

Where Was the Western Zhou Capital?

A capital city has a special status in every country. Normally, this is a political, economical, social center. Often it is a cultural and religious center as well. This is the place of governmental headquarters and of the residence of power-holding elite and professional administrative cadres. In the societies, where transportation means are not much developed, this is at the same time the place, where producers of the top quality goods for elite consumption live and work. A country is often identified with its capital city both by its inhabitants and the foreigners. Wherefore, it is hardly possible to talk about the history of a certain state without making clear, where was located its capital.

The Chinese history contains many examples, when a ruling dynasty moved its capital due to defensive or other political reasons. Often this shift caused not only geographical reorganization of the territory, but also significant changes in power relations within the state, as well as between it and its neighbors. One of the first such shifts happened in 771 BC, when the heir apparent of the murdered King You 幽 could not push back invading 犬戎 Quanrong hordes from the nowadays western 陝西 Shaanxi province, but fled to the city of 成周 Chengzhou near modern 洛陽 Luoyang, where the royal court stayed until the fall of the 周 Zhou in the late III century BC. This event is usually perceived as a benchmark between the two epochs – the “Western” and “Eastern” Zhou respectively, distinctly distinguished one from another.

Before this move the Zhou kings ruled their land from the Clan city of Zhou – 宗周 Zongzhou. Traditionally, it was believed that this toponym was a second placename of the city of 鎬 Hao, situated near the place, where later 秦 Qin capital 咸陽 Xiangyang and 漢 Han capital 長安 Chang’an were built. Most historical works accept this as an established fact, and the name of Hao is marked with bold type in every historical map of Zhou. However, nowadays it becomes suspicious that this view is rather weakly supported both from archaeological evidence and from pre-Han textual data. Of course, moving such a touchstone is not an easy task, which requires a serious investigation. In this communication I would like to share some my doubts and thoughts about where was located the Western Zhou capital before King Ping’s escape to the East.

I. Residences of the Zhou rulers.

During the pre-dynastic times Zhou changed their living place several times, seeming to hesitate between shepherding or agricultural ways of production. They moved around in the relatively compact hilly area in the northern part of 渭 Wei River valley westward from 涇 Jing River and southward from the mountains 岐 Qi and 梁 Liang. The ancestor-founder of Zhou 后稷 Hou Ji (Lord Millet) was said to receive from the Emperor 舜 Shun lands in 邰 Tai¹, probably located in the territory of the present 武功 Wugong district. His grand-grandson 公劉 Gong Liu was said to make his lodging nearby in the locality 豳 (邠) Bin². However, after that he moved from the banks of rivers 漆 Qi and 沮 Ju across Wei River to the south in order to “collect materials”³. His son 慶節 Qingjie established his “state” (國 *guo*)⁴ in 豳 Bin. His seven successors, who “neglected the occupations of Lord Millet and Gong Liu”, i.e. got back to shepherding, probably, did not sit on the same place, but their wanderings were not reported. However, Bin 豳 (邠) stayed their base, since this is from here

¹ Cf. *Shijing* III.II.1, Sima Qian, *Shi ji: Zhou ben ji*, p. 112.

² Cf. *Shijing* III.II.6, Sima Qian, *Shi ji: Zhou ben ji*, p. 112.

³ Cf. *Shijing* III.II.6, Sima Qian, *Shi ji: Zhou ben ji*, p. 113.

⁴ Sima Qian, *Shi ji: Zhou ben ji*, p. 113.

that 古公亶父 Gugong Danfu, who finally decided for relying on sedentary crops-production, took his people across 漆 Qi and 沮 Ju Rivers and 梁 Liang Mountains to the southern bottom of the Mount Qi (岐山 Qishan) in the north of the modern 扶風 Fufeng district⁵. Here in the Zhou plain (周原 Zhouyuan) Zhou established the city of Qi (岐邑 Qi yi), also known as 岐周 Qi Zhou.

The location of the first Zhou capital was identified exactly after the discovery of the palace ruins near 鳳雛 Fengchu village in the north of Fufeng. Not only the foundation of an impressive building, occupying 1459 m² area, but also some oracle bones, inscribed on the eve of the Zhou conquest of Shang were discovered there.

After having made the city of Qi their base, the Zhou started to conquer neighboring tribes and to extend their lands. Having in mind to attack Shang sooner or later, they were especially interested in gaining footholds eastwards in the Wei valley. Thus, as the *Bamboo Annals* claims, Zhou army conquered a state of 程 Cheng in the battle at 畢 Bi in the 4th year of Danfu's son and King Wen's father 季歷 Ji Li's reign⁶. Cheng was probably located a dozen kilometers northeastward of modern 西安 Xi'an⁷, northern of Wei. Sixteen years later Ji Li grounded there a city⁸. Eighteen years after his death Ji Li's son 昌 Chang, the Lord of the West (西伯 Xi Bo) and the future King 文 Wen, "for the first time performed 禴 yue sacrifice in Bi"⁹.

After Xi Bo's imprisonment in 25th-29th years of 帝辛 Di Xin's reign, he came back to Cheng¹⁰, and started to train his troops at Bi two years later¹¹.

During the next few years Xi Bo Chang conquered a number of other tribes, and created a next footing point – this time southward of Wei River. He built a city of 豐 Feng (豐邑 Feng yi)¹² on the western side of 澧 Feng river – a right tributary of Wei, – in the territory of the conquered state of 崇 Bai. According to Sima Qian, this time Xi Bo not simply established new residence, but moved the capital (都 du) from the Under-the-Qi (岐下 Qixia) to Feng¹³.

However, this relocation was not definite. Shortly after this Xi Bo died, and his son 發 Fa, or King Wu, moved his residence again to 鎬 Hao¹⁴, only some 25 li eastward, on the bank of the Lake Hao (鎬池 Haochi) few dozens li southern from the Han capital 長安 Chang'an¹⁵. Hao, also according to Sima Qian, became his capital (都 du)¹⁶.

The last attempt to move the Zhou capital farther to the east happened during the reign of King 成 Cheng, who wished to establish his residence (宅 zhai) in the city of Luo (洛邑 Luo Yi) in the heartlands of the ousted Shang dynasty¹⁷. The new city (新邑 Xin yi) 成周

⁵ Sima Qian, *Shi ji: Zhou ben ji*, p. 114, *Zhuangzi, Za bian, Rang wang* part 28, *Jinben Zhushu jinian*, juan I, *Wu yi*.

⁶ Cf. *Jinben Zhushu jinian: Wu Yi*.

⁷ The head of the Cheng clan of Bi was mentioned also in *Yi Zhou shu: 61*. However, the statement about his death there is not connected to the Zhou conquest, but only to his greediness and exhausting people's forces. The geographical identification of the city of Cheng comes from the *Shi ji zheng yi: Gua di zhi*: "The ancient city of 安陵 Anling is located 21 li eastward from 咸陽 Xianyang in 雍州 Xiangzhou. This is the Zhou city of Cheng" (cf. *Shi ji*: p. 3286).

⁸ Cf. *Jinben Zhushu jinian: Wen Ding: 5*.

⁹ Cf. *Jinben Zhushu jinian: Di Xin: 6*.

¹⁰ Cf. *Jinben Zhushu jinian: Di Xin: 29*.

¹¹ Cf. *Jinben Zhushu jinian: Di Xin: 31*.

¹² Cf. *Sh jing: III.I.10; Jinben Zhushu jinian: Di Xin: 35*.

¹³ Sima Qian, *Shiji: Zhou benji*, p. 118.

¹⁴ Cf. *Jinben Zhushu jinian: Di Xin: 36*;

¹⁵ Cf. commentary of 徐廣 to Sima Qian: *Shiji: Zhou ben ji*, p. 118.

¹⁶ Sima Qian: *Shi ji: Qin ben ji*, p. 256.

¹⁷ Cf. *Shangshu: Shao gao*.

Chengzhou was grounded, however the king did not stay there, but came back to the west. His successors inclusive King 幽 You ruled over their land from the west. The question is, which of the known Zhou cities actually was their main capital?

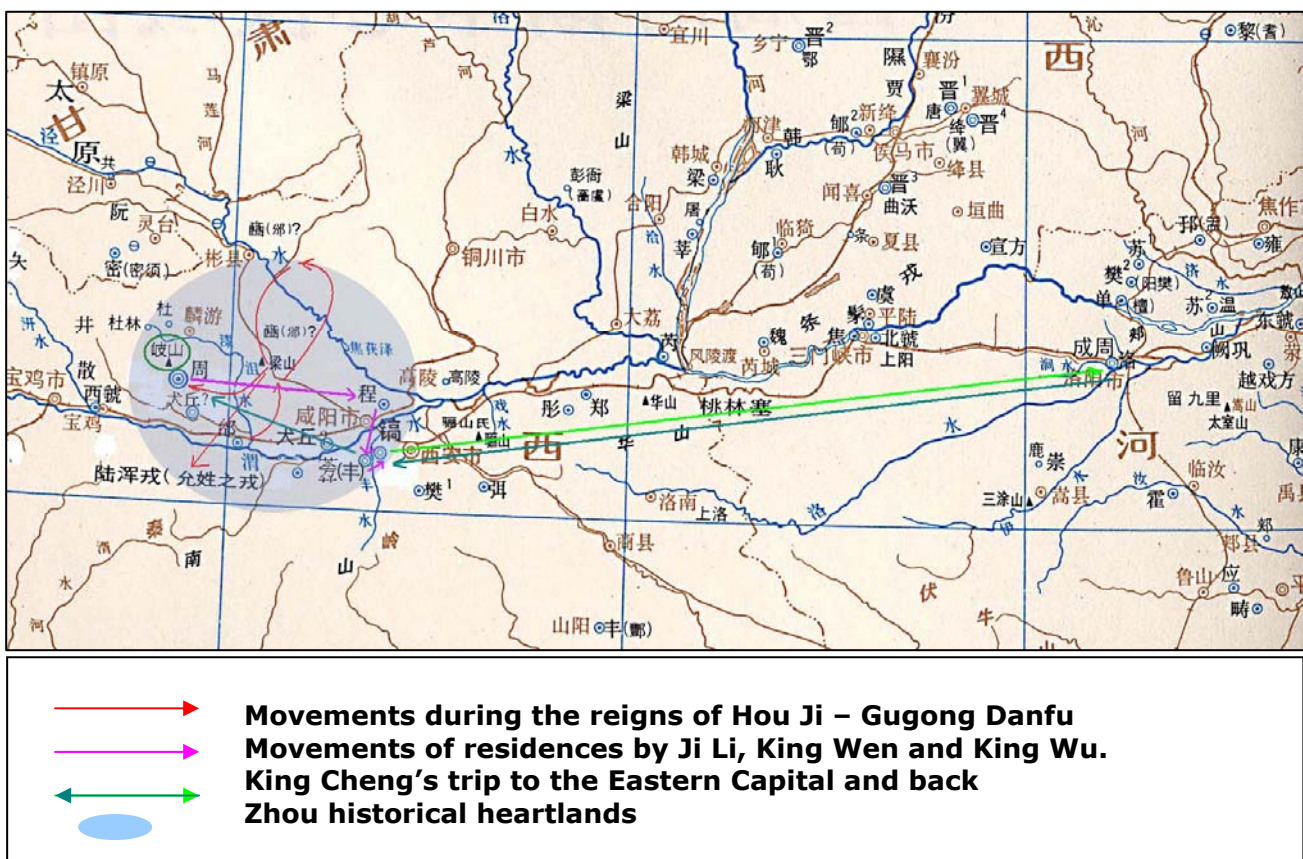
II. Moving between the capitals.

Literary sources, such as the *Book of History* and the *Bamboo Annals* report sporadic movements of Zhou kings between the three main points: Chengzhou, Feng and 宗周 Zongzhou – the Clan city of Zhou. Epigraphic materials – the inscriptions on the bronze vessels and bells also demonstrate three main points, frequented by different Zhou kings: Zongzhou, 芳 Fang (or 芳京 Fangjing) and Chengzhou. Kings visited and stayed for a longer time other cities as well, but not so regularly and sometimes not free-willingly.

There are a number of inscriptions, which record kings’ presence in Fangjing. Usually these inscriptions represent the sovereign enjoying boat trips in the lake, bow shooting and feasts. Plausibly, Fangjing was a place of entertainments and recreation of the Zhou elite.

King’s visits to Chengzhou (also called 京師 Jingshi – the Capital Garrison) were referred to relatively seldom. They were often related to military expeditions, where the king took part personally. Although Zhou kings from time to time visited the Eastern Capital with inspections, they often appointed officials to control this strategic point and especially, its military forces, while staying in Zongzhou.

Map I: Zhou Capitals and Residences.



Examples, referring to a kings’ presence in Zongzhou were definitely prevailing. Usually, the reported activities of a king were official receptions of his subordinates, related to office appointments or investitures. Both features – the number and the content - suggest

the outstanding status of Zongzhou among other royal residences. Evidently, Zongzhou was an administrative and political center of Zhou.

Therefore, the Zhou supported a triple system of capitals. Zongzhou was the base and symbol of their power, Chengzhou – its extension, while Fangjing played a special role as a place of leisure and informal communication.

Where was the Clan city of Zhou?

The sources of the both types almost never mention of Hao. Paradoxically, this was traditionally regarded as a proof that Hao was *the* capital of Zhou. Commentators meant that Hao was the same as Zongzhou, or Western Zhou¹⁸. The toponym ^芬京 in a number of bronze inscriptions, known starting from the Song time, was misread as Haojing and thus provided support to the traditional view. However, it is evident now that the correct phonetic reading of ^芬京 was not Hao, but Fang¹⁹.

The toponym Fangjing is seen in some inscriptions on the bronze objects discovered archaeologically in the western bank of Feng River. Here, in 豐西 Fengxi, first of all near 張家坡 Zhangjiapo and 客省莊 Keshengzhuang villages the remains of Western Zhou settlements and large cemetery were discovered²⁰. Different types of funerals, including some graves with *chemakeng*, witness of social stratification and presence of highest elite groups in this area. Although, as Huang Shengzhang notes, Fang and Feng could be different place-names, and Fang could be located somewhere else²¹, it is still plausible that Fang was located there, on the bank of the River Feng.

Evidently, the both sides of River Feng were densely populated not only during the western Zhou period, but a considerable time before²². Western Zhou presence was confirmed eastward of Feng as well, i.e. where the city of Hao was supposed to be²³. However, despite few dozens years of archaeological investigations, its status as capital finds not enough material evidences, including, first of all, inscribed bronze vessels. However, as Hsu Choyun and Katheryn Linduff note, “the sites at Feng and Hao look like military marching camps, rather the centers with administrative and ceremonial capacities”²⁴. Bronzes, collected in Hao area can be not compared to reach findings, made in the territory of Zhouyuan, or the modern 岐山 Qishan and Fufeng districts, i.e. in the area of the “old” Zhou capital²⁵.

¹⁸ Cf. Huangfu Mi, *Di wang shiji*: “King Wu from Feng moved his residence to Hao. Zhuhou respected him as the elder of a clan. That is why it was referred to as Clan-head city of Zhou” (武王自豐局鎬, 諸侯宗之, 是爲宗周).

¹⁹ Cf. Huang Shengzhang: “Guan yu jinwen zhongde ‘Fangjing (Fang), Hao, Feng, bang’ wenti bianzheng” (Correction of mistakes, related to the question about the terms ‘Fangjing (Fang), Hao, Feng, bang’ in bronze inscriptions), in *Zhonghua wenshi luncun* 1981, p. 183-198; Zong Desheng, ‘Xi Zhou Haojing xinkao’ zhiyi” (Resolving the doubts, related to the ‘New study on Western Zhou Haojing’ article”, in *Zhonghua wenshi luncun* 1981, pp. 199-205.

²⁰ Cf. *Fengxi fajue baogao* (Fengxi Excavation Report), 1962; Zhongguo shehui kexue yuan kaogu yanjiusuo Fengxi juehui: “1967 nian Changan Zhangjiapo Xizhou musangde fajue” (1967 Excavations of a Western Zhou Cemetery at Fengxi, Changan District), in *Kaogu* No. 9 (1965), pp. 457-502.

²¹ Cf. Huang Shengzhang, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

²² Cf. *Fengxi fajue baogao*. It corresponds to Sima Qian’s statement that King Wu “brought Hao in order”, which means that he came to already inhabited place.

²³ Cf. Xi’an shi wenguan hui: “Xi Zhou ducheng Feng Hao yizhi” (Remains of Western Zhou Capital Cities Feng and Hao), in: *Kaogu* No. 10, 1979, pp. 68-70; Beijing daxue lishixi kaogu yanjiushi Shang Zhou zu: *Shang Zhou kaogu* (The Archaeology of Shang and Zhou), Beijing: wenwu chubanshe, 1981, pp. 147-8, 190-2.

²⁴ Hsu, Cho-yun and Linduff, Katheryn M. *Western Zhou Civilization*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988, p. 92.

²⁵ Cf. Chen Quanfang: “Zao Zhou ducheng Qiyi chutan” (Tentative Enquiry of the early Zhou Capital Qiyi), in: *Kaogu*, No. 10 (1979), pp. 44-49.

Evidently, most outstanding Western Zhou bronze vessels come from Zhouyuan. A great number of them were discovered here carefully hidden in caches, while in other parts of Shaanxi such large bronze hoards are found seldom²⁶. Many hoards in Zhouyuan contain objects, owned by representatives of several generations of one family. Bronzes' appearance and the content of inscriptions demonstrate the permanent occupation of this area during the whole Western Zhou period. The same is indicated by the discoveries of palaces' ruins in Fengchu and Shaochen²⁷. Many owners of bronzes reported in ritual inscriptions about their audiences with Zhou kings. Some of them were related to appointments on important administrative and military offices, while others did not have such purpose. This means that the elite circles of Zhouyuan were not only intensively involved in Zhou government structure, but also had an easy access to the royal court. Location, where audiences took place, usually was referred to as Zhou, or Zongzhou.

Such situation makes one wonder, why, in the case if Zongzhou was the same as Hao, nothing comparable was found there? The absence of hard evidence from the "Capital Hao" is often explained through the destruction of its remains, when the artificial lake Kunming was made during the reign of Han Wudi in 121 BC²⁸. However, it appears rather unconvincing. If Hao area were so stuffed with bronzes, as that of Zhouyuan, during the works on the lake construction some of them surely would be found. During the reign of Wudi (140-87 BC), who was so eager to confirm Han dynasty as the legitimate successor of Zhou and, in particular, to find Zhou sacred vessels, such event could not be pass unnoticed. Sima Qian (145-90 BC), Wudi's court historiographer, would be the first, who would report such discovery. What it never happened may signify only that Hao was neither Zongzhou, nor the main Zhou capital. Contrarily, it appears very likely that the political, administrative, religious and social center was not moved, but remained, as during the reigns of Gugong Danfu and Ji Li, under the Mount Qi in the Zhou Plain, and the name Zongzhou must be associated with this city²⁹.

Chen Mengjia expressed in 1955 the suggestion that the name Zhou in bronze inscriptions corresponded to the city of Qi, what would automatically mean that it was the capital of Zhou³⁰. However, his view still remains rather marginal. Chen Quanfang, an author of a number of studies about the Zhou Plain, is convinced that the Clan city of Zhou was there. However, he does not dare to challenge the traditional settings and says that "albeit Zongzhou has lost its status as capital, it still took an important place in hearts of Zhou people, as a place of religious performances, palaces and ancestral temples remained there, the kings received there *zhuhou* with expressions of loyalty, ...and many representatives of slave-owning aristocracy had there their residences"³¹.

This explanation is logically weak. The fate of many ex-capitals all over the world and in China itself is always alike: they lose their importance both as political and sacred centers very promptly, and the elite moves its residences closer to the new place. A very different situation in the Zhou Plain should make one agree with Hsu and Linduff, who argued: "Qishan continued to be a Zhou city of considerable significance until King 平 Ping moved the entire Zhou court to Luoyang.

Some detailed considerations.

²⁶ Cm. Rawson, Jessica: "Western Zhou Archaeology", B: Loewe, Michael, and Shaughnessy, Edward: *The Cambridge History of Ancient China. From the Origins of Civilization to 221 B.C.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, pp. 352-449, p. 371-3.

²⁷ Cf. Hsu and Linduff, p. 92.

²⁸ Cf. *Shang Zhou kaogu*, p. 147.

²⁹ Cf. Chen Quanfang, *Zhouyuan yu Zhou wenhua* (Zhou Plain and Zhou Culture), Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1988, p. 17.

³⁰ Chen Mengjia: "Xi Zhou tongqi duandai", in: *Kaogu* No. 9 (1955), pp. 137-75.

³¹ Cf. Chen Quanfang, op. cit., p. 17.

1. Why should be King Wu's move to Hao definitive?

Despite Xi Bo apparently spent a lot of his time in the strategically preferable Cheng, and even performed sacrifices there, he did *not* move the Zhou capital and sacred center from Qishan. The Altar of Zhou (周社 Zhou she) still remained there. There the omen of a red crow, interpreted as the issue of the Heavenly Mandate to the future King Wen was displayed³². Mozi says that the Altar of Zhou was at the Mount Qi³³. Also Qu Yuan in his *Tian wen* asked: “How could it be done that it was ordered to destroy the altar at Qishan, if the Mandate on the possession of 殷 Yin was issued there?³⁴” This was the second time, when Heaven sent birds to Qishan in order to announce its favor to Zhou King Wen. In his first year, even before his moving to Cheng, phoenixes gathered and sung at the Mount Qi (鳳 feng³⁵, or “purple phoenixes”, 鸞鸞 yuezhuo³⁶).

Qishan continued to be a main sacred place of Zhou, although it would be possible for the Zhou ruler to shift the sacrificial center, say, to the more eastern Liangshan, which was also highly respected and worshiped. Only two generations elapsed since the move of residence by Gugong Danfu, but since this move happened to be so successful, it was enough to bind Zhou fate with the will of Qishan's powerful spirits. A complete removal of the capital from their protection would be too risky for one, who decided to accomplish an assault on his legitimate sovereign. Therefore, Xi Bo's residence in Cheng was nothing more than a marching camp. The same was apparently true to Feng (or Fang).

King Wu probably really spent some time in Hao, preparing his attack on the Shang, but he could not have enough time to establish here a capital (if he actually had intention to!).

King Cheng was challenging between Chengzhou, Feng (Fang) and Zongzhou, and obviously continued to worship the Mount Qi, as his ancestors did: it was there, at the southern slope of the Mount Qi (岐陽 Qi yang) where he took oath with *zhuhou*³⁷. Here he also had a “Hunt at the southern [slope] of Qi”, which was regarded as an important event as well³⁸. So, even if his father planned to withdraw completely from the hereditary residence of Zhou under the Mount Qi farther eastward, King Cheng longed more to the tradition. Probably, this was the sacred status of Qi that made Zhou kings change their mind and not to shift their headquarters to Feng or Hao.

The Mount Qi as a sacred center of Zhou.

There are relatively few witnesses of the outstanding status of the Mount Qi during the Western Zhou period. This may be related to its dramatic change after the move of the Zhou court to the eastern Luoyi – first, it was no more possible to perform any sacred ceremonies in this area, long occupied by unfriendly barbarian tribes, and, second, because the Zhou failure in the West demonstrated that the spirits of Qi can no longer protect them. Therefore, in the sources, edited or created during the Eastern Zhou period Qishan was not given much attention. However, there are some hints, what demonstrate some rudiments of earlier representations about Mount Qi.

1) Hexagram 46 (升 Sheng, “Pushing upward”) of the *Book of Changes*, “shows its subject employed by the king to present his offerings on mount Qi. There will be good fortune; there will be no mistake”³⁹. This statement belongs to the relatively early layer of the *Book of*

³² *Jinben Zhushu jinian: Di Xin: 32; Lüshi chunqiu: Yingtong.*

³³ *Mozi: Fei gong 19.*

³⁴ Cf. Qu Yuan: *Tian wen.*

³⁵ *Jinben Zhushu jinian: Wen Ding: 12.*

³⁶ *Guo yu: Zhou yu.*

³⁷ *Guo yu: Jin yu 8.*

³⁸ Cf. *Zuo zhuan: Zhao: 4; Jinben Zhushu jinian: Chengwang.*

³⁹ *Yi jing: 46; Transl. in: Legge, James: The Book of Changes, in The Sacred Books of China, vol. 16, 1882, p. 159.*

Changes, probably dating back to Western Zhou time. The mount Qi in the *Yi jing* appears to be not simply one of many places, where a king could perform a sacrifice. Royal offerings were mentioned in this text only two more times: in the explications to the 隨 *Sui* (17) and 益 *Yi* (42), both highly auspicious hexagrams. In the first of the two the king was said to present his offerings “in the Western Mountains”⁴⁰, in the second one the location was not given. As far as this is not a record of an event, but an interpretation of a prognostication, which could be made any number of times, one could suggest that Zhou kings performed sacrifices at Qishan regularly.

2) Yu the Great, according to the *Yu gong* chapter of the *Book of History*, started survey and describe mountains starting from the mounts 岍 Qian⁴¹ and 岐 Qi. He proceeded to the first part of his project – the ordering of the 冀州 Jizhou province, embracing the territories of modern 山西 Shanxi and 河北 Hebei provinces, only after “taking measures at the mounts 梁 Liang and 岐 Qi”. These territories themselves, however, did not belong to Jizhou, but to the western province 雍州 Yongzhou. If the *Yu gong*, as long suspected, was a completely Eastern Zhou creation, one would be wondering, why Yu was said to take on the works in the central area only finishing some duties in the West, where he came back again after completing everything in other eight provinces. However, the recently obtained container *Bin gong xu*, dated to the late middle or late Western Zhou witness by its inscription that the myth of Yu regulations of mounts and rivers existed at least so early. It looks like Yu’s starting point was chosen because it coincided with the sacred and political center of western Zhou - Qishan.

3) Mount Qi probably had its own deity – as one may guess, it was the Lord of Qi (岐伯 Qi Bo). However, this deity was not mentioned in any pre-Han text. On the other hand, the fact that it was mentioned in Han and later texts at all, when Qishan was not so much worshiped, suggests that this were the remains of once strong tradition.

3.1) Sima Qian quotes in 司馬相如 Sima Xianru biography his 大人賦 *Da ren fu* (“The Ode of the Great Men”), where Qi Bo is mentioned together with other mighty spirits, such as 句芒 Goumang, 祝融 Zhurong etc., and his office is defined as 尚方 *shangfang* – “The Elder of the Quarters”⁴².

3.2) Qi Bo is given a lot attention in the *Huangdi neijing*⁴³. The whole book is represented as a dialogue between Huangdi and Qi Bo, where the former *asks*, and the later *replies* questions. This means that Qi Bo had to possess enough authority in order to be represented as a teacher of the Yellow Emperor in medical science. Commentators explained, that Qi Bo was a chief physician of the Yellow Emperor, however, this explanation is probably simply based on the interpretation of the book’s context.

3.3) Qi Bo and Huangdi were mentioned together in other sources as inventors of military music (軍樂 *junyue*), which increased the battle spirit of the troops and helped to demoralize enemies⁴⁴. This may point out to Qi Bo’s authority as a deity of war, who helped the Zhou to conquest Shang.

3.4) Especially interesting is the entry in the *Shi ji* treaty about 封 *feng* and 禪 *shan* sacrifices. Sima Qian transmits the words of certain 公王帶 Gongyu Dai, who consulted 漢武帝 Han Wudi about sacrifices on the Mount 泰山 Taishan: “Although Huangdi according to the right time performed 封 *feng* sacrifices on the top of Taishan, the Lord of the Wind (風

⁴⁰ The placename “Western Mountains” could also point to Qishan, if seen from somewhere in the east, whether from Fenghao or Chengzhou areas.

⁴¹ The Mount Qian was evidently a mountain westward of Qi, where the river Qian – a western boundary of the Zhou Plain – took its source.

⁴² Cf. Sima Qian: *Shi ji: Sima Xianru liezhuan*, p. 3059.

⁴³ Cf. *Huangdi neijing*.

⁴⁴ Cf. *Song shu: Zhi, Yue zhi*, p. 588.

后 Feng Hou), the Great of a Barrow (封巨 Fengjü) and the Lord of Qi (岐伯 Qi Bo) *ordered* Huangdi to perform 封 *feng* sacrifice on the Eastern Taishan (東泰 Dongtai), while the 禪 *shan* sacrifices – on the Mount Fan (凡山 Fanshan). This was according to the will of spirits, and that is why he became immortal”. Although authors of some commentaries suggested that Qi Bo was a Huangdi’s subordinate, it seems that one, who could “order” the yellow Emperor, equaled him in standing, if even was not his superior.

Was Zongzhou only a religious center of Zhou?

One, who would accept that Zongzhou was located under the Mount Qi, could argue, that it was a religious center, what is suggested by the proximity of the sacred place and by its name as “The Clan city of Zhou”. The later could mean that its dedication was mainly the performance of ancestral rituals by the members of Zhou ruling clan. However, this would not be confirmed. First, some examples demonstrate that the Zhou had ancestral temples in Feng/Fang and performed clan rituals in Chengzhou as well. Contrarily, inscriptional evidence demonstrates that Zongzhou was first of all a governmental center, although the government was not really divorced from cult activities. What was really separated from it, was the leisure. The kings, probably taking care of their 威儀 *weiyi* (“awe-inspiring appearance”), allowed themselves to relax and amuse only in Feng/Fang area.

The Mount Qi as a tool of power representation.

This consideration is more subjective. I would guess that the construction of Zhou royal palace was also related to the geographical relations under the foot of Qishan (1651 m)⁴⁵. A visitor of royal audience, as described in dozens inscriptions and seen in the example of the palace at Shaochen, entered the palace building through the southern gate and proceeded to the middle yard, turning his face to the north. There he saw the king, who already has taken his place. Staying in the roofless yard, a visitor could see distant mountains, lit by the rays of the raising sun. This spectacle was no doubt impressive, and added to the authority of the Zhou kings. The palace, which was situated northward from the city and closer to the mountains, looked as dominating over the territory. So, one, who was heading to the palace, had a feeling that he goes upwards – an important detail for the representation of power!

Would the Zhou kings move their main palace, such important tool of public relations, to the eastern bank of River Feng, they would not have had such advantages on this relatively flat ground with any mountains northern of it. This would be not dramatic for the traditional inhabitants of plains, who would not have special feelings in respect to the mountains. But for the Zhou people, so early as the memory reached, it was more habitual to live among mountains and hills. Of course, not only the worship of mountain spirits, but also ecological habitudes and a better feeling of safety from invasion in the mountain-protected area were important factors, which might be considered when deciding to keep the capital in the old place.

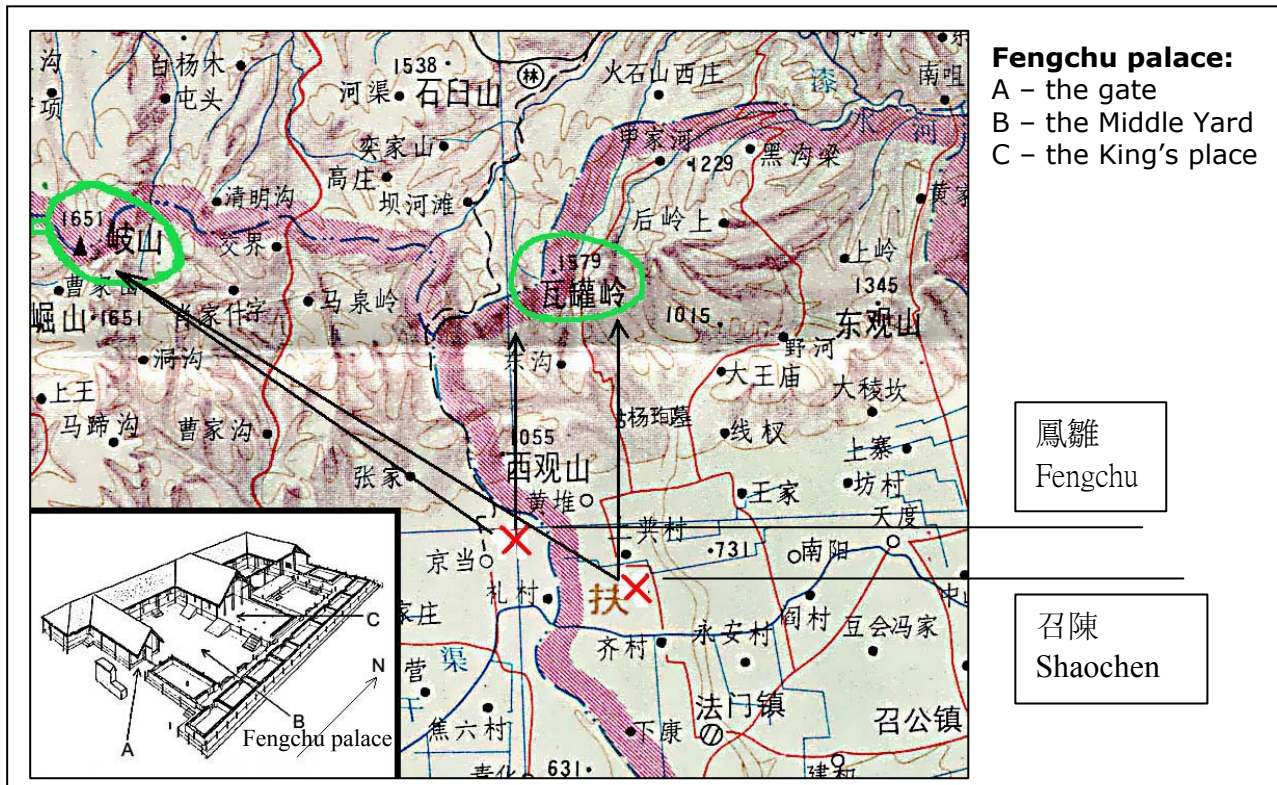
The sacred authority of the Mount Qi and its close correlation to the authority of Zhou dynasty lasted through the whole Western Zhou period. Probably, if the reports on the natural disasters, prognosticating political cataclysms have any validity, it might be that the nature actually played a bad joke with the last Western Zhou king. At least, it was reported that in the second year of King You there was an earthquake in the region of the Tree Rivers of Western Zhou (西周三川 *Xi Zhou san chuan*)⁴⁶. Which rivers were these exactly was specified neither in the *Zuo zhuan*, nor in the *Guo yu*. Only the *Modern Text Bamboo Annals*

⁴⁵ If it is true that Qishan collapsed during the reign of King You, it might be that its top was formerly even higher and better visible.

⁴⁶ *Zuo zhuan*: Zhao 23; *Guo yu*: Zhou yu 1; Sima Qian: *Zhou ben ji*, p. 146.

claims that these were the rivers 涇 Jing, 渭 Wei and 洛 Luo⁴⁷, which dried up and caused the crush of the Mount Qi (岐山崩 *Qi shan ben*)⁴⁸. According to the *Guo yu*, this damage of physical keystones of the Zhou-controlled space was interpreted as the signs of the coming downfall of the Zhou dynasty⁴⁹.

Map II: Zhou Palaces and Mountains



Noteworthy is that the mentioned landmarks, which provided a geographical frame for the Western Zhou main lands, were still the Mount Qi, River Wei and its left tributaries. One might expect also some bad omens from the Capital Hao area, if it really had such status.

Pre-Qin sources of information about Hao.

Which evidences at all let one believe that Hao was Zhou capital?

1). Hao was called 鎬京 Haojing – the Capital of Hao – in the 文王有聲 *Wenwang you sheng* ode of the *Book of Poetry*. Accordingly, King Wen wanted to make his residence (宅 *zhai*) and performed a divination about this choice, but this was King Wu, who effectuated his will⁵⁰.

There is no need to doubt, if King Wu used Hao as his residence. However, the word 京 *jing* in Western Zhou bronze inscriptions was used to designate different places, but not only one capital city. Thus, the eastern capital of Chengzhou and the city of Fang were referred to

⁴⁷ This Luo was, of course, the left tributary of the River Wei, and not the right tributary of Huanghe, where the eastern capital was based on. It follows from the context that all three rivers were related to the Mount Qi – in this relation it sounds quite strange that Luo was one of them. As far as the *Bamboo Annals* is a rather late source, its information cannot be regarded as truly hard evidence. I would guess that the “Three Rivers” probably were these, which formed traditional framework of the Zhou Plain: 涇 Qian, 漆沮 Qi/Ju and 涇 Jing, or any two of them together with 渭 Wei.

⁴⁸ *Jinben Zhushu jinian: Youwang.*

⁴⁹ *Guo yu: Zhou yu 1.*

⁵⁰ Cf. *Shijing: III.I.10.*

as Jing. Moreover, in the late Western Zhou – early Chunqiu time there was a city of Jing south-westward from Chengzhou and northward from the Mount 華 Hua. The capital city of 晉 Jin Dukedom was also called Jing. Therefore, the definition as *jing* does not demonstrate an exclusive status of Hao as the main capital of Zhou.

2). The *Book of Poetry* shows only one other Zhou king residing in Hao. This is the last Western Zhou ruler King You⁵¹. The ode 魚藻 *Yu cao* represents him spending time in *far niente* and drinking feasts. Probably, relocation of the royal residence from Zongzhou to Hao also added to his reputation of irresponsible and careless king. Similarly, the death of King You “under the Mount Li” (驪山 Li shan) eastward from modern Xian, far from any Zhou strongholds, added to his miserable fame.

3). The third text from the *Book of Poetry*, where Hao is mentioned, is 六月 *Liu yue* ode, dedicated to the military campaign of Zhou army under the command of 尹吉甫 Yin Jifu against 玁狁 Xianyun invaders⁵². According to this text, Xianyun attacked the cities of 鎬 Hao and 方 Fang (evidently, the correct name of Fangjing, referred to in bronze inscriptions) from the south, and then moved farther to the north, accessing as far as 涇陽 Jingyang (Southward-of-Jing, i.e. the territories in the northern bank of River 渭 Wei, between Wei and 涇 Jing rivers). Jifu’s army followed the Xianyun to 大原 Taiyuan and came back. Its return was celebrated with a feast. The ode says: “Since setting off until coming back from Hao we traveled eternally-long” (來歸自鎬 · 我行永久 *lai gui zi Hao wo xing yong ju*). This was traditionally interpreted, as if the army set off from Hao and came back there as well. However, Yin Jifu is very likely identified with Xi Bo Jifu 兮白 (伯) 吉父 or 兮甲 Xi Jia, the author of 兮甲盤 *Xi Jia pan* bronze inscription, dated to the 5th year of King Xuan’s reign⁵³. Xi Jia first followed the king in the campaign against the Xianyun, and after that received an order to set off to Chengzhou and the lands of 淮夷 Huaiyi in order to make them restore the payment of their duties. Although it is not known, where this basin was found, some other objects, which probably belonged to the same person, were found in different caches in Fufeng district⁵⁴. This means that Yin Jifu had his residence not in Hao, but in Zhouyuan, near the city of Qi, and his warriors, referred to in the Ode as 諸友 *zhu you* – “all friends” (probably, members of his clan), were situated there as well, so that their “long way” was not from and back to Hao, but to Hao and back from there. This does not mean that there were no other military forces situated in the banks of River Feng. The tripod 多友鼎 *Duo You ding*, belonging to another participant of defense against the Xianyun attacks on the Zhou lands (in the last case – on the eastern capital Chengzhou), was found near 下泉村 Xiayuancun village, 斗門 Doumen commune of 長安 Chang’an district, Shaanxi province⁵⁵. However, there is a difference in the situation of Duo You and Xi Jia: the first one followed and then was cherished by Duke Wu (武公 Wu Gong), who led the armies to rescue Chengzhou, while Xi Jia followed and was received at the audience by the King personally. One could expect that the king, who received in his palace people with much less merits and of a medium social standing, would certainly like to celebrate Duo You, who killed and captured so many enemies, and “saved the Capital Garrison (京師 Jing shi)”. The personal reception, probably, did not take place simply because the king was relatively far from Duo You’s living place, and his trip of about 130 km from Fenghao area to Zongzhou was not

⁵¹ Cf. *Shijing*: II.VII.7.

⁵² Cf. *Shijing*: II.III.3.

⁵³ Cf. *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng*: 10174.

⁵⁴ Cf. *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng*: 00700-00704, 02512, 02656, 04008, 04035, 04426 etc.

⁵⁵ Cf. *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng*: 02835.

possible due to some reasons⁵⁶. Similarly, the ode about Jifu's merits, probably, was preserved in the *Shijing* canon because of his proximity to the court.

Western Zhou lands after the downfall of Western Zhou.

King Ping, who had no own forces to return his invaded homeland, and who fled more safely in the eastern capital of Chengzhou, summoned Lord 襄 Xiang of 秦 Qin to the rank of 諸侯 *zhuhou* and bestowed on him the occupied territories in order to get him interested in their liberation. According to Sima Qian, these were the lands of 岐 Qi and 豐 Feng and farther westward⁵⁷. The *Bamboo Annals* claims that these were the lands of 邠 Bin and 岐 Qi⁵⁸. The *Han shu* confirms the version of Sima Qian, but transmits the toponym of Qi in its older graphic form⁵⁹. Here is to notice that in any of these variants the name of Hao does not appear. Moreover, the landmarks of Feng and Bin were interchangeable, while that of Qi remained unaltered in the both variants.

It is not possible to provide a detailed survey of the development of the Wei River valley in this communication. It should be noted here that the rulers of Qin gradually shifted their capitals from the modern Baoji to Xi'an area. They tended to base them along the Wei River, which used to be an important irrigation and transportation means. They did not attempt to reestablish their own capital in the old Zhou place under the mount Qi due to some other reasons as well. It not only stayed too far from Wei, but the Rong, although controlled by the Qin, did never withdraw completely from the lands under the Mount Qi. On the other hand, during quite a long time Qin stayed a loyal supporter of Zhou kings and did not intend to usurp their kingship, including territorial symbols of Zhou identity. However, Qin looked pragmatically for a better strategic point in order to struggle with its eastern neighbors, until Qin Duke Xiao moved the capital to the former 魏安 Weian city near modern Xi'an on the northern bank of River Wei, and changed its name to 咸陽 Xianyang⁶⁰. As Sima Qian reported, when Qin Shi Huangdi, the first Emperor of Qin selected the place for his capital, he also chose Xianyang, but decided to build his palace on the southern side of Wei, because he "had heard that King Wen's capital was in Feng, King Wu's capital was in Hao. The lands between Feng and Hao are suitable to be the capital of Emperors and Kings"⁶¹.

A memory about the ancient marching camps of the first Zhou kings not far away from the new capital might prove very profitable for the establishment of the Qin empire's own power symbols. If Qin Shihuang ever pronounced this claim, it demonstrated undoubtedly his own intentions to rule the All-under-Heaven.

Under the Han dynasty the name of Xianyang was changed to Chang'an and it became the capital of the new dynasty. Han emperors were likely eager to appropriate Zhou symbols of power in order to legitimate their own rule. Therefore they not only attempted at restorations of Zhou rituals, but also wished to possess physical representations of Zhou might. Finding the "capitals" of Zhou Feng and Hao just few dozens miles away from Changan surely contributed to the construction of the own Han identity as hereditary of Zhou the same way it could work for Qin Shi Huangdi. Moreover, they (and Han Wudi in particular) hunted the lost sacred tripods of Zhou kings, but had no clear idea, where to look for. As far as more than five centuries elapsed since the downfall of Western Zhou, the memories about the city under the Mount Qi were generally lost – if not, Wudi certainly would enterprise an excavation in the Zhouyuan area, and the hoards of Fufeng and Qishan

⁵⁶ Perhaps he should stay there in order to watch over this area, awaiting new attacks from the foreigners.

⁵⁷ Sima Qian: *Shi ji, Qin ben ji*, p. 179.

⁵⁸ *Jinben Zhushu jinian: Pingwang*.

⁵⁹ Ban Gu: *Han shu: Dili zhi*, p. 1641.

⁶⁰ Sima Qian: *Shi ji: Qin benji*, p. 203, 239.

⁶¹ Sima Qian: *Shi ji: Qin Shihuang benji*, p. 256.

districts would be not stay under the ground until the XX century. This would probably save lives to some people, who gave Wudi false directions about where the vessels may be found.

However, learned people of the Han epoch knew that Feng and Hao rather marked the far extension of the Zhou heartlands. In the fourth year of Han 宣帝 Xuandi (58 BC) a bronze tripod 尸臣鼎 *Shi Chen ding* was discovered westward of the Mount Qi. 張敞 Zhang Chang, a governor of 京兆 Jingtiao district, who “loved ancient scripts” was invited to comment upon its inscription. He said: “I have heard that first of the Zhou ancestors was Hou Ji. Hou Ji received his lands at Tai, Gong Liu moved to Bin, the Great King founded the state [in the territories under] Qi and Liang [mountains], the Kings Wen and Wu extended it to Feng and Hao. The territory *between* Mounts Qi and Liang, Feng and Hao is the old residence of Zhou, so it is natural that caches of sacrificial objects, altars and ancestral temples are found there”⁶².

Conclusions.

The city of Hao, which already existed before the arrival of Zhou, probably served a military base to Zhou King Wu, when he was preparing to attack the Shang. However, similarly to King Wen’s lager in Cheng/Bi, it was a temporary camp, and not a true capital. After the conquest Zhou kings did not use Hao as capital until the very end of Western Zhou. However, the site was inhabited through the whole Western Zhou period, but probably differed not too much from some other sites in the densely populated Wei River basin.

The neighboring Feng/Fang city hosted Zhou kings from time to time, whether on the way between Western and Eastern capitals, or when they visited it for recreational goals. It was not an administrative center of Zhou as well.

The old city of Qi since the reign of King Cheng was usually referred to as Zongzhou, or Zhou. Here, as before, the political, administrative, religious, social and cultural center was located.

This adjustment of the Western Zhou map would help us to restore a logical balance in our understanding of the role of a capital city in the Zhou state organization. Similarly it will allow us to better understand the roles of Zhouyuan’s inhabitants – the authors of bronze inscriptions and top elite representatives – in the Zhou government and in the development of Zhou culture.

Attachment:

Table I. Residences of the Zhou rulers.

Rulers	No	Locations	Comments
后稷 Hou Ji	1	Received lands in 郟 Tai ⁱ	武功 Wugong district, Shaanxi province
公劉 Gong Liu	4	豳 (邠) Bin ⁱⁱ ; moved from the banks of 漆 Qi and 沮 Ju (or 漆沮 Qiju) across 渭 Wei to the south ⁱⁱⁱ .	North of 武功 Wugong district, Shaanxi province
慶節 Qingjie	5	Established “state” (國 <i>guo</i>) at 豳 Bin ^{iv} .	
古公亶父 Gugong Danfu	13	Passed by 梁 Liang Mountain, crossed 漆沮 Qi Ju, entered 周原 Zhouyuan southern of 岐 Qi Mountain ^v . Established 岐邑 Qi yi – City of Qi, or 岐周 Qi Zhou.	North of 扶風 Fufeng district, Shaanxi province. Palace ruins near 鳳雛 Fengchu village.
季歷 Ji Li	14	Capital in 岐邑 Qi yi. Conquered a state of 程 Cheng in the battle at 畢 Bi ^{vi} . Founded a city at 程 Cheng ^{vii} .	“The ancient city of 安陵 Anling is located 21 <i>li</i> eastward from 咸陽 Xianyang in 雍州 Xiangzhou. This is the Zhou city of Cheng ^{viii} ”

⁶² Ban Gu: *Han shu: Dili zhi*, p. 1251.

西伯昌 Xi Bo Chang/ King 文 Wen	15	Was born at 岐周 Qi Zhou ^{ix} . Capital and the Altar of Zhou 周社 Zhou she in 岐邑 Qi yi ^x . Auspicious omens at the mount Qi ^{xi} .	
		Residence and military camp at 畢程 Bi Cheng ^{xii} . Performed sacrifices there ^{xiii} . Was buried there ^{xiv} .	
		竹書紀年: Built 豐邑 Feng yi ^{xv} . 司馬遷: moved there the capital (都 du) ^{xvi} .	
發 Fa/ King 武 Wu	16	竹書紀年: Moved his residence to 鎬 Hao ^{xvii} . 司馬遷: moved there the capital (都 du) ^{xviii} .	At the bank of the 鎬池 Haochi lake few dozens li southern from the Han capital 長安 Chang'an ^{xix} .
King 成 Cheng	17	Capital at 周 Zhou ^{xx} /宗周 ^{xxi} . Performed sacrifices, issued orders, received zhuhou and foreign visitors there ^{xxii} .	Near modern 洛陽 Luoyang.
		Took oath with zhuhou at the southern slope of the Mount Qi (岐陽 Qi yang) ^{xxiii} . Had a 岐陽大蒐 "Hunt at the southern [slope] of Qi" ^{xxiv} .	
		Visited 豐 Feng ^{xxv} .	
		Founded 洛邑 Luo Yi (新邑 Xin yi, 成周 Chengzhou). Established his residence (宅 zhai) there ^{xxvi} . Made it his Eastern capital (東都 dong du) ^{xxvii} . Received zhuhou at the audiences ^{xxviii} . Performed sacrifices there ^{xxix} .	
King 康 Kang	18	Capital at Zongzhou?	
		Received zhuhou at 豐 Feng ^{xxx} .	
King 昭 Zhao	19	Capital?	
King 穆 Mu	20	Capital in 西鄭 Western Zheng ^{xxxii} .	On the eastern bank of 淮 Huai River, 安徽 Anhui province ^{xxxiii} .
		Capital at Zongzhou? ^{xxxii}	
		Gathered zhuhou at 塗山 Mount Tu. Ordered 呂 Liu to be hou in 豐 Feng ^{xxxiv} .	
King 共 Gong	21	Capital?	
King 懿 Yih	22	King moved from Zongzhou to 犬丘 Quanqiu/ 槐里 Huaili ^{xxxv} .	扶風 Fufeng district, Shaanxi province. The name changed from Quanqu to Huaili in the 3 rd year of Han Gaozu (204 BC).
King 孝 Xiao	23	Residence in 犬丘 Quanqiu ^{xxxvi} ?	
King 夷 Yi	24	Capital?	
厲 Li	25	Capital?	晉 Jin territory.
		Lived in exile in 彘 Zhi	
		Xianyun attacked the western suburb of 宗周 Zongzhou ^{xxxvii} .	
宣 Xuan	26	Capital at Zongzhou?	Did this omen signify the soon decay of Zhou?
		Gathered zhuhou at the Eastern capital ^{xxxviii} .	
		There was a rabbit (兔 tu) dancing at 鎬京 Haojing ^{xxxix} .	
幽 You	27	Residence at 鎬 Hao ^{xl} .	

	<p>竹書紀年: People of 申 Shen and 鄩 Zeng together with 犬戎 Quanrong entered 宗周 and killed the king^{xli}. 司馬遷: People of 申 Shen and 鄩 Zeng together with 犬戎 Quanrong under the Mount Li 驪山^{xliii}.</p>	<p>About 20 km eastward from modern Xi'an. Qin Shi Huangdi mausoleum location.</p>
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ⁱ Cf. *Shijing* III.II.1, Sima Qian, *Shi ji: Zhou ben ji*, p. 112.

ⁱⁱ Cf. *Shijing* III.II.6, Sima Qian, *Shi ji: Zhou ben ji*, p. 112.

ⁱⁱⁱ Cf. *Shijing* III.II.6, Sima Qian, *Shi ji: Zhou ben ji*, p. 113.

^{iv} Sima Qian, *Shi ji: Zhou ben ji*, p. 113.

^v Sima Qian, *Shi ji: Zhou ben ji*, p. 114, *Zhuangzi, Za bian, Rang wang* part 28, *Jinben Zhushu jinian*, juan I, *Wu yi*.

^{vi} Cf. *Jinben Zhushu jinian: Wu Yi*.

^{vii} Cf. *Jinben Zhushu jinian: Wen Ding*: 5.

^{viii} 史記正義: 括地志 *Shi ji zheng yi: Gua di zhi*: "The ancient city of 安陵 Anling is located 21 *li* eastward from 咸陽 Xianyang in 雍州 Xiangzhou. This is the Zhou city of Cheng" (cf. *Shi ji*: p. 3286).

^{ix} *Mengzi: Li Lou*: 2.

^x *Jinben Zhushu jinian: Di Xin*: 32; *Mengzi: Liang Huai wang*: 2; *Lüshi chungju: Yingtong*; *Mozi: Fei gong* 19, Cf. *Qu Yuan: Tian wen*: "How could it be done that it was ordered to destroy the altar at Qishan, if the Mandate on the possession of 殷 Yin was issued there?"

^{xi} Phoenixes (鳳 *feng*, or "purple phoenixes", 鸞 *luan* *yuezhuo*) gathered and sung, cf. *Jinben Zhushu jinian: Wen Ding*: 12; *Guo yu: Zhou yu*.

^{xii} Cf. *Jinben Zhushu jinian: Di Xin*: 29, 31.

^{xiii} Cf. *Jinben Zhushu jinian: Di Xin*: 6.

^{xiv} Cf. *Jinben Zhushu jinian: Cheng wang*: 1, *Yu Zhou shu: 作雒解 Zuo Luo jie*, *Mengzi: Li Lou*: 2.

^{xv} Cf. *Shijing*: III.I.10; *Jinben Zhushu jinian: Di Xin*: 35.

^{xvi} Sima Qian, *Shiji: Zhou benji*, p. 118.

^{xvii} Cf. *Jinben Zhushu jinian: Di Xin*: 36; Cf. *Shijing*: III.I.10.

^{xviii} Sima Qian: *Shi ji: Qin ben ji*, p. 256.

^{xix} Cf. commentary of 徐廣 Xu Guang to Sima Qian: *Shiji: Zhou ben ji*, p. 118.

^{xx} Cf. *Shangshu: Shao gao*: 王朝步自周，則至于豐。

^{xxi} Cf. *Jinben Zhushu jinian: Cheng wang*: 19, 33.

^{xxii} Cf. *Jinben Zhushu jinian: Cheng wang*: 1, 3, 7-10, 19, 25, 30, 33

^{xxiii} *Guo yu: Jin yu* 8.

^{xxiv} Cf. *Zuo zhuan: Zhao*: 4; *Jinben Zhushu jinian: Cheng wang*: 6.

^{xxv} Cf. *Shangshu: Shao gao*; *Jinben Zhushu jinian: Cheng wang*: 7, 11.

^{xxvi} Cf. *Shangshu: Shao gao*.

^{xxvii} Cf. *Jinben Zhushu jinian: Cheng wang*: 7.

^{xxviii} Cf. *Jinben Zhushu jinian: Cheng wang*: 7, 25.

^{xxix} Cf. *Shangshu: Shao ga*; *Jinben Zhushu jinian: Cheng wang*: 18.

^{xxx} Cf. *Jinben Zhushu jinian: Kang wang*: 1, 12; *Zuo zhuan: Zhao*: 4.

^{xxxi} Cf. *Jinben Zhushu jinian: Mu wang*: 1.

^{xxxii} Cf. *Jinben Zhushu jinian: Mu wang*: 13.

^{xxxiii} Cf. *Zuo zhuan: Zhao* 4; *Jinben Zhushu jinian: Mu wang*: 39.

^{xxxiv} Cf. *Jinben Zhushu jinian: Mu wang*: 51.

^{xxxv} Cf. *Jinben Zhushu jinian: Yih wang*: 15

^{xxxvi} Cf. Sima Qian: *Shi ji: Qin ben ji*, p. 177 (Quanqiu people told King Xiao about Feizi's abilities to raise horses).

^{xxxvii} Cf. *Jinben Zhushu jinian: Li wang*: 14.

^{xxxviii} Cf. *Jinben Zhushu jinian: Xuan wang*: 19.

^{xxxix} Cf. *Jinben Zhushu jinian: Xuan wang*: 30

^{xl} Cf. *Shijing*: II.VII.7.

^{xli} Cf. *Jinben Zhushu jinian: You wang*: 11.

^{xlii} Cf. Sima Qian: *Shiji: Zhou ben ji*: 149.