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The Shang-Zhou Transition:  
Immanence, Power, and the Micropolitics of Encounter

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the  
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
in Anthropology

by

Andrew Elijah MacIver

2023

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## ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Shang-Zhou Transition:  
Immanence, Power, and the Micropolitics of Encounter

by

Andrew Elijah MacIver

Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology

University of California, Los Angeles, 2023

Professor Min Li, Chair

At the end of the second millennium BC, the Late Shang state (ca. 1250–1046 BC) was one of the most powerful polities in the ancient world, exerting substantial influence throughout early China from their capital at Anyang (Yinxu). Through the transition from the Late Shang to the Western Zhou, the political landscape experienced a deep rupture and a profound realignment through the turn of the first millennium BC. This significant shift from the Shang state at Anyang to the Zhou (ca. 1046-221 BC) centered in the Guanzhong and Luoyang Basins held immense implications for trajectories of social change in early China. Systematic investigations into the Shang-Zhou transition remain limited in anthropological archaeology. The nature of the impact of this transition on communities caught within a collapsing Shang state and an expanding Zhou state, moreover, is poorly understood.

Through the development and application of an archaeology of immanence, the objective of this dissertation is to map the constellations of power that were integral to the processes

underlying the Shang-Zhou transition. I engage in a wide-ranging archaeological synthesis of published materials on the social, political, and economic dynamics of early China supplemented by pottery analyses of utilitarian pottery vessels. I argue that the transition is an ongoing accumulation of interrelated events and encounters emerging throughout early China during the late second and early first millennia BC. In elucidating sociopolitical dynamics in the Shang and Zhou periods, I put forward the concept of an *affective state*. In this model, a state is a political form always in process, incessantly changing and, critically, a historically contingent form that is beholden to the myriad of human and non-human beings that occupy the landscape, their becomings, and their embodied potentialities. I also contend that the complex, overlapping social and economic networks interwoven in what would become the Zhou ancestral landscape provided fertile grounds for the rise of the Western Zhou state. Through a framework focusing on trauma, I also demonstrate how the rise of the Western Zhou society was contingent on the becomings of the Shang people in the wake of conquest.

\*This dissertation contains images of human remains.

This dissertation of Andrew Elijah MacIver is approved.

Monica L. Smith

Christian E. Peterson

P. Jeffrey Brantingham

Lothar von Falkenhausen

Min Li, Chair

To Simeiqi and Thomas

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## Chapter 1: Introducing a Transition

In the eleventh century BC, the political landscape of early China experienced a violent rupture when the Zhou and their coalition of highland allies conquered the Late Shang state (ca. 1250-1046 BC) at Anyang (Yinxu) (see Li F. 2006, 2018; Li M. 2018 for more on the Zhou conquest). According to later historical narratives, a rising Zhou state situated in the Guanzhong Basin in Shaanxi became the preeminent power in Northwest China at the end of the second millennium BC (see Li F. 2018). Prior to the first Zhou conquest to reach Anyang, the Zhou coalition attempted an initial campaign targeting the Shang homeland but turned back. The historical record of an initial attempt of a military campaign against the Shang homeland underlines what will be a central theme in this dissertation: the Shang-Zhou transition extended beyond a single moment of conquest and is better thought of as a complex process defined by a myriad of events and encounters.

According to the *Shiji* “Zhou Benji,” two years after this abortive campaign, a military force emerged from the highlands. The coalition, led by King Wu of the Zhou, was composed of various allied powers originating from the greater Guanzhong Basin region—where the Zhou were now firmly entrenched with their capitals at Zhouyuan and Feng-Hao—and the surrounding highlands.<sup>1</sup> Crossing the Yellow River at Mengjin on the northern fringe of the Luoyang Basin, the Zhou allies met the Shang army led by the last Shang king, Di Xin (Zhòu 纣) at Muye (figure 1.1):

When Emperor Zhòu heard that King Wu had come, he also raised a force of 700,000 people to resist king Wu. King Wu ordered the [Grand] Tutor, Shang-fu, to lead one-hundred warriors and to provoke a battle by having a great troop of men charge Emperor Zhòu’s host. Even though Zhòu’s host was massive, none of them had the will to fight. They all desired that King Wu enter the capital promptly. Zhòu’s host all turned their weapons around and fought their way to the capital,

---

<sup>1</sup> The evidence for a highland coalition of diverse polities and lineages is found in bronze inscriptions, which often cite how the owner’s ancestors participated in the campaign against the Shang (e.g., the *Li gui*), vessels produced in post-conquest Anyang commemorating the Zhou victory (see Li M. 2021; Li and Yue 2015), the diverse lineages that populated Western Zhou capitals (e.g., Ma 2009), and the many subsidiary polities that occupied the Guanzhong Basin and the surrounding regions during the Western Zhou period (Li F. 2006).

opening the way for King Wu. King Wu charged and Zhòu's soldiers all collapsed and rebelled against Zhòu. Zhòu fled back to the capital, climbed to the top of the Lutai 鹿台 (Deer Terrace), put on his jade suit, and immolated himself (*Shiji* "Zhou Benji", translated by Cheng et al. 2018:130-131, original translation has been changed to pinyin).

Transmitted accounts, such as this passage from the *Shiji*, are centuries removed from the event of conquest. However, bronze inscriptions from the earliest period of the Western Zhou state indicate that later historical accounts of King Wu's conquest were derived from a long tradition formed early in the Western Zhou period, such as retold on the Li *gui* vessel (JC:4231):

When King Wu rectified [=defeated] Shang, it was on *jiazi* day (*ganzhi* no. 1) at dawn. Jupiter was correctly in a favorable position. Accordingly, we were able to learn of the securing of Shang. On *xinwei* day (*ganzhi* no. 8), the King was at Jian (?) garrison; he bestowed upon me, Li, Scribe of the Right, bronze used to cast for my honored forebear Tan this precious ritual vessel (translated by Pankenier 2016:11).

Vessels like the Li *gui* were commissioned by those who participated in the conquest (or their descendants) and made for commemorative purposes.

According to traditional accounts, the conquest of the Shang by the forces led by King Wu was the first of two military campaigns targeting Anyang (in addition to the initial abortive campaign). Following the death of King Wu, the member of the Shang royal house, Wu Geng, that the Zhou installed as a nominal ruler in the wake of the first conquest began to resist Zhou rule. The *Shiji* ("Zhou Benji") also records that the Zhou overseers left in the Shang homeland, Guanshu and Caishu, and their forces rebelled; however, other records indicate that these Zhou lords were the victims of the Shang resistance (Li F. 2018). Under the leadership of the Duke of Zhou, the Zhou forces aligned with the royal court in Guanzhong launched another campaign into the Henei region and further east to quell the resistance and establish its dominance over the eastern regions.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> The region between the Taihang Mountains and the lower Archaic Yellow River in the Central Plains largely under the sway of the Late Shang state at Anyang during the late second millennium BC (see Li M. 2018).

Further, archaeological evidence of the conquests includes the dissemination of Anyang-produced bronzes throughout the Zhou world, the continued operation of Anyang workshops after the first conquest for the production of victory bronzes for the Zhou patrons, and the rise of Zhou-affiliated regional states throughout the former Shang homeland (see Ch. 5).

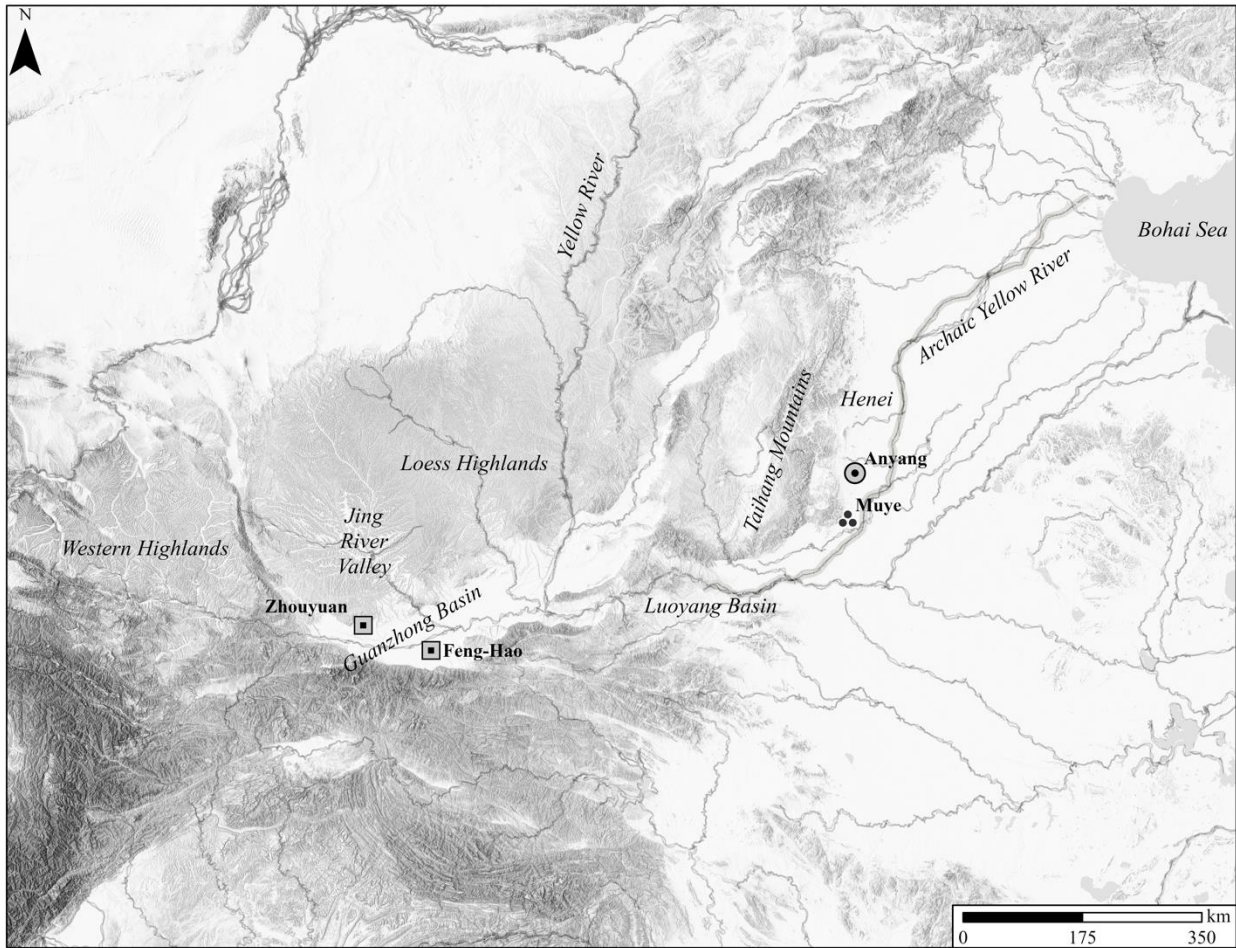


Figure 1.1. Geography of the Shang-Zhou transition.

The objective of this dissertation is to map the shifting constellations of power integral to the processes underlying the Shang-Zhou transition. I will also investigate the ways these power dynamics of the Shang-Zhou transition permeated settlements with distinct positionality in regional networks and the ways that the micropolitics active within the ordinary lifeways of these

settlements affected macropolitical processes.<sup>3</sup> My primary questions are 1) As revealed by the material record, what were the factors that historically conditioned the constellations of power from which the Late Shang and Western Zhou emerged? 2) What material practices were implicated in the rise and maintenance of the Shang and Zhou states? 3) What were the encounters—as evidenced in the material record—that caused the decomposition of Shang structures of power and the emergence of the Zhou state?

### **The Shang-Zhou Transition**

The archaeology of Shang civilization (ca. 1600–1046 BC) holds a seminal place in the development of the discipline of the non-Western world in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (Li J. 1977; Chang 1980, 1983). At the height of its power of the Late Shang state during the late second millennium BC, it was one of the most powerful polities in the ancient world, exerting substantial influence within regional networks from their capital at Anyang (Yinxu) (see Campbell 2018, Chang 1983, Jing et al. 2013, Keightley 1999, Li 2018, Liu and Chen 2012). While Anyang constituted a singular central place for the Shang state, the Western Zhou state (ca. 1046-771 BC) was characterized by an extensive network of urban centers and subsidiary states spread throughout northern China (Falkenhausen 2006, Li F. 2013). It is important to note the Shang in Henei and the Zhou in Shaanxi were separated by months of travel over difficult terrain.

The complex landscape of routes, alliances, and polities that materialized as the Zhou expanded and solidified their control over northern China would set the stage for complex political dynamics during the Western Zhou period, followed by the competition between regional states during the Eastern Zhou period, and, eight hundred years later, the foundation of the earliest

---

<sup>3</sup> Micropolitics is a foundational framework in the work of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari. It “refers to the barely perceived transitions in power that occur in and through situated encounters” (Bissel 2016:397). Brian Massumi (2015:79) notes that the micropolitical orients us towards “the generative moment of experience.”

imperial dynasties (Li F. 2013, Li M. 2018, Rawson 1999, Shaughnessy 1999). The collapse of Shang networks of power and the realignment of the sociopolitical order by the Western Zhou state gave rise to many of the political institutions later dynasties in China attempted to emulate (see Falkenhausen 2006, Li F. 2013, Rawson 1999, Shaughnessy 1999, Wang 1917). Zhou society played a pivotal role in shaping multiple dimensions of Chinese society and culture, including statecraft, classic moral principles, cultural norms, writing, ritual, and social and historical memory (Falkenhausen 2006, Li F. 2013, Li M. 2018, Rawson 1999, Shaughnessy 1999, Wang 1917). Relations of power between ruling elites and non-elites—central to successive political regimes—were expanded and codified as Zhou elite culture spread with the Zhou state (Falkenhausen 2006, Li F. 2006, Shaughnessy 1999).

While the rise of the Zhou political tradition (ca. 1046–221 BC) played a critical role in laying the foundations of classical society and culture in early China, systematic investigations into the Shang-Zhou transition remain limited in anthropological archaeology. The nature of the impact of this transition on communities caught within a collapsing Shang state and an expanding Zhou state, moreover, is poorly understood. Beyond conquest, the foundation of Zhou urban centers and military colonies, and the forced resettlement of Shang lineages (Li F. 2013, Li M. 2018, 2021), the avenues by which the power shifts of the Shang-Zhou transition penetrated the social fabric of settlements are unclear. Through a wide-ranging archaeological synthesis of published materials on the social, political, and economic dynamics of early China supplemented by pottery analyses of the *li*-tripod cooking vessel,<sup>4</sup> this dissertation provides insights into how local communities experienced and mediated the rupture of the Shang-Zhou transition in distinct

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<sup>4</sup> A quintessential cooking technology in early China. While most instances of pottery analysis in this dissertation are of the *li* vessel, other daily use vessels are also considered when interpreting the socio-technical dynamics of the transition.

contexts. While other artifact classes, including bronzes and jades, were central in the sociopolitical and economic dynamics of Bronze Age China, pottery is the material focus of this dissertation given the ubiquity of ceramics in residential contexts throughout the political spectrum.<sup>5</sup> I also synthesize published data on urbanism and social relationships, networks of exchange, craft production, and political developments and inter-polity interaction.

Expanding on approaches of affect and power rooted in the work of Gilles Deleuze, Félix Guattari, Lauren Berlant, Michel Foucault, and other poststructuralist and affect scholars, states are conceived of as apparatuses of capture ever in the process of becoming (sensu Deleuze and Guattari 1987).<sup>6</sup> In this model, power is an *affect* produced in the process of orienting multiplicities of heterogeneous bodies (both human and non-human) towards the actualization of structures of power. Power, then, is a component of an active process of social arrangement, or the capture of these multiplicities within a structure that limits the capacities of bodies to undermine these structures. It is produced in a force of encounter and perpetuated in the repetition of these encounters.

It is along these affective routes that power structures also decompose. For example, while the co-presence of potters, clay, technical knowledge, routes of travel, traditions, and habits could be oriented in a way that reifies the capacity of an existing hierarchy to act (and continually reenacted each time these components come together), specific events and actions (e.g., changes in materials, displacement of potters, intergenerational loss of technical knowledge, etc.) could also escape these power structures in a way that ruptures the social fabric in which this multiplicity

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<sup>5</sup> Although I do draw on data from the exchange and use of other objects where appropriate, especially bronzes.

<sup>6</sup> Affect is a burgeoning theoretical field in the humanities and social sciences and commonly defined as the capacity to affect and be affected. While there are many divergent approaches to affect, a large amount of contemporary affect theory is derived from the line of Deleuze and Guattari, who draw heavily from Baruch de Spinoza (see Ch. 2).

is encountered. Moreover, following Deleuze and Guattari (1987), the processes of reification (reterritorialization) and decomposition (deterritorialization) always act in concert, such that an apparatus of capture is continually in a process of change.

The Shang-Zhou transition is a complex accumulation of events in which the forces generated by encounters between diverse communities within complex local and regional networks precipitated a rupture in the social fabric of early China. Further, these encounters are not found at the traditionally conceived macro-level, but rather the micropolitical plane. In other words, in the ordinary affects “that [conduct] a force and maps connections, routes, and disjunctures. They are a kind of contact zone where the overdeterminations of circulations, events, conditions, technologies, and flows of power literally take place” (Stewart 2007:3).

This dissertation then starts in the middle of relations between the heterogeneous elements that occupied ancient China, between a lineage and a settlement and a potter and clay and the myriad bodies and expressions that constituted them. It examines the affects produced in the unfolding and folding of these relations and how they are directly implicated in the construction of pervasive inequalities as well as their dissolution. The Shang-Zhou transition is then not considered only as conquests of the Shang by the Zhou; rather, the focus shifts from linear causality towards complex affective processes that leave specific traces on the social landscape and imbue subsequent events with variable degrees of historical contingency. To comprehend a monumental geopolitical event like the Shang-Zhou transition, it is imperative to work within a framework that accounts for how power contingently operates and emerges at multiple scales. This dissertation proposes that the Shang demise and the Zhou ascendance are deeply interrelated processes animated by a vibrant landscape of encounters between differing assemblages (multiplicities) of materials, bodies, and expressions taking place over a long temporal span that covers the Late

Shang period and extends deep into the Western Zhou period.

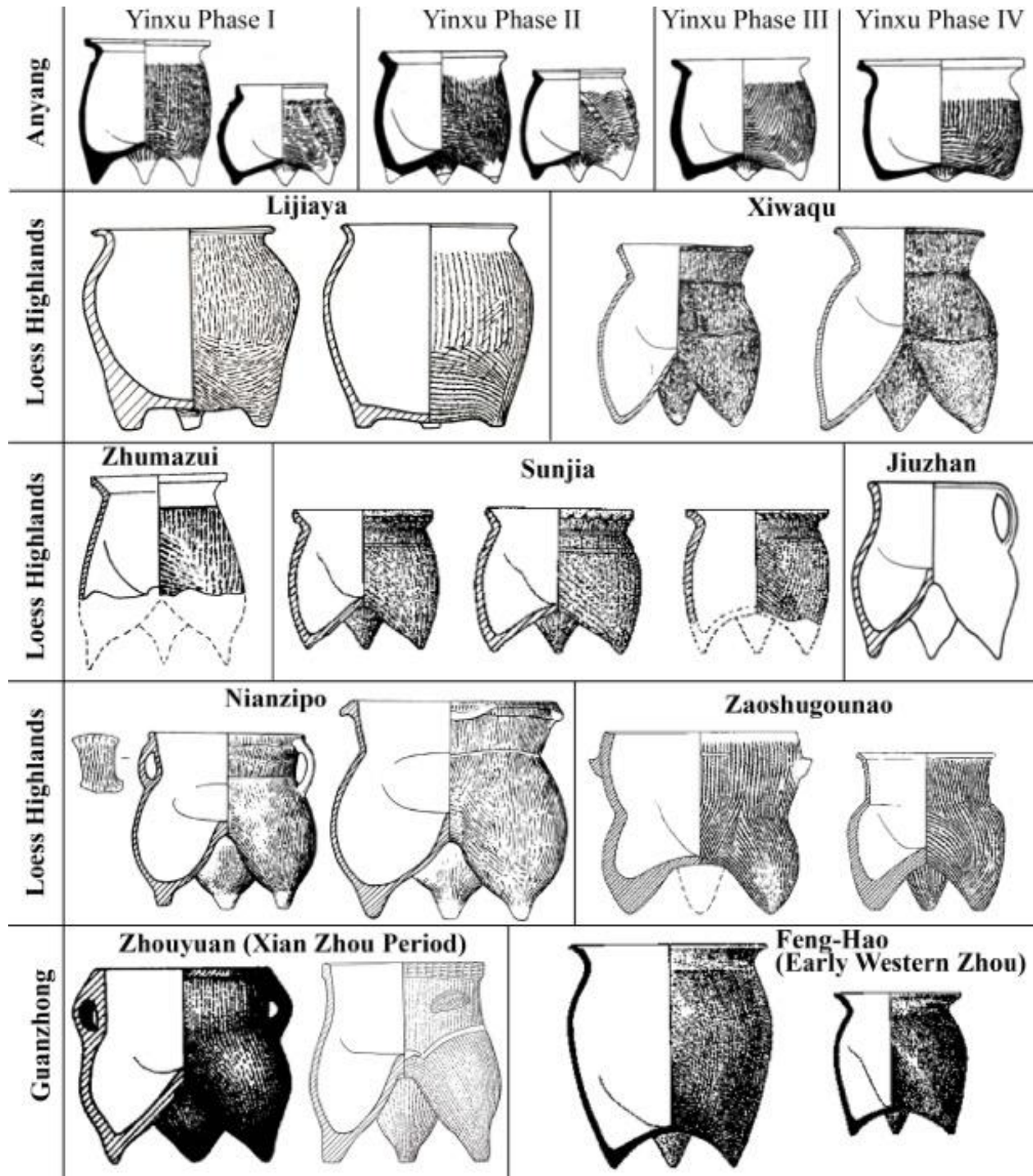


Figure 1.2. *Li* tripod cooking vessels. Anyang vessels from Zhongguo (2003). Lijiaya vessels from Shaanxi (2013). Xiwaqu vessels from Shaanxi (2007). Zhumazui vessels from Beijing and Shaanxi (2000). Sunjia vessels from Lei (2010). Jiuzhan vessel from Wang and Shui (1997). Nianzipo vessels from Zhongguo (2007). Zaoshugounao vessels from Xibei et al. (2012). Zhouyuan vessels from Shaanxi (1984) (left) and Shaanxi et al. (2010) (right). Feng-Hao vessels from Zhongguo (2004).

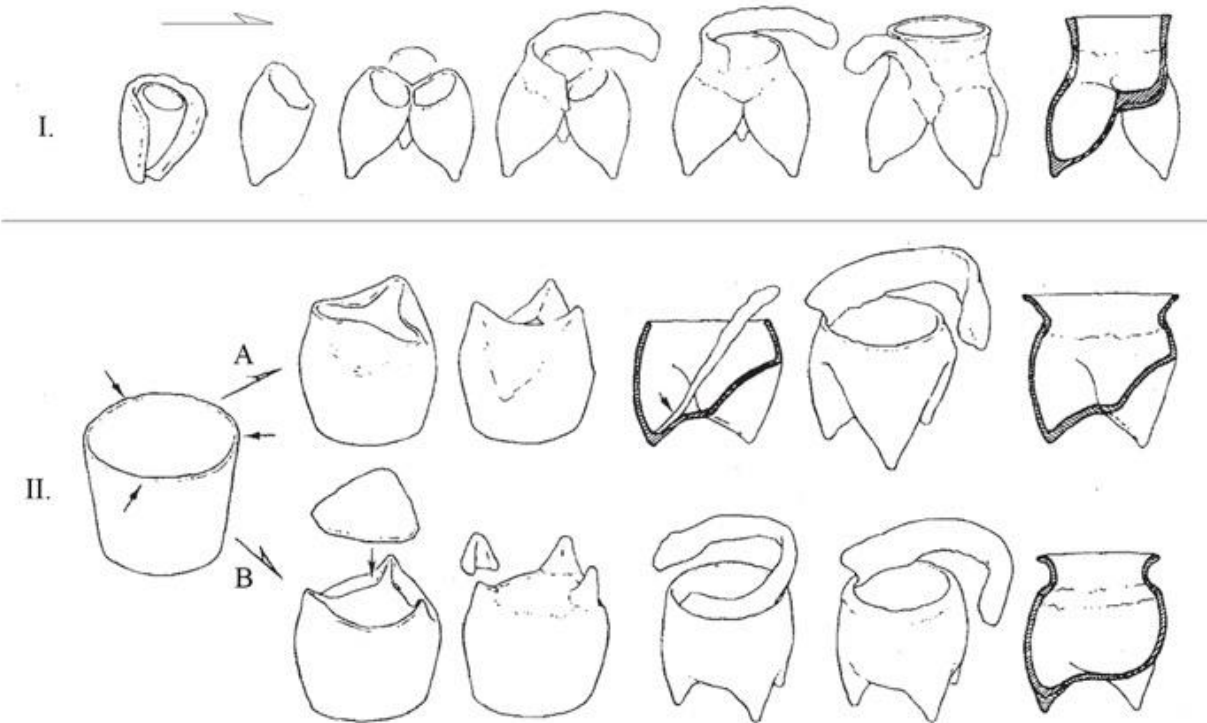


Figure 1.3. Production sequence of the *daizu li* (top) and the *biedang li* (bottom) (from Hu 2000).

### Culinary Forms and Social Transition

While I synthesize published data on urbanism, social and economic networks, and sociopolitical dynamics to examine these encounters and their affects, my analysis of material traditions—most prominently culinary traditions—is also important in providing a nuanced understanding of the emergence of the Shang-Zhou transition and its unfolding in everyday lives. In this dissertation, the production of *li* tripod pottery vessels and other utilitarian vessels is considered to be a prominent intersection between regional sociopolitical processes, local lifeways, and social networks. In China during the second and first millennia BC, craft production provided potent pathways for reifying and negotiating social hierarchies and power structures, shaping identities, and maintaining social relationships (e.g., Haapanen 2005, Reinhart 2018).

The *li* vessel existed in diverse forms throughout the many archaeological cultures of Bronze Age China with standardized styles common in settlements affiliated with the Late Shang

and Western Zhou states (figures 1.2, 1.3). The *li* vessel was a central component of the culinary traditions in early China, often being the most abundant ceramic vessel found in Bronze Age sites. Intimately related to craft production, foodways were potent sources of tradition, identity, and power in early China (Li 2018, Sterckx 2011). Bronze Age burial and ritual assemblages are dominated by bronze and ceramic cooking and drinking vessels across the sociopolitical spectrum (e.g., Zhang 2015, Zhongguo 2014), which reveals the foundational nature of foodways in religion and society. The *li* vessel was an especially important assemblage in constructing and maintaining the material expression of foodways in ordinary life, as evidenced by the preponderance of *li* vessels with distinct production technologies in Bronze Age sites (e.g., Lei 2010). While the *li* vessel as a technology persisted through the Shang-Zhou transition, evidence of both Western Zhou attempts of standardizing *li* vessel production technologies and the continuance of diverse local and hybrid forms (e.g., Jaffe et al. 2018, Wang 2012) reveals that the *li* vessel was a prominent site for power projection and a technocultural reserve of tradition and identity. Throughout this dissertation, I turn to the technologies and traditions of *li* vessels and other daily-use vessels to assist in elucidating various aspects of the Shang-Zhou transition.

### **Craft Production and Social Transition**

While the ascendance of the Zhou held significant ramifications for the development of regional networks and the terrain of the political landscape in early China, much about the impact of the Shang-Zhou transition on local social organization and material traditions remains unknown. Some Late Shang traditions—including ceramic traditions found at Anyang, the use of “waist pits” (*yaokeng*) in burials, Shang-derived bronze traditions—survived into the Western Zhou period and, in some regions, deep into the Eastern Zhou period (770–221 BC).<sup>7</sup> In the social milieu of the late

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<sup>7</sup> Waist pits are small pits at the bottom of burials constructed under the primary interred individual.

second and early first millennia BC, craft production assemblages become especially important in embedding power structures within everyday lives and affecting a social landscape.

An overview of craft production technologies in subordinate Zhou regional states indicates that local customs also continued in the face of the Zhou expansion. This was due to variable reasons, including local cultural resistance, inconsistent Zhou regional administration, and shifting regional alliances that facilitated the perseverance of local sociocultural groups during the early Western Zhou period (Falkenhausen 2006, Jaffe et al. 2018, Wang 2012). Craft production was a central component of elite lifeways in early Chinese centers and a potent sphere in which non-elites negotiated their sociopolitical positions (e.g., Reinhart 2018).

As the Zhou formed in Shaanxi and expanded within the ruptured networks of the Late Shang period, the Zhou came into contact with a vibrant landscape of diverse material traditions, as represented by the numerous traditions of the *li* tripod cooking vessel, which are derived from the highland cultures of northwestern China. *Li* vessels made by divergent production techniques are found in cultures throughout northern China during the second and first millennia BC (figures 2, 3); in addition, these vessels are considered among the diagnostic vessels of the Shang and Zhou cultures (Jaffe et al. 2018, Li 2018, Song 2009b, Zhang 2004, Chong and Lei 2008, Zhongguo 2005, Xu 2010). While each of these pottery traditions can be understood as an expression of a culinary tradition, there were marked differences in both production techniques and distribution patterns (see Cao 2014, Hu 2000, Lei 2010, Su 1948, Wang and Xu 2000, Xu 2010, Zhongguo 2014).

When the Zhou state was forming in Shaanxi in the late second millennium BC, a considerable diversity of distinct *li* production techniques and forms characterized Shaanxi (Cao 2014, Hu 2000, Lei 2010, Zhang 2004). However, by the Western Zhou period, Zhou state and

elite workshops implemented a concerted shift towards a standardized Western Zhou *liandang li*, produced by a streamlined construction technique (Hu 2000, Li 2018). This change towards a more simplified and uniform *li* vessel production technology occurred relatively quickly in Shaanxi after the establishment of the Western Zhou state.

The standardization of *li* cooking vessels under the Zhou was a prominent material component of the Western Zhou expansion, yet limited research on pottery production in the regions the Zhou expanded into reveals the complex entanglements between local traditions and Zhou practices (e.g., Jaffe et al. 2018). However, standardized Zhou *li* vessels are found in military colonies throughout northern China, and the *Zuo zhuan* recounts an official tasked with supervising pottery production at the onset of the Western Zhou period, indicating—at the very least—that pottery production was likely influenced by political processes to a limited degree (see Li 2018). At Shang centers, including Anyang, there exists highly standardized Shang-style *li* vessels throughout the Shang period, which indicates a high degree of specialization and established mechanisms for transferring knowledge (see Henan 2001, Zhongguo 2014). The shape of the *li* vessel also appears as a Shang lineage emblem on bronzes discovered at the Jingjie cemetery in Shanxi, further illustrating the prominent position of the *li* vessel in Bronze Age society (Shanxi 2006).

Like beakers and amphorae in the Mediterranean world and queros in the Andes, the *li*-tripod cooking vessel was central to the lifeways of second and first millennia BC cultures in China, and the spread of the *li* vessel from the highlands into the Central Plains follows the political development of Bronze Age polities (see Li 2018). Similar to index fossils, *li* vessels are so prominent in Bronze Age sites that they form the basis of much research on delineating chronologies, defining regional cultures, and interpreting interaction (Su 1948, 1999). *Li* vessels

are also the subject of intense debates in Chinese archaeology (Sun 2016, Yang 2014).

In the Zhou ancestral homeland of Shaanxi, the delineation of a Xian Zhou society—a term conventionally used to characterize Zhou society before the conquest of Anyang—based largely on *li* typologies remains the subject of a decades long and highly nuanced debate (e.g., Hu 2000; Lei 2010; Li F. 2013; Liu 2003; Niu 2017; Song 2009a, 2009b; Sun Q. 2016; Wang 1995; Xu 2004; Zhang 2004; Zou 1980, 2011). While pottery typologies are often used as material markers for chronologies and regional cultures, exploring the inter-linkages between the localized behaviors and practices underlying pottery production and broader social processes are rarely addressed. Examining pottery production technologies and other craft production groups and technologies (e.g., bronze production) then provides a robust viewpoint to investigate the intersections of local lifeways and broader sociopolitical dynamics in early China. An analysis of these *li* vessels and other daily use vessels also provides an avenue to critically engage with the dominant paradigms in Chinese archaeology and offer fresh perspectives on the relationships between pottery traditions and sociocultural dynamics.

### **Significance**

In the early twentieth century, a period marked by the turbulent modern transition from the Qing dynasty, famed scholar Wang Guowei (1917) argued that the reasons the Zhou were able to take control from the Shang rested on a systematic reconfiguration of social institutions and practices. And while archaeological discoveries have challenged aspects of Wang's analysis, it is clear that the Shang-Zhou transition would define the trajectory of social change in much of China with the Zhou legacy forming the core of many successive empires—five imperial dynasties were named after the Zhou (Li 2013). Despite Wang's early inquiries into this geopolitical event, the Shang-Zhou transition and its impact on local lifeways have been become overlooked topics in

favor of compartmentalized scholarship on the Shang and Zhou.<sup>8</sup> The Late Shang was taken as a focus in anthropological archaeology, while the Zhou was often treated like a subject of classical archaeology. This dissertation seeks to connect the extensive scholarship on the Shang and Zhou within an anthropological framework that emphasizes the potential variability of this transition across northern China and the multi-temporal dimensions of power shifts. This study on the Shang-Zhou transition will substantively contribute to our understanding of political ruptures and social change.

The connections between social change and shifts in the material record remain a critical area of study in archaeology (Crellin 2020). Given the central role of ceramics for archaeologists in studying regional cultural dynamics and establishing chronological frameworks, it is crucial to explore the relationship between changes in pottery production and social processes (Womack et al. 2019). This dissertation expands knowledge on the connections between social change and the material record by focusing on daily-use vessel production practices through a period of monumental sociopolitical change. The analytical focus on continuities and changes in the production of *li* vessels will advance understandings on the ways in which local lifeways and regional processes intersect and affect change in communities. I will also further knowledge on the variability of sociopolitical ruptures within disparate contexts and how local communities responded to macroregional change. I place a special focus on how power continually emerges from ordinary practices and habits and how these activities are constrained within a limiting power

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<sup>8</sup> It needs to be noted here that this does not mean that archaeologists do not specialize in both Shang and Zhou archaeology. Quite the contrary, these periods are often taught together in Chinese archaeology classes and scholars will often work at both Shang and Zhou sites. The main point here is that even in scholarship that addresses both the Shang and the Zhou, the developments of both polities are often considered separate sociopolitical phenomena with little intersection outside of the conquests (although this is also shifting with recent studies on the descendants of the Shang in the Western Zhou world, see Ch. 5). This dissertation attempts to examine Late Shang political dynamics in light of the developments in the Zhou ancestral homeland of Shaanxi while also giving due consideration to the substantive interrelations between the ascendance of the Zhou and the developments in the Central Plains.

structure.

Further, the application of affect, assemblage, and other approaches to immanence is just beginning to take hold in archaeology.<sup>9</sup> While research projects adopting these methods have produced creative approaches to various archaeological topics, such as social change (e.g., Crellin 2017), burial assemblages (e.g., Fowler 2017), and community dynamics (e.g., Harris 2014), much of this scholarship is focused on European contexts and draws from a narrow range of scholars engaged in these poststructuralist and affective modes of inquiry, such as Manuel DeLanda (2006, 2016) and Jane Bennett (2010). Moreover, much of this research tends to adapt approaches from DeLanda's conceptualization of assemblage "theory." The affective dimensions that were central to Deleuze and Guattari's project are under-theorized in these models (although see Hamilakis 2017, Harris 2014).

I seek to build on these threads of research by more explicitly focusing on affect and micropolitics. This dissertation then attends to both Foucault's methodological precaution of analyzing "historically, and beginning from the lowest level, how mechanisms of power have been able to function" (Foucault 1994:216) and Deleuze and Guattari's philosophy of immanence where power is produced in affective encounters within historically contingent multiplicities. In addition, I provide a novel archaeological approach to political dynamics by conceptualizing the state as an apparatus of capture continually active in gathering together varied practices, habits, traditions, and expressions. Thus, I also seek to move beyond limiting evolutionary paradigms of state formation and conceptualizations of the state as a homogenous, static political entity towards an approach emphasizing the multi-temporal dimensions of power structures and their ongoing

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<sup>9</sup> In continental philosophy, immanence draws our attention to the univocity of being and interconnectedness of all things. It bears directly on our understanding of causality by moving away from equivocal and analogical models. As Deleuze (1992:172) states in elucidating immanence in the line of Spinoza, "an immanent cause is that its effect is in it...The effect remains in its cause no less than the cause remains in itself."

emergence in diverse multiplicities (see also Smith 2022).

This dissertation also provides an exploration of the potential of scanned thin sections for the quantitative analysis of archaeological ceramics by comparing data from traditional microscopic analysis of ceramic thin sections with data compiled from a digital analysis of thin sections captured with a high-resolution scanner. Through this analysis, this dissertation adds to a growing body of work on the potential applications of advanced digital imaging technology in ceramic analysis (e.g., Reedy et al. 2017).

## **Chapter Summaries**

Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646-1716) claimed that the efficient cause of his writing of the *Monadology* is found in “an infinity of shapes and motions, both past and present” and that “there is an infinity of minute inclinations and dispositions of my soul, both present and past, which enter into its final cause” (Leibniz 2014:21). Herein lies Leibniz’s argument on the nature of one of the *truths* he expounds on in the *Monadology*, that is, contingent truths or truths of fact.<sup>10</sup> Leibniz demonstrates that the resolution of the sufficient reason behind a contingent truth “could go on into endless detail because of the immense variety of things in nature and the division of bodies to infinity” (Leibniz 2014: 21). We are then faced with a radical contingency in explaining any process, where the reasons behind any process are found in nothing less than the totality of the universe.

In this vein, I then hope that my writing will be viewed not as arguments that bring closure but rather exists as an opening into the vast complexity of what we now understand as the Shang-Zhou transition. My point of entry into the underlying historic current underlying discussions on the Shang-Zhou transition is determined not just by the specific circumstances of my education,

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<sup>10</sup> The other truth being truths of reasoning.

but also by the expansive ways in which the transition has been expressed, from Zhou conquest narratives to early imperial historical accounts (i.e., *Shiji*) to late imperial works like *Fengshen Yanyi* (*The Investiture of the Gods*) to modern cinematic adaptations of the events of the conquest.

Each expression of the transition can be said to accumulate, affecting not just our knowledge of this period, but also the lives in which these expressions emerge and operate. For example, during the Song dynasty (AD 960-1279), fox shrines were banned in the Kaifeng area and deemed as illicit cults (Kang 2006). Some of these shrines were thought to be dedicated to Daji, a concubine of the last Shang king who in historical accounts is often scapegoated as the reason behind the fall of the Shang dynasty (Kang 2006). The Shang and Zhou periods have also been important elements in the development of the discipline of archaeology in China (Sun 2016). My dissertation attempts to add to the long and varied reception of the Shang-Zhou transition through an extensive engagement with modern critical theory and recent developments in Chinese archaeology.

Chapter 2 introduces the theoretical grounding of this dissertation as an archaeology of immanence. In this chapter, I offer an introduction into recent developments in the field relating to the application of the philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari. I then move onto a creative synthesis of assemblages, affect, and power to conceptualize an archaeology of immanence.

The focus of chapter 3 is an analysis of the structures of power underpinning the Late Shang state. I examine the influence of the Late Shang state in regional networks, technologies of power embedded in the urban landscape at Anyang, and how the Shang “captured” the social processes of diverse communities across the landscape of the late second millennium BC. I also provide an analysis on the aspects of social dynamics that held the inherent potential to bring about the decomposition of Shang structures of power.

Framed in terms of both “escape” from Late Shang structures of power and the “coalescence” of diverse communities during the Xian Zhou period, chapter 4 attends to the flourishing of regional social structures in the Jing River Valley and the Guanzhong Basin and the foundation of the alliance at the heart Zhou state. Xian Zhou is the term used in Chinese archaeology to refer to a Zhou society and political structure before the conquest of the Shang. It is roughly contemporaneous with the Late Shang period. It is a commonly used term in the archaeology of eastern Gansu, Ningxia, and Shaanxi during the Late Shang period. I first discuss the communities who occupied the Jing River Valley during the late second millennium BC, inter-community relationships, and the positionality of Jing River Valley communities in regional networks. I then analyze the material and social processes involved in the dynamic coalescence of Zhou society in the Guanzhong Basin, particularly at Zhouyuan. Finally, I provide an overview of the evidence related to the potential connections between Xian Zhou groups and Shang groups in Henei and discuss the nature of the relationship between these groups.

In chapter 5, I first discuss the evidence behind the Zhou conquest(s) of the Shang at Anyang. I then map the movement of the people from the former Shang state throughout the Western Zhou world. Following this overview, I analyze the positionality and influence of Shang groups in the Western Zhou capital at Zhouyuan. After this analysis, I turn to an examination of the Song state—one of the subsidiary states founded during the early Western Zhou period. Finally, through an engagement with affect theory, particularly the work of Lauren Berlant (2010, 2011), I discuss the dynamics of trauma experienced by Shang groups living in Western Zhou society, focusing on the ordinary spaces of these groups in this analysis of trauma. The objective of this chapter is to explore the fall of Anyang and its aftermath through the lens of trauma.

In chapter 6, I provide a brief overview of the arguments of each chapter.

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## Chapter 2: An Archaeology of Immanence

At the foundation of this project is the understanding that power is rooted and (re)produced within the most proximate dimensions of people's material and social environments (see Boozer 2015, Hubert 2016, Overholtzer 2015). As Michel Foucault (1980, 1994) has convincingly argued, the roots of power mechanisms and structures are not found in the hands of *abstract* rulers and states. Rather, mechanisms of power are primarily substantiated within "the immediate environment" (Foucault 1994:216). Power then flows equally and just as pervasively at every level of society. In the context of a major sociopolitical rupture, it is imperative to map the events that effectuated the power shifts which defined this rupture. That is, where was the capacity to affect change located and how was it actualized?

In his highly influential *Ethics*, Baruch de Spinoza (1994:155-156) wrote:

no one has yet determined what the body can do, that is, experience has not yet taught anyone what the body can do from the laws of Nature...For no one has yet come to know the structure of the body so accurately that he could explain all its functions...This shows well enough that the body itself, simply from the laws of its own nature, can do many things which its mind wonders yet.

For Gilles Deleuze, Spinoza's work is a central pillar in his elaboration of a philosophy of immanence (see Deleuze 1988, Seigworth 2005). In response to Spinoza's radical statement, the guiding questions in the philosophical work of Deleuze are "what is a body capable of? [W]hat affects are you capable of?" (Deleuze and Parnet 1977:61). This section proposes an archaeology of immanence by drawing from work on assemblage, affect, and power in the lines of Deleuze, Guattari, Foucault, and other post-structuralist and affect theory scholars. This dissertation also enters into an engaged dialogue with broader currents in anthropology and other fields in the social sciences and humanities that have generated much creative work following Deleuze and Guattari's philosophy.

## **An Emergent Paradigm**

In archaeology, there is a burgeoning sub-field dedicated to the application of assemblage thinking in the intellectual line of Deleuze and Guattari (e.g., Crellin 2017, Fowler 2017, Hamilakis and Jones 2017, Harris 2014, Jervis 2019, Pauketat and Alt 2018). The application of this approach has emerged in archaeological research throughout the world. A comparative overview of some of this research is particularly relevant for this dissertation. Most of these approaches are rooted in the work of Manuel DeLanda and Jane Bennett (and to a certain extent Bruno Latour) and couched within a broader intellectual terrain that is referred to as a turn towards a relational ontology, relational archaeology, new materialisms, and process thought (see Hamilakis and Jones 2017, Harris and Cipolla 2017, Harrison-Buck and Hendon 2018, Jervis 2019). Archaeologists tend to adopt DeLanda's (2006, 2016) work of synthesizing a theoretically accessible version of Deleuze and Guattari's dense and winding treatment.

The objective of these modes of analysis is, broadly conceived, to re-orient the discipline towards a theoretical framework that seeks to thoroughly de-center the primacy of humans in social processes and explores the complex relations among the heterogenous human and non-human elements that animate the world. Perhaps the most well-known adaption of the concept of assemblage in anthropology and archaeology is Tim Ingold's (2007, 2011b) meshworks. Ingold drew much from Deleuze's philosophical construction of *lines* and its associated movements and becomings that are at the heart of assemblages. For Ingold (2011a:4), life is continual movement "lived along *lines*."

While Ingold has contributed much to generating conversation in anthropologically guided research, other approaches are also gaining prominence. Rachel J. Crellin (2017) adopts assemblages to re-conceptualize archaeological approaches to change. By studying burial practices

during the traditionally conceived transition from the Late Neolithic to Early Bronze Age on the Isle of Man, Crellin (2017:112) seeks to challenge narratives of change “as long blocks of stasis and short periods of rapid change” that have long dominated archaeological approaches to the Isle of Man (and also commonly applied in other areas of the world). Instead, Crellin proposes an approach that attempts to unravel the continuous cultural changes in periods that are often considered static.

Crellin engages heavily with Deleuze and Guattari’s concept of *becoming* and Jane Bennett’s approach to the *vibrancy* of materials. In Crellin’s proposed approach, change takes place in a world in continuous and variable flux, which “does not mean that everything is always fleeting: the tempo of change of different components within assemblages, and assemblages themselves, varies greatly” (Crellin 2017:119). Change then consists of assemblages ever in the process of becoming, leading to questions about “how different components and assemblages might alter various relationships” (Crellin 2017:121). Change is no longer reduced to a shift of great magnitude occurring over a relatively short period of time. In an assemblage approach, change emerges in a multi-temporal landscape of fluctuating assemblages with differing intensities or tempos of movement. In this way, it seeks to move beyond linear causality and towards complex narratives of emergence.

Timothy R. Pauketat and Susan M. Alt (2018) employ Deleuze and Guattari’s concepts of rhizome (the first plateau and methodological grounding in Deleuze and Guattari’s *A Thousand Plateaus*) and territorialization (see below) to study greater Cahokia and the spread of Mississippian culture. Pauketat and Alt begin their chapter by noting that emergent relational approaches in archaeology have “led us to the conclusion that ultimately, the power to alter webs of relationships derives not *from* people...but *from the relations themselves*” (Pauketat and Alt

2018:72-73). Following this rationale, Pauketat and Alt propose that the changes seen in the Mississippian world need to be approached as rhizomatic and largely unintentional in the pervasive changes in ways of life seen along with the rise of Cahokia and the spread of Mississippian culture.

Drawing from the second part of Deleuze and Guattari's *Capitalism and Schizophrenia* project, Pauketat and Alt define a rhizome as "an entangled non-hierarchical mass of relations that cannot be reduced to a singular, static entity since the relations are always in a state of becoming something (aka poiesis)" (Pauketat and Alt 2018:75). They bring in Deleuze and Guattari's conceptualization of territorialization by explaining that this is the process of a rhizome becoming bounded or restricted, which in turn "produces a recognizable entity, a being, place, or thing" (Pauketat and Alt 2018:76). Similar to Crellin, Pauketat and Alt argue for an approach to change that does not privilege a simplistic linear series of events, but rather suggest that the spread of Mississippian culture and the rise of Cahokia needs to be sought for in the rhizomatic coming together of relations and the territorialization of these relations into distinct relational fields.

While there is much to be gained from current applications of assemblages in archaeological research, Yannis Hamilakis (2017) has also noted that current uses have developed some tendencies towards a systemization of Deleuze and Guattari's work<sup>1</sup>. In particular, Hamilakis (2017:172) notes that there are three elements that archaeologists need to more substantively address: "the affective/sensorial, the mnemonic/temporal, and the political." In terms of the affective/sensorial, Hamilakis explains that archaeologists have not integrated the critical notions of affect and sensoriality into their research framework.

Hamilakis argues that this dimension of an assemblage is meant to more fully articulate the nature of the relations connecting the heterogeneous elements of an assemblage. The role of the

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<sup>1</sup> Manuel DeLanda's work has been especially influential in regard to this systemization.

senses “is not to allow the organic body to operate, but to enable affectivity, to establish affective connections, to allow us to be ‘touched’ by other bodies, by things, by the atmosphere, and by the world in general” (Hamilakis 2017:173). Integrating a more explicit mnemonic/temporal focus into assemblage applications will allow for archaeologists to examine the specific types of temporal relations arising in particular assemblages. For Deleuze and Guattari, their formulation of assemblages was thoroughly political in nature, or more potently, it was an intensely micropolitical project. At the core of Hamilakis’s critique is a call to return to an in-depth examination of Deleuze and Guattari’s scholarship on the topic.

This dissertation builds on archaeological approaches to assemblage by proposing an archaeology of immanence that focuses not just on shifting assemblages and complex relations, but also their contingencies, micropolitical dynamics, and how assemblages are drawn into limiting constellations defined by apparatuses of capture. By emphasizing the process of capture, this dissertation also advances the potential and limits of the concept of escape—which are the deterritorializing processes active in each assemblage—in archaeology. With the Shang-Zhou transition as the central focus, this dissertation provides a unique perspective on the role of deterritorialization in complex sociopolitical dynamics, which has not been extensively explored in archaeological applications of this theoretical framework. Moreover, affect forms a critical foundation in the conceptualizations of assemblage and apparatuses of capture articulated in this dissertation.

## **Assemblages**

While still in an incipient stage of theoretical development and application in archaeology (as shown above), the most commonly applied component of Deleuze’s philosophy is that of the assemblage. Assemblage is a difficult concept with a wide range of conceptualizations and

approaches. The concept gets its most extensive treatment in Deleuze and Guattari's collaborative Capitalism and Schizophrenia project.<sup>2</sup> The problem of developing an assemblage approach is further compounded by the fact that the translation of this concept is usually rendered as "assemblage", while the French term is *agencement*, which implies a more dynamic act of assembling or arranging (Buchanan 2021). Any conceptualization of assemblage needs to move beyond static entities towards a complex, ongoing process of arrangement.

The question then remains as to how to conceptualize an assemblage. Deleuze and Guattari attempt to draw a philosophical image of an assemblage as singularities (or haecceities) emerging from a plane of immanence (pure potentiality) and caught within a process wherein heterogeneous elements are "selected, organized, stratified" towards a limiting action or affection (Deleuze and Guattari 1987:406). The following two statements are worthy of quoting in full to better exemplify Deleuze and Guattari's thoughts on assemblage:

What is an assemblage? It is a multiplicity which is made up of many heterogeneous terms and which establishes liaisons, relations between them, across ages, sexes and reigns- different natures. Thus, the assemblage's only unity is that of co-functioning: it is a symbiosis, a 'sympathy'. It is never filiations which are important, but alliances, alloys; these are not successions, lines of descent, but contagions, epidemics, the wind. Magicians are well aware of this (Deleuze and Parnet 1977:69).

It is a multiplicity...One side of a mechanic assemblage faces the strata, which doubtless made it a kind of organism, or signifying totality, or determination attributable to a subject; it also has a side facing a *body without organs*, which is continually dismantling the organism, causing asignifying particles or pure intensities to pass or circulate, attributing to itself subjects that it leaves with nothing more than a name as the trace of intensity (Deleuze and Guattari 1987:4).

There are two very important aspects of an assemblage highlighted here. First, an assemblage is a multiplicity. The multiplicity is more than just a random hodgepodge of objects thrown together. Rather, a multiplicity is the co-presence of human and non-human elements. In the

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<sup>2</sup> A much-debated project composed of two volumes: *Anti-Oedipus* and *A Thousand Plateaus*.

instance of pottery production, for example, the multiplicity would consist of (but would not necessarily be limited to) a potter, workshop, tools, materials, traders, miners, and roads and varied utterances (e.g., styles, gestures, signs, etc.) that are defined by the ways in which they create a specific affect that cannot be produced otherwise.

The dynamic relation is a critical aspect of the immanence of an assemblage. This is known as the content and expression axis of an assemblage, or in Deleuze and Parnet's words, the "two faces, or at the least two heads" of an assemblage (Deleuze and Parnet 1977:70). No component of an assemblage exists without the other, this axis defines the form of an assemblage and the function of its affect. There exists no individuated subject in an assemblage, rather "every assemblage is already collective" (Deleuze and Parnet 1977:143), thus, every instance of assemblage is also political, or micropolitical (see below for more on the political dimensions of the assemblage and the forces involved in stratification).

Second, the assemblage, as Deleuze and Guattari note, faces two sides: the strata and the body without organs (often abbreviated BwO). These directions which an assemblage faces determine the limits of an assemblage and its intensity. These in Deleuze's work and the *Capitalism and Schizophrenia* project are known by many names. The strata are also called the plane of organization or plane of transcendence, while the body without organs is also referred to as the plane of consistency or plane of immanence. The axis formed in this movement between the plane of organization and the plane of immanence marks the process of becoming:

And then there is yet another axis along which assemblages must be divided. This time it is according to the movements which animate them, which determine or carry them along, which determine or carry along desire, with its states of things and utterances. There is no assemblage without territory, without territoriality and reterritorialization which includes all sorts of artifices. But is there any assemblage without a point of deterritorialization, without a line of flight which leads it on to new creations, or else towards death?...The two movements coexist in an assemblage and yet are not equivalent, they do not balance out, are not symmetrical

(Deleuze and Parnet 1977:72).

This axis is then known as the axis of territorialization and deterritorialization. These are processes by which territories are “made and unmade, reterritorializing and deterritorializing” and by which assemblages “are always coming together and moving apart” (Wise 2005:79).

On the line of territorialization, the possible effects of a coming together of a multiplicity becomes limited, or organized towards a specific affection. In the material record, this can be discovered in a range of phenomena, including the spatial organization of sites, the movement of materials, and the adaptation of specific technologies. For example, as members of a community come together to construct a wall around their settlement, specific materials, people, techniques, utterances emerge as an assemblage and produce a very specific effect (a territory is created). In this territory, particular social arrangements among the assemblage’s parts are announced and affirmed, and each time the elements of the assemblage come together, these arrangements are reified in the strata (reterritorialized). In this way, a community building a wall could lead to a distinctive social network among its members or even an incipient hierarchy.

However, in an assemblage, the force sustaining these social arrangements are always contingent on the processes that bring these elements together. Moreover, territorialization is always accompanied by a parallel movement of deterritorialization. On the line of deterritorialization, new possibilities come into being, there exists the force of a creative potential. For the community building the wall, this could be the introduction of new construction technologies and the subsequent emergence of new relations between the elements of an assemblage. This emergence then could generate force enough to decompose the social arrangements previously reified by the assemblage.

As Deleuze and Parnet<sup>3</sup> point out in the quote above, while these movements “coexist” in every assemblage, they are not “symmetrical.” While a new technology could be introduced that streamlines the wall construction process, this technology could also be coded by a strong force of territorialization in such a way that it becomes coopted by the strata on which the effects of an assemblage are ordered.<sup>4</sup> The strength of territorialization is contingent on the historical nature of the assemblage and the new elements’ point of entry into the assemblage. These movements between territorialization and deterritorialization are then the micropolitics of an assemblage.

It should also be noted that Deleuze and Guattari also introduce the concept of the “abstract machine”<sup>5</sup> when discussing the process of stratification. Broadly defined, abstract machines are organizing principles embedded in the strata and composed in the process of territorialization (see Adkins 2015, Wise 2005). These are not static generalities, but rather dynamic processes that inform the nature of the movements of an assemblage. An assemblage is then characterized by a multitude of diverse elements whose mutual encounter produces specific affective relations within an ongoing process of social arrangement. But as noted above, the point of entry into an assemblage is critical in the force or intensity experienced by each participating body in the assemblage. In other words, “the conditions of...arrival” determine the nature of the effect produced on that body (Ahmed 2010:33).

While the above presents a rather idealized (or mechanical) philosophical image of an assemblage, it is vital to note that an assemblage is never a static entity, but ever in the process of

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<sup>3</sup> While *Dialogues* is a series of discussions between Deleuze and Parnet, who is a journalist, this book thoroughly follows Deleuze’s philosophy of in-betweenness and thus is attributed to both authors as a whole, as Deleuze points out in the preface (pg. ix).

<sup>4</sup> Technology is understood as a complex web of materials, knowledges, meanings, actions, and behaviors that can be a potent stabilizing force in culture and society, but also holds the potential to severely disrupt society and the material environment maintaining social relationships (Bray 2013).

<sup>5</sup> The abstract machine is a prominent aspect of the articulation of plane of organization (i.e., the strata) in Deleuze and Guattari’s *A Thousand Plateaus*.

a historically contingent becoming. A potter never exists as a pre-constructed subject, but rather emerges as one in the act of gathering together (assembling) distinct elements and is conditioned by the body's point of entry into the assemblage. The identity of a potter is (re)territorialized each time the potter enters into an assemblage of production. None of this is to negate the agential capacity of the potter, rather it draws focus how the becoming of each individual drawn into an assemblage are bound together with each body uniquely informing the rest of the assemblage while also being guided by the intensity of the whole.

The reason for this philosophical grounding is due to Deleuze and Guattari's (and Foucault's) intellectual context in mid-twentieth century France. Deleuze and Guattari were responding to a perceived lack in the dominant structuralist and phenomenological paradigms of the time. That is, among other goals, Deleuze and Guattari are seeking to remove the role of the presupposed (or transcendent) subject and the extensive philosophical baggage that comes with it (see Surin 2005). This point is an important foundation not just for the philosophy articulated in the *Capitalism and Schizophrenia* project, but also for the broader intellectual turn from the human subject towards approaches that de-center the human constructed as a presupposed entity, such as object theory, thing theory, non-representational theory, and affect theory.

Not that Deleuze and Guattari necessarily deny the existence of a subject in some form, they just that argue it does not exist *a priori*. Instead, what we might call the subject is lodged in the plane of organization (strata), where the potential of an affecting body (see below) is captured or coded in such a way that limits this body's potential. Moreover, this is a process, a contingent becoming, an emergence (and reemergence), not a predetermined evolutionary trajectory.

This then leads into a critical aspect of any approach to assemblage; that is, we must refrain from defining an assemblage by its constituent elements. Rather, an assemblage is determined by

what it does, not what its parts are:

We know nothing about a body until we know what it can do, in other words, what its affects are, how they can or cannot enter into composition within other affects, with the affects of another body, either to destroy that body or to be destroyed by it, either to exchange actions and passions with it or to join with it in composing a more powerful body (Deleuze and Guattari 1987:257).

Affect, in the line of Spinoza, emerges in Deleuze's (and Guattari's) work as a foundational concept and also forms a critical component of this dissertation's approach to the Shang-Zhou transition.

### **Affect**

By affect I understand affections of the body by which the body's power of acting is increased or diminished, aided or restrained, and at the same time, the ideas of these affections (Spinoza 1994:154).

While a simplified conceptualization of an assemblage risks reducing complex processes into the well-known limits of systems thinking, affect can induce an opposite effect, ushering researchers into realms of immanent potentialities. Affect, in a Deleuzian sense, is inseparably connected to the actualization, intensity, and animacy of assemblages and defines the ever fluctuating state of relations between the elements that make up the content and expressions of an assemblage as well as the limits of its territorialization and the line of flight along which an assemblage deterritorializes. Affect in many ways cuts to the heart of Deleuze's philosophy of immanence. However, affect is a theoretically slippery concept. That is, one can never speak of a single approach to affect, rather scholars often speak of affect theories (see Bray and Moore 2019, Seigworth and Gregg 2010).

The quote above from Spinoza's *Ethics* is the foundation of modern affect studies and the rhizomatic traditions to which it has given rise. In his early work, Deleuze (1988, 1990) significantly engaged with Spinoza and is often credited with retrieving Spinoza's nuanced understanding of affect as *affectus* and *affectio* (see Siegworth 2005). *Affectus* is defined as "the

passage from one state to another, taking into account the correlative variation of the affecting bodies”, whereas *affectio* is considered “a state of the affected body and implies the presence of the affecting body” (Deleuze 1988:49). Taken together, *affectus* and *affectio* constitute the base definition of affect as the capacity to affect and be affected (see Massumi 2015, Siegworth and Gregg 2010). This definition comprises three essential elements, the encounter *between* affecting bodies, the variable intensities composing the transition from one state to another, and immanence or the manifold virtualities or potentialities of a body (Seigworth 2005).

Affect is a force that circulates, accumulates, overflows, and escapes in multitudinous encounters that informs a body’s (both human and non-human) capacity to affect and be affected. It is the force that determines an assemblage’s propensity towards territorialization and deterritorialization and the intensity of relations between content and expression. In this sense, affect is a becoming defined in the crossing of the threshold of an encounter:

sometimes they weaken us in so far as they diminish our power to act and decompose our relationships (sadness), sometimes they make us stronger in so far as they increase our power and make us enter into a more vast or superior body (joy) (Deleuze and Parnet 1977:60).

For the purposes of this dissertation, affect draws attention to the myriad of relations that defined the landscape of early China and the forces that sustained and brought about changes in this landscape from the Shang to the Zhou periods.

For Deleuze, affect in its unrestricted form is the veritable terrain of the plane of immanence (see Seigworth 2005) that is captured and codified in the plane of organization through the actualization of an assemblage. In other words, affect is the movement of an assemblage that orients the functioning of a multiplicity towards limiting effects or opens it to infinite possibilities. Affects are then the forces generated in an encounter that define a body’s potential or capacity to act (Seigworth and Gregg 2010).

In an affective research framework, bodies are not defined by their outer surface, “but by their potential to reciprocate or co-participate in the passages of affect” (Seigworth and Gregg 2010:2). This approach to a “body” has opened a world of creative research directions. No longer confined to a restrictive definition of a body confined to a pre-constituted (and transcendent) subject, affect places the body in an immanent relation to a myriad of other affecting bodies: “With affect, a body is as much outside itself as in itself—webbed in its relations—until ultimately such firm distinctions cease to matter” (Seigworth and Gregg 2010:3). The body is then caught in a process of perpetual becoming as it passes the threshold into an encounter (into an assemblage).

Affect is not a static entity, but a force that accumulates in and modulates a body’s capacities depending upon the positionality of the affecting body as it enters into a particular assemblage. It could be hypothesized that in the case of a potter selecting clay or other materials during the production process, materials that hold positive affective values for the community of which the potter is a member will more likely be selected for use. That is, as the potter and materials are encountered within their social milieu, the force generated will be such that the production process affirms and reifies the established social bonds between community, potter, and materials. This also displays that within an affective framework, the potter is not the only body exercising agency.<sup>6</sup> Rather, by nature of being an active element in past production events, each material entering into the assemblage of production also holds an immanent capacity to act and accumulate affect. Thus, the way a body affects and is affected in an encounter “is completely bound up with the lived past of the body” (Massumi 2015:49).

In other words, the nature of the affection generated in a pottery production event is determined by the repetition of an event in a particular social milieu. That is, the nature of an

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<sup>6</sup> Again, this does not mean that a potter’s agency is negated. Rather, I am trying to draw attention to the multiple forces circulating within any encounter.

encounter is contingent. The repetition of the event gives rise to *habits* that are continually differentiated in society to such an extent that one could expect only a limited number of outcomes in a particular assemblage (see Deleuze 1968, McMahon 2005 for a discussion of Deleuze's concepts of difference and repetition, Ahmed 2010 for a discussion of how relations are preserved through habits, and Bourdieu 1977 for more on *habitus* and its relation with this line of thought). Put in another way, affect accumulates within particular bodies and influences its capacity to act.

However, as with the deterritorializing tendency inherent in each assemblage, specific materials could be imbued with the capacity to disrupt the ways production is organized and the social relations it effectuates. Ahmed (2010:39) refers to these disturbing bodies as "blockage points", where the affective values of an object can inhibit habitual outcomes. In the case of the potter selecting materials, these blockage points could come in the form of access to materials of higher practical value (e.g., a temper material with higher heat resistance for producing cooking pots) or materials with perceived prestige value (e.g., rare clays, exotic minerals). While a body's affective capacity is always contingent on its past encounters, the outcome of such disrupting encounters is never predetermined. As in an encounter with any objects, the objects involved in an encounter between a potter and their materials "can shimmer with undetermined potential and the weight of received meaning" (Stewart 2007:23). This undetermined potential could reorient social relations towards new arrangements, while received meaning could re-establish the social order that sustains communities and polities.

While archaeological applications of affect theory remain limited, it has been applied to study a broad range of social phenomena in other fields, particularly in literary studies, religion, ethnography, and cultural studies. Most applications of affect in archaeology come along the lines of emotion (see Tarlow 2012), however there exists a deep debate among affect theorists as to the

relationship between affect and emotion (see Champion 2019, Seigworth and Gregg 2010, Wetherell 2012).

Lauren Berlant (2010, 2011), one of the preeminent scholars on affect, studied how “cruel optimism” is produced in human attachments. They explain the notion of cruel optimism is rooted in the idea that humans maintain problematic attachments to an object of desire, which they define as “a cluster of promises we want someone or something to make to us and make possible for us” (Berlant 2010:93). However, as Berlant eloquently shows, the affective promise that maintains this attachment is never achieved, but nevertheless persists in a state of cruel optimism as subjects “find their conditions of possibility within it” (Berlant 2010:97).

This dissertation employs Berlant’s rendering of cruel optimism to explore how structures of power are embedded and reified in craft production and urban spaces (see Ch. 5). Approaching urban landscapes through the lens of affect will be a critical part of examining what types of social relations are made possible and restricted in the contexts of the urban settlements this dissertation explores. In her study of a town reeling from the collapse of the steel mill that was the economic foundation of the town, Valerie Walkerdine (2010) explores how the changing material and social landscape of the town determines the types of communal forms possible and how local residents attempted to adapt to this change by instituting practices that allow for the regeneration of communal bonds.

Landscape then is understood as “an immanent composite, intense yet fragile” (Stewart 2015:xvii). It is argued that movement within an urban environment allowed the continual emergence of particular social forms (and blocked the rise of other forms). This affective analysis of Bronze Age urban landscapes is especially prominent in analyses of the centers of Anyang and Zhouyuan in this dissertation. What defines an affective landscape is not a space filled with

representational qualities or ecological determinisms, but rather one that is animated by circulating forces of encounter, immanent relations, and constellations of assemblages captured by ever-shifting apparatuses of power.

## **Power**

In analyzing power within the Shang-Zhou transition, I hope to work towards an archaeology of power that locates the emergence, maintenance, and decomposition of power structures within the rhythms of everyday life and the potency of ordinary spaces. Following Deleuze, power is conceived as corresponding elements: 1) the power to restrain or capture, and 2) the power to act or the active potential of a body. Both are inseparable in delineating the nature and operation of arrangements of power in ancient societies.

The overall goal of this approach is to move beyond archaeological approaches to the operation of power that are rooted in linear causality and hierarchies of being and conventionally privilege theoretical notions of power as pure domination. In this approach to power, the objective is to analyze that which escapes entrapment to both better understand social dynamics and delineate pervasive forms of restraint and underlying inequalities in the past and their legacies. In a now famous proposal, Deleuze and Guattari (1987:449) argued that a state is defined by the “flows that escape from it.” While they were concerned with modern political dynamics, this shift in focus from what captures to what escapes and the continual decomposition of structures (and their reemergence) is equally applicable to past societies. What is foundational here is the understanding that it is the active power of beings, their infinite potentialities, and ongoing becomings that are central to power dynamics.

One of the methodological foundations of Deleuze and Guattari’s *Capitalism and Schizophrenia* project is its shift away from ideology as an omnipotent force: “There is no ideology

and never has been” (Deleuze and Guattari 1987:4). Instead, what Deleuze and Guattari set out to do is examine the micropolitical actualized in every encounter and how the affections produced in these assemblages are oriented towards the perpetuation of society. Society, and its structures of power, are then informed by the ever-modulating forms of organization lodged in the strata that limits the potential of an encounter between heterogeneous bodies.

Power, as an affection of an assemblage, works to capture the intensity produced in an encounter. This process underlies the formation of an *apparatus of capture*. Deleuze and Parnet (1977:88-89) argue that the task set before an apparatus of capture is “to overcode assemblages in order to subject desires to signifying chains, utterances the status of subjective examples—all of which to reconcile them with an established Order” (Deleuze and Parnet 1977:88-89). This overcoding of ordinary life and the myriad practices, habits, traditions, and belief systems that animate the ordinary is the domain of the abstract machine.

Overcoding is essentially the way an apparatus of capture redirects external processes that escape capture or decompose its structure: “They are always running after different-order movements in the collective field of embodied activity in order to funnel them back into their own channels” (Massumi 2015:102). As Brian Massumi points out, these apparatuses are continually rushing towards the movements that escape their orbits, thus an apparatus is never an action of total capture. Rather, it merely imbues an assemblage with a territorializing tendency. Power, as a debilitating force, then exists at the level of the strata—where an assemblage is given a restricted form—and within the movement of affect from the plane of immanence, when a social tendency is given a direction (Adkins 2015, Seigworth 2005).

This is not to say that apparatuses of capture are all-powerful sovereigns or reductive systems. Power is not an all-encompassing flow but is itself produced as the result of a force of

encounter. When this encounter is repeated, it can form the beginnings of a structure of power that limits the potentials of divergent trajectories of life (see Massumi 2015). The social world then becomes “an endlessly shifting field of inequalities” that is reproduced each time a body passes the threshold of an assemblage (Dirks et al. 1994:7). For example, as a potter enters a production process that reifies a form of social relation underpinning a power structure, the potter themselves becomes a vehicle for the emergence of this structure and the point of its control (see Foucault 1994). However, as discussed above, the potential of a deterritorializing tendency exists in every assemblage, even if it exists within an apparatus of capture: “in a society, everything flees” (Deleuze and Parnet 1977:135).

Deleuze and Guattari’s approach shares much in common with Foucault’s conceptualization of power.<sup>7</sup> In articulating his methodological precautions for an analysis of power, Foucault (1994:215, emphasis in original) argued:

One must...conduct an *ascending* analysis of power, starting, that is, from its infinitesimal mechanisms, which each have their own history, their own trajectory, their own techniques and tactics, and then see how these mechanisms have been—and continue to be—invested, colonized, utilized, involuted, transformed, displaced, extended, etc., by ever more general mechanisms and by forms of global domination.

Foucault (1994) further argues that power is never held solely in the hands of an abstract sovereign or at the heart of a state (the Leviathan) but circulates in the most proximate dimensions of people’s lives. Power emerges from the affective habits and practices of the ordinary to form “structures of oppression” (Massumi 2015:102).

An apparatus of capture arises in encounters, where forces generated between the intersection of heterogeneous bodies are oriented towards the re-emergence of particular social

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<sup>7</sup> Indeed, Foucault wrote the preface to the first book in the Capitalism and Schizophrenia project and maintained a relationship with Deleuze. Although, there are significant differences, especially regarding power being an affection (see Seigworth 2005).

forms. It operates in the micropolitics of everyday life. By employing the concept of an apparatus of capture, this dissertation seeks to explore how constellations of assemblages, such as craft production, are drawn into an alignment with the dominant modes of power and effectuate particular forms of social bonds that defined the Shang and Zhou worlds. This dissertation then explores such topics as how the selection of particular materials for the production of pottery and associated production techniques affects the formation of social relations that sustain a political hierarchy and the exchange networks that effectuate this hierarchy throughout a region. The ways an apparatus of capture is decomposed will also be explored. Thus, how specific practices, traditions, and relationships, such as distinct exchange relations, hold the potential to form a blockage point in society or continually escape capture constitute a significant component of this analysis on the Shang-Zhou transition.

### **Craft Production**

Following these modes of thought, craft production is understood as an affective catchment. Of course, as archaeologists have long recognized, craft production stands at the intersection of varied economic, social, and political processes (Costin 1991, Hirth 1996, Miller 2009, Rice 2015, Shimada 2007). As a catchment, it gathers together a set of heterogeneous bodies bringing them into a particular social relation. It is constantly in tension with shifting social landscapes, always at risk of losing the territory it inscribes on everyday lives and the power structures it enacts each time a body crosses the threshold of an assemblage of craft production. Craft production is then a set of processes that at once seeks equilibrium in habitual production, yet is overflowing with incoherencies, embodied tensions, and varied material arrangements. While an affective event in all its complexity is difficult to approach archaeologically, each event has the potential to leave a long-lasting trace that continually effects future tendencies, limits potential outcomes, or opens

new possibilities in society. Within the milieu of a sociopolitical transition, this dissertation then explores the constraining of affect tendencies over long durations and how within each assemblage investigated there are virtual potentials that could rupture a social order.

The habits generated in craft production and its associated rhythms of life can hold the potential to affect limiting capacities on the bodies passing the threshold of an assemblage. A potter's actions could be oriented towards a particular range of materials, traders, and technical practices with each production event played against the backdrop of a hegemonic power structure, which could also heavily influence a potter's actions. However, due to the deeply embedded nature of everyday assemblages and the deterritorializing tendencies inherent in these assemblages, these affective fields constitute fertile grounds for radical change or the reterritorialization of the assemblage within another apparatus of capture.

An analysis of craft production is especially beneficial in examining sociopolitical dynamics, as has been demonstrated in other regions of the world. For example, Nicola Sharratt et al. (2009) sought to investigate the dynamics between the Tiwanaku and Wari states in the Moquegua Valley in Peru. These states concurrently established outposts in this valley during the Middle Horizon (A.D. 600-1000). Sharratt et al. (2009) investigate strategies of raw material (clay) procurement by people of both states. The researchers argue that this investigation provides important insights into the nature of interactions between these two states in the Moquegua Valley. Towards this end, they employ LA-ICP-MS to analyze Tiwanaku and Wari pottery sherds from excavation contexts and clays collected in an archaeological survey. Sharratt et al. (2009) conclude that the people affiliated with the Tiwanaku and Wari states in the Moquegua Valley imported the styles associated with their respective states but were using locally procured clays to make these distinct vessels. Moreover, the clay sources utilized by potters were limited to the clays that were found

within each state's territories in the valley.

Placed within a theoretical framework of affect theory, this data could be used as a foundation to explore how the ordinary practice of clay extraction could reify particular forms of political relationships in space. Moreover, the ways the pottery production practices of the homeland of each state contribute to the maintenance of social dynamics of communities that are differentially aligned politically, and then possibly broader sociopolitical dynamics could also be investigated. There could also be space to begin an analysis of the competition between states in the Moquegua Valley through the analysis of the deterritorializing tendencies in the practice of resource extraction and movement across the landscape. In this dissertation, such an approach is adopted to analyze the Shang-Zhou transition. In particular, this dissertation analyzes how craft production assemblages are pulled within and impact apparatuses of capture.

### **The Shang-Zhou Transition and Immanence**

This dissertation expands Deleuze's (and Guattari's) conceptualizations of immanence and explores its potentials and limits in archaeological research. In its engagement with affect, the objective of this dissertation is to examine the potentials of social change inherent within the landscape of early China that were actualized in the Shang-Zhou transition. This dissertation maps this landscape as it vibrates with social tensions and political alliances to determine how power shifts were effectuated within the micropolitical dynamics of ordinary lifeways. I argue change is not an objective fact equally felt and acknowledged, but an accumulation of affect and a contested process that emerges in an affective overflowing of the everyday, where new potential lifeways open, diverge, and close in a multitude of encounters.

The Shang-Zhou transition will be argued to be such a process, where change must be located in affective realms, such as the habituated actions and embodied knowledge of pottery

production, the ordinary encounters of urban life, and the ongoing performance of power in elite lineages. In addition, this dissertation investigates the process by which the apparatus of capture organizing the Late Shang state decomposes and the Western Zhou apparatus of capture emerges and continually reforms: What happens to the sociocultural landscape when constellations of affective assemblages held together by distinct apparatuses of capture intersect? In what ways are the practices, traditions, and habits that animate the everyday and trace the ordinary implicated in the decomposition of one constellation and the proliferation of another?

Further, in this dissertation, objects produced in the diverse communities of early China are viewed as the product of a dynamic event with the potential to stabilize social relations or rupture dominant modes of power, not a static mechanical operation. Each succeeding chapter, while adopting a chronologically linear template, attends to specific aspects of Shang-Zhou transition. From the parallel formation of networks that would serve to empower the Late Shang polity and catalyze the formation of the Zhou to the complex dynamics between the Zhou and the Yin people in the early first millennium BC, this dissertation itself is ordered to draw out the affections that defined this transition in disparate places and among diverse communities and highlight the contested and contingent nature of transitions.

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### **Chapter 3: Late Shang Political Dynamics: Territorialization and Decomposition of Power in the Late Second Millennium BC**

Emerging from the rapidly shifting landscape of the Middle Shang period and following the abandonment of Huanbei Shang City, Anyang rose to prominence as the preeminent sociopolitical center in a region that was centrally positioned between the expansive highland exchange networks linked to the Eurasian Steppe further north and critical resources in the south. Due to the central role of Shang archaeology in the development of the discipline in China, extensive excavations at Anyang, and strong national and international collaborative projects, a robust foundation for archaeological research on Shang society has been established (see Chang 1980, Li C. 1977 for more on the history of research at Anyang). Yet, considerable debate still exists in Shang archaeology on issues ranging from the sociopolitical processes underlying the establishment of Anyang as the capital of the Late Shang state (Hou 2019) to the mechanisms of power that sustained the Shang hierarchy (Campbell 2018). The basic structure of Shang political economy, the degree of political centralization, and Shang ritual forms are also continued subjects of debate (e.g., Campbell et al. 2021).

Anyang (Yinxu) was the capital of the Late Shang state and was constructed across the Huan River from the Middle Shang period center of Huanbei (figure 3.1). This chapter first explores the structures of power underlying the Late Shang state based at Anyang by analyzing the role of the Shang in shaping regional networks of exchange and interaction, the relationships between Shang social dynamics and the Anyang urban landscape, and the sociopolitical relations of the Late Shang state with surrounding groups and polities. This chapter argues that by embedding potent technologies of power within the Anyang urban landscape, integrating certain religious practices within everyday experiences, influencing craft production processes, and

continually seeking to shape diffuse economic and social networks, Shang elites were able to legitimize, normalize, and maintain the Shang sociopolitical structure.

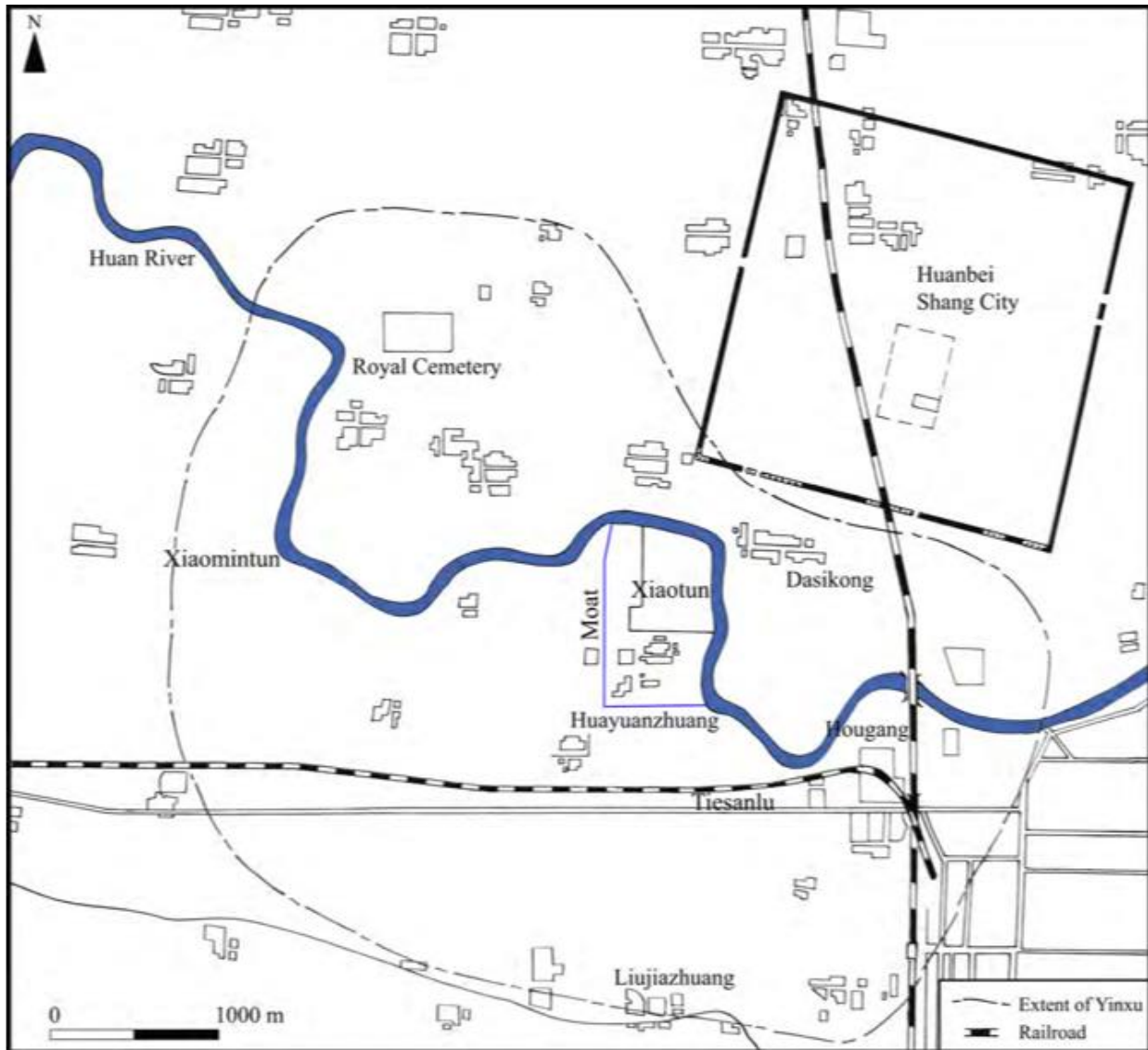


Figure 3.1. Map of the Yinxu and Huanbei sites (adapted from He 2021, Zhongguo 2014).

In this way, the structure of Shang power was not defined solely by an internal dynamic of consolidating power within pre-existing social relations, but also (and perhaps more significantly) by capturing those social processes emerging from the diverse communities of early China with the inherent potential to decompose Shang society. Thus, the Shang state needs to also be considered in light of differential reactions to Shang practices of power and the continual

adjustment of the state to the affective social terrains that mapped its limits. It should be noted that the term “hegemony” is used in the sense of the ability of a polity to limit the capacity of specific practices, traditions, and beliefs to decompose the power structure of the polity without necessarily resorting to the use of force. Nevertheless, the threat and application of violence were clearly associated with Late Shang political dynamics (see Campbell 2018). This chapter concludes with a section on the deterritorializing (sense Deleuze and Guattari 1987) tendencies inherent within the Late Shang structure of power.

### **Networks, Interaction, and the Late Shang State**

In the middle second millennium BC, the Early Shang (ca. 1600-1400 BC) political landscape centered on the Luoyang-Zhengzhou region experienced a profound rupture following the decline of the Shang centers in Zhengzhou and Yanshi (figure 3.2). By the time the Late Shang state emerged as strong political force at Anyang from the Middle Shang period (ca. 1400-1250 BC), the sociopolitical landscape had changed markedly. A strong pull towards the Late Shang center in the Anyang region shaped late second millennium BC networks.

While the area around Anyang is considered by some to be the ancestral homeland of the Shang people (see Li M. 2018, Liu and Chen 2012), prior to the Middle Shang period, the Zhengzhou-based early Shang state only maintained a small presence in that region, concentrating its activity instead in the Middle Yangzi, southern Shanxi, and the Shangluo Corridor (Dou 2021, Hou 2019, Li F. 2013). The construction of a substantial settlement at the Middle Shang period site of Huanbei and then the adjacent Late Shang capital of Anyang marked a new geopolitical departure (see Li M. 2018).

The placement of the large Shang center at Anyang in northern Henan, the rise of various

polities in the south and the northwest, and the fall of the Luoyang Basin and Zhengzhou-based political orders fundamentally realigned routes of trade and exchange. Elites and workshops embedded in Anyang between the archaic Yellow River and the Taihang Mountains and its sheer scale as a hub of exchange and communication effectively funneled traffic from the north, south, and west through its network of allied settlements with Anyang at the core (figure 3.3). As a point of entry into the Late Shang state, we will begin first with Shang culture in Shandong, a strategically important region for Anyang elites (Fang 2013).

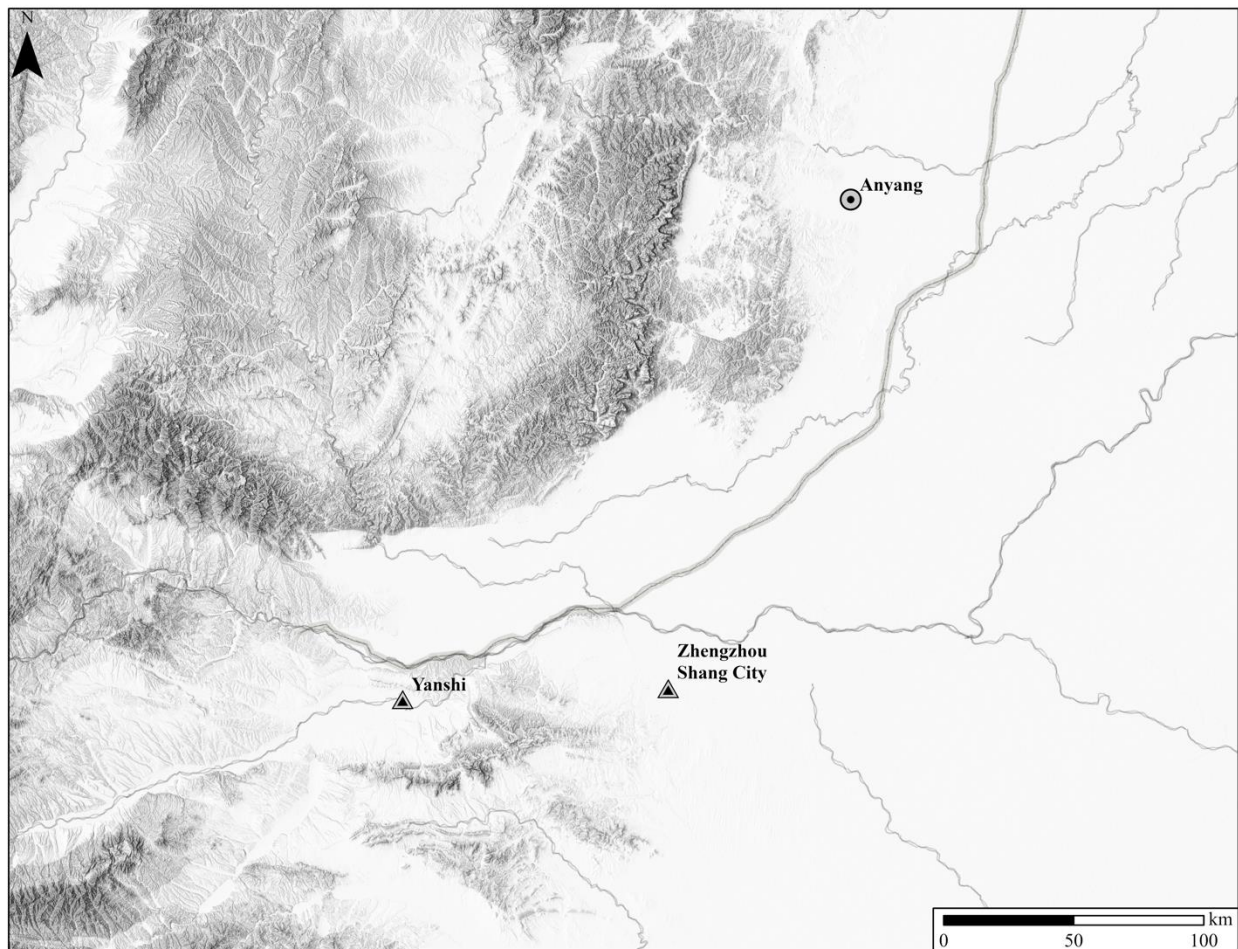


Figure 3.2. Geographic position of Early Shang capitals relative to the Late Shang capital at Anyang.

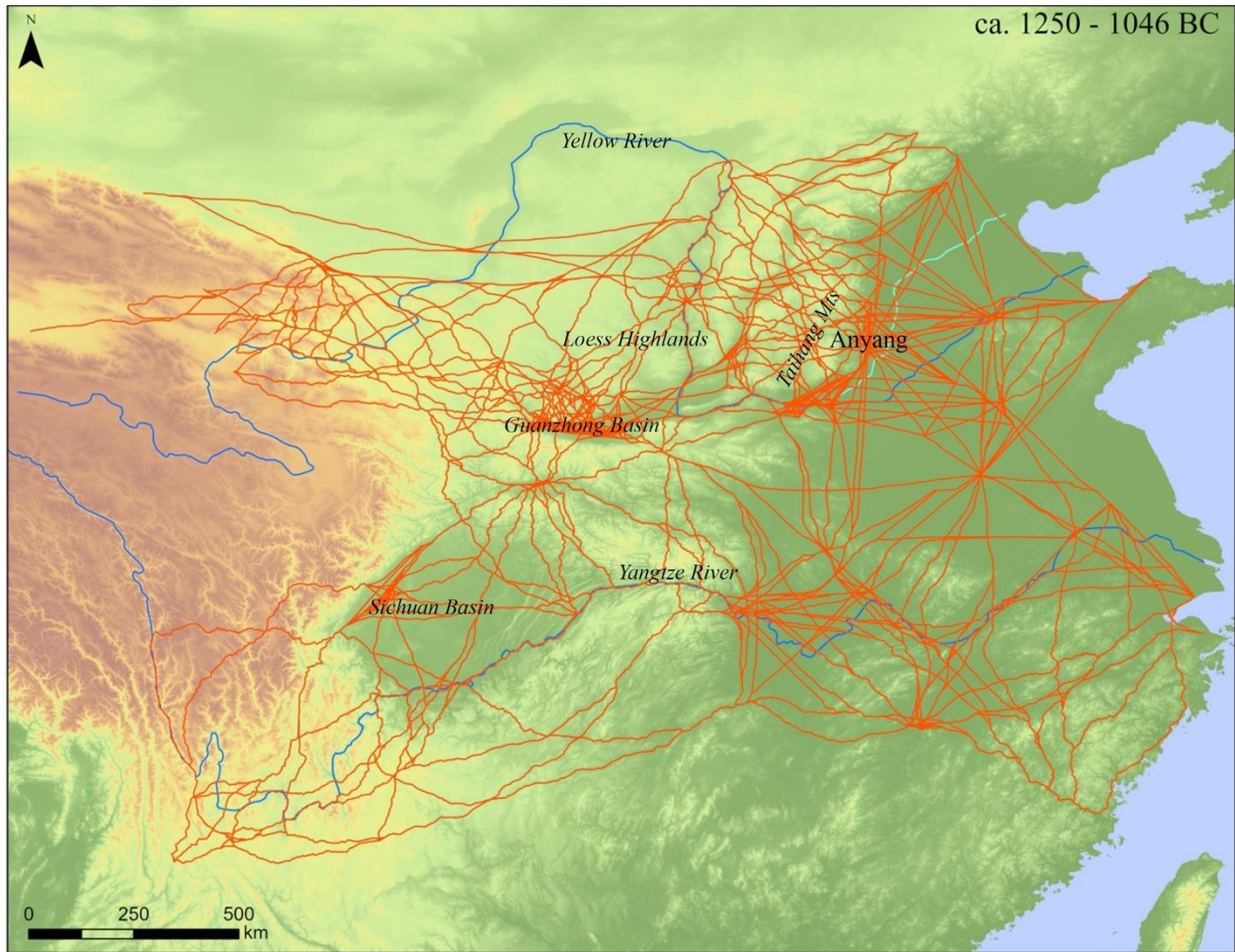


Figure 3.3. Map showing potential routes of movement between settlements during the Late Shang period.

### *The Shang Influence in Shandong*

Shang-affiliated centers in the east acted as a bulwark to further channel traffic through Shang-dominated networks. These centers include Subutun, Qianzhangda, and Daxinzhuang, which are located on the plains surrounding the mountainous areas of Shandong. Together with other Shang-affiliated sites, the communities of these sites encompassed a large part of the mountains of Shandong and controlled important routes of travel in the region (figure 3.4) (see also Fang 2013). Acting as powerful forces on the eastern margins of the Shang world, these three centers, whose artifact assemblages of Shang-style bronze weapons and ritual vessels, chariots, and clan emblems inscribed on bronze vessels materially linked these sites to Shang sociopolitical

networks and evidence shared religious elements circulating within the Shang world.<sup>1</sup> The wide distribution of Shang bronzes throughout the mountains of Shandong indicate that communities in this region were active within Shang exchange networks (see Guo 2009).

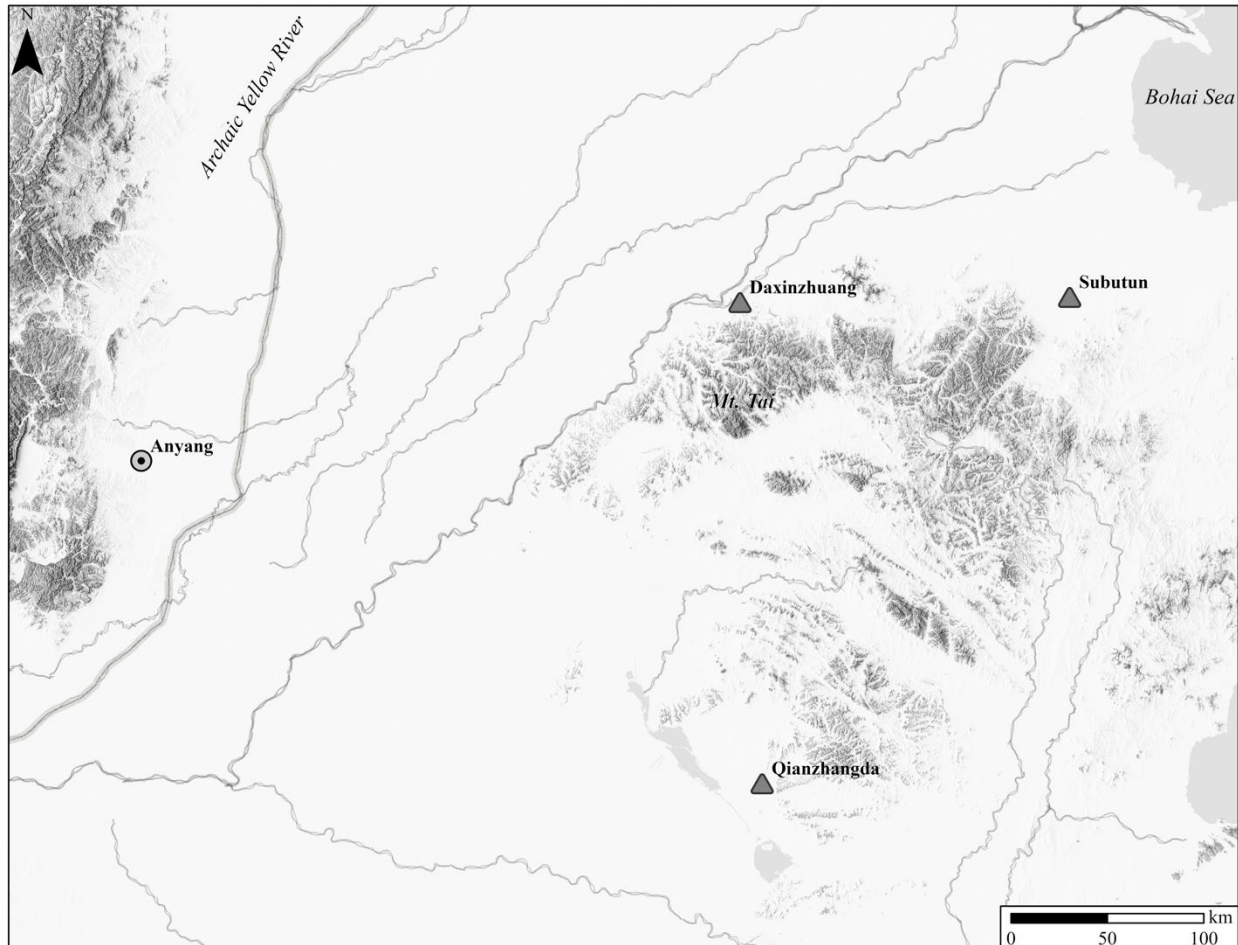


Figure 3.4. Map of Subutun, Qianzhangda, and Daxinzhuang relative to Anyang

An examination of sites in Shandong can reveal how the Shang-Zhou transition was implicated in local sociopolitical processes and exchange dynamics. Approximately 300 km southeast of Anyang, Qianzhangda (54 ha) represented a small polity closely aligned with the Shang state until it switched its political affiliation to the Zhou after the Shang collapse (figure

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<sup>1</sup> No chariots or chariot parts have been found at Daxinzhuang.

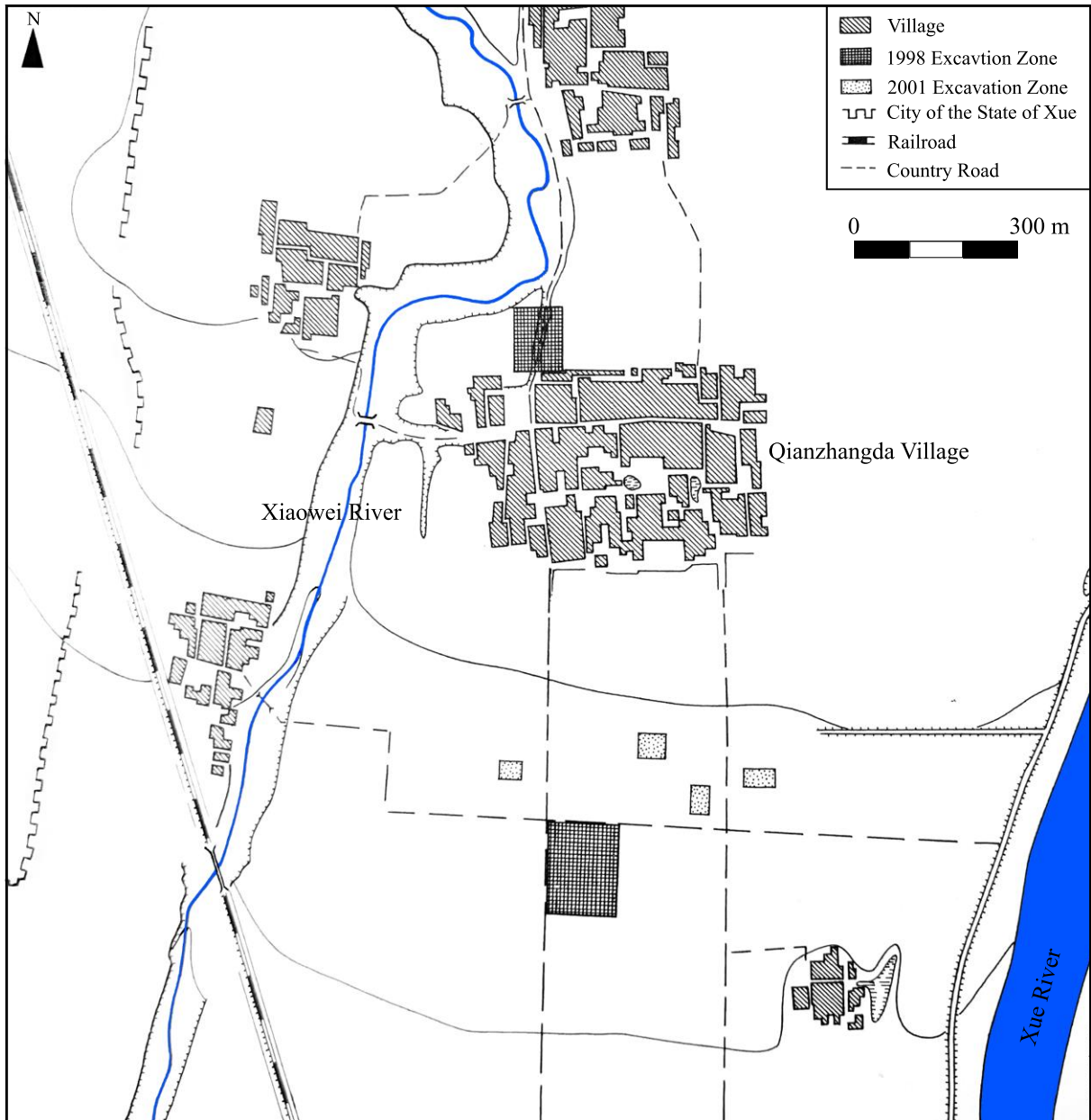


Figure 3.5. Qianzhangda site (adapted from Zhongguo 2005).

3.5). The region was an early target of Zhou expansion and would be home to several Zhou-affiliated states (Li F. 2013, Wang 2012). The plentiful ritual bronzes at Qianzhangda indicates this site was an important node in regional trading networks from which local elites extracted their wealth (see Pollard et al. 2017). Qianzhangda bronzes, inscribed emblems, burial customs, and chariot and horse pits reveal that Qianzhangda elites maintained close relationships with the Late

Shang state at Anyang (Li M. 2018, Zhongguo 2005). However, burial assemblages also reveal distinctive local cultural characteristics (see Zhongguo 2005).



Figure 3.6. Artifacts from a Late Shang period burial at Daxinzhuang: a) *Li* vessel (M127:6), b) *Gui* vessel, c) *Dou* vessel, d) Bronze Axe (M127:3), e) Bronze *gu*-goblet (M127:1), f) Bronze *jue*-tripod beaker (M127:2) (Modified from Shandong et al. 2020).

Like Qianzhangda, Daxinzhuang (30 ha) was not a product of Shang expansion from Anyang, but rather emerged from the earlier spread of Upper Erligang culture. With the discovery of Shang-style bronzes, ceramics, and inscribed oracle bones, Daxinzhuang is another settlement in Shandong that evidences deep connections with Shang culture, including Upper Erligang and Late Shang cultures (figure 3.6) (see Fang 2004, 2013; Li M. 2008, 2018; Shandong Daxue et al. 1995). In addition to the presence of Erligang and Late Shang cultures, evidence of bronze

production and the discovery of stoneware at the site indicates a high-level of integration within regional and interregional exchange networks (Fang 2004, Shandong Daxue et al. 1995, Wang 2021). Mortuary practices at Daxinzhuang also reflect Shang traditions present at Shang political centers at the time (Fang 2013). Some Daxinzhuang pottery also displays mixed Shang and local Yueshi elements, interpreted as indicating close material interaction between the newly arrived Shang culture and local Shandong residents (Li M. 2018; Shandong Daxue et al. 1995). While some oracle bone divination practice at Daxinzhuang reflects the style in the Shang centers to the west, some also evidence inherited techniques dating to the Longshan period (Li M. 2008, 2018). Fang Hui (2013) notes that the glazed pottery (釉陶) and the pattern-impressed stoneware (印纹硬陶) found at Daxinzhuang (and Qianzhangda) were likely obtained from exchange networks connecting these sites to the south.

Located in Qingzhou, Shandong, the Subutun cemetery represents the easternmost reach for an entity that was politically connected (or allied) to the Shang state (figure 3.7a, 3.7b). Dating from Yinxu Phases III-IV, the presence of human sacrificial victims, dogs in waist pits at the bottom of burials, secondary ledges (二层台), and interred goods with strong Shang cultural elements (including bronze *jue* and *gu* vessels)<sup>2</sup> at Subutun indicates a deep affinity with Anyang mortuary practices (Guo 2009, Shandong 1972, Shandong and Qingzhou 1989, Zhou 2020). Several of the tombs also have burial ramps—indicating the high status of the interred individuals—with one burial (M1) even having a four-ramp construction<sup>3</sup>, which was the construction style of the royal burials at the Shang royal cemetery at Xibeigang (Shandong 1972, Zhou 2020). Archaeologists also point to the military nature of the interred goods to suggest that

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<sup>2</sup> Sets of *jue* and *gu* vessels were common components of Shang mortuary assemblages (e.g., Zhongguo 2014).

<sup>3</sup> This burial also evidences human sacrifices and a waist pit with a dog placed within it, common aspects of elite Shang mortuary practices.

the Shang-affiliated individuals held military roles in Shandong (Zhou 2020).

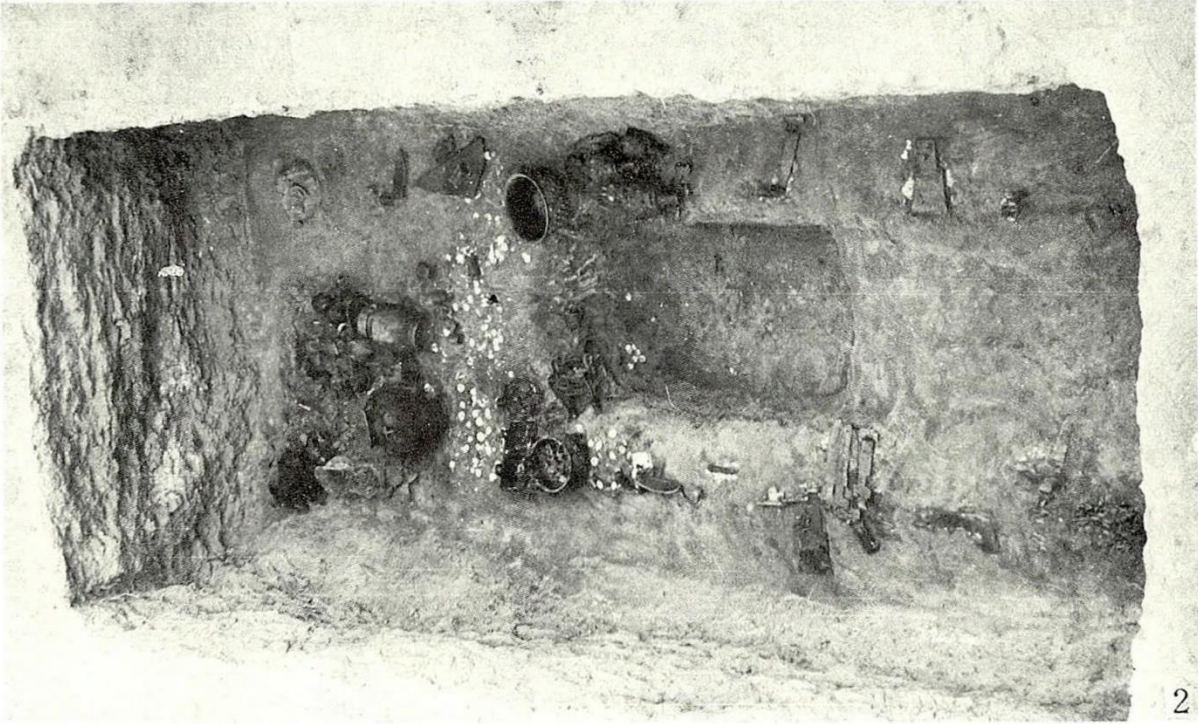
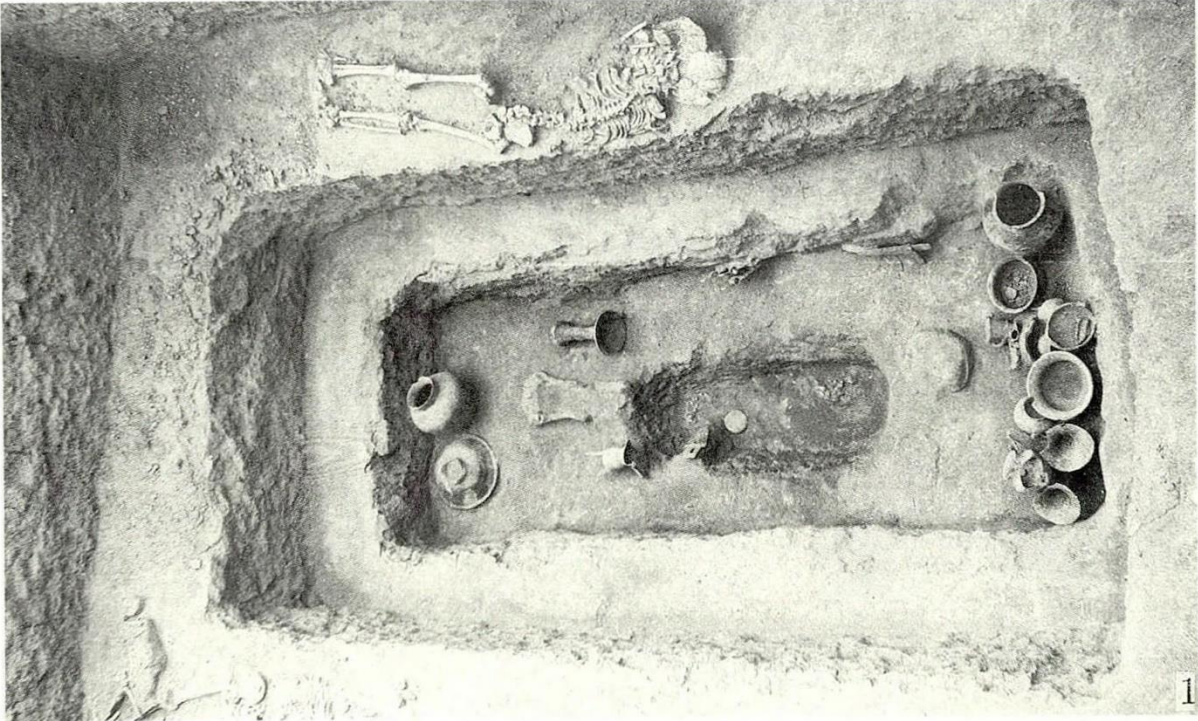


Figure 3.7a. Photos of Subutun tombs M7 (top) and M8 (bottom) (from Shandong and Qingzhou 1989).

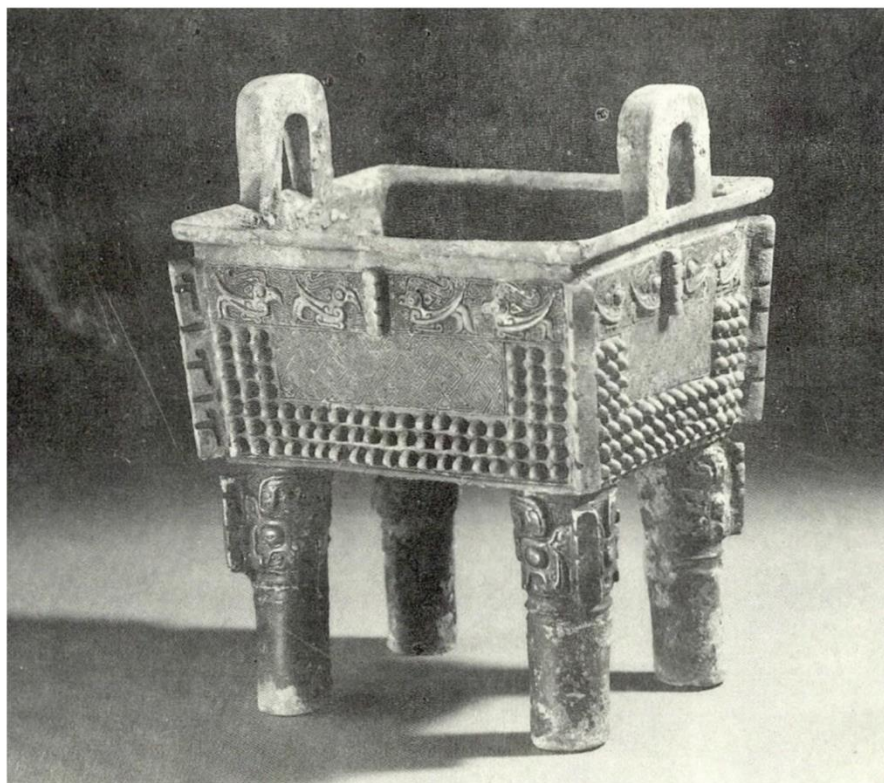
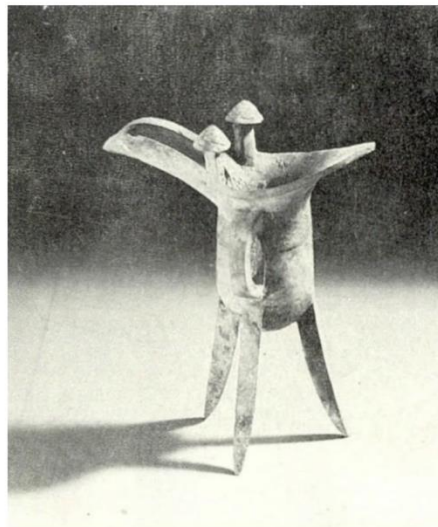


Figure 3.7b. Bronze tetrapod *ding* vessel and *jue*-tripod beaker from tomb M8 at Subutun (from Shandong and Qingzhou 1989).

Zhou E'na (2020) also preliminarily suggests that the jades from Subutun were likely quarried, at least in part, from Mt. Tai jade deposits and some could have come from Gansu.<sup>4</sup> Given the strong Shang characteristics found in the jade assemblages (and bronze assemblages) of Subutun, this indicates the wide-spread circulation of Shang stylistic and technical knowledge in Shandong, participation in interregional communities, and close interactions between Shandong communities. The political affiliation of Subutun remains a topic of debate within Chinese archaeology, with opinions ranging from a polity under the strong influence of the Shang at Anyang to an independent state operating at the margins of Shang control (see Fang 2013, Guo 2009). Nonetheless, the mortuary practices and bronze objects reveal close social and material connections with Anyang when the Late Shang state was at its height, if not direct political control.

While the level of political influence Anyang elites held over these centers was likely variable depending on fluctuating sociopolitical landscapes that defined this period (Li F. 2013, see also Ch. 4), the material remains from these sites clearly evidence active participation in Shang exchange and sociopolitical networks on the part of the communities at Subutun, Qianzhangda, and Daxinzhuang. These sites were also very likely to be among the key nodes in funneling vital raw materials, including salt (Peng 2012, Yan 2013, Wang 2014) and possibly copper (Campbell 2018, Li M. 2018), to the resource-hungry center at Anyang, which potentially covered over an area of up to 36 km<sup>2</sup> at its height. The presence of chariots and chariot parts at Qianzhangda and Subutun (Zhongguo 2005, Xia and Liu 1996) further reveals that Shandong elites were involved in the maintenance of Anyang alliances with northern groups that were essential to Late Shang

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<sup>4</sup> This is a tentative hypothesis based on Zhou's analysis, further analysis of jade materials is required. However, given that Subutun burials display strong evidence for long-distance interaction in the form of bronzes, it is not inconceivable that jades (either as raw materials, completed goods, or heirlooms) were circulating through interregional and regional networks.

power (see below), or at least participation in the networks central to the operation of Shang power.

As will be explored further below, spatial control was not the primary facet of Shang state building. At most, it can be considered a secondary effect, and one that only became manifest when it was required to reorient assemblages that held strong tendencies towards deterritorialization. Rather, the Shang network of affiliated centers and alliances in Shandong (and the historic conflicts with the local Dongyi) reveals the ebb-and-flow of the varied types of social relationships and political influences capable of being produced within complex cultural landscapes. Nonetheless, the spatial extent of the spread of Shang culture also testifies to the strong material cultural links that the Shang at Anyang (and Zhengzhou) the entanglement of the diverse polities and communities in Shandong with Shang culture. The exact nature of political relations between the Shang and groups in Shandong requires further research, but these relations were likely to have continually fluctuated.

#### *Anyang, Exchange Networks, and Power*

During the Late Shang period, extensive exchange networks connected disparate communities across Bronze Age China, from mining and smelting operations south of the Yangzi River to the Sanxingdui polity in Sichuan to varied groups in the northern steppe. These networks were vital to the processes reifying Shang power and supplying the large population at Anyang with supplies central to maintaining its urban fabric, even if the networks were not necessarily solely dependent on Anyang elites for maintenance. However, as Pollard et al. (2017) note in relation to the bronze production, the interregional supply and exchange networks that would have needed to be highly organized. This organization likely emerged at multiple scales and involved diverse communities and the intersection of their varied activities, including the Shang at Anyang. The interconnections between Anyang bronze production and groups in the south, where a large

amount of ore used at Anyang was sourced and independent bronze cultures existed during the Late Shang period, is revealed by Central Plains-derived technologies present in the south and the elemental compositions of bronze vessels cast in the south and at Anyang. Southern bronze casting cultures “used complex piece-moulds to cast a wide range of artefacts, and shared the preference for leaded alloys with their northern neighbours” (Pollard et al. 2017).

Bronzes bearing the distinctive chemical signature of highly radiogenic lead (HRL) used in Shang bronzes are found in diverse places, including the Chengdu Plain, the Hanzhong Basin, Ordos, the Middle Yangzi Region and as far west as Gansu (see Liu et al. 2021, Zhangsun et al. 2021). Bronze-casting groups outside of the Central Plains, including those in Sichuan, Hunan, Jiangxi, and Anhui, employed the technological traditions emanating from Central Plains urban centers, traditions now firmly associated with the workshops spread throughout the Shang urban core at Anyang (Pollard et al. 2017). Shang-style vessels have also been discovered in regions far outside of direct Shang political control, indicating multi-directional movement of goods and technologies (figure 3.8). Further, analyses of Shang vessels make clear that multiple distinct sources were used in the production of bronze goods, including from northeastern China, whose communities were foundational to Shang alliances and power.

The diverse goods found at Anyang as well as its massive scales of wealth and complex industries attests the relative success of the Shang in employing their centralized network strategy (Campbell 2018, Campbell et al. 2021, Chang 1983, Keightley 1999). These goods include pottery, bone products, stoneware likely from the south, and bronzes (Campbell et al. 2011, Campbell et al. 2021, Cao 2014, Hou et al. 2018, Li F. 2013, Li M. 2018, Li Y. 2003, Zhejiang and Huzhou 2012, Zhejiang et al. 2015). Given the location of Anyang in a region that lacked the resources needed to sustain its diverse industries, a substantial amount of raw materials had to be exchanged

over long distances, including cowries, domesticated and exotic animals, jade, turquoise, salt, and ores (Campbell 2018, Cao 2014, Fang 2004, Li F. 2013, Li M. 2018, Li Y. 2003, Pollard et al. 2017, Rawson et al. 2020, Wang 2014).



Figure 3.8. Bronze *bu* from the Nianzipo site in the Jing River Valley, Shaanxi (from Zhongguo 2007).

Mines and smelting operations in the south that were essential to the thriving bronze industry of the Erligang period (ca. 1600-1400 BC) were also active during the Late Shang period. Situated near the Yangzi River approximately 80 km southwest of Wuhan and covering an area measuring more than 7 km<sup>2</sup>, the ancient mining and smelting site of Tonglüshan in southern Hubei

was active from the Late Shang period to the imperial periods<sup>5</sup> (Huangshi 1999). The site is located almost 700 km south of Anyang, 500 km from Zhou bronze foundries in Luoyang, and over 700 km from the nearest Zhou foundry in the Guanzhong basin. However, with foundries dating to the Shang period discovered in nearby Lutaishan<sup>6</sup> (Hubeisheng et al. 2021), the many Zhou-affiliated states spread throughout Jianghan,<sup>7</sup> and local bronze-casting cultures dispersed along the Yangzi drainage, the copper mined from Tonglūshan would not have had to be transported far before it could be processed and transported to their final destinations. While it is difficult to assess the extent to which Tonglūshan materials were used in the Shang (or Zhou) bronze industry, it is clear that southern exchange networks were important in providing copper and tin to the thriving Shang bronze industry (Pollard et al. 2017).

Given that bronze objects were available beyond the highest echelons of the Shang hierarchy, Anyang foundries were serving patrons across the upper end of the sociopolitical spectrum (Campbell et al. 2021). Further, as analyses of Anyang bronzes have revealed material patterns in which high elites had access to higher quality metals and lower elite patrons typically used lower quality materials and/or recycled metal (Liu et al. 2020), it is likely that resource networks were also maintained by individual lineages, not just by the groups controlling the foundries (see also Campbell et al. 2021). This is especially likely among the higher elites, for whom access to high-quality materials was an essential aspect of maintaining their positions within

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<sup>5</sup> This determination was based primarily on radiocarbon data and the excavators' extensive analysis of stratigraphic relationships. The site report demonstrates that there were continuous mining operations from the Late Shang to the Western Han dynasty, followed by a stop in mining activity until the area saw continued exploitation during the Sui and Tang dynasties (Huangshi 1999:183-184). The evidence for smelting at the site to the Late Shang and early Western Zhou periods is however more ambiguous with a radiocarbon date giving a range of 3205±400. Smelting at the site can only be confirmed to have occurred from the Spring and Autumns period onward.

<sup>6</sup> The primary period of smelting activity is dated from the Huanbei Huanyuanzhuang phase (Middle Shang) to Yinxu Period I, but the excavators note that the site was active during Yinxu Period II, with a radiocarbon sample yielding a date range of 1211-1020 BC (Hubeisheng et al. 2021).

<sup>7</sup> Some of these states, such as E (Zhang 2011), demonstrate independent abilities to produce bronze vessels, indicating the presence of a robust infrastructure capable of supporting bronze industries in the south.

the Shang hierarchy (Liu et al. 2020).

Furthermore, as David Keightley (2012:30) has pointed out, royal oracle bone inscriptions “were not generally about bronze production.” While a lack of inscriptional evidence does not necessarily mean that the Shang king was not concerned with the varied networks involved in bronze production,<sup>8</sup> the absence of oracle bones in which the king inquired about bronze networks indicates that production as whole exceeded the concerns of royal Shang divinatory practices. It also likely points to the lack of centralized control over the organization of bronze production and perhaps points towards the emergence of the forms of commercialization discussed by Campbell et al. (2021). On the other hand, headed by a powerful lineage itself, the royal court was also involved in the circulation of raw materials and bronze production, including through gifting practices and even ordering officials to produce bronzes to commemorate events (see Li F. 2013:74). Thus, it is necessary to note that while oracle bone records are invaluable data sources, archaeological evidence—placed alongside data from oracle bones—provides a stronger foundation in interpreting Shang historical dynamics.

The networks that the Shang state and its affiliated polities and lineages projected influence within attest to the wide reach of Shang power structures, even in the absence of spatial and political control of every node in these networks. However, given the lack of a strong administrative structure that would have been required to centrally manage these complex networks (Li F. 2013), it is much more likely that each lineage maintained overlapping supply networks, which intersected at Anyang, which is evidenced by the dispersed distribution of workshops throughout the lineage-organized landscape of Anyang.<sup>9</sup> Given the large-scale nature

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<sup>8</sup> Bronze production occurred in the palace-temple area at Anyang (Chang 1980).

<sup>9</sup> The argument for lineage operated workshops at Anyang is commonly accepted (see Chang 1980), yet the nature of these lineages’ socioeconomic relationship with the Shang king is still a source of debate (see Campbell et al. 2021 for more relating to the debate on the Shang economy).

of industries at Anyang and the number of workers that would have been required to maintain the workshops of the Shang capital (Campbell et al. 2011, Li F. 2013), craft production at Anyang also likely cut across multiple social and political boundaries, making production spaces a very potent arena for the diffusion of the Shang hegemonic structure. It was at the intersection of production and urban life at Anyang that Shang power continually emerged and became embedded within the divergent networks of the late second millennium BC (see below).

### *Late Shang Alliances*



Figure 3.9. Horse and Chariot Pit at Dasikong, Yinxu (from Zhongguo 2014).

As mentioned above, it was not just raw materials and finished goods that travelled along these networks, but also several technologies crucial to the political economies of the middle and late second millennium BC. The technologies circulating within these networks included bronze

production techniques and chariots (and the technical knowledge of chariot production) (Cao 2014, Rawson 2017, Rawson et al. 2020), which were critical parts of Shang elite culture and are often expressed the objects found in high status contexts in Shang sites (figure 3.9) (e.g., Zhongguo 2005, Zhongguo 2014). The challenge for the Shang rulers emplaced at Anyang was orienting these diffuse networks made up of overlapping relationships among diverse polities, lineages, and other social groups in a way that would strengthen the dominant position of the Shang state within these networks.

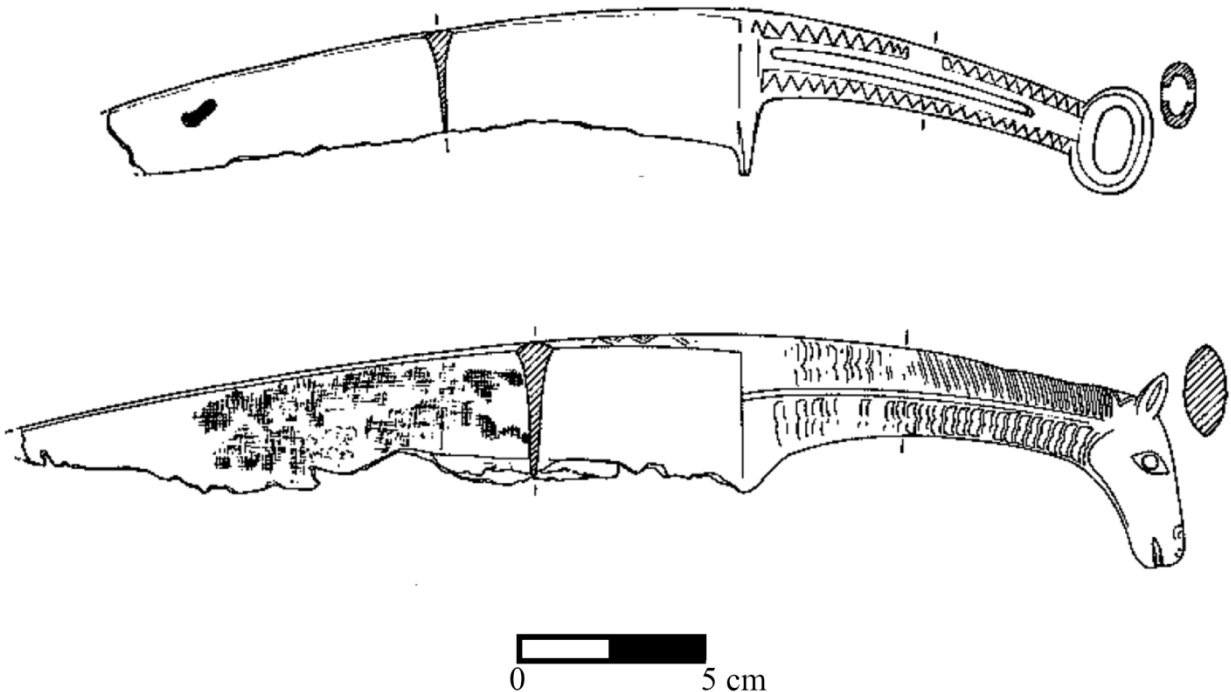


Figure 3.10. Northern-style knives found in tomb M54 at Huayuanzhuang East, Yinxu (Top: M54:301, bottom: M54:300) (from Zhongguo 2007).

Alliances, including marriage alliances (see Chang 1980 for more on Shang royal marriages), offered a particularly effective avenue for solidifying the dominance of Anyang within regional networks. For example, the consequential alliance between Anyang and northern and highland groups is evidenced by not just the presence of chariots and horses at Anyang and in the

surrounding region, but also by the discovery of northern-style artifacts in Anyang elite burials (figure 3.10) (see Li M. 2018, Rawson et al. 2020). In addition to the advantageous geographic position of Anyang, this alliance was one of the primary reasons Anyang acted as the preeminent hub between the Central Plains and the northern zones.

As K. C. Chang (1980) has noted, the marriage partners of the Shang king were highly active in many facets of Shang society and frequently appeared in oracle bone divinations. More than just a single ritual event binding two groups, Shang royal marriages were continually unfolding events reaffirmed from generation to generation and would have substantive impacts on the Shang sociopolitical structure. Archaeological research at Anyang confirms the fundamental importance of kinship in the continuance of Shang social and religious structures (Campbell 2018, Tang 2004).

The continual unfolding of marriage is revealed in the life and death of Fu Hao, a royal consort to Wu Ding who engaged in warfare and military recruitment on behalf of the Shang king (Chang 1980, Li F. 2013). Her tomb is located in the palace zone at Xiaotun and contains a wealth of goods, from large ritual bronze vessels to finely made jade objects (figure 3.11) (Zhongguo 1980). The interred goods reflect the wide reach of Shang exchange networks (Li M. 2018). Many of the artifacts in the tomb of Fu Hao display clear northern characteristics. In the context of the Late Shang political alliance with northern groups, the Shang move to the north, and the presence of northern elites at Anyang with similar burial customs, it is likely that Fu Hao was from the northern highlands or at least strongly affiliated with these groups (see Linduff 2006, Li M. 2018, Rawson et al. 2020).<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> There is, of course, the possibility that Fu Hao was from a Shang lineage with a northern connection given that the Shang had strong ancestral ties with the northern highlands (see Ch. 4), but this is not conclusive and the debate on Shang marriage customs is ongoing (see Campbell 2018, Chang 1980, Li M. 2018, Rawson et al. 2020 for more on Fu Hao and Shang marriage practices).

Fu Hao's marriage to the Shang king and her military service served to strengthen the Shang political influence in the north and secure vital north-south trade routes. The location of her tomb in the royal core of Anyang would have continually reinforced her position in the Shang ancestral hierarchy through the daily activities and ritual practices at Xiaotun. Just as her life reinforced the Shang sociopolitical structure and alliances, the tomb of Fu Hao and the links to highland groups evidenced in the interred goods of the tomb became a prominent assemblage regulating daily activities in the early Yinxu period at its urban core.



Figure 3.11. Reconstruction of the Tomb of Fu Hao (Photo by author, 2016).

Shang alliances were perpetuated through more than just marriage, but also maintained in every event involving exchange and the movement of people between the Shang homeland and surrounding regions, such as the movement of the northern experts needed for the Shang chariot industry and the constant supply of horses. As Cao Dazhi (2014:203) notes, although “Anyang had

begun breeding horses, [this] does not mean that it was self-sufficient.” Horses would have still needed to be obtained from the northern allies of the Shang, likely funneled through Shang outposts in Shanxi, such as Jingjie and Qiaobei (Cao 2014), and possibly through the string of Shang settlements along the northern edges of the Central Plains. Based on analyses of bronze objects, burials, and chariot pits, Rawson et al. (2020) further argue that northern groups had a significant presence at the Shang capital, indicating sustained communication between the Eurasian Steppe and Anyang.<sup>11</sup>

The export of chariot technologies to Shang-affiliated centers beyond Anyang, such as Qianzhangda, served to strengthen Shang connections with these centers and bring the dynamics of everyday life (especially elite life) within a Shang-dominated social structure. As Rawson et al. (2020:162) explain “[c]onstructing chariots, breaking and training horses, and managing them, both in driving pairs and day-to-day, are highly specialised skills.” The complex technical knowledge and horse supply was highly dependent on northern groups even for the Shang at Anyang (even if chariots were built locally).

The presence of chariots at Qianzhangda and other centers outside of Anyang could have been a highly effective means to penetrate local elite dynamics as the maintenance of these complex technologies would have heavily relied on the Shang at Anyang or the flow of people, animals, and knowledge through the complex networks extending from the north. For the few communities to the east and south of Anyang that had access to chariot technologies,<sup>12</sup> this flow would have been mediated by the Shang, who dominated the north-south routes from their base at Anyang. Northern networks effectuated more than political alliances, a steady supply of horses,

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<sup>11</sup> Such as tomb M54 at Huayuanzhuang East.

<sup>12</sup> Cao Dazhi (2014) notes that chariots and horses are rare outside of Anyang following their introduction to the Central Plains.

and the technical knowledge required to maintain the large Shang chariot industry; compositional analyses of Shang bronzes reveal that Anyang foundries also used raw materials mined in the north (Pollard et al. 2017). Thus, Shang alliances with diverse groups proved to be a potent force in the Bronze Age world.

### *Shifting Relations and the Becoming of the Shang State*

However, a common feature of these alliances is their propensity to shift, perhaps most famously (and consequentially for the Shang) in the case of the Zhou. Sociopolitical connections in the Late Shang were fluid; “[t]here was no permanent relationship in the Shang state as there was no permanent enemy of it” (Li F. 2013:109). Fluctuating alliances also point towards the inherent instability and limits of the Shang capacity to channel movement within networks and influence sociopolitical processes within the complex landscape of the late second millennium BC. David Keightley (1983, 1999:277) famously noted that the spatial extent of the Late Shang state was “porous and fluid” and that the movement of the Shang royal house was primarily centered on the region around the Taihang Mountains and the lower archaic Yellow River, considered as the Late Shang royal heartland in early imperial sources.

While I do not necessarily argue against the spatial extent of the Late Shang state as proposed by previous scholars, the focus on territory distracts from the fundamental nature of the apparatus of capture that structured Late Shang political dynamics. Instead of a focus on trying to delineate territorial boundaries and the political and cultural designation of any one settlement held at a given time, it would be more fruitful to consider the role of specific events and processes in maintaining and animating a structure of power within the micropolitical dimensions of second millennium BC lifeways.

While the movement of Shang kings within a relatively circumscribed area could be

viewed from a perspective that considers the continually fluctuating alliances that characterized sociopolitical relations during this period, the movement of the Shang king in this region was also likely vital in the operation of Shang influence within regional networks and the repetition of an encounter that was fundamental to the perpetuation of Shang power. That is, each time the king moved in this region, the movement itself among settlements, people, and paths that defined Late Shang networks produced an affection that fortified Anyang and limited the potential that networks would be redirected away from Shang structures.



Figure 3.12. Bronze *ding* tripod vessel holding bones found in tomb M303 at Dasikong, Yinxu (M303:116) (from Zhongguo 2014).

In the absence of a strong regional administrative system, it is also argued that the movement of the king and other Shang elites, whether that be visiting and feasting with allies or

conducting a royal hunt, contributed to the maintenance of the facilities required to sustain the interregional exchange networks so clearly evidenced in the diverse range and quantity of goods and materials found at Anyang (see also Campbell 2018, Fiskesjö 2001). Feasting was central to Shang social dynamics since its founding at Zhengzhou and is evidenced by the central position cooking and drinking vessels held in the Shang ritual set, the widespread diffusion of these vessels throughout the Shang cultural sphere, and mentions of feasting activities in Shang oracle bones (figure 3.12) (Keightley 1999, Li M. 2018).

The presence and movement of the large groups that would have likely traveled with the king would have also required the maintenance of a provisioning system and strategic points along trade routes for parties to rest. There was also the strategic need for the Shang to maintain their ability to project strength militarily, whose military force would have been considerably weakened without constantly demonstrating the capacity to deploy their military in any numbers and maintain communication with allies within a structured logistical network. In this way, the routes and settlements defining Shang dominated networks and the mundane everyday activities involved in their maintenance were directly implicated in the threat of force by the Shang. In other words, it was the potential of force and the continual emplacement of this potential on the landscape that was the more potent mode of power.

The landscape during the Late Shang period was marked by many obstacles that made travel and communication over the landscape difficult (Keightley 2012). However, in spite of the difficulties, the diverse range of goods found at Anyang, the north-south movement of people, technologies, and goods, the dispersion of workshops producing Shang-style goods throughout North China (He 2019, Wang 2016), and the transport of raw materials between the south and north reveals the operation of well-developed interregional and regional exchange networks that

enabled movement throughout Shang China. With complex mountain systems to the west, strong alliances to the north, significant economic engagement with the south, and the location of Anyang and its outposts in Shandong on opposite sides of the Central Plains, the Shang were well-positioned to substantively influence movement throughout northern China. While detecting single episodes of movement by the Shang royal house in the archaeological record is difficult, records of royal hunting (Fiskesjö 2001, Keightley 1999) and the participation of the king and members of his lineage in war (Campbell 2018) indicate that the logistical mechanisms required for the movement of the royal court were well-established. The routes of travel and settlements along these routes at the core of the Shang network strategy acted as the veritable arms and catchments of the Late Shang state.

Travel along these geopolitically important routes likely was a strategic part of the Zhou conquest—both the military conquest of Anyang and the ongoing attempts by the Zhou to dismantle the Shang state—that gave the Zhou a highly visible presence to the communities situated along these routes, communities that were central to Shang power projection. Moreover, given the relative paucity of evidence for a network of interconnected settlements between the Zhou base in the Guanzhong Basin and the Late Shang state in Henei (Lü et al. 2019), routes between the few settlements in the area (such as Jingjie, Jiuwutou, and Qiaobei) would have likely been part of the movement of the Zhou military forces preceding the conquests of Anyang.

The Zhou co-option of Shang routes of communication and travel and movement along these routes then ruptured the ongoing process of the emplacement of Shang structures of power on the landscape. Indeed, given that the early Western Zhou expansion targeted areas within the Shang sphere of influence (i.e., Henei and Shandong), the routes of movement and communication—and the varied groups involved in the maintenance of these routes—underlying

the Shang state would have been essential in the logistics of this expansion (see Li F. 2013, Li M. 2018 for more on the Zhou expansion). Thus, there is always the potential for the decomposition of the power structures that are embedded within any assemblage. The use of this potent strategy by the Zhou is evident in the period immediately following the fall of Anyang. During this period, the Zhou established regional states with kinship ties to the Guanzhong-based Zhou along major routes in Henei (e.g., Yan, Xing, Wey), employed artisans from Shang workshops to rapidly develop critical industries, and expanded towards resource rich regions in Shandong and Hubei in which the Shang previously exerted substantial influence (see Ch. 5).

While these Zhou actions were materialized in the wake of the conquest of Anyang, they did not emerge from a vacuum. Rather, their effectiveness was historically contingent on the very practices the Shang instituted to reify their own hierarchy. As the Shang state captured diverse assemblages—including those that ordered craft production, religious activities, and urban development in a myriad of communities—across the landscape, it was not only an axis of territorialization that was inscribed in these assemblages that limited processes of escape, but also the virtual potential for the decomposition of the Shang state.<sup>13</sup>

It should be noted here that even though particular lines of flight emplaced since Shang times were active through the transition, it does not follow assemblages emerging in local communities across northern China during the early Western Zhou period immediately produced an affection that effectuated Zhou power structures and emplaced Zhou social norms. As the line of flight moves an assemblage towards the plane of immanence, the process of decomposition is argued to be unpredictable. There was no preconceived Zhou subject that could embed itself within diverse communities, the process of embedding Zhou institutions and the image of Zhou power

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<sup>13</sup> As I discussed in chapter 2, the movements of territorialization and deterritorialization/decomposition are fundamental aspect of assemblages.

would prove to be a long, complex historical process (see Falkenhausen 2006, Li F. 2013).

### *Craft Production in the Late Shang State*

The period preceding the Zhou conquest was one of unparalleled prosperity for the Shang elite at Anyang. The effectiveness and necessity of Shang hegemonic practices can be gleaned from the distribution of craft production sites throughout the region traditionally ascribed to being under direct or strong indirect control of the Shang royal lineage as well as studies examining the linkages between these production sites (He 2019, Hou et al. 2018, Li S. et al. 2018, Zhang 2018). For example, the pottery kilns of the Late Shang settlement at Guandimiao, which is located in the Zhengzhou area, were clearly producing beyond local capacity, and while the ultimate destination of Guandimiao pottery is unclear, the fact that there was a “surplus” of these items suggests that everyday goods were exchanged within the dense networks of the Shang homeland (see Li S. et al. 2018, Campbell et al. 2021). Even the pottery excavated at Anyang reveals a robust exchange network, as evidenced by the non-local temper discovered in an analysis of Anyang pottery by Stoltman et al. (2018).

Moreover, as discussed above (and below), these workshops existed outside the framework of a central administrative unit (i.e., royal control), but were instead production spaces that acted as affective spheres bringing together diverse lineages and weaving the complex networks of Bronze Age China within the potent Anyang urban landscape. Recent discoveries of Late Shang sites in Anyang demonstrate the working of a greater Anyang landscape that extended beyond the traditionally defined urban limits of around the Huan River.<sup>14</sup>

Located approximately 10 km northwest of Xiaotun and dating from Yinxu Phases II-IV, the newly excavated Xindian bronze foundry evidences the large-scale production of bronzes,

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<sup>14</sup> This “Greater Yinxu” zone, which the excavators of Xindian refer to (Anyang 2021), is similar to the urban organization of Greater Zhouyuan in the Guanzhong Basin (see Chapters 4 and 5).

including the casting of bronzes and the production of ceramic molds (figure 3.13) (Anyang 2021). With the discovery of diverse goods (e.g., bronze vessels, tools, and weapons; jade; and lacquerware) at the site (Anyang 2021), the Xindian workshop also evidences intense involvement within interregional and regional networks.

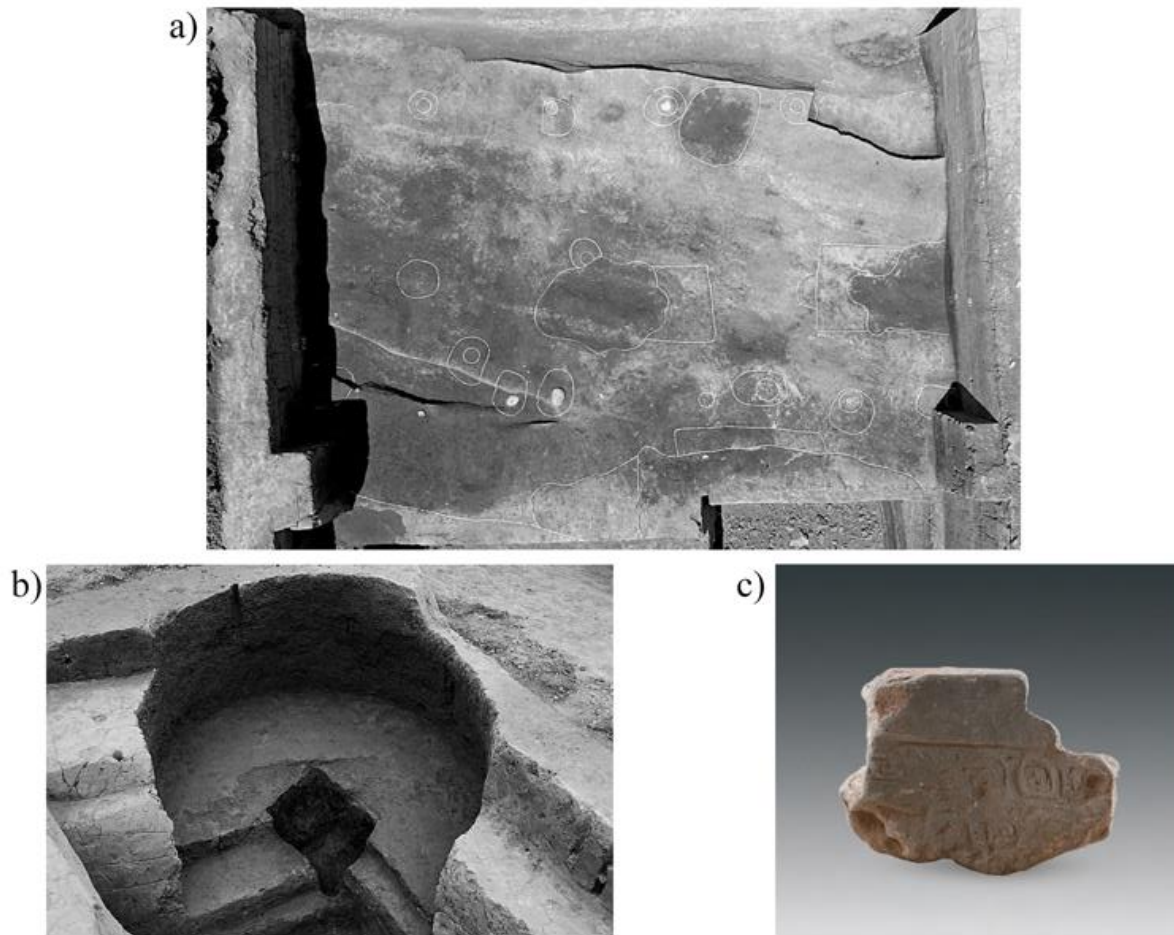


Figure 3.13. A) Co-presence of burial and living spaces at Xindian, b) feature associated with bronze production at Xindian, c) Ceramic mold for a ding vessel (from Anyang 2021).

Further, the lineage emblems found at Xindian also appear in areas throughout Anyang, indicating close entanglements between communities at Xindian and Anyang core area (Anyang 2021). Late Shang bronze workshops, like Xindian and Xiaomintun, were in operation in the period immediately following the conquest of Anyang and before the ultimate decline of Anyang as an urban center. This post-conquest operation of craft industries is evidenced by the spread of

Anyang-produced bronze vessels in the Guanzhong Basin in Western Zhou tombs (see Li M. 2021).

Aside from the large workshops at Anyang and the surrounding region that would have needed well-developed trade routes and large-scale resource extraction operations, an extensive system of settlements and outposts would have needed maintenance to continue channeling people and goods towards Anyang. The movement of Shang royalty and elite then could have functioned as one part of the Shang strategy to bolster its networks. This political performance of presence also likely foreshadowed the common Zhou practice of moving among royal centers (see Khayutina 2010, Li F. 2006).

### **Embedded Technologies: The Urban Landscape of Anyang**

At its height, Anyang covered an area of approximately 36 km<sup>2</sup> and consisted of a dense patchwork of lineage-based compounds, large workshops, and an extensive system of roads and waterworks that archaeologists are only now just beginning to understand systematically (see Jing et al. 2013, Tang et al. 2016). Situated on a slightly raised part of the Anyang landscape, the center of power in the Late Shang metropolis was emplaced at the palatial complex of Xiaotun (figure 3.14). The palatial complex alone consisted of at least 53 large scale buildings as well as numerous elite burials, storage pits, and smaller residential buildings and workshops (Chang 1980, Jing et al. 2013, Li F. 2013).

Due to its raised elevation, the ruins (or at least the former site) of the Middle Shang center of Huanbei Shang City would have been visible on the horizon at multiple points from the Xiaotun palatial complex. The memory of Huanbei and its material traces likely affected a potent reminder of the legacy of the Shang now enshrined at Xiaotun to both the people traveling into Anyang and to those visiting and living at the palatial complex. This connection is materialized in the moat surrounding Xiaotun, which mirrored the moat surrounding Huanbei (He 2021a). Further, Suzuki

Mai (2011) has argued that material remains at Xiaotun suggest an active bronze foundry during the pre-Yinxu Huanbei period, giving further credence to a strong link between Huanbei and Xiaotun.

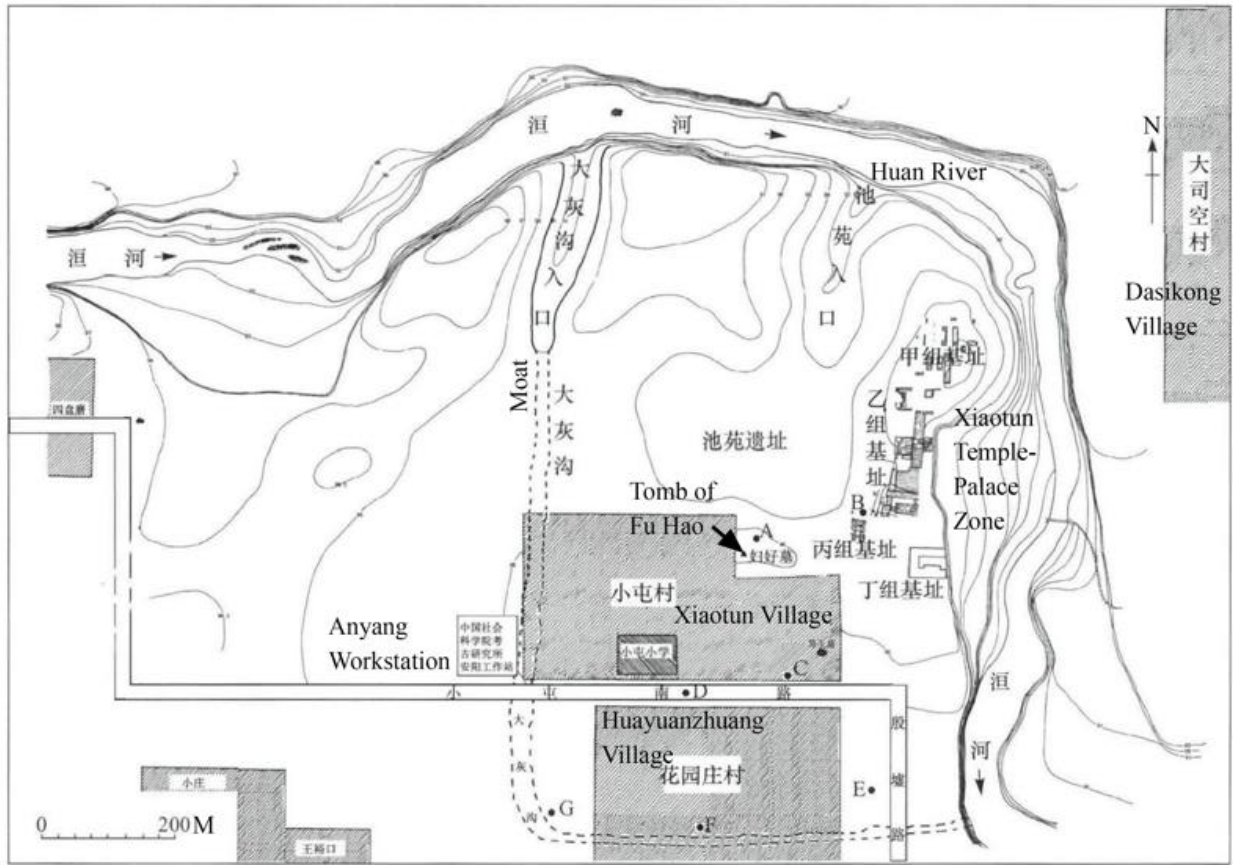


Figure 3.14. Layout of the temple-palace area at Xiaotun (Modified from Yue and Yue 2015).

The urban structure of Anyang consisting of dispersed lineage compounds and workshops effectuated mechanisms of power that assembled diverse social forms, traditions, and practices in the expansion of the Shang state. In conjunction with the previous discussion on networks, the lineage-based nature of Anyang and its urban structure also brings to the fore another important dimension of Late Shang political dynamics that goes straight to the core of the Shang state. Late Shang period exchange routes and the urban fabric of Anyang were characterized by overlapping social and economic networks that were constantly adapting to changing regional processes

throughout Bronze Age China. These complex networks are one of the primary underlying reasons that historians and archaeologists consistently note the changing political networks of the Late Shang period (see Campbell 2018, Li F. 2013), which underlines the fundamental challenges constantly facing Shang rulers.

I argue that the establishment of Anyang with its diffuse landscape of settlements effectuated a structure of power through a potent experiential mode. Passing through and living within Anyang as an urban assemblage, the movement of people and objects were implicated in the reification of the Shang state. That is, passing among a landscape animated by the activities of diverse lineages each holding a unique role in the complex regional and interregional networks would impart a very distinctive experience of the everyday rhythms of life at Anyang and its complex connections with regional processes.

Yet there would also be continual encounters with ordered (and sometimes violent) ritual displays—such as the rituals associated with the Shang ritual calendar, state-sponsored sacrificial rituals at the royal cemeteries, and Shang divinations—and traces of higher political organization in public works, such as the water system of Anyang (He 2021a, Tang et al. 2016). Experiencing Shang chariots and accompanying horses would have constituted a strong visceral encounter pointing towards Shang political alliances with the north and its military prowess (in terms of its organizational and technical capacities, if not the ability of the Shang to field chariots in war) (see Cao 2014, Rawson et al. 2020). The maintenance of chariots and the provisioning and caring of horses from the north would have been important aspects of Shang elite culture and a common experience at Anyang and other higher status Shang sites.

Xiaotun itself would also serve as a potent agent in materializing Shang power structures. Not only would its close spatial and material connections with the earlier Middle Shang center at

Huanbei lend the Late Shang royalty with a degree of historical legitimacy, its elevated position overlooking the vital Huan River and the moat surrounding it that further integrates the waterway with the palatial zone also affectively demonstrates its close ties and position in wider trade routes that relied on river networks. While the dispersed nature of craft workshops and the distinct trade networks that ran through them could be seen as a weak point of Shang power, Shang power was not predicated on direct oversight, although there were workshops in the palatial zone. The power of the Shang state lay *not* in the active control of *all* workshops and their associated networks, but in the capacity to bring together and order craft production assemblages within a potent landscape structured by a Shang hierarchy.

In this way, each time people, materials, and goods passed through lineage workshops—many bounded through kinship to the Shang king—the workshops simultaneously became the vehicle and target of Shang power projection. It was in this active and continual gathering of multiplicities of bodies that underlies the power embedded in the Anyang landscape. Anyang was a powerful place where diffuse networks were materialized in an urban milieu and became strongly associated with the Shang elite. As an aside, the potent structures of power could be a part of the reason the Zhou conquest led to the abandonment of Anyang as an urban hub rather than the Zhou continuing to inhabit Anyang, the Shang structure of power was firmly inscribed in the landscape such that only its ruination could bring about a shift in the structures of power this landscape could effectuate (see Ch. 5, see also Li M. 2021).<sup>15</sup>

Anyang, therefore, embodied and facilitated the form of power projection that defined the capacity of the Shang state to affect. Following this mode of thought, I argue the most powerful

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<sup>15</sup> It should also be noted here that recent archaeological work in the area around the Shang royal necropolis has revealed a Western Zhou site covering an area of 40 ha (Henan 2023). However, this site is far removed from the Anyang core zone and significantly less in scale and complexity compared to Anyang

form of Shang authority existed in its ability to bring about a Shang-ordered structure in the micropolitical dynamics of the everyday. While grandiose displays of wealth, feasts among elites, marriage alliances, war, and large-scale human sacrifices were certainly effective in projecting power, these events emerged from the everyday lines along which power is applied and reified.

### **The Everyday, the Ordinary, and the Extraordinary**

Perhaps some of the most consequential everyday processes for reterritorializing (and decomposing) Shang power structures are found within the micropolitics of ordinary spaces. It is first necessary, however, to expound on the nature of the everyday and the ordinary. The everyday and the ordinary are theoretically ambiguous concepts, yet they have received much attention by scholars in many fields, including cultural studies, literary studies, sociology, philosophy, and anthropology (e.g., de Certeau 1984, Highmore 2002, 2011; Robin 2013; Smith 2010; Stewart 2007).

Ben Highmore (2002:175), one of the preeminent theorists on the everyday, proposes that the “everyday is...a form of attention that attempts to animate the heterogeneity of social life, the name for an activity of finding meaning in an impossible diversity.” In this sense, the everyday is a methodological concern, it moves beyond mere context into the unpredictability of the quotidian. Expanding on his earlier work, Highmore (2011:1) further argues that the “everyday is the accumulation of ‘small things’ that constitute a more expansive but hard to register ‘big thing.’”

The everyday is then life, in all its lived experiences, familiar outlines, dull routines, profound ruptures, and embodied tensions that swell and overflow into our most proximate environments—it is the mundane. It is those daily occurrences that often fail to manifest consciously, yet guide our senses and mutually inform our actions. That is, the everyday is not an overarching structure, but rather it is the arena that is animated by agency and our ordinary

interactions with the world, yet the everyday also informs the becomings that characterize life.

Emerging along these overflowing lines, ordinary spaces burst into life and recede into the virtual. The ordinary would then be those spaces that hum with the varying intensities born of lived experiences and (re)shaped by undulating temporalities. As Kathleen Stewart (2007:1) writes, “[t]he ordinary is a shifting assemblage of practices and practical knowledges...a dream of escape or of the simple life.” Ceaselessly being generated from these shifting assemblages, ordinary affects are those affects “that give everyday life the quality of a continual motion of relations, scenes, contingencies, and emergences” (Stewart 2007:2).

The ordinary is that realm that “harbours an abundance that is distinct from material plenty: it is there when we talk about something as common, it is there when we talk about society, and it is there when we talk about ‘us’” (Highmore 2011:5). It is that facet of our ever-changing sociocultural landscape where the extraordinary is given its immanence (and legibility) within the vicissitudes of everyday life. Within the ordinary, our positionality is mapped within broader social networks and the place where macro social flows pour into our everyday.

What then is the connection between the everyday and the ordinary and the operation of power? Between the unfolding of everyday life and the continual emergence of ordinary spaces exists the most potent sphere for the emplacement of power structures. In the sense of Deleuze and Guattari, we could perhaps offer the everyday as those events (i.e., entering into an assemblage) that characterize day-to-day living while the ordinary is the plane of immanence from which these assemblages form. Power at its most potent lodges itself at that moment of emergence of an event from the plane of immanence. It is then precisely within this in-betweenness that power structures become pervasive and capable of gaining its diagnostic ability to limit the potential of divergent outcomes.

For Stewart (2007:3), the ordinary (or more precisely the ordinary's affects) is "literally" the site where power is conducted, its potency lies precisely in the "immanence to things" that determines its (ever-changing) structure. For only when ordinary assemblages are held within an apparatus of capture, does the state truly take a form and become "felt" within the lives of diverse communities.<sup>16</sup> The ordinary at once escapes ideology, while "also [carrying] with it the policing exertions of the normative and the governmentality of institutions" (Highmore 2011:5). This is the micropolitical, and it is only by emerging within the rhythms of the everyday can macro-structures be given any form of hegemonic potential, the macro and the micro are inseparable. As Massumi (2015:79) highlights, the micropolitical orients us towards "the generative moment of experience...It's a question of reconnecting processually with what's germinal in your living, with the conditions of emergence of the situations you live through."

The task before Shang rulers was to capture the potential of those generative moments that occur in the everyday and embed structures of power that can continually reshape the ordinary in such a way that weakens the virtual potential of the fall of the Shang. Foodways are prominent pathways involved in the production and maintenance of social relationships, practices, group identities, and power structures as well as heavily informing a group's experience, habits, and knowledges (Jaffe et al. 2018, Kim et al. 2016, Dietler and Hayden 2001, Hastorf 2017). In early China, the importance of foodways in power dynamics is revealed in the central position feasts and food and drinking vessels have in rituals and ritual assemblages (see Li M. 2018, Sterckx 2011).

### *Alcohol, Ritual, and Power*

Alcohol consumption was a potent avenue by which power structures were reified in

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<sup>16</sup> See Massumi (2015) for more on the relationship between power and affect.

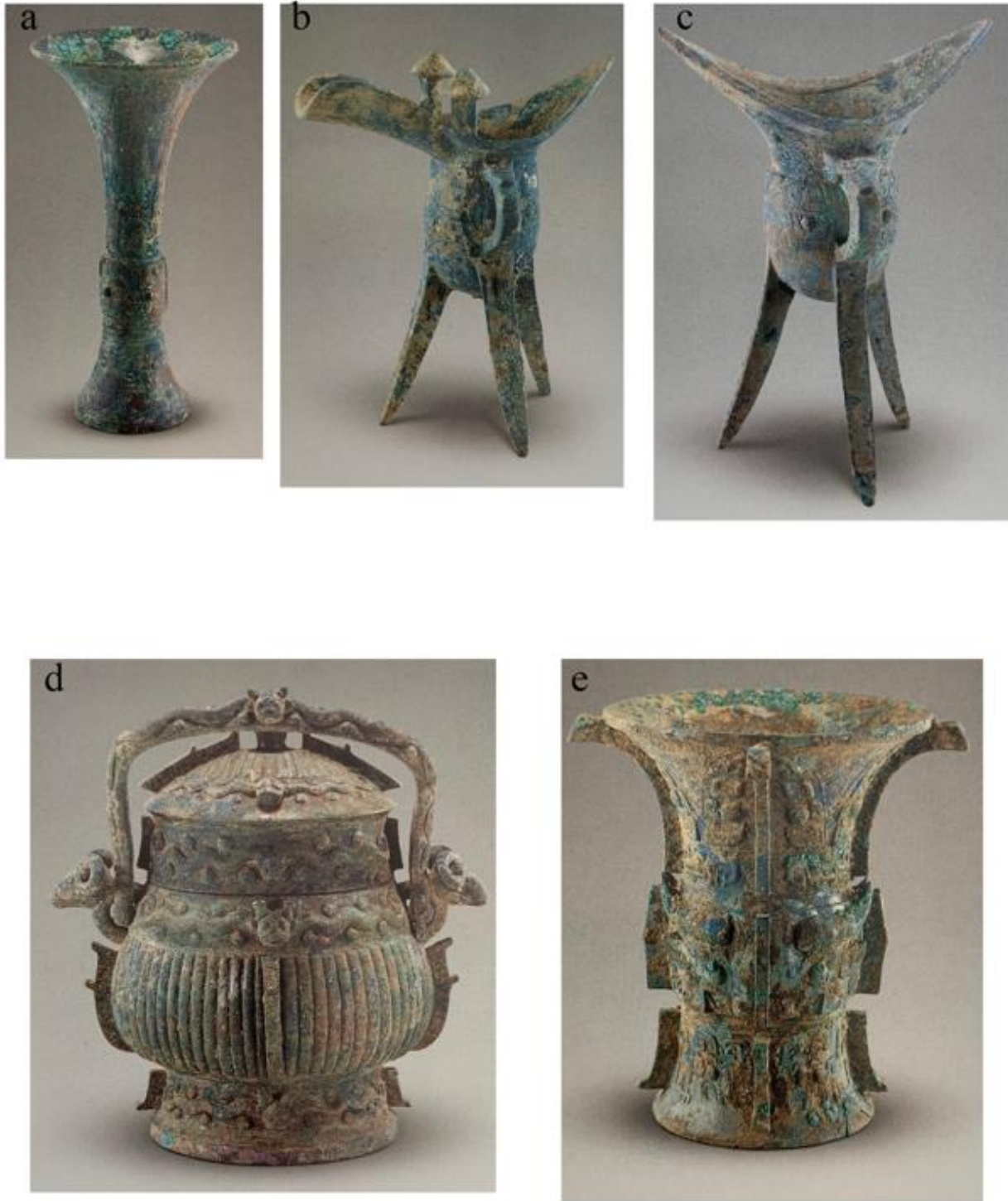


Figure 3.15. Shang drinking vessels found at Dasikong, Yinxu: a) Bronze *gu*-goblet (M11:105), b) Bronze *jue*-tripod beaker (M11:108), c) Bronze *jiao*-tripod pitcher (M11:114), d) Bronze *you*-container (M11:112), e) Bronze *zun*-container (M11:76) (Modified from Zhongguo 2014).

everyday lives during the Shang and Zhou periods. Vessels used in the consumption of alcohol were central components of the Shang ritual set (figure 3.15) (Han 2010). Li Min (2022) explores the interconnections between libation and drinking rituals and political authority from the late Neolithic to the Zhou period and the continued influence of these libation rituals through the early imperial period<sup>17</sup>. Both epigraphic evidence and archaeological evidence in the form of a relatively resilient libation set reveal that libation rituals were fundamental elements of elite culture and state building (Li M. 2022).

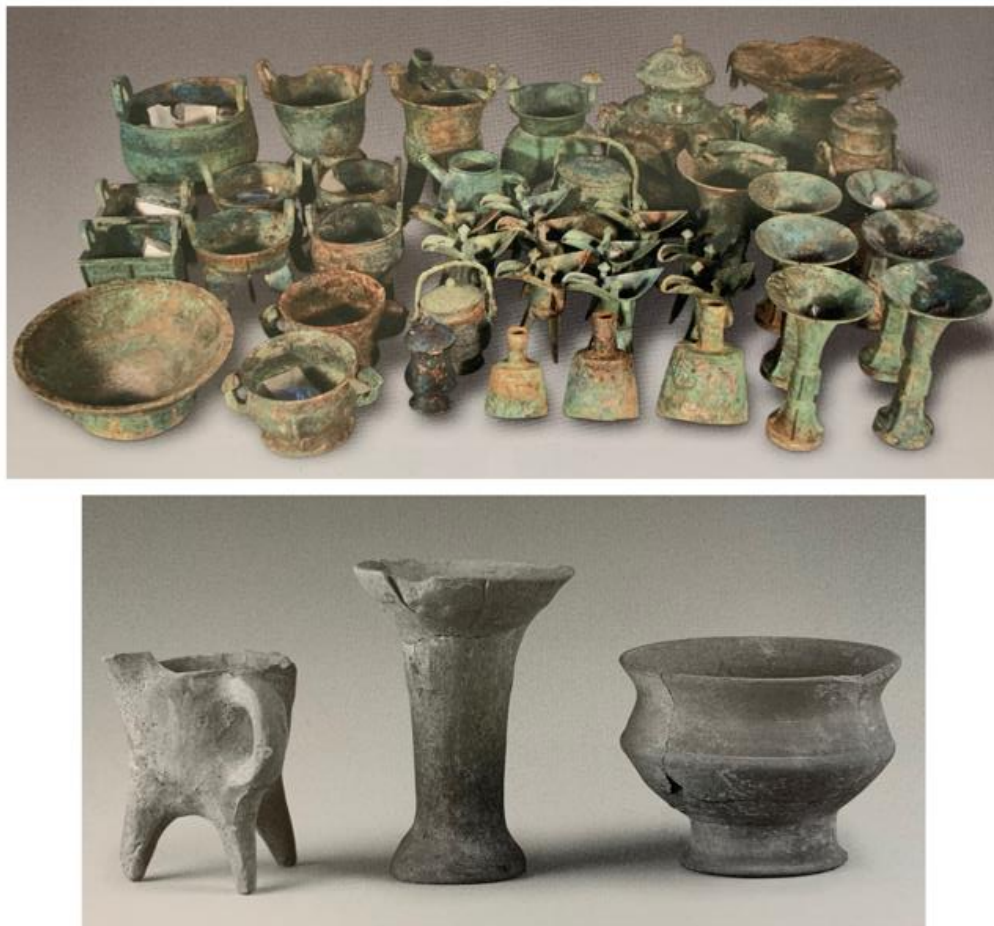


Figure 3.16. Elite bronze ritual assemblage from tomb M303 and ceramic ritual assemblage from tomb M446, both at Dasikong, Yinxi (from Zhongguo 2014).

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<sup>17</sup> Li Min (2022:18) explains that while the libation ritual ceased to be performed after the Zhou period, “its aura as the symbol of kingship linger[ed] in the political discourse of early imperial China.” The libation ritual is then an excellent example of the historical contingency of power structures over long periods.

The material elements of the libation ritual set varied through time and changed along with technological innovations in early China, but Li (2022:18) identifies “infused alcohol, jade tablets, lacquered wood and later bronze goblet[s]” as central components of the ritual set. As Li explains, these material markers are found across Neolithic and Bronze Age China. In Late Shang society, drinking vessels—both bronzes and ceramics—were a core part of burial assemblages for elites and non-elites (figure 3.16).

Expanding on Li’s analysis, I argue that the affections of religious, social, and political power produced in the elite performance of rituals involving libation and drinking originated not only in the ritual consumption of alcohol, but also in the ongoing process of gathering together diverse bodies and signifying elements in craft production, trade, and the wide-spread adaption of and increased participation in a common religious paradigm. The spatial distribution of libation assemblages across the Shang and Zhou worlds (Han 2010, Li M. 2022) and mortuary rituals acting as spaces for intense sociopolitical negotiation and religious performance at Shang and Western Zhou centers (e.g., MacIver 2017, Tang 2004, Zhang 2015) evidence macroregional adaption of shared religious elements among diverse communities, from the Shang elites at Anyang to small communities in the loess highlands (see Ch. 4, see also Cao 2014 for more on the Late Shang period dynamics of the loess highlands). These shared (and inherited) religious elements were strong influences on the political transition narratives that formed in the wake of the Zhou conquest and the Zhou claim to the Mandate of Heaven—a religiopolitical claim and ruling philosophy underlying the power dynamics of late Bronze Age and latter imperial dynamics (see Khayutina 2020; Li F. 2013, 2018; Li M. 2018; Pankenier 2013 for more on the Mandate of Heaven).

Yet, a religious assemblage such as the libation ritual set is given efficacy based on the constellation of bodies composing the assemblage, which extends beyond elite rituals into the

ordinary spaces from which the material elements of these assemblages are produced and continually imbued with meaning. Important questions then arise: What affections were produced as bodies crossed the threshold of an event involving alcohol production, trade, and consumption? How did the Shang capture the processes active in this assemblage of heterogeneous bodies and signs? What were the deterritorializing tendencies?

The Zhou conquest narrative recorded on the early Western Zhou period Larger Yu *ding* (JC:2837) refers to the role of Shang drinking tendencies as a significant reason that led the Shang loss of the Mandate of Heaven:

...I have heard that when Yin let the Mandate fall, it was a case of losing the army because Yin's border lords and Yin's correctors, amounting to one hundred leaders, followed each other in line up to the alcohol... (Cook 2016:32-34).

It was not necessarily the immorality of alcohol (or drinking) that the inscription was emphasizing in the fall of Shang divine authority as the inscription, which records an award ceremony, describes that among the royal gifts given to Yu was "sacrificial millet ale" (*chang* 鬯) (Cook 2016:34). The conquest narrative on the Larger Yu *ding* also recounts the use of alcohol in Zhou rituals surrounding the conquest, but that "no one dared get drunk" and "no one dared to offer toasts."

The following part of the inscription states that it was for this propriety demonstrated by the Zhou that "Heaven sheltered and watched over the boy (King Wu) and provided a model of behavior and protection for the Former King so that he could spread the mandate throughout the Four Regions" (Cook 2016:33). As a conquest narrative inscribed in a ritually potent medium, the Larger Yu *ding* inscription emerged from and was animated by the shifting affections produced in drinking assemblages. At once rebuking the role of alcohol in Shang society while also reaffirming it as a fundamental component of Zhou state building, the Larger Yu *ding* inscription and the ceremony it records were active parts of the ongoing delegitimization of Shang authority and the

Zhou claim to the Mandate of Heaven.<sup>18</sup> The Zhou made special efforts to capture and redirect the affections produced in assemblages central to the perpetuation of Shang society (see Ch. 5). It is further argued that the flow of power granting efficacy to both the kinds of Zhou performances of power recorded in the Larger Yu *ding* and narratives legitimizing Zhou rule were rooted not solely (or even primarily) in elite performances but rather in the ordinary spaces and everyday rhythms that governed social dynamics.

A ritual in religious systems, however, is not solely bound to the perpetuation of pervasive systems of power and inequality. These reifying processes should be considered a secondary affection, and only capable of being consistently produced after the ritual and its religious groundings are legible within broader social networks and across a political hierarchy. Rather, a ritual is both an immanent event and a transcendent becoming. As an immanent event, it brings together and folds within itself a wide range of relations.

Yet, a ritual also moves beyond immanent relations into realms unknown. As a thoroughly religious rite, it bundles a diverse set of assemblages within a transcendent movement guided by principles that exist within and beyond social systems. As a transcendent becoming, a ritual positions the relations forged in a gathering process under a religious sign, it imparts upon society a sacramental nature that can be a potent guiding force<sup>19</sup>, one that requires continual emplacement on the landscape. The ritual encounter is one that enfolds diverse relations and processes while

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<sup>18</sup> see Li Feng (2013, 2018) and David W. Pankenier (2013) for more on the origin of the Mandate of Heaven.

<sup>19</sup> These “rituals” can also give rise to powerful destabilizing tendencies that disarticulate the intended effects of a ritual and devoid of any meaning. In the case of the practice of mass human sacrifice among the Shang, later Zhou humanist narratives would clearly mark Shang sacrificial practices as a predominant failing of Shang society. During the period of Shang hegemony, Shang sacrificial practices were likely a source of social and religious tension, especially if the Shang integrated trans-cultural religious elements into their ritual system and captured various non-Shang people for their sacrifices (see Cheung et al. 2017, Shelach 1996). Thus, regardless of how these grandiose displays of violence reified and put on public displays of Shang power (see Campbell 2018), the ritual and religious elements need to be examined along the *lines* of both the heterogeneous bodies folded within an event and the religious framework being invoked. We then arrive at a contested ritual or one that moves beyond the confines of ritual into political performance and marks the limits of specific systems.

simultaneously unfolding (with pervasive religious meanings) back towards the constellation of bodies marking the social and material forms of religious performance.

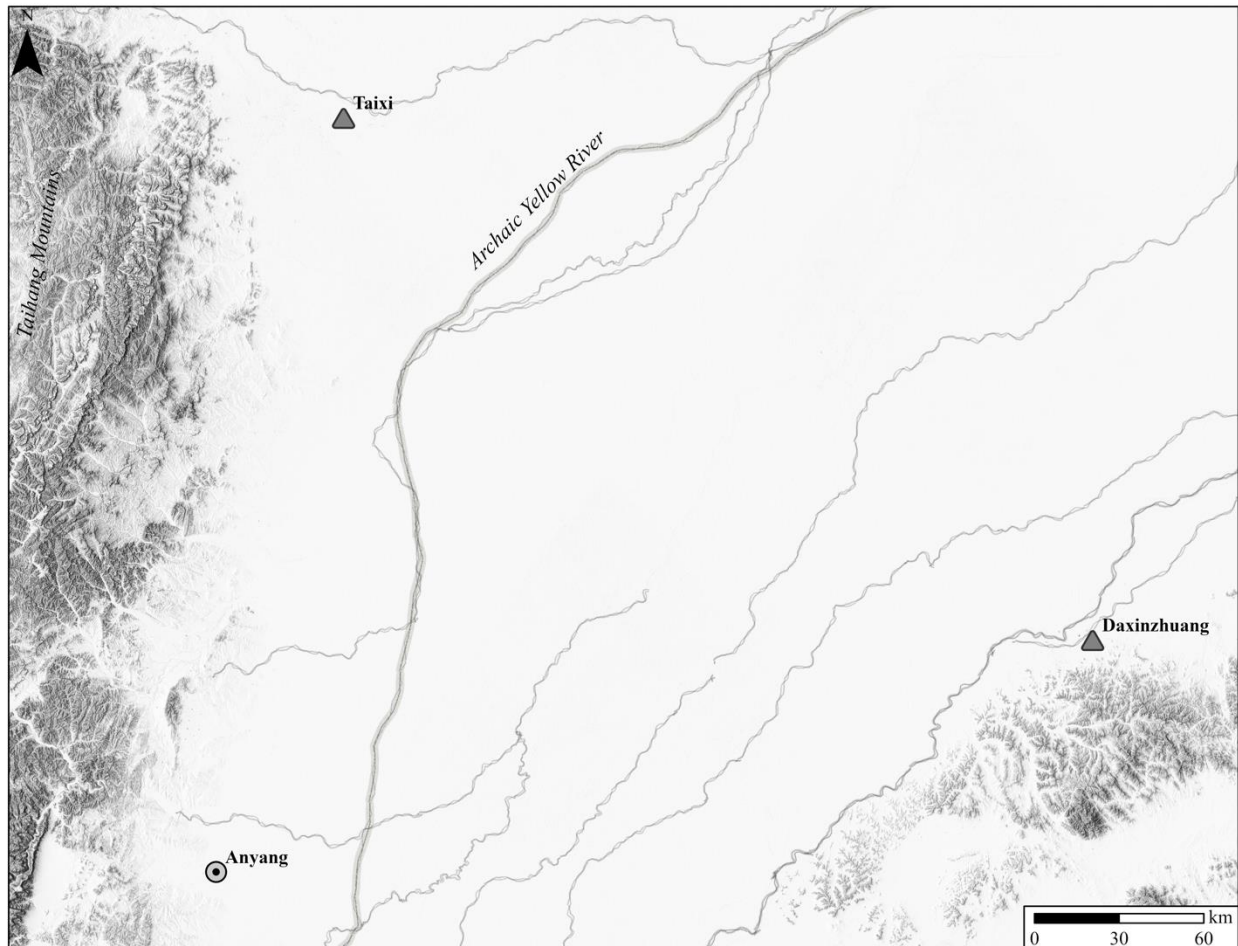


Figure 3.17. The Taixi site in relation to Anyang.

It is this doubling movement that determines the affections produced in a ritual. For it to be affective, it cannot exist solely at the upper echelons of power, participation (in whatever form) must extend far beyond the place of performance. Its contestation, at any level, could yield unpredictable consequences and point towards the failure to imbue systems with a religious or social sign. In the case of the Shang, the ancestral cult and its divine pantheon were prominent elements of its socioreligious landscape and the Shang elites' claim to power (Keightley 2000), yet the affections of power produced from specific rituals rests within the rhizomatic lines pointing towards and emanating from Shang ritual encounters.

Within the Shang ancestral system, libation rituals were fundamental aspects of religious performance. Epigraphic evidence from Late Shang period inscriptions references the importance of libation rituals in the Shang ancestral system, such as found in an inscription on the Late Shang period *Ersi Bi Qi you* (JC:5412):

It was in the first month, on the day of the *rong* libation to Ancestress Bing, wife of Tai Yi. It was in the King's second year, after completing the libation to the *di* above and below. (Pankenier 2016:3-4).

While Shang and Zhou inscriptions provide some evidence on the positionality and agency of alcohol in Bronze Age power dynamics, extensive archaeological evidence attests to the centrality of alcohol in Shang society and religion at Anyang and other Shang sites.

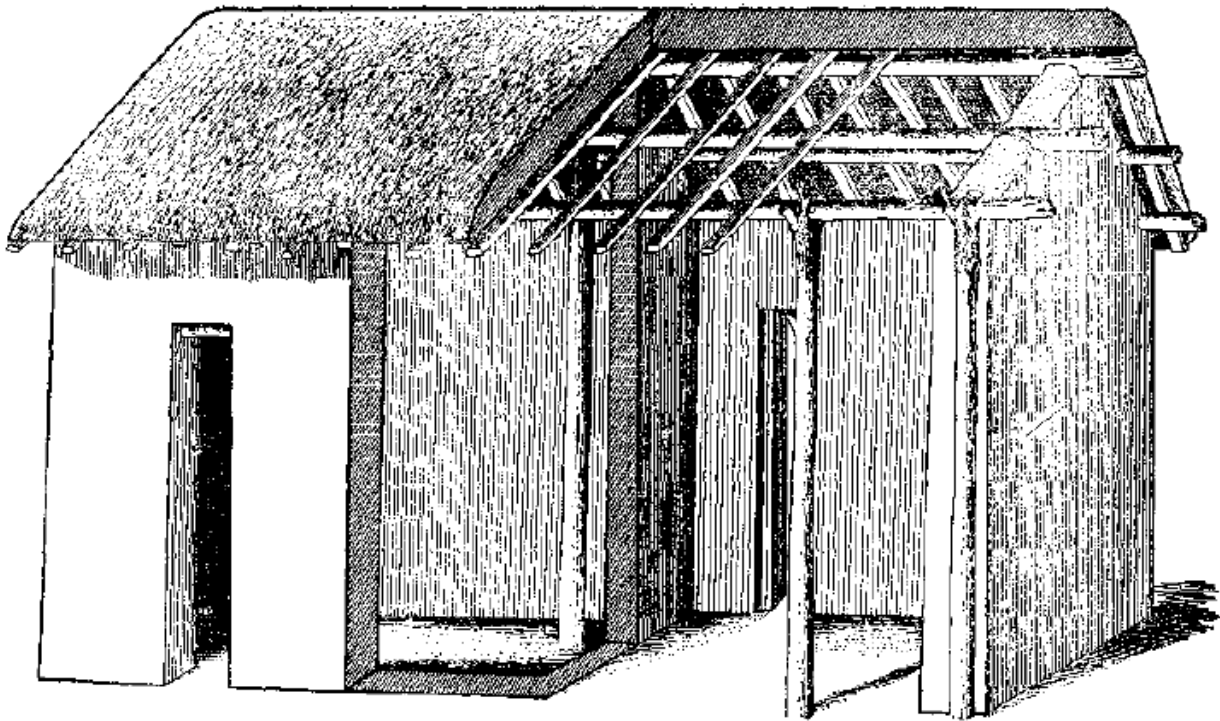


Figure 3.18. Reconstruction of structure 2 at Taixi (from Hebei 1985).

We can look at settlements outside of Anyang to examine how Shang practices permeated communities far from the seat of Shang power. Located in modern Gaocheng, Shijiazhuang, Hebei, the Taixi site is a settlement evidencing dense entanglements with interregional exchange networks

and Shang culture (figure 3.17) (see Hebei 1985). Dating from the Upper Erligang period to the early periods of the Late Shang state at Anyang (see Li. H 2019), fourteen structures were discovered at Taixi (figure 3.18). The material evidence at one structure (F14) indicates that this was a specialized workshop for alcohol production (Tang 1984). Further, twelve of the structures were constructed using rammed earth construction techniques (Tang 1984, 1987).

The high amount of Shang-style bronze artifacts, ceramics, and other Shang culture elements at Taixi led the excavators to conclude that Taixi was most likely a northern center under the control of the Shang king at Anyang (Hebei 1985, Tang 1984). The presence of bronze artifacts, stoneware, jade, and the ritual elements of the culture implicates the Taixi community in the participation and maintenance of regional networks. There is no evidence of bronze casting in the vicinity of Taixi. The closest known bronze workshops capable of producing Middle and Late Shang bronzes are Huanbei Shang City (Zhongguo 2020), Anyang (Yinxu 2007), Xindian (Anyang 2021), and Daxinzhuang in Shandong (Wang 2021).<sup>20</sup>

Given the complexities involved in making and moving bronzes—especially the larger Shang ritual vessels—acquisition of Shang bronzes by Taixi residents would have required substantial integration in Shang exchange and communication networks. Research by Chang Huaiying (2021) reveals that Taixi is just one node in a larger northern network of settlements that were highly integrated within the Anyang-centered ritual system and circulation of Shang bronze ritual vessels. The Taixi bronze assemblage represents more than the occasional bronze acquired from exchange networks<sup>21</sup>, rather, the bronze assemblages at Taixi indicate a deep connection with

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<sup>20</sup> While the excavators of Taixi note the material similarities between Taixi and Anyang, the excavators of Daxinzhuang note that some of the late period ceramics at the site bear similarities with Taixi ceramics (Shandong Daxue et al. 1995), indicating close technological connections between Henei and eastern Shang cultural sites.

<sup>21</sup> The occasional acquisition of Shang bronzes by sites not fully integrated into Shang-dominated networks is more common in the loess highlands to the west of Henei (see Cao 2014 for more on the Shang period networks in the highlands).

Shang strongholds to the south (see also Hebei 1985).

Excavators also discovered a bronze knife with a sheep head. The material elements of some of Taixi residential structures and burials reveal connections with northern cultures (Hebei 1985, Tang 1987).<sup>22</sup> These material links indicate a strong social connection with the northern groups foundational to Late Shang alliances and point to the role of Taixi as a place sustaining Shang alliances with northern groups (see Hebei 1985, Rawson et al. 2020, Tang 1987). The stoneware found at Taixi further implicates the Taixi community in participation in interregional networks, given the preponderance of evidence for the production and trade of stoneware from the south (Yin et al. 2011, Yu et al. 2018, Zhejiang and Huzhou 2012) and the lack of evidence for stoneware production in the north (see Campbell et al 2021).

While Taixi represents a settlement involved in the production of alcohol, as discussed above, material evidence for elite libation rituals is found in sites across Neolithic and Bronze Age China. The inherent power of these rituals in state building and elite social dynamics is clearly evident. Yet, as a ritual dependent on several craft industries, complex exchange networks, and macroregional historical processes, the power structures that emerge from libation rituals overflow into the social dynamics across the sociopolitical spectrum.

In addition to the pervasive religious systems, it is proposed that these rituals are animated precisely by this immanency. It was within the everyday rhythms of life at places that produced and exchanged alcohol, like Taixi, and other religious materials that imparted wide-ranging social power beyond the boundaries of elite circles.<sup>23</sup> Only when power structures are felt within the melodies of the everyday does the ability to limit lines of flight become a potent component of an

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<sup>22</sup> See Rawson et al. (2020) for a discussion on the northern connections indicated by such tools.

<sup>23</sup> These “boundaries” are not defined by impassable borders, but by rhizomatic lines that are given efficacy by nature of these lines’ entanglements within broader society.

evolving apparatus of capture.<sup>24</sup> Here, I argue, lies the nature of early polities in China, not as territorial states, but as affective states, as dynamic apparatuses of capture and historically contingent political becomings ever attuning to modulating social landscapes.

Power, in this sense, must be inscribed within the ordinary, continually submerged within the ordinary spaces from which the events that animate the everyday arise and *happen*. Power then lurks in the shadows of the intimate. For the extraordinary rituals to have extraordinary affects, they must be “marked out collectively”, which is the realm of the ordinary (Highmore 2011:5). That is, the relations and power claims purposed within these rituals need to be first mapped and made legible within the ordinary spaces of the Late Shang world.

For Shang hegemony to be affective, it must emerge and return to the ordinary, where it can continue to restrict the possibilities of everyday life and limit the potential of the decomposition of its ability to capture. Foucault (1994:102) argues that power does not point towards vague state structures dominating from on high, but rather it operates within “localised systems.” Domination emerges within and is given vitality by the micropolitical dynamics of these localised (ordinary) systems, such as within the social, economic, and ritual dynamics associated with alcohol production and consumption in diverse communities (see also Dietler 2006).

As the threshold of alcohol production and exchange events and libation ritual events were continually crossed, the ordinary spaces of Taixi and other communities involved in the maintenance of the material aspects of libation rituals became implicated in the perpetuation of the dominant social structure. That is, as each production, exchange, and ritual assemblage emerged on the landscape, the affections produced in subsequent events became increasingly contingent on the historic flow of previous events. Conversely, while elite libation rituals effectuated specific

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<sup>24</sup> See Brian Massumi (2015) for more on power, affect, and assemblages.

social relations, the affection of power produced was not a one-way or restricted flow from the upper echelons to the rest of society. Within these elite events were folded a multitude of encounters emerging in diverse locales. Thus, the social dynamics of everyday life involved in the production and exchange of alcohol and the historically contingent religio-political elements involved in these elite rituals mutually informed each other. The composition of the varied assemblages folded into libation rituals directly implicates the reification of the power dynamics being effectuated in these rituals.

There is then evidence for sustained relations between the Taixi community and elite religio-political structures at Anyang (and Huanbei), including in the form ritual elements connected to overarching Shang religious paradigms. The ritual evidence includes similar mortuary traditions at Anyang and Taixi (Li H. 2019), the presence of oracle bones,<sup>25</sup> the practice of human sacrifice,<sup>26</sup> and Shang bronze ritual sets<sup>27</sup> interred in Taixi burials (Hebei 1985), not to mention evidence for the specialized production of ritually potent alcoholic substances at Taixi. Moreover, several of the structures contain the remains of mutilated sacrificial victims (Hebei 1985), revealing a deep link between life at Taixi (including in the production and consumption of alcohol) and the Shang practices of violence evidenced throughout its center at Anyang (see Campbell 2018). The archaeological evidence at Taixi for the co-presence of residences and burials (居葬合一)<sup>28</sup> and oracle bones in particular points towards the highly interconnected nature of

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<sup>25</sup> While scapulimancy is evidenced in early China as far back as the Neolithic (see Flad 2008), the practice of oracle bone divination was a central component of Shang ritual practices. Given the geographic location of Taixi in Henei and the diagnostic Shang components of artifacts found at Taixi, the presences of oracle bones reveals yet another practice connecting Taixi culture with Shang society.

<sup>26</sup> Large-scale, state-sponsored human sacrifices prominent in Shang society (see Campbell 2018 for more on Shang sacrifices).

<sup>27</sup> Among these vessels are the combination of bronze *jue* and *gu* vessels, which were central to Shang libation rituals (see Li M. 2022) and commonly found in Shang burials (e.g., Zhongguo 2014).

<sup>28</sup> See Li H. (2019) for an in-depth discussion of the burial practices at Taixi. This mortuary practice at Taixi dates to both the Huanbei and early Yinxu periods. See chapter 5 for a more in-depth discussion of the 居葬合一 phenomenon, which, as noted above, was also identified at Xindian (Anyang 2021).

religious commitments and daily life at Taixi. As Li Hongfei (2019) discusses, this phenomenon of interring individuals in close proximity to living spaces shares close connections with similar practices uncovered in the course of excavations at Huanbei and Anyang (see Ch. 5).

Like Taixi, the Xindian bronze foundry is another prominent example of the combination of residences, burials, and production spaces (Anyang 2021). Mortuary rituals were prominent aspects of Shang religious practices, as evidenced by the substantial investment in burials by the Shang throughout the sociopolitical hierarchy (see also Tang 2004). These burials were then a complex affective component of the assemblages animating the ordinary spaces at Taixi. Due to the integration Taixi burials within living and production spaces, the burials and their signifying dimensions would have been inseparable from alcohol production events and the conditions that governed the affections arising from alcohol in these events. Thus, regardless of its status as an alcohol supplier to Anyang, the entanglement of Taixi within regional networks, the clear Shang influences on its culture, and the expansive production of ritually and politically powerful beverages all demonstrate how the rhythms of life at Taixi were enmeshed in the ongoing becoming of the Shang state.

Thus, there are clearly elements of the Late Shang alcohol assemblage that affectively emplaced Shang structures of power within ordinary spaces. However, Zhou narratives of Shang drinking practices and the shift away from using a Shang ritual set that centered around the bronze *gu*-goblet and *jue*-tripod beaker vessels even while Western Zhou elites continued the religious practices that the Shang had so effectively integrated within their ritual system reveal the duality inherent in every assemblage along the axis of territorialization and deterritorialization (see Li M. 2022 on ritual sets and drinking rituals). That is, the entry of new Zhou bodies into Shang-dominated assemblages effectuated a forceful rupture in the affections produced.

The destabilizing point of entry of the Zhou (through conquest) into these assemblages tipped the scale from reification of Shang power towards decomposition of these structures to cause a shift in the resulting affection. That is, these assemblages moved from being a powerful asset for Shang elites towards the failure of its hegemonic practices. As Deleuze and Parnet (1977) argued, while the balance between territorialization and deterritorialization is never equal, both exist simultaneously in any given assemblage. And while the Shang affectively limited the destabilizing tendencies inherent in this assemblage, the potential for a line of flight was active every time the threshold of this assemblage was crossed. It was immanent to the bodies entering into the assemblage and would give rise to the narratives that would continue to undermine Shang claims to power far past the moment of conquest.<sup>29</sup>

The shifting affections produced in this assemblage through the Shang-Zhou transition reveals the strong multi-temporal nature of the transition. This process also points toward the limits of Shang influence and the decline of its ability to capture social processes. Moreover, bronze inscriptions, such as the Larger Yu *ding*, the Ke *he* and Ke *lei* (which document the founding of the state of Yan), and the Yihou Ze *gui* (which recounts the investiture of the Lord of Yi), from the Western Zhou period clearly attests to the central nature of alcohol in Zhou ritual performances. The integration of alcohol within early Western Zhou ritual protocols, while not completely dependent on Shang practices, likely provided Zhou rulers with another potent avenue to undermine Shang legitimacy by reorienting (capturing) the affective tendencies active in alcohol-related assemblages.

### **Conclusion: The Affective Limits of Power**

While the Shang network strategy and the urban organization of Anyang are argued to be

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<sup>29</sup> A tendency that was cited as a moral failing of the last Shang king by Sima Qian over 900 years after the fall of the Shang (see *Shiji*, Song Weizi shijia)

critical sources of power and wealth, it also opened Shang society to innumerable influences from diverse groups. From wars in the east with groups that would prove to outlast the Shang and compete with the Western Zhou (Fang 2013) to the diverse communities to the south, west, and north that were both instrumental in maintaining the resource networks on which the Shang relied and acted as competitors (e.g., Cao 2014, Pollard et al. 2017, Rawson et al. 2020), the Shang faced a world in constant motion. And while specific strategies were implemented to bring diverse groups and their associated networks into Shang orbit, there is much that escaped the Shang apparatus of capture. This evidence of escape can be found in the fortified settlements of the Chinese Loess Plateau (e.g., Shaanxi et al. 2018), wars with groups in Shandong (Fang 2013), divergent trade networks in the south (see Dou 2021), and the emergence of a powerful polity in the west (Falkenhausen 2006, Lei 2010, Liu J. 2003, Shaughnessy 1999, Zhang 2004).

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#### **Chapter 4: The Flourishing of the Xian Zhou: Escape and Coalescence**

The flows of power that conditioned Shang hegemony (and resistance to it) were bound within fluctuating and overlapping assemblages that characterized Bronze Age lineage dynamics, social networks, exchange patterns, and hierarchical structures. The Shang state is defined not only by the unprecedented scale and prosperity of Anyang. Rather, it is also characterized by vibrant social landscapes in which lines of flight continually emerged in disparate assemblages and challenged the influence and ability of the Shang to capture and reorient disparate social processes in such a way that strengthened their sociopolitical and economic structures. This chapter then turns to the social and political processes that evaded capture at the social and spatial margins of the Late Shang state. In examining escape, I look at the process of coalescence in the formation of an alliance that stood at the foundation of the Western Zhou state.

As the Shang projected strength from their base in Anyang, forces in Shandong would continually defy Shang dominance and the formation of its eventual conqueror—the Zhou polity—was already well underway in the west (Li F. 2013, Li M. 2018). Within the networks emanating from the northern steppes that were vital for the prosperity and strength of the Late Shang state (see Ch. 3), a significant portion of the flow of resources and goods escaped the centripetal pull of the Shang elites at Anyang (see Cao 2014, Rawson et al. 2020). The Shang then continually faced its limits, which itself acted as powerful force on influencing the dynamics of Shang society.

Ultimately, the Shang would succumb to a Zhou-led highland coalition from the west. Following the final conquest of Anyang, the alliances that underpinned the Shang structure of power dissolved or shifted, the Anyang urban landscape was largely left in ruins, the Shang people were displaced to Zhou centers, and newly established Zhou centers and subsidiary polities were placed along the affective routes that once upheld Shang hegemony (Li F. 2013, Li M. 2018, Li Y.

et al. 2018, Niu 2017, see also Ch. 5). In this way, the Zhou effectively uprooted the foundations of the Shang, while also co-opting Shang practices.

While the conquest of the Shang state and the expansion of the Western Zhou state constituted critical processes that shaped the historical narrative of the Shang-Zhou transition, the accumulation of events and the continual unfolding of encounters among diverse communities to the west during the late second millennium BC formed another significant dimension of the transition. The focus of this chapter is the social developments in the Jing River Valley in Shaanxi and Gansu and the Guanzhong Basin in Shaanxi. I seek to map the development and expansion of social networks at the foundation of Zhou society and the rise of a Xian Zhou society based in Guanzhong. The term adopted in this dissertation from Chinese archaeology, Xian Zhou (先周, with 先 meaning “earlier” or “before”), refers to the Zhou before the conquest of the Shang. In this region, a Xian Zhou-based chronology is often used in lieu of the more Central Plains-centric Shang chronology. However, Xian Zhou chronology is usually pegged against the more established Yinxu chronology.<sup>1</sup>

Further, I will also discuss the interplay between the Xian Zhou and the Late Shang with an emphasis on the political relationships between Anyang and the Zhou alliance in Shaanxi. The objective of this chapter is to highlight the dynamic processes of “escape” and “coalescence” involved in the rise of Zhou society and associated political structures. I argue that the complex, overlapping social and economic networks interwoven in what would become the Zhou ancestral landscape provided fertile grounds for the rise of the Western Zhou state. This process was defined

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<sup>1</sup> Throughout this chapter, I primarily use “Late Shang” as a chronological marker, but I clarify when I mean to use the term as political and/or cultural affiliation. “Xian Zhou” is used to refer to the emerging Zhou alliance and state during the Late Shang period, “Western Zhou” refers to the period covering approximately 1046-771 BC but also can refer to Zhou society during this period, and “Zhou” is used to refer to Zhou cultural affiliation and likely political status.

by both the latent capacity of communities in this part of Northwest China to resist Shang structures of power in their daily lives (and the inability of Anyang elites to project power) as well as the coming together of disparate communities to form the political structure of the incipient Zhou state. Escape and coalescence, diversity and unity, together these processes constitute the two movements and faces of a flourishing.

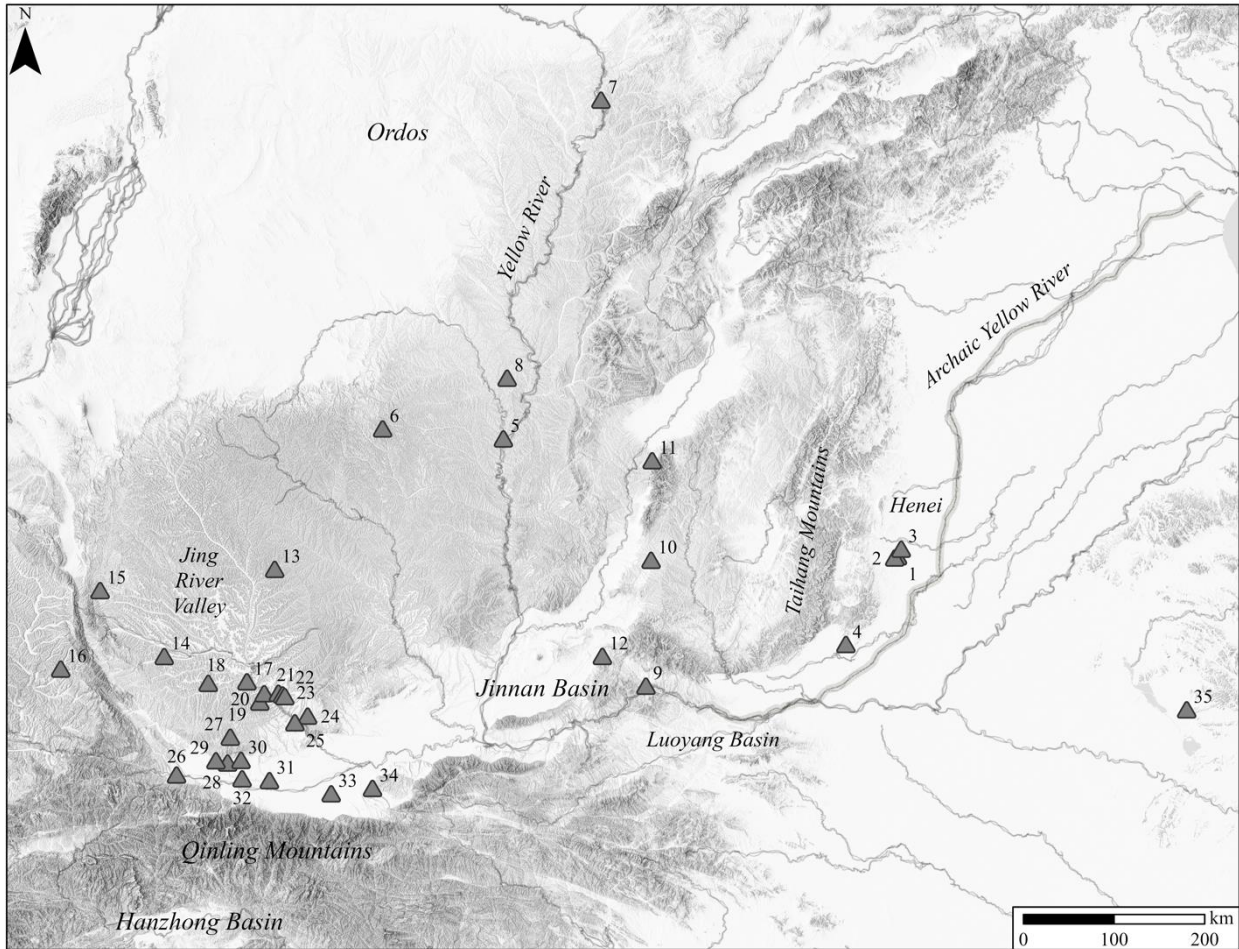


Figure 4.1. Sites mentioned in chapter 4: 1) Huanbei Shang City, 2) Anyang (Yinxu), 3) Xindian, 4) Mengzhuang, 5) Lijiaya, 6) Xiwaqu, 7) Xicha, 8) Xuejiaqu, 9) Yuanqu, 10) Qiaobei, 11) Jingjie, 12) Jiuwutou, 13) Jiuzhan, 14) Yujiawan, 15) Yaoheyuan, 16) Xujianian, 17) Nianzipo, 18) Baicaoopo, 19) Xialei, 20) Duanjing, 21) Xitou, 22) Sunjia, 23) Zaolinhetan, 24) Zaoshugou, 25) Zhumazui, 26) Baoji, 27) Caijiaye, 28) Kongtougou, 29) Zhougongmiao, 30) Zhouyuan, 31) Zhengjiapo, 32) Yijiabu, 33) Feng-Hao, 34) Laoniupo, 35) Qianzhangda.

In this chapter, I first discuss the development of society in the Jing River Valley, which lies north of Guanzhong. Through an analysis of communities throughout the Jing River Valley—from its far northern fringes to the valley gateway to the Guanzhong Basin—I demonstrate that

development of regional socioeconomic networks in the Jing River Valley were highly dependent on the local activities of diverse communities. I argue that regional processes were mediated within dense local social networks that granted communities significant autonomy in navigating and participating in these networks. I then move on to discuss the dynamics of coalescence at Zhouyuan in the Guanzhong Basin. Finally, I provide a discussion on the archaeology related to potential routes of communication and contact between the diverse communities of the greater Guanzhong region and Late Shang groups in Henei (figure 4.1).

### **The Jing River Valley**

Adjacent to the Guanzhong Basin to the south and situated at the crossroads of the routes of travel running along the Yellow River and through Ordos to the Eurasian Steppe and those routes emerging from the historically important Hexi Corridor to the west, the winding rivers, deeply eroded valleys, and dispersed plateaus of the Jing River Valley constituted a strategically important region for the Zhou and numerous dynasties that followed (figure 4.2). Historically, the Jing River Valley was a vibrant hub of exchange, communication, and movement, including by acting as the northern gateway to the Guanzhong Basin and an important part of the Silk Road (figure 4.3) (Li F. 2006, Sun 2021). In addition, the invasion of the Zhou homeland in the Guanzhong Basin at the end of the Western Zhou period came from the Jing River Valley (see Li F. 2006).

In the context of the rise of the Zhou state, this region occupies a pivotal position in archaeological debates. For many scholars, the Jing River Valley is the location of Bin (邠)—the historically recorded early homeland of the Zhou ruling house and its people that features prominently in the received traditions, such as the *Shijing* and the *Shiji* (see Li F. 2006, Shaughnessy 1999, Xibei et al. 2023 for more on Bin). Archaeologically, decades of excavations

and ongoing research have unveiled a complex landscape of dispersed communities during the Late Shang period, but no large sociopolitical centers have been found yet that solidly date to the Late Shang period. Further, the distinct pottery traditions at sites throughout the Jing River Valley reveals the circulation of distinct technological traditions.

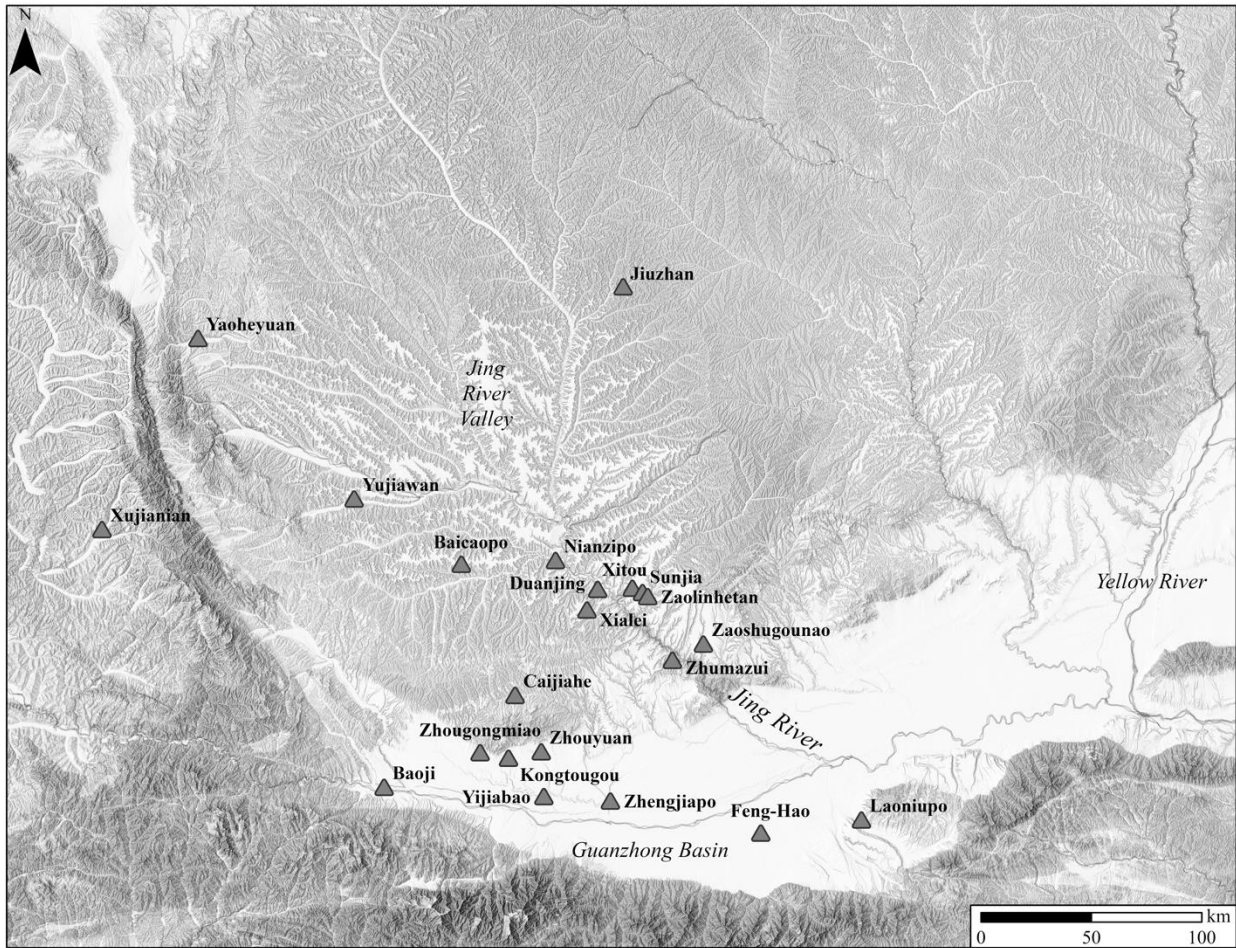


Figure 4.2. Sites in the Jing River Valley and Guanzhong Basin mentioned in chapter 4.

It is precisely these material traditions in the Jing River Valley and the Guanzhong Basin that are at the foundation of the debates around the development of a Xian Zhou state and its associated material traditions. During the Western Zhou period, the Jing River Valley was a strategically important region, as evidenced by the establishment of large walled settlements (e.g., Yaoheyuan and Xitou) and elite cemeteries (e.g., Baicaopo) (see Sun 2021 for more on the Jing River Valley during the Western Zhou period). The Jing River Valley is then a region that bears

particular relevance on discussions of the rise of the Zhou. The alliance that would conquer the Shang state at Anyang was likely substantially influenced by and made up of groups from the Jing River Valley. And as will be discussed below, there was a close relationship between the Jing River Valley and the Guanzhong Basin during the Late Shang period.

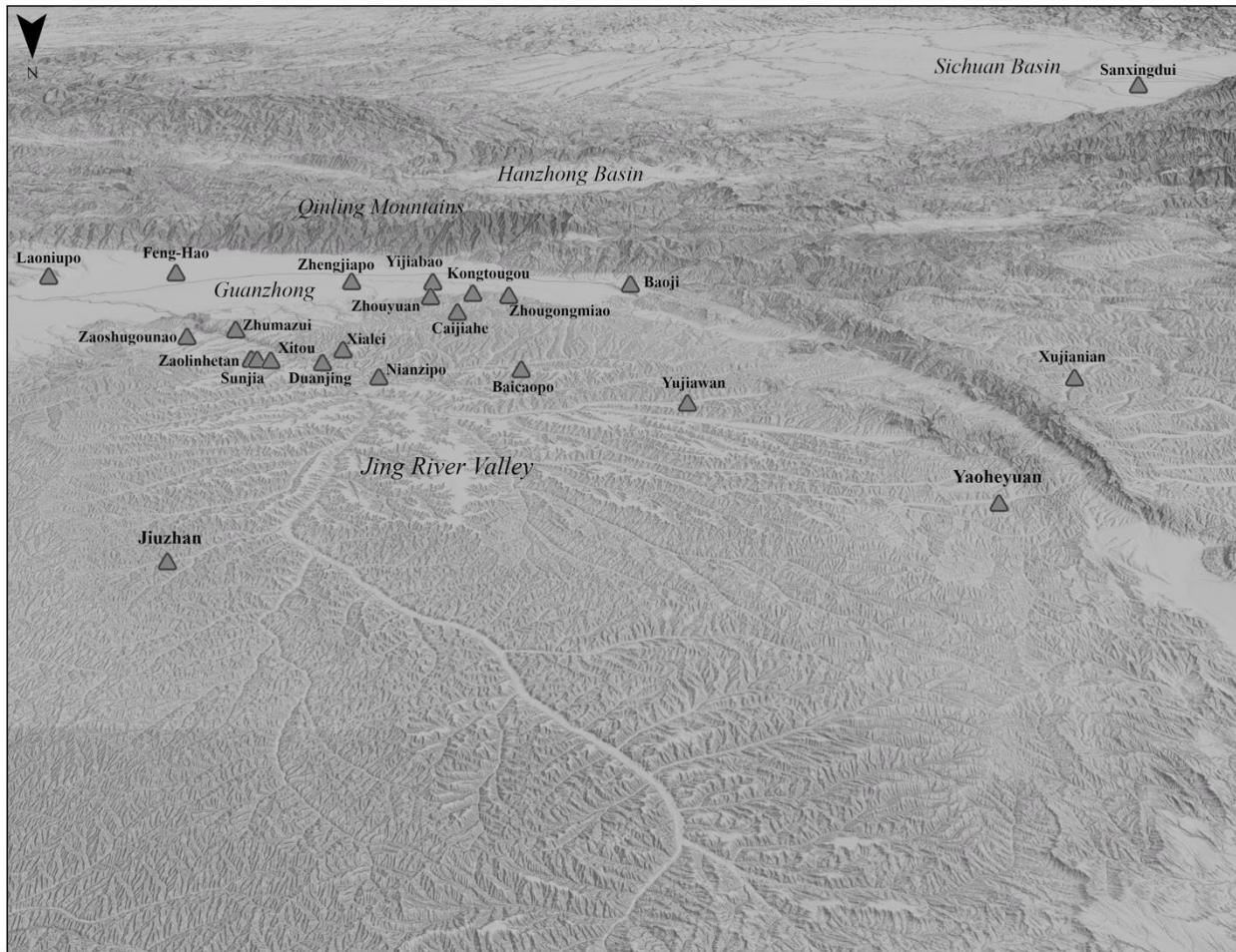


Figure 4.3. Looking south into the Jing River Valley.

To understand the social dynamics of the Jing River Valley, it is essential to elucidate the social processes underlying the emergence and transfer of the production technologies and traditions associated with the complex material traditions of the valley. As will be explored below, I argue that the inter-community networks of the Jing River Valley were defined by a complex landscape of intersecting social networks largely mediated at the community- and household-levels and primarily maintained by the diverse activities in which these communities and households

participated, including the trade of agricultural and daily goods, agropastoralism, hunting, and the acquisition of raw materials. Thus, the circulation of pottery production technologies and commonalities and differences between previously recognized types in the Jing River Valley need to be analyzed as a complex social process characterized by diverse groups traveling, trading, working, and communicating within disparate, yet overlapping networks.

It is highly likely that potter communities came across diverse technological traditions within local networks and disproportionately integrated some aspects, but not others—depending on how the knowledge was communicated (e.g., directly by another potter, knowledge obtained through indirect observation, or the circulation of pottery and/or technical knowledge through informal social networks). In other words, the point of entry of technical traditions into local pottery production networks and the social nature of local potter communities was likely critical in informing the material makeup of the complex Jing River Valley material traditions that archaeologists have long recognized (and long debated).

It is then within this social context that we must approach the political dynamics of late second millennium BC in the Jing River Valley, where power structures and attempts at projecting influence were mediated most prominently within these locally maintained socioeconomic networks. Further, it is also in this context that we must understand the circulation of elite goods in the Jing River Valley, such as the bronze weapons at Yujiawan and the bronze vessels at Nianzipo. Rather than networks extensively maintained by elites in large centers, the circulation of these goods would have relied on the maintenance of routes by local communities as they engaged in the activities that governed their daily lives. The trade and use of elite goods and the everyday rhythms of local communities in the Jing River Valley were then immanent to each other.

The *Li* vessel is at the center of many of the debates surrounding the rise of a Xian Zhou

society in Shaanxi (Sun Q. 2016). Moreover, the vessel (in varied diagnostic forms) is ubiquitous in residential areas of Jing River Valley sites and often among the most abundant ceramic vessel types found in burials (along with the *guan*-pot). As a cooking vessel, the ritual importance of *li* vessels in the Jing River Valley vessels could indicate that the materiality of burial practices in the Jing River Valley centered on food.<sup>2</sup> Interestingly, while the Late Shang ritual set centered on drinking vessels—a trend that continued into the early and middle Western Zhou periods<sup>3</sup>—the late Western Zhou ritual set shifted to a focus on cooking and eating vessels in line with a broader Western Zhou ritual reform (see Falkenhausen 2006, Li F. 2013, Rawson 1999). *Li* vessels (and *guan*-pot vessels) are also the primary ceramics interred in Xian Zhou burials at Zhouyuan (see Ma 2009).

Further, Shang drinking tendencies would become a substantial critique of the Shang elites at Anyang by conquering Zhou alliance as revealed by narratives of the conquest recorded on Western Zhou bronze inscriptions (e.g., the Larger Yu *ding* (JC 2837)) and in later accounts of the fall of the Shang (e.g., the Kanggao and Jiugao chapters in the *Shangshu*). The extent to which the focus on cooking vessels in the Zhou ritual set, while relying largely on Shang artisans and/or technical knowledge to produce the bronze vessels of each set (see Ch. 5), emerged from earlier traditions in the Jing River Valley and other regions requires further analysis. However, as Falkenhausen (2006:52, n.36) notes, the objective of the ritual reform “seems to have been to shore up...the ruling apparatus.” Tapping into earlier ritual traditions (at least as a part of the reform) that were common in the communities of the Xian Zhou alliance could have been a potent act on

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<sup>2</sup> This does not preclude material differences in ritual practices (e.g., Festa et al. (2023)), rather it indicates that there were overarching similarities in ritual practices that bound communities, even if knowledge of these practices originated from different sources (e.g., intergenerational religious practices, knowledge gained from external contacts, etc.).

<sup>3</sup> Likely as a result of the strong influence of the Yin people on Zhou bronze production and broader society (see Ch. 5).

the part of the Zhou elite.



Figure 4.4. Bottom of a deeply incised valley (Sanshui River) in the Jing River Valley (photo by author, 2019).

Many of the sites that are central to the archaeology of the Xian Zhou are located in the southern section of the valley on the border of the Guanzhong Basin along the Changwu-Xunyi-Chunhua axis. In this southern region, the valley narrows due to the mountains on either side and the landscape becomes dominated by deeply incised river valleys that run roughly perpendicular to the Jing River (figure 4.4). In addition, the northern area of the valley, largely falling within Gansu and a small part of Ningxia, have also produced archaeological remains relevant to our understanding of the social dynamics of this important region during the Late Shang period.

*A Siwa Community at the Northern Edge of the Jing River Valley*

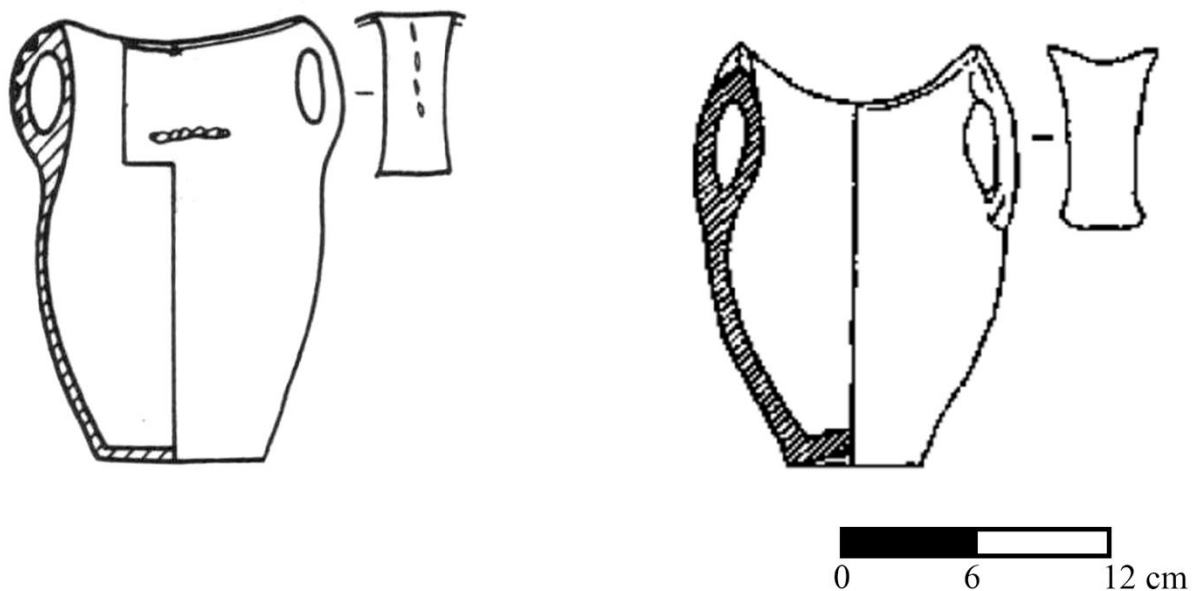


Figure 4.5. Siwa *guan* vessels from Jiuzhan (left, M36:14) and Xujianian (right, M51:15) (Modified from Wang and Shui 1997, Zhongguo 2006).

Remains from Siwa culture have been throughout the Jing River Valley. Siwa is a highland material culture widely dispersed during the late second and early first millennium BC in Shaanxi, Ningxia, and Gansu. It is defined by a distinct ceramic assemblage, including its *guan*-pot with handles (figure 4.5).<sup>4</sup> Siwa material culture plays a prominent role in the debates on the origins of

<sup>4</sup> *Guan* vessels are among the most common pottery types in Jiuzhan burials, which are discussed below (see Zhongguo 2006 for the site report of the Jiuzhan burials).

the Xian Zhou and Western Zhou (e.g., Liu 1994, Lu and Yan 2005).



Figure 4.6. The environs of the Jiuzhan site with location of cemetery marked (From Wang and Shui 1997).

Located approximately 60 km northwest of modern Qingyang, Gansu in Heshui, Jiuzhan is one of the few Siwa sites in the Jing River Valley that has received substantive attention by archaeologists (figure 4.6). Occupied from the Late Shang period to the Eastern Zhou period (Wang and Shui 1997), the community at Jiuzhan provides important insights into local and regional social dynamics in the northern part of the Jing River Valley. Situated at the northeastern edge of the Jing River Valley within an incised valley along the Heshui River, Jiuzhan was well-positioned to be a strategic mediator in the vibrant exchange networks that existed during the Late Shang period in northern Shaanxi and Shanxi between the communities west of the Shang homeland in Henei (e.g., Lijiaya, Xicha, and Xiwaqu culture groups)<sup>5</sup> and the diverse communities in the Jing River Valley and the Guanzhong Basin, including the trade and transportation of bronzes, horses, and other goods and the circulation of technologies and knowledge (e.g., the

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<sup>5</sup> These archaeological cultures are largely found in sites in the eastern highlands between the Henei and the Jing River Valley during the Shang and Zhou periods and were active participants in the operation and maintenance of the important exchange networks that ran along the middle Yellow River drainage, networks that were foundational to the industries and elite dynamics of Anyang (see Cao 2014). There were intensive interactions between these cultures and the surrounding regions, as evidenced by the material remains that display local characteristics as well as Shang, Western Zhou, and Zhukaigou (an archaeological culture to the north of the main Lijiaya distributional zone) cultural influences (Shaanxi 2013).

ritually and politically important bronze-production technologies) (see Cao 2014, Rawson et al. 2020 for more on these networks).

The interregional connections of the Jiuzhan community are manifested in both the ceramic assemblages in the residential zone and the bronzes interred in the cemetery. The excavators of the site note that the determination of the site dating to the Late Shang period is based on the strong stylistic similarities between some vessels found in Jiuzhan residential contexts and sites in the Guanzhong Basin dating from the Late Shang period to the early Western Zhou period (i.e., Zhengjiapo and Beilü, see below for more on Guanzhong during the Late Shang period) (Wang and Shui 1997). Evidence for a direct relationship between the Jiuzhan community and groups in the Guanzhong Basin, however, is not as clear.

Regardless, as will be demonstrated in the remaining part of this section, the flow of diverse ceramic technologies within the Jing River Valley during the formative period of the Zhou state was a defining characteristic of this region. The presence of distinctive pottery styles in a site, which is otherwise dominated by Siwa cultural types (Sun 2021, Wang and Shui 1997), reveals that the Jiuzhan community was active in the regional routes of movement and communication that were foundational to the Zhou alliance, even if on more a limited scale compared to communities in the southern section of the Jing River Valley (see below). Using the Jiuzhan pottery assemblage as a proxy, the engagement of the Jiuzhan community in regional networks increased over time as evidenced by more non-local types of pottery (e.g., the *liandang li*, joint-crotch *li*) from the Guanzhong Basin gaining disproportionately higher shares of the vessel proportions found in Jiuzhan residential contexts (Sun 2021).

However, the tradition of interring Siwa-style pottery in burials at Jiuzhan remains consistent, despite the fact that other traditions were present in the site (especially in later periods)

(Sun 2021, Wang and Shui 1997). Sun Yan (2021) notes that this mortuary practice of predominately interring Siwa vessels could indicate the community restricted the use of non-local types in sacred contexts. Building on Sun's analysis, I argue the continued use of Siwa pottery through time expresses the intimate connection between the material dynamics of residential and mortuary spaces. That is, with increasing exposure and presence of non-local objects in ordinary spaces at Jiuzhan, the material affect produced in the increasing entanglement of local and non-local objects provided an avenue for interrogating and strengthening communal bonds through specific material practices.

This dynamic is evidenced in the resiliency of mortuary traditions throughout the occupation of the site, including through the complex sociopolitical and demographic shifts in the region through the Shang-Zhou transition. In addition, the material phenomena of a site with burials dominated by Siwa-style pottery and residential contexts with divergent material traditions is found in other sites in Shaanxi, including the Liujia burials at the Zhou capital of Zhouyuan (see below for discussion on Liujia culture). Further, as I will argue below regarding the exchange and use of bronze objects, confronted with vibrant exchange networks, the community at Jiuzhan made specific choices regarding the nature of their participation in the networks that ran through the Heshui area.

Of course, given that the Jing River Valley experienced a large-scale demographic shift during the Western Zhou period (see Ch. 5), it cannot be discounted that the increase in non-Siwa pottery types later in its occupation was due to the movement of non-local people and their associated production technologies and material lifeways into the area. The people who moved into the area with the expansion of the Western Zhou state could have adopted local mortuary traditions or interred their dead in as yet undiscovered cemeteries. The underlying point that I hope

to demonstrate in this section is that the communities of the Jing River Valley differentially participated in the regional and interregional exchange and communication networks that ran through the Jing River Valley during the Late Shang period. Moreover, it was precisely this dynamic participation that allowed the formation of the alliance at the foundation of the Zhou state and was an important factor that shaped the expansion of the Western Zhou state.

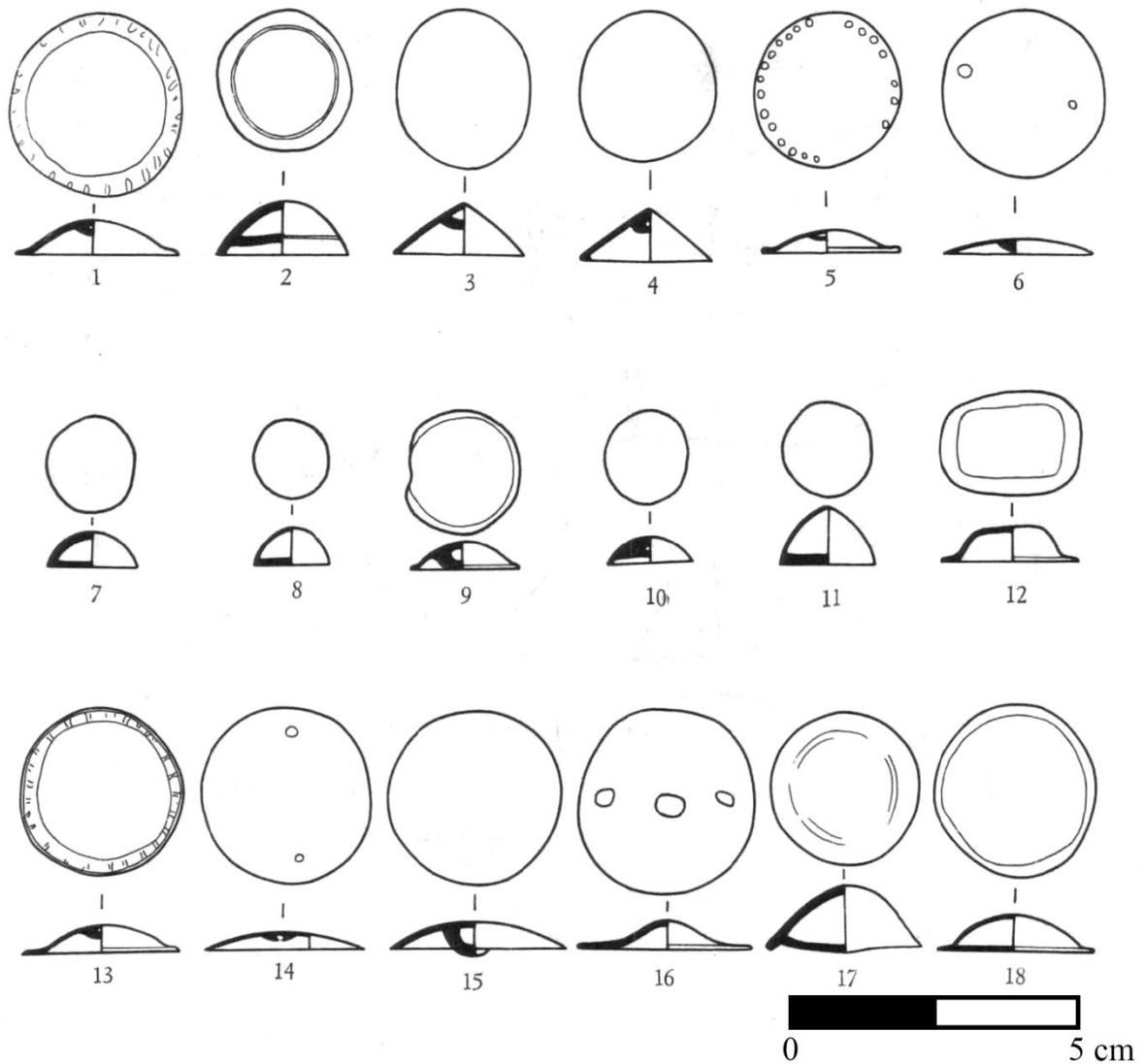


Figure 4.7. Jiuzhan *pao* (Modified from Wang and Shui 1997:438).

The presence of specific types of bronze artifacts reveals another layer of the participation of the Jiuzhan community in regional and broader interregional exchange networks. Bronze objects

were excavated from several burials at Jiuzhan, including from burials dating to the Late Shang period. However, very few bronze objects (n=52) were found among the 80 burials excavated at the site, among the most abundant are bronze *pao*-bosses (hereafter *pao*) (figure 4.7) (Wang and Shui 1997). Bronze *pao* are found across China during the Late Shang and Western Zhou periods. At Jiuzhan, *pao* have been recovered from burials dating to the Late Shang period (e.g., M36). The small circular objects are most prominently associated with horse tack and chariot construction and commonly found in horse and chariot pits and burials in sites with elite cultures strongly associated with horses and chariots (e.g., Anyang (Zhongguo 2014) and Qianzhangda (Zhongguo2005)). However, other than the bronze *pao*, the connection between horse and chariot culture and the community at Jiuzhan is not as clear based on current evidence.

Bronze *pao* have been discovered at sites composed of diverse communities—including communities variably associated with Anyang and those with minimal or no direct contact with the Shang—throughout the loess highlands. In an extensive analysis of the circulation of bronze objects in the region between Henei and the Jing River Valley, Cao notes that bronze *pao* are found in burials that are relatively rich in interred goods. As Liu Li and Chen Xingcan (2012:387) note, the presence of bronze *pao* in Lijiaya cultural sites could reveal a close connection between the deceased and horses, “whether functionally or symbolically.” At Jiuzhan, the bronze *pao* are found within burials, usually situated on top of the body (Wang and Shui 1997), indicating that these objects could have been ornamental. The site report notes that in some Late Shang period burials (e.g., M13), there are remains of domesticated animals, but the report does not identify the species or genus.

The presence of domesticated animal remains aligns the Jiuzhan community with the husbandry practices of other communities that lived in the Jing River Valley during the Late Shang

period, which included horse husbandry (see Li et al. 2020). Thus, the bronze *pao* in Jiuzhan burials could indicate that Jiuzhan residents were actively involved in the agropastoral networks within which animal resources were diversifying to include a broader range of species during the Late Shang period (Li et al. 2020). Li et al. (2020) also argue that this diversification was foundational to socioeconomic dynamics in the Jing River Valley and vital to the economic foundation of a rising Zhou state.

The bronze *pao* in Jiuzhan burials could also express a material link between the Siwa community at Jiuzhan and the trade of horses and related bronze technologies (and objects) that existed between Lijiaya and other groups between the northern groups and the Shang at Anyang (see Ch. 3). Conversely, the inclusion of *pao* in Jiuzhan burials could reveal strong ties between Jiuzhan and other Siwa communities to the west, like Xujianian.



Figure 4.8. Excavations at the Xujianian Cemetery (From Zhongguo 2006).

Located approximately 215 km southwest of Jiuzhan is the Siwa cultural site at Xujianian (figure 4.8). The site is situated along the western border of the Jing River Valley, near to one of

the valley entrances where the important Western Zhou-period center at Yaoheyuan would be

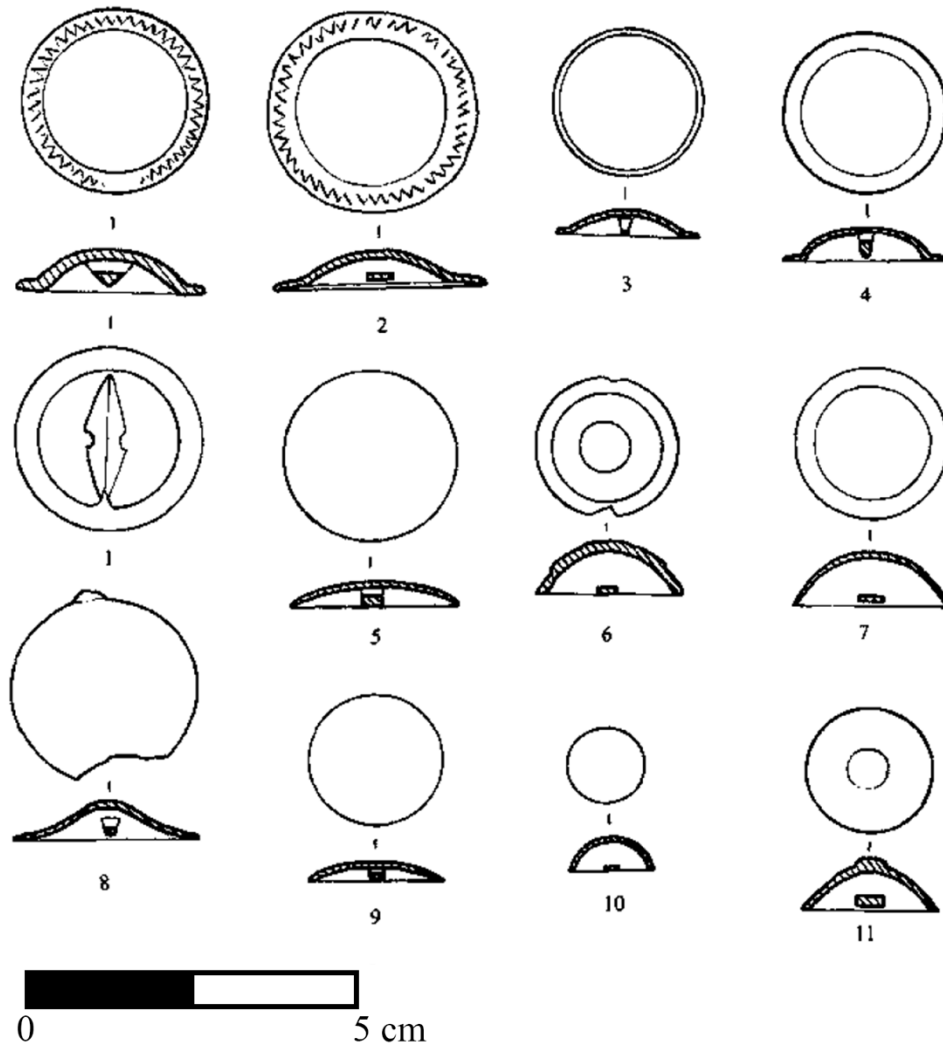


Figure 4.9. Xujianian *pao* (Modified from Zhongguo 2006:113).

established during the early Western Zhou period (see Ch. 5). Like Jiuzhan, the pottery assemblage at Xujianian also exhibits connections with Zhou-style pottery types (Zhongguo 2006). The cemetery excavated at Xujianian dates to the 12<sup>th</sup> to mid-11<sup>th</sup> centuries BC (Zhongguo 2006). Bronze *pao* were discovered in 18 burials at Xujianian with the *pao* positioned around or on top of the body (figure 4.9) (Zhongguo 2006).<sup>6</sup> A diverse range of domesticated animals were found

<sup>6</sup> The excavators also note that the exact position of the *pao* relative to the body is unclear in many cases, but that the *pao* were discovered around the body.

in the burials, including horses, pigs, sheep/goats, and bovines. Moreover, two chariot and horse pits were discovered at the cemetery, revealing a direct material connection between the dissemination of chariot technologies from the north (figure 4.10) (see Ch. 3). The horse remains and the chariot and horse pits provide evidence for a close link between horses (and elite horse culture found in places like Anyang and Zhouyuan) and the sociocultural and ritual dynamics at Xujianian.

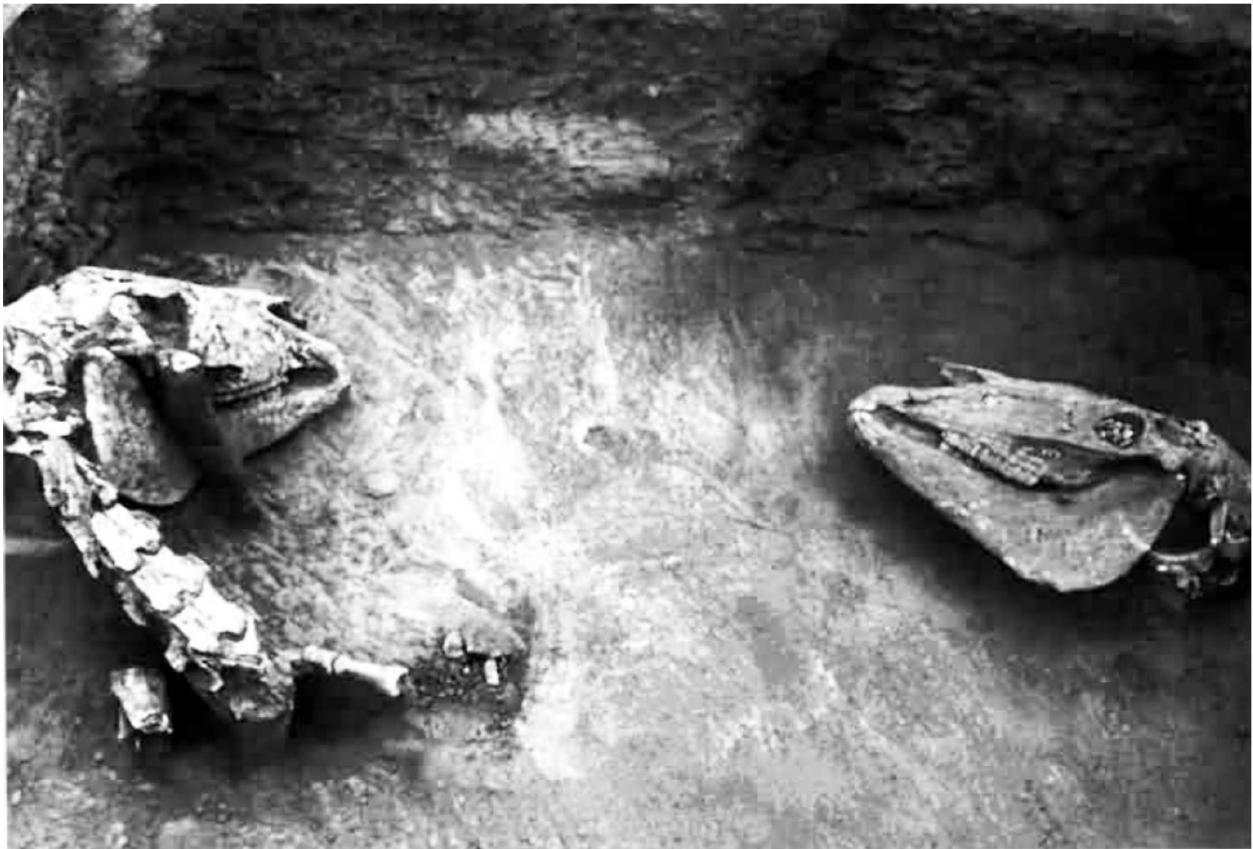


Figure 4.10. Horse remains at Xujianian (Horse and chariot pit M7) (From Zhongguo 2006).

The Jiuzhan community could then have been in contact with Siwa communities, like Xujianian, which could explain the bronze *pao* in the burials. It also could be that positioned within expanding Jing River Valley exchange networks and between the thriving north-south trade between the Central Plains and the northern zones and the Siwa communities in the northwest, the Jiuzhan community could have been an interlocutor between Siwa communities farther west and

the diverse groups involved in the eastern trade networks centered on Anyang. Regardless, the presence of bronze *pao* at Jiuzhan, which does not have evidence of local bronze production remains, indicates that some groups within the Jiuzhan community were actively involved in regional exchange networks. However, the social nature of the bronze *pao*, while possibly pointing to a connection with horse culture, requires further analysis.

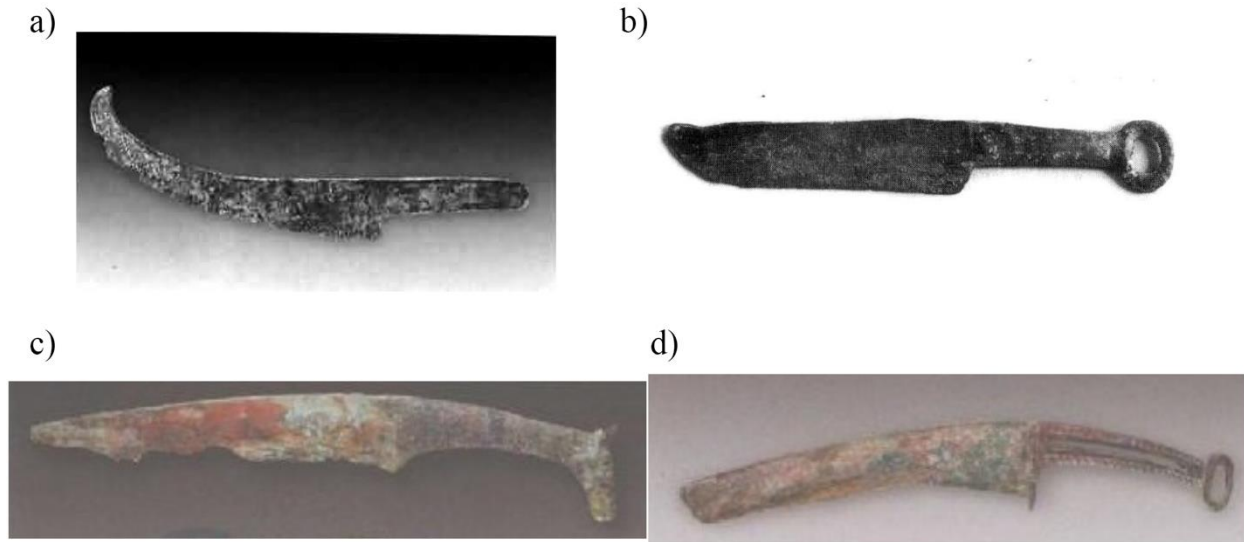


Figure 4.11. Late Shang period bronze knives: a) Xujianian (M17:4, from Zhongguo 2006), b) Jiuzhan (M14:14, from Wang and Shui 1997), c) Huayuanzhuang East, Anyang (M54: 300, from Zhongguo 2007), d) Huayuanzhuang East, Anyang (M54:301).

Another line of evidence at Jiuzhan that provides insights into the community's positionality is the discovery of a bronze knife in a Late Shang period burial (M14), which also was interred with a bovine head and a part of an unidentified animal. While bronze knives were found at Xujianian, the bronze knife at Jiuzhan bears distinct stylistic similarities with other knives that broadly circulated within Shang and northern cultures (figure 4.11). These knives are strongly associated with highly mobile groups of northern origins and the artifacts are often found in a broad range of Shang burials, including in sacrificial burials in the Shang royal cemetery at Xibeigang and elite burials in the Shang palatial complex at Xiaotun (see Rawson et al. 2020, Sun 2021). The presence of this style of knife in a Late Shang period Jiuzhan burial reveals a material link with the circulation of these knives within the north-south exchange networks critical to the

political and economic structure of the Late Shang state, even if the mortuary evidence at Jiuzhan suggests this engagement was limited.

While the relative scarcity of bronze objects produced and circulated within contemporaneous exchange networks at Jiuzhan could indicate a lack of means to acquire these objects by the broader community, another line of evidence from Jiuzhan could point to the agential capacities of the local community faced with vibrant exchange networks. While Jiuzhan burials produced a variety of bronze objects, including bronze *ge*-dagger axe, *dao*-knife, *ling*-bell, *chuan*-bracelets, and bronze *pao*, no bronze vessels—foundational to material dynamics of the political and religious networks of the Shang and Zhou—were found at Jiuzhan.

Viewed in light of the presence of other bronze objects (albeit relatively few in quantity), the absence of bronze vessels—present in other Jing River Valley sites, such as Nianzipo (Zhongguo 2007b) and other Siwa sites like Xujianian (Zhongguo 2006)—and the position of Jiuzhan between sites with bronze vessels (like Nianzipo) and the Anyang-dominated bronze exchange networks to the east, merits further consideration.<sup>7</sup> In addition, there were bronze production sites to the south of Jiuzhan in the Guanzhong Basin, such as Laoniupo (Liu S. 2001). Moreover, as Sun (2021) notes, the material practices of mortuary rituals at Jiuzhan remained relatively stable, even as non-local pottery types became increasingly prominent through time in residential contexts.

Taken together, the absence of bronze vessels of any type, the presence of bronzes in some burials, and the resiliency of local mortuary traditions indicates that the Jiuzhan community preserved traditions at the community-level in the face of increasingly expansive exchange networks in the Jing River Valley during the Late Shang period. This evidence also reveals that

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<sup>7</sup> It is worth noting here that the evidence for the presence of bronze vessels at Xujianian comes in the form of 2 fragments excavated in burial M38 (see Zhongguo 2006).

some Jiuzhan residents differentially participated in regional exchange networks. This possibly indicates that while traditional practices guided communal bonds, participation in the complex networks that ran through the Jing River Valley was primarily determined at the household level. Moreover, since only 75 m<sup>2</sup> of the Jiuzhan residential zone that is estimated to cover around 160,000 m<sup>2</sup> was excavated, it is possible that evidence of broader participation in Bronze Age networks by the Jiuzhan community remains to be excavated (see Zhongguo 2006).

### *The Yujiawan Cemetery*



Figure 4.12. The 1986 excavation at Yujiawan (From Gansu 2009).

Approximately 125 km southwest of Jiuzhan, the Yujiawan cemetery overlooks the Rui River (figure 4.12). These burials date from the latter phases of the Late Shang period to the middle Western Zhou period (Gansu 2009). Interpreted as a lineage cemetery by the excavators, 138 burials were found in the cemetery that covered around 15,000 m<sup>2</sup>; however, looting activities and

historic disturbances were especially prominent at Yujiawan. Approximately 1.5 km to the west of Yujiawan, a large Zhou period settlement (360,000 m<sup>2</sup>) was discovered that could be linked to the cemetery at Yujiawan (Tao 2009).

Like Jiuzhan and other sites throughout the Jing River Valley during the Late Shang period, the material remains at Yujiawan evidence diverse cultural influences (Gansu 2009). Sun (2021) demonstrated how the ceramic assemblage from Yujiawan burials during the Late Shang period represents a mix of types seen in both the Jing River Valley and the Guanzhong Basin. Further, the bronze weapons at Yujiawan show evidence of influence from Shang culture in the east and the various bronze cultures in the west.

The excavators make a similar comment by arguing that the ceramic assemblage from the cemetery reveals the co-presence of two material cultural traditions that are central to the Xian Zhou debate. The excavators distinguish the presence of a culture typologically defined by the *liandang li* and the *biedang li*—thought to represent a Ji-Zhou (姬周) culture<sup>8</sup>—from another culture characterized by the *gaoling fendang daizu li* or *gaoling ruzhuang daizu li*—typically understood to represent *Jiangrong* (姜戎) groups<sup>9</sup> (figure 4.13) (Gansu 2009). However, as the excavators note, after the transition into the Western Zhou period, the ceramic assemblages in Western Zhou burials shift away from this admixture of distinct pottery types towards a composition that is stylistically similar to standardized Western Zhou types in the Guanzhong Basin. Understanding the transition from heterogeneous ceramic traditions among Xian Zhou communities to more standardized assemblages in Western Zhou society is critical to elucidating

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<sup>8</sup> Ji-Zhou culture is a term used to archaeologically delineate the primary culture that characterized the main line of Xian Zhou culture ruled by a lineage from the Ji clan.

<sup>9</sup> “Jiang” is the name of a clan that intermarried with the Ji clan. “Rong” is one of the terms used to denote the various groups in Northwest China during the Shang and Zhou periods.

the rise of the Zhou and their expansion from Guanzhong.

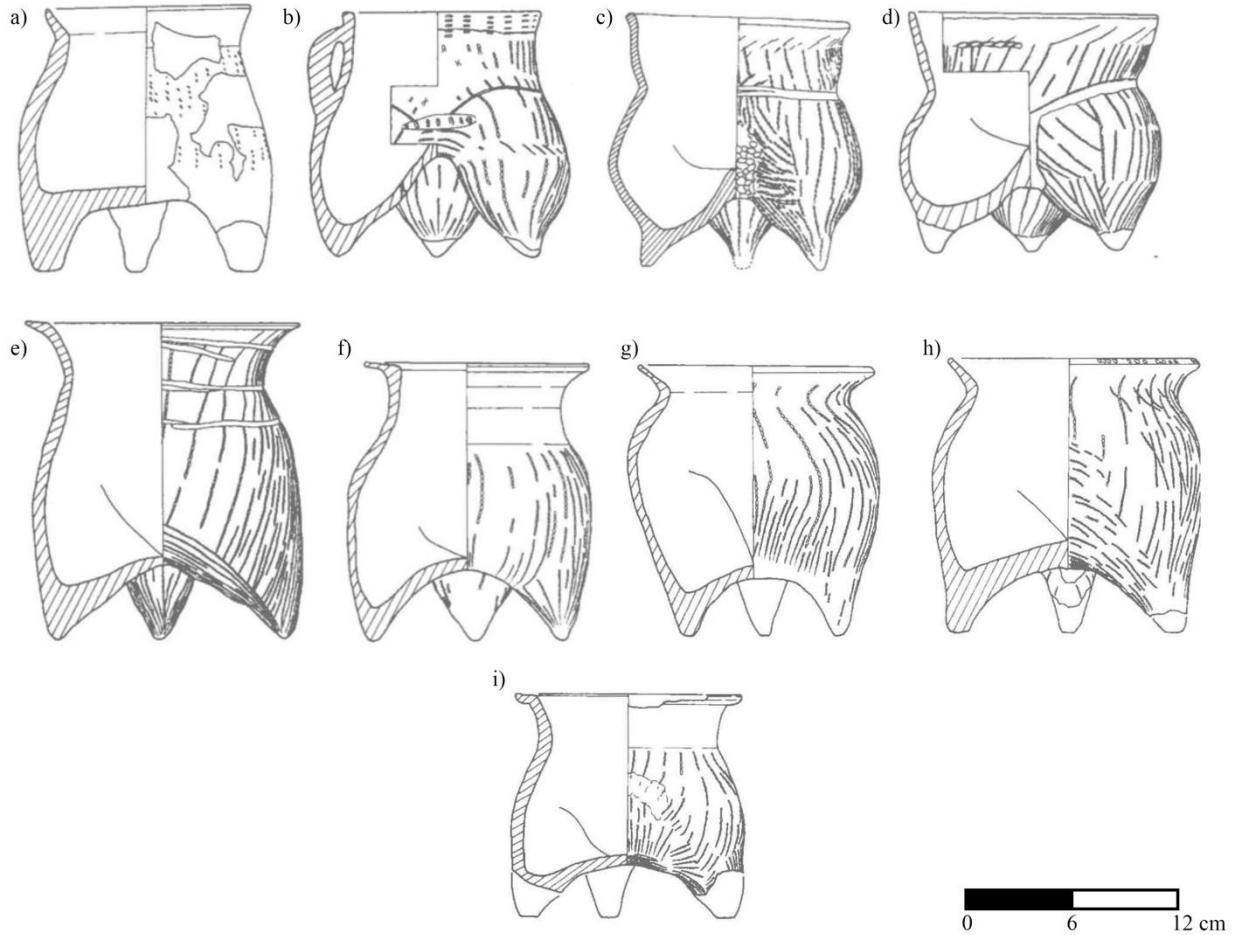


Figure 4.13. Late Shang and early Western Zhou period pottery *li* vessels from Yujiawan: a) *pingdang li* (M53:1; Late Shang period), b-d) *fendang li* (b, M112:1; c, M6:1, d, M65:1; all Late Shang period), e-f) *liandang li* (e, M10:1; f, M61:1; both Late Shang period), g-i) *biedang li* (g, M7:1; h, M15:1; i, M63:1; all early Western Zhou period) (Modified from Gansu 2009).

While the exact identification of the lineage(s) and political affiliation of Yujiawan remains to be resolved,<sup>10</sup> the strong presence of Guanzhong-based Western Zhou material culture and elite goods (e.g., bronze vessels; bronze bells; and chariots, chariot equipment, and horse tack) indicate that the lineage(s) represented at Yujiawan were ritually and cultural linked to Western Zhou society (see also Sun 2021). Xin Yihua (2018) argues that the Yujiawan cemetery could be

<sup>10</sup> The excavators suggest that Yujiawan was associated with the Ruan (阮) state during the Late Shang period before coming under the control of the Zhou after the conquest (Gansu 2009).

associated with the Si (姒) lineage of the Western Zeng state (西烝), which would eventually ally with other highland groups to sack the Zhou royal heartland in the Guanzhong Basin in 771 BC, resulting in the fall of the Western Zhou state (see also Li F. 2006). Li Ling (2022) argues that this Zeng state of the Western Zhou period was formerly based in the Middle Yangzi region during the Late Shang period, but the Zhou state forcefully relocated it north to Shaanxi and installed a Ji-lineage state also named Zeng in its former homeland.

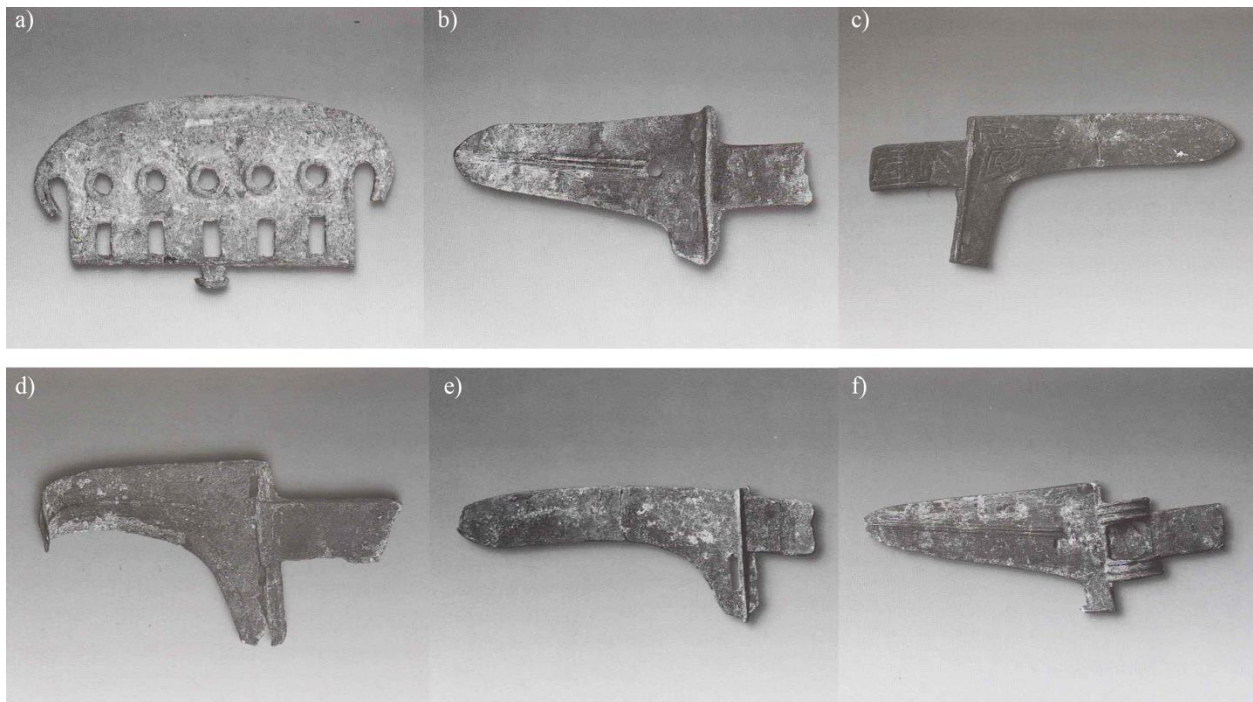


Figure 4.14. Bronze weapons found in Late Shang period tombs at Yujiawan (a: M60:1 (*yue*-axe), b: M60:3 (*ge*-dagger axe), c: M60:4 (*ge*-dagger axe), d: M60:2 (*ge*-dagger axe), e: M112:2 (*ge*-dagger axe), f: M58:1 (*ge*-dagger axe)) (Modified from Gansu 2009).

Thirteen Yujiawan burials date to the Late Shang period: M6, M10, M39, M53, M58, M60, M61, M64, M65, M80, M83, M110, and M112. While most of these burials contain few or no interred goods, the remains found in Late Shang period burials include a range of goods that circulated within the complex regional networks running through the Jing River Valley. *Li* vessels and cowrie shells were the most common type of object interred in Late Shang period burials at Yujiawan (Gansu 2009). As Li Min (2018) notes on cowrie shells, these were common items

among elites in Shang and Zhou societies and widely traded within Eurasian exchange networks.

Bronze *pao* were also discovered in large numbers in one of the burials (M60), and like Jiuzhan, some *pao* were found on the body of the deceased. Several bronze weapons were also found in M60, in addition to the bronze *ge*-dagger axes found in both M58 and M112 (figure 4.14). The presence of several weapons and a large number of bronze *pao* in M60 led the excavators to conclude that the individual interred in M60 was a military officer (Gansu 2009). If the individual in M60 was broadly involved in regional military activities, then we are presented with another layer of participation by Jing River Valley communities in regional networks.

If this is the case, then we should also look to how this kind of participation intersected with the maintenance of local networks of communication, travel, and exchange, which would have been essential to logistically support martial activities. Regardless, the discovery of bronze objects indicates that the community represented at the Yujiawan cemetery was involved in the circulation and exchange of bronzes during the Late Shang period. Moreover, as noted above, the objects found in M60 and M58 bear close stylistic resemblances to similar objects found among Shang communities to the east and the bronze-producing cultures to the west (see Sun 2021).

### *Community Dynamics at Nianzipo*

Moving further south towards Guanzhong, the number of known settlements dating to the late second millennium BC increases as the valley narrows where the Jing River flows into the Guanzhong Basin. Located 77 km southeast of Yujiawan lies the site of Nianzipo (figure 4.15). Excavated from 1980-1986, Nianzipo is a multi-period settlement discovered along the valley edges above the Hei River (Zhongguo 2007b). It is located near the confluence of the Hei River and the Jing River, providing Nianzipo residents with strategic access to the exchange networks that likely ran along the many rivers and deeply incised valleys that characterize the landscape of

the Jing River Valley.



Figure 4.15. Looking west from the Nianzipo site up the Hei River (photo by author, 2019).

Remains dating from the fourth millennium BC to the Eastern Zhou period (770 BC-256 BC) and later imperial (post-221 BC) periods have been discovered at the Nianzipo site (Zhongguo 2007b). As one of the largest and materially abundant sites during the late second millennium BC in the Jing River Valley (Cao 2014, Zhongguo 2007b), Nianzipo has been central in numerous debates on the rise of complex societies in the region (Hu 2000, 2005; Lei 2000, 2010; Li F. 2013; Ma 2008, 2009; Rawson 2019). Li Feng (2013) argues that the ceramic assemblages of Nianzipo show strong stylistic similarities to Xian Zhou and post-conquest Zhou culture and the preparation of oracle bones at Nianzipo bears a close resemblance to Zhou practices, but not to Shang

divination practices (see also Hu 2005).

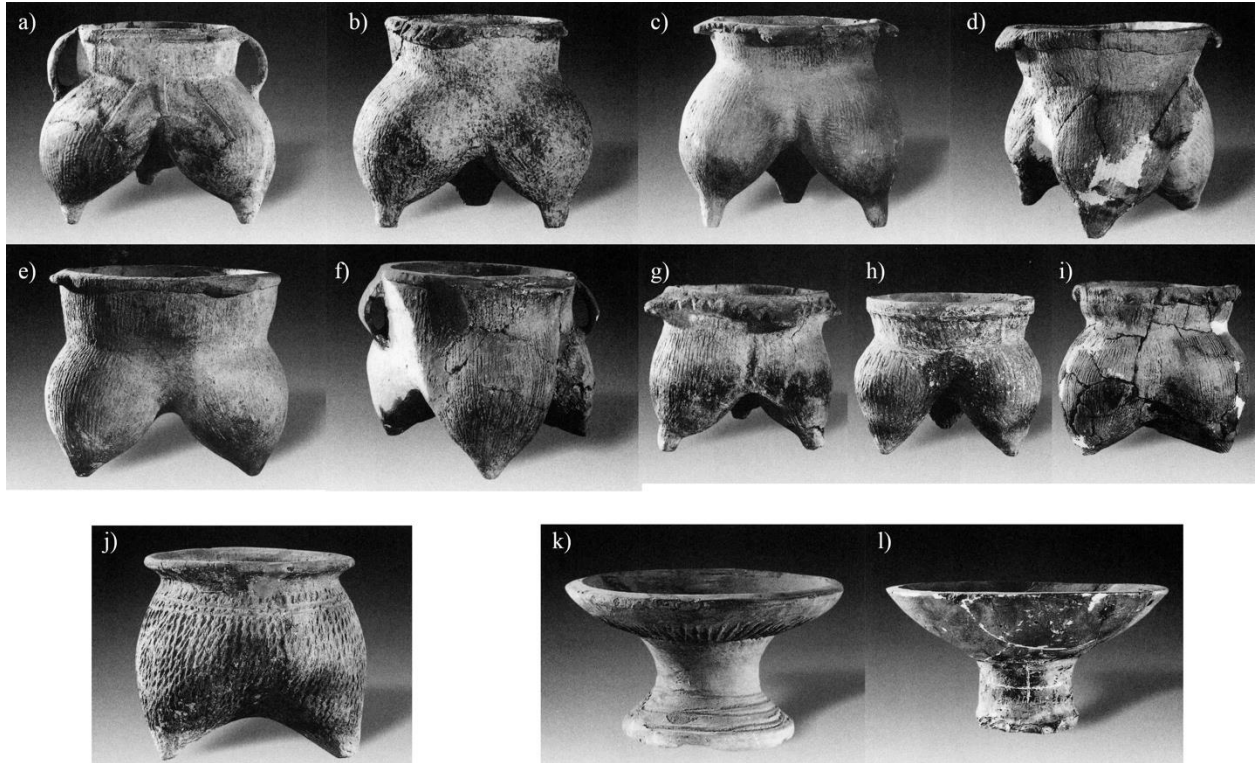


Figure 4.16. Pottery *li* and *dou* vessels from burials identified in the site report as being from the early Xian Zhou occupation of Nianzipo: a-i) *daizu li*, j) *biedang li*, k-l): *dou* (Modified from Zhongguo 2007b).

Hu Qianying (2000) argues that the Nianzipo remains were those of the Zhou people before moving to Zhouyuan. The diagnostic culture found at Nianzipo (often termed the Nianzipo type (类) or Nianzipo culture) would become a primary material component of the ceramic assemblages of the latter Xian Zhou period settlement at Zhouyuan (Ma 2009).<sup>11</sup> Regardless, the range of materials, diversity of assemblages, and spatial scale of the settlement affirm its status as a vital node in the networks pervading the Jing River Valley.

Twenty-one structure foundations (with each structure usually having 1-3 niches) and 231 burials dating to the Late Shang period were excavated at Nianzipo (Zhongguo 2007b). Like Jiuzhan, there is a strong continuity of burial practices (in the form of interred goods) at Nianzipo.

<sup>11</sup> I use the translation of “type” for these typologically-defined artifact assemblages to stay in line with the commonly used terminology used in English in the complex debate on the Xian Zhou.

Specifically, except for two ceramic *dou*-plates, all ceramics interred in Xian Zhou burials are *li*-tripod vessels (figure 4.16) (Zhongguo 2007b). The excavators also note that the techniques used to construct 18 of the 21 Nianzipo structures are very similar to those used to build structures in the Xian Zhou and Western Zhou period remains at Feng-Hao, possibly indicating the transmission of construction techniques, or even movement of people, into the Guanzhong Basin (figure 4.17).

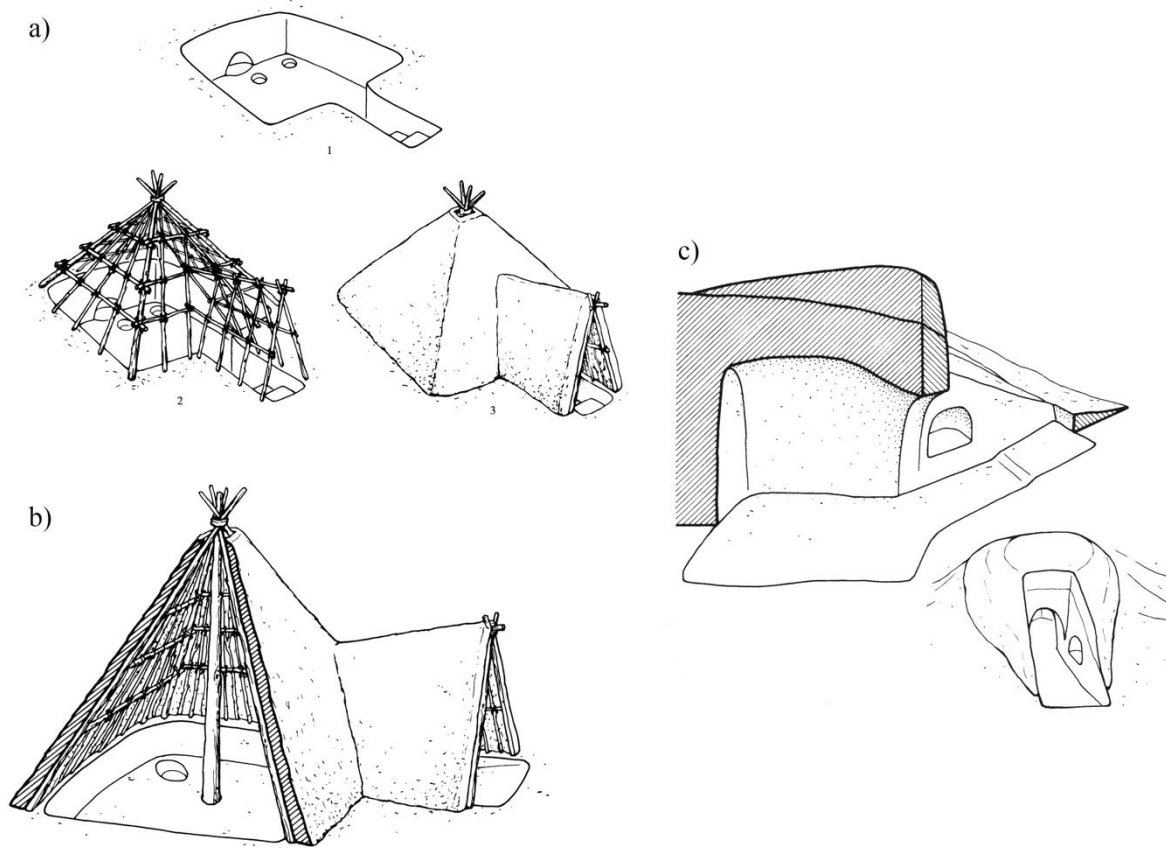


Figure 4.17. Reconstructions of Late Shang period structures at Nianzipo that the authors of the Nianzipo site report identified as being similar to structures are Feng-Hao: a) H304, b) H504, c) H303 (Modified from Zhongguo 2007b).

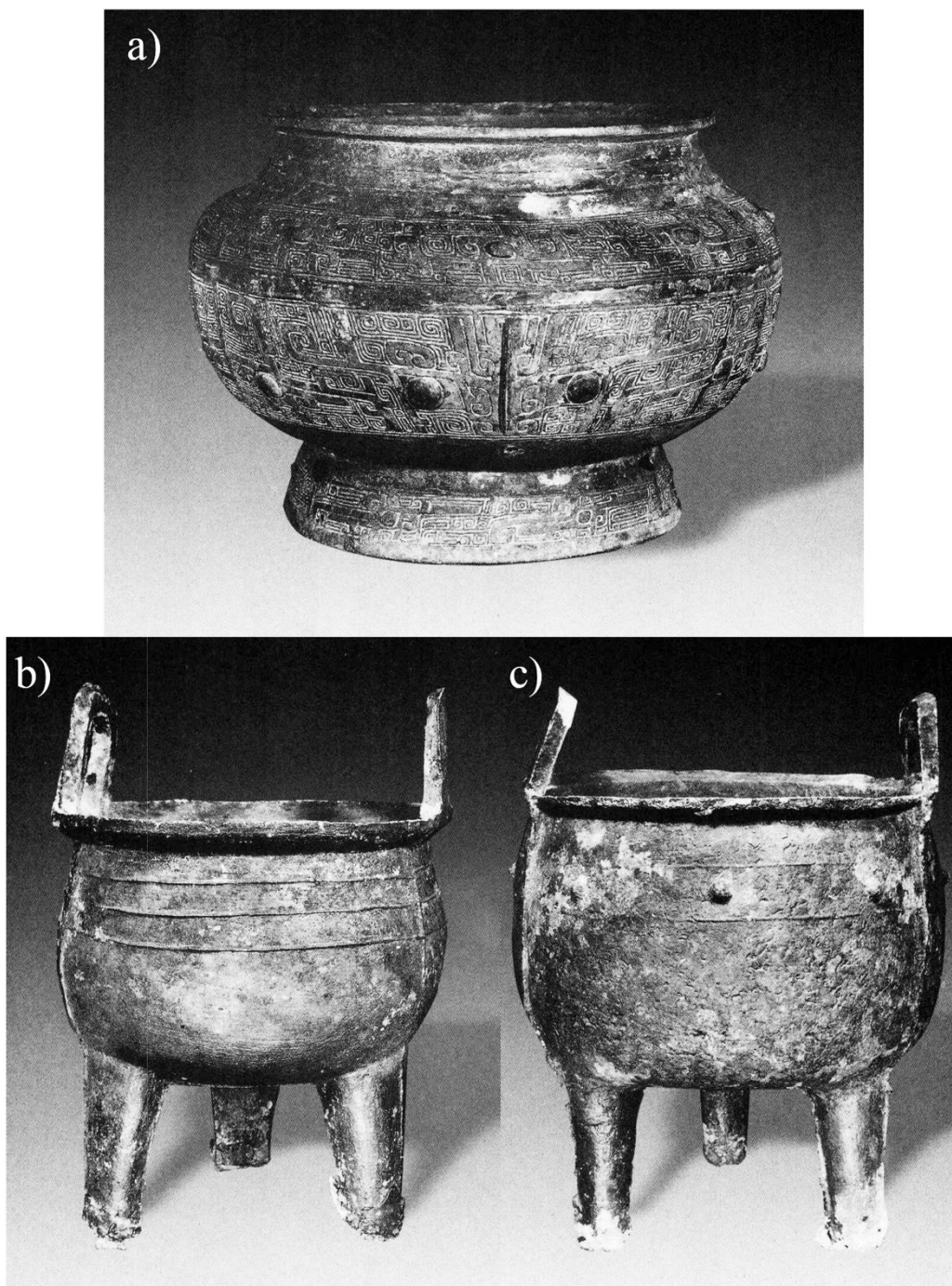


Figure 4.18. Bronze vessels from Nianzipo: a) *bu* vessel (H1:3), b) *ding* vessel (H1:2), c) *ding* vessel (H1:1) (Modified from Zhongguo 2007).

Among the features excavated at the site was a cache of 3 bronze vessels belonging to the Xian Zhou component of Nianzipo (figure 4.18) (Zhongguo 2007b). The site report authors suggest that the owner(s) of the vessels could not bring the vessels with them due to uncertain

circumstances and had to leave them behind—a common phenomenon at Zhou sites in the Guanzhong Basin following the fall of the Western Zhou state.<sup>12</sup> Following compositional analyses of the vessels, Mei Jianjun and Han Rubin (2007) argue that the two bronze *ding* vessels were made locally, given the nature of the metal composition.

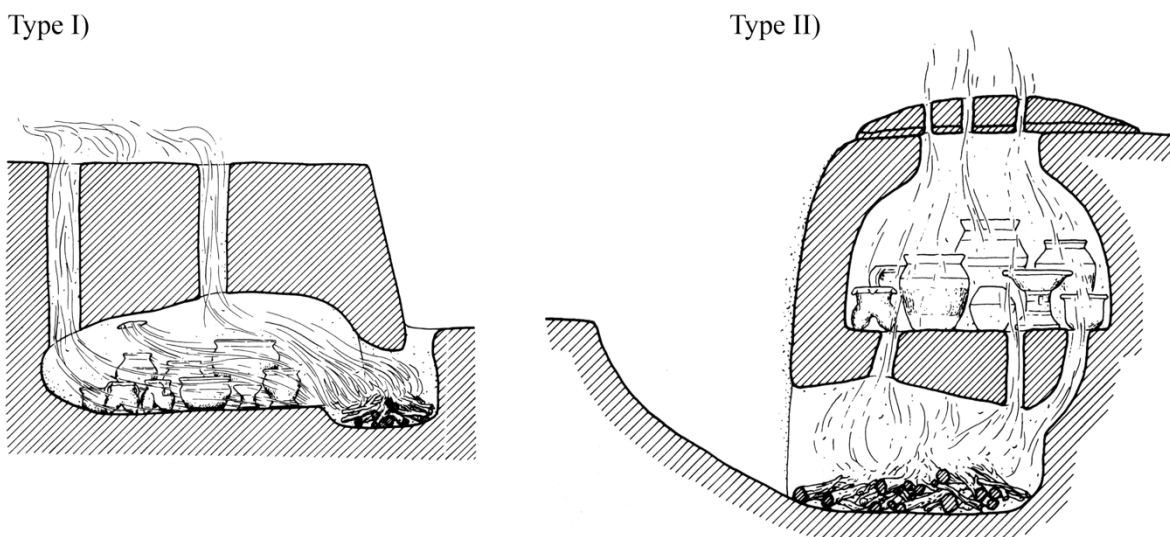


Figure 4.19. Archaeological reconstruction of Type I (Y402) and Type II (Y701) kilns at Nianzipo (Modified from Zhongguo 2007).

Bai Rongjin (2007) further suggests that a surface imperfection on one of the *ding* vessels demonstrates technical deficiencies in the production techniques used to make the *ding* vessels and further suggests that the *ding* vessels were made by local Xian Zhou artisans. The other bronze vessel, a *bu* vessel, is compositionally similar to a *bu* vessel found in the tomb of Fu Hao at Anyang, although Mei and Han only suggest that this vessel mirrored the one found in the Fu Hao tomb, while Bai notes that the higher level of craftsmanship that went into producing the *bu* vessel. The presence of the two *ding* and one *bu* vessel in the same cache indicates that Nianzipo residents had access to distinct foundries, resource networks, and/or exchange networks.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> There is no indication that the Nianzipo hoard was interred due to the highland invasion of the Western Zhou state. The Nianzipo hoard was likely interred sometime during the Late Shang period, as the sherds found in the layer of the pit with the bronzes date to the Xian Zhou period (see Zhongguo 2007b:99)

<sup>13</sup> It should be noted that it is difficult to pin down whether the vessels came from different workshops, as the Late Shang bronze exchange networks entangled diverse communities in northern and southern China, workshops likely

There are several more lines of evidence at the site that reveal differential engagement on the part of Nianzipo residents in the varied socioeconomic networks running through the Jing River Valley. An important discovery at the site are the seven Xian Zhou pottery kilns dating to the earlier Xian Zhou occupation of the site. Of the seven kilns, six were assigned to either categories I (n=5) or II (n=1) (figure 4.19). The excavators note that the single type II kiln (Y701), which is spatially separated from the rest of the kilns at the site, is similar in construction to ones found in a Shang site at Mengzhuang, Zhecheng, Henan and a Western Zhou site at Luoshuicun, Chang'an, Shaanxi, which indicates the interregional circulation of ceramic technologies. And while kiln Y701—located in Nianzipo zone VII—is separated from the closest kilns by approximately 200 meters in zone I, the kilns in zone I (3,552 m<sup>2</sup>) are relatively spatially clustered, which could indicate both strong communal relationships between potter groups and possibly production for intra- or inter-community trade.

The presence of chariot accessories and horse tack—although relatively few were discovered—and horse remains in the Xian Zhou component of Nianzipo also reveals that the Nianzipo community was active in the chariot and horse culture and associated exchange networks that is evidenced at Xujianian and possibly at Jiuzhan. Further, as noted above, evidence for oracle bone divination at Nianzipo indicates that the community was actively involved in macroregional ritual trends that have deep historical roots. As will be explored below, other material components of the Nianzipo archaeological record that reveals an intimate entanglement within Jing River Valley networks are the artifacts related to subsistence strategies. Artifacts and faunal remains, including stone and bone *chan*-shovels; stone and bone *lian*-sickles; bovine, horse, sheep/goat, and pig remains; and deer remains, demonstrate that Nianzipo residents were engaged in disparate, yet

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used raw materials from multiple sources and produced a wide-range of vessels (see Pollard et al. 2017 for more on the bronze exchange networks).

overlapping subsistence patterns, including sedentary agriculture, husbandry, and hunting (Zhongguo 2007b). In addition, substantial evidence for the production of bone objects and textile production, including bone awls and ceramic spinning wheels, indicates that Nianzipo residents were engaged in a wide range of craft activities that required collaboration between differing subsistence activities, raw material procurement strategies, and craft industries (Zhongguo 2007b).

We can then see strong intra-community interaction at Nianzipo. Yet, there is nothing to suggest that the Nianzipo social structure was strongly organized along any commercial lines, rather it is more likely that economic engagement was mediated at the household level while technical knowledge could have been transmitted at both the community and household level. Further, the strong evidence for the close entanglement of agropastoral and hunting practices at the site demonstrates that the Nianzipo community was an active participant in the intensification and diversification of Jing River Valley agropastoral socioeconomic networks (see below).

#### *The Complex Materiality of Duanjing Artifact Assemblages*

Located approximately 27 km southeast of Nianzipo, the site of Duanjing (56 ha) is located on a ridge surrounded by the Jing River on three sides (figure 4.20). The primary material component of the site dates to the Late Shang period, while Yangshao remains were also discovered in the course of excavations (Zhongguo 1999). A survey of Shang period sites in the area around Duanjing discovered more than a dozen sites with distinct cultures (Beijing 2001), indicating that the area was the site of complex exchange networks and the flow of diverse production traditions.

The excavators of Duanjing divide the remains dating to the late second millennium BC into two periods. The excavators identify the first period as dating to the early period of the occupation of Nianzipo (Zhongguo 1999) or slightly earlier, which the authors of the Nianzipo site

report argue to be around Yinxu Phases I and II (Zhongguo 2007b). The excavators of Duanjing also argue that the Duanjing materials bear a close relationship to the Nianzipo remains, although there are also clear differences (Zhongguo 1999). Duanjing period II remains are dated to the period after founding of the Xian Zhou center at Zhouyuan with a temporal boundary possibly at the transitional period between the Xian Zhou and the Western Zhou (Zhongguo 1999).<sup>14</sup>



Figure 4.20. Location of the Duanjing site along the Jing River (Basemap from Google Earth).

Duanjing (and the Zhumazui site south of Duanjing) presents another layer of cultural complexity in the Jing River Valley, that is, the presence of Shang culture mixed with other local

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<sup>14</sup> While there is a general agreement that the site can be generally divided into two periods that can date to prior to the Western Zhou period, the precise chronology of features in the site is debated (see Lei 2010).

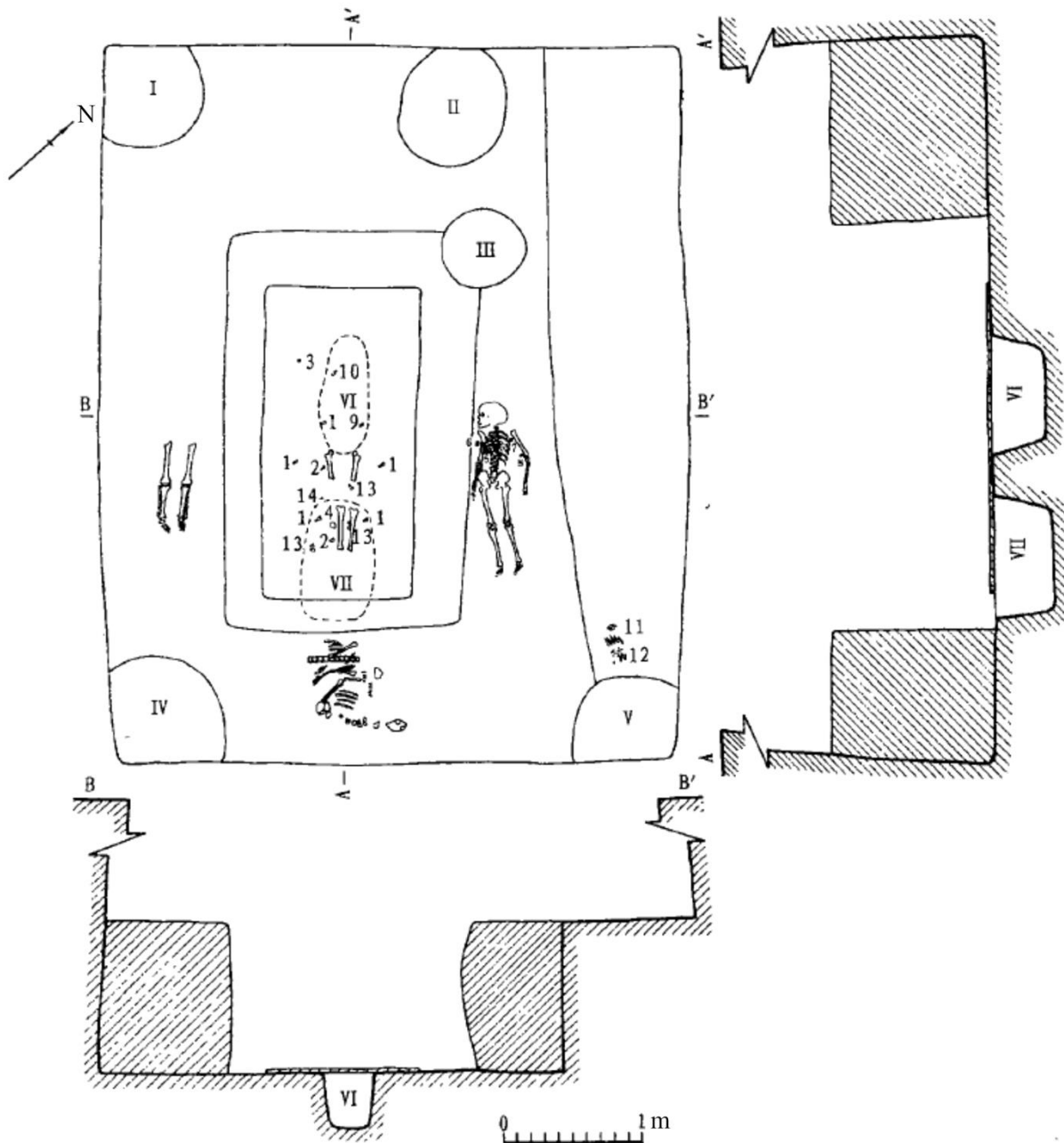


Figure 4.21. Layout of tomb M4 at Duanjing (Modified from Zhongguo 1999).

and non-local cultures (see Lei 2010, Song 2016). This Shang influence did not come directly from Anyang, as the material culture is more stylistically similar to pre-Anyang Shang influences. Broadly understood Shang remains in the Jing River Valley were the result of the northward movement of Shang cultural legacy groups in the Guanzhong Basin, who were themselves

descended from the expansion of Erligang culture into the Guanzhong Basin during the Early Shang (ca. 1600-1400 BC) and the Middle Shang (ca. 1400-1250 BC) periods (see Li M. 2018, Steinke and Ching 2014 for more on the Erligang expansion).<sup>15</sup>

Four Shang period burials were excavated at Duanjing. All of these tombs were looted. The largest burial (M4) has a relatively complex burial structure, with a ledge (*ercengtai*), a waist pit, and a pit under the feet of the primary burial occupant (*jiaokeng*) (figure 4.21) (Zhongguo 1999).<sup>16</sup> Waist pits are small pits constructed at the bottom of burials and are common in northern China, especially in Shang culture, during the late second millennium BC. These pits often hold the skeletal remains of dogs, which was a prominent ritual feature of Late Shang burial rituals (Li and Campbell 2019).



Figure 4.22. Bronze knife from Duanjing (M4:5) (From Zhongguo 1999).

The waist pit in M4 contains the remains of a sacrificial dog and chicken and the *jiaokeng* contains the remains of a human sacrificial victim. On the ledge, the excavators discovered human sacrificial remains at different positions. However, one of the victim's remains consists of a separated upper half and lower half. The excavators argue that the remains are constitutive of a single sacrificial victim whose remains were dismembered before burial (Zhongguo 1999). An additional sacrificial victim was also found on the secondary ledge. The sacrificial practices at

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<sup>15</sup> Broadly speaking, the Erligang expansion was the spread of what is considered to be Shang culture from the heartland of the Early Shang in the Luoyang-Zhengzhou region.

<sup>16</sup> *Jiaokeng* are also found in Laoniupo burials in Guanzhong (Zhongguo 1999, see also Liu S. 2001)

Duanjing reveal that the ritual violence on full display at Xitou and Yaoheyuan had a longer history in the Jing River Valley (see below).

Despite being looted, M4 produced a range of burial goods, including several types of bronze objects (e.g., *pao* (n=14), a knife (n=1), and arrowheads (n=7), gold ornaments, bone arrowheads, cowrie shells, and stone artifacts (Zhongguo 1999). Like at Jiuzhan, the presence of a northern-style knife indicates a connection—whether direct or indirect—between the community at Duanjing and the north (figure 4.22). Further, Song Jiangning (2016) argues that the bronze arrowheads and the bronze and gold ornaments also reveal a northern connection. The relatively rich findings at Duanjing indicate that the local residents, strategically situated along large bend of the Jing River Valley, had substantial access to the varied exchange networks of the Jing River Valley.

Liu Xu (2021) contends that the Duanjing burials reveal a link to Laoniupo (or can be possibly dated to the Western Zhou period), a Shang cultural site that has remains dating from the Early Shang to Late Shang periods (see Liu S. 2001). Liu Xu (personal communication with Li Min) argues that “the Late Shang and Early Shang components at Laoniupo represent one group of people and can be viewed as a single material culture. Laoniupo’s Early Shang characteristics are similar to the Central Plains, but there is a significant difference in the Late Shang [component of Laoniupo]; there are few similarities with the Late Shang material culture at Yinxu” (see also Liu X. 2021). As additional evidence, Chen et al. (2017) argue that Laoniupo copper production practices bear some similarities to the Early Shang site at Yuanqu located to the east of the Guanzhong Basin.

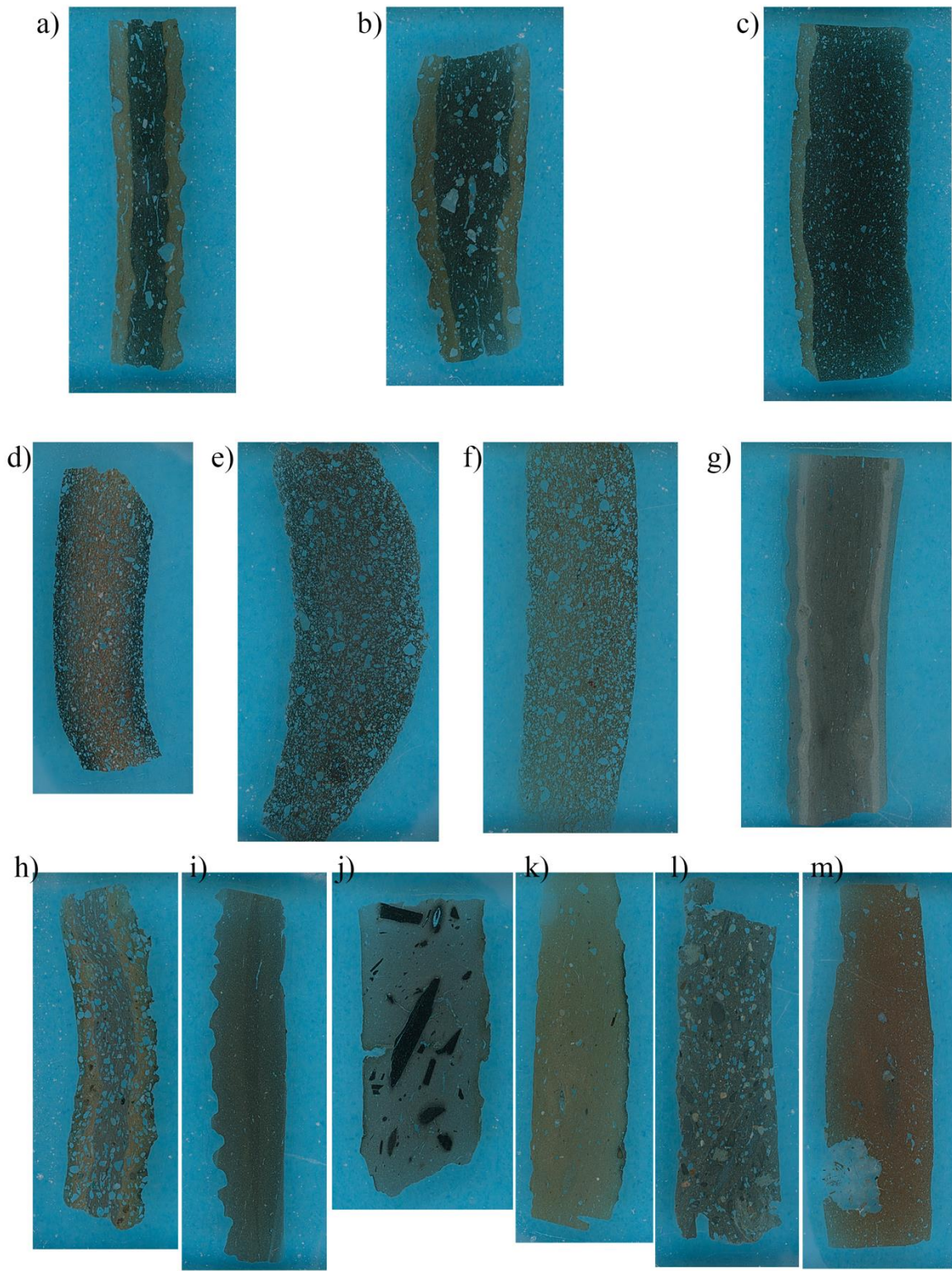


Figure 4.23. Scans of thin sections of pottery vessels: a-c) Laoniupo, d-e) Xindian, f-g) Huanbei Shang City, h-m) Duanjing.

My qualitative analyses of pottery from the Late Shang Xindian foundry site outside of Anyang (see Ch. 3), Laoniupo in the eastern Guanzhong Basin, and Duanjing reveal differences in production techniques between Shang culture in Henei and Shang-style remains in Guanzhong (figure 4.23). While both Xindian and Laoniupo pottery production employed sand-temper,<sup>17</sup> there are clear differences in firing practices. At Xindian, pottery fabrics are mainly characterized by a solid grey color throughout the fabric or darker margins and reddish cores with diffuse margins, indicating in either case a reducing atmosphere during firing (the differences between the two are likely due to variations in firing temperature, duration, and/or atmosphere as well as clay composition). At Laoniupo, however, the pottery fabrics are primarily defined by dark cores surrounded by light brown layers on either side with sharp margins between the core and the light brown layer or a thick dark layer throughout the fabric with a thin light brown layer near the outer surface of the vessel.

In either case at Laoniupo, these fabrics indicate a generally consistent practice of shorter firings or firings in a reduced atmosphere followed by rapid cooling in the air, or both (see Orton and Hughes 2013, Quinn 2013). Given the sharp boundaries between the core and the outer margins, it is likely that rapid cooling in the air was the primary cause of Laoniupo fabric patterns (see Orton and Hughes 2013, Quinn 2013). While both Xindian and Laoniupo were both sites evidencing bronze production—which requires a significant level of knowledge on the effects of clay and temper when fired (see Li Y. 2022 for more on Shang craft industries)—the differences in firing practices at the sites indicates that the development of pottery production technologies in the Shang heartland and among Shang communities in the Guanzhong Basin took on divergent

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<sup>17</sup> The addition of sand-temper during pottery production is a common practice in Shang communities throughout the Shang period (ca. 1600-1046 BC) (e.g., Henan 2001, Zhongguo 2014). Sand-tempered pottery is also found in the Middle Shang site of Huanbei Shangcheng (see figure 4.23:f).

trajectories. This provides further evidence for Liu Xu's arguments about how the Late Shang period material remains at Laoniupo are not directly related to the Shang state at Anyang, but rather a local culture that developed on the foundation of Early Shang culture.<sup>18</sup> Thus, instead of being dependent on the Late Shang state at Anyang, Laoniupo likely flourished within the growth of regional socioeconomic networks in Shaanxi during this period (see below).

At Duanjing, the pottery fabrics, based on an admittedly small sample set (n=22), are a mix of tempered and non-tempered pots with variable color profiles. However, there is one sherd among the Duanjing samples that bears similarities with the firing practices of Laoniupo. This sherd is characterized by a light grey core with sharp margins, indicating that the sample was allowed to cool rapidly in the air following firing (similar to the practices at Laoniupo). The differences in fabric color between the Duanjing sample and those of Laoniupo are likely due to dissimilarities in firing technologies available, the transmission of technical knowledge, and clay composition.

It should be further noted that the practice of rapidly cooling sand-tempered vessels from a reduced atmosphere is not common in the Jing River Valley, but other sites have some evidence for a similar pattern of sharp boundaries between the core and the outer margins, such as the nearby site of Xialei and the Gaojiabu site along the lower Jing River in the Guanzhong Basin (figure 4.24). Moreover, there is also some limited evidence of Laoniupo firing practices at the Western Zhou capital of Feng-Hao (located just west of Laoniupo) (figure 4.25), which could provide another layer of evidence for Liu Xu's (2021) suggestion that at least part of the Western Zhou capital could have been shaped by people from Laoniupo.

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<sup>18</sup> Although there is evidence for this kind of rapid cooling at the Middle Shang period site of Huanbei (see figure 4.23:g).

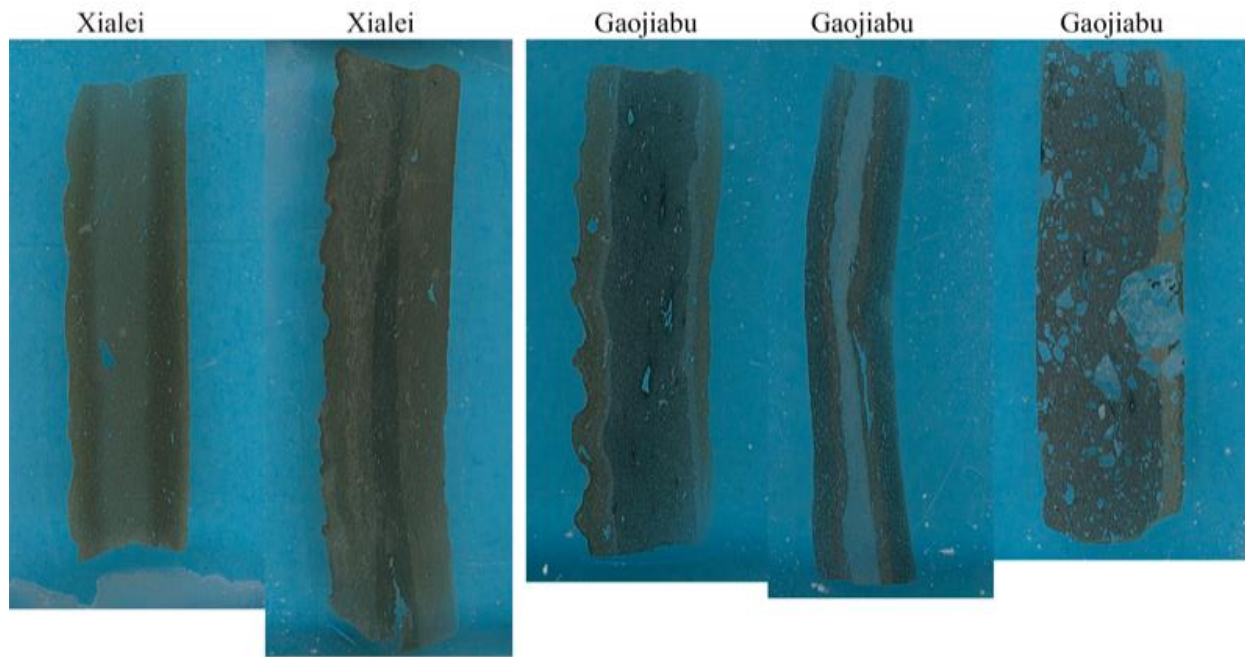


Figure 4.24. Scanned thin sections of pottery from Xialei and Gaojiabu.

Regardless, the similarities between this sample and Laoniupo ceramics indicates that some practices common at Laoniupo are found in other communities in Shaanxi (whether the sample at Duanjing was produced on site, obtained through exchange, or left by an individual/group passing through the site requires further research). Moreover, I argue that the mixed characteristics of Duanjing samples are due to the differential participation of Duanjing residents in the social and economic networks of the Jing River Valley. Through this participation, the residents at Duanjing had access and variably adapted the technical traditions and/or ceramic goods that were widely circulating in the region. That is, decisions on the types of goods used or production technologies adapted by Duanjing residents is mediated at the household level and the distinct networks that ran

Laoniupo  
Ceramics



Feng-Hao  
(Caozhai locus)  
Ceramics



Figure 4.25. Scanned thin sections of pottery from Laoniupo and Feng-Hao (Caozhai).

through these households, conditioned in varying degrees by communal norms, expectations, and power structures, and heavily influenced by the varied routes of movement that ran through the settlement (e.g., pastoral paths, exchange activities, familial links to other settlements in the area, etc.). I believe that this type of dynamic is generally consistent in communities across the valley. Evidence for this dynamic is found in other aspects of the material record at Duanjing, including the mortuary evidence discussed above.

Finds in non-burial contexts at the site also reveal diverse influences on the material assemblage at Duanjing. The pottery assemblage bears typological similarities to types at Nianzipo to the north in addition to the Shang material influence at the site (figure 4.26). The presence of oracle bones at the site puts the Duanjing community in line with the ritual practices at other sites

in the Jing River Valley. The authors of the site report also note that the proportions of types of pottery fabrics underwent a shift between periods I and II. For example, there was a notable decrease in the proportion of pottery described as red clay pottery from period I and period II (1.2 % of assemblage in period I to 0.1% in period II) (Zhongguo 1999). In addition, the period I ceramic assemblage at the site has grey coarse clay pottery, while these are not evidenced in the period II assemblage (Zhongguo 1999).

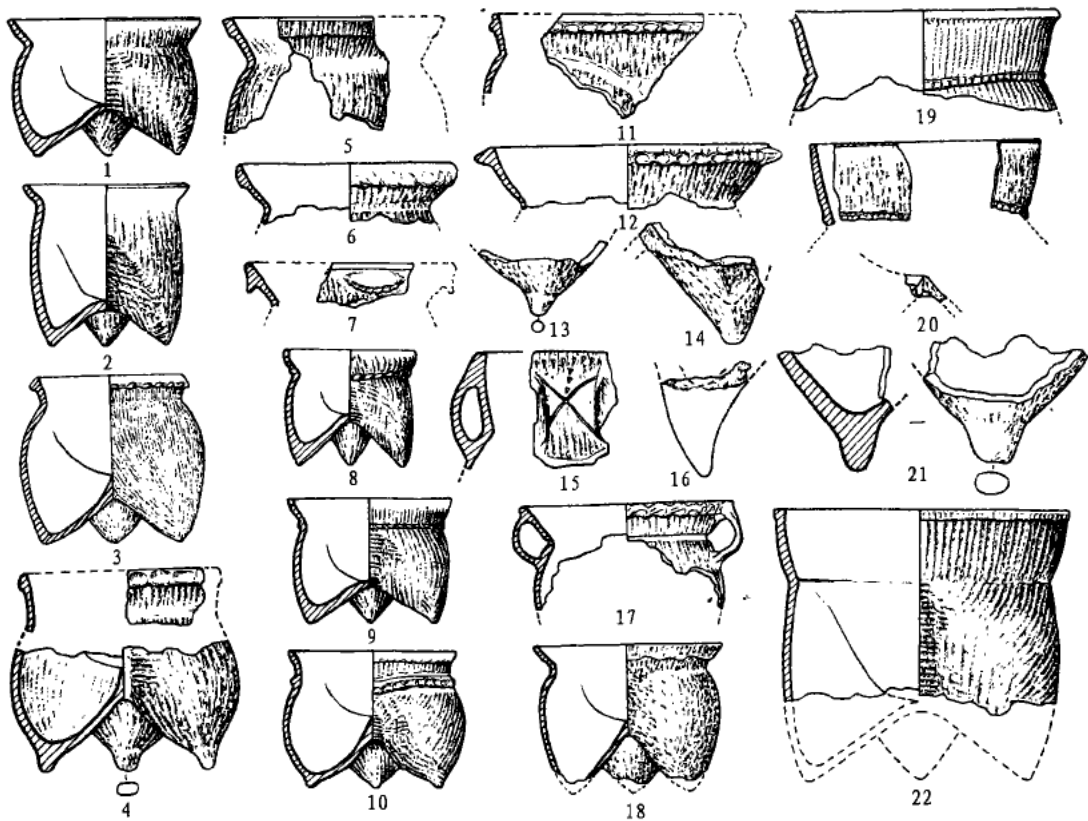


Figure 4.26. Pottery *li* vessels from Duanjing (From Zhongguo 1999).

In addition to changes to surface decorations, the excavators note that vessel thickness decreases from period I to period II. While the exact mechanisms that precipitated the change in pottery types at Duanjing are unclear, the chronological changes the excavators note cover several aspects of the pottery production process, from resource acquisition and firing technology (fabric color) to surface modifications (surface patterns) to forming techniques (vessel thickness). The

reasons for these changes could arise as a result of a multitude of processes that likely intersected at the site, including the introduction of new technologies (whether direct or indirect), experimentation, changes in resource availability, etc. The decrease in red clay pottery, which only made up a small proportion of the ceramics at Duanjing even in period I, could also be due to changes in exchange partners or shifts patterns of movement of the communities around Duanjing. Regardless, the artifacts at Duanjing provide us with another perspective into the complex socioeconomic networks that existed in the Jing River Valley during the Late Shang period.

### *The Xunyi-Chunhua Region*

To the east of Duanjing, the area around Xunyi and Chunhua has become a recent focus for archaeologists working on Xian Zhou society. Several sites in the area are important for our understandings of regional social dynamics. This area is often referred to as the historical Bin region, where the Zhou people resided prior to moving to the Zhouyuan area at the foot of Mt. Qi. For the purposes of our discussion, Xitou, Sunjia, Zaolinhetan, and Zaoshugounao in the Xunyi/Chunhua area are particularly relevant, especially given the complex material cultures found at these sites and the positionality of these sites in Xian Zhou and early Western Zhou debates.

Recent excavations at the Xitou site have revealed a large rammed-earth walled settlement—the walled area covers 80 ha and the Shang-Zhou period remains covers an area of 200 ha—and elite tombs that date to as early as the Shang-Zhou transitional period (figures 4.27, 4.28) (Xibei et al. 2023).<sup>19</sup> One of the elite tombs at Xitou (M90), dated to the Shang-Zhou transitional period, is a tomb with a single burial ramp—an indicator of elite status—and contains 43 human sacrificial victims, with 38 victims placed on the burial ramp (figure 4.29) (Song and

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<sup>19</sup> The rammed-earth wall dates to the Western Zhou period (Xibei et al. 2023).

Dou 2022). The presence of human sacrifices and indicators of Shang culture in M90, including a waist pit, could point to the possibility that elite groups of the Yin people (or another group strongly aligned with Shang cultural practices) were involved in the establishment of the walled settlement at Xitou and were allowed to continue their violent practices that were common in the Shang world (see Ch. 5) (Xibei et al. 2023).

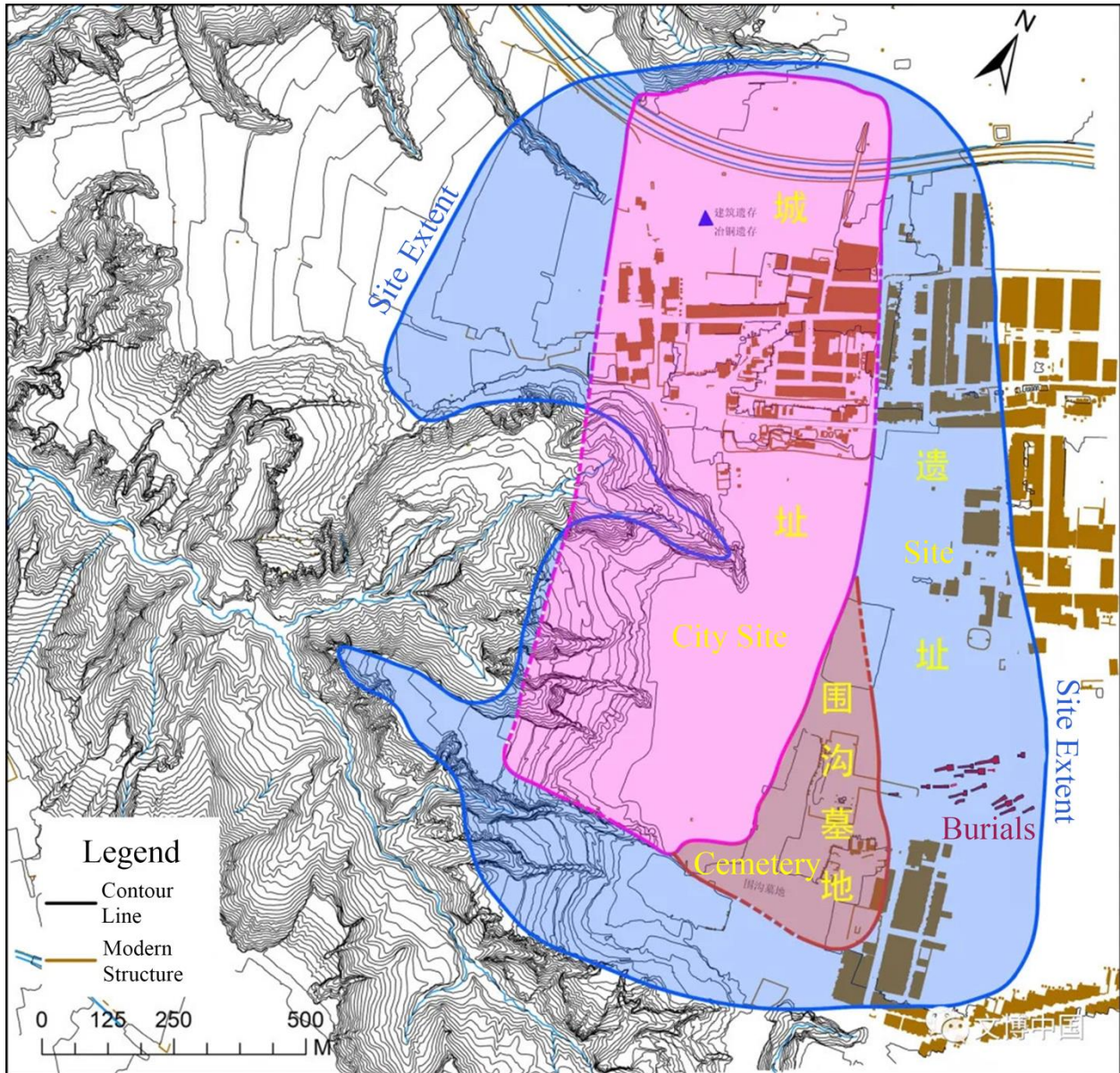


Figure 4.27. Layout of the Xitou Site (Modified from Xibei et al. 2023).



Figure 4.28. Looking over the Jing River Valley from the Xitou site (Photo by author, 2019).

Although there existed a local history of human sacrifice in the Jing River Valley, the ritual particularities and scale of human sacrifice seen in the Xitou tomb extends far beyond what we see in sites like Duanjing. Indeed, the large number of human sacrifices on the burial ramp (and in the tomb chamber) of M90 and the trench surrounding the Xitou cemetery bear resemblances to the trenches<sup>20</sup> and violent rituals at the Xibeigang royal necropolis at Anyang and the human sacrificial remains in the Changzikou tomb at Luyi south of the Song capital in Shangqiu (see Ch. 5 for more on the Changzikou tomb). The remains of sacrificial victims in the Changzikou tomb are found in the burial chamber and at the space where the chamber and one of the burial ramps meet (Henan

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<sup>20</sup> It should be noted that several large tombs were found outside the cemetery trench, but M90 is located within the trench zone (Xibei et al. 2023).

and Zhoukou 2000).

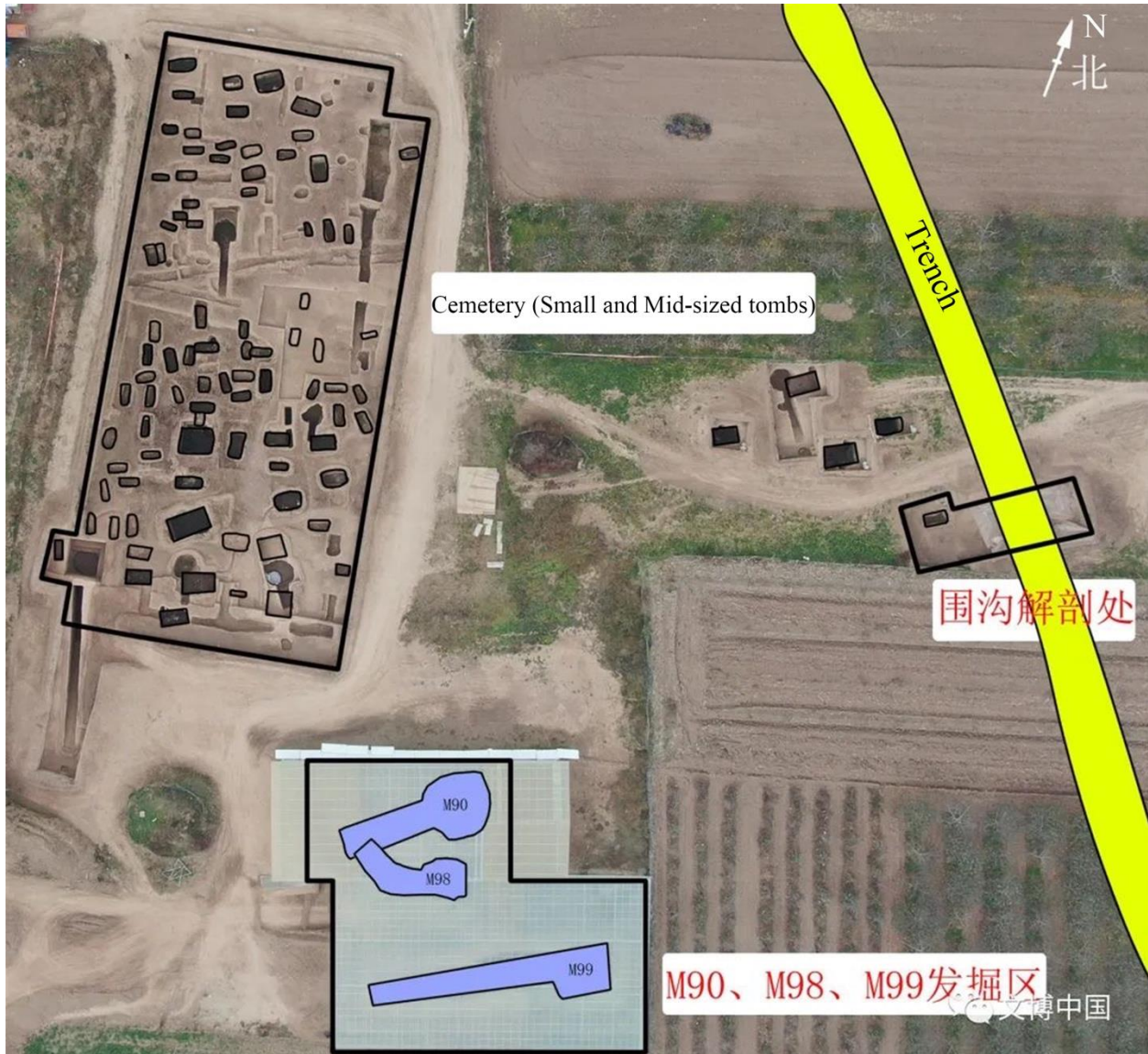


Figure 4.29. Excavated burials in the cemetery located inside the trench (Modified from Xibei et al. 2023).

Western Zhou period tombs with material elements of Shang culture at Yaoheyuan (located approx. 175 km northwest of Xitou) and Xiaweiluo (located approx. 7 km northeast of Xitou) also evidence the practice of human sacrifice (Ningxia and Pengyang 2020, Xianyang and Xunyi 2006) (see Ch. 5 for a more extensive treatment of Yaoheyuan). This indicates that human sacrifice was practiced throughout the Jing River Valley during the early Western Zhou period and extended beyond the confines of a single group. Moreover, given the nature of Xitou and Yaoheyuan as

newly established Western Zhou regional centers and the richly interred goods in tombs with human sacrifices, it is likely that the source of these violent rituals can be found in the interregional demographic shifts of the Shang-Zhou transition (i.e., the arrival of Shang descent groups into the greater Guanzhong region). On the other hand, it should be noted that large-scale human sacrifice seen at centers like Xitou are not common among Shang lineages in the Western Zhou heartland. Thus, more research on the tombs with human sacrifices at Western Zhou centers in the Jing River Valley is needed.

Further, what can be considered as Shang culture in the Jing River Valley declined sharply prior to the fall of Anyang and the movement of Shang groups from Henei. The relatively rapid emergence of walled centers during the early Western Zhou period marked by elements of elite Shang culture (e.g., Shang burial practices, bronze production, and human sacrifice) provides another line of evidence that the people from the former Shang homeland were likely active in the reorganization of the Jing River Valley during the Western Zhou period.

While much of the attention arising from recent excavations at Xitou is focused on the Western Zhou period burials and walled settlement, especially as it relates to the identity of this center based on bronze inscriptions and received texts, the Shang-Zhou period remains at Xitou represent a continuous occupation between these periods (Xibei et al. 2021). The excavation at the Yuzuipo locus at Xitou, covering an area of 90 m<sup>2</sup>, revealed the remains of 4 structures and 12 burials in addition to over a hundred other features (e.g., ash pits) (Xibei et al. 2021).<sup>21</sup> The excavators argue that the Late Shang period remains at Xitou should be categorized as deriving from Nianzipo culture. The range of materials used to make tools and ornaments at the Yuzuipo locus, including bronze, bones, and stones, indicates that residents had access to diverse, yet

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<sup>21</sup> The recent excavations near the walled settlement uncovered 140 burials (Xibei et al. 2023).



Figure 4.30. Sunjia environs (Photos by author, 2019).

overlapping resource and production networks. Further, while the style is different from other sites in the Jing River Valley, the discovery of Late Shang period oracle bones at Xitou indicates that residents were active participants in macroregional ritual trends.

Approximately 4 km east of Xitou, the Sunjia site is situated on a ridge over a deeply eroded river valley (figure 4.30). Dating to the Late Shang period, the remains excavated at the site (which have not been published in site report form) have proven to be a consistent source of contention among archaeologists working on the Xian Zhou period. Some researchers argue that the “Sunjia type” is the cultural successor to the “Zhengjiapo type” found in the Guanzhong Basin, inherent in this proposed predecessor-successor relationship are attempts to delineate the movement of a Ji-Zhou group of people from the Guanzhong Basin to the Jing River Valley (and eventually back to Guanzhong). In this line of argument, Sunjia represents the Xian Zhou culture of the Ji clan (see Lei 2010, Ma 2009 for more on Sunjia and the Xian Zhou debate).

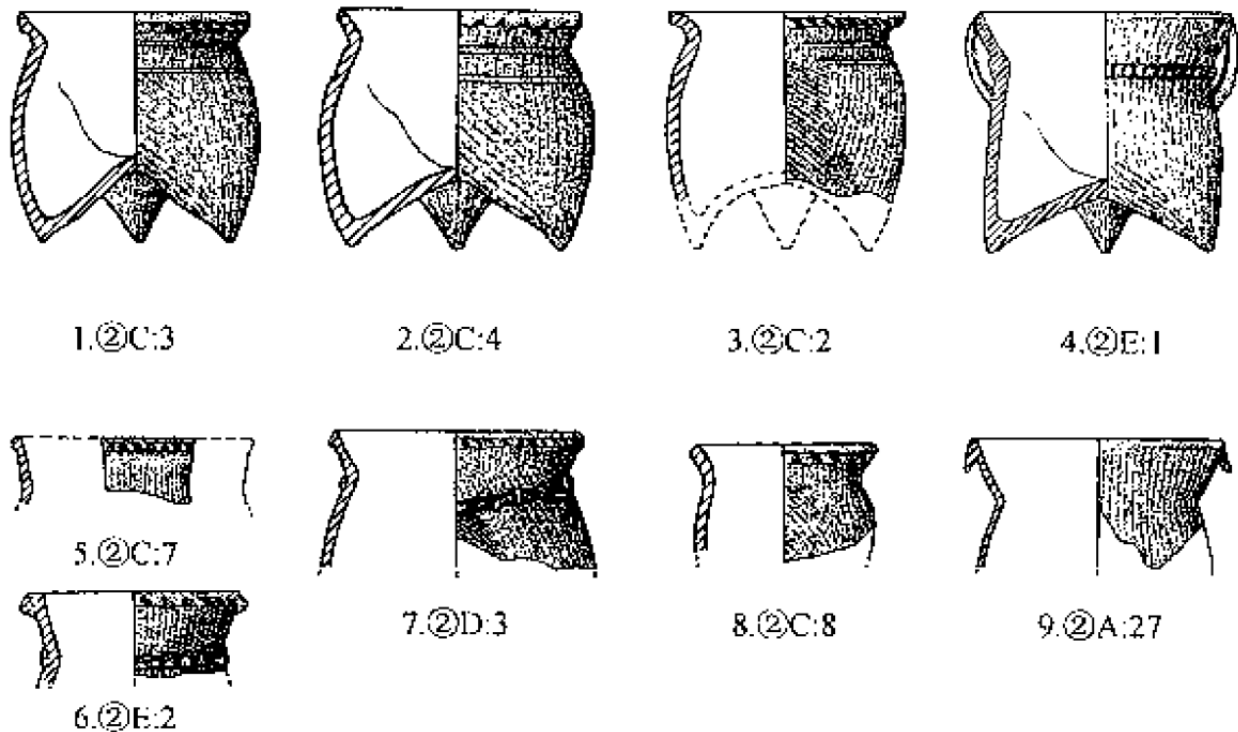


Figure 4.31. Sunjia *li* vessels (From Lei 2010).

However, as Ma Sai (2009) notes, the material components of the Sunjia type are complex,

and while there are some elements of the pottery that bear close resemblance to the Zhengjiapo type, there are also elements that are different (figure 4.31). While Ma tentatively suggest that the Sunjia type could be the material remains of the Zhou people while they resided in Bin, she also argues that the Sunjia type remains have strong elements of cultural amalgamation.

It is important to note that Ma also groups the Duanjing remains under the Sunjia type. Similarly, Lei Xingshan (2010) groups the early period remains at Duanjing with the Sunjia type. Given the geographic position of Sunjia along the Sanshui River<sup>22</sup> and close to several other settlements with distinct pottery traditions, including Zaolinhetao (approx. 2.5 km east), Duanjing (approx. 9 km west), Xitou (approx. 4 km northwest), Zaoshugou (approx. 27 km southeast), and Nianzipo (approx. 36 km northwest), the local community at Sunjia were exposed to a complex material landscape.

Located just east of Sunjia, Zaolinhetao is a small late second millennium BC site located on a protruding point deep within a narrow river valley 12 km southwest of Xunyi, Shaanxi (figure 4.32). Excavators divide the site into three periods dating from the latter part of the Late Shang (Yinxu Phase III) to the middle Western Zhou (Xibei et al. 2019). Some remains from the Neolithic Miaodigou phase of Yangshao culture (fourth millennium BC) were also identified (Xibei et al. 2019). *Li* vessels were the primary pottery vessels interred in Zaolinhetao burials, which is in line with burial practices at other sites in the Jing River Valley (e.g., Nianzipo and Yujiawan).

Like Xitou, even though the Zaolinhetao site is spatially very close to Sunjia, the excavators identified substantive material influences from Nianzipo as evidenced by pottery styles and burial practices (figure 4.33) (Xibei et al. 2019). One burial (M2) also has a waist pit with a sacrificial dog, which the excavators argue links the burial style to similar ritual forms found at

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<sup>22</sup> A major tributary of the Jing River Valley.

Nianzipo (Xibei et al. 2019). Given that waist pits are strongly associated with Shang society, it is possible that the Zaolinheta waist pits could also be a Shang influence on local customs—even if this influence was indirect.



Figure 4.32. The environs of Zaolinheta (Photo taken at the Zaolinheta site by author, 2019).

Regardless, as the excavators argue, the stylistic similarities between Zaolinheta and Nianzipo vessels does indicate sustained interaction between these communities—either through the movement of people between these sites, the selective adaptation of a specific technical tradition amongst the many traditions circulating the valley, or through engagement along other lines (e.g., trade, interaction during agricultural or pastoral activities, familial relations, etc.). Further, as Li Y. et al. (2020) note, the diversification of subsistence activities in the Jing River

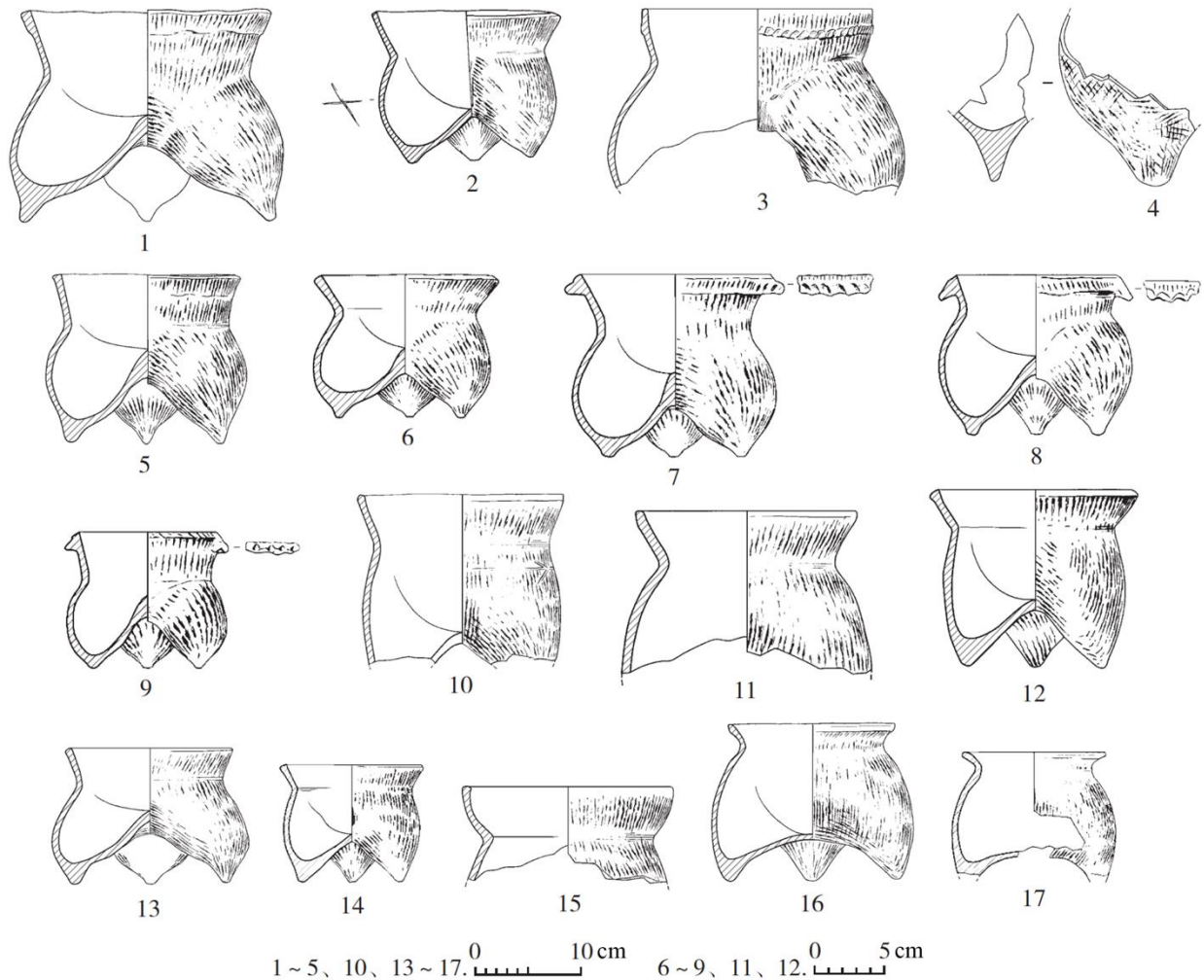


Figure 4.33. Pottery *li* vessels from the Zaolinhetan site (Modified from Xibei et al. 2019).

Valley was a critical aspect underpinning the emergence and coalescence of regional social organization. This regional social structure, which connected diverse communities and diffuse political entities, would stand at the core of the Zhou state.

Strategically located at the southern gateway of the Jing River Valley, Zaoshugou is a large (100 ha) multi-period site located approximately 70 km northwest of Zhouyuan, with remains dating to the Late Shang period being the primary component of the site (figure 4.34) (see Cao 2014, Lei 2010, Li Y. et al. 2020, Xibei et al. 2012). Li Y. et al. (2020) note that some pigs and caprines could have been imported into Zaoshugou, suggesting that it was a small center that

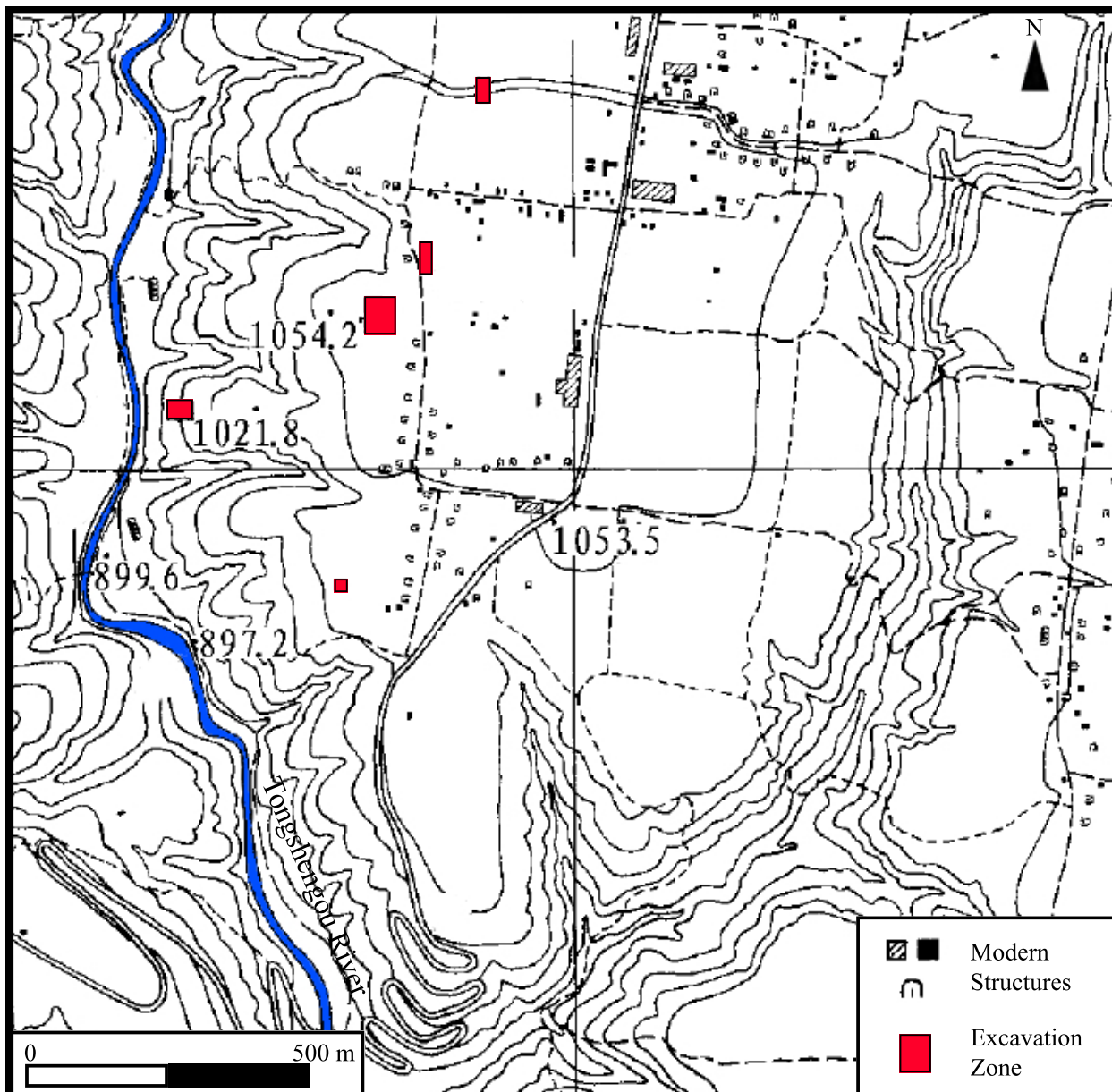


Figure 4.34. The Zaoshugou site (Modified from Xibei et al. 2012).

had a large enough population and sufficient influence to draw resources from other communities. Excavators argue that the late second millennium BC materials of Zaoshugou reveal close contact with other sites in the Jing River Valley. Further, Zaoshugou artifacts reveal influences from Zhengjiapo (see below), Liujia (see below), and Shang cultures in addition to the local culture (figure 4.35) (Xibei et al. 2012). Further, the excavators argue that there are influences from cultures in northern Shaanxi at Zaoshugou, indicating that there were

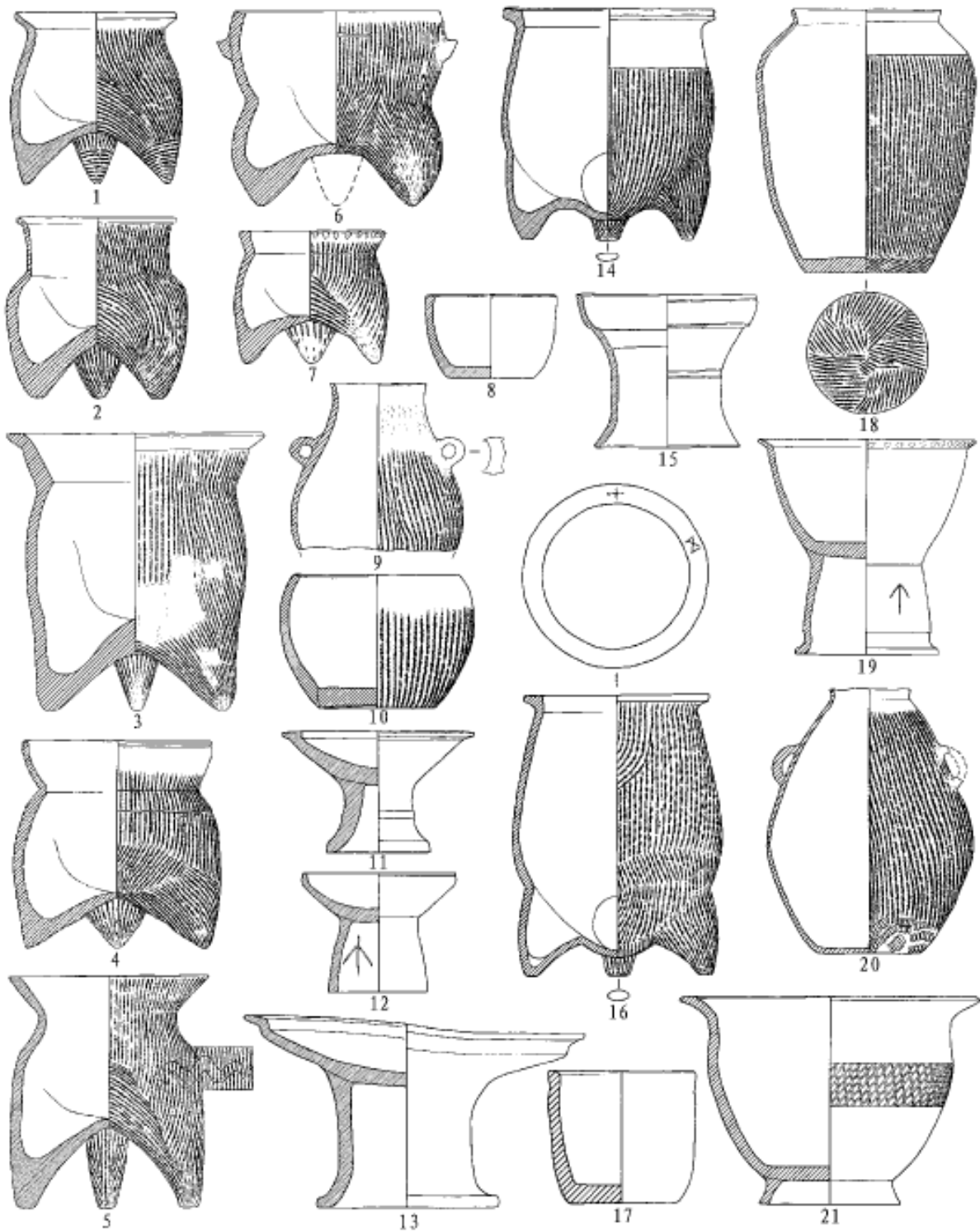


Figure 4.35. Pottery vessels from Zaoshugou (Nos. 1-7 are the *li* vessels) (From Xibei et al. 2012).

interactions between the Jing River Valley and groups further to the north (Xibei et al. 2012). The presence of the *sanzu weng*-tripod storage vessel found at the Late Shang period Xuejiaku site in

Suide, Shaanxi—a site of the Lijiaya material tradition—likely represents the source behind the same type at Zaoshugounao (figure 4.36) (Xibei et al. 2012).

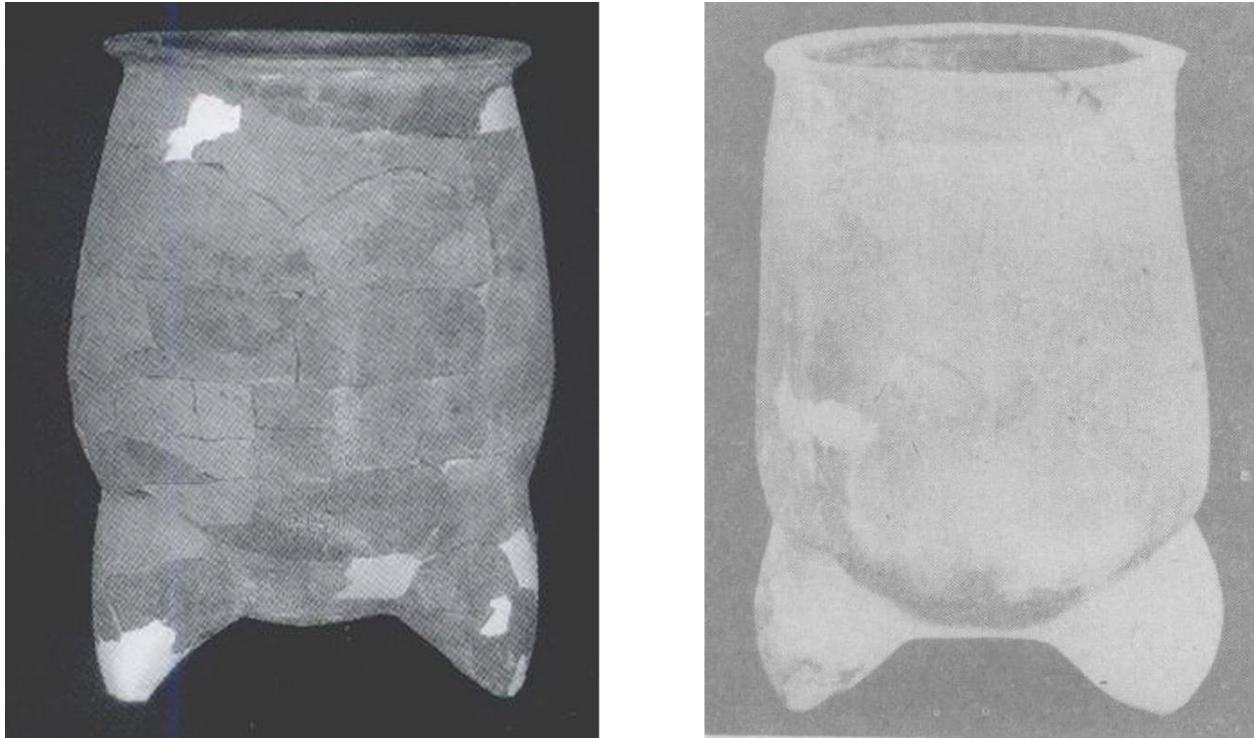


Figure 4.36. Left: *weng*-tripod vessel from Zaoshugounao (H35:16) (From Xibei et al. 2012). Right: *weng*-tripod vessel from Xuejiaqu (M1:11) (From Beijing and Shaanxi 1988).

Xuejiaqu is located approximately 348 km from Zaoshugounao in the middle Yellow River drainage, which was an important region in the north-south exchange networks during the Late Shang period. The excavation report of Xuejiaqu, written by Xu Tianjin, also makes connections between the material remains and practices of Xuejiaqu and cultures in the Guanzhong Basin, including pottery styles and oracle bone practices (Beijing and Shaanxi 1988). Xibei et al. (2012) argue that the cultures represented by Zaoshugounao and Xuejiaqu were closely linked. Song Jiangning (2016) makes a similar point about the northern origins of Zaoshugounao culture by arguing that the early remains of Zaoshugounao are closely related to the remains at the Xiwaqu site, approximately 260 km to the northeast of Zaoshugounao in the middle Yellow River drainage

(see Shaanxi 2007).<sup>23</sup> Xiwaqu is the type site of the Xiwaqu culture—a regional successor of the earlier Zhukaigou culture (ca. 2000-1500 BC), a highland tradition active in the early second millennium BC (Cao 2014). And like Xibei et al. (2012), Song also notes that the culture represented at Zaoshugounao was influenced by cultures in the Guanzhong Basin.

Research on subsistence strategies at Zaoshugounao reveals that inhabitants practiced both agriculture and animal husbandry (Li Y. et al. 2020). During the late second millennium BC, Zaoshugounao was an active participant in regional networks with no proven political affiliation to larger regional polities. A total of twelve structures were found during excavations, and while some are residential structures, at least one structure had a specialized use of being a ceramic storeroom (Xibei et al. 2012). Two ponds/reservoirs that appear to have been constructed or reinforced by local residents were also found (Xibei et al. 2012), which could indicate communal organization for public works. Like Xitou, the discovery of oracle bones at the site indicates that the local community was active in macroregional ritual trends.

#### *Subsistence Strategies, Daily Activities, and Local Networks*

Recent zooarchaeological and paleobotanical research on remains from the sites of Xitou, Sunjia, Zaolinhetan, and Zaoshugounao provides us with important insights into the socioeconomic networks underpinning inter-community dynamics in the Jing River Valley. Both Festa et al. (2023) and Li Y. et al. (2020) argue that the diversification of animal resources and subsistence strategies likely stood at the foundation for the Zhou alliance. A zooarchaeological study of faunal remains at Xitou and Sunjia—both located on the same loess plateau—indicate increasing husbandry practices at the sites during the Late Shang period, as revealed by diverse faunal assemblages at each site (Festa et al. 2023).

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<sup>23</sup> The Xiwaqu site is the representative site of Xiwaqu culture. The site is closely linked to the earlier Zhukaigou culture (ca. 2000-1500 BC) (see Cao 2014).

While dominated by cattle and caprines, each site also had evidence for pig, horse, and dog (Festa et al. 2023). As Festa et al. (2023) note, the shift from a focus on pigs in the late Neolithic towards bovids and caprines in the Late Shang period indicates marked shift in regional subsistence economies. Further, this shift is broadly in line with the change from a ritual focus on domesticated pigs towards horses, cattle, dogs, and to a lesser extent sheep in the Late Shang period (Yuan and Flad 2005), which could indicate that subsistence changes and economic development in the Jing River Valley generally tracked with broader macroregional trends in animal husbandry.

Festa et al. (2023) also argue that the shift in subsistence practices could be related to the increasingly cold and drier climate following the Holocene Climatic Optimum. The authors argue that a change in subsistence strategies would have allowed local communities to better take advantage of the surrounding landscape (Festa et al. 2023). However, it is likely that an array of entangled processes, including climate change, local economic development, regional trends, and community resilience in the face of increasingly complex social landscapes and a changing climate contributed to the shift in husbandry practices.

While the precise impact of climate change on local communities requires further study, the change in subsistence strategies that the authors note is significant, especially as it relates to the development of the socioeconomic networks in the valley. Festa et al. (2023:12) also note that the increase in caprine and cattle herding at Sunjia and Xitou “may also have been due to the influence of neighboring pastoral communities in the north.” Li Y. et al. (2020) reach a similar conclusion through their analysis of faunal remains at Zaolinhetan and Zaoshugou. As noted above, the material connection between Zaoshugou and northern groups further supports this conclusion.

The changes in pastoral practices among Jing River Valley communities, especially as it

relates to horses, then provides another line of evidence for strong interregional links that were prominently mediated at the community and household levels. Intensifying cattle and caprine herding also “brough[t] about a certain degree of reorganization of the rural landscape and promoted the exploitation of more marginal lands” (Festa et al. 2023:13). The zooarchaeological study on the faunal assemblages at Zaoshugou and Zaolinhetan provide further evidence for the increasing socioeconomic complexity and integration of the Jing River Valley.

At these two sites, “zooarchaeological data, the archaeobotanical and isotopic data available, and relevant archaeological evidence suggest that the Zaoshugou and Zaolinhetan residents practiced intensive farming and animal husbandry in and around the settlements complemented by extensive caprine management on marginal lands” (Li Y. et al. 2020:319). Further, another study on antler production at Zaoshugou, which could have been done at a specialized location or small workshop at the site, reveals that communities also exploited wild animals through both hunting and antler harvesting (Li Y. et al. 2022). The use of resources obtained from wild deer is also evident at Sunjia and Xitou (Festa et al. 2023).

The increased exploitation of the landscape away from settlements through both pastoralism, hunting, antler harvesting, and other activities associated with daily life (e.g., procurement of raw materials for pottery and stone tool production) likely created a dense network of overlapping pathways and social networks. Further, as there is little material evidence for a strong hierarchy centered around elite economies or top-down political administration in the Jing River Valley, the development of these networks would have depended upon local engagement by diverse communities and households. I argue that this process gave rise to a landscape wherein disparate groups formed unique social and economic networks that nonetheless coalesced at the regional scale to contribute to an increasingly complex regional economy.

Moreover, a social environment defined by diverse encounters emerged during the late second millennium BC in the valley in which knowledge of the broader social landscape and varied subsistence practices, technologies, and other social and ritual practices were differentially transmitted within and adopted by local communities (or even within the same community). This can be evidenced by the diverse ceramic technologies that were circulating in the Jing River Valley. In addition, while being spatially located very close together, Xitou and Sunjia evidence some differences in agropastoral practices. Festa et al. (2023) suggest that the smaller sizes of cattle at Sunjia and larger sizes at Xitou could indicate a more intensive regimen of agricultural production at Xitou as opposed to less intensive agricultural activities at Sunjia as revealed by the smaller cattle bones.

A similar pattern of differences in animal sizes is found in the pig remains at each site, with Sunjia having smaller pigs and Xitou larger ones. Festa et al. (2023) suggest that this difference could be attributed to the differing degrees in which each community engaged in agriculture (i.e., less agriculture surplus at Sunjia and more at Xitou, which impacted amount left to feed animals and resulted in differences in pig sizes). The difference in strategies and animal sizes could also be explained by a complex combination of factors, including differential transmission and adoption of knowledge on specific subsistence strategies, differences in access to resources as mediated by each community's social and economic networks, and differences in labor availability and organization. In addition, the interdependency between agriculture and husbandry at Xitou and Sunjia reveal the close entanglement between activities in the Jing River Valley. This entanglement indicates that social relationships and networks would have been mediated along several dimensions of activity at the local level.

### *The Potency of Everyday Activities in the Jing River Valley*

As noted above, the bronzes at Jing River Valley sites and diverse ceramic traditions (and associated knowledge) found throughout the Jing River Valley were likely transported (and transferred) along the increasingly complex agropastoral and resource networks that supported inter-site relationships and regional centers (e.g., Zaoshugou). The maintenance of the expansive networks of communication and trading routes in the Jing River Valley likely relied on the activities of local communities engaged in varied activities (e.g., farming, husbandry, trade, resource extraction, etc.). It is within this context that we must approach and understand the diverse material traditions permeating communities throughout the Jing River Valley. While a limited exchange of prestige goods, like bronzes, is evidenced among Jing River Valley communities, this exchange would have been mediated by the communities maintaining local agropastoral activities and social relationships. Moreover, given the lack of evidence of large groups that consumed these goods on a large-scale or workshops that produced prestige items at a level that would have required complex efforts at developing and maintaining resource procurement and/or elite exchange networks.

Thus, we must be cautious to equate the presence of objects that likely originated outside the Jing River Valley with an interpretation of direct interaction between a specific community and outside groups. Rather, it is equally likely that these objects were exchanged primarily within dense, overlapping intra-valley social and economic networks without the communities having direct communication with groups at places like Anyang or bronze producing communities farther to the west, like the Kayue or Xindian cultures.<sup>24</sup> Late Shang period cemeteries in the valley, such as Jiuzhan and Yujiawan, where burials are primarily furnished with pottery and limited but

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<sup>24</sup> Although this is certainly possible.

diverse bronze objects could be evidence for such a process.

The communities in the Jing River Valley, however, did exercise significant agency within regional exchange networks. I argue that regional exchange dynamics were mediated by local social and economic activities that were not beholden to a large regional center like Anyang, or even the growing Zhou centers in the Guanzhong Basin. This also means that macropolitical processes (e.g., Shang projections of power or Zhou alliance-building) would have needed to be intensely felt within these local dynamics to impact social structures, not as overpowering hegemonic practices forced on local inhabitants from distant centers and elite complexes, but through the local networks and relationships that governed their everyday lives.

The mediation of regional processes within dense local social networks is then a foundational element of the Zhou state, something that I argue could be manifested in Western Zhou period political dynamics of establishing states beholden to the Zhou court, but without direct administrative control (see Ch. 5). Further, I argue that the expansion of the Zhou through the founding of subsidiary states throughout northern China during the early Western Zhou period is defined by Zhou attempts to redirect the power dynamics in local networks (see below). This was accomplished not by direct top-down control, but rather by a potent politics of presence within the relational networks that characterized local community dynamics, including in the Jing River Valley (see Sun 2021 for more on Western Zhou political processes in the Jing River Valley). This dynamic could also be evidenced by the network of royal Western Zhou capitals maintained by the Zhou court and the movement of Zhou kings between these capitals (see Khayutina 2008 for more on the Western Zhou capitals).

### *Power and Escape in the Jing River Valley*

None of this is meant to say that the Jing River Valley social landscape lacked power

dynamics influenced by hierarchical groups or political entities. Historical sources on local polities and archaeological evidence from larger sites and cemeteries (e.g., Zaoshugou, Yujiawan, and Nianzipo) does indicate that there were organized social and political groups that exerted influence within Jing River Valley networks, even if this influence differed by both kind and degree (see Li F. 2006, Xin 2018 for more on the political dynamics of the Jing River Valley as revealed by historical sources). I argue that these political dynamics arose from and were shaped by the ordinary processes of the diverse communities in the region. As noted above, there is as yet no substantive archaeological evidence from residential zones, cemeteries, or craft areas in sites that would indicate elite control and maintenance of routes of communication and exchange in the Jing River Valley.

If we must locate power dynamics between groups, then we would have to look at agricultural activities, pastoral practices, and the production of everyday goods. Considering power from this angle reveals that disparate groups, from small communities at the far northern margins of the valley (i.e., Jiuzhan) to larger settlements situated at the entrance to Guanzhong, all variably participated in the intensifying socioeconomic networks of the valley while also maintaining distinct material traditions during the Late Shang period. The foundation of Jing River Valley social dynamics during the Late Shang period is not a powerful entity, but rather diverse communities differentially participating in networks defined by overlapping social and economic relationships maintained at the community and household levels.

Recall that I drew from Deleuze and Guattari (1987) to articulate a vision of the state as one defined by an apparatus of capture. I presented an understanding of the state as a historically contingent political becoming continually attuning to modulating social landscapes. In this conceptual framework, the contours of a state are defined by *escape*. As Deleuze and Parnet

(1977:135) put it, “in a society, everything flees.” While the Shang continued to project influence from their base in Anyang, the developments in the Jing River Valley would overflow and escape from Shang structures of power.

While part of this escape can be understood as a result of the spatial distance between the Shang capital at Anyang and the communities in the Jing River Valley,<sup>25</sup> the communities in the valley clearly participated in the north-south networks that ran through the Middle Yellow River drainage. These networks supported Shang industries and elite groups at Anyang. Moreover, given the paucity of evidence in southern Shanxi that would indicate thriving networks of exchange and communication between Henei and the rising Zhou state in the Guanzhong Basin (see below), the Jing River Valley was likely a primary conduit that mediated contacts between the Shang and the diverse groups in Shaanxi during the Late Shang period.

Thus, while the distance between Henei and the Jing River Valley was certainly a factor that conditioned social development in the valley, it is also apparent that channels of exchange between these two regions existed. Moreover, the communities of the Jing River Valley would become an important part of the alliance that conquered the Shang and underpinned the Western Zhou sociopolitical structure, indicating that Jing River Valley communities had a reason and motivation to participate in a Zhou-led structure that directly challenged Shang hegemony. To understand the dynamics of escape at work in the Jing River Valley, we must then turn to the densely layered social and economic networks that pervaded the valley. As discussed above, the nature of these networks and the differential participation in them by local residents would require power projections to be both legible and sufficiently mediated at the local scale within social and economic relationships that arose and were maintained by everyday activities, not hegemonic

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<sup>25</sup> The eastern margins of the Jing River Valley are over 500 km from Anyang.

practices.

Indeed, the establishment of large walled centers (e.g., Yaoheyuan and Xitou) during the Western Zhou period could have held dual functions. On the one hand, given that the Jing River Valley was a region mediating exchange with the Eurasian Steppe and a strategic gateway into the Guanzhong Basin, the centers likely held important trade and defensive functions. On the other, as demonstrated in the above analysis, the networks of the valley could have also required a dynamic politics of presence on the part of the Zhou court (assuming the establishment of these centers was a Zhou royal initiative). That is, for the Zhou to significantly influence the communities of the Jing River Valley and the complex social and economic networks that entangled these communities, centers capable of redirecting these networks towards Zhou structures of power would need to be actively involved in the valley.

As Li Feng (2013:155) argues, “The fundamental mission of the Western Zhou state was to control the thousands of settlements (*yi*) scattered over the valleys and plains of North China.” In the Jing River Valley, this role could have been served by Yaoheyuan and Xitou. Moreover, given the densely layered networks of the Jing River Valley, especially in the area around Xitou, the construction of a large center and the placement of elite lineages with knowledge of managing complex social networks (e.g., newly arrived Shang groups allied with or subordinate to the Zhou) in these centers would make strategic sense in regard to managing, disrupting, and reorienting the social structures of the Jing River Valley. This is, of course, operating under the assumptions that 1) the establishment of these centers was an initiative by the Western Zhou court and 2) the communities of the Jing River Valley and their associated networks were not fully under the sway of the Zhou by the early Western Zhou period, which was likely the case.

However, as an invasion of Guanzhong would come from the Jing River Valley during the

late Western Zhou period, it is also clear that even the Zhou—with their homeland positioned geographically adjacent to the valley and Western Zhou centers established within the valley itself—ultimately failed to firmly secure the valley within their sociopolitical structure (see Li. F. 2006, 2013 for more on the fall of the Western Zhou state). The tendency to escape was then intrinsic to the social fabric of the Jing River Valley. This quality was not only inscribed in the social relationships that formed during the Late Shang period, but also embodied by the communities, materialities, and pathways that mutually informed society in the Jing River Valley.

Of course, escape is only one movement of the flourishing of Shaanxi during the Late Shang period, there was also a radical coalescence that would give way to a diversity in unity, the very foundation of the Zhou state. In the Jing River Valley, while communities maintained distinct traditions, practices, and social networks, the expanding socioeconomic structure of the valley and its escape from the emplacement of Shang structures of power gave rise to a potent social atmosphere that allowed the formation of a diverse coalition. It was at Zhouyuan where this process of escape and coalescence is most readily apparent as it relates to the rise of the Zhou state.

### **Zhouyuan and the Zhou Alliance**

South of the Jing River Valley lies the Guanzhong Basin, an area that was home to major centers from the Neolithic to the imperial periods, in addition to being at the coalescence point for the eastern end of the Silk Road. Literally translated as the “within the passes,” Guanzhong lies at the confluence of several important passes that lead into the Wei River Valley (see Li F. 2006). These passes are the Hangu Pass connecting it with the Luoyang Basin in east, the Dasan Pass connecting it with the Hanzhong Basin in the southwest, the Xiaoguan Pass connecting it with the western highlands and the Hexi Corridor in the west, and the Wuguan Pass connecting it with the Nanyang Basin and the Middle Yangzi region in the southeast.

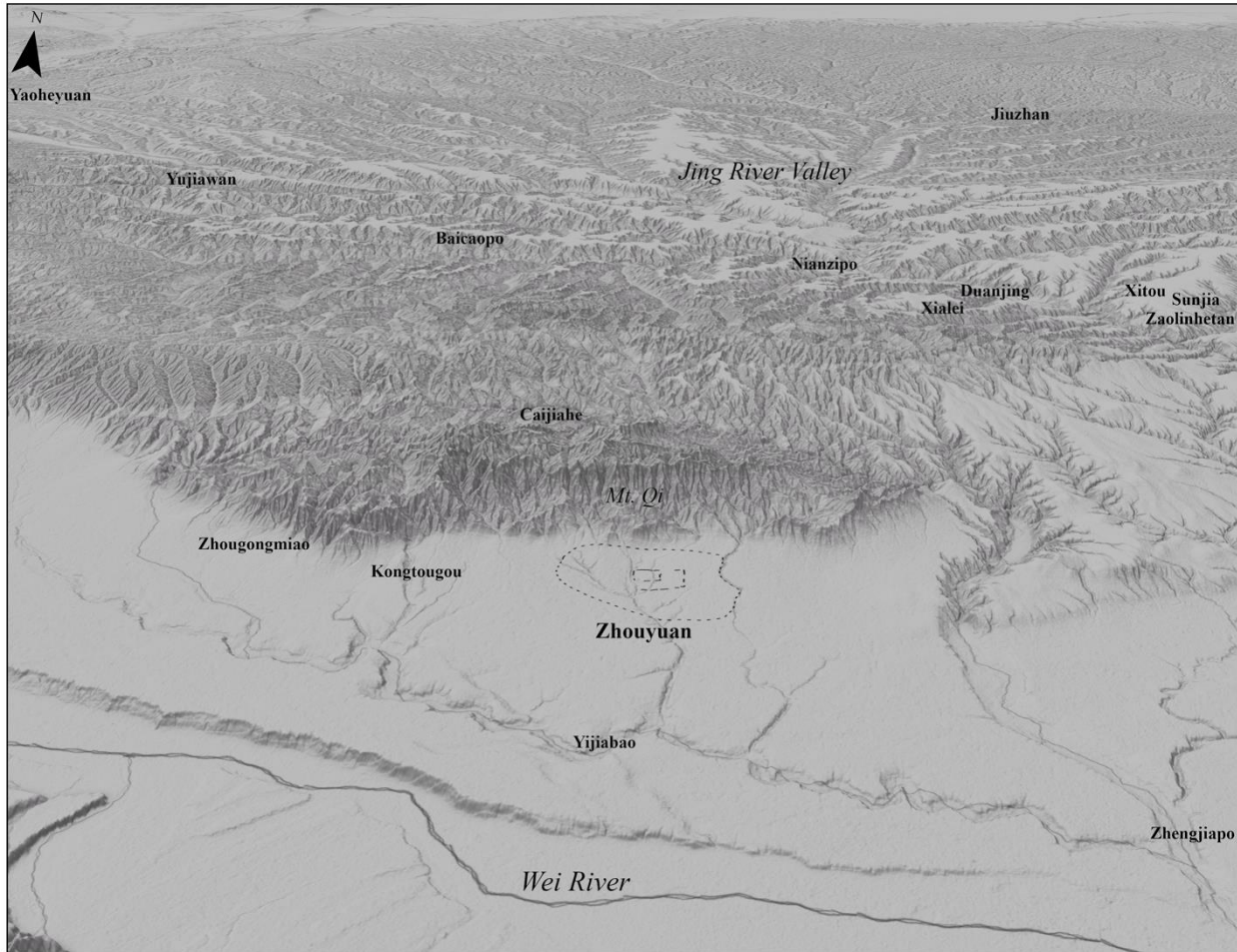


Figure 4.37. The region around Zhouyuan.

After the Erligang expansion of the middle second millennium BC, the archaeological record in Guanzhong demonstrates a significant shift during the Late Shang period. During the early phases of the Yinxu period, the spatial extent of Shang culture in the Guanzhong Basin retracted to its eastern margins, while a range of local Guanzhong (e.g., Zhengjiapo) and other regional cultures began to converge in the region (see also the next section). At Zhouyuan, this material process is represented by the virtual disappearance of Shang-style pottery traditions sometime around Yinxu Phase II (see Lei 2010, see also below).

Over 600 km west of Anyang, the core area of the Zhou capital at Zhouyuan (30 km<sup>2</sup>) lies at the base of Mt. Qi in the Guanzhong Basin (figure 4.37). Zhouyuan was both the Xian Zhou center during the Late Shang period and one of the Western Zhou capitals (see Ma 2009).

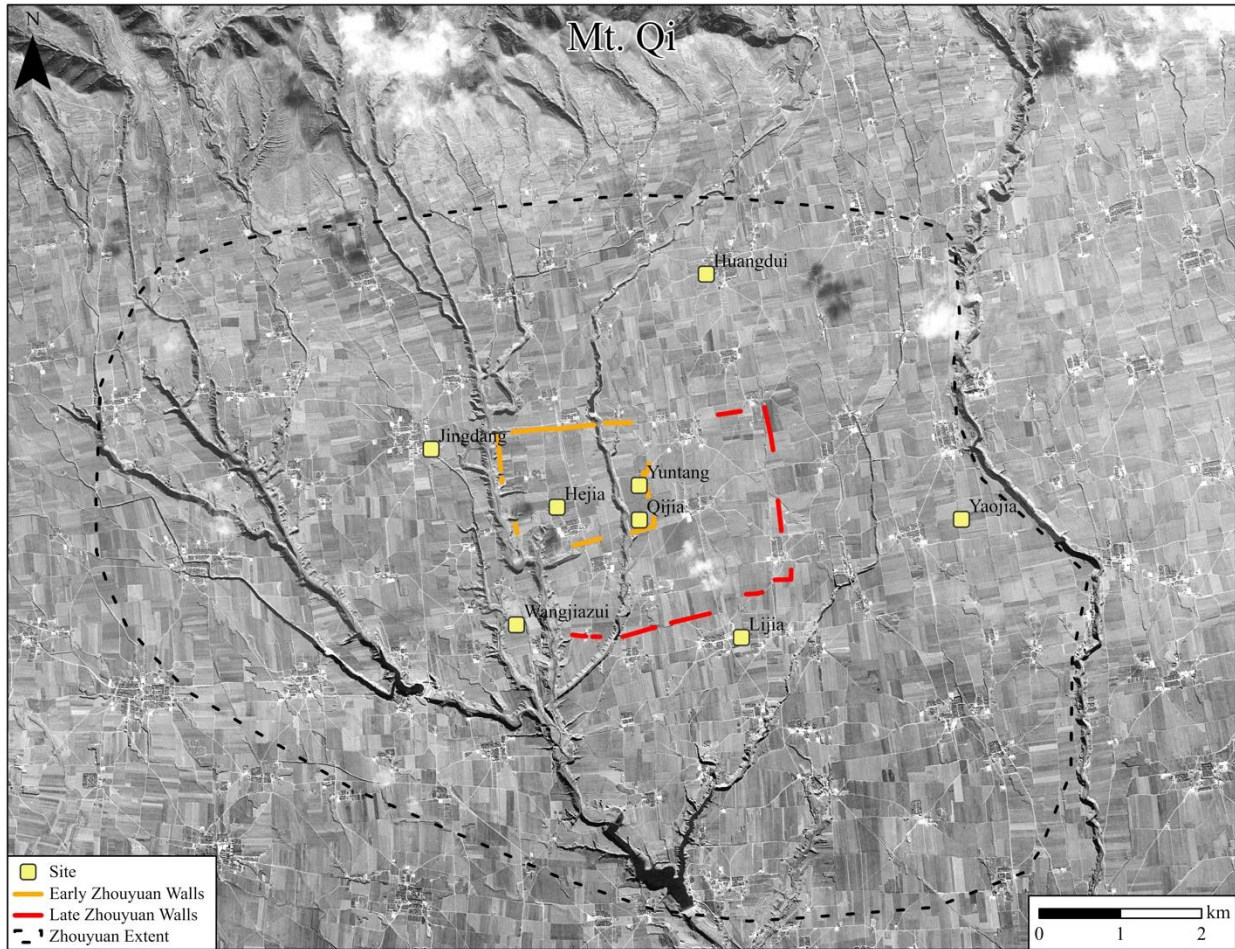


Figure 4.38. Layout of Zhouyuan with loci mentioned in chapter 4 marked (background is Corona imagery, Zhouyuan site extent redrawn from Shaanxi et al. 2018, walls redrawn from Beijing 2022).

Zhouyuan can be defined as a loose conglomeration of communities spread across an expansive landscape (Falkenhausen 2006). By some estimates, the spatial extent of Zhouyuan includes the larger part of the western Guanzhong Basin (referred to as Greater Zhouyuan, see Ma 2009, Sun Z. 2008). Zhouyuan is then best thought of as an urban landscape reliant on the linkages between communities across an extensive area in maintaining its urban fabric.

Across the Zhouyuan landscape, numerous rammed earth foundations of elite residences, water control projects, bronze foundries and hoards, abundant workshops specializing in various materials, extensive evidence of writing (in both oracle bones and bronze inscriptions), and large cemeteries attest to the vast scale and complexity of this Zhou center (figure 4.38) (Falkenhausen

2006, Li F. 2006, Li M. 2018, Ma 2009, Shaanxi et al. 2010, Sun Z. 2008, Zhang 2019, Zhouyuan 2011). The elite lineages of Zhouyuan not only had unique political and kinship connections to distant places but also maintained distinct trading and resource networks (e.g., Zhou et al. 2009). Moreover, the organizational structure of workshops at Zhouyuan was a meshwork of lineage-based administration and royal control (Ma 2009, Zhao 2017). Zhouyuan was the place where these connections became entangled within a symbolically and ritually potent landscape that proved to be a critical source of power, legitimacy, and knowledge for Zhou rulers throughout the Western Zhou period.

The urban organization of the Zhouyuan core zone shifted several times through its history of Zhou occupation. Recent finds at Zhouyuan have shed light on the sociopolitical status of Zhouyuan during the Late Shang period. With the discovery of a large architectural complex (2,200 m<sup>2</sup>) dating to the Late Shang period at Wangjiazui, the center of a sizable pre-conquest sociopolitical center at Zhouyuan can be confirmed (Beijing 2022).<sup>26</sup> Following the conquest of the Shang, the center of the early Western Zhou center at Zhouyuan shifted slightly from its Wangjiazui center (Ma 2009).

Along with the discovery of the large Xian Zhou complex, a collaborative project led by Peking University, the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS), and the Shaanxi Provincial Academy of Archaeology recently discovered the remains of two rammed earth wall enclosures. The construction of the earlier (and smaller) enclosure and moat dates to sometime around the Shang-Zhou transition to the early Western Zhou period and encloses an area of approximately 1.75 km<sup>2</sup> (Beijing 2022). The larger enclosure dates to the late Western Zhou period and covers

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<sup>26</sup> The relative lack of elite remains, especially large architectural compounds, at Zhouyuan has been a continual source of debate about the political nature of Zhouyuan prior to the founding of the Zhou capital at Fengxi and the conquest of the Shang (see Ma 2009).

an area of approximately 5.2 km<sup>2</sup> (Beijing 2022), the construction of which coincides with major changes in Western Zhou elite society and a large population increase at Zhouyuan (Ma 2009, 2016). And while the recently confirmed walls at the site attest to the importance of Zhouyuan and the resources capable of being deployed there, this large sociopolitical center was not constrained to its walls and its immediate surroundings. Rather, there is ample evidence for an expansive urban landscape of lineage compounds, residential zones, workshops, cemeteries, and public works that extends far beyond the walls (Falkenhausen 2006, Ma 2009, Shaanxi et al. 2018).

While Zhouyuan was a critical place for the Zhou royal court, an analysis of its lineage makeup reveals that the majority of elite lineages that occupied Zhouyuan were from lineages outside of the Ji clan (Ma 2009). Craft production was the primary economic output of the communities living at Zhouyuan with agricultural activities sourced to the many smaller settlements dotting the Greater Zhouyuan landscape (Ma 2009). The large-scale craft industry at Zhouyuan, its reliance on the surrounding region for food and resources, its complex lineage-based urban organization, the intimate nature of the ancestral temples and associated lineage histories emplaced within these complexes, the historical memory within Zhouyuan, and its preeminent political and religious position as a capital within the Western Zhou landscape reveals that the site was highly integrated within regional social, economic, and political systems and constituted a major node within Western Zhou networks.

### *Coalescence at Zhouyuan*

During the latter Late Shang period at Zhouyuan, the material assemblages underwent a marked shift from the heavily Shang-influenced traditions to assemblages defined by regional traditions emanating from the Jing River Valley and the western highlands mixed with local Guanzhong cultures (see also discussions on Jing River Valley above and the Shang presence in

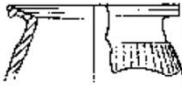

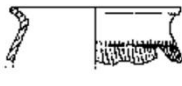
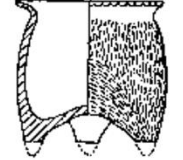


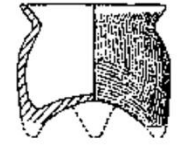
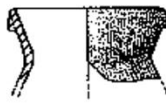
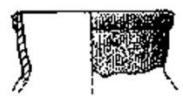



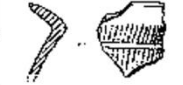
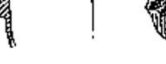



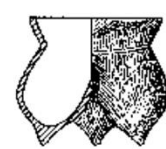

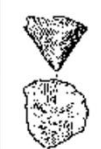
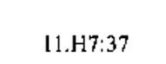

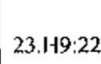
		Shang-Style <i>Li</i> (Type Aa)	<i>Liandang Li</i> (Type B)	<i>Gaoling Daizu Li</i>		
				Type Aa (Neck)	Type C (Neck) and <i>dang</i> ("crotch")	Foot
Period I	Phase 1	 1.H28:2	 3.Ba型H64:36			
	Phase 2	 2.T0127Ⓐ:15	 4.Bb型T0127Ⓐ:10		 12.H16:53	 19.H16:58
Period II	Phase 3		 5.Bb型H94:8	 8.H147②:4	 13.H147①:17	
	Phase 4			 9.H96:8	 14.G1:21	 20.G1:23
	Phase 5		 6.Bb型H26:5	 10.T6709⑤:11	 15.G1:12	 21.H55:27
	Phase 6		 7.Bb型H7:38	 11.H7:37	 16.H55:35	 22.T6709 ⑤:15
				 17.C2H5:29	 18.H7:40	 23.H9:22

Figure 4.39. Chronology of vessel-types at Zhouyuan (Modified from Lei 2010).  
Shaanxi below). While local cultures would continue to be present in the western

Guanzhong Basin (e.g., Zhengjiapo), including at Zhouyuan, the Nianzipo and Liujia types would also come to be major traditions at Zhouyuan.

In addition to the Nianzipo and Liujia types being defined by distinct pottery typologies—primarily *li*-tripod cooking vessels and other daily-use vessels—both types also have distinct burial practices. As Ma Sai (2009) argues, the cultures at Zhouyuan during what is called period II (latter Late Shang period) are defined by the complex intersection of multiple traditions in burials, residences, and production zones. The coalescence of these traditions would form the foundation of Xian Zhou and early Western Zhou social dynamics at Zhouyuan, and likely accounts for the potent ritual landscape of Zhouyuan as a vital ancestral place in Zhou society.

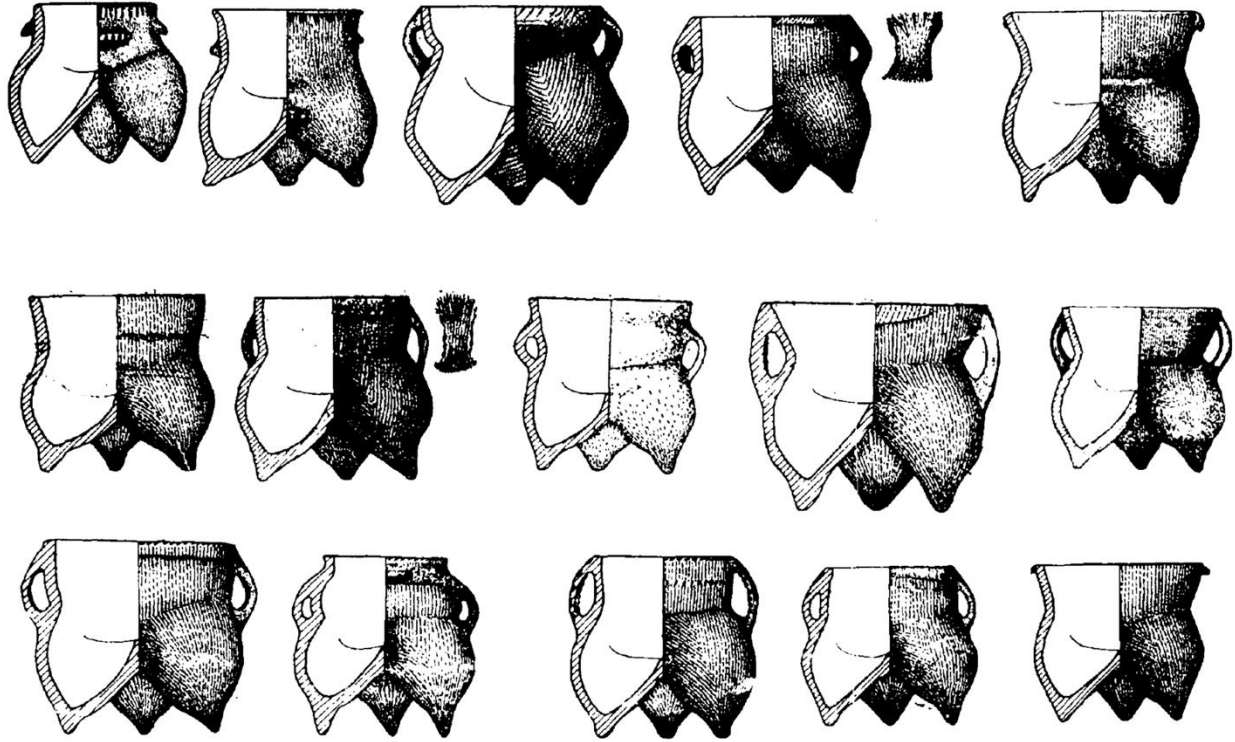
Named for the remains found at the Nianzipo site, ceramic traditions identified with a broadly defined Nianzipo type moved with the communities participating within the intensifying Jing River Valley networks into the Mt. Qi area and influenced production traditions at sites throughout the greater Mt. Qi area, including Zhouyuan (e.g., Wangjiazui and Hejia), Caijiahe, Yijiabu, Kongtougou, and Zhougongmiao (figures 4.39, see also 4.16) (Ma 2009).<sup>27</sup> In the Guanzhong Basin, archaeologists also note that the traditions of the Nianzipo type bear traces of being influenced by the Zhengjiapo type (see Lei 2010). Furthermore, Ma Sai (2009) argues that the Nianzipo was not the only culture to disseminate southward from the Jing River Valley. Ma contends that the movement of the Sunjia type south overlapped with the Nianzipo type.

Along with the Nianzipo type, the Liujia type of ceramics (also sometimes referred to as Liujia culture) has long proven to be a point of contention in Xian Zhou archaeology (figure 4.40).

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<sup>27</sup> While I acknowledge that the “types” and material cultures typically used in the archaeology of the Xian Zhou are not homogenous wholes, I also appreciate that these types express broader patterns in the material record that the archaeologists of this region have long recognized (and debated). Thus, for the purposes of the discussion here, I adopt the dominant terminologies used in the archaeology of Shaanxi during the Late Shang period to both bridge my work to current debates and acknowledge the wider regional patterns related to the diffusion of technological traditions embedded within these terms.

Liujia Cemetery, Zhouyuan



Gaojiacun, Baoji



Figure 4.40. Liujia type cooking vessels from the Liujia cemetery in Zhouyuan and the Gaojiacun cemetery in Baoji (Modified from Shaanxi 1984, Baoji 2008).

However, while the specifics of the developmental trajectory of the Liujia type remains debated, many scholars generally agree that it originated from the broadly defined western highland regions (see Khayutina 2020, Liu J. 1994, Ma 2009). Emerging sometime around YinXu Phase I, the geospatial extent of the Liujia type in the Guanzhong Basin covers the area from Baoji to Zhouyuan (Ma 2009).

Lu Liancheng and Yan Wenming (2005) argue that the communities who used the Jijiachuan type of Xindian culture in Gansu and Qinghai were primary contributors to Xian Zhou culture in Guanzhong after they migrated from their home regions across Siwa cultural areas—a culture which also influenced these groups as they migrated into the Guanzhong Basin. Liujia communities were then strongly associated with multiple ceramic traditions spread across a broad area in greater Northwest China.

In relation to its burial practices, Ma Sai (2009) argues that the communities using the Liujia type are very conservative, in the sense of the continuance of specific practices through time. However, Liujia burials at Zhouyuan also evidence artifacts influenced by northern cultures (Ma 2009). This influence could have originated from distinct exchange networks running north-south through the Jing River Valley and Middle Yellow River or from divergent networks running through settlements (e.g., Xujianian) in the broader Northwest—a region from which the Liujia type emerged among its highland communities.

The Liujia and Nianzipo types are also often taken to represent two different identity groups (Lei 2010). The primary point to be noted in this discussion of the Nianzipo and Liujia types is that their convergence in the Guanzhong Basin was likely mediated by the complex social dynamics I noted above for the Jing River Valley. This also indicates that a diverse array of social practices, economic activities, and ritual structures that defined these dynamics also moved into

Guanzhong to contribute to the blossoming of the Zhou alliance. I argue that the emergence of these two complex assemblages at the end of the Late Shang period in Guanzhong was dependent on the flourishing and intersection of local social networks spread across the loess highlands.

It also must be noted that while both the Nianzipo and Liujia types constituted a major presence in Guanzhong during the Late Shang period, local cultures also maintained a presence, most prominently the Zhengjiapo type defined by the *liandang li*. Indeed, by the end of the Late Shang period (Yinxu Phase IV), another material shift occurred in Guanzhong. The traditions of the Zhengjiapo type began to spread westward and sites begin to display mixed assemblages archaeologically characterized by the presence of both the Nianzipo and Zhengjiapo types (Ma 2009).

I argue that this circulation of distinct pottery traditions during the Late Shang period in Shaanxi is one face of the intense dynamics of experimentation as distinct social networks began to intersect and merge in the Guanzhong Basin. That is, confronted with divergent traditions and practices laden with particular social histories, relationships between communities—whose lifeways were defined by these distinct traditions, practices, and histories—formed within dense social networks at places like Zhouyuan. Thus, like the Jing River Valley,<sup>28</sup> the regional social structure of the Guanzhong Basin was also characterized by the coming together of diverse groups, who maintained distinct social relationships and lifeways and variably participated in regional networks. It is in this sense that we can speak of a Zhou alliance during this period.

Yet, while the intersection of disparate traditions marked one aspect of the Xian Zhou coalescence, the western edges of Guanzhong present us with another fundamental dynamic defined by resilience, communal bonds, and active choices in the adoption of technical traditions.

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<sup>28</sup> Indeed, I would argue that the social boundaries between these regions was highly porous without a sharp social or cultural line that can be used to divide them.

In this region, the burials of the Liujia type continued to display the traditions emanating from the western highlands, a trend that would continue into the Western Zhou period. In Baoji, there are several elite Western Zhou cemeteries whose burial goods are characterized by *li* production technologies that diverged from the ones that would become dominate in the Western Zhou centers to the east (see Li F. 2006, Li M. 2018, Ma 2009 for more).

In the Baoji region, we see the continuance of western highland traditions even in the face of the broad circulation and adoption of diverse traditions by multiple communities in the central and eastern areas of Guanzhong. Finds in Western Zhou period cemeteries at Baoji demonstrate that the elite lineages of this area constituted an important component of the Zhou alliance (see Ch. 5). What emerges from the complex material landscape of Shaanxi in the latter portion of the Late Shang period is the coalescence at the veritable foundation of the Western Zhou state. From the dense socioeconomic networks of the Jing River Valley to the complex material dynamics of the Guanzhong Basin, unity and diversity came to define the social landscape. And as we will see in the next section, the flourishing of this landscape would continually escape the structures of power embedded in Anyang.

### **Relationships between the Xian Zhou and the Late Shang**

While the coalescence of a Xian Zhou alliance occurred in regions that were on average around 500-700 km from the Shang capital at Anyang, the flourishing of regional networks in Shaanxi did not occur in a vacuum, insulated from developments in Henei and other parts of early China. As I have briefly mentioned in other parts of this chapter, the thriving exchange networks between the Central Plains and the varied groups in the Eurasian Steppe, the earlier Erligang expansion from Early Shang strongholds in the Luoyang-Zhengzhou region in Henan, and the sociopolitical dynamics of the Late Shang state at Anyang were immanent to the formation of

Zhou society in Shaanxi.

The relationships between Xian Zhou communities in Shaanxi and the Late Shang state in Anyang, however, is a debated topic. Received texts, like the *Shijing* and the *Shiji*, tell of how Xian Zhou rulers intermarried with the Shang and how the Shang even imprisoned a Zhou ruler out of suspicion.<sup>29</sup> In the received traditions, the Zhou were at various points an ally or subsidiary polity, a threat, and eventually an enemy of the Shang. The historical narrative of the rise of the Zhou state in the *Shiji* (Zhou benji) would seem to indicate that contact between the Zhou in Shaanxi and the Shang in Henei was relatively fluid during the Late Shang period, with King Zhòu of the Shang even granting the Lord of the West (King Wen) the authority to conduct campaigns on behalf of the Shang.<sup>30</sup>

#### *Material Evidence for Communication between Xian Zhou and Late Shang Groups*

Archaeologically, the picture becomes more complicated. Oracle bone records in the Xian Zhou center at Zhouyuan and the Late Shang center at Anyang indicate that the Zhou venerated Shang ancestors and intermarried with the Shang (Campbell 2018, Cao and Liu 2005, Khayutina 2020, Li M. 2018). While Shang ancestors are mentioned in Xian Zhou oracle bone inscriptions, given the complex pathways that information would have to traverse to arrive in Shaanxi (see above) and without more thoroughly understanding the theological foundations of ritual practices in this period (see Chang 1983, Keightley 2000, and Pankenier 2013 for some rigorous treatments of the Shang ritual system), we must be cautious to view Zhou divinatory records mentioning Shang ancestors as equating to a subservient status on the part of the Zhou.

Given the complex social networks that mediated intergroup communication in Shaanxi

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<sup>29</sup> According to the *Shiji* (Zhou benji), this ruler was the Lord of the West (King Wen).

<sup>30</sup> Of course, according to historical accounts, King Wen was also imprisoned by the Shang prior to being granted this authority (see Shaughnessy 1999).

during the Late Shang period, the presence of macro-regional commonalities in ritual traditions, and the fact that religious elements can and do escape the bonds of political authority, the Zhou venerating Shang ancestors needs to be reexamined. Put in another way, rather than viewing the Shang ancestral cult as an all-encompassing religio-political entity that dominated the supernatural landscape, it might be more fruitful to view this religious system within the dynamics of transcendence and escape. That is, the Shang ancestral cult and ritual practices themselves emerged from and were defined by the potent religious traditions that defined the lifeways of diverse communities (e.g., oracle bone divination). Rather than tracing the outward lines of ritual practices from Anyang to other communities, it is equally important (if not more so) to understand and map the flow of religious traditions through diverse communities which embodied these traditions and in which these traditions are imbued with immanent potencies and transcendent qualities.

As I argued in chapter 3, for the extraordinary to have extraordinary affects, the dynamics of emerging from and returning to (unfolding and folding) the ordinary are *essential*. Thus, while Shang ancestors are found in some Xian Zhou oracle bone records, the emergence of this veneration must be put within the social milieu of Shaanxi during the late second millennium BC. In this milieu, the Zhou alliance was made up of diverse communities differentially interacting within complex, overlapping social, economic, and political networks (see above).

For the Shang ancestral cult to emerge within this complex landscape, the religious customs underlying this cult must have been already legible within the ordinary spaces of the communities of this landscape. Indeed, there is evidence for at least some of the material practices commonly seen in Anyang in the Jing River Valley and the Guanzhong Basin (see above). Viewed in this way, the appearance of Shang ancestors in Zhouyuan oracle bone inscriptions could be an expression of the transcendence of religious practices and part of macro-regional religious lifeways

that continually escaped capture by hegemonic structures. As a point of sacred matter, I would argue that by nature, the divine cannot be captured or contained. While the exact relationship between the Shang and the Zhou merits further consideration, at the very least, oracle bone records indicate that there existed a mutual awareness of each other. The paths by which this knowledge was maintained requires further examination.

#### *Routes between Anyang and the Greater Guanzhong Region*

As discussed above and in chapter 3, in the Middle Yellow River region, there were extensive exchange routes that could have simultaneously served as routes of communication between Xian Zhou groups and the Late Shang elite at Anyang. However, this landscape is defined by complex sociocultural dynamics of groups that held varying relationships with the Shang and unclear relationships with the Zhou (see Cao 2014 for more on this region).

Moreover, the Middle Yellow River drainage is not an easy area to transit, with a network of deeply incised river valleys, steep ridges, and elevated tabletops. Maintaining direct communication through this region would have been difficult to say the least, indirect contact through the trade intermediaries that frequented Anyang and large Shang-affiliated settlements in the Taihang Mountains is more likely. In the Jinnan Basin in southern Shanxi, Early Shang settlements were abandoned, and the basin was largely uninhabited during the Late Shang period with the exception of three strongholds along the western foothills of the Taihang Mountains: Qiaobei, Jiuwutou and Jingjie (Li M. 2018). The Luoyang Basin—once home to the political centers of Erlitou and Yanshi—was also nearly deserted during the Late Shang period (Liu et al. 2019).

If routes of sustained political contact between the Shang and the Zhou through the Middle Yellow River drainage and southern Shanxi and Henan are not clear, we must then turn to the issue

of Shang culture in the Jing River Valley and the Guanzhong Basin as a possible scenario for how contact was maintained. As Liu Xu (2021) notes, excavated Shang cultural remains in sites dating to the Late Shang period are often considered to be a regional tradition of Shang culture and thus aligning with the boundaries of the Shang state. However, as Liu Xu explains and as discussed above, the utmost caution must be taken in attempting to identify Shang culture in Shaanxi with the Late Shang state in Anyang.

### *Shang Material Traditions in the Greater Guanzhong Region*

To understand the Shang cultural presence in northwestern China, I will first provide a discussion of three of the primary sites discussed in debates on the Shang presence in Shaanxi: Zhumazui, Zhouyuan, and Laoniupo. Zhumazui (30 ha) is located at the southern end of the Jing River Valley on a loess platform just southeast of the Jing River. In 1995, Peking University conducted excavations at the site covering an area of more than 90 m<sup>2</sup> (Beijing and Shaanxi 2000). Unlike other sites in the Jing River Valley which often evidence long-term occupation, Zhumazui only contains remains dating to the broader Shang period (Beijing and Shaanxi 2000). The excavators divided the occupation of the site into three phases. The first phase they dated to Upper Erligang period (ca. 15<sup>th</sup> century BC-14<sup>th</sup> Century BC) or slightly later. The second period is dated to the early Late Shang period, specifically Yinxu Phase I or slightly later. The third occupational phase of the site is dated to Yinxu Phase II or slightly later.

The abandonment of the site loosely follows the overall decline of a Shang cultural presence in the western Guanzhong Basin as represented by the Jingdang type of artifacts. It should be noted that the dating of the site is debated (see Zhang 2004, Song 2016), but that there are remains dating to the early Late Shang period is relatively uncontroversial. A range of tools made from varied materials were discovered at the site in addition to pottery kilns and bronze artifacts

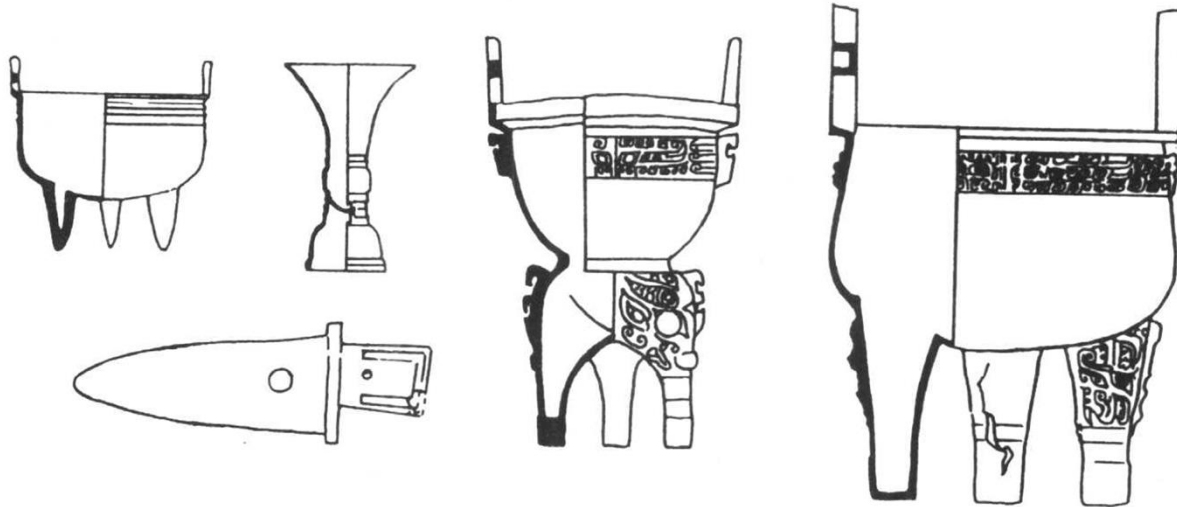


Figure 4.41. Bronze vessels from Zhumazui (Modified from Zhang 2004).

(figure 4.41) (Beijing and Shaanxi 2000). Like other sites in the Jing River Valley, oracle bones were also discovered at Zhumazui.

The pottery traditions found at Zhumazui that strongly resemble Erligang ceramics have been closely studied by Shang period scholars, as such Zhumazui is often taken as the representative Shang site in the Jing River Valley (figure 4.42) (see Lei 2010, Song 2016, Zhang 2004). In addition to the diagnostic Shang cultural attributes at Zhumazui, excavators also identified influences in pottery types from Zhengjiapo culture in the Guanzhong Basin, northern cultures in Ordos and adjacent regions, Liujia culture, Nianzipo culture, and the Sunjia type (Beijing and Shaanxi 2000).

The ceramic assemblage of Zhumazui demonstrates an extraordinary complex range of variation. Zhang Tian'en (2004) characterized this complexity by dividing the Zhumazui remains (pottery) into six types (A-F). Zhang argues that the Type A remains originate from Shang culture in the Central Plains and Type B from Xian Zhou culture. Type C is stylistically linked with northern groups in Ordos and Inner Mongolia. Type D is linked with Nianzipo. Type E was influenced by sites like Sunjia and Duanjing. Type F can be traced to the material culture at

Heidouzui (another Jing River Valley site located approx. 35 km east of Zhumazui). The complex

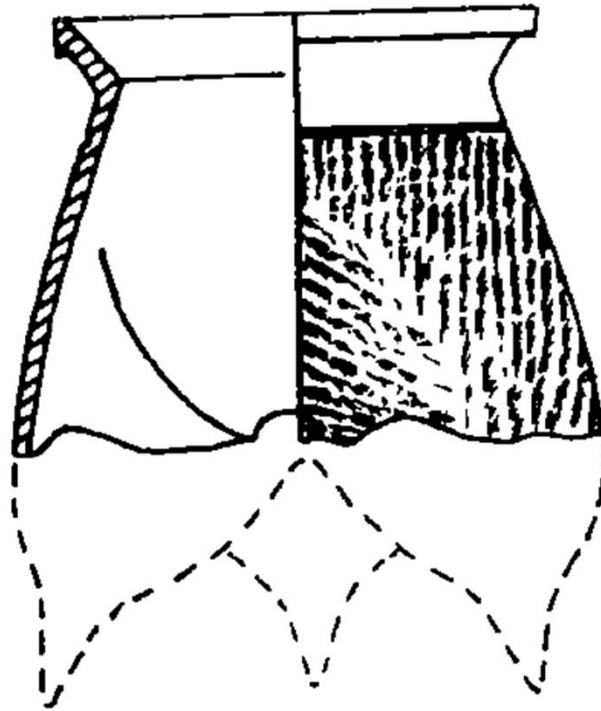


Figure 4.42. Shang-style *li* vessel from the early occupation of Zhumazui (From Beijing and Shaanxi 2000).

configuration of material culture at Zhumazui indicates that resident community likely developed as the regional socioeconomic networks began to flourish and was subsequently abandoned as these networks continued to intensify and shift.

Zhang Tian'en (2004) notes that Type A makes up about 65% of the pottery in phase I, but decreases significantly by phase III to 37%. The fact that numerous material influences are noted at Zhumazui and the decline in Type A remains suggests that Shang cultural influence was strong initially, although the social mechanisms underlying the introduction of Shang culture to the site are relatively ambiguous. However, there was likely a diverse range of communities that occupied the site or had strong connections there. In other words, it is difficult to make a direct connection between the Shang state based at Anyang and the community at Zhumazui, especially given that Shang influences decreased by the end of the Zhumazui occupation (see Zhang 2004). However,

as Zhang notes about the Shang cultural elements at the site, an argument can be made for a stronger connection between Zhumazui and Erligang (Early Shang) culture based in the Central Plains.

Another material tradition in the western Guanzhong Basin is termed the Jingdang type (figure 4.43).<sup>31</sup> As mentioned above, during the early Late Shang period at Zhouyuan, there is a clear Shang influence on the material culture at Zhouyuan, primarily represented by the Jingdang, Wangjiazui, and Hejia loci in the Zhouyuan core zone and several sites in the greater Zhouyuan region and the Jing River Valley, including Zhumaizui and the early remains at Yijiabu. In 1972, during the course of excavations at Jingdang village in Zhouyuan, six Erligang period bronzes were discovered in a cache (Song et al. 2018, Wang Q. 1977) (figure 4.44). The excavation at Jingdang and following excavations at Wangjiazui and Hejia would become the basis for delineating a material tradition called the Jingdang type of Shang culture, a term that can be traced to Zou Heng (see Liu J. 1994, Ma 2009, Song et al. 2018, and Zou 1980 for more on the development of the Jingdang type in archaeological research).

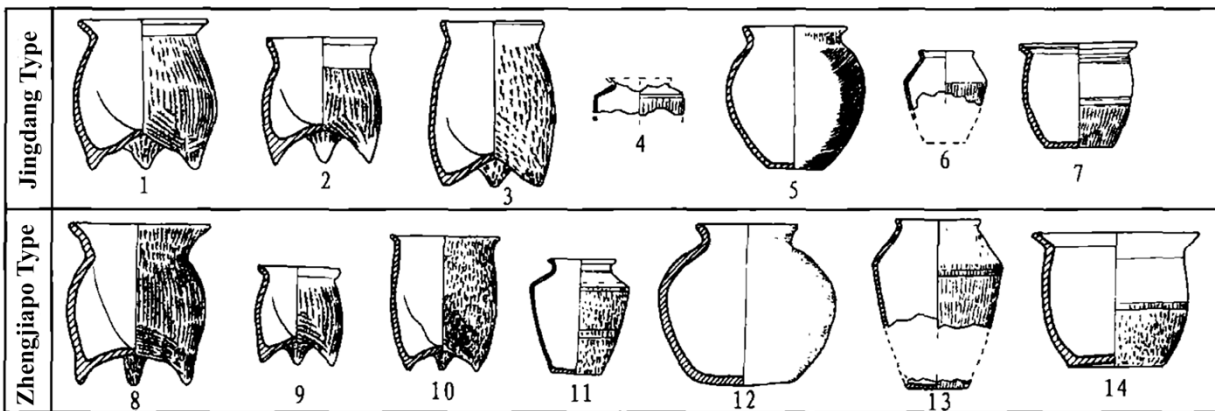


Figure 4.43. Jingdang and Zhengjiapo type vessels (Modified from Wang and Xu 2000).

While the Jingdang type is found throughout the western Guanzhong Basin area (which

<sup>31</sup> The Jingdang also commonly includes the remains at Zhumazui (e.g., Lei 2010, Song et al. 2018).

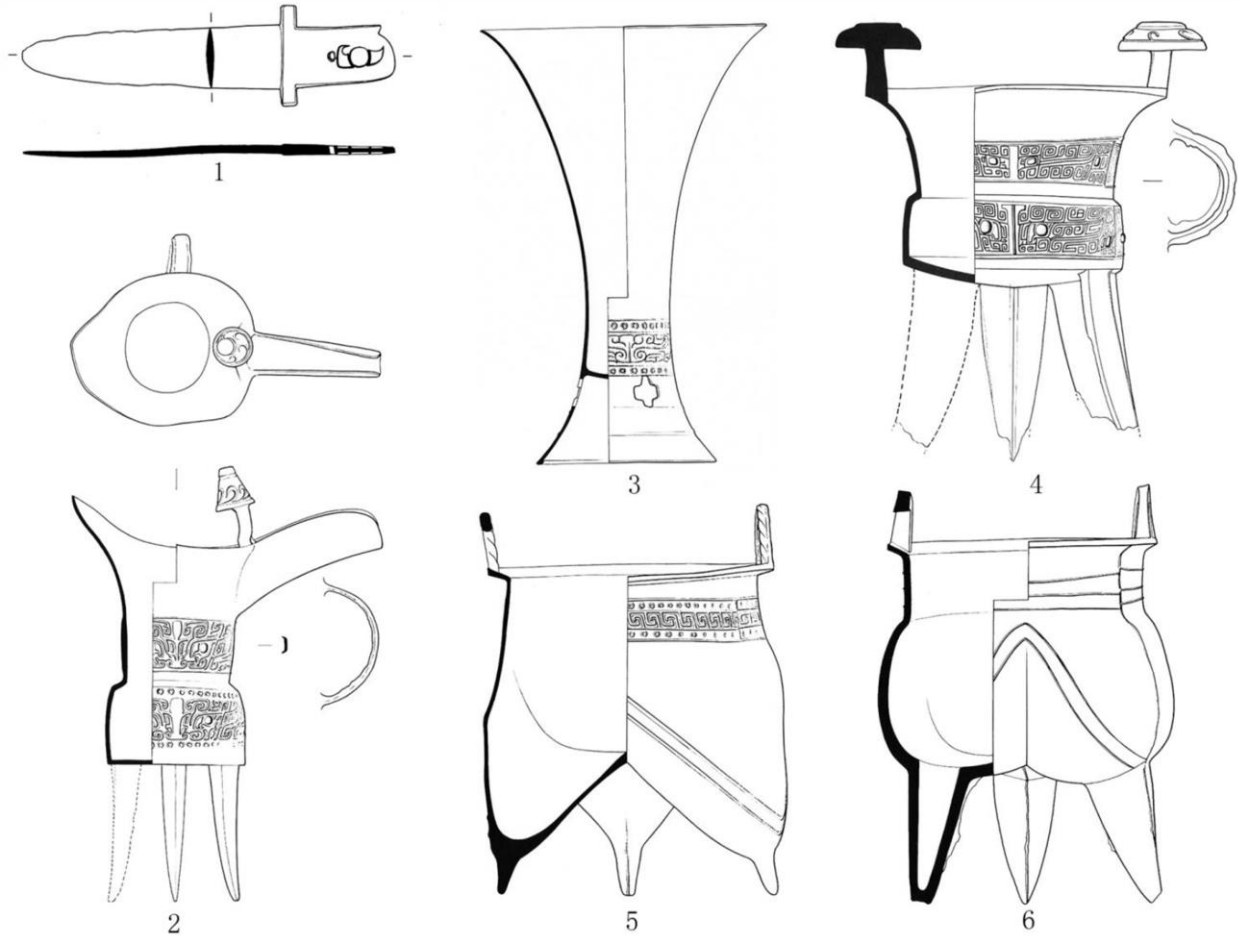


Figure 4.44. Bronze vessels from a hoard discovered in 1972 at Jingdang, Zhouyuan (From Song et al. 2018).

includes the southwestern areas of the Jing River Valley), the Jingdang remains at Zhouyuan cover the largest area (500 ha) and have the richest remains, from bronzes to oracle bones to jade objects (Ma 2009, Song et al. 2018). And while the Shang stylistic attributes are clearly apparent in the Jingdang type, scholars often note that sites of the Jingdang type also evidence the presence of other cultures (e.g., Zhumazui) (see Niu 2015, Song et al. 2018). At Zhouyuan, a material connection is often made to the nearby site of Zhengjiapo in Wugong, which is often taken to be part of the early Xian Zhou remains (see Ma 2009, Niu 2015). Thus, we see that the Jingdang type also follows similar lines of arguments we have seen for other regional types, that is, the Jingdang type is also the product of cultural amalgamation to a certain degree. In the context of our

discussion above, we might understand this dynamic within the social milieu of Shaanxi during this period where disparate technologies were circulating in complex social networks.

To understand the presence of Shang culture in the Guanzhong region, we first need to elucidate the inter-household and inter-community relationships in the region. As I argued above, the complex technological traditions present in the Guanzhong Basin and the Jing River Valley were probably mediated foremost at the household-level and to varying degrees at the community-level. The influence of regional political entities was likely secondary during much of the Late Shang period to the aforementioned complex local social dynamics.

While the presence of the Jingdang type at the large center of Zhouyuan during the early Late Shang period could lead to the conclusion that there was a Shang outpost located there, recent scholarship points to another possibility. In a comprehensive analysis of the sites and materials at the center of the Xian Zhou debate, Lei Xingshan (2010) argues that the Xian Zhou occupation at Zhouyuan can be divided into 2 periods and 6 phases. The material assemblage at Zhouyuan during period I is divided into 2 phases with phase I dating to approximately Yinxu Phase I or slightly earlier and phase II ending around the latter part of Yinxu Phase II (Lei 2010). As we enter into period II at Zhouyuan, the material assemblage undergoes a marked shift from an assemblage with Shang-style pottery traditions to pottery traditions characterized largely by traditions seen at Nianzipo and the broader northwestern highlands (as represented by the Liujia type in the western Guanzhong Basin).

As Lei Xingshan points out, the pottery traditions that dominate period II are not found in period I, and the Shang traditions common in period I are largely not seen in period II. This temporal shift is an important point in the debates of Xian Zhou archaeology and often becomes correlated with the movement of the Zhou people from Bin—which many scholars locate in the

Jing River Valley—to Qi (Zhouyuan). Moreover, Song (2016) argues that by the early Late Shang period (Yinxu Phases I and II), the Shang features of the Jingdang type became less prominent and an amalgamation with local cultures becomes increasingly noticeable in the material record, with some new types even being introduced. Song also contends that there are some influences entering Zhouyuan during the early Late Shang period from Lijiaya culture from the loess highlands northeast of the Jing River Valley.

Further, similar to Liu Xu's arguments on Laoniupo, Song also contends that after the decline of the Early Shang in Zhengzhou and the Luoyang Basin and the move to the Anyang region, the Shang cultures in the Guanzhong region largely followed their own developmental trajectories. Thus, even as the Shang at Anyang grew in power and prosperity, Shang culture in Guanzhong became increasingly integrated within the diverse material traditions circulating throughout Northwest China. The change in pottery traditions at Zhouyuan is more likely connected with the development of regional socioeconomic networks.

Following the decline of the Jingdang type in the western Guanzhong Basin, the only the Shang cultural type that occupied a significant area in Shaanxi is represented by the Laoniupo site at the edge of the eastern Guanzhong Basin. Covering an area of approximately 1.4 km<sup>2</sup>, Laoniupo represents a large Shang cultural settlement that extended to the end of the Late Shang period (figure 4.45) (Liu S. 2001, Shaanxi 2021). The settlement has also produced evidence of local bronze production (Chen et al. 2017).

Chen et al. (2017) further noted that the technologies at Laoniupo have connections to metal producing technologies both west and east of Guanzhong, including with the Early Shang site at Yuanqu situated along the Zhiguan corridor connecting the Jinnan Basin and the Luoyang Basin. The occupation of the Laoniupo site by Shang cultural groups began in the Erligang period,

reached its height during the Late Shang period, and was mostly abandoned by the end of the Late Shang period and the beginning of the Western Zhou period (Liu S. 2001). As shown above, however, the Shang culture at Laoniupo is more strongly connected with the Early Shang, and there is a debate over its connections to Anyang.



Figure 4.45. *Li* vessels from the Shang period occupation of the Laoniupo site (From Shaanxi 2022).

In addition to differences in pottery traditions, Song Jiangning (2016) also notes that the oracle bone divination practices at Laoniupo continued Erligang period traditions and differed from Late Shang divination at Anyang. While Laoniupo evidences an established elite culture represented by a large architectural complex, remains of bronze production, and chariot and horse pits, its political and cultural link to Anyang is not as clear. With the decline of a Shang presence in the Jinnan and Luoyang Basins and the Zhengzhou region, “the far western end of the Shang world became further removed from the Shang royal center, affording them increased autonomy within the Late Shang political framework” (Li M. 2018:272).

#### *Potential Lines of Evidence for Xian Zhou-Late Shang Contact*

Separated by a long journey of approximately two months, direct routes of communication between Anyang and the diverse groups in the ancestral Zhou homeland would have been difficult to maintain during the Late Shang period. Even during the early Western Zhou period, regional routes of communication and exchange were not well-developed (Zhang 2008). However, there are some auxiliary lines of evidence that we can pull from to establish a possibility of

communication and/or knowledge of routes of travel between western groups in the highlands and those in Henei.

First, if we accept historical accounts and oracle bone inscriptions that reference marriages between the Shang and the Zhou, then a direct route of contact would have been necessary to facilitate these elite marriage arrangements. Second, the spread of Shang bronzes and northern artifacts that is evidenced in some sites in Shaanxi and in the Hanzhong Basin and Sichuan (see Chen et al. 2009, Mei et al. 2009, Pollard et al. 2017) indicate that bronze production technologies and resources were extensively exchanged between the Central Plains and the regions directly south of the Zhou homeland. Evidence of copper production at Laoniupo and bronze finds in the Jing River Valley indicates that communities in the Guanzhong Basin and the Jing River Valley were active participants in these interregional metal networks. Finally, given the conquest of the Shang capital at Anyang in the middle 11<sup>th</sup> century BC and the expansion of the Zhou state east and the movement of the Yin people west during the early Western Zhou period, a logistics network with the capability to transport people, animals, and a range of goods would have been essential.

Given the vast distance between Henei and the Guanzhong Basin, it is highly unlikely that this network would have been established only during the Zhou conquest, rather a robust foundation for this network likely emerged during the Early Shang period, in not earlier, as represented by the Jingdang assemblage. Overall, the networks that sustained contact between Shaanxi and Henei were themselves an amalgamation of diverse groups variously participating in regional networks.

For the Zhou, knowledge of movement within these networks likely emerged as the Zhou state coalesced around diverse groups in the Guanzhong Basin. Although more research is required,

the dynamics of this coalescence could have involved processes such as knowledge transmission from intersecting trade routes, social knowledge obtained from the emergence of the Zhou alliance, and social memory held by the varied groups occupying this region, possibly including the Shang cultural groups that have material links to the Erligang expansion. The material connection of several sites with Erligang culture, including diagnostic Upper Erligang pottery traditions and bronze artifacts, and the stronger presence of Early Shang sites in Shanxi, Shaanxi, and southern Henan suggest that the Guanzhong region was more likely to have had a closer cultural and political relationship with Early Shang society than with the Late Shang (see also Song 2016, Song et al. 2018).

While I cannot rule out the possibility of sustained political contact between the diverse groups of the Xian Zhou and the Late Shang in Anyang, we must also look to the indirect dynamics of contact and the complex diffusion of knowledge within the Late Shang period world. As I argued in chapter 3, the nature of the Late Shang state is that of an affective state, not a territorial state. For the Shang at Anyang to project influence within the dense social networks of the Guanzhong Basin and the Jing River Valley would have required a substantial investment, evidence of which is lacking in the archaeological record. The more likely scenario for contact between Xian Zhou groups and the Shang are sociopolitical relationships differentially maintained by elite households and associated lineage-based communities in the greater Guanzhong region. This form of contact would have emerged as regional socioeconomic networks developed and became increasingly integrated within interregional networks. This possibility accounts for the relevant oracle bone records at Zhouyuan and Anyang and narratives in received texts (i.e., *Shiji*), while also giving precedence in regional development to the local communities that animated the social landscape.

## **Conclusion: The Flourishing of the Xian Zhou**

Society in the greater Guanzhong region can be understood as a coalescence; the intersection and amalgamation of distinct processes interwoven through diverse communities. As a dynamic coalescence during the Late Shang period, social processes and relationships that would come to be defined as Xian Zhou are characterized by escape from the hegemonic operation of the Shang state at Anyang. However, in the context of the Xian Zhou, escape and coalescence are parallel movements of the same process and came to define a *flourishing*.

The diverse communities of the Jing River Valley, the movement of western communities into Guanzhong and the convergence of these communities around Mt. Qi remained immanent to the operation and expansion of the Western Zhou state. These disparate elements would coalesce into the ancestral Zhou landscape that would be vital to the politico-religious function of the Western Zhou state (see Falkenhausen 2006 for more on the political and ritual dynamics of the Western Zhou elite). The Xian Zhou period social dynamics that came to define this landscape were continually reenacted in both the ordinary spaces of the diverse communities of the region (e.g., the resiliency of Jiuzhan mortuary practices) and the elite contexts of the lineage temples that were fundamental to the maintenance of the Zhou ancestral system (and political hierarchies).

It was then precisely the diversity of communities, traditions, and relationships entangled within the complex social landscape of the Zhou ancestral homeland that the unity of the Zhou alliance was given its potency. I argue that the inclusion of diverse groups within the Zhou social structure introduced a certain degree of flexibility within its structure. This flexibility opened spaces that allowed divergent cultural traditions to exist within the Western Zhou world, such as the continuance of western traditions among the elite lineages of Baoji and the burial customs of the Siwa community at Jiuzhan.

It was not only local customs surrounding the materiality of pottery and burial practices that continued in the Western Zhou homeland, but also the violent acts (e.g., human sacrifice) that stand at the heart of later humanist critiques of the Shang state. Based on current evidence, the large-scale, state-sponsored human sacrifices practiced by the Shang kings at Anyang did not continue in the Western Zhou world. However, even in the Zhou homeland, certain groups continued the practice of human sacrifice on a much smaller scale, as evidenced by recent excavations at the Xitou site in Xunyi (see above). There were then limits exposed within the ability (or the political motivation) of the Western Zhou state to restrict certain activities.

However, the dynamic Zhou social structure also provided opportunities for the people from the conquered Shang state to thrive in Zhou centers. Yet, as the next chapter will show, the thriving of the people that moved from the Shang homeland after the fall of Anyang would come to constitute an important aspect of the continued flourishing of the Western Zhou state. Thus, the formation of the Zhou alliance as a process of escape from Shang hegemony, the dynamics of diverse communities and their flourishing in the ancestral Zhou homeland, and Shang knowledge and traditions embodied by the people of the Shang homeland that moved into Zhou centers were deeply interconnected processes. The immanence these and other processes would come to characterize what we understand as the Shang-Zhou transition.

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## Chapter 5: In Conquest's Wake: Trauma, Transformation, and Becoming

“Even those whom you would think of as defeated are living beings figuring out how to stay attached to life from within it, and to protect what optimism they have for that, at least” (Berlant 2011:10).

There were two military campaigns conducted by the Zhou alliance into Henei to defeat the Shang. The first was led by King Wu and brought about the fall of last Shang king. However, after the first conquest, the Zhou installed a member of the Shang royal house to nominally rule over the former homeland of the Late Shang state. According to historical traditions, a short time after the first conquest, the Shang began to resist Zhou rule, which would require Zhou military intervention. Following another Zhou conquest from their western homeland to suppress the resistance, the great city at Anyang was systematically abandoned and the people of the former Shang state took part in what Liu Xu (2021) has called the earliest mass migration of early China. Sometimes translated as “Yin remnants” (e.g., Zhang 2013) or “leftover Shang subjects” (e.g., Falkenhausen 2006), the Shang people who were displaced after the fall of the Shang state are collectively referred to as *Yīn yímín* (殷遗民).

The first recorded use of this term is found in the early imperial text *Shiji* compiled in the second century BC, and the term commonly is used in Chinese archaeology. There is an ongoing debate on the people this term should refer to, with some arguing that the *Yin yimin* should refer to the people who lived in Anyang at the end of the Late Shang period, while others contend the term should point to the people who occupied much of the region where Late Shang culture is found (see He 2015, Niu 2017b for more on the *Yin yimin* debate). In Chinese archaeology, researchers are increasingly using the term to refer to a broad group of people associated with Shang culture. For example, the term is sometimes used to refer to a “group of people of Shang affiliation” (商系集团) (e.g., Cai et al. 2022) or “eastern group” (东土集团) (e.g., Lei and Cai

2018).

While “Yin remnants” is closer to a literal translation of the term *Yin yimin*, I adopt the term “Yin people”, which I argue better highlights the complex traditions, practices, and identities that form these people’s lifeways and aligns more to current trends in Chinese archaeology. Further, while “remnants” or “survivors” [of a fallen dynasty] might be closer to the meaning expressed in *yimin*, I contend that my use of “people” more appropriately reflects the complex realities of the communities from Shang sociocultural contexts during the Western Zhou period as manifested in the archaeological record. Moreover, the inherent implication that the people (*min* 民) identified as *yimin* are “[those] remaining” (*yi* 遗) is preserved in my use of “Yin,” which is the historical name for the Shang state often found in later Zhou and imperial texts, including the *Shiji*. Thus, I hold that the translation “Yin people” is a functional term that expresses the complex socio-historical realities enfolded within the term *Yin yimin*.

“Yin people” not only refers to the people who were relocated by the Zhou after the conquest, but also the people who were displaced following the rupture of Shang networks or stayed in the Shang homeland under Zhou rule. Yin people could also include elite lineages that allied with the Zhou and moved into Zhou centers (e.g., the Wei Shi lineage at Zhouyuan, see below). The term “Yin people” is meant to refer to those groups whose everyday lives, ordinary spaces, traditional practices, and historical and cultural memory were substantively shaped and influenced by Shang culture that was dominant in Henei during the Late Shang period, which does not necessarily equate to political allegiance to the Shang kings but refers more to them or their ancestors living in Shang spaces and identifying with Shang sociocultural practices.

As mentioned above, the debate surrounding the Yin people largely centers on where these people originated after the fall of the Shang state and lived during the Western Zhou period (ca.

1046-771 BC). Much of the tension is focused on the diverging interpretations of archaeological traces of the Yin people in Western Zhou period sites—including but not limited to Shang craft production traditions (e.g., ceramics, bronze, etc.), ritual practices, and living arrangements—and historical evidence found in received texts, such as reconstructions of Shang-Zhou political geography and textual references to the Yin people. While acknowledging that many of the Yin people likely migrated from Anyang after the conquests,<sup>1</sup> I focus on the social, cultural, and historical particularities of the Yin people. I argue that this approach provides a creative opening to contextualizing the sociopolitical dynamics between the people from the conquered Shang state and the expanding Western Zhou state by stressing the ordinary spaces and everyday contexts that formed the Yin people's lifeways and guided their engagement with the Western Zhou world.

The Yin people would have an outsized impact on the emerging Western Zhou society, which is evidenced by the strong development of early Western Zhou craft industries (Li M. 2021, Luoyang 1999, Ma 2009). The Zhou ritual structure bore elements that were similar to Shang practices (see Falkenhausen 2006).<sup>2</sup> However, the multitude of encounters comprising the Yin integration heavily influenced the Western Zhou state and the nature of its expansion, providing the Zhou rulers with critical knowledge, organizational skills, resources, and legitimacy that were key to the emplacement of Zhou structures of power across a complex, shifting sociocultural landscape.

With the fall of the Late Shang state, the dispersal of the Yin people, the expansion of the

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<sup>1</sup> Given the large population that occupied Anyang at the end of the Late Shang period (which range in estimates from around 50,000 (Flad 2018, Liang 1991) to well over 100,000 (Yue 2020)), the large spatial extent of the Shang capital (current estimates have it as large as 36 km<sup>2</sup>), and the relatively rapid decline of Anyang as an urban center in the early Western Zhou period (see Li M. 2021).

<sup>2</sup> The continuance of some Shang ritual practices is likely due to a complex combination of factors, including the influx and influence of Shang refugees into Zhou regions, Zhou claims of legitimacy, Zhou political and ritual interactions with the Late Shang state at Anyang (Campbell 2018, Li M. 2018), and macroregional religious elements that predated the Shang and Zhou states, such as oracle bone divination (Flad 2008) and drinking rituals (Li M. 2022).

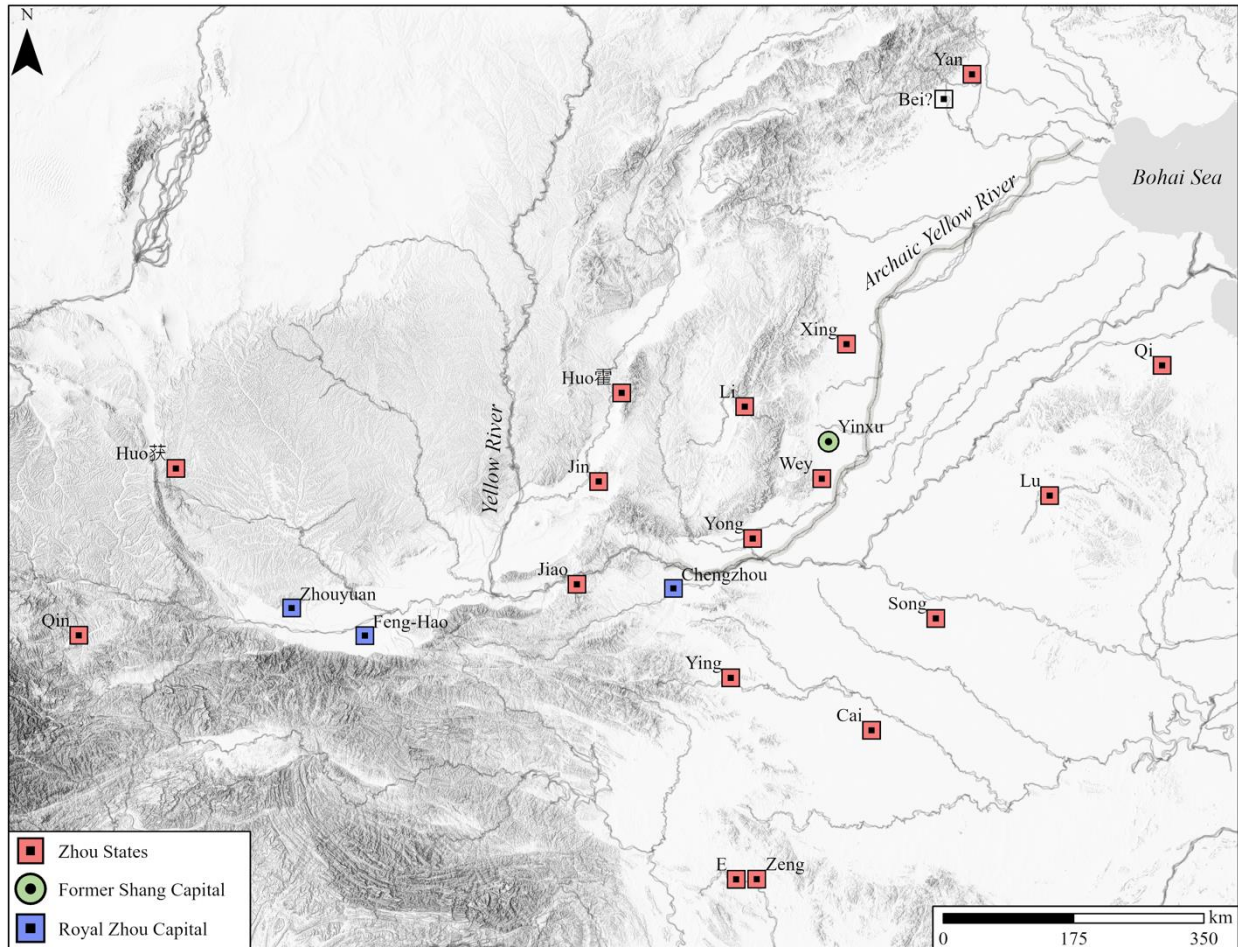


Figure 5.1. Western Zhou political geography.

Zhou state from Guanzhong, and the establishment of its eastern royal capital at Luoyi (Chengzhou) in the Luoyang Basin, the Western Zhou state emerged as the predominant power in China through the turn of the first millennium BC. One of the practices that came to define elite political dynamics of the Zhou state and its form is known as *fengjian* (“assign and establish”) (see Falkenhausen 2006, Li F. 2013). In the *fengjian* system, the Zhou court invested authority to members of branch lineages of the Zhou royal family and important allies to found regional states that would be subsidiary to the Zhou court (see Falkenhausen 2006, Li F. 2006, 2013, 2018). These regional states were established over a wide geographic area during the Western Zhou period, from the Middle Yangzi regions to the northern and eastern edges of the Central Plains to the regions surrounding the Zhou political heartlands in the Guanzhong and Luoyang basins (figure 5.1).

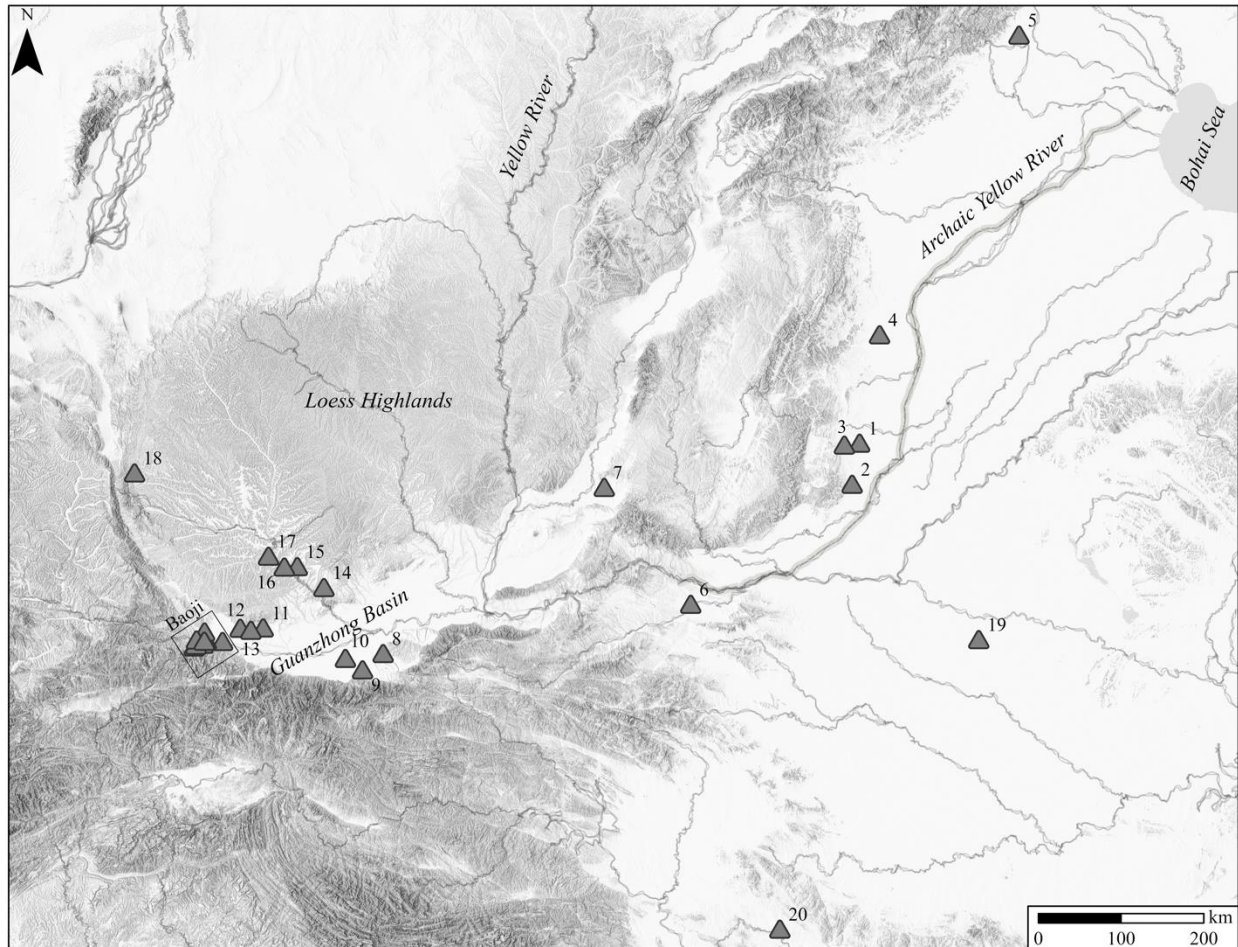


Figure 5.2. Sites mentioned in chapter 5: 1) Anyang (Yinxu), 2) Xincun, 3) Xigaoping, 4) Xingtai, 5) Liulihe, 6) Chengzhou, 7) Tianma-Qucun, 8) Laoniupo, 9) Jialicun, 10) Feng-Hao, 11) Zhouyuan, 12) Zhougongmiao, 13) Kongtougou, 14) Zaoshugou, 15) Xitou, 16) Duanjing, 17) Nianzipo, 18) Yaoheyuan, 19) Shangqiu, 20) Yejiashan (see figure 5.8 for sites in Baoji).

While the Zhou conquests of the Shang were defining moments in the Shang-Zhou transition, I argue that the transition is better understood as an ongoing accumulation of interrelated events and encounters emerging throughout early China during the late second and early first millennia BC. Analyzing the lifeways of the Yin people through the transition is then critical to understanding the Shang-Zhou transition more broadly and how Shang lifeways, practices, and traditions influenced Zhou society. Towards this end, I present a broad synthesis of new discoveries and reinterpreted data related to the Yin people—a subfield of research that has gained increasing prominence in Chinese archaeology—to arrive at a proposal on the dynamics of trauma among the Yin people.

While the focus of this chapter is on the Yin people following the conquest and abandonment of Anyang, the broader goal of this study is to investigate the processes of marginalization and integration and the dynamics of becoming and expression of a “defeated” people during a time of social transformation. Through my own personal point of entry into modern critical and affect theories, I hope to provide a perspective on a major sociopolitical transition that emphasizes *not* systems of linear causality in social change and pure domination by a conquering party, but the resilience and varied experiences of a group reeling from the unfurling of changes in their ordinary lives and how their attempts to adapt and persevere impacted an emerging social order. Spatially, this chapter primarily focuses on the movement of the Yin people into the Zhou heartland in the Guanzhong Basin and the surrounding regions and the state of Song, a subsidiary state granted to a branch of the Shang royal lineage by the Zhou court, in the Central Plains (figure 5.2).

### **Dismantling a State: Trauma and Transformation**

Following the conquest, an expanding Western Zhou state implemented strategies that systematically dismantled the Shang political landscape. Through the dislocation of the Shang people, the co-option of Shang artisan lineages, the abandonment of the Shang capital of Anyang, and the establishment of Zhou centers along the affective routes that once upheld Shang hegemony, the Zhou effectively uprooted the foundations of Shang political hegemony. This chapter explores this dislocation, its material evidence, and the impact this mass movement of people had on social dynamics in multiple locales, the emergence of Zhou structures of power, and the decomposition of Shang structures of power. While historical narratives focus on the demise of the Shang and the rise of the Zhou, most prominently understood within the context of the Mandate of Heaven (see Li M. 2018 for more on the Mandate of Heaven), the Yin people’s point of entry into the Zhou

sociopolitical structure represented a dynamic enfolding of a myriad of compounding processes into the changing rhythms of life and ordinary spaces of the Yin people in the wake of the Zhou conquest.

While the Shang-Zhou transition left an indelible mark on the historical consciousness of early Chinese society (see Khayutina 2019), in a complex landscape characterized by continual change, the myriad forms of transformation that aggregated within the Shang-Zhou transition must be located beyond the events of conquest and fall of a political entity. A state, then, in this dissertation is understood as a political form always in process, incessantly changing and, critically, a historically contingent form that is beholden to the myriad of human and non-human beings that occupy the landscape, their becomings, and their embodied potentialities. Thus, rather than searching for the impact of the transition and the decline of Shang power within the extraordinary, I turn to the ongoing emergence of social structures within the ordinary and examine the (re)formation of lifeways played out within everyday scenes and how these ordinary processes underlying the everyday become compounded temporally and spatially in early China. I argue that the Shang-Zhou transition is given its extraordinary dimensions precisely by the ways in which it was lived, felt, and imagined within potently ordinary spaces and the legacies (in the form of pervasive potentialities) these spaces continued to embody deep into the Western Zhou period.

A critical process of the transition, its reception in historical traditions, and its impact on the unfurling of the Western Zhou state was the movement and lifeways of the Yin people. I argue exploring the multi-layered crises and changing lifeways of the Yin people that precipitated in the wake of the conquest and the displacement of the Yin people is fundamental to understanding the unfolding of the transition and the social transformations that defined it. Lauren Berlant's (2010, 2011) work on cruel optimism and trauma bears particular relevance for the study of the Yin people.

In their brilliant exposition, Berlant (2011) presents an affective account of optimism and the attachments that can make optimism cruel. As Berlant (2010:94) writes on cruel optimism, it “names a relation of attachment to compromised conditions of possibility whose realization is discovered either to be impossible, sheer fantasy, or *too* possible, and toxic.” Put in another way, “[a] relation of cruel optimism exists when something you desire is actually an obstacle to your flourishing” (Berlant 2011:1).

While the focus of Berlant’s work on cruel optimism is postwar America and Europe and the increasing loss of the fantasies of the “good life,” their work bears much relevance on an analysis of archaeological contexts. Particularly relevant to studies of social transformations and geopolitical transitions in the ancient past is Berlant’s re-envisioning of crisis as “a process embedded in the ordinary that unfolds in stories about navigating what’s overwhelming”, and thus moving away from trauma as solely within the realm of the exceptional or extraordinary (Berlant 2011:10). This understanding of trauma and crisis is foundational to this study on the Shang-Zhou transition and the Yin people.

With the fall of Anyang, the collapse of the institutional structure that upheld Shang networks, and the dispersal of the Shang people throughout the Zhou realm, we are confronted with a complicated moving landscape of people and things. And while narratives on conquest and transition, both ancient and modern, can hold tendencies to marginalize the defeated peoples whose lives were uprooted and then “disappeared” within the emerging social order, a focus on the ordinary forces us to attune to scenes of adaption and perseverance by the people that continue to navigate changes to their ordinary lives, especially scenes of trauma and crisis. Materially, these ordinary scenes can be located within the mundane aspects of residential structures and production activities, including radical breaks of material traditions (e.g., substantive changes in the form and

production of culturally specific goods) or the tenacious qualities of cultural practices (e.g., continuities of residential construction and living patterns), through times of social transformation.

In this chapter, the Western Zhou emergence is revealed to be notably contingent on the Yin people “figuring out” how to exist within the crises, traumas, and impasses of their changing lives. Rather than a completely “new” entity in the Western Zhou emerging from the cooled embers of a fallen Shang state, what presents itself in the Shang-Zhou transition is a social transformation imbued with a radical historical contingency that manifests in ordinary spaces. When I name the process of a state being dismantled, I am pointing to an affective process that does not solely—or even predominately—include the macropolitical strategies and institutional breaks that typically characterize historical narratives of political transitions.

As discussed in chapter 2, in invoking the term affect, I am referring to affect theories that have arisen from the philosophical lines of Spinoza and Deleuze, who is often credited with retrieving Spinoza’s nuanced understanding of affect as *affectus* and *affectio* (see Siegworth 2005). *Affectus* is defined as “the passage from one state to another, taking into account the correlative variation of the affecting bodies”, whereas *affectio* is considered “a state of the affected body and implies the presence of the affecting body” (Deleuze 1988:49). Taken together, *affectus* and *affectio* constitute the base definition of affect in modern affect theory as the capacity to affect and be affected (see Massumi 2015, Siegworth and Gregg 2010).

Affect is a force that circulates, accumulates, overflows, and escapes in multitudinous encounters that informs a body’s (both human and non-human) capacity to affect and be affected. In highlighting the affective dimensions of the Shang-Zhou transition, I am seeking to demonstrate that the nature of the transition is necessarily contingent on the manifold beings that exist within and come to define the transition, not as a homogenizing macro-narrative, but as dynamic,

intersecting becomings. Affect, as used in this study of the Yin people, then relates to how they navigated and continued to shape the world around them, primarily through the spatial arrangements of their living and mortuary spaces in the Zhou world. As Berlant (2010:10) put it, “In the impasse induced by crisis, being treads water”, a statement that is particularly applicable to the situation of the Yin people as the material and political environs of their ordinary radically shifted. As the transition unfolded, the activities and endurance of the Yin people substantially impacted the Western Zhou world.

Of course, highlighting the roles and influence of the Yin people in the shaping of the emergent Western Zhou period landscape does not necessarily negate the agential capacities of Western Zhou rulers and the power of expanding Zhou structures to subvert and subject Shang social practices and culture traditions. Nor does this focus seek to obscure the diversity of people that defined China during the Western Zhou period and their impact on societal development in Bronze Age China, such as the communities that produced the highly valued stoneware (sometimes referred to as proto-porcelain) in the lower Yangzi (figure 5.3) (e.g., Li Ha. 2021) and the myriad of people who maintained the Shang and Zhou period bronze exchange networks—bronzes were critical components of Shang and Zhou social, political, and ritual dynamics (see Pollard et al. 2017 for an overview of these networks). This chapter will attend to both the Yin people’s shifting entanglements and Zhou attempts at power projection as two faces of the same process. Close attention is paid to the intense dynamics of negotiation, tolerance, and resistance between the Yin people and Zhou communities during the transition from Shang hegemony in the Central Plains to the diffuse Zhou state quickly expanding throughout northern China from its base in the Guanzhong Basin.



Figure 5.3. Stoneware excavated from a tomb in the Western Zhou period cemetery at Xuguang, Baoji (M2:4) (from Baoji 2021).

### **The Fall of Anyang**

King Wu's campaign against the Shang occurred at the height of the material prosperity of Anyang as an urban center (if we measure in terms of urban activity and spatial extent). Yue Zhanwei (2020) argues that Shang prosperity is evidenced by the abundance of burials, chariot pits, and large architectural foundations during the last period of the Late Shang state. Yue further argues that the empty spaces that once separated the elite residential complexes dispersed throughout the Late Shang capital were largely filled in during Yinxu Phase IV, demonstrating an extensive increase in urban activity during Phase IV. Moreover, the massive craft industries of Anyang showed no signs of significant decline during the late phases of Shang occupation, as evidenced by the complex workshops spread throughout greater Anyang, including the bronze foundries at Xiaomintun (Gao et al. 2020), Xindian (Anyang 2021), and Miaopu North and the bone workshop at Tiesanlu (Zhongguo 2015) (figure 5.4).



Figure 5.4. Excavation of the Tiesanlu bone workshop Site at Yinxu (from Zhongguo 2015).

The Xindian foundry, located outside the archaeologically defined Yinxu urban zone, evidences the advanced Shang organizational practices and complex casting technologies that were typical in the workshops at the heart of Anyang (Sun D. and Sun W. 2020, see also Ch. 3). Xindian provides strong evidence for a vibrant and highly integrated social landscape characterizing the greater Anyang area during the Late Shang period. The sheer scale of the bronze foundries spread throughout the greater Anyang landscape also provide evidence that the Shang exerted substantial influence within regional networks. The networks converging and emanating from Anyang include the southern routes of exchange and interaction centered on the Middle Yangzi region, the Shang's northern alliances, exchange routes running along the Yellow River drainage, and the east-west sociopolitical and economic networks connecting Shandong and Henan (Li M. 2018, Liu and Chen

2012, Niu 2020, Rawson et al. 2020, Pollard et al. 2017, see also Ch. 3).

The spatial extent of Anyang grew from 12 km<sup>2</sup> during Yinxu Phase I to as large as 36 km<sup>2</sup> at its height (Zhongguo 2003). The landscape surrounding Anyang was also characterized by a highly interconnected social network of communities<sup>3</sup> (figure 5.5) (Anyang 2021, Meng and Li 2011). While population estimates of Anyang vary, there is a consensus that the population at the Shang urban center was greatest during Yinxu Phase IV with estimates ranging from around 50,000 (Flad 2018, Liang 1991) to well over 100,000 (Yue 2020). While some population estimates reach up to 450,000, He Junqian (2020) estimates the lower limit of the population of Anyang at 45,000 with an upper limit of 140,000. He suggests that 70,000 is the most likely number of people living at Anyang towards the end of the Late Shang period. Song Zhenhao (1994) estimates that Yinxu Phase IV population was likely around 146,000. With Yinxu Phase I estimated at around 10,000 (Song 1994), the population growth over the next 150-200 years would result in the largest population center up to that point in Bronze Age China and one of the largest

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<sup>3</sup> There remains a debate over the exact spatial limits of Anyang. Archaeologists primarily adopt spatial estimates of 26 km<sup>2</sup>, 30 km<sup>2</sup>, and 36 km<sup>2</sup> for Anyang at its height (Niu 2021). The spatial scale of Anyang holds an integral role in analysts' attempts of estimating the population size of Anyang (e.g., He 2020, Song 1994). And while determining the spatial boundaries of Anyang is essential in the ongoing debate on Shang demography and highlighting the sheer scale of Anyang as an urban center, Anyang as an urban assemblage was characterized by a landscape constantly in flux with the spatial makeup of the Shang capital likely heavily informed by the individual experiences and knowledge embodied by each resident, visitor, and captive that encountered the socially and culturally dense landscape of the Shang capital. What can properly be termed a resident of Anyang (for the purposes of population levels) then is not something that can be solely determined by the spatial position of residential complexes. For example, given that the residents of Xindian maintained very close relations with communities in the traditionally delineated Shang capital (see Ch. 3), there is sufficient grounds to question if the material spatial limits of Anyang map onto the social fabric of Anyang as an urban center. In this way, the urban fabric of Anyang is more akin to the complex landscape of Zhouyuan (see below and Ch. 6) and corresponds well to the arguments of the Xindian site excavators, who argue that recent finds outside Anyang points to a "Greater Yinxu" (大殷墟) (Anyang 2021, see also Meng and Li 2011) and also could help elucidate the dynamics of the 大邑商 (Great Settlement Shang) and 天邑商 (Heavenly Settlement Shang) inscriptions found in Shang oracle bones. Further, the ruins of Huanbei, which evidence no major Late Shang period remains despite being located adjacent to two vital sociopolitical loci at Anyang (Xiaotun and Dasikong), also very likely formed a crucial locus for the maintenance of the urban fabric of Anyang (see Ch. 3). That is, the Huanbei ruins were themselves a potent agent in the material assemblage sustaining Anyang as the Late Shang capital; especially given its close proximity to the Late Shang palatial complex at Xiaotun, where the residential quarter overlooked the ruins (see Chang 1980 for more on the layout on the Xiaotun palatial complex), which indicates that Huanbei was a prominent component of the everyday rhythms governing life at the heart of the Shang domain.

urban centers in the ancient world.

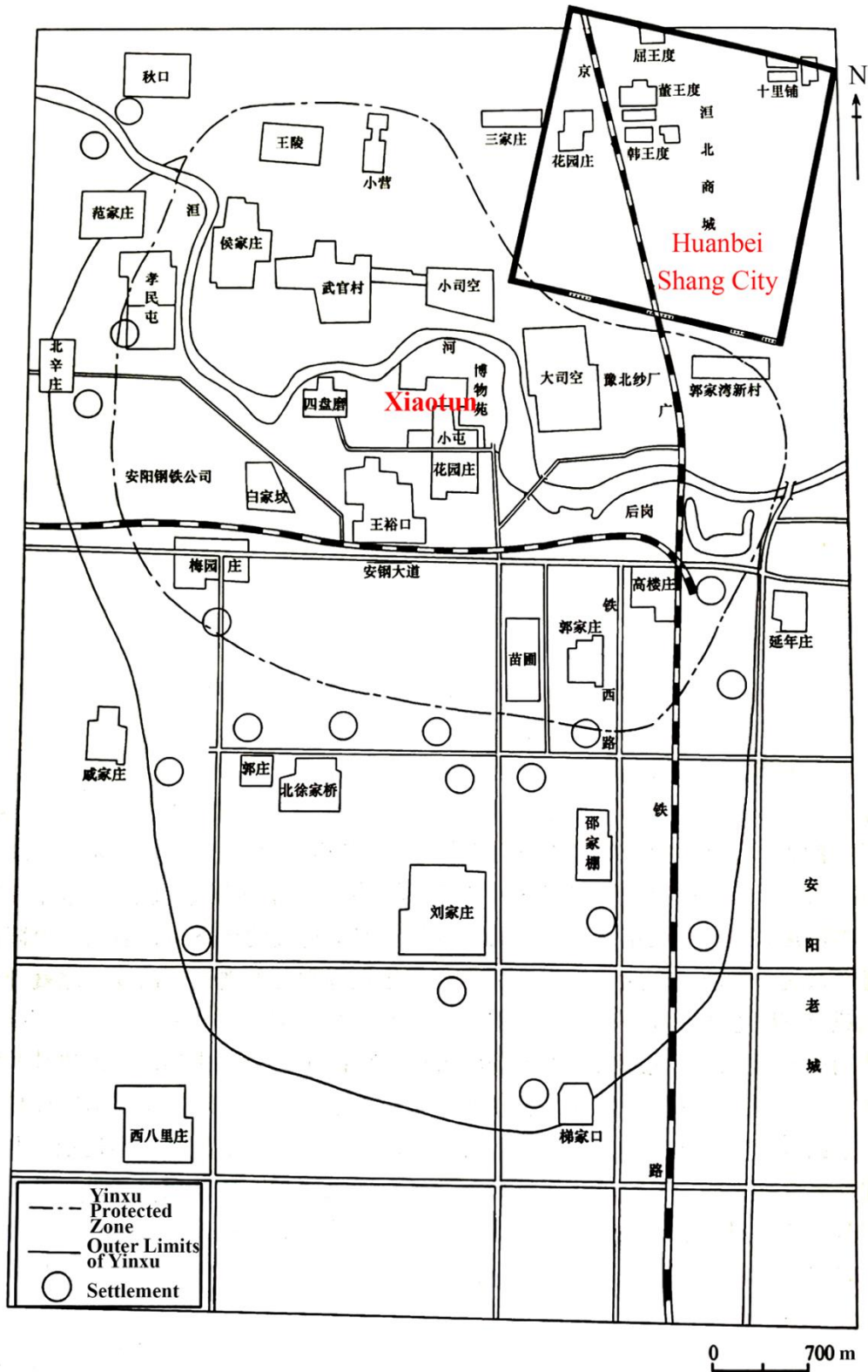


Figure 5.5. Late Shang period sites found outside of the traditional boundaries of the Yinxu site (Modified from Meng and Li 2011).

While the first Zhou campaign into Henei brought about the downfall of the Shang royal house and its hegemonic practices, there is substantial evidence that Anyang continued for a brief period after the first conquest and before the historically recorded Shang uprising that led to the second Zhou military campaign against the Shang (see He 2015, Li M. 2021, Li Y. et al. 2018, Niu 2017a for more on Anyang after the first Zhou conquest, see Li F. 2013, Li M. 2018 for a general overview of the historic events of the Shang conquest). One compelling line of evidence for an active post-conquest Anyang urban center is the continued operation of bronze foundries in the fallen Shang capital, such as Xiaomintun (Li M. 2021, Li Y. et al. 2018). Anyang bronzes have been found in Western Zhou contexts across early China, including Shaanxi, Shanxi, Gansu, Hubei, and Hunan, which have been interpreted as victory bronzes awarded to participants in the Zhou campaign against the Shang (Hwang 2012, 2013; Uchida 2011). Following the conquests, the Zhou campaigns also produced a large amount of plunder, some of which was recycled and used as material for the casting of bronzes for Western Zhou elites (see Pollard et al. 2017). Given that many of the artisans employed at major early Western Zhou foundries in the Guanzhong and Luoyang basins were displaced Shang artisan lineages themselves, the act of recycling Anyang-produced bronzes would have constituted a potent process underlying the ongoing decomposition of the Shang state.

Discoveries in Baoji, Shaanxi at the western end of the Guanzhong Basin also points to another prominent avenue afforded to early Western Zhou elites in obtaining Shang-produced bronze vessels (figure 5.6). Baoji was a politically important region during the Western Zhou period. Arising from the earliest periods of archaeological research in the Guanzhong Basin (e.g., Su 1948), Baoji has long been recognized as an area with a dense concentration of elite lineages central to the Zhou state. These lineages not only represent local polities from the surrounding

highlands, but also include burials of elite lineages with extensive connections to the west (i.e., the western highlands in Gansu and Qinghai) and south (i.e., the Hanzhong and Sichuan basins), such as the Yu lineage at Zhifangtou, Zhuyuangou, and Rujiazhuang (see Falkenhausen 2006 for more on the Yu lineage). The tombs of elite groups at Baoji have yielded an impressive array of grave goods, including elaborate bronzes, that have proven essential in furthering our understandings of the Zhou political network (figure 5.7). The high concentration of elite cemeteries representing diverse communities and polities at the western end of the Guanzhong Basin provides a vital window into the complex sociopolitical structure underlying the Zhou state, which was composed of groups from throughout western China (Li F. 2006, Li M. 2018).



Figure 5.6. An early Western Zhou period elite tomb (M3) at the Shigushan cemetery in Baoji (From Shaanxi et al. 2014).

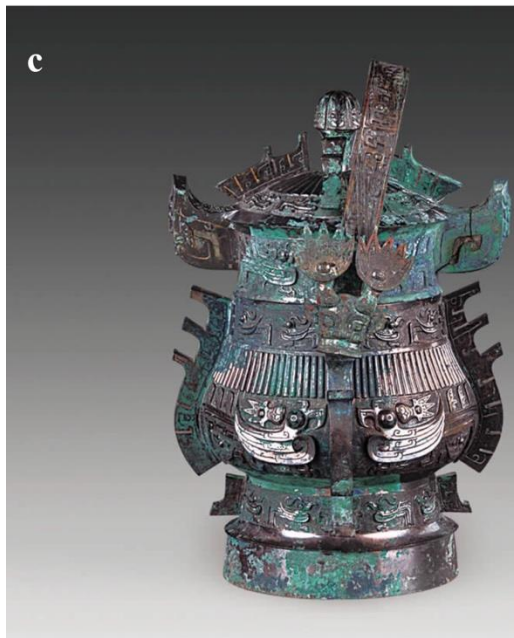
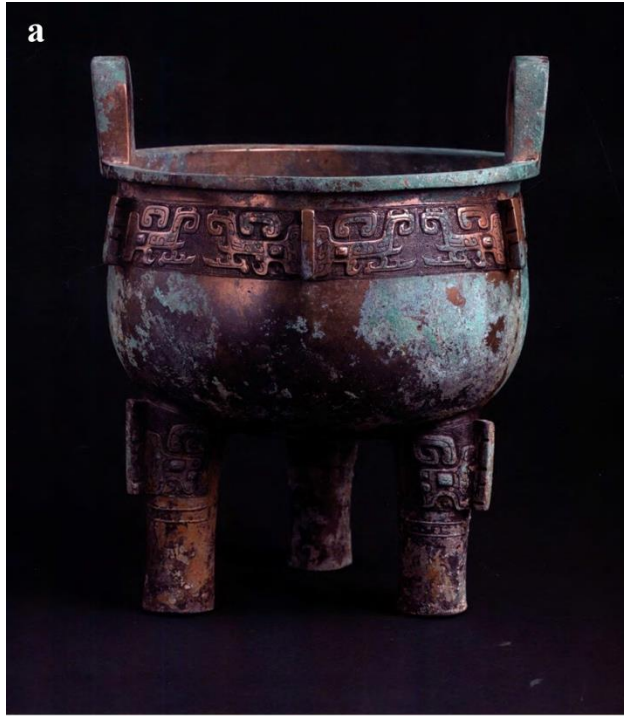


Figure 5.7. Bronzes from tomb M3 at Shigushan that were possibly produced at Anyang and/or obtained as part of the redistribution of Shang goods following the conquest of Anyang. A) Niao fujia *ding* (M3:1), b) Wan you (M3:6), c) Hu you jia (M3:23), d) Hu you yi (M3:20) (From Shigushan 2013) (see Lin 2015, Sun 2021 for more on these types of bronzes at Shigushan).

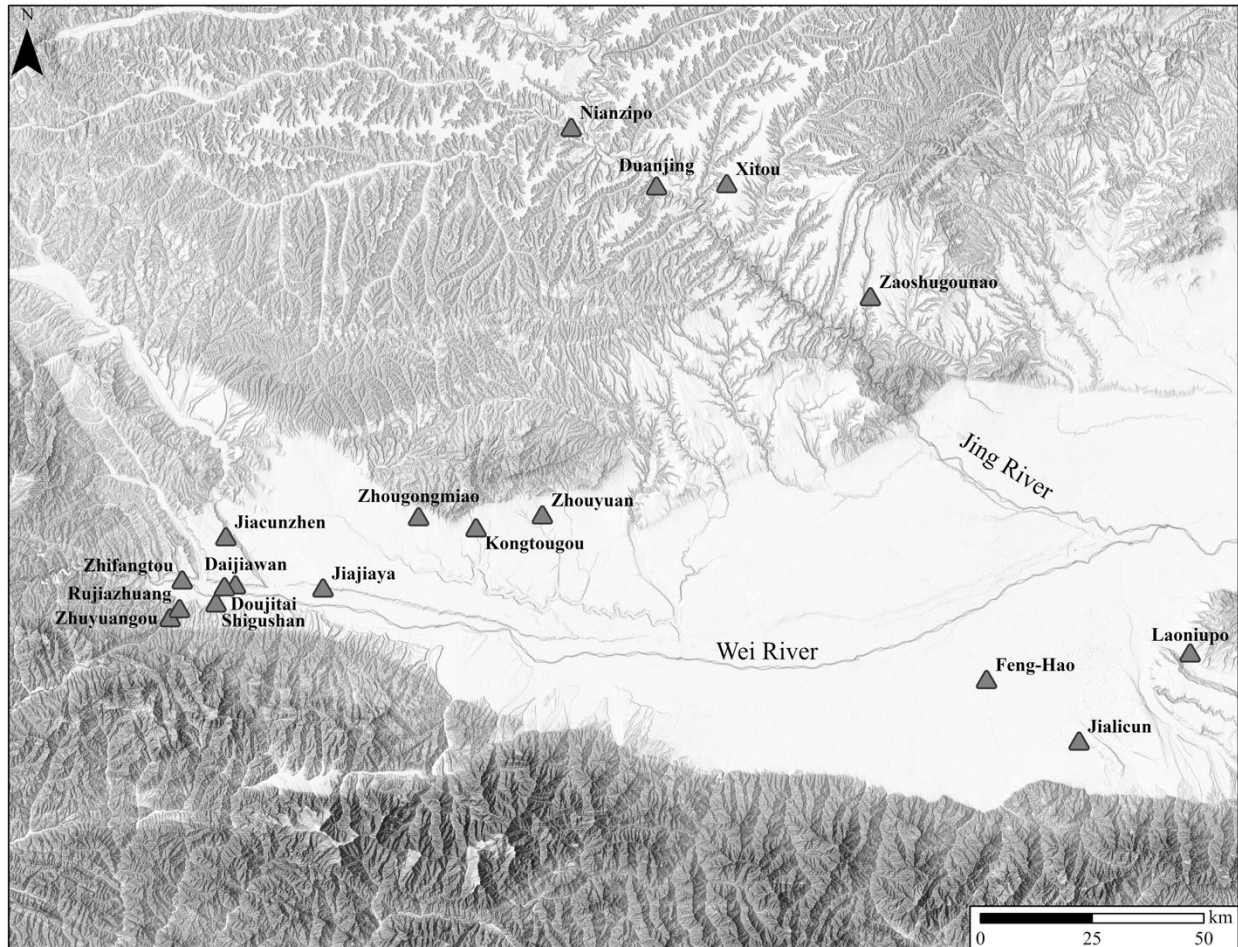


Figure 5.8. Sites in the Guanzhong Basin and Jing River Valley mentioned in chapter 5.

The bronze vessels unearthed from some of these tombs, including Shigushan, Daijiawan, and Zhifangtou, also provide direct evidence for the conquest of the Shang and the participation in the campaign by individuals (or their ancestors) who were interred in the Baoji area (see Li M. 2021, Li Y. et al. 2018, Uchida 2011). Discovered just north of Baoji in Jiacunzhen (figure 5.8) and cast during the reign of the second Western Zhou ruler, King Cheng (成王), the *He zun* (JC:6014) tells of the conquest of the Shang state by King Wu and the founding of Chengzhou, the Zhou capital at Luoyang (also known as Luoyi):

It was when the King initially laid out his royal seat at Chengzhou...the King exhorted the junior princes of the royal lineages, saying: “In the past, your fathers were able to aid King Wen, whereupon King Wen received this [Great Mandate]. When King Wu conquered the [Great Settlement Shang], he reverently announced

to Heaven: ‘Let me dwell in this central territory and from here govern the people.’ Hark! While you are still minors lacking in understanding, look to your fathers’ scrupulous respect for Heaven. Comprehend my commands and respectfully follow orders! Your sovereign’s reverential virtue finds favor with Heaven, which guides me in my dullness.” ... It was the King’s fifth year. (translated by Pankenier 2016:17-18).

This inscription references several elements key to the historical events and narratives underpinning Zhou legitimacy and macroregional power, including the passing of the Mandate of Heaven to King Wen, the conquest of the great city of Yin by King Wu, and the founding of Chengzhou in the Luoyang Basin.<sup>4</sup> The king’s exhortation to He recorded in this inscription also tells of the ongoing struggle to emplace Zhou royal power structures within the diverse lineages that participated in the early Zhou state-building enterprise.

And while inscribed bronze vessels deposited in burials and caches in the western Guanzhong Basin provide compelling evidence for the rise of the Zhou state as being composed of a complex highland alliance, some of these burials also attest to the continued operation of bronze foundries at Anyang after the first conquest and before the region was transformed into the “Ruins of Yin” (i.e., Yinxu). Located in modern Baoji, a critical region to both Zhou and Qin cultures, the early Western Zhou cemetery at Shigushan has provided invaluable insights into the political structure and movement of people and goods during the early Western Zhou period. Excavated in 2012 and 2013, a large number of bronze vessels were uncovered at the Shigushan cemetery (Shaanxi et al. 2014, Shigushan 2013, Shaanxi et al. 2016) with cultural characteristics of these bronze vessels attributed to both Shang and local Guanzhong cultures (Shao et al. 2021).

Liu Junshe (2014) argues that Tomb M3 at Shigushan—a relatively large burial (area=15.48 m<sup>2</sup>) with a rich array of funerary goods—belonged to an elite from the Jiangrong people due to the presence in the tomb of pottery high-collar, pouch-leg *li* tripod cooking vessels

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<sup>4</sup> Which was also one of the Zhou centers that the Yin people were displaced to en masse (He 2015).

characteristic of Liujia culture, which bears a strong typological relationship with pottery in the highlands west of the Guanzhong Basin. Similarly, Wang Zhankui and Ding Yan (2014) argue that the burial occupant of Tomb M4 at Shigushan was from a Jiangyan (Jiangrong) community. Wang and Ding also put forward that the tomb occupant could have been the spouse of M3.

The excavators of M4 also identify the tomb as belonging to an individual from the Jiangrong with the tomb occupant possibly holding a spousal relationship with the occupant of M3 (Shaanxi et al. 2016). Liujia *li* tripods are found in many Xian Zhou sites, including the Zhou center at Zhouyuan (see Ma 2009 for more on Zhouyuan during the Xian Zhou period). While the historical affiliation of the groups that used these vessels is the subject of ongoing debate in Chinese archaeology, the high density of Liujia sites in the western Guanzhong Basin and the strong stylistic similarities between Liujia vessels and the western highlands of Gansu, Qinghai, and western Shaanxi have led many archaeologists to identify Liujia with a people who migrated out of the regions occupied by Xindian and Siwa cultural groups and developed close relationships with Xian Zhou communities (see Hu 2000; Lei 2010; Li F. 2013; Liu 2003, 2014; Sun Q. 2016; Xu 2004; Zou 2011 for more on the debate of Xian Zhou culture, its relationships, and development).

According to Shao et al. (2021), several of the bronzes unearthed at Shigushan, including in M3, were stylistically similar to Shang cultural vessels. Shao et al. further revealed that the compositional makeup of these Shang vessels is similar to vessels produced during the late YinXu period and dissimilar from local Guanzhong (Xian Zhou) bronzes. In addition to the archaeometric analysis of Shigushan bronzes, several studies have noted the strong Shang stylistic elements of some of the bronzes in the tombs and argue that these bronzes likely came from Anyang or other Shang sites in the wake of the Zhou conquest (see Hu 2017, Li H. 2017, Lin 2015).

The *Shangshu*, *Yi Zhou Shu*, and *Shiji* all refer to the distribution of Shang goods by King Wu and his forces. Incorporating earlier sources, the *Shiji* recounts that after King Wu's forces won the battle against King Zhòu and took Anyang, King Wu "enfeoffed the feudal lords, bestowed vessels for ancestral sacrifice upon them, and wrote ['The Distribution of Objects of Yin] (translated by Cheng et al. 2018:133). Further, discoveries of bronze mold fragments at the large Xiaomintun foundry at Anyang reveal that bronzes made in the Shang capital made their way into the Zhou homeland in the Guanzhong Basin based on similarities between the mold fragments and Shang-style bronzes unearthed in early Western Zhou burials in the Guanzhong Basin, including Shigushan and the nearby Daijiawan (see Hwang 2012, 2013; Li M. 2021; Li and Yue 2015; Li Y. et al. 2018 for more).

Hwang Ming-chorng (2012, 2013), in a study examining the redistribution (*fen-qi*) of bronzes and jades from the fallen Shang state, argues that for over two decades after the conquest, Western Zhou period tombs west of the Shang heartland in Henei were dominated by tombs with Shang goods. Some of the Shang-style bronzes at Shigushan are likely to have been part of the goods redistributed to the Zhou king's allies or made for the Zhou conquerors at Anyang. Hwang further demonstrates that the bronzes taken from the Shang in the wake of the conquest are found in many settlements that the Yin people would move to during the early Western Zhou period, including in the Guanzhong Basin and surrounding regions (Hwang 2012).

Early Western Zhou burials also display a mix of lineage emblems on the Shang-style bronzes interred in the burials, indicating that the emblems were not directly associated with the kinship relationship of the deceased individual.<sup>5</sup> For example, in the early Western Zhou period

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<sup>5</sup> Conversely, while Shang tombs also have a mix of lineage emblems, but there is usually a dominant emblem that indicates the lineage relationship of the tomb occupant. For example, see Fu Hao's tomb at Xiaotun in Anyang (see Zhongguo 1980 for more on Fu Hao).

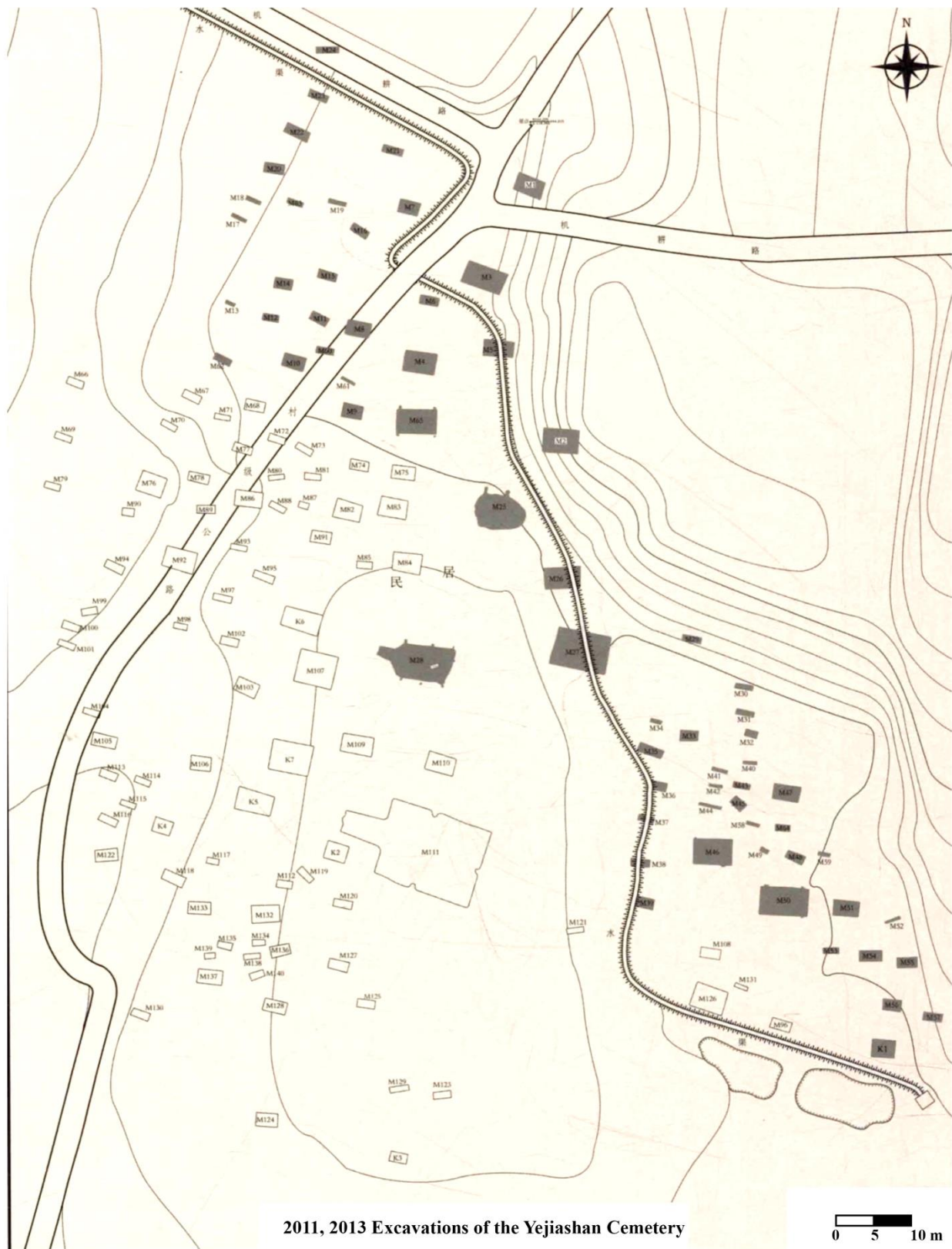


Figure 5.9. Layout of the Yejiashan cemetery based on the 2011, 2013 excavations at the site (Modified from Hubei et al 2013).

cemetery of the Zeng state at Yejiashan in modern Suizhou (figure 5.9), Olivier Venture (2017)

notes that many lineage emblems are found in these tombs and briefly mentions the possibility that the bronzes with these emblems could be war loot.

Given that the Zeng state was a powerful subsidiary state of the Zhou court in the Middle Yangzi region and ruled by a lineage from the Ji clan,<sup>6</sup> it is highly likely that some of the bronzes buried at the Yejiashan cemetery were redistributed Shang vessels. Further, the bronze *ge* dagger-axe with a *yuan* blade made of meteoric iron found in the recently excavated tomb of the Lord Kang of Zeng (tomb M111) at Yejiashan was also highly likely to have been redistributed from objects taken from Anyang given its strong stylistic resemblance to similar artifacts found in Shang sites (Li M. 2021b, Zhang et al. 2020). The Zhou use of these Shang objects would have provided a stark ritual reminder for the Yin people of the fall of the Shang state, the collapse of its once dominant bronze industry based in Anyang, and the looting of the invaluable objects at the core of its socio-religious structure. The spread of Anyang-produced bronzes and other high-value objects throughout the spheres of influence of the Zhou and its allies during the earliest periods of the Western Zhou period provide a further line of evidence of the conquest and fall of the Shang state.

In addition to the looting of Shang goods during the Zhou military campaign and occupation, there is also evidence for the continued operation of workshops in the Shang capital following the first conquest (see He 2015, Li M. 2021, Li Y. et al. 2018 for more on the evidence and debate regarding post-conquest Anyang). And while the workshops could have continued to produce the technically complex bronze vessels of the Shang people, the social dynamics of these workshops—as potent spaces of production where extensive regional networks, lineage relationships, power structures, and daily lifeways became entangled—would have been reoriented as these workshops produced vessels and other goods for Zhou elites and became increasingly

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<sup>6</sup> The Ji clan is the familial group of which the royal Zhou lineage is a part.

enmeshed within Zhou social networks.

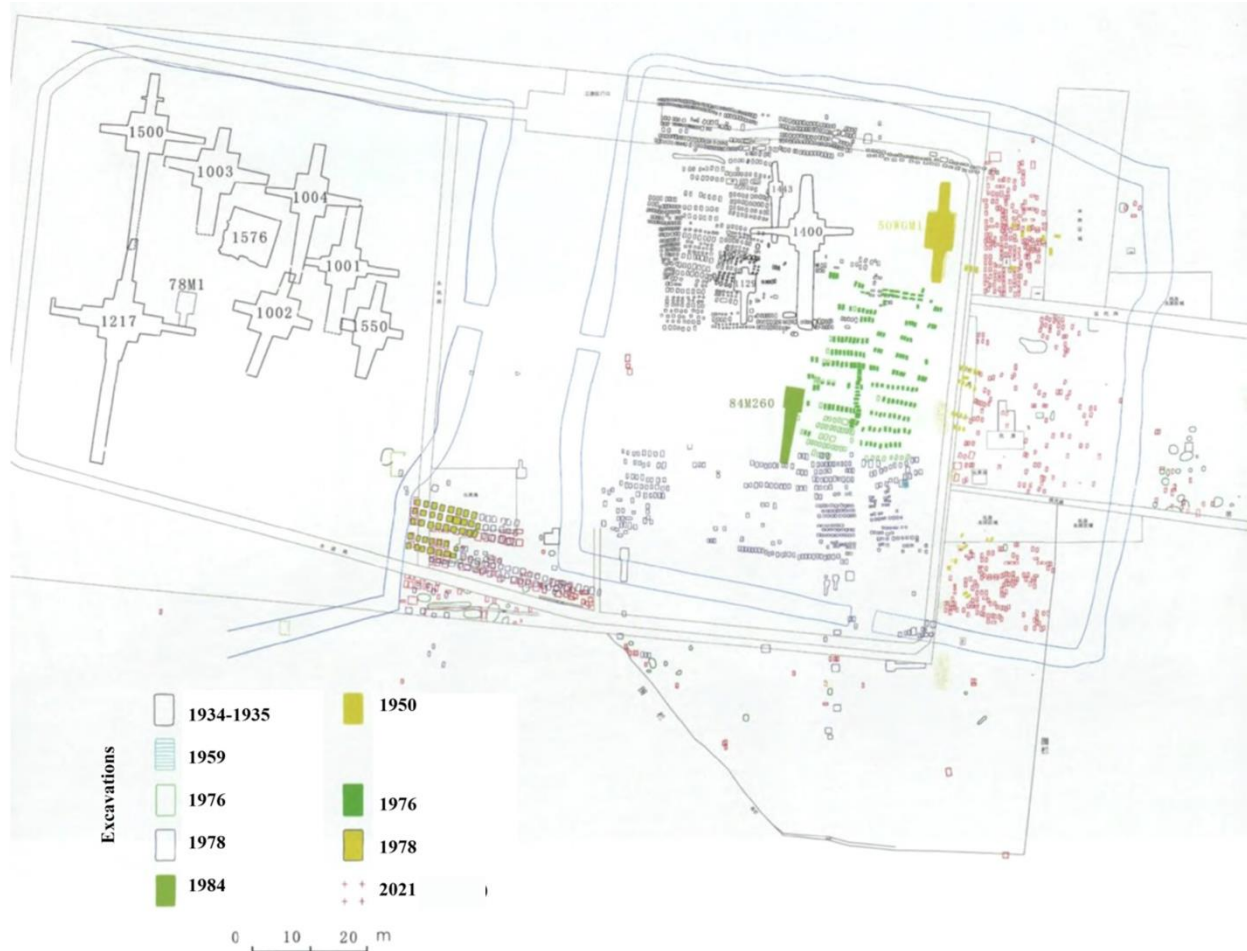


Figure 5.10. Spatial layout of the Xibeigang Royal Necropolis at Yinxi (Modified from Niu 2021).

Moreover, as the Yin people relocated to Zhou centers in the Guanzhong Basin (e.g., Zhouyuan and Feng-Hao), Chengzhou in the Luoyang Basin, and other locales across northern China, the networks that had previously supported the massive industries at Anyang would have faced significant political, economic, and logistical challenges without their continued maintenance. If we adhere to historical sources and understand the evidence discussed in this section as supporting the historical account of two conquests, the rupture that precipitated in the ordinary spaces that much of the Anyang urban population experienced and where they interacted (as workers, elite patrons of produced goods, officials overseeing workshops, or even just people living in the vicinity of workshops, of which there were many dotted across the Anyang landscape)

could have contributed to the pressures that gave rise to the Shang resistance against the incipient Western Zhou state (see Li F. 2018) and motivated the Zhou to consolidate control over the former Shang homeland in the Central Plains. According to the received tradition, this consolidation could also have included conflict within the Zhou alliance if the Zhou overseers, Guanshu and Caishu, were involved in the resistance to the Zhou royal court.

Additional evidence for the conquest is found in the looting pits of the Xibeigang royal necropolis at Anyang (figure 5.10). Jing Zhongwei (2010) argues that while the necropolis was looted many times, the earliest looting activity at the cemetery was the most extensive and can date to the early periods of the Western Zhou—likely after the second conquest of Anyang—based on an analysis of the looting pits and the Western Zhou artifacts found at Xibeigang. He Yuling (2015) also argues that the looting of Xibeigang occurred following the second conquest led by the Duke of Zhou. The looting would fit into historical narratives of the Zhou conquest of the Shang state.

Anyang was then a formidable urban center at the twilight of its occupation. The dramatic decline of the Shang capital following the Zhou conquests and the resultant population flight points to the significant trauma inflicted on Shang communities and the reorientation of the sociopolitical landscape of the Central Plains. There were certainly elements of forced displacement of the Shang given the violent nature of the fall of Anyang as an urban center (through conquest). However, elite lineages, especially the artisan lineages that were foundational to the social fabric of Anyang, required an urban landscape with robust exchange networks to maintain their large lineage-based compounds and craft activities.

### **The Yin People in the Zhou Heartland**

It is then equally likely that some of the Yin people actively sought to migrate as refugees

to emerging Western Zhou centers as the Shang-dominated economic networks that once pervaded northern China collapsed. In addition to the Shang artisans that fueled the rise of Western Zhou craft industries, there were also Shang groups that allied with the Zhou and were granted titles and land in the Guanzhong Basin. One such lineage was the Wei Shi (微氏) lineage, who acted as scribes for the Zhou royal family (see Falkenhausen 2006, Gao 2013 for more on the Wei lineage). In understanding the dynamics of the Yin people in the Western Zhou period, we are then faced with complex processes that must be located not solely in macro-regional narratives, but in the places that the Yin people lived and sought to establish their lives. In exploring these places, we find the continual (re)emergence of worlds that would have substantial repercussions for the development of Zhou society.

Archaeological evidence—often in the form of the presence of Shang pottery traditions, burial practices, workshop organization, and living arrangements—for the displacement of the large Shang population previously occupying Yinxu and the greater Henei region is found in the Western Zhou royal heartland composed of the Guanzhong and Luoyang basins, the eastern regions controlled by the regional states of Qi and Lu in Shandong, the regions controlled by Zhou subsidiary polities (e.g., Wey and Xing) in the former heartland of the Shang state in Henei, the highlands surrounding Guanzhong in Shaanxi, Gansu, and Ningxia, the states of Ying and Cai in the Huai River Basin, and as far south as the Zeng and other Zhou-affiliated states in the Middle Yangzi (He 2015; Hu 2022; Liu X. 2021; Liu and Chen 2012; Ningxia and Pengyang 2021a, b, 2022; Niu 2017b; Shaanxi 2017; Xiang 2008).

Liu Xu (2021) argues that the movement of the Yin people into the western highlands and the eastern expansion of the Zhou state to as far east as Shandong represents ancient China's earliest mass migration. Of course, archaeological evidence supports continued occupation in the

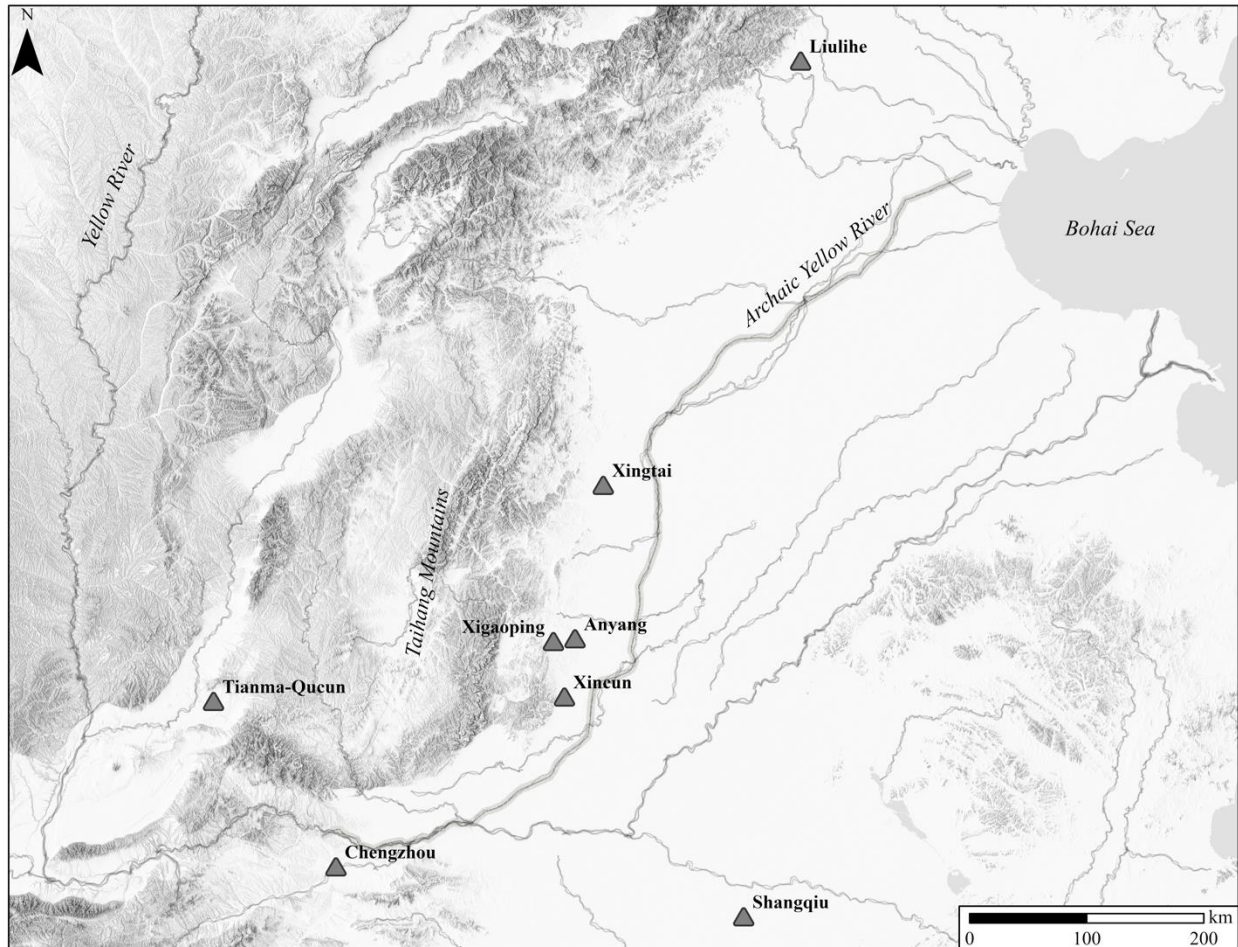


Figure 5.11. Henei during the Western Zhou period.

areas formerly under strong Shang influence by the Yin people with local material cultures at Xincun (Wey), Xigaoping and Xingtai (Xing), and Liulihe (Yan)<sup>7</sup> showing Shang influences on the material makeup of these cultures (figure 5.11) (He 2015, Niu 2017b). Several Zhou regional states were established along the north-south axis of the Henei region at the foot of the Taihang

<sup>7</sup> While Shang culture is not common in the Beijing area during the Late Shang period, I do not see the extent of Late Shang culture being necessarily concomitant with the extent of the Late Shang state. As argued in chapter 3, I understand the Late Shang state as an affective state, not a territorial state. That is, a historically contingent political becoming ever attuning to modulating social landscapes and continually seeking to limit of disparate social processes that hold the potential to decompose its structures of power. Thus, while Beijing was not home to a significant Late Shang culture presence, I argue that the Beijing region and north-south routes of travel were fundamental to the maintenance of the Late Shang state. That is, the northern alliances and exchange networks from which the Shang state drew substantial power relied on the routes of exchange and communication on either side of and through the Taihang Mountains (see Ch. 3). Thus, the northern fringes of the Central Plains were under the strong influence of the Shang state through the centripetal pull that Anyang had on regional networks and can be considered as part of its *affective* foundations, even in the absence of Shang culture.

Mountains (Wey, Xing, Bei, and Yan) and along the trans-Taihang passes (Li) to monitor both the population still living in the former Shang heartland and the corridors of travel and exchange threading through these mountains that once fueled the sprawling Late Shang capital at Anyang (Cao 2014, Li M. 2018).

Shang artisans were instrumental in the organization and operation of expanding Zhou craft industries, including bronze production; moreover, the Yin people had a significant impact on local material cultures, such as the production of utilitarian vessels, including the *li*-tripod cooking vessel (He 2015, Li H. 2021, Liu X. 2021). In the Guanzhong Basin and the surrounding regions, the movement of Shang artisans and elite lineages into Zhou capitals, urban centers, and smaller settlements had a significant impact on the political structure of the emergent Zhou state and the sociocultural dynamics in Northwest China.

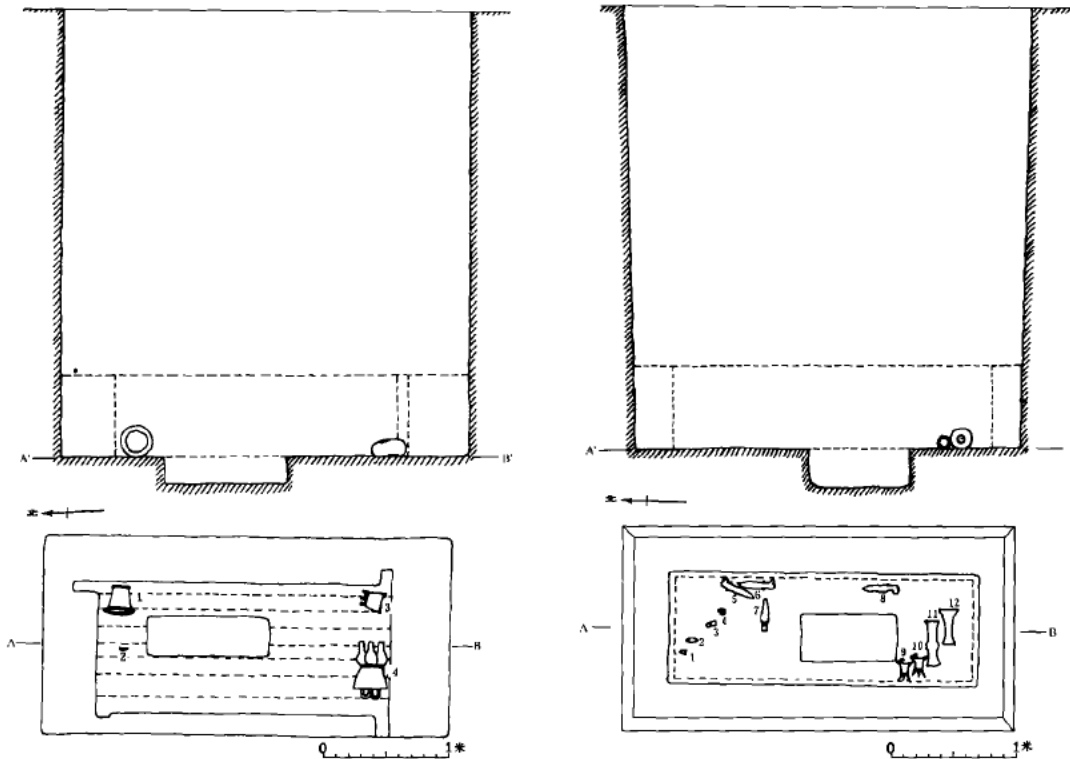
Evidence for the movement of the Yin people into Shaanxi is found primarily in burial practices, craft production, pottery typologies, and inscriptional and historical evidence that have allowed researchers to identify Shang lineages and groups living in the Zhou homeland (Li H. 2021, Li M. 2018, Liu X. 2021).<sup>8</sup> In terms of mortuary evidence, the presence of waist pits at the bottom of burials (腰坑), sacrificial dogs, human sacrifices, and particular patterns of interred pottery sets<sup>9</sup>, which were relatively uncommon in Shaanxi prior to the Western Zhou period, are

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<sup>8</sup> One such lineage was the Wei Shi lineage, a lineage of Shang elites that lived in Zhouyuan during the Western Zhou period (see Li M. 2018). This lineage is also possibly connected with Wei Zi Qi (see below). See also Falkenhausen (2006) for a discussion on some of the issues involved in the material evidence traditionally used to identify the Yin people during the Western Zhou period.

<sup>9</sup> Zhou burials are often associated with a combination of one *li* and one *guan* pottery vessels or just a single *li* vessel, whereas the Yin people are identified based partially on the presence pottery *gui* vessels and the phenomenon of the more than 2 vessels of the same type appearing in the same burial (同形现象 *tongxing xianxiang*) (see Lei and Cai 2018, Ma 2009, Shaanxi et al. 2018, Chong 2018). The reasoning behind associating the Yin people with *gui* vessels and *tongxing xianxiang* is that the use of *gui* vessels and the presence of multiple vessels of the same type in a single burial was common in Yin Xu Period IV burials, while these material phenomena are not common (or not seen) in burials commonly understood to represent the Zhou people during the Western Zhou period, such as the Fancun cemetery at the Zhongongmiao site, the Songjia cemetery at the Kongtougou site, and the Jiajiaya cemetery in Baoji (Chong 2018).

often employed as data to advocate for the presence of Shang cultural elements during the Western Zhou period. As Liu Xu (2021) notes, there is a sudden surge in burials that incorporate waist pits,<sup>10</sup> dog sacrifices, and human sacrifices in Shaanxi during the Western Zhou period.<sup>11</sup>



图二 IM1505 平、剖面图

1. 陶簋 2. 玉匕 3. 铜鼎 4. 铜甗

图三 IM1519 平、剖面图

1, 4. 铜铃 2, 3. 玉圭 5-8. 铜戈 9, 10. 铜爵 11, 12. 铜觚

Figure 5.12. Early Western Zhou period tombs in Luoyang argued by its excavators to likely be the tombs of the Yin people (From Luoyang 2000).

<sup>10</sup> It should be noted that there are some sites in Shaanxi that evidence waist pits prior to the Western Zhou period, including Duanjing (Zhongguo 1999), Zaolinhetan (Xibei et al. 2019), and Laoniupo (Liu 2001). Duanjing and Laoniupo are sites influenced by Shang culture. Zaolinhetan is considered to have significant Nianzipo cultural elements—located 36 km to the northwest—by the excavators (Xibei et al. 2019) but is also located only 10 km west of Duanjing. The Nianzipo material connection in the area around Zaolinhetan can also be seen at the nearby Yuzuipo locus within the Xitou site during the Late Shang period (Xibei et al. 2021). However, as archaeologists—such as Liu Xu—have noted, there is an increase in the use of waist pits in conjunction with other commonly accepted Shang cultural practices in Zhou areas. Of course, the utmost caution must be applied when attempting delineate ethnic affiliation.

<sup>11</sup> Burial practices at Late Shang cultural sites (most prominently Anyang) are highly distinctive. While some practices are not exclusive to Shang groups in early China (e.g., the inclusion of waist pits in burials and violent rituals of human sacrifice), these Shang mortuary rituals were typical components of the Shang ritual system and its ancestral hierarchy (see MacIver 2017, Tang 2004). Moreover, during the Western Zhou period, rituals surrounding burial were prominent sociopolitical arenas, with hierarchical status often determining the spatial and material arrangement of burials (e.g., the type and number of interred bronze objects and whether the burial has a ramp(s)) (see Falkenhausen 2006 for more on the Zhou ritual system). In addition, the practices that were common in Shang centers were not as widespread in Shaanxi prior to the abandonment of Anyang (as Liu Xu (2021) notes).

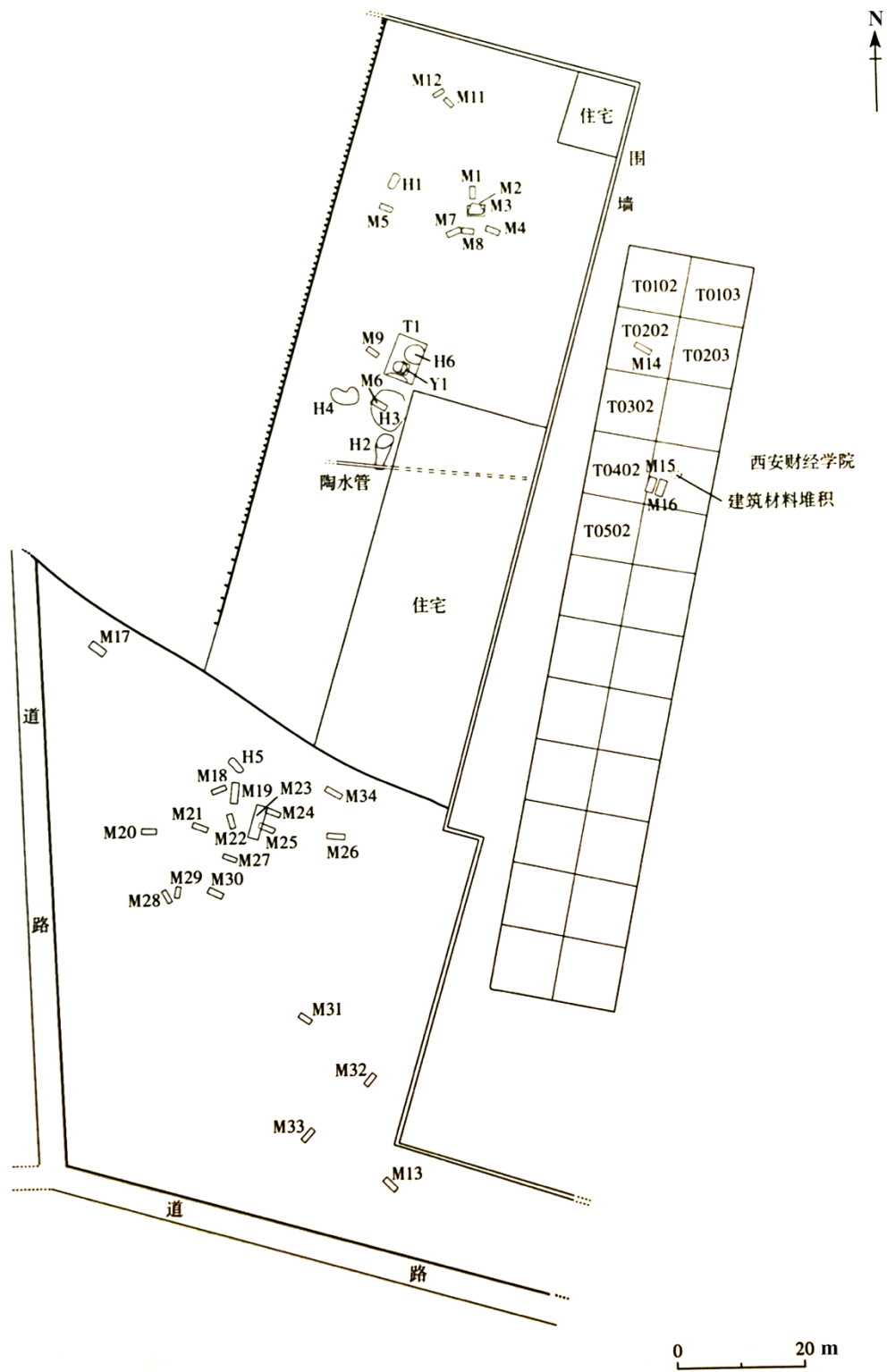


Figure 5.13. The Western Zhou period site at Jialicun showing *juzang heyi* (the co-presence of living and burial activities) in the form of varied ash pits (H), a kiln (Y), and burials (M) (From Shaanxi 2017).

Craft production evidence for the presence of the Yin people in Western Zhou settlements follows two primary threads of data. First, archaeologists often note that the scale, organization, and complexity of early Western Zhou bronze foundries and other workshops, the burials associated with these workshops, and the products made in these workshops indicate a strong Shang influence on Zhou industries (figure 5.12) (Guo et al. 2021, He 2018, Li F. 2013, Li M. 2021). In addition to bronze production, this type of Shang influence is also seen in other production activities, such as the Zhou pottery industry in Guanzhong (Li H. 2021). Second, there is a growing debate in Shang archaeology on the phenomenon of the co-presence of living, production, and burial spaces (居葬生产 *juzangshengchan* or more commonly 居葬合一 *juzang heyi*) as a Shang cultural marker (e.g., Anyang 2021, see also ch. 3 and the discussion on this material phenomenon below). Some archaeological reports and research on Western Zhou settlements in the Guanzhong Basin have made note of the co-presence of living, production, and burial spaces in combination with Shang culture to draw conclusions about the Shang cultural affiliation of local residents (figure 5.13) (e.g., Shaanxi 2017).

Inscriptions provide another line of evidence in identifying the presence of the Yin people. Among the copious number of bronze inscriptions produced during the Western Zhou period, vessels in the Zhuangbai hoard are among the most well-known. Discovered in 1976 at the core area of Zhouyuan, the Zhuangbai hoard represents a large collection of bronze vessels once curated by the Wei Shi family, a lineage of Shang descent that has been proposed to be the descendants of Wei Zi Qi (see Falkenhausen 2006). The Zhuangbai inscriptions, such as the famous Shi Qiang *pan* (JC:10175), provide invaluable information on the history, status, and roles of elite Shang lineages in the Zhou homeland. As Constance Cook (2016:95) argues, the Shi Qiang *pan* inscription reveals that this lineage of hereditary scribes of Shang aristocracy not only continued

to hold high ranking positions in the Zhou court, but “even with their intermarriage with Zhou [lineages], they never lost certain aspects of Shang identity.”

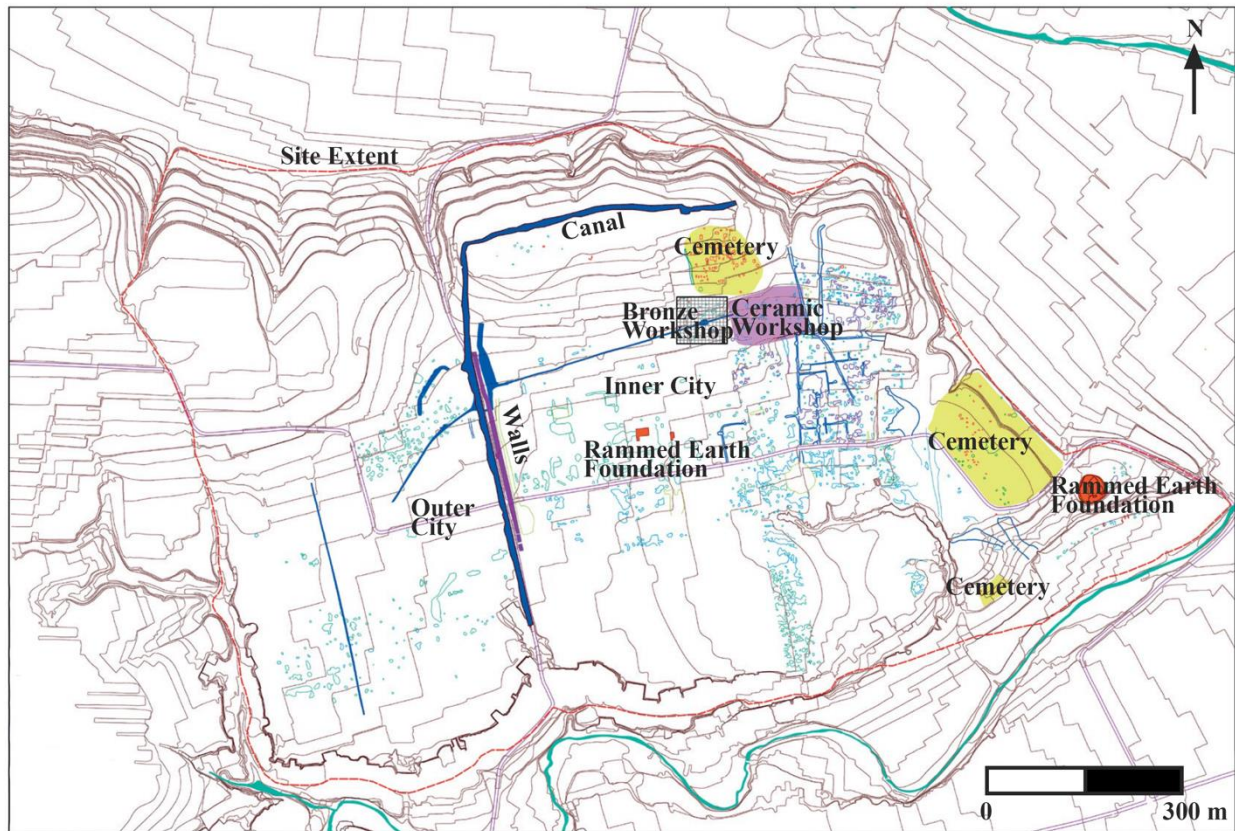


Figure 5.14. Site Layout of Yaoheyuan (Modified from Nengxia and Pengyang 2020).

Western Zhou sites that exhibit evidence of Shang cultural elements are found across the Guanzhong Basin and the surrounding highlands, such as Zhouyuan, Feng-Hao, Jialicun, and Yaoheyuan. The influx and influence of the Yin people on the material cultures of the Western Zhou period is evident in both the expansive craft industries of the Zhou heartlands in the Guanzhong and Luoyang basins (Guo et al. 2021, Li H. 2021) and sites at the margins of the Zhou homeland. On the northwestern margins of the Western Zhou state in the Jing River Valley, a recently discovered site at Yaoheyuan in Ningxia with materials dating to the Yangshao, Lower Changshan, Qijia, Western Zhou, Warring States, Qin, Han, and later imperial periods has provided a wealth of archaeological information on sociopolitical dynamics and movement in this

strategically important region (Ningxia and Pengyang 2021a). Covering 92 ha, the site consists of an inner and outer enclosure with a rammed earth wall, moat, water and road networks, pottery and bronze workshops, cemeteries, and palatial foundations (figure 5.14) (Ningxia and Pengyang 2020, 2021a). The material traditions at the site evidences a mix of multiple regional cultures, including Shang, Zhou, and Siwa cultures, indicating that the site was an important hub of movement and communication (Ningxia and Pengyang 2021a).



Figure 5.15. Ceramic molds for bronze production found at Yaoheyuan (Top: ceramic mold for a *pao* (2017PYIH2(2):13), bottom: ceramic mold for a vessel, 2017PYIH2(1):153)) (From Nengxia and Pengyang 2020).

The excavators of Yaoheyuan have identified the site as a regional Zhou center that was

the location of a Zhou subsidiary state that temporally covered most of the Western Zhou period (Ningxia and Pengyang 2021a, 2021b, 2022). Based on an oracle bone inscription found in tomb M13, the excavators argue that Yaoheyuan was the center of the subsidiary state of Huo (获). Evidenced by strong material connections with Zhou centers in the Guanzhong Basin and increasing similarity in artifact styles between Yaoheyuan and Zhou centers during the latter stages of the Western Zhou occupation of the site, Yan Sun (2021) argues that the people at Yaoheyuan held close political ties to the Western Zhou court. Further, the material traditions at Yaoheyuan, while exhibiting cultural traits from a mix of archaeologically defined cultures, are made up of primarily Shang cultural elements, including the presence of waist pits, human sacrifices, and sacrificial dogs (Ningxia and Pengyang 2021a), indicating that the community at the site was strongly influenced by the influx of the Yin people into Guanzhong and the surrounding regions or possibly was home to a group of Yin people. The excavators of the site argue that Yaoheyuan and the Huo state was led by an elite lineage of the Yin people assigned to the area by the Zhou court (Ningxia and Pengyang 2021a, 2021b, 2022).

The establishment of a relatively large (4,200 m<sup>2</sup>) bronze workshop at Yaoheyuan capable of making a range of objects—as evidenced by clay molds for making bronze vessels, chariot parts, horse fittings, tools, and weapons (see Ningxia and Pengyang 2020, 2021a)—at the beginning of the Western Zhou period in a region without a long history of complex bronze production could indicate the arrival of a group with substantial experience in running these workshops (figure 5.15). Given the influx of artisans from the fallen Shang capital, which had large bronze workshops and complex bronze production techniques, the arrival of the Yin people at Yaoheyuan is possible. Taken together with the Shang style pottery and mortuary traditions at the site (Ningxia and Pengyang 2021a, 2021b, 2022), a group of Yin people very well could have settled in the region

at the beginning of the Western Zhou period, which sits approximately 700 km in a straight line west of Anyang.

Further, if the elite community at Yaoheyuan was a group from the recently displaced Yin people, then the establishment of a large walled settlement led by the Yin people at the edges of the strategically important Upper Jing River Valley suggests that the Zhou court relied on the descendants of the Shang to not only expand and sustain critical industries (e.g., bronze and pottery production), but also manage trade and defensive networks at the core of Zhou society (see Li F. 2006 for more on the routes surrounding the Guanzhong Basin and their importance to the Western Zhou state). This scenario is reminiscent of the Qin state-building narrative, where the Yin people were forcibly relocated to the western highlands and became part of the ancestral line of the Qin (see Li M. 2018). Given the strong cultural, economic, and political links the Late Shang state held with northern groups (see Ch. 3, Rawson et al. 2020), the placement of an elite Shang group at Yaoheyuan familiar with northern political and exchange networks would make strategic sense. Regardless, the presence of Shang culture at the far northwestern edges of the Upper Jing River Valley in the early Western Zhou period suggests that the arrival of the Yin people into the Zhou homeland had a substantial impact on the sociocultural landscape of Northwest China in the earliest periods of the Western Zhou state.

During the early Western Zhou period, Shang culture expanded substantively in Northwest China and large Western Zhou craft industries with no convincing antecedents grew in complexity. This supports Liu Xu's (2021) argument about a mass migration in early China resulting from the varied movements of the Yin (and Zhou) people. The expansion of Shang culture in Shaanxi cannot be accounted for by the small communities that used Shang culture in the Zhou homeland prior to the fall of Yin Xu. In addition, the sheer spatial scale of the spread of the Yin people into the region

indicates that movement also cannot be accounted for solely by forced relocation on the part of the Zhou royal court and its military. Instead, the displacement of the Yin people unfolded at the intersection of varied social, economic, and political dimensions that variably impacted the disparate communities occupying Henei. During the Western Zhou period of dominance, Zhou structures of power required continual maintenance, including—among other processes—through political performance, war, marriage alliances, complex claims of religiopolitical and historical legitimacy, and rendering legible Zhou-oriented power structures within the micropolitical dynamics of ordinary spaces (see Falkenhausen 2006, Li F. 2013, Li M. 2018, see ch. 6 for more on Zhou political performance). While some of these strategies had precedent in the Shang political structure, the scale and sociocultural particularities of Zhou attempts at projecting power would come to expand beyond—both in nature and scale—the strategies of the late second millennium BC state at Anyang. While Zhou attempts at solidifying marcoregional power are clearly evident in the establishment of regional polities and royal capitals, the micropolitical dimensions of Zhou power dynamics in its traditional homeland and beyond remains a subject of continuing research.

#### *Zhouyuan and the Yin People*

The complex roles and influences of the Yin people on the Zhou homeland can be found in settlements across Shaanxi; however, at Zhouyuan, the impact of the Yin people was felt in the earliest phases of this vital Zhou center (see Ch. 4).

Evidenced by craft production technologies; bronze inscriptions; mortuary practices; and spatial arrangements of residential, burial, and production areas, Zhouyuan was one of the primary Zhou centers where dislocated Shang people settled in the wake of the collapse of the Late Shang state and its urban center at Anyang (see Liu X. 2021 for overview of evidence used to identify the presence of the Yin people). As noted above, dozens of workshops have been discovered at the

Zhou capital positioned at the base of Mt. Qi. Many of these workshops were very large, including the Lijia bronze foundry, the Yuntang bone workshop, and the Qijia stone *jue*-earring workshop (figure 5.16).

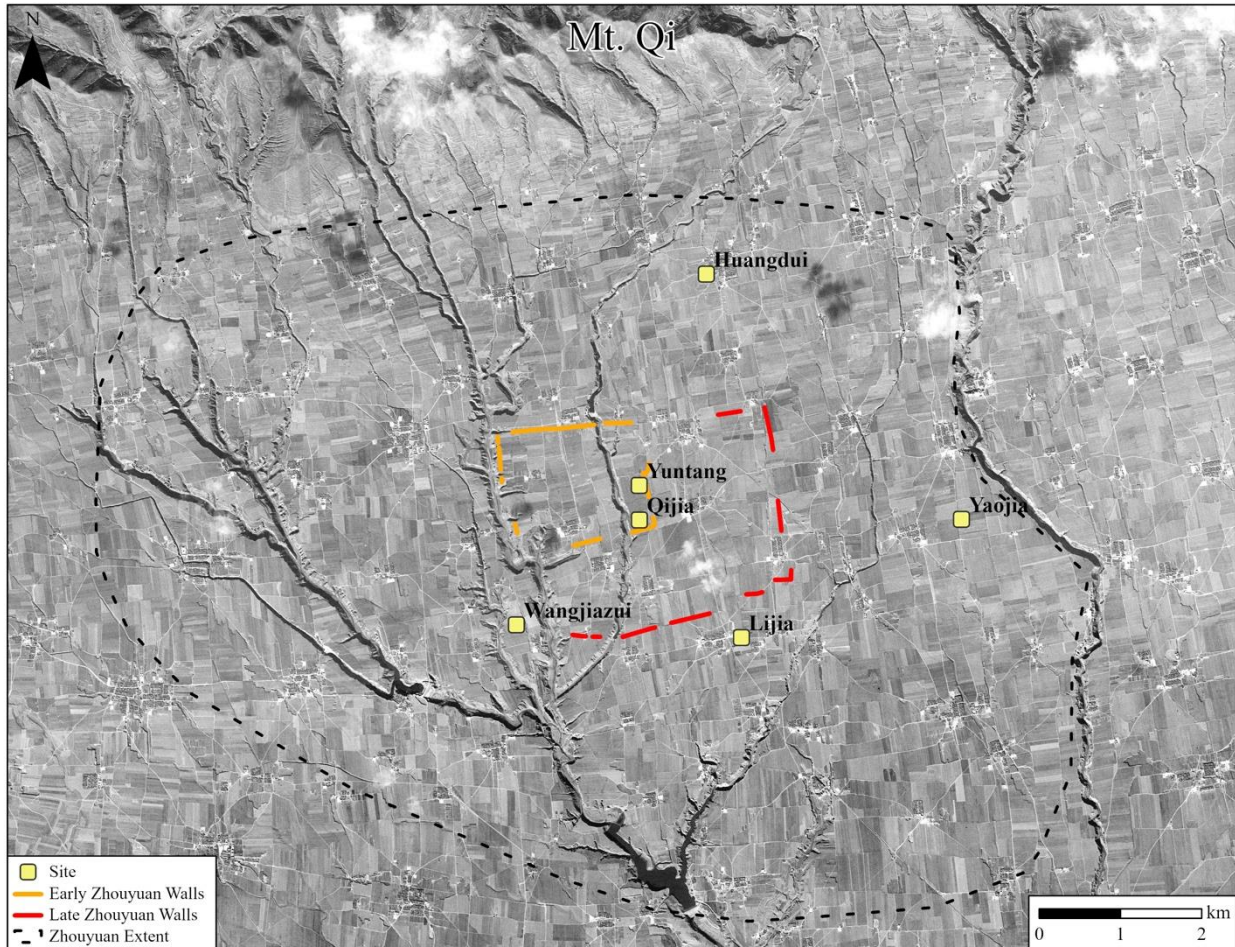


Figure 5.16. Zhouyuan with locations mentioned in chapter 5 (background is Corona imagery, Zhouyuan site extent redrawn from Shaanxi et al. 2018, walls redrawn from Beijing 2022).

Zhouyuan workshops evidence specialized production and point towards the possibility of an incipient commercial system within which these workshops and their associated lineages and workers participated and held integral roles in its maintenance (Sun Z. 2008, Zhao 2017). There are more than 20 known large workshops at Zhouyuan, including the three mentioned above, and some of these are often considered to have been populated and operated by artisans from the fallen Shang state (Cai et al. 2022, Lei 2016). While smaller bronze foundries, pottery kilns, and other

workshops are known to have been in operation during the Late Shang period in the Guanzhong Basin and surrounding areas (see Chen et al. 2017, Ma 2009), based on current evidence, there exists no comparable scale of industry in this region that comes close to the complex workshops and exchange networks animating the Western Zhou landscape. The operational knowledge and production skills held by craft lineages and artisans from Yinxu, largely depopulated following the conquest (see above), were critical in forming and maintaining Zhouyuan workshops (Lei 2016, Ma 2009).

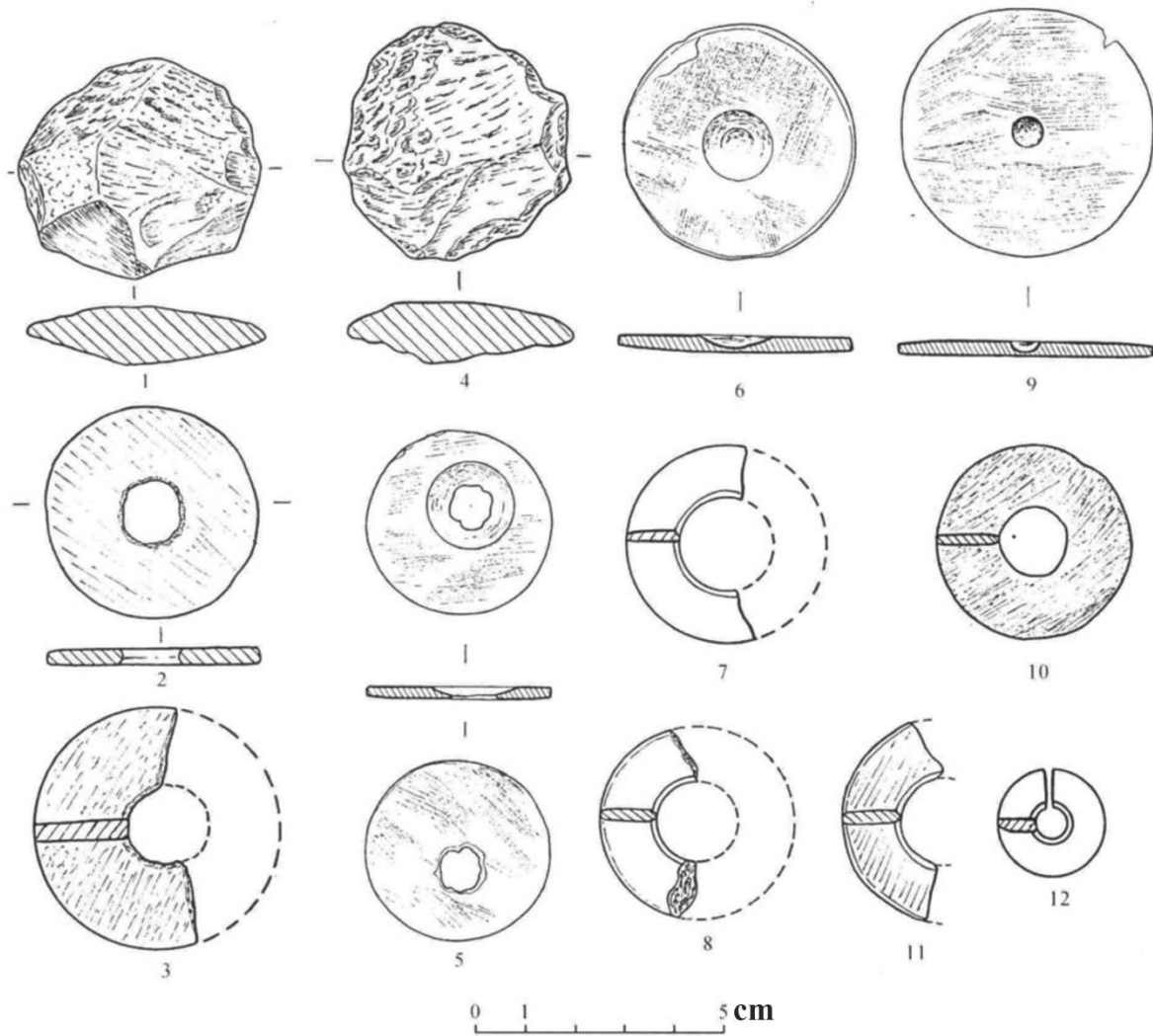


Figure 5.17. Stone *jue*-rings at various stages of production, excavated from feature H6 at Qijia, Zhouyuan (From Shaanxi et al. 2010).

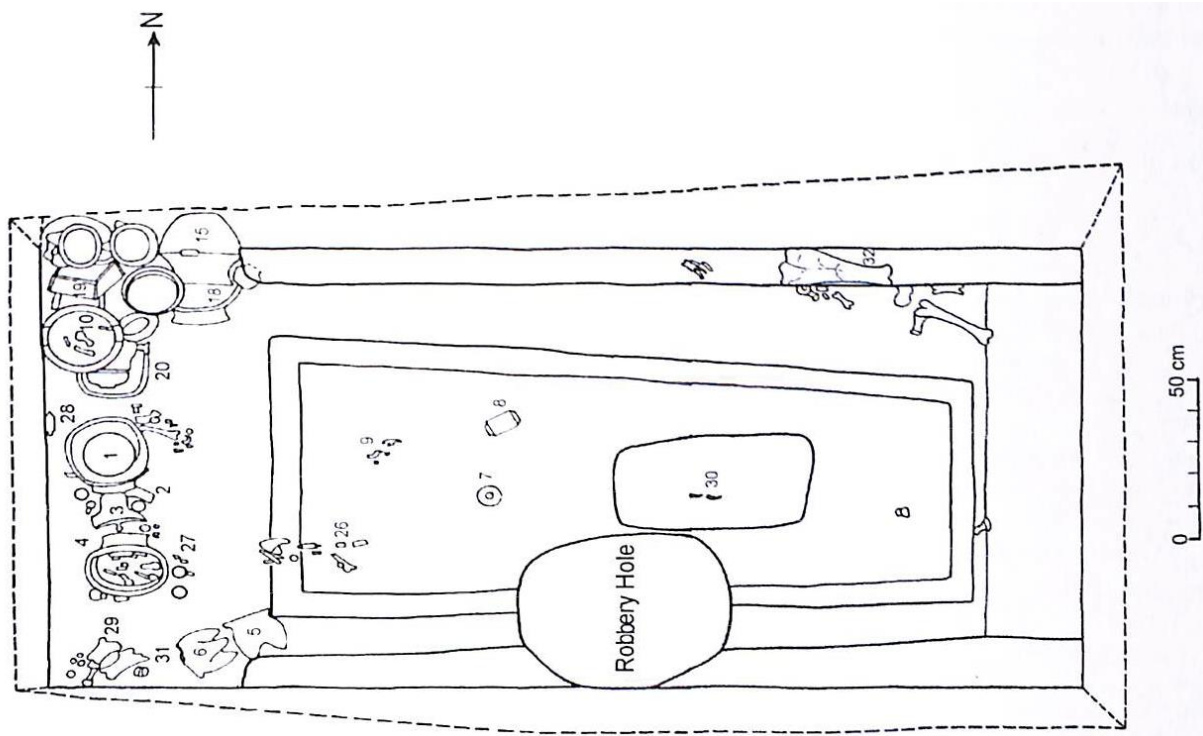


Figure 5.18. Plan of tomb M4 at Qijia, Zhouyuan (From Sun Z. 2008).

The Qijia stone *jue* workshop at the core area of Zhouyuan was one of these workshops. Located around the southeast corner of the early Western Zhou city wall and moat, the Qijia workshop covers an area of 0.9 ha and specialized in the production of *jue*: “a round flat ring with a narrow opening along the annulus, usually made of jade or other types of stone” (Sun Z. 2008:23) (figure 5.17). The workshop was in operation from the early Western Zhou to the end of the Western Zhou; Xian Zhou residential remains were also discovered in the course of excavation (Shaanxi et al. 2010, Sun Z. 2008). The Qijia workshop is the only the workshop specializing in the production of *jue* in the Zhouyuan area and could possibly be a commercial activity supporting the elite lineage that headed the workshop (Shaanxi et al. 2010, Sun Z. 2008).



Figure 5.19. Ceramic *gui* from tomb M110 of the Yaojia cemetery, Zhouyuan (From Shaanxi 2018).

There are several lines of evidence that reveal the presence of Shang artisans and associated lineages at Qijia. First, one of the early Western Zhou burials (M4) has elements of Shang mortuary traditions (figure 5.18). These burial elements include the presence of a waist pit, ceramic *gui*-turen vessels (see Shaanxi et al. 2018), sacrificial animal remains, and oracle bones (Shaanxi et al. 2010) (figure 5.19). The production waste (debitage) found at the head of the burial occupant and the location of the burial within the workshop zone also indicates that the deceased was intimately linked with the Qijia workshop (see Shaanxi et al. 2010). Sun Zhouyong (2008) argues that the deceased was a manager or supervisor of *jue* production at Qijia. Compared to other burials in the workshop zone, the M4 burial was large and richly furnished with elite goods, including

jades, lacquerware, cowries, and bronzes, some of which are inscribed (figure 5.20) (Shaanxi et al. 2010). M4 could then very likely represent a Shang individual with strong institutional knowledge on how to run a large workshop. However, it is not the only burial at Qijia with Shang cultural elements, other burials also evidence the potential presence of the Yin people at the workshop, including in the form of waist pits (Shaanxi et al. 2010).

Second, based on an analysis of emblems carved into ceramic and stone artifacts from Qijia, Lei Xingshan (2016) argues that multiple craft lineages worked at the Qijia workshop; two of which (Yao 爻 and Zhang 璋) were Shang lineages that arrived in Zhouyuan after the fall of Anyang and operated under the control of the Western Zhou state.<sup>12</sup> Lei further notes that while the exact location of these Shang lineages lived prior to the conquest of the Shang is unclear, the clan emblem 爻 also appears as an emblem inscribed on an interred bronze in a Late Shang period burial at the West Zone cemetery of Yinxu, revealing a material connection between the Yao lineage at Qijia and the Late Shang capital at Anyang.<sup>13</sup> Li Min (2018) argues that Zhang 璋 represents an artisan lineage specializing in jade production. Li further contends that the Zhang lineage whose emblem was found in a tomb at Anyang descended from Longshan and Erlitou societies—where jade *zhang* scepters were potent ritual and political objects—and were eventually incorporated into Shang society.

Finally, as discussed elsewhere in this chapter, the co-presence of residential, production, and burial spaces is increasingly being viewed as a strong Shang cultural trait among archaeologists working on Shang material remains (e.g., Anyang 2021). Throughout the

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<sup>12</sup> While multiple lines of evidence point towards the presence of the Yin people at Zhouyuan workshops, the debate over who (i.e., elite lineages or the royal court) controlled production is ongoing, including at Qijia (see Sun Z. 2008 for more on Qijia production).

<sup>13</sup> Whether this means that the Yao lineage lived at Anyang prior to the conquest is unclear, although Lei does argue for the Yao lineage to have lived at Anyang.

occupation of the Qijia workshop, living, working and burial activities were conducted in close proximity, providing another line of evidence that supports the presence of Shang cultural groups in the establishment and operation of the large-scale Qijia *jue* workshop.



Figure 5.20. Ceramic molds for a bronze bell (top: H17:26) and *pao* (bottom: T1(4):3) found at Zhouyuan (From Zhouyuan 2011).

The bronze foundries at Zhouyuan evidence the capability to produce complex bronze objects starting from the early Western Zhou period and have similar lines of evidence to Qijia that indicates that the organization and operation of these foundries were highly influenced by Shang institutional and technical knowledge. These foundries, such as the Lijia bronze foundry, have multiple layers of potential occupation and/or activity by the Yin people, including waist pits, dog sacrifices, and the co-presence of living, production, and burial spaces (Guo et al. 2021, Ma 2009, Zhouyuan 2004). The Lijia bronze foundry dates to the early Western Zhou period and demonstrate high levels of bronze casting techniques—as evidenced by the clay casting molds excavated at the site (Kondo 2015, Ma 2009, Zhouyuan 2004)—of which the complex technical and operational knowledge required points towards a vital role for Shang artisans in this politically, economically, and religiously vital Zhou industry.

With Shang artisans and associated craft lineages occupying a central node within Zhou bronze networks, the Yin people not only continued their traditional production practices, but also helped shape the material form and socioeconomic networks that made the flourishing of Zhou bronze culture possible, including the renowned Western Zhou inscribed bronzes. The movement of Shang craft lineages and artisans into Zhouyuan during the early Western Zhou period proved foundational to the establishment and success of these large bronze foundries and the political alliances and religious systems to which these foundries supplied potent objects. While there was a bronze industry in Guanzhong during the Late Shang period (e.g., Chen et al. 2017, Liu S. 2001), the scale and complexity of these bronze workshops is not comparable to the expansive Western Zhou bronze industry.

Evidence of movement into the Zhou capital at the base of Mt. Qi by the Yin people is also found far removed from the central areas of Zhouyuan. Archaeologists working at the Zhou capital

have identified a cemetery with strong Shang mortuary traditions, including human and animal sacrificial remains and waist pits, and possible associated residential and production zones on the eastern margins of Zhouyuan (Shaanxi et al. 2018). The discovery of remains associated with the Yin people across the Zhouyuan settlement area points towards the pervasive influence the Yin people and their culture had on this important Zhou center. Further, Zhouyuan archaeologists typically delineate the structure of the capital based on production (手工业园区) or functional zones (功能区) (Guo et al. 2021, Shaanxi et al. 2018). Given the large influence craft production had on Zhouyuan urban organization and the disparate networks entangled within this politically and ritually charged landscape, it is highly likely that the Yin people and the continuance and legacy of their cultural practices held dynamic roles in the formation and maintenance of the Western Zhou capital at Zhouyuan and broader Zhou society.

The range of prestige goods, including bronzes, jades, and stoneware, found in the burials of these workshops also indicate that the Yin people living in the Zhou homeland were active participants in Western Zhou networks (see Shaanxi et al. 2010, Shaanxi et al. 2018, Zhouyuan 2008 for more on the artifacts unearthed from burials in Zhouyuan workshops and Shang-style burials at Zhouyuan). Combined with known elite Shang lineages living at Zhouyuan who held high status roles within the Western Zhou court (see Li M. 2018), the wide access to exchange networks enjoyed by the Yin people and the strong continuity of Shang traditions demonstrates that they were not solely (or even primarily) living under firm suppression at Zhouyuan. Instead, it seems that many Shang groups who migrated to the Zhou centers were afforded influential positions within Zhou political and economic networks, which is also evidenced at Yaoheyuan (see above).

Taken alone, any of these lines of evidence for the presence of Shang cultural groups that

were active in the establishment and operation of Zhouyuan workshops would make the identification of the Yin people at Zhouyuan susceptible to reductionist models of cultural affiliation. The identification is made even more complicated by the fact that several cultural and religious elements of Shang and Zhou societies are shared and developed from long-term macroregional trends. For example, oracle bone divination and animal sacrifice had been practiced since the Neolithic period in China. Further, the co-presence of living, production, and burial spaces are found across the Zhou world (Ma 2009); and among burials discovered at Zhouyuan, burials that are mixed with living spaces far outnumber burials in cemeteries with no living or production spaces (Lei and Cai 2018). Moreover, while Anyang workshops held the preeminent position among contemporaneous Bronze Age production centers, the Shang did not hold an exclusive monopoly over the craft traditions practiced there, including bronze production. The utmost caution, therefore, must be taken when seeking to identify the presence and influence of the Yin people in Zhou centers.

However, given the rapid expansion of the urban footprint and craft industries of Zhouyuan and other Zhou centers (e.g., Luoyang), the sudden (and violent) abandonment of Anyang, the displacement of tens of thousands of Anyang residents, the rise of Shang cultural elements in the early Western Zhou homeland (e.g., pottery and bronze styles, waist pits (with and without dogs), small-scale human sacrifice), and the centrality of craft industries to elite dynamics and the maintenance of the Zhou world's expansive networks, it is highly likely that the groups from the fallen Shang state were central to the demographic trends of the early Western Zhou state. The urban expansion of the Western Zhou centers and smaller settlements in the Guanzhong and Luoyang Basins alone would have required a substantial population to labor and maintain these

sites.<sup>14</sup> This need for people would have been especially acute given the large migration of Zhou lineages moving east to establish Zhou-affiliated states in the former Shang homeland and the surrounding regions (see Li F. 2018, Li M. 2018). In addition, the regions surrounding Guanzhong continued to be populated by the diverse polities and communities that characterized the Zhou alliance (see Sun Y. 2021).

Both the Qijia *jue* workshop and the Lijia bronze foundry evidence distinct organizational structures that divided workers into specific groups corresponding to particular aspects of the production process. At Qijia, groups of workers were organized around the types of materials used to produce *jue*; while at Lijia, the workers were organized based on the steps of the bronze production process (Ma 2009). The organization of each workshop clearly proved successful in the long run, with both workshops in use throughout the Western Zhou period and producing items that were likely integral to regional exchange networks. The complexity of Zhouyuan workshop organization required individuals and groups with deep institutional (and technical) knowledge for its successful establishment and maintenance. This knowledge would have been invaluable to the newly established Western Zhou state and something that the newly displaced lineages and artisans from Yinxu had had over two centuries to cultivate.

Finds at the Huangdui cemetery at the northern edge of the Zhouyuan urban core also reveals the close interactions between the Yin people and Zhou groups. While the archaeologists who surveyed and excavated the Yaojia cemetery in the eastern zone of Zhouyuan contend that there was a clear spatial demarcation between the higher status Zhou people (interred in the western and northern areas of Yaojia) and the Yin people (interred in the southern section of Yaojia (Shaanxi et al. 2018), Lei Xingshan and Cai Ning (2018) argue that the Huangdui cemetery

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<sup>14</sup> Luoyang did not have a large population during the Late Shang period (Liu et al. 2019).

evidence the presence of both Zhou and Shang groups, a phenomenon they note also appears elsewhere in the Zhou world, including at Tianma-Qucun in Shanxi and Zhangjiapo at the Zhou capital of Feng.

Based on morphological similarities between the bone chisels found at the Zhuangli foundry that were used for producing the clay molds used in bronze casting and the artifacts uncovered at the Yuntang bone workshop,<sup>15</sup> Zhao Hao (2017) tentatively argues that there could have been a relationship between the production of bone and bronze objects at Zhouyuan. Cai et al. (2022) argue Yuntang was operated by a group from the Yin people. Further, Guo et al. (2021) note that the ceramic molds used for bronze casting at Lijia were likely made at another location, revealing another possible line of evidence for cooperation and close links between workshops at Zhouyuan. Given that close interaction between different craft industries is documented in Shang society (see Stoltman et al. 2018, Li Y. 2022) and the presence of the Yin people at Zhouyuan, a close level of integration between workshops was likely key to the flourishing of Zhouyuan as an economic hub. That is, from burial activities at Huangdui to collaboration between workshops, inter-community interaction and the daily activities involved in these interactions were key to Zhouyuan's urban fabric. Moreover, at the heart of these interactions was the continual emplacement of Shang technological and cultural traditions within the ancestral Zhou landscape.

### **The State of Song and the Ongoing Decomposition of Shang Power**

One of the subsidiary states founded during the early Western Zhou period was Song. The founding of Song, a legacy state granted to an heir of the Shang royal lineage, is prominent example of how the affections generated in the micropolitical dynamics of ordinary spaces shifted following the Shang-Zhou transition (see Ch. 5). According to historical traditions (e.g., *Shiji*), the

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<sup>15</sup> Which is argued by Cai et al. (2022) to have been operated by a group from the Yin people.

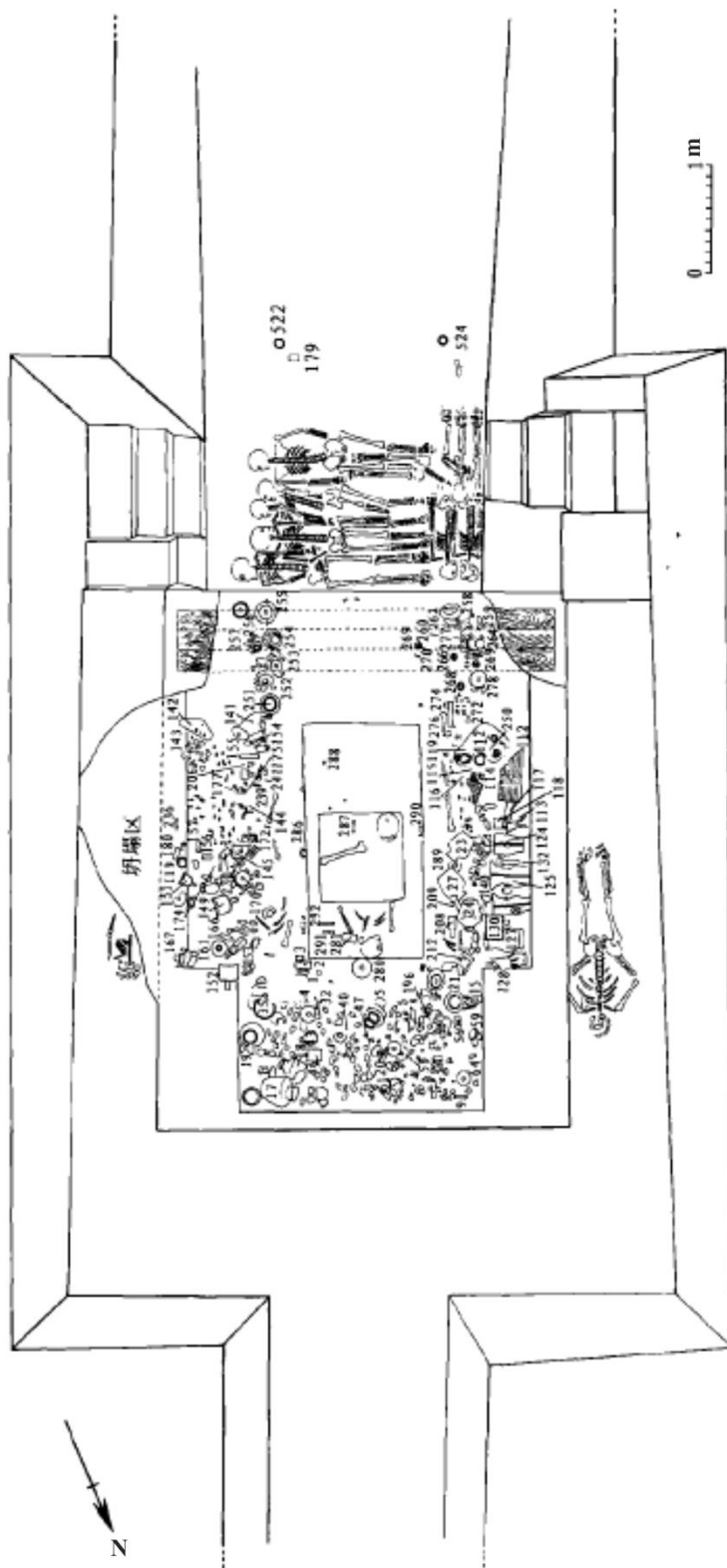


Figure 5.21. The Changzikou tomb (From Henan and Zhoukou 2000).

Song state was invested to the lineage of Wei Zi Qi at Shangqiu after the second conquest of Anyang. Literally translated as the Mound of Shang, Shangqiu was a place of ancestral significance for Shang civilization (Li M. 2018). Wei Zi Qi was a member of the Shang royal house who, according to historical sources, seeing the moral failings of the last Shang king, defected to the Zhou (see Falkenhausen 2006, Li M. 2018, Gao 2013).

Located in modern Luyi, Henan south of Shangqiu, an early western Zhou tomb, called the Changzikou tomb by the excavators is highly likely to be the tomb of Wei Zi Qi (Falkenhausen 2006; Henan and Zhoukoushi 2000a, b; Li M. 2018, Wang E. 2002).<sup>16</sup> The tomb has over a dozen human sacrificial victims, Shang-style pottery, the material remains of alcohol, and a relatively high number of drinking vessels for Western Zhou period elite tombs (figure 5.21) (see Henan and Zhoukoushi 2000a, b, Li F. 2006). All these material markers suggests that the deceased was a member of the upper echelons of the Shang elite.

Analyzing a bronze lidded *you* vessel from this tomb, McGovern et al. (2004) demonstrate that the vessel contained an alcoholic beverage. Even though the rituals practiced by the Shang descendants in the state of Song (and other states granted to Shang lines) were oriented towards the very religious system that sustained Shang hegemony, the Zhou conquest and its expansion effectively stripped these rituals of the efficacy required to reestablish a fallen system. While acting as a bastion of Shang culture, the Song state also effectively functioned as a prominent sociopolitical entity that continually deterritorialized the Late Shang state.

From the production of alcohol to the acquisition of raw materials to the manufacture of bronze vessels to the order that granted a state to Shang descendants, the elements needed to enact a ritual by Song elites were thoroughly enmeshed throughout the Western Zhou system. While

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<sup>16</sup> Based on bronze inscriptions discovered in the tomb. See Li Feng (2006) for more on the Song state and the Changzikou tomb.

these practices were common in Shang society, the affections produced alongside these components and their associated assemblages shifted within a Zhou-dominated order. The process of reorienting the affections produced in Shang social dynamics is evident in the material components of the mortuary assemblage of the Changzikou tomb.

Chen Jianhui and Hu Yongqing (2020) analyzed forty-eight jade artifacts from the Changzikou tomb and concluded that the techniques used to produce the tomb's jade artifacts were a common manufacturing style in the Central Plains. Due to the widespread nature of these techniques and given that Song state was geographically positioned between powerful Zhou regional states in the Central Plains (not to mention being in close proximity to the Zhou royal capital at Luoyang), it is improbable for Song rulers to have embedded power structures within the jade production events that were guided by a commonly adapted technique used in the wider Zhou world.

The affects passing through and accumulated within the goods interred within the Changzikou tomb would have been dominated by the Zhou structures of power emplaced along the trade routes of the period, regardless of the direction. If the more direct east-west route was utilized for obtaining materials, then materials would need to pass through the Zhou ancestral homeland in Shaanxi and the network of royal capitals strung from the Guanzhong Basin to the Luoyang Basin. This route also passes among the many communities of the Yin people that occupied the western lands during the Western Zhou period (Liu X. 2020, see also Ch. 4). If the Song state relied on materials passing through networks in the north, then routes would need to pass through the Zhou strongholds now dominating the former Shang homeland in Henei, including the states of Yan, Xing, Bei, and Wey.

If trade routes were coming through the south, then the routes would need to pass through

the newly established Zhou states in the Middle Yangzi. This includes the state of Zeng in Suizhou as represented by the Yejiashan cemetery (Hubeisheng et al. 2013), which was established in part to gain control of resource networks that once fueled Shang dominance (see Huang 2018, Li M. 2018). The southern route was highly likely to be the source of the stoneware found in the Changzikou tomb, given that southern networks were the source of stoneware for Zhou elites throughout the Zhou world (e.g., Baoji 2021, Yu et al. 2018). Thus, regardless of the source of jade and other materials in the tomb, the Song state is clearly implicated in the maintenance of Zhou exchange networks and macroregional structures of power.

The bronzes found within the Changzikou tomb also point towards the decomposition of Shang structures of power, while also bringing to the fore the legacy of the Shang state. Yin Qun (2014) comparatively analyzed the bronze vessels discovered in the Changzikou tomb with bronze ritual sets found at the early Yan elite cemetery of Liulihe, the Zhou cemetery of Zhangjiapo in the Guanzhong Basin, and Anyang. Yin concluded that the ritual set interred in the tomb was highly reminiscent of bronze combinations used at Anyang. If we assume that the bronzes were produced by workshops in the Song state (but see below), then analyses of bronze exchange networks point towards the south as a likely source of the raw materials needed for bronze production (Pollard et al. 2017). While home to varied polities in various degrees of relationships with the Zhou court, the north-south exchange networks coming into the Central Plains were dominated by Zhou-affiliated states, such as the strategically positioned Zeng state in the Sui-Zao Corridor (see Li F. 2006). The Song state's participation in these networks would have strengthened the legitimacy of Zhou claims circulating within these networks. That is, the operation of the Song state was contingent on Zhou power shaping networks and operating within the ordinary spaces of these networks.

This is, of course, assuming that all the bronze and jade objects in the Changzikou tomb were produced by workshops controlled by Shang lineages in the Song state. If any of the completed vessels and objects were obtained through Western Zhou-dominated economic and political networks, then the potential of divergent power structures being emplaced within ordinary spaces outside of the Song state at Shangqiu would have been severely limited. This would be especially the case if the bronze foundries at places like Luoyang and the Guanzhong Basin were the source of the bronze vessels interred within the Changzikou tomb. These foundries were reliant on the integration of Shang artisans to produce the numerous ritual vessels circulating within the early Western Zhou world (e.g., Luoyang 1999), which was one of the most potent strategies the Zhou employed to delegitimize and subjugate the Shang.

However, considering the periodization of the Changzikou tomb's materials to the latest stages of the Late Shang and the earliest stages of the Western Zhou (商末周初), artifacts found in the tomb would likely include heirlooms from the Late Shang period (and possibly earlier). The affection produced in the use of Shang heirlooms in the burial of the de facto leader of the Yin people in the Central Plains would have been a powerful process solidifying the fall of the Shang state. The memories held by these objects, while bearing traces of Shang penetrating power, would have not only pointed towards its legacy, but also its demise. In these objects, the shift from territorializing tendencies towards the decomposition of the Late Shang apparatus of capture were materially evident.

No longer capable of capturing the everyday assemblages that produced it, Shang heirlooms interred within the burials of Yin people integrated within Western Zhou sociopolitical structures exemplify the escape of social processes that Shang structures had for so long attempted to prevent. Thus, every time the components of a ritual assemblage were brought together in Song

state, it became a vehicle for the reification of the Zhou system and the deterritorialization of the Shang state. That is, the Shang-dominated components that materialized in everyday assemblages and that were folded into elite rituals when Anyang was the preeminent power no longer animated the ordinary spaces needed to sustain pervasive Shang structures of power during the Western Zhou period, especially following the destruction of Anyang (see Li M. 2021 for more on the fall of Anyang as an urban center). It is likely that the objects interred in the Changzikou tomb were a mixture of pre-conquest and post-conquest materials obtained from a variety of sources. The tomb itself was a powerful assemblage pointing towards the fall of the Shang and the rise of the Zhou.

### **A Note on Juzang Heyi**

Residential, production, and mortuary activities co-occurring in close spatial activity is a phenomenon noted in other areas of the world, such as Teotihuacan (figure 5.25) (see Manzanilla 2002, Nichols 2016). To fully understand the living spaces of the Yin people in the Western Zhou world, a close analysis of the spatial organization of these spaces in Late Shang contexts is necessary. *Juzang heyi* (居葬合一), which can be translated as the co-presence of living and burial spaces but also often includes production areas in discussions on this material phenomenon, is a prominent structural component of Shang and Zhou settlements (Anyang 2021, Cai et al. 2022, Lei and Cai 2018, Ma 2009). Of course, while the individuals interred in the burials in workshops and residential zones likely held close connections with these spaces, such as the tomb of Fu Hao<sup>17</sup> in the Shang royal compound at Xiaotun in Anyang and the workers' tombs in the Yuntang bone workshop at Zhouyuan (see Cai et al. 2022).

However, the nature of the connection between the burials and living areas bears the need for close scrutiny. Moreover, while some elite burials are found within living zones in sites across

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<sup>17</sup> A royal consort to the Shang King Wu Ding at Anyang (see Ch. 3).

the Shang and Zhou worlds, it is not necessarily the case that the highest-ranking individuals associated with a particular workshop or residential compound were interred in that place. Ma Sai (2009) notes that both Late Shang and Western Zhou centers had a tendency to place high elite cemeteries at the outer margins of the center. Among the elite cemeteries of the Shang and Zhou worlds that have been discovered to date, among the most prominent are the Late Shang royal tombs at Xibeigang in Anyang.

While the Xiaotun palatial complex at Anyang does have multiple workshops, tombs, and residential structures within its spatial limits (Chang 1980) that would place the Shang royal compound within the tradition of *juzang heyi*, the Shang royal necropolis is located 2 km northwest of Xiaotun and away from the major settlement zones at Anyang. However, it does not necessarily follow that the placement of the royal necropolis at the far margins of the Anyang core breaks with the Shang tradition of the co-presence of living, production, and burial spaces.

Rather, Xibeigang was likely chosen as a site for both practical reasons—needing an open space to construct large royal tombs and its supporting infrastructure—and powerfully affective reasons. That is, as the capital of the Late Shang state, the Anyang landscape was defined by not only the presence of complex, overlapping social networks, but also by potent Shang power structures inscribed within the everyday rhythms and ordinary spaces that animated these networks (see Ch. 3). The Xibeigang royal necropolis then can be understood as both a claim to power over the Anyang landscape, its occupants, and its networked connections and itself a potent agent in the continual maintenance of the Xiaotun-centered political order (see also Ch. 3).

Far from a break from the tradition of constructing living and burial spaces in close proximity, Xibeigang embodied a vision of the world that the Shang rulers continued to maintain from their base at Xiaotun. That is, where artisan lineages might be deeply tied and interred within

the workshops where they practiced their crafts, the interment of the Shang kings at Xibeigang expressed a claim and connection to the wider Anyang landscape that was center of the Shang state. The plundering and destruction of Xibeigang—along with the Shang royal court at Xiaotun—would have constituted a potent act in rupturing the sociopolitical fabric of Anyang (and the broader Shang world).

What was important for the phenomenon of *juzang heyi* is then not merely the physical characterization of its structural layout that can be used as typological marker for cultural affiliation, but the varied experiences these entangled spaces generated and the signs they invoked that could order the complexities of ordinary spaces. For example, Fu Hao was an important marriage partner of Wu Ding and was an active part of Shang royal activities, most prominently in Fu Hao's participation in military recruitment and campaigns (Chang 1980, Li F. 2013). Further, the material components of Fu Hao's tomb reveal strong connections with the northern groups that were foundational to Shang exchange networks, such as by providing Shang elites with horses and chariot technologies (see Linduff 2006, Li M. 2018, Rawson et al. 2020). Constructed within the sprawling Xiaotun palatial complex, the location of the tomb of Fu Hao would have reinforced the importance of the Shang court's connections with their northern allies (see also Ch. 3).

The utmost caution must be taken when seeking to identify the cultural affiliation of the people who occupied and were buried in spaces marked by the co-presence of living, production, and burial spaces. At Zhouyuan, for example, while scholars connect the co-presence of these spaces to the Yin people, this type of connection is not taken in isolation. Rather, marking *juzang heyi* as part of the Yin people's material lifeways during the Zhou period is often made only when identifying other Shang handicraft and mortuary traditions in conjunction with the co-presence of living and burial spaces.

Further, given that the majority of burials found at Zhouyuan can be considered as being constructed among living and production spaces (Lei and Cai 2018, Ma 2009) and that major workshops were established in multiple Zhou centers, the people living and working in the craft production zones of this Zhou center were highly likely to have been drawn from both the Yin people and the local populace. Regardless, the material phenomenon is clearly a prominent component of Shang and Zhou spaces, and as I will argue below, it was also a powerful material form through which Shang traditions and practices continued to emerge within a socially complex Zhou landscape as well as a living expression through which the Yin people mediated the traumas of their dislocation.

### **Discussion: The Trauma of the Yin People**

Having provided a broad outline of the evidence for the fall of the Shang state and the dislocation of the Yin people, I now turn to discussing trauma during the Shang-Zhou transition as it relates to the Yin people. Trauma and crisis, as argued by Berlant (2010, 2011), involve navigating that which is overwhelming in the ordinary spheres of life. We then must first identify what the Yin people were navigating. As discussed above, following the conquest and abandonment of Anyang, invaluable bronze and jade objects (both as plunder and newly produced items) from the densely populated Late Shang capital found their way into Zhou-dominated spaces, perhaps most prominently in the carefully curated burial assemblages of the Zhou elite and their allies.

Potent in ritual and political spheres, these objects were central to Shang political economies and religious performances (Chang 1983, Li M. 2018). From the sprawling workshops at Anyang to the diffuse resource and exchange networks reaching far beyond the realm of Shang culture (see Campbell 2018, Jing et al. 2013, Keightley 2012, Li M. 2018, Li Y. 2022, Rawson et

al. 2020), enfolded within the bronze and jade objects were the myriad of people, things, and places involved in their production and exchange. As such, the production and exchange of these potent objects implicated diverse forms of lifeways that animated their existence and capacities.

Through the artisans' everyday rhythms of production, the circulation of raw materials entangling an expansive array of communities, continual interaction between Shang workshops, the exchange of these objects within elite networks and their roles in maintaining the vital Shang ancestral hierarchy, and the performative use of bronze and jade assemblages by Shang rulers, these objects ordered the ordinary spaces of Anyang and were immanent to its social structure. Their dispossession following the conquest would then have destabilized not just elite lineages and the royal court, but also the diverse people whose ordinary spaces and everyday lives were intimately tied to the production and presence of these objects in the Shang world.

As a violent episode, the conquest and fall of the Shang state also involved a rupture of both the complex social structures that underpinned the daily rhythms of communities throughout the Central Plains and the affective capacities of these communities to express and mediate their lives in the world around them. The conquest of the Shang and the expansion of the Zhou state in the Central Plains effectively severed the extensive social and exchange networks from Shang structures of power. In doing so, the transition fundamentally realigned the social dynamics of ordinary spaces, from the settlements at the northern edges of the Shang domain that were hubs of interaction in vital northern exchange and political networks to the workshops that relied on the flow of resources, knowledge, and labor through Shang-dominated networks. Further, in one of the most consequential processes of the transition, the displacement of the Shang throughout large swathes of early China induced another aspect of the transition in which the Yin people would have to continually adjust. That is, displaced to new locales with their own complex histories, the

Yin people were confronted with the reality of navigating new worlds while simultaneously dealing with the fall of their own. The dynamics of dispossession, rupture, and displacement of the transition represent not a single event in the history of the Shang and Zhou, but an ever-unfolding process that was differentially felt, experienced, and mediated by the Yin people.

The common theme in what I describe as the Yin people's ongoing trauma is the location of this trauma in the experiences of the everyday and that which arises in the ordinary where the Yin people continually adjusted to the varied intensities of their changing worlds. Here ordinary is that "zone of convergence of many histories, where people manage the incoherence of lives that proceed in the face of threats to the good life they imagine" (Berlant 2011:10). Within the ordinary, the Yin people would undergo ceaseless passages in their lifeways as the traumatic events of the transition unfolded, became legible, and shaped the (re)emergence of Shang traditions and practices within Zhou society.

Based on the data that we have on the Yin people, this process is perhaps most prominent in the physical arrangements of their lived contexts. Examining the immediate environment to understand how people responded and adapted to periods of social change is not unique to this study. For example, in a study of a town reeling from the collapse of the steel mill that was its economic foundation, Valerine Walkerdine (2010) explores how the changing material and social landscape of the town determines the types of communal forms possible and how local residents attempted to adapt to this change by instituting practices that allow for the regeneration of communal bonds. Further, Walkerdine tells of how the long-time members of the town's community attempted to mend the bonds and regenerate the town through the act of putting on a Christmas lights display. What is essential to our discussion here is the demonstration that a community's way of being and its continuity is intimately (affectively) linked to its material

surroundings. For the Yin people navigating the incoherencies of the ruptures to their everyday lives, the continuance of a practice that was commonplace in Late Shang settlements proved to be a powerful avenue in mediating the traumas of the transition and embedding Shang knowledge and traditions within Zhou society.

The co-presence of living, production, and burial spaces were a common arrangement in Zhou centers; and as noted above, in Zhouyuan, *juzang heyi* burials far outnumber burials in dedicated cemeteries (Lei and Cai 2018). Within these ordinary spaces where the Yin people lived and worked and where the world around them—from borderland interactions at the edge of the Zhou world to the micropolitical dynamics of workshops in Zhou centers—was mediated and contested, there existed the potent possibility of Shang practices and understandings to continually reemerge within their radically reoriented world. These Shang cultural components include the sophisticated bronze technologies at the heart of Anyang’s large workshops and the mortuary practices central to the Shang ancestral system. The perseverance of these practices reveals that what is central to Shang communities was the ability to mediate the complex world around them within the most proximate dimensions of their local environs. This capacity could have been expressed in the *juzang heyi* practice.

As argued earlier, while I acknowledge that *juzang heyi* spaces in the Zhou world were likely often occupied by the Yin people, the sheer number of these spaces in a multitude of centers and settlements—from the Zhou capitals in the Guanzhong and Luoyang basins to the numerous Zhou centers and settlements established throughout China during the Western Zhou period—also indicate that local groups were involved in the construction and maintenance of these spaces, even if the appearance of *juzang heyi* in the Western Zhou world was largely driven by the movement of the Yin people. The spread of these spaces were the primary spatial loci where many of the Yin

people interacted with the Zhou world and also where the Zhou people gained first-hand experience of a broad range of Shang traditions and knowledge. In addition, imbued within *juzang heyi* spaces were the potent capacities to arrange a myriad of relations and structure the diverse encounters that occurred daily in these spaces.

We then find living, production, and burial spaces and the people occupying and moving within these spaces undergoing a deeply entangled becoming. The social dynamics of *juzang heyi* were defined by a multitude of encounters happening within close proximity, from intense religious and bereavement rituals to the daily rhythms of cooking and production and the administrative activities involving the management of the complex networks that ran through these spaces. These encounters informed the capacities of the spaces themselves to draw in multiplicities of beings and influence the arrangement of social relations throughout Zhou society.

In manifesting these capacities, the material arrangement of *juzang heyi* emplaced and maintained an extensive array of relationships and knowledges on the landscape. For example, inter-workshop interaction and the participation of non-Shang groups in varied dimensions of production activities was likely a prominent avenue for the Yin people to mediate and influence broader Zhou society, something that would not be possible without the affective dimensions involved in the integration of living, production, and burial spaces and the intersecting social, cultural, and political dynamics involved in this integration. *Juzang heyi* capacities were clearly active in the development of the material traditions and their associated crafts industries in the Zhou heartlands in the Guanzhong and Luoyang basins, where Shang culture had a substantive influence on a range of utilitarian and prestige goods as well as ritual practices (see Li Ho. 2021 for more on the development of Zhou culture).

At the same time, these spaces are an expression of the Yin people's lifeways in the wake

of the downfall of the Shang state and are inextricably linked to their attempts at navigating the Western Zhou world. As discussed above, there is evidence for the large-scale movement of Yin people across China since the earliest phases of the Western Zhou period and, with their movement, the early Western Zhou landscape and its local and regional arrangements underwent a substantive change from the Late Shang period when the Zhou state was still forming in the west and the Shang dominated from their center at Anyang. I argue that the rise of *juzang heyi* spaces in Western Zhou urban environs reveals one of the primary ways in which the Yin people reestablished their lives in the face of the ongoing traumas of dispossession, rupture, and displacement. These spaces grounded their lives.

In confronting dispossession, the practice of constructing living, production, and burial spaces together allowed the Yin people to reformulate their ordinary spaces and stabilize the rhythms of their everyday lives. That is, by recreating familiar living environments and expressing their traditional understandings of being in the world,<sup>18</sup> the Yin people could rely on the continuance of intimate practices to secure their positionality in the Western Zhou world and structure—to a certain degree—the kinds of interactions that were possible in their living spaces. In gathering together the world around them, especially in the large-scale production of critical utilitarian (e.g., *li* tripod cooking vessels) and elite (e.g., bronze vessels) objects that required extensive interaction with diverse communities, *juzang heyi* spatial practices presented the Yin people with an avenue to mediate the social dynamics of the places they were living in following the conquest (figure 5.22).

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<sup>18</sup> See Maurice Merleau-Ponty (2012) for the phenomenological foundations of “being in the world.”



Figure 5.22. Shang-influenced pottery in burials at Jialicun argued by the excavators to be a cemetery for the Yin people: a) *Li* vessel (M12:1), b) *Li* vessel (M21:1), c) *Li* vessel (M25:1), d) *Dou* vessel (M22:3), e) *Dou* vessel (M18:2), f) *Gui* vessel (M22:4), g) *Gui* vessel (M4:3) (From Shaanxi 2017).

As the rupture of the Shang-Zhou transition fundamentally changed the landscape of early China, the Yin people found a way to continue to express their identities and material practices in the world around them, including the local Zhou communities who lived their everyday lives around or within these spaces. And although displaced to lands that were often far beyond the horizons of the Shang cultural world, through integration of multiple facets of their lifeways and understandings, the Yin people were afforded a way for communal, ancestral, and lineage bonds as well as cultural traditions to flourish and adapt to early China's shifting geopolitical landscape.

Integrating burial and living spaces also allowed the Yin people to recreate a localized version of the ancestral urbanscape that underpinned the important religious, political, and social dimensions of Anyang and as a result established fertile grounds for Shang cultural and ritual practices to persevere in the Zhou world.

Moreover, as the Western Zhou state and society continually changed, such as the expansion of urban centers and the realignment of regional networks (see Falkenhausen 2006, Li F. 2013, Li M. 2018, Ma 2009), the Yin people were closely involved in these changes. While a view of power as “power over” could identify the integration of these traditional Shang living spaces within Zhou landscapes of power as subjecting the Yin people under Zhou rule (see Göhler 2009 for more on the debate surrounding “power over”), a close inspection of these ordinary spaces reveals complex social dynamics in sustaining Shang communities. Within these spaces, there is substantial evidence of the continual reemergence of Late Shang cultural, religious, and technological traditions. These traditions not only appear to have sustained the historical identities of the Yin people in the Zhou world, but the ongoing emplacement of these practices within Zhou centers came to have a substantive impact on the development of Zhou society. The power dynamic that emerges in this case is one where the displacement of the Yin people, especially their highly skilled artisan lineages, were foundational to several dimensions of the power of the Zhou to project influence; yet the ongoing emergence of Shang cultural practices within their ordinary living spaces and the complex encounters that unfolded in these spaces, particularly in the Zhou heartlands, proved to be a potent force in shaping the limits and contours of Zhou society. The emergence of the Western Zhou state is then a process historically contingent on both the local dynamics in their ancestral homeland of Shaanxi and the Shang traditions, knowledge, and legacies that the Yin people embodied.

## Conclusion

The Shang-Zhou transition was a defining process in the development of society in early China. However, I argue that the monumental impact and historical legacy of the transition is founded in the accumulation of encounters within ordinary spaces and the compounding of everyday processes. In the wake of the Zhou conquest, the Yin people spread throughout the Western Zhou world. What is foundational to our understanding of the Yin people's influence in Zhou society is not just the Zhou court's attempt to constrain the potential of the people from the fallen Shang state, but more prominently it is the immanency of being demonstrated in the ordinary spaces in which the Yin people lived and worked. These spaces came to be defined not only as places where Shang cultural practices continued to be emplaced on the landscape, but also as places where the everyday lifeways of the Yin people became immanent to the development of Zhou society, from daily cooking practices to the bronze vessels and associated knowledge involved in the religio-political performances at the core of the Zhou court.

In navigating the overwhelming dimensions of the Shang-Zhou transition in their lives, the Yin people came to have a significant impact on the formation and development of Western Zhou society. More research needs to be done to both more fully detail the dynamics of the living spaces of the Yin people during the Western Zhou period and elucidate the material evidence of the diverse encounters and lifeways that unfolded in these spaces. However, this chapter has sought to demonstrate that the dislocation of the Yin people from their homeland in Henei was not a unilateral process of subordination. The influence and social roles that Shang descendants held in Western Zhou society were complex.

From elite lineages that served the royal court to artisans working within the workshops that underpinned the Zhou economic system, the people from the fallen Shang state were highly

influential within the Western Zhou state. The knowledge and historical memory that the Shang embodied would prove to be highly potent in the formation and expansion of Western Zhou society. Not only would Zhou craft industries benefit immensely from Shang input, but the Zhou state itself would also be indebted to the Shang people's extensive knowledge of the landscape in the former Shang homeland and the surrounding regions, which were early targets of Western Zhou expansion through the establishment of Zhou centers and subsidiary states. Indeed, the material traditions of the states of Xing and Yan, located to the north of Anyang, demonstrate a strong material link to Shang culture (Li F. 2013).

The interaction between the Shang and Zhou can then be characterized as a complex dynamic that existed far beyond top-down political control. This dynamic is on full display at Zhouyuan, where the presence of the Shang was central to its urban fabric and the social relationships that animated this massive Zhou center. The complexity of Zhouyuan workshop organization and the range of goods produced required individuals and groups with deep institutional and technical knowledge for the successful establishment and maintenance of these industries. This knowledge would have been invaluable to the newly established Western Zhou state and something that the now displaced lineages and artisans from Anyang had over two centuries to cultivate.

Zhouyuan was just one locale to which the Shang would move after the conquest of Anyang. Evidence for the presence of the Yin people is found throughout northern China during the Western Zhou period. The large spatial scale of the dispersal of the Shang throughout the Zhou world reveals the complex social processes involved in this mass movement of people. Moreover, for much of the Western Zhou period, the Yin people would continue to practice the religious and cultural practices that were central to the operation of the Late Shang state at Anyang. The legacy

of Shang society was then an active and influential component in the Western Zhou state.

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## Chapter 6: Conclusion: Overview of Arguments

Throughout this dissertation, I attempted to demonstrate that what we understand as the Shang-Zhou transition was not a single event. Nor can we define it solely by the violent episodes involved in the conquest of Anyang. Rather, the transition needs to be understood as a complex accumulation of events and encounters prior to and after the conquests. I further argued that the Shang-Zhou transition is imbued with extraordinary qualities precisely by the ways in which it was lived, felt, and imagined within the ordinary spaces and everyday rhythms of communities throughout early China.



Figure 6.1. Tomb M111 at Yejiashan (From Hubei and Suizhou 2020).

As manifested in the lives of the Yin people, the transition continued to unfold deep into the Western Zhou period. The dynamic is further revealed in the presence of practice of human



Figure 6.2. Tomb M1193 at Liulihe (From Zhongguo et al. 1990).

sacrifice among some communities and the absence of this practice in others. Large, state-sponsored human sacrifice was a common occurrence throughout the elite realms of the Late Shang state, most prominently in the royal necropolis at Anyang (Campbell 2018, Li M. 2018). While the location of the Western Zhou royal tombs is unknown, tombs of Zhou high elite indicate that the practice was abandoned by the Zhou inner elite. Tombs of the high elite, including the tomb of Lord Kang of Zeng at Yejiashan (M111) and a tomb of lord of Yan (M1193) at Liulihe (M1193), do not evidence the large-scale human sacrifices that were common in Shang society (figures 6.1, 6.2) (Hubei and Suizhou 2020, Zhongguo et al. 1990). Given that the Zhou alliance was made up of communities from the highlands—an area where many of the victims sacrificed in the violent rituals at Anyang originated—the abandonment of these practices by the Zhou elite could have constituted recognition of the violence inflicted on these communities and the rejection of this

violence by the Zhou.

However, recent excavations in the Jing River Valley, which is positioned at the entrance to the ancestral heartland of the Zhou state in Guanzhong, complicates this narrative. At both Yaoheyuan and Xitou, elite burials with characteristic Shang mortuary elements are interred with the several human sacrificial victims, 43 victims in the case of tomb M90 at Xitou (Song and Dou 2022, Xibei et al. 2023). Both Yaoheyuan and Xitou were large settlements located at the northern and southern extremes, respectively, of the Jing River Valley. Given that both sites are likely to have been home to elite groups of the Yin people, the question arises: why did the Zhou royal court, who rejected human sacrifices and ostensibly held power over these settlements, allow Shang descent groups in the Jing River Valley to continue this violent ritual practice?

The answer to this question lies in an infinitely complex array of factors that escapes the purview of this dissertation. However, we can preliminarily put forward that the Zhou likely lacked the political and ritual force to stop these practices, especially given the powerful positions afforded to elite Shang lineages, including the Wei Shi lineage in Zhouyuan and the Shang legacy state of Song at Shangqiu. Yet, as archaeological evidence, historical accounts, and some later narratives reveal, the Zhou was a state that used its military in multiple punitive campaigns before and after the founding of the Western Zhou state (see also Falkenhausen 2006, Li F. 2013, Li M. 2018).<sup>1</sup> The level of violence, including the large amounts of weapons interred in elite tombs (e.g., M111 at Yejiashan), indicates that violence—at least in the form of warfare—was a central component of the Zhou state, even if human sacrifice was not generally practiced by the Western Zhou elite.<sup>2</sup> The seeming conflict between the ruling mandate the Zhou sought to maintain

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<sup>1</sup> While historical narratives will often include an account of the conquest, some later narratives of the transition deemphasize the military aspects of the transition (Shaughnessy 1999).

<sup>2</sup> While contested, some scholars point to the large cemetery at Zhougongmiao as the possible location for the Western Zhou royal cemetery, rather than the cemetery of the lineage of the Duke of Zhou (see Chong 2018,

amongst diverse communities and the continuance of this practice that inflicted such violence among communities likely involved in the Zhou alliance requires further research. Regardless, the tension manifested in this practice—which was prevalent in Shang society—reveals another aspect of the long-term nature of the Shang-Zhou transition.

In chapter 2, I introduced a conceptual framework for an archaeology of immanence. I demonstrated that there is an emergent research paradigm in archaeology wherein archaeologists are beginning to more substantively focus on philosophies of immanence. This engagement primarily focuses on the “assemblage” as articulated by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari and largely mediated through the works of Manuel DeLanda and Jane Bennett. Following this discussion on the intellectual status of immanence in archaeology, I build on these works by offering a theoretical framework grounded in a renewed engagement with assemblage, affect, and power. This approach maps the emergence of power, which is contingent on the modulation of affect in everyday encounters. It is within the everyday that affect accumulates and power structures are effectuated. In this sense, this dissertation approached power and politics through an examination of the affective capacities of diverse multiplicities that generate unique social forms and lived experiences. It is within this framework that I analyzed the unfolding of the Shang-Zhou transition.

Chapter 3 focused on elucidating the structures of power that defined the Late Shang state. In examining the influence of the Shang elite in regional exchange and political networks, I argued that while the Shang at Anyang projected power into the extensive exchange networks that characterized this period, the influence of the Shang needs to be considered as one of an ebb-and-flow wherein sociopolitical relationships were in constant flux. In this chapter, I first investigated

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Falkenhasuen 2006). However, even though the cemetery was looted, there was no evidence discovered for the human sacrificial rituals seen at the Shang royal necropolis at Xibeigang in Anyang (see Chong 2018).

Late Shang period exchange and communication networks. I argued that Shang elites projected influence within the expansive networks of the Late Shang period through affective modes of power projection, even in the absence of spatial and political control of every network node. Further, this power projection was defined by a potent capacity to limit the capacities of diverse communities. That is, it was within the ordinary spaces and everyday rhythms of settlements that Shang power continually emerged (and was challenged), particularly in the sphere of craft production. Shang alliances were also examined in chapter 3. I argued that while elite marriages partially supported the alliances central to the Late Shang political structure, these alliances were also perpetuated in the encounters involved in maintaining the expansive exchange networks running through the Shang homeland in Henei.

I then moved on to discuss the urban dynamics of Anyang and the technologies of power embedded in this complex urban landscape. I also discussed the dynamics of bronze production at Anyang and argued that craft production in the last Shang capital was a potent arena for the realization and perpetuation of Shang power structures. I argued that the most potent form of power held by the Shang state lay in its ability to bring about a Shang-ordered structure in the micropolitical dynamics of the everyday. In the next section, I furthered this line of argumentation by introducing the concept of the affective state, which I defined in this chapter as a dynamic apparatus of capture and historically contingent political becomings ever attuning to modulating social landscapes.

The central focus of chapter 4 is the flourishing—defined as the two movements of escape and coalescence and the two faces of diversity and unity—of Xian Zhou society in the northwestern China. I looked at two regions to illustrate this flourishing, the Jing River Valley in the loess highlands and the Guanzhong Basin just south of the Jing River Valley. In the Jing River

Valley, I provided an overview of the diverse communities that occupied the valley and the intensifying socioeconomic networks forming during the Late Shang period. I demonstrated that these communities differentially participated in the complex networks of the valley. This dynamic of differential participation (and the associated flow of disparate pottery traditions) was evidenced by an analysis of scanned thin sections of pottery samples collected from sites in the Jing River Valley and the Guanzhong Basin. I then argued that the maintenance of these networks was dependent by intersecting activities at the local level (e.g., resource procurement, agriculture, pastoralism, exchange, maintaining local social and familial relations, etc.). Thus, rather than regional sociopolitical structures governing from on high, the development of regional networks emerged from intersecting local activities and dynamic inter-community links. Moreover, given that the material traditions and social dynamics of the Jing River Valley contributed much to Xian Zhou society in the Guanzhong Basin, it was argued that a foundational element of the Zhou state was the mediation of regional processes within dense local social networks.

Moving south into the Guanzhong Basin, I turned to a focus on coalescence at Zhouyuan. I first offered a brief overview of Xian Zhou and Western Zhou site at Zhouyuan. Following this overview, I investigated the processes underlying the intersection of diverse social groups and material traditions at Zhouyuan. I argued that the movement of diverse material traditions—and the complex social, economic, and ritual dynamics entangled with these traditions—into the Guanzhong Basin during the Late Shang period. Further, it was the flourishing of local social networks in the loess highlands that enabled the spread of highland traditions into Guanzhong. I also argued that the circulation of distinct technological traditions in the greater Guanzhong region during this period can be understood as an element of experimentation. Within this process of experimentation, the lifeways of diverse communities with particular social structures, histories,

and practices intersected in Guanzhong to form the Zhou alliance, with Zhouyuan being a particularly important place for this process.

In the next section, I presented an analysis of the possible connections between Xian Zhou groups in northwestern China and the Shang in Henei. While the received traditions point to fluid communication between the Zhou and the Shang during this period, a closer examination of the archaeological record reveals a complex environment that complicates the picture. Oracle bone records in Zhouyuan and Anyang indicate that contact could have been maintained between these two groups. However, in relation to the oracle bones at Zhouyuan, I argued the veneration of some Shang ancestors in Xian Zhou divinatory records does not necessarily equate to subservient status for the Zhou.

I then looked at the archaeology of the regions in between Guanzhong and Henei. Based on current knowledge, I contended that sustained political contact would have been difficult to maintain between Zhou and Shang groups during the Late Shang period. Following this discussion, I then turned to the issue of Shang culture in the greater Guanzhong region through an examination of broadly defined Shang traditions at Zhumazui, Zhouyuan, and Laoniupo. I surmised that the presence of Shang culture in this region was due to the earlier Erligang expansion. The local communities that adopted and continued to use “Shang” traditions were likely not beholden to the Late Shang state at Anyang. I concluded that while I cannot rule out the possibility of contact between specific groups in the greater Guanzhong region and the eastern-based Shang, there is little archaeological evidence to suggest the maintenance of large-scale, intensive state-to-state communication. More research is needed to delineate the nature of the types of exchanges (and the affects generated through these encounters) between groups in northwestern China and Henei.

In chapter 5, I analyzed the decline of Anyang, the movement of the Yin people, and the

fallout following in the wake of the Zhou conquest of the Shang. I first offered a theoretical framework that focuses on trauma and the lived experiences of trauma in everyday lives and ordinary spaces. In this framework, which engaged in heavily dialogue with the work of Lauren Berlant (2011), I mapped the traumas emerging among the Yin people in the wake of the Zhou conquest in terms of the ordinary. I eschewed an explicit approach to trauma that places an emphasis on an extraordinary event that “detaches the subject from the historical present” (Berlant 2011:80). As Berlant (2011:10) argues, “The extraordinary always turns out to be an amplification of something in the works, a liable boundary at best, not a slammed-door departure.” The focus is rather turned to the slow grind of everyday life and the mediation of crises in ordinary spaces of living. I also discussed how the Western Zhou emergence and the broader Shang-Zhou transition was historically contingent on the myriad beings occupying the landscape. I further argued that the Western Zhou world was substantially influenced by the lifeways of the Yin people and their attempts to adapt to the dynamics of change.

In the next section, I discussed the evidence for the conquests of Anyang. I held that decline of the Shang capital at Anyang following the second conquest and the movement of the Yin people in a landscape undergoing a large-scale geopolitical transition points to the trauma inflicted on Shang communities. In addition to the dynamics of deportation of some elite Shang lineages, evidenced by the presence elite Shang groups in Guanzhong and the Jing River Valley, I also proposed that some groups likely actively sought to migrate to emergent Zhou centers (in addition to the groups who continued to occupy settlements in other parts of Henei).

I then turned to discuss the archaeology of the Yin people in the Zhou heartlands, especially Zhouyuan. I argued that current archaeological evidence demonstrates that the Yin people were highly active in the Western Zhou world. After this analysis, I offered an examination of the

Changzikou tomb and the Song state to illustrate the processes underlying the ongoing decomposition of Shang structures of power.

Following these analyses, I offered a discussion on trauma and the Yin people. I presented an account of trauma that focused on how trauma was experienced and mediated within ordinary spaces. In particular, I focused on the *juzang heyi* phenomenon (the co-presence of living and mortuary spaces). Through a discussion on the dynamics of dispossession, rupture, and displacement, I argued that what was central to the lifeways of the Yin people through the transition was their ability to mediate the world around them within potentially ordinary spaces. I held this dynamic was expressed in the *juzang heyi* practice. As the Yin people navigated the traumas unfolding in their everyday lives, their lives and activities would come to be a potent force in shaping Zhou society.

The nature of the Shang-Zhou transition is revealed in a complex array of social processes, from the social dynamics of elite groups at the Late Shang capital and the intersecting activities of diverse communities in the loess highlands to Zhou military campaigns and the varied movements of the Yin people. While I have focused on a broad spatial and temporal setting in approaching the transition, a vast array of processes related to the transition remains to be researched. I sincerely hope that future research will continue to elucidate the Shang-Zhou transition and its myriad manifestations.

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