

Considering Chengzhou (“Completion of Zhou”) and Wangcheng (“City of the King”)

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Key words: Chengzhou; Wangcheng; surroundings; historical development

Conflicting opinions abound among historians with respect to a variety of issues concerning Chengzhou and Wangcheng, including their dates of establishment, the origins of their names, and the historical development they underwent. With the development of Chinese archaeology after the founding of the People’s Republic, and particularly the excavations conducted in recent years, many new material have gradually come to light with which we can finally understand clearly some of the problems concerning Chengzhou and Wangcheng (Figure 1).

Considering Chengzhou

Chengzhou, established during the time of King Wu, was the eastern capital of the Western Zhou dynasty. The name “Chengzhou” or “Completion of Zhou”, originated during the era of King Cheng; Prof. Li Min

has marshaled evidence for this fact from received texts, while Prof. Chen Gongrou has done the same with bronze inscriptions.

With respect to the geographic environment of Chengzhou, some evidence places it along the two banks of the present Chan River. Some points of archaeological evidence support this conclusion: 1) The Jian River of Shijiagou would then correspond to the Jian River about which the Duke of Zhou is said to have divined, and the rich Western Zhou cultural remains reaching from the east of Shijiagou to the two banks of the Chan River would correspond to the location in which the Duke of Zhou is said to have divined and then built, as recorded in received texts; 2) in the belt stretching from the east of the present-day Chan River to Tawan, a number of “Yin-remnant commoner tombs” have been discovered; 3) at Beiyaocun, located in the southern foothills of Mt. Mang to the west of the

Chan River, nearly 400 Western Zhou aristocratic tombs have been discovered, and a Western Zhou commoner cemetery reaches from the southwest of the aristocratic cemetery to the Hanjia storehouse ruins south of the current Longhai rail line; 4) to the near south of the Western Zhou aristocratic cemetery, near the current East Luoyang Bus Station, lie the ruins of a massive Western Zhou bronze foundry, covering an area possibly greater than 100,000m². In addition, chariot-and-horse pits, round sacrificial pits,

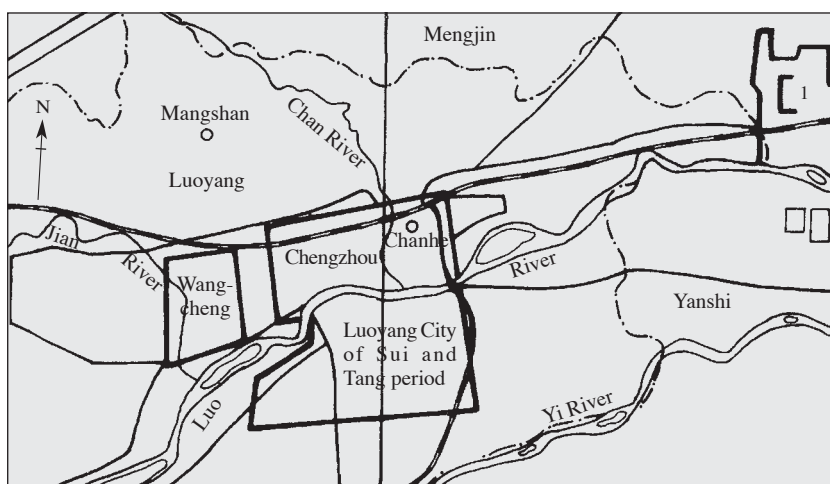


Figure 1. Location of Chengzhou and Wangcheng
1. Han-Wei old city

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large-scale rammed earthwork remains, fishponds, and a large Western Zhou road running from north to south have all been discovered in this area. The total combined area of the ruins is close to 6km². Based on these discoveries, it can be said that the two banks of the Chan River are quite probably the site of the ruins of the Western Zhou city of Luoyi. Most scholars are in agreement on this point. Unfortunately, no city walls have been discovered to date; this may relate to the comparative strength of the Western Zhou state and the general obedience of the various state lords in the early years of the dynasty.

The important status of Chengzhou goes without saying; it played a vital role in government, military endeavors, economics, and other arenas of activity. The Western Zhou royal house made use of Chengzhou's special position at the center of the known world in order to coordinate relations between the regional lords of the north, east, and south, as well as the "Four Yi," while simultaneously gathering together material and human resources from across its sphere of influence, assuring the development of the slave economy and promoting the dissemination of Zhou culture. Most importantly, Chengzhou's massive armies bore the burden of keeping the peace in the already-conquered eastern regions.

Research based on both received texts and archaeological data has suggested that the city of Chengzhou thrived during the early and mid-Western Zhou, but had already begun to decline by the late Western Zhou. However, Western Zhou remains extending between the two banks of the Jian River and the current Han-Wei "old city" of Luoyang show an increase in richness during the late Western Zhou. Interestingly, a group of urban ruins discovered in the Han-Wei "old city" in 1984 were first built during the Western Zhou and were repaired and extended during the late Spring and Autumn era. The excavators were not inclined to eliminate the possibility that the Western Zhou elements of these ruins represented the "Chengzhou" built by the Duke of Zhou during the early Western Zhou period, but they felt that the Eastern Zhou portions unquestionably belonged to the Chengzhou of the reign of King Jing (that is, the Eastern Zhou city of Chengzhou). The author agrees that the Eastern Zhou urban remains are undoubtedly those of the Eastern Zhou city of Chengzhou during the reign of King Jing, but he cannot agree with the conclusion that the Western Zhou settlement remains may be those of the Chengzhou built in the early West-

ern Zhou by the Duke of Zhou. Moreover, there are some who date these remains to the early Spring and Autumn period or the Eastern-Western Zhou transition; the author feels that this is incorrect. Based on the available data, it is comparatively realistic to date the construction of this city to the late Western Zhou. Related archaeological data and information provided by received texts also show that the initial construction of this city site must have occurred during that period.

An important goal of the establishment of Chengzhou by the Western Zhou people was to prevent resistance on the part of the states and villages of the east, but both received texts and bronze inscriptions record that the most frequent military opponents of the Zhou were the Huaiyi, peoples centered around the Huai River to the southeast of Chengzhou. Early in the Western Zhou period, the Huaiyi posed a major threat to the Western Zhou royal house, but military campaigns pacified them for a time. During the middle Western Zhou, however, war broke out once more between the Zhou royal house and the Huaiyi. By the late Western Zhou, the Huaiyi had become the greatest threat to the Zhou royal house, invading deep into Zhou territory in the vicinity of Chengzhou. The Zhou royal household's decision to abandon the original Chengzhou site on the banks of the Chan River and build a new city near the current site of the Han-Wei old city may relate to the two major wars between the Zhou and the Huaiyi during the reign of King Li. Since the invasions of the southern Huaiyi reached the vicinity of Chengzhou, the unfortified Chengzhou site would have been in extreme danger; this may have been one reason that the Zhou rulers chose to build a new, fortified city.

But why did the Zhou choose to build on a new site to the east, near the present-day site of the Han-Wei "old city," rather than fortifying the original Chengzhou site? Some hold that we should address this question by considering the high degree of concern that ancient peoples held for geomancy and the geographic surroundings. This is quite correct. The Han-Wei old city has Mt. Mang at its back and overlooks the Luo River to the south. The location is strategically important, and the fact that numerous dynasties, starting with the Western Zhou and including the Eastern Zhou, Eastern Han, Wei-Jin, Northern Wei, and others, built their capitals there must have been due to its excellent geographic and strategic location. It is conceivable that the Zhou dynasty would have built a city here during the late Western Zhou period for purely military reasons. But during what king's

reign was it built? The author is rather inclined to assign it to the reign of King Xuan.

By King Jing's reign, in order to escape the rebellion of Zichao, King Jing moved to this location, as recorded in the *Zhoubenji* chapter of the *Shiji*: "Jin commanded the lords of the various states to install King Jing in Zhou; Zichao was his minister, and the lords of the states constructed the city of Zhou." This is in accord with the fact that archaeological work has discovered rammed earth fortifications reinforced during the late Spring and Autumn period at the Han-Wei old city of Luoyang. The *Shiji* calls this city "Zhou." Under the 23rd year of Duke Zhao, the Gongyang commentary to the Spring and Autumn annals notes, "The Heavenly King took up residence among the springs of the Di." Obviously, at this point the city in question did not yet bear the name "Chengzhou." Under the 26th year of Duke Zhao, the *Zuo zhuan* notes that after Zichao ran off to Chu, "the Heavenly King entered Chengzhou." This is the beginning of the use of the name "Chengzhou" during the Eastern Zhou. By the time of King Nan of Zhou, the West and East Zhou regions were quite separate. Various East Zhou lords with secure residences had moved to the Eastern Zhou Chengzhou site, while King Nan of Zhou found himself without a residence and had no choice but to move back to Wangcheng. Once "King Zhuangxiang of Qin exterminated East Zhou, and both East and West Zhou became part of Qin," the Zhou were no more.

Considering Wangcheng

With respect to the relationship between "Luoyi," "Chengzhou," and "Wangcheng," Liang Yun's conclusion is probably correct – that is, that "Luoyi" and "Chengzhou" referred to the same place during the Western Zhou, that "Wangcheng" was also established during the Western Zhou, and that the "Wangcheng" and "Chengzhou" of the Spring and Autumn period were in fact the same place, but were separate by the reign of King Jing during the late Spring and Autumn. With respect to the earliest occurrence of the separation of Wangcheng, some believe that it took place during the 21st year of Duke Zhuang (i.e., 673 BCE). As far as the physical location of Wangcheng, many believe it to have been at the site of the Eastern Zhou ruins along the banks of the Jian River.

With respect to the Eastern Zhou-period city built along the banks of the Jian River, both received texts and archaeological discoveries confirm its existence, and

few scholars doubt that it was in fact Wangcheng. However, the richest and most numerous cultural remains discovered within the ruins in this area date to the Warring States period. In particular, recently published material from the eastern wall of the Eastern Zhou Wangcheng site testify to the fact that it was originally constructed during the Warring States period and added onto during the late Warring States. The earliest excavators assigned the date of the Eastern Zhou Wangcheng city wall's construction to the Spring and Autumn period, but the author cannot agree with this assessment. Based on data now available, the rammed-earth walls rest atop Yin (late Shang)- and Western Zhou-era ruins, and none of the material contained in the walls date to later than the Spring and Autumn period, but the remnants and stratigraphy of the covering wall are of Warring States date. Combined with the new archaeological discoveries discussed previously, this demonstrates that the eastern portion of the Eastern Zhou Wangcheng city wall was initially built during the Warring States period; it can thus be suggested that the entire Eastern Zhou Wangcheng city wall was built during the Warring States.

Based on a combination of archaeological discoveries and received textual evidence, it can be said that most of the currently known remains of the enclosure and inner portion of the Eastern Zhou city of Wangcheng date to the reign of the Western Zhou Duke Huan or the later Western Zhou lords. The Wangcheng to which King Ping moved also fell within this area, however; but the Wangcheng occupied from the time of King Ping to that of King Kao lacked fortifications, and the Eastern Zhou royal household had only the palace compound (that is, the so-called "palace district") in which to reside, its area extending for the most part from south of the current Hangshu Road in the north to the Luo River in the south and from west of the currently known Wangcheng Road to the Jian River in the west. This palace compound area constituted a small, highly defensible city of its own. Though it lacked a defined wall, it still possessed a defined layout. When King Nan of Zhou moved from East Zhou to Wangcheng, however, his residence was probably not within Wangcheng itself, but outside the southern wall of the currently known Wangcheng (Figure 2).

Though we can say that the majority of the remains of the Eastern Zhou Wangcheng date to the reign of the Western Zhou Duke Huan or the later Western Zhou lords, archaeological data confirm that the Wangcheng used by Kings Ping-Kao still fell within the same area:

First, two groups of rammed-earth buildings, a northern and a southern group, considered to date to the early Eastern Zhou have been discovered on the north side of Qujiatun. The excavators consider them to have been one of the main structures inside the Eastern Zhou city. Many scholars have mentioned this group of buildings in their researches on the Eastern Zhou Wangcheng; they tend to suggest that the group may have been an important part of the palace compound of the Eastern Zhou Wangcheng during the Spring and Autumn period.

Second, the “Zhouyu” chapter of the *Guoyu* states: “In the 22nd year of King Ling, Gu and Luo fought, and the generals burnt down the royal palace.” Many scholars hold that the place where Gu and Luo fought was the present Qujiatun area of Luoyang and that the old royal palace of the Eastern Zhou Wangcheng should be in this area. In 2005, while the author was conducting excavations on the south side of the south wall of the Eastern Zhou Wangcheng, near the delta to the southeast of Qujiatun at the confluence of the Jian and Luo rivers, the project discovered a large number of damaged Spring and Autumn cultural layers and a drainage ditch dating to before the Warring States; these are probably reflections of the burning of the royal palace” in the archaeological record. The above shows that the royal palace of King Ling’s time was probably in the area of the present Qujiatun neighborhood of Luoyang. According to records in received texts, the position of Wangcheng did not change from the time of King Ping’s eastward migration until the fall of the Zhou.

Third, within the ruins of the Eastern Zhou Wangcheng, reaching from south of the current “Six Imperial Steeds” Museum to the gymnasium, large tombs and horse-and-chariot pits of Spring and Autumn date have been discovered. The most important among them is a group of three large tombs, one horse pit, and one chariot pit discovered in 2001 at a position about 30m east of the eastern wall of the Eastern Zhou Wangcheng, to the northeast of the intersection of Jiudu Road and Gymnasium Road. These date to the early Spring and Autumn period. Based on a combination of coring and excavation data, the excavators hold that such tombs were those of first-class state rulers of the Eastern Zhou, concluding therefore that this area was the site of the royal burial mounds of the early Eastern Zhou.

Fourth, other important Spring and Autumn period remains, including a large road, tombs of criminals, pottery kilns, and the like have been found within the Eastern Zhou Wangcheng ruins.

Based on the above, it can be seen that the Wangcheng of the Spring and Autumn period was definitely within the bounds of the present-day Eastern Zhou Wangcheng ruins and that it had a defined, planned layout. If the palace compound of that city was located in the same area as the Warring States-era Wangcheng palace compound known from archaeological discoveries, and its royal burial mounds were located near the current Gymnasium Road, there should also have been a planned, orderly network of accompanying roads. All in all, the layout of the Spring and Autumn-period Wangcheng is not yet particularly clear, but the rules underlying the layout of the Warring States-period Wangcheng are basically so.

The Wangcheng of the Warring States period was a closed-off urban site with fortifications on four sides. The north wall thereof is the best preserved; the east wall stretches to the Luo River; the west wall follows meanderingly along the banks of the Jian River; and the western portion of the south wall is still preserved, while its eastern portion is not. The interior layout of the city is comparatively clear. The palace district (including storage facilities) probably began at the present Hangshu Road in the north and extended to the Qujiatun district in the south; east to west, it began to the west of Wangcheng Road and extended to the Jian River. Ar-

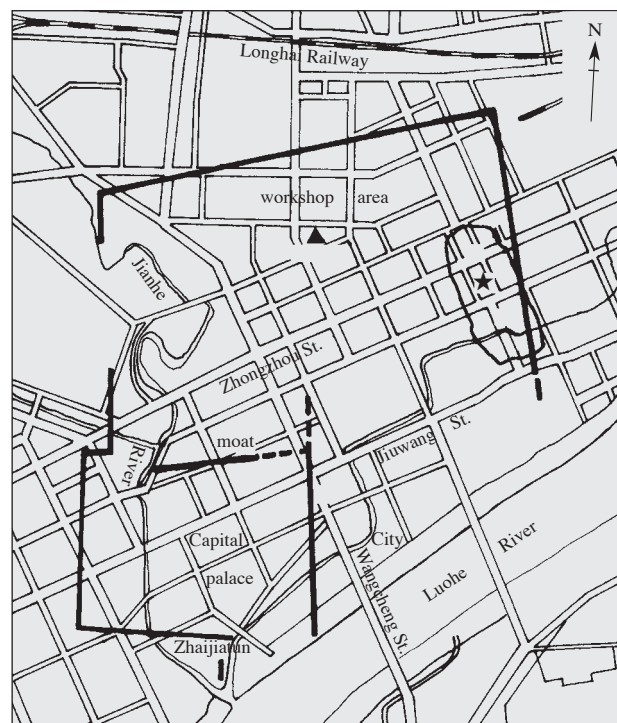


Figure 2. Layout of the Eastern Zhou period Wangcheng
▲ ★ royal mausoleum areas

archaeological evidence suggests that the royal tomb district occupied two locations within the Eastern Zhou Wangcheng ruins. The first reached from the present-day Luoyang Watch Factory to the northeastern corner of the Han-era Henan county seat located to the east of Xiaotuncun, while the second occupied an area reaching from the south side of the present-day Eastern Zhou Wangcheng “Six Imperial Steeds” Museum to Gymnasium Road. Pottery kilns and other workshops were mostly distributed in the northern part of the city ruins. They covered an area ranging from the north wall of the Eastern Zhou Wangcheng in the north to the north side of Tanggong Road in the south; further north still, kiln ruins are distributed more densely and seem to have been in continual use until the Han dynasty. Other workshop ruins were discovered elsewhere as well.

The present-day Eastern Zhou Wangcheng consists mainly of remains from the era of the Western Zhou Duke Huan and the various Western Zhou lords who succeeded him. So did King Nan of Zhou move from the Eastern Zhou Chengzhou site (the current Han-Wei old city of Luoyang) back to Wangcheng after the Western-Eastern Zhou transition? Recent archaeological discoveries may be able to answer this question for us. Recently, a grouping of middle-late Warring States rammed earth building ruins was discovered to the southeast of Qujiatun, near the delta formed by the confluence of the Luo and Jian Rivers. The author is inclined to think that these ruins were the residence of King Nan of Zhou after he moved the capital to Wangcheng. The author has three reasons for holding this opinion. First, these ruins date to the middle-late Warring States period, coinciding with the reign period of King Nan. Second, based on their layout, specifications, and extent, these foundation ruins would seem to have been a ruling-class residence of the most luxurious sort. Third, the ruins were located outside the south wall of the Eastern Zhou Wangcheng compound. This placement would have been comparatively appropriate given King Nan’s unusual status, since the West Zhou lords already occupying Wangcheng couldn’t offer it up to King Nan, and King Nan’s residence here already constituted no threat to the rule of those West Zhou lords; at the same time, this accords with King Nan of Zhou’s awkward status, relying as he did on the charity of others and lacking any personal territory or semblance of royal authority.

Conclusions

Based on the brief discussion above, the author holds

that during the Western Zhou, the “Chengzhou” and “Luoyi” founded by the Duke of Zhou were the same place, located along the banks of the Chan River, and that there was no Wangcheng at that point. By the late Western Zhou, Chengzhou was in decline, and the new Western Zhou “Zhou” city founded on the site of the current Han-Wei era “old city of Luoyang” succeeded it. During the Spring and Autumn period, King Jing set up his capital at this site when he fled the rebellion of Zichao, and it thereafter became known as “the Eastern Zhou Chengzhou.” By the time of King Nan of Zhou, the site was home to the lords of the Eastern Zhou, and it remained so until the Zhou fell.

The term “Wangcheng”, or “Royal City,” arose during the Spring and Autumn period. The Wangcheng of the early Spring and Autumn was in reality the same place as Chengzhou; it was probably located at the site of the current “Eastern Zhou Wangcheng” along the banks of the Jian River, but its exact layout is still unclear. The creation of a distinction between Wangcheng and Chengzhou probably occurred during the reign of King Jing, during the late Spring and Autumn period, but today’s massive “Eastern Zhou Wangcheng” was in reality the “Eastern Zhou Wangcheng” of the Warring States period; in particular, it is a relic of the age of the Western Zhou Duke Huan and his successors. When King Nan of Zhou moved his capital from “Eastern Zhou Chengzhou” to “Wangcheng,” his residence was probably located near the delta formed by confluence of the Jian and Luo Rivers, to the southeast of Qujiatun, outside the south wall of the “Eastern Zhou Wangcheng.”

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Sinica) Vol. 3.

Note: The original paper was published in *Kaogu* 考古 (Archaeology) 2007.11: 62–70, with three illustrations and
authored by Xu Zhaosheng 徐昭峰. The present version is revised by the original author and translated into English
by Nick Vogt.