geographical location of Shouchun<sup>405</sup>**

<sup>405</sup> Source: Cai Botao 蔡波涛, and Zhang Zhongyun 张钟云. “Chu du Shouchun cheng shuili kaogu yanjiu de tansuo yu sikao” 楚都寿春城水利考古研究的探索与思考 (Exploration and Thinking on Archaeological Research of the Water Conservancy in Shouchun, Chu Capital). *Wenwu jian ding yu jianshang* 文物鉴定与鉴赏 1 (2019): 66.

In the late Spring and Autumn period, the Cai state which was pressed by the Chu state, moved there and built the area. In the early Warring States period, the Yue state overcame the Wu state, and then the Chu state defeated the Cai state and controlled the Jianghuai basin. In the middle of the Warring States period, the Chu people occupied copper resources in the Nanling and Tongling areas of the south of the Yangtze river. Coupled with the efforts of Lord Chunshen (Huang Xie) and the fertile field formed around Shaopo (Anfengtang), these were all favorable conditions for the Chu to move to Shouchun.<sup>406</sup>

Nevertheless, due to the city's short time as the Chu capital, coupled with the destruction of the war and the flooding of the Huai river in the historical period, it was frequently flooded. It is not easy to see the remains of the city site on the ground.

The comprehensive archaeological excavation of Shouchun has not yet begun, and only some partial investigations have been conducted. Therefore, there are still many disputes about the specific scope and scale of Shouchun.



**Fig. 51 Controversy area of Shouchun**

<sup>406</sup> Cai Botao 蔡波涛, and Zhang Zhongyun 张钟云. 楚都寿春城水利考古研究的探索与思考 (Exploration and Thinking on Archaeological Research of the Water Conservancy in Shouchun, Chu Capital). *Wenwu jian ding yu jian shang* 文物鉴定与鉴赏 1 (2019): 66-70.

Regarding the specific location of Shouchun city, there are currently three main viewpoints:

- A. It is near the county town of today's Shouxian county.
- B. It is in the west.
- C. It is near Fengzhuangpu, which is 40 *li* southwest of Shouxian county<sup>407</sup>.

Correspondingly, for the size of Shouchun, three different standpoints have been formed in succession:

#### **View A:**

The earliest view came from Ding Bangjun of the Anhui Provincial Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology. According to the distribution of the relics of the Warring States period in the southeast of Shouxian city, especially the distribution of building materials such as shingles and slabs, well with pottery walling crib and tombs, Ding Bangjun speculated the scope of Shouchun roughly to be: eastward to Dongjindu, westward to the west bank of Shouchun lake, bordered by Shilitou in the south, and northward to Fei river. The city occupied a total area of about 20 square kilometers, in which the Jiuli Ditch ran from east end to west.<sup>408</sup>

On this basis, after the remote sensing archaeological study of Shouchun in 1987, it is presumed that the location of Shouchun is 116°45'46" - 116°48'35" and latitude 32°31'05" - 32°34'37". The western wall and southern wall of the city are relatively clear.<sup>409</sup>

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<sup>407</sup> *li*, a Chinese unit of length, 1 *li* is equal to 1/2 kilometers.

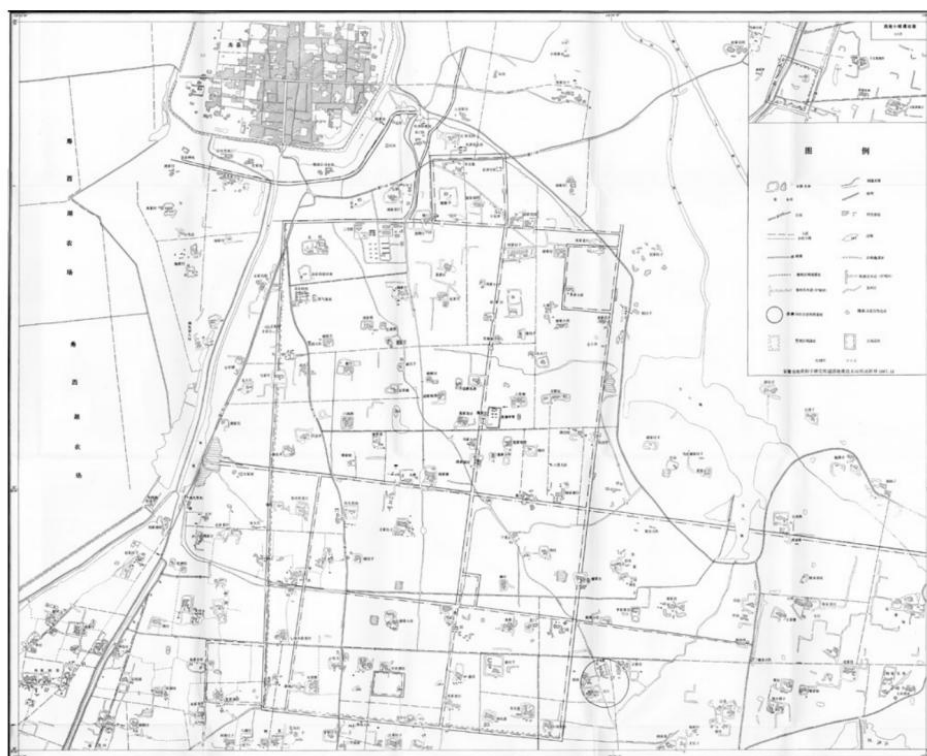
<sup>408</sup> Ding Bangjun 丁邦钧. "Chu du Shouchun cheng kaogu diaocha zongshu" 楚都寿春城考古调查综述 (Summary of Archaeological Investigation in Shouchun, Chu Capital). *Dongnan wenhua* 东南文化 1 (1987): 26-32.

<sup>409</sup> Yang Zedong 杨则东, and Li Liqiang 李立强. "Yingyong yaogan tuxiang diaocha gu Shouchun cheng yizhi" 应用遥感图像调查古寿春城遗址 (Using Remote Sensing Images to Investigate the Ancient Shouchun City Site). *Guotu ziyuan yaogan* 国土资源遥感 2 (1988): 3-10.

The western wall passes from Majiawei and Xiaogang to 250-meter-south of Fanhe village, and its remaining length is 4.85 kilometers. The south wall passes from Gexiaoxu and Xiaoliujiayu to Gujiazhai, and its remaining length is 3 kilometers.

The north wall and east wall of the city are low in altitude and have been washed and flooded many times in history. There was no obvious reflection on the remote image. Therefore, it is speculated that the north wall should be located in Dongjindu, Baijiatai to Dasongjiatai, and the east wall is located in the area from Dongjindu to Wangweizi.

The city site's plane is rectangular, about 6.2 kilometers long from north to south, 4.25 kilometers wide from east to west, and the total area is about 26.35 square kilometers.<sup>410</sup>



**Fig. 52 Remote sensing archaeological study of Shouchun<sup>411</sup>**

<sup>410</sup> Ding Bangjun 丁邦钧. “Shouchun cheng kaogu de zhuyao shouhuo” 寿春城考古的主要收获 (The Main Achievements of Archaeological Activities in Shouchun). *Dongnan wenhua* 东南文化 2 (1991): 159-163.

<sup>411</sup> Source: Cai Botao 蔡波涛, and Zhang Zhongyun 张钟云. 楚都寿春城水利考古研究的探索与思考 (Exploration and Thinking on Archaeological Research of the Water Conservancy in Shouchun, Chu Capital). *Wenwu jianing yu jianshang* 文物鉴定与鉴赏 1 (2019): 68.

### **View B:**

Qu Yingjie raised questions about view A, believing that the size of Shouchun in Chu state could not be as large as 26 square kilometers. According to the handed-down documents such as *Shuijing zhu* and related archaeological materials, he believes that the Baijiatai site is an ancient city named Zhoulai, and it is not a part of the Shouchun of Chu state.

Therefore, he speculated that the north wall of Shouchun should be in the south of Menchaoxi and Balitang, the east wall should be in the west of the Wangba lake and its line. This east wall and north wall, coupled with the south wall and the west wall discovered in archaeological surveys, constituted a flat rectangular city circle. The city has a length of about 4 kilometers from east to west, a width of about 3 kilometers from north to south, covering an area of about 12 square kilometers.

The waterways running longitudinally and transversally within the scope intersected with each other, thereby forming a shape of “井” character and dividing the city into nine large rectangular areas. Located in the center of the waterway crossing network, the Shilitou area was the site of the imperial palace.<sup>412</sup>

### **View C:**

After exploring and excavating archaeological workers at the Shouchun site in 2001-2003, no remains of the city wall were found in the previously identified positions. The relics such as the city gates and important bauxite bases described in the previous remote sensing data did not have any corresponding findings in the actual fieldwork.

According to this, some scholars have entirely negated the first viewpoint (view A). They think that Shouchun only expanded about 300 meters in the south. The city was roughly in a square, with a length of 2,100 meters from north to south and 2,050 meters from east to west. Its area was only about 4 square kilometers.

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<sup>412</sup> Qu Yingjie 曲英杰. “Chu du Shouchun Ying cheng fuyuan yanjiu” 楚都寿春郢城复原研究 (Study on the Restoration of Shouchun, Chu Capital). *Jiangnan kaogu* 江汉考古 3 (1992): 81-88.



Moreover, they believe that Baijiatai, Xingjiazhuang, Qiuja Garden and Yanjiawei, which have many remains of the Warring States period, should be the residences of ministers and nobles on the outskirts of Shouchun.<sup>413</sup>

The above three viewpoints all try to find the city wall of Shouchun, and the time goes by, the smaller the size of the city is estimated: from the 26 square kilometers at the beginning to the later 12 square kilometers, and then to the 4 square kilometers speculated in the nearest archaeological investigation. The reason why the latter two views negate the 26 square kilometers of Shouchun originally conjectured, actually implies Shouchun, as the last capital of Chu state, lasted less than 20 years, so its size cannot be considered too much.

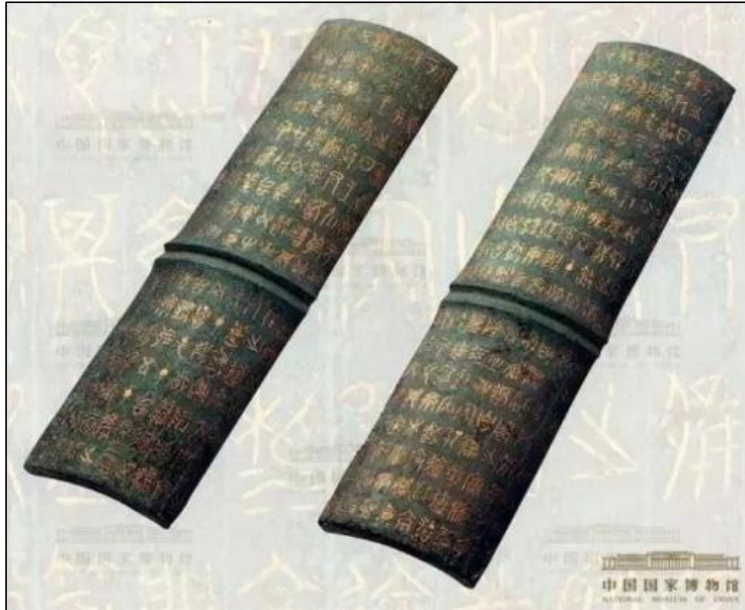
Since the current comprehensive excavation work has not yet been carried out, it is still hard to say clearly. We can only proceed from the existing archaeological achievements and use this as a basis for reasonable speculation.

The large building foundation of more than 2,000 square meters discovered in Baijiatai in the east of the city should be regarded as a significant clue. At the same time, in the vicinity of Qiuja Garden in the south of Baijiatai were also found a famous 鄂君启节 (E Jun Qi Metal Tallies, the tax-free pass of goods transportation along both waterways and landways issued by the King Huai to E Jun Qi whose fief was in today's E city, Hubei province),<sup>414</sup> a bronze cow on which was inscribed 大府之器 (Artifact of grand mansion), as well as a great number of 郢爰 (Ying Yuan, the gold currency, a kind of money by weight used the Chu state). The "grand mansion" may be referring to the governmental repository of the Chu kings. It is thus not to exclude the possibility that the palace residence district was located there. But it remains to be further clarified from the future archaeological exploration and excavation work.

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<sup>413</sup> Zhang Zhongyun 张钟云. "Guanyu Chu wanqi ducheng Shouchun de jige wenti" 关于楚晚期都城寿春的几个问题 (Several Issues on Shouchun, Chu Capital of the late period). *Zhongguo lishi wenwu* 中国历史文物 6 (2010): 57-62, 69, 96.

<sup>414</sup> Von Falkenhausen, Lothar. "The E Jun Qi Metal Tallies: Inscribed Texts and Ritual Contexts." In *Text and ritual in early China*, ed. Kern, Martin. Seattle: University of Washington Press (2005): 79-123.



**Fig. 53 E Jun Qi metal tallies<sup>415</sup>**

### *Excavation process*

Before the site of the Shouchun was not completely determined, the Anhui Provincial Cultural Relics Team and the Shouxian Museum formed a special investigation team. The investigation team started the special archaeological investigation of the Shouchun in the spring of 1983 to determine the location of the Shouchun city site and find out its distribution and cultural connotation. This is the first large-scale scientific archaeological work in the true sense of the Shouchun site.

In 1985, a large building foundation was discovered and cleaned up in the southern part of Baijiatai. The building is 53.5 meters long and has a width of 42 meters from north to south. The total area is more than 2,000 square meters. A row of large stone pillars is placed neatly on the outside of the building, and the building floor is covered with neat plain paving tiles. Unearthed cultural relics also have the style of Chu culture in the late Warring States period, presumably part of the ruins of the Shou Ying palace. There may also be the main road in front of the “palace district” that serves as the central axis from north to south.

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<sup>415</sup> Source: [http://www.chnmuseum.cn/zp/zpml/201812/t20181218\\_25296.shtml](http://www.chnmuseum.cn/zp/zpml/201812/t20181218_25296.shtml) (website)

In 1987, the Shouchun Site Working Group cooperated with the Remote Sensing Station of the Anhui Institute of Geology to conduct remote sensing archaeological research on the southeastern part of Shouchun using aerial photographs and satellite imagery. They believe that through this study, the information such as the city wall, the moat, and the ancient city's water systems were preliminarily determined.<sup>416</sup>

From 2001 to 2003, the Anhui Provincial Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology and the Peking University Archaeological and Cultural College jointly carried out archaeological excavation and research work at the Shouchun site. However, it is puzzling that in the actual fieldwork, there were no relics such as city walls, gates and important bauxite building foundation corresponding to those described in the previous remote sensing archaeological studies. Based on this, some scholars have questioned the data and conclusions of 1987.<sup>417</sup>

### ***Infrastructures***

#### *Water supply and drainage*

##### A. Watercourse and moat

Shouxian city is located on the south bank of the Huai river and south of the Bagong mountain. Fei river runs from the southeast to the northwest, with Shouxi lake on the west and Shaopo (now Anfengtang) on the southwest.

It uses the tradition of Jinancheng to flow the water into the city, but it is more developed. Flowing along the east-west direction, the water enters the city from Jiuligou to the east and crosses the city into the Wabu lake (the Fei river system).

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<sup>416</sup> Ding Bangjun 丁邦钧. "Shouchun cheng kaogu de zhuyao shouhuo" 寿春城考古的主要收获 (The Main Achievements of Archaeological Activities in Shouchun). *Dongnan wenhua* 东南文化 2 (1991): 159-163.

<sup>417</sup> Zhang Zhongyun 张钟云. "Guanyu Chu wanqi ducheng Shouchun de jige wenti" 关于楚晚期都城寿春的几个问题 (Several Issues on Shouchun, Chu Capital of the late period). *Zhongguo lishi wenwu* 中国历史文物 6 (2010): 57-62, 69, 96.

It drew water by divisions from Shaopo (30 kilometers away from the city) along the north-south direction. Through one of the divisions, the water flowed into the moat from the southwest corner of the city; through the other, the water flowed into the city from the west side of Wangweizi and entered into Fei river.

The river channel is connected with Shaopo and Fei river, which not only ensures the water source of the city but also has the advantages of flow regulation and irrigation, thus forming the channel network in the city. Using these waterways, functional partitions within the city were carried out.

According to the results of remote sensing measurements in the 1980s (there is still doubt about the results' accuracy), the ancient waterway was 30-40 meters wide. This waterway system was connected to the water system outside the city.

#### B. Water well

Like the Jinancheng city site, there are pretty dense wells with pottery walling crib around Shouxian. Two wells were excavated in Qiuji Garden. Among them, there are three pottery cribs in well No.1 and 5 pottery cribs in well No.2.

The walling cribs are made of gray pottery. They are roughly the same in shape and have a barrel shape with a diameter of about 78 cm, a height of 40-52 cm, and a wall thickness of 2-3 cm. There are 2-4 small round holes in the middle of some cribs with a diameter of 3.5 cm. The outer wall of the crib is decorated with rope figure, and the inner wall is plain.

Compared with the wells discovered in Jinancheng: in the construction method, there is no supporting wooden frame in the middle of the well, and the walling crib has been used to the bottom of the well. Moreover, in the shape of the walling crib, their height is shorter than that of the Jinancheng.<sup>418</sup>

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<sup>418</sup> Ding Bangjun 丁邦钧. "Chu du Shouchun cheng kaogu diaocha zongshu" 楚都寿春城考古调查综述 (Summary of Archaeological Investigation in Shouchun, Chu Capital). *Dongnan wenhua* 东南文化 1 (1987): 26-32.

### C. Drainage pipe

In addition to complete drainage pipe remains found in the southeastern part of the building foundation Baijiatai, there are new discoveries in places such as Niuweigang and Xingjiazhuang.

The drainage pipe discovered in Niuweigang is 60 cm wide from north to south and has a preservation depth of 35 cm. The section is cylindrical. Two rows of pipes were laid down at the bottom of the groove, lying in parallel. Only three segments of the row of pipes in the south were preserved today because of being damaged in the later phase, while five segments of the row of pipes in the north were exposed. Of them, two segments and two sections all continued to extend outward. The drainage pipes were about 50 cm long and about 25 cm in diameter. They were connected mouth-to-mouth.

The drainage pipe discovered in Xingjiazhuang is 60-80 cm wide from north to south, with a round bottom and a depth of about 50 cm. It exposes four sections of pottery pipes and is high in the west and low in the east. Each section is made up of two upper and lower halves. The size and texture of the half-pipe are basically the same as those of a common one. The length is 42.1 cm, the diameter is 15 cm, the thickness is 0.6 cm.

Most of the drainage pipes and pottery wells are found near the accumulation of ash pits or ash ditch, even pure rubble accumulation. Relics included rubble, trough bricks, and so forth. It can be seen that there was a close relationship between these drainage pipes and large buildings.<sup>419</sup>

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<sup>419</sup> Cai Botao 蔡波涛, and Zhang Zhongyun 张钟云. "Chu du Shouchun cheng shuili kaogu yanjiu de tansuo yu sikao" 楚都寿春城水利考古研究的探索与思考 (Exploration and Thinking on Archaeological Research of the Water Conservancy in Shouchun, Chu Capital). *Wenwu jian ding yu jianshang* 文物鉴定与鉴赏 1 (2019): 66-70.

### ***Burial area***

There are a large number of tombs regularly distributed in the suburbs of Shouchun. Three burial areas outside the city are considered to belong to the late Warring States period:<sup>420</sup>

The first zone is Yangmiao and Zhuji in the southeast of Shouxian city, which is supposed to be a large-sized and high-level tomb area. The tomb of Lisangudui discovered in the early years is located here. According to the scholars' research, it should be the tomb of King You of Chu. The tomb was severely stolen. The heap earth over mound was about 2 meters high, and the bottom diameter was more than 90 meters. According to Guo Dewei, the chamber is 11 meters long and 9-10 meters wide. There are many bronze ritual objects in the funeral utensils. For example, more than 20 bronze *ding* (tripod) were discovered. The large bronze *ding* weighs more than 350 kilograms. Besides, a lot of jade articles were found. The total number of funeral objects is thousands.

The Yanggong Tomb (Group) in Changfeng is only 5 kilometers away from the tomb of Lisangudui. At present, 11 tombs have been excavated. These 11 tombs are large in scale and basically the same in shape. It is particularly noteworthy that among these tombs, M1 and M2, M7 and M8, M9 and M10 are juxtaposed in north and south.

Moreover, the size of the southern tomb is slightly larger, a large number of weapons are unearthed in the tomb, and the northern tomb does not produce weapons. It is speculated that the southern tomb is for a male and the northern tomb is for a female. The two tombs should be the funeral tombs of the couple.

Also, the Yanggong Tomb (Group) burial objects are mainly composed of bronze weapons and jade articles. Weapons include spears and lacquered wood shields, usually placed on either side of the tomb. The spearhead points to the entrance of the tomb, perhaps to protect the owner of the tomb. Tomb No. 8 is unearthed with a pair of dragon-shaped jade, unique in shape and very exquisite. Judging from the scale of

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<sup>420</sup> Ding Bangjun 丁邦钧. "Chu du Shouchun cheng kaogu diaocha zongshu" 楚都寿春城考古调查综述 (Summary of Archaeological Investigation in Shouchun, Chu Capital). *Dongnan wenhua* 东南文化 1 (1987): 26-32.

the existing earth-filled mounds on the ground, the shape of the tombs and the funerary objects, the Yanggong Tomb (Group) should be an important aristocratic royal cemetery.

The second zone is located on the line from Shouxi lake to Shuangqiao, a medium-sized tomb area of the Warring States period. A tomb with a stone coffin was found in Shuangqiao, which was quite unique among the Chu tombs discovered so far.

The third zone is situated between Bagong mountain as the north border and the Fei river as the south border. It is a small-sized tomb area built in the Warring States period. The Bagongshan Tomb (Group) is located at the south bottom of the Bagong mountain, expanding northward to the Fei river. This tomb area is dominated by small graves, fashioned in a simple funeral style. In general, there is no coffin and few funerary objects. They are supposed to be cemeteries of civilians.

## **Chapter V The exploration of Chu capitals: summary, reflection and future works**

Searching for capitals of the pre-Qin period has always been a major goal of modern Chinese archaeology. Not merely a critical issue among the studies of Chu's history, the exploration of Chu capitals is also one of the most controversial problems to scholars regarding studies of the early dynastic history in China. How did Chu capitals change during the more than eight hundred years from the state's founding to its demise? Various opinions and disputes on this problem are made by ancient and modern scholars in China and abroad. In recent years, with the exciting discoveries of several sites that might be linked to Chu capitals in time and space, we have more possibilities and, at the same time, more challenges to discuss this topic.

Taking time as the central axis and being problem-oriented, the previous chapters of this thesis tried to explore the Chu capitals from a long-term perspective. As one of the best ways to understand any historical or cultural problem is to examine it from different viewpoints and listen to diverse opinions,<sup>421</sup> we discussed all the hypotheses and possibilities related to the Chu capitals based on the comprehensive collection, sorting and analysis of research materials. Our work mainly includes the textual research analysis of the capital's geographic location, the study of the age and nature of the urban sites designated (or inferred) as the capital, and the detailed discussion of its spatial layout.

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<sup>421</sup> Lawton, Thomas (ed.). *New Perspectives on Chu Culture during the Eastern Zhou Period* (1991): xii.



Although the work we've done had made noticeable progress, we have to admit that, as with many aspects of Chu's research, more evidence is needed before coming to a final and definitive conclusion. Nevertheless, some of the parameters that might be adduced to test it before fail to prove it.<sup>422</sup> Moreover, reflections on the materials and methods used in studying the Chu capitals and cities in the past few decades are also conducive to developing future work. From a broader perspective, the critical discussion on traditional Chinese archaeological approaches embodied in the study of early historical dynasties will also lead to more beneficial thinking.

Therefore, in the final chapter, we intend to summarize firstly what work we have done and what preliminary conclusions we have produced. Secondly, we reflect on the previous study's deficiencies and discuss the attitude towards research materials and methods. Finally, some personal views and suggestions are trying to be put forward for future works.

## 5.1 Summary

This thesis began with an overview of the historical context of the Chu, which including the introduction of the chaotic background era, the summary of the history of Chu state, the stereotypical image of Chu people in the literature, and the current research status of Chu capitals. Needless to say, the primary purpose of this chapter is to offer a sketch-like understanding of the ancient Chu, which is also beneficial for us to carry out the following research on Chu capitals.

And then, as for Danyang (Chapter II), the capital of Chu in the early stage (basically coincides with the Western Zhou era) recorded in the literature, the work we have done is mainly divided into two steps.

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<sup>422</sup> Von Falkenhausen, Lothar. "Chu Ritual Music." In *New Perspectives on Chu Culture during the Eastern Zhou Period* (1991): 94.

In the first step, guided by literature materials and historical geography, and based on archaeological materials, we have conducted a detailed analysis of the various hypotheses about Danyang's geographic location proposed by the predecessors. Generally speaking, the "Danxi hypothesis" is the most supported view among them. Though, at the same time, we believe that Danyang may not be the name of capital or a specific location, but a region near the Dan river basin. One possible speculation is that Chu people did not *du* 都 (settled) in Danyang as their capital, but *ju* 居 (resided) at Danyang area in the Western Zhou period.

Therefore, the second step was carried out: we combed and analyzed the archaeological remains of the Western Zhou era in the Dan river basin (Danyang's location supported by "Danxi Hypothesis") through archaeological stratigraphy, typology, chronology, and cultural factors analysis.

Among the four types of archaeological cultures that we have identified and summarized, one may be related to a particular ethnic group living in the Dan river basin at that time. Still, it is necessary to do a lot of excavation work to further prove that these relics are related to early Chu people in terms of archaeology.

Afterwards, we turned our attention to Ying, the Chu capital's name in the middle stage (from the early Spring and Autumn period to the mid-Warring States period) recorded in historical documents.

Unlike the first stage, the handed down documents already provide the specific location of the capital Ying during this period, namely the Jinancheng site. However, after more than fifty years of excavation, researchers found that it is not in line with historical records, and there is a considerable age gap. Jinancheng can only be used as the Chu capital for a period of time, rather than the Chu capital of the entire middle stage. What's more, some city sites that might be the capital of Chu were discovered and excavated one by one. At the same time, the announcement of new bamboo slip materials of Chu also makes this problem more and more complicated.

Therefore, in the first section of chapter III, we carried out a detailed review and discussion of the most urgent issues related to Chu capital Ying, mainly from the perspective of historical documents and unearthed documents, combined with previous studies.

We answered the question of who moved the Chu capital from Danyang to Ying through analysis. Besides, we also discussed the basic concepts of Ying and X-Ying, and the relationship between them.

Using the materials from archaeological excavations in recent years, we conducted an in-depth analysis of the three ancient sites related to capital Ying in the second section of this chapter. We sorted out these ancient city sites from the perspectives of location selection and scale, excavation process, urban defence, infrastructure, districts layout, and so on. Finally, the era and nature of these sites were discussed.

After our research, two of these city sites (Jijiahu and Jinancheng) could be regarded as the capital of Chu in different periods. The other (Chuhuangcheng) might not be a capital, but just a military centre at that time. We speculate that Jijiahu was the capital of Chu in the middle and late Spring and Autumn period. Then, Chu moved its capital from Jijiahu to Jinancheng in the early Warring States period due to plundering resources and territory expansion. However, the migration route of Chu capital before Jijiahu is still unclear.

Finally, it is an introduction to the capital of Chu in the last fifty-five years (Chapter IV). So far, the archaeological exploration of these two city sites (Chencheng and Shouchun) has not yet been fully launched. As a result, there are still disputes about the scale and specific layout of the cities, which need to be answered by further archaeological work. So the work we only could do is to make a brief description based on the available information.

## 5.2 Reflection

Although our work has made visible progress in some specific areas, we have to admit that we are still at the beginning of what promises to be a long and exciting search for answers to questions about the capital cities and other aspects of Chu.<sup>423</sup> During the research, we found that the continuous accumulation of unearthed materials and research results have not only failed to make this historical fog more clear, but on the contrary, it has become more blurred. Due to this reason, only by summing up the previous experience and reflecting on the deficiencies in the previous research can we avoid unnecessary detours in future works. What's more, traditional Chinese archaeology's theoretical approaches on early historical dynasties is also worth a critical review and discussion.

### 5.2.1 Research materials

The first topic we would like to discuss is the availabilities and limitations of various research materials, including the literature materials, unearthed documents, historical-geographical materials, and archaeological evidence.

#### *Literature materials*

The literature materials used to study the Chu can be roughly divided into three categories. Sort speaking, the literature records made by Chu people themselves, the other coexistent or nearly coexistent materials with the Chu, and historical texts or various commentaries after the Qin and Han dynasties.

Since most of these first two types of documents were destroyed under the Qin dynasty, we are hampered in tracing the Chu history from these available data. For instance, *Tao wu* 樗杌, a chronological history book of Chu history written by Chu historian, has lost.<sup>424</sup> Therefore, the way we obtain valuable information mainly

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<sup>423</sup> Lawton, Thomas (ed.). *New Perspectives on Chu Culture during the Eastern Zhou Period* (1991): ix-x.

<sup>424</sup> “Tao” refers to the broken wood, “Wu” refers to the remaining stump after being cut, and “Tao Wu” refers to the remaining stump left by the broken tree. Taking “Tao Wu” as the name of the history book

comes from the textual records written so many years after the existence of the Chu and were reinterpreted by many individuals afterwards.<sup>425</sup>

When using these historical records, however, we must remain critical at all times. We need to reflect on their purpose and audience, by whom, when, and under what circumstances extant historical and quasi-historical texts were composed.<sup>426</sup> Because this type of text always had a specific purpose for writing in the era when it was produced. This kind of purpose is different from the purpose for later generations to treat it, and it is also different from the drive we treat it. Therefore, it must be interpreted in the context of its own history and the context of a change in meaning.<sup>427</sup>

As for the study of Chu, problems arise from the fact that while the Chu lay in the south, the compilers of the texts on which we rely (as well as later commentators) were largely northerners (including Sima Qian). This resulted in a “northern bias” vis-à-vis the historical role and cultural achievements of Chu.<sup>428</sup> As we discussed in the first chapter of this thesis, the *manyi* 蛮夷 (barbarians) images of Chu people in many historical documents illustrate this point very well.

What’s more, as the Han dynasty was an essential period of literary re-creation, and much new knowledge may have been introduced to the texts at this time,<sup>429</sup> the *Shi ji*, though is considered the monumental work of a sincere scholar in general,<sup>430</sup> and presenting a concise narrative of Chu in the Zhou period, can be used only as a secondary source showing a Han opinion on the history of Zhou and Chu. These sources must be read with an awareness of possible error and bias since we cannot

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by the Chu historian is because “Tao Wu” (that is, stump) can reflect the growth history of the tree. There are growth rings on the tree stump after being horizontally cut, with one circle representing a year. By observing how many growth rings there are, it is clear about how many years the tree has grown, so it is extended to mean “history”.

<sup>425</sup> Liu Li, and Chen Xingcan. *The Archaeology of China: From the Late Paleolithic to the Early Bronze Age*. Cambridge World Archaeology. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press (2012): 11.

<sup>426</sup> Pines, Yuri. *Zhou History Unearthed* (2020): 3.

<sup>427</sup> Allan, Sarah. “Erlitou and the Formation of Chinese Civilization: Toward a New Paradigm.” *The Journal of Asian Studies* (2007): 461-496.

<sup>428</sup> Cook, Constance A., and John S. Major, eds. *Defining Chu* (1999): 51.

<sup>429</sup> Li Feng. *Landscape and Power in Early China: The Crisis and Fall of the Western Zhou 1045–771 BC*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press (2006): 17.

<sup>430</sup> Major, John S., and Constance A. Cook. *Ancient China* (2016): 230-231.

clearly understand how much embroidery is supplied by later hands.<sup>431</sup>

Nevertheless, we'd like to explain that we do not totally deny the importance of historical documents and materials. Learning to identify and use the valuable information in these documents to obtain a little bit solid understanding of what happened in ancient times is a task that we need to practice from time to time. (More discussion later in this chapter)

### ***Unearthed documents***

Recent excavations of Chu tombs have discovered historically comparable manuscripts written on fragile bamboo slips and silk, such as Chu silk manuscript from Zidanku, Chu bamboo slips from Xincai, Wangshan and Baoshan. Owing to these are texts recorded by Chu people themselves, which provided precious first-hand information for the study of Chu history.

This thesis focuses on the Tsinghua bamboo slips, which was re-got from Hong Kong in July 2008 and was published in 2010 (the publication is still ongoing), totalling about 2, 500 pieces.<sup>432</sup> One of them was named *Chu ju* 楚居 (Chu dwellings) by the organizers and researchers, which describes the residence and migration of 23 Chu kings, from the semi-legendary progenitor of the Chu royal lineage<sup>433</sup> to kings in the middle of the Warring States period. The discussion upsurge was engendered in the academic circle no sooner was it released to the public.

Since this material narratives about the lineage of kings of Chu generation by generation and the places of their residence and capitals, it have been introduced and discussed in detail in the second and third chapters of this thesis. If we don't doubt the authenticity of these materials for the time being,<sup>434</sup> then their appearance makes the issue of the Chu capital even more complicated.

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<sup>431</sup> Cook, Constance A., and John S. Major, eds. *Defining Chu* (1999): 51.

<sup>432</sup> Cook, Constance A., and Luo Xinhui. "Introduction". In *Birth in Ancient China* (2017): xi.

<sup>433</sup> Pines, Yuri. "Chu Identity as Seen from Its Manuscripts: A Reevaluation." *Journal of Chinese History* 2.1 (2018): 1-26.

<sup>434</sup> The exact origin of Tsinghua bamboo slips is unknown since it was not scientifically excavated but supposedly looted from Chu tombs and then acquired by Chinese institutions at the Hong Kong antiquity market, and now preserved by Tsinghua University.

For instance, the word “Danyang”, which has appeared many times in historical documents such as *Shi ji* and has become an important clue for later generations to explore the area of Chu people’s activities in the early period has never been found in the unearthed document *Chu ju*, which is a historical document specifically recording the migration and residence of Chu kings. Instead, many unknown place names appeared.

As for the study of Ying, which considered to be the capital in the middle stage of Chu’s history according to historical records, it appeared fourteen times in the form of “X-Ying” in *Chu ju*. Nevertheless, most of these place names have never been heard before, except a few have been found in the literature handed down from ancient times or the documents unearthed previously.<sup>435</sup>

How to understand their nature, their relationship with Ying, their relationship with the Chu capitals, why did the scribes produce this type of history and for what audience,<sup>436</sup> etc. These puzzling but unavoidable issues are what we need to continue exploring in the future.

Besides, some of the recently unearthed manuscripts have not yet been published, such as the bamboo slips collected by Anhui University.<sup>437</sup> Needless to say, these new publications may bring a new dawn to our research.

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<sup>435</sup> Zhou Hongwei 周宏伟. “Chu ren yuanyu Guanzhong pingyuan xinzheng: yi Qinghua jian *Chu ju* xiangguan diming de kaoshi wei zhongxin” 楚人源于关中平原新证-以清华简《楚居》相关地名的考释为中心 (New Evidences of the Chu People from the Guanzhong Plain: Focusing on Some Place names of the *Chu ju* of Tsinghua Bamboo Slips). *Zhongguo lishi dili luncong* 中国历史地理论丛 vol. 27, 2 (2012): 5-27.

<sup>436</sup> Pines, Yuri. *Zhou History Unearthed* (2020): 72.

<sup>437</sup> Huang Dekuan 黄德宽. “Anhui daxue cang Zhanguo zhujian gaishu” 安徽大学藏战国竹简概述 (An Overview of the Bamboo Slips of the Warring States Period Collected by Anhui University). *Wenwu* 文物 9 (2017): 54-59.

### ***Historical-geographical materials***

Geographical records have been systematically produced in China as a means of imperial administrative control from the Han dynasty.<sup>438</sup> The chapter *Dili zhi* 地理志 (*Treatise on Geography*) of the *Hanshu* 汉书 (*History of the Han Dynasty*), provides available materials in historical geography and is often quoted by scholars of later generations. Besides, one of the other important works on this subject that came out after *Dili zhi* is the *Shui jing zhu* 水经注 (*Commentary on the Classic of rivers*) compiled by Li Daoyuan 郦道元 (466/472-527 CE).

Still, there are inevitably certain limitations in the use of historical-geographical materials. It is mainly reflected in the following three aspects in this research:

Firstly, as Blakeley once proposed when exploring the geographical location of Danyang, neither can one assume that a place name that can be traced back to relatively early times (i.e., the Han) existed at the time of the Shang/Zhou transition (the era at issue here).<sup>439</sup>

Secondly, a place name may correspond to more than one place. For example, when talking about Danyang, early Chu capital, the place name “Jingshan” 荆山 (Jing mountain) is considered one of the crucial clues for tracing Chu people’s early activities. The specific location of Jingshan has been fascinatedly discussed by the later generations, derived of many different opinions instead of reaching a consensus. According to statistics by many scholars, there are as many as five “Jingshan” that may be related to the Chu, which are distributed in Shaanxi, Hubei, Henan and even Anhui. We believe that since the specific location of Jingshan cannot be determined, and it is still unclear whether the Jingshan place name is consistent in ancient and modern times, so it can only be used as indirect geographical evidence.

Thirdly, there are also uncertain in the location records of some historical sites in traditional geographical works, which can be seen from exploring the location of the capital Ying in Chapter III. It is possible that a monument could be constructed on a likely site of an ancient state based on uncertain historical-geographical knowledge or

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<sup>438</sup> Li Feng. *Landscape and Power in Early China* (2006): 20.

<sup>439</sup> Blakeley, Barry B. “In search of Danyang I” (1988): 118.



even on misinformed beliefs. In the next period, that monument would then be registered as proof of the ancient state's location. This process could be repeated many times, generating endless discrepancies.<sup>440</sup>

### *Archaeological evidence*

Every artifact unearthed through scientific excavation bears two contexts: a historical context by which the particular artifact can be integrated into a specific cultural tradition of a particular time and a geographical context within which it occupies an exact spatial location. Therefore, archaeology provides the natural link between geography and history.<sup>441</sup> Besides, archaeological materials also have the advantage of verifying preexisting knowledge from the literature independently.

Here we take the research on capital Ying (Chapter III) as an example. Since Jinancheng is the relatively explicit ancient site of the Chu capital Ying recorded in the literature, the archaeologists have conducted large-scale archaeological investigations and excavations on the Jinancheng city site and its surrounding areas since the 1950s. With the in-depth development of archaeological work, researchers found that the city site and surrounding tombs' age was relatively late, mainly after the late Spring and Autumn period, mainly during the Warring States period. This is quite different from the historical records that the capital Ying began in the early Spring and Autumn period. So if we still regard Jinancheng as the only capital of Chu from the Spring and Autumn period to the mid-Warring States period, there are some incomparable missing links in the chronology that they cannot correspond to. Currently, we can only confirm that Jinancheng is the capital of Chu in the Warring States period (until 278 BCE).

More importantly, archaeological materials can provide available information on many aspects of ancient society that have not appeared in the literature. Regarding the early activity area of Chu people (or the capital of Chu in the early stage), since there were not many records in the literature except "resided at Danyang", the final solution

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<sup>440</sup> Li Feng. *Landscape and Power in Early China* (2006): 21.

<sup>441</sup> Same as above.

to this problem can only be through the study of archaeological evidence.

Nevertheless, material remains do not themselves make claims.<sup>442</sup> Therefore, interpreting the archaeological findings appropriately is quite critical and challenging, requiring more discussion later in this chapter.

### 5.2.2 Research methods

The previous studies represent a traditional and prevalent method which Chinese archaeologists generally accept, namely, the historiographical approach (derived from the method of “Double evidence” 二重证据法<sup>443</sup>). As for the research on Chu capitals, scholars usually identify the geographical location of Chu capitals according to the documents handed down from ancient times. Then, they look for archaeological evidence in this area to prove their conjectures and hypotheses.

So far, the historiographical approach is considered to be the most significant method for reconstructing ancient Chinese history. There has been a tendency to identify archaeological cultures, sites, and even artifacts directly with specific ancient groups of people or places named in legendary or historical literature.<sup>444</sup> Such a research path was fully manifested in the exploration of the Chu capitals.

What we need to pay attention to is that the historical records on the same issue can vary with different documents. Moreover, even the same text can lead to totally different conclusions because of readers’ dissimilar understanding. The numerous hypotheses about Danyang that we mentioned in Chapter II have proved this point well.

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<sup>442</sup> Li Feng. *Landscape and Power in Early China* (2006): 21.

<sup>443</sup> “Double evidence” was proposed in 1925 by the Chinese historian Wang Guowei 王国维, which is a method of combining unearthed materials, such as inscriptions on bones or tortoise shells of the Shang dynasty, bamboo scripts, Dunhuang documents, with the ancient records that were handed down to verify ancient history.

<sup>444</sup> Liu Li, and Chen Xingcan. *The Archaeology of China: From the Late Paleolithic to the Early Bronze Age*. Cambridge World Archaeology. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press (2012): 17-18.

Not to mention that most of the literature we rely on to reconstruct pre-Qin history, including the Chu, were written in much later times and were reinterpreted afterwards. It is always a daunting task for us to distinguish which part of the historical records is based on myths, which part of the historical records is based on the descendants' imagination, and which part of the historical records is based on facts.

This kind of historiographical orientation is also reflected in the interpretation of archaeological materials. We found that there is a lack of a rigorous and objective attitude when using archaeological evidence through research. Based on their own understanding of historical documents, researchers put forward hypotheses about the possible regions of Chu people's activities. Once the Zhou period sites were discovered in this hypothetical area, numerous interpretations would be put forward to link these sites to Chu capitals mentioned in the literature (like Danyang or Ying). The actual age and cultural nature of these sites were sometimes selectively ignored.

Given this, we must make some strict restrictions on Chu capitals' archaeological argument to avoid randomness. If we insist on using archaeological materials to prove Danyang or Ying as the Chu capitals, the archaeological evidence cited must be consistent with the capitals. It is unreliable to use archaeological materials earlier or later than their era. Also, the interpretation of the archaeological remains must be made when examined in a theoretical framework constructed based on a set of carefully defined questions.<sup>445</sup>

Due to the weaknesses and limitations of the historiographical approach in the study of early dynastic history (which includes the history of Chu), we cannot help but ask whether other alternative methods seem more appropriate for the research of this particular historical context.

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<sup>445</sup> Li Feng. *Landscape and Power in Early China* (2006): 21.

***“Research in separate and analysis in one”***

At this point, we remain optimistic about the approach of 分行合击 (research in separate and analysis in one), which was proposed by the sinologist Lothar von Falkenhausen on this concept. He believes that historical documents and archaeological data are two very different sets of materials, each with its own appropriate research methods. They need to be studied separately and deeply before being put together for comparative analysis. If we mix them prematurely, the judgment of the relics’ attributes might be affected.<sup>446</sup> Liu Li also holds a similar viewpoint that archaeological data should be independent of traditional documents and used as the most primitive materials for analysis.<sup>447</sup>

***“Seeing humans through materials”***

Another limitation that we have realized in the previous studies on the Chu capitals is the neglect of the person behind the artifacts. The main aim of archaeological activity in China has been constructing a practical chronological framework, using the twin core methods of archaeology, stratigraphic excavation and typological seriation.<sup>448</sup>

These two methods can place archaeological materials in authentic time-space relationships, making them scientific materials that can be studied. Chinese researchers have paid hard work in this part, which is also the main part of Chinese archaeological research. The case study in the second chapter of this thesis has shown such work. We intend to construct the archaeological, cultural sequence of the Western Zhou period in the Dan river by sorting out the unearthed relics.

Nevertheless, our research should not just stop at the stage of seeing the artifacts but not the person behind them. As for the study of Chu capitals, especially as the study of large-scale city site like Jinancheng, we cannot just pay attention to its architecture, layout and age, but also need to explore the lifestyle of the people who once lived in it,

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<sup>446</sup> Von Falkenhausen, Lothar. *Chinese Society in the Age of Confucius (1000-250 BC): The Archaeological Evidence*. Los Angeles: The Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles Press (2006): 13.

<sup>447</sup> Liu Li, and Chen Xingcan. *The Archaeology of China* (2012): 265-271.

<sup>448</sup> Von Falkenhausen, Lothar. *Chinese Society in the Age of Confucius* (2006): 15.

social mechanism and interaction, cultural process and other aspects.

Moreover, this point can also be applied to the study of entire ancient Chinese history and society. Through, we have to honestly admit that this goal cannot be achieved with the current unearthed materials. A considerable amount of work is still needed in the future.

### **5.3 Future works**

Perhaps no aspect of early Chinese history and culture has prompted more animated or controversial discussion than that associated with the ancient state of Chu. And it is clear that we are at the beginning of what promises to be a long and exciting search for answers to questions about the Chu.<sup>449</sup> After summarizing the deficiencies in the previous studies on Chu capitals, we intend to put forward some personal views and suggestions for future works.

First and foremost, it is the most critical aspect to strengthen the fieldwork or archaeological excavation in the weak area and disputed area so as to discover newly unearthed materials.

Documents handed down from ancient times and unearthed documents provide clues for us to explore Chu's capitals. As we mentioned earlier, when using these historical records for archaeological research, especially for the study of early historical dynasties, we must remain critical at all times. The final solution to this puzzle must rely on archaeological evidence. Once more archaeological materials, especially some key materials that can explain the problem, are unearthed, the fog of Chu capitals may be lifted.

As for Danyang, it is necessary to find and confirm the concentrated distribution of a series of sites of comparable age, exact nature, dense distribution and relative scale in a region. The Dan river basin is the area that we need to focus on continuously. The archaeological culture of the Guofenglou type in this area which may hint at early

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<sup>449</sup> Lawton, Thomas (ed.). *New Perspectives on Chu Culture during the Eastern Zhou Period* (1991): ix-x.

Chu people's activities also needs more attention.

As for capital Ying, the excavation work of the Jijiahu site and Jinancheng sites still needs to move forward. In addition, our vision should be broader, that is, to explore the settlements and settlement groups in this area.

Secondly, as we mentioned in the previous part, the approach of “research in separate and analysis in one” proposed by Lothar von Falkenhausen is highly recommended for our future research. We need to emphasize that, instead of copying the research methods directly from Western archaeology, we need to adjust these models to adapt to the context of ancient Chinese history and make them suitable for answering specific questions in Chinese archaeology.<sup>450</sup>

Besides, we should pay more attention to gathering statistically informed data, which means using social-science analysis methods to process archaeological materials. Given that our ultimate goal should be the ancient people behind the artifacts, more attention should be paid to the lifestyle of the capital's inhabitants (ruling class and common people) at that time, the social mechanism, the social interaction and so on. Finally, through this research, we realized that we could no longer understand China's problems only by understanding Chinese history. A global vision is what we absolutely need.

On the one hand, we have to compare Chinese materials and research results with the situations in other parts of the world, because the problem of China is just one of the ever-changing situations of humankind in the world, and we cannot understand China's general situation if we do not understand the changes in the world.<sup>451</sup>

On the other hand, since modern archaeology was introduced to China relatively late and then has been isolated from international developments for a long time, a broader vision, a more open mind, and being more modest in learning, communication and reference are the directions we need to work on in the future.

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<sup>450</sup> Flad, Rowan K. Trans. Lv Hongliang 吕红亮. “Zhuanyehua shengchan: ruogan jiben wenti yiji Zhongba zhiyan de taolun” 专业化与生产: 若干基本问题以及中坝制盐的讨论 (Specialization and Production: General Issues and a Discussion of Salt Manufacture at Zhongba Site). *Nanfang minzu kaogu* 南方民族考古 (2010): 11.

<sup>451</sup> Chang, Kwang-chih 张光直. *Zhongguo Qingtong shidai* 中国青铜时代 (*The Chinese Bronze Age*). Beijing: Sanlian shudian 北京: 三联书店 (2013): 3.

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