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青銅器是中國古代文物最富有特色的門類之一,所有接觸過輝煌的中華傳統文化的人們,都認識到中國古代青銅器的重要歷史價值和美術成就。青銅器在中國的萌生演進,綿延歷幾千年,其出土的範圍幾乎遍及各地,而陝西是發現青銅器最多的中心,自兩千年前的西漢,即有獲得青銅器的記錄,隨后史不絕書,近現代的發現為數更多。現代考古學在中國建立以后,又連續有青銅器的重大發現,種種珍品,受到海內外的普遍重視。陝西不愧是古代青銅器的寶藏,只要翻閱李西興先生等位編著的《陝西青銅器》,相信大家會有同感。

中國青銅器的起源,目前還是一個處于探索階段的研究課題。迄今時代最早的銅質遺物,當推 1973 年陝西臨潼姜寨仰韶文化半坡類型房屋基址出土的銅片,根據有關的碳 14 測定,其年代約在公元前 4700 年左右。比這個例子晚些的其他早期銅器,不少也出于西北。因此,研究青銅器怎樣在中國興起,陝西實占有非常重要的位置。

陝西出土的商周青銅器,有着明顯的特點,是中國文物中的瑰寶。

商朝的首都在今河南省,與其西土今陝西一帶相距不遠。由近年考古發掘知道,在商代前期,即商文化的二里崗期,商文化的影響已經深入陝西。華縣、藍田、耀縣等地,都找到這一時期商文化的遺址,而典型的二里崗期青銅器見于銅川的三里洞。這些地點都靠近渭水一帶。

特別值得注意的是,后來成為周人發祥地的今岐山、扶風兩縣間的周原,也發現有商文化二里崗期風格的青銅器。例如岐山京當出土的觚,扶風法門出土的鬲和杯,其年代均稍晚于二里崗期。這一點對了解商周的文化關系頗為重要。

商代后期,即商文化殷墟期的青銅器,在渭水一綫發現的也很多,可舉出華縣、藍田、耀縣、西安、禮泉、武功、扶風、岐山、寶鷄等地點。屬于西安市的長安縣大原村曾出土乙卯尊,有較長銘文,是陝西所見商代金文中最重要的。在西安老牛坡找到了規模相當大的這一時期遺址,與之毗連的還有袁家崖,均有青銅器出土。這些地點,據研究應屬于商朝的諸侯崇國。

陝西北部靠近黄河的地方,包括榆林、綏德、吳堡、清澗、延川、延長等地, 也出有商代后期的青銅器,但有若干地方特色,可以同黄河彼岸山西省的一些 地點劃為一個文化區域。這種青銅器顯然有北方民族的色彩,其影響還及于陝 西中部,例如淳化就有這一類型的器物發現。

與此相對,在陝西南部漢中地區的城固和洋縣,所出土的商代青銅器有早到二里崗期的。這里的商代后期青銅器也有自己的地方特點,且與四川的青銅器有淵源關系,是研究當時青銅器非常珍貴的材料。

西周的首都在陝西,關中的大部分在王畿之內,不難想見,西周時期是陝西青銅器最繁盛的時代。

最著名的西周青銅器,大多數是在陝西出土的。發現器物最多的地點是周原。那里是周人的故都,后來封為周公所居。許多重器,如天亡簋、大小盂鼎、史牆盤、大克鼎、毛公鼎等,都出在這里。周朝建都的豐鎬,雖有大部分在漢代被掘毀,仍然發現有多友鼎等不少重要器物。另外,寶鷄是那時畿內諸侯西號所在,始封君系文王之弟,世代服事王室。當地還有少數民族居住,那里出土的青銅器也很豐富珍异。

周初青銅器直接承繼商代的美術傳統,到西周中期才逐漸形成莊嚴素雅的新作風,與商代以來崇尚神秘繁縟迥然不同。陝西的這一時期青銅器,充分體現了這一點。特別是從周初開始,青銅器的銘文便顯著加長,到西周晚年的毛公鼎,竟達到近五百字。所謂"周人尚文",應即指此。

青銅器銘文,即大家艷稱的金文,是研討中國古代歷史文化的重要依據。 陝西的西周金文,意義重大的不勝枚舉,例如臨潼所出利簋記武王克商,岐山 所出天亡簋記武王祀典,寶鷄壁方鼎記周公東征,何尊記成王營成周,岐山小 盂鼎記康王時征伐,衛鼎、衛盃記西周中期土地交易,寶鷄號季子白盤記宣王 伐玁狁,武功駒父盨記宣王南征。諸如此類,均有很高的歷史價值。

西周覆滅后,王朝遷都成周,秦國在西周的廢墟上興起。秦國的青銅器承襲西周的傳統,進而走上自己的發展道路。陝西隴縣、寶鷄、鳳翔、戶縣等地發現的秦國器物,已經顯示出獨特的風格。從春秋到戰國,秦國青銅器的形制、花紋,都有與關東列國不一樣的特點。

需要專門指出的是,春秋、戰國時期秦國青銅器銘文的字體,也不同于關東列國,這就是王國維先生所說的西土文字。寶鷄太公廟出土的秦武公所作鐘、鎛,屬于春秋早期,形制、紋飾尚和西周接近,但銘文字體已充分表現出特點。這種特點一直傳流到秦兼并六國以后,并且通過秦始皇統一文字,成為后世漢字的基礎。

戰國時期有的秦國器物,有着特殊的歷史意義。如傳出于蒲城的大良造鞅 戟,銘云:"十三年,大良造鞅之造戟。"秦孝公十年以公孫鞅為大良造,是變法 的啟端,這件兵器銘文的格式是"物勒工名,以考其誠"制度之始,同年代其他 列國還未見這種體制,實在是值得寶貴的。

陝西出土的戰國青銅器,還有一些原來不屬于秦國。比如咸陽塔兒坡所出 土安邑下官鍾,在魏國銘文之外,又加刻秦人字體的銘文,可知該器當時曾經 易手。在秦人侵伐六國的過程中,這種情形自然是屢見不鮮的。

秦的統一,也把秦青銅器的風格帶向全國各地。《史記》載,秦朝"收天下兵,聚之咸陽,銷以為鐘鐻,金人十二,重各千石,置廷宫中"。這十二個大銅人可能是中國歷史上最龐大的青銅器,可惜早被銷毀,不可復見了。現在臨潼始皇陵發現的秦代青銅器,質量十分精良,表明了當時工藝發展的高度。西漢建都長安,青銅器又有新的進步。茂陵陪葬坑的鎏金銅馬、鎏金竹節熏爐等寶器,代表着這方面最高的工藝水平,堪稱漢代青銅器的冠冕。

近代集中著錄陝西青銅器的書籍,較早的有 1934 年陝西省志館所編《陝西金石志》,雖所收有限,確有草創之功。1960年,陝西省博物館、陝西省文管會編有《青銅器圖釋》,輯入 1957年以前入藏的容器、樂器 129件,唐蘭先生所撰序言尤多創見。到七十年代,陝西文物考古工作中出土商周青銅器已達3000多件,陝西省考古研究所、陝西省文管會和陝西省博物館加以輯集,編為《陝西出土商周青銅器》六冊,自 1979年開始出版。陝西發現的大量銘文,有吳鎮烽先生編成《陝西金文匯編》,于 1989年問世。這些都是對陝西青銅器研究的重要貢獻。迄今缺少的是全部以彩色圖版表現,既是文物著錄,本身又是美術品的專書。

李西興先生等陝西學者,在文物考古界工作有年,對于青銅器研究尤擅勝場。他們應陝西人民美術出版社之約,適應學術界、美術界和廣大社會的需要,殫精盡力,編出這部《陝西青銅器》,令人深感欣幸。書中共收入陝西各地所出重要青銅器300多件(組),全部彩版印制,附有詳細說明,精美完備,為前此所未有。書中文字深入淺出,集學術性、資料性、鑒賞性為一體,特別是中英文對照,適合海內外各方面讀者閱讀。讀者通過這部書,不僅能認識陝西古代青銅器概貌,而且可以由之了解中國傳統文化的奧蘊,體會青銅時代美術的神髓,希望不要交臂失之。

一九九四年五月于北京昌運宮

Preface

Li Xueqin

In the ancient Chinese cultural relics, bronzeware is one of the branches that a richest in colour, those who have come into contact with the brilliant traditional Chinese culture see the important historical value and artistic achievemen of the ancient Chinese bronzeware. The germination and evolution of bronzeware in China has witnessed a duration of thousands of years, its unearthing sphere is nearly spread all over the country, Shaanxi is the center where most of the bronzes are found out. From the Western Han of two thousand years ago, there was acquired the record of bronzeware, thereafter historians had never put down their pens to write it, in modern and contemporary times, the findings number most. After the modern archaeology has been founded in China, there have in succession been great discoveries, a variety of treasures are set much value on both at home and abroad. Shaanxi proves itself to be the precious deposits of the ancient bronzeware. If you leaf through *The Shaanxi Bronzes* compiled by Li Xixing etc. I believe we shall have the same feeling.

The origin of the Chinese bronzeware, up to the present, is still a problem awaing our exploring. The bronze remains of the earliest age to date ought to be the bronze piece unearthed at the Banpo type of house base site of Yangshao Culte in Jiangzhai of Lintong in Shaanxi in 1973. According to the carbon—14 determination, its dating is about 4700B. C. later than this finding, there are follo by a good few unearthed in the Northwest of China. Hence, to study how the bronzeware arose in China, Shaanxi holds an exceedingly important position.

he bronzes of the Shang and Zhou unearthed in Shaanxi have outstanding features, they are really treasures of Shaanxi.

The capital of the Shang Dynasty is in today's Henan Province not far from the west land Shaanxi area. From the archaeological excavations, it can be seen that in the earlier stage of the Shang, that is, the Erligang Period of the Shang culture, which had in—depth influence on Shaanxi. In the places of Huaxian, Lantian and Yaoxian, where the sites of the Shang culture of this period can be found, whereas the typical bronze vessels of Erligang are seen in Sanlidong of Tongchuan. These places are close to the Wei River thereabout. What merits special notice is that between Qishan and Fufeng is Zhouyuan which later on became the cradle f the Zhou people, at this place there have been found out the bronze vessels with the style of the Erligang Period of Shang culture, for instance, the gu (wine vessel) unearthed in Jingdang of Qishan, the li (cooking vessel) and cup, their dating are somewhat later than that of Erligang Period. This is very important in the understanding of the relation between the cultures of the Shang and Zhou.

n the later stage of the Shang, the bronzes of the Yin Ruins Period of Shang culture, in the area along the Wei River there are found a lot of them, such as Huaxian, Lantian, Yaoxian, Liquan, Wugong, Fufeng, Qishan, Baoji and other places. At Dayuan Village of Chang'an County in Xi'an City there is unearthed Yimao zun with a relative lengthy inscription which is the most important one in the bronze inscriptions that have ever been found out. In Laoniupo of Xi'an is found the site of the bronzes of this period on a fairly large scale, adjacent to this place is Yuanjiaya, where the bronzes are also unearthed. These spots, according to researches, ought to have been the vassal state of Chong of the Shang Dynasty.

n Northern Shaanxi, the places near the Yellow River, including Yulin, Suide, Wubao, Qingjian, Yanchuan and Yanchang, there are also unearthed the bronzes of the later stage of the Shang Dynasty, but they have some local features, hence toether with some places over the other bank of the Yellow River, it can be put under a separate cultural region. This kind of bronze vessels have apparently the characteristics of the north people, its influence has spread to the middle part of Shaanxi, for instance, in Chunhua this type of vessels are found out.

Opposite to this, in Southern Shaanxi, in Chenggu and Yangxian of Hanzhong City, there are unearthed the bronzes of the Shang Dynasty that can be traced back to as early as the Erligang Period. The bronzes of the later stage of the Shang here have also the local features, and have some close connection with those of Sihuan. These are valuable material for the study of the bronzes of that time.

The capital of the Western Zhou was in Shaanxi, the majority of Guanzhong was in the royal domain, it can be imagined that the Western Zhou Period was the most prosperous times of the bronzeware in Shaanxi.

The most famous bronze vessels of the Western Zhou are mostly unearthed in Shaanxi. The place where most of the vessels are found is Zhouyuan which is the former capital of the Zhou people, later on it was granted as field for Duke Zhou to reside. Many valuable treasures, such as Tianwang gui (food container), the large and small Yu ding (tripod), big Ke din, Mao Yin ding, scribe Qiang' plate, are all unearthed here. In Feng and Hao where the capitals were built in the earlier stage of Zhou, though there were a large part of the vessels that had been ruined in digging in the Han Dynasty, there are a good few of important vessels discovered, such as Duoyou ding. In addition, Baoji was the seat of the vassal state of West Guo in the royal domain, the first enfeoffed prince was the younger brother of King Wenwang of Zhou, who was in service of the royal court for generations, besides, there were the national minorities living there and the bronzes unearthed there are very rich and valuable.

In the earlier stage of the Zhou, the bronzeware directly inherited the artistic tradition of the Shang Dynasty, the solemn, plain and graceful style had not been gradually formed until the middle stage of the Zhou, which was quite different from the mysterious and complicated one of the Shang Dynasty. The bronzeware of this period in Shaanxi has fully reflected it. Especially from the earlier years of the Zhou, the bronze inscriptions began to be obviously lengthened, up to the last years of the Western Zhou, the inscription of Mao Yin ding should amount to 500 characters. The so—called "the Zhou people honour the ebellishments of writing" refers to this.

he inscription on the bronze vessels, as the people would like to call it "bronze script" is the

important basis on which the ancient Chinese history is discussed. The bronze script of the Western Zhou in Shaanxi with great significance are too numerous to count, for example, the Li gui unearthed in Lintong recording how King Wuwang of the Zhou conquered the Shang, the Tianwang gui unearthed in Qishan giving an account of King Wuwang's sacrificial ceremony, the Square Sai ding unearthed in Baoji describing the east expedition, the He zun introducing King Chengwang's building the Chengzhou city(walls), the small Yu ding(tripod) of Qishan recounting the punitive expeditions in the reign of King Kangwang, the Weiding and Wei he narrating the land bargain in the middle stage of the Western Zhou, the Guoji Zibo plate relating King Xun'wang's punitive expedition against Xianyun(the Huns), the Jufu xu of Wugong keeping a record of King Xuanwang's fighting south, all have a higly historical value.

After the fall of the Western Zhou the dynasty moved its capital to Chengzhou. On the basis of the ruins of the Western Zhou, the Qin state arose. Inheriting the tradition of the Western Zhou, the bronzes of the Qin state went its own way of development. The vessels of the Qin discovered in Longxian, Baoji, Fengxiang and Huxian of Shaanxi have revealed the peculiar style. From the Spring and Autumn Period to the Warring States Period, the shapes and designs of the bronzes of the Qin have their characteristics distinct from those of the states in the east of the Pass (Tongguan). What is to be specially pointed out is that the typeface of inscriptions of the Qin bronzeware is also different from that of the states east of the Pass, this is what Mr. Wang Guowei called the West land script. The zhong (bell) and bo (large bell) made by Lord Wugong of the Qin unearthed in the Temple of Taigong in Baoji belong to the earlier stage of the Spring and Autumn Period, the shape and design approach those of the Western Zhou, however, the typeface of the inscriptions has shown its own features. This kind of features has handed down to the Qin's annexation of the six states, and through the unification of the writing by Emperor Qinshihuang has become the basis of Chinese characters of the later generations.

Some bronze vessels and objects in the Warring States Period are of special historical significance. For instance, as tradition has it, the inscription on the Daliangzao Yang ji, says "In the thirteenth year of Lord Xiaogong of the Qin, a ji was made under the superintendence of Yang, the ordnance officer." In the tenth year of Lord Xiaogong of the Qin, Gongsun Yang was appointed Daliangzao. This is the start of the political reform, the form of this inscription on this weapon is the beginning of the system of "casting the name of the worker or the officer in charge of the work on the vessel is checking on his sense of responsibility". But during about the same years of the time, this system in other states have never been seen, this is really worthy of ou valuing.

The bronze vessels of the Warring States Period unearthed in Shaanxi are not allof the Qin State. For example, the Xiaguan bell of Anyi unearthed in Xianyang has the inscription of the Wei state on top of which another inscription is cast the Qin people's script (type), it can be seen that at that time the vessel must have been changed hands. In the course of the Qin's invading the six states, this is a common occurance.

With the unification of the Qin, the style of the bronzeware of the Qin was brought over all the parts of the country. *Records of the Historian* records, in the Qin Dynasty "all the weapons were collected and brought to the capital Xianyang, where they were melted down to make bronze bells and

twelve bronze statues of giants, each weighing two hundred and forty thousand catties and these were placed in the courts and palaces". These twelve statues of giants might have been the largest bronzeware in the history of China. But it is a pity that they have been destroyed by melting and no more to be seen. The bronzeware of the Qin Dynasty now discovered in the Mausoleum of Emperor Qinshihuang is excssively superior in quality, it shows the level of the development of technolog it had reached at that time. When the Western Han had its capital built in Chag'an, the bronzeware made new progress. The gilt bronze horse, and the gilt bamboo—joint—like bronze incense bruner in the burial pit of Maoling Tomb representhe highest technological level in this respect, which can be rated as the best of the bronzes in the Han Dynasty.

In modern times the books that concentrated on the collection of the bronzeware in Shaanxi is Records of the Ancient Shaanxi Bronzes and Tablets compiled by Shaanxi Provincial Annels Association in 1934, which has the merit of pioneering, though it is limited in content. In 1960, Shaanxi Provincial Museum and Shaanxi Commission for Cultural Relics jointly compiled The Illusrated Collection of the Bronzeware, in which 129 pieces of vessels and musical intruments were collected, the preface written by Mr. Tang Lan had many original ideas therein. Up to the seventies, there had been unearthed more than 3000 articles of the bronzes of the Shang and Zhou in the work of cultural relics and archaeology in Shaanxi, which were collected and compiled into six volumes of The Bronzeware of Shang and Zhou Unearthed in Shaanxi by Shaanxi Provincial Archaeological Research Institute, Shaanxi Provincial Commission of Cultural Relics, from 1979, these volumes began to be published. The large amount of bronze inscriptions found out in Shaanxi were compiled into A cllection of Bronze Script in Shaanxi by Mr. Wu Zhenfeng, published in 1989. These are all important contributions to the bronzeware research in Shaanxi.

The scholars Mr. Li Xixing etc. of Shaanxi have worked in the circles of culturl relics and archaeology for years, they are versed in the studies of the bronzeware. In response to the fulfilment of the agreement with Shaanxi People's Fine Arts Publishing House, in adaptation to the needs of the academic circles, the fine arts circles and the reading public, with all their exertions, they have compiled *The Shaanxi Bronzes*, which is very gratifying to us. In this book there are collected more than 300 articles of the important bronzes unearthed in various places of Shaanxi, which are printed in full colour and appended with detailed description. The book is unprecedentedly exquisite and perfect. It is written in simple language to explain the profound content, incorporating the traits of academy, data and appreciation into a body, especially, with the Chinese—English bilingual presentation, it is suitable for the readers both at home and abroad. Through this book, the readers not only can know the general picture of the ancient Shaanxi bronzeware, but also can further understand the profundity of the traditional Chinese culture and grasp the quintessence of the fine arts of the Bronze Age. I hope you will lose no chance for having one of it.

May, 1994 in Changyun Palace, Beijing



前言

李西興

1982年初,陝西省文物事業管理局調集全省各地的文物珍藏,在陝西省博物館舉辦"陝西古代珍貴文物展覽"。魏姨娥先生是展覽内容設計,展品調集和布展工作的具體員責人之一。首屆珍展于是年6月開放,計展出文物珍品162件。那時我才畢業分到陝西省博物館陳列研究部不久,也參加了布展工作。

1984年6月,為了慶祝中華人民共和國建立35周年,陝西省文化文物廳文物局決定舉辦第二屆珍展。我受局博物館處和陝西省博物館館領導的委托,具體負責籌展工作。二屆珍展1984年10月1日開放,計展出文物珍品273件(其中僅11件沿用首屆珍展文物)。這兩屆珍展充分展示了陝西的文物優勢,展品組合和陳列設計方面均有所突破,在國內外引起了很大的反響。兩屆珍展先后調集了大批的商周青銅器,僅二屆珍展的青銅禮器組合櫃就陳列款簋、函皇父鼎、瘋壺等重器42件,瘋鐘和柞鐘兩套編鐘21件。以及岐山董家村窖藏出裘衛器群,寶鷄強國墓地出土的象尊、獏尊、鳥尊,陝南的牛觥和商周秦漢時期的各種兵器等。

兩屆珍展的撤陳和布展工作僅用了十六天時間。我們在安全更換 400 多件文物的前提下,配合羅忠民先生日以繼夜完成了全部文物的拍攝工作。記得有天夜里,羅忠民先生因拍攝工作緊張過度,竟突然胃出血。這部圖錄中的許多精彩的文物鏡頭,就是羅先生在艱苦的工作環境里嘔心瀝血的杰作。

二屆珍展布展結束后,我們計劃編撰出版一部《陝西珍貴文物》圖錄。但是由于種種原因,未能及時實施。1987年4月,陝西省博物館館長王仁波組織編寫珍展圖錄,我協助他員責組稿審稿和日常編務工作。然而時至今日,珍展圖錄仍未出版,許多與此內容相類似的圖冊卻相繼問世。

最近,陝西人民美術出版社約我組織編寫"陝西珍貴文物"叢書。我和羅忠 民、魏姨娥諸先生商量后,決定在兩屆珍展以及歷年來陳列展覽資料的基礎 上,先編寫一部介紹陝西青銅器的圖錄。原因有二:①兩屆珍展的文物以青銅 器為最多;②陝西至今尚未出版過一部青銅器的彩版圖錄。 商周時期在中國歷史上屬于青銅時代。陝西在商代是周人的發祥地,之后西周王朝又建都於兹,因此,陝西出土的青銅器以先周和西周時期為最多。西周青銅器的最大特點就是多鑄有銘文,其中許多長篇巨制,史料價值極高,堪稱《尚書》之遺篇。所以,陝西歷來被譽為西周青銅器之故鄉,鐘鼎文之淵藪。自漢代以來,陝西出土的青銅器屢見於著錄,據不完全統計,1949年以前各種著錄里僅標明為陝西出土的鑄銘青銅器就有300多件。1949年之后,陝西考古事業突飛猛進,40多年出土的青銅器已達4000多件,其中鑄銘者1000多件。這個數字還未包括車馬器飾件和兵器及秦漢以后的青銅器。扶風、岐山、寶鷄、長安、臨潼、眉縣、武功、淳化、綏德、清澗、城固、永壽等地一大批墓葬和窖藏青銅器群的出土,為研究中國青銅時代的政治、經濟、軍事和文化藝術提供了極其豐富的第一手資料。

商周青銅器上鑄刻銘文,最初僅簡單地標示鑄器的家族徽號或用途。西周時期銘文漸長,仍出于祭祀,戰爭,冊命,賞賜,契約,媵嫁等內容的紀實目的。東周以降,已有把銅器銘文納入倫理範疇的傾向。《左傳·昭公三年》載《讒鼎》之銘曰:"昧旦丕顯,后世猶怠。"《禮記·大學》載《湯之盤銘》:"苟日新,日日新,又日新。"(有人認為這段話是儒家對商代器銘的誤讀,但仍不能否定其中所滲透的倫理觀念)《左傳·昭公七年》載宋國正考父受三命后所鑄的鼎銘曰:"一命而僂,再命而傴,三命而俯。循牆而走,亦莫余敢侮。饘於是,鬻於是,以糊余口。"均為明證。西漢時期,曾有匯集古銅器銘文的書籍流行於世,武帝時的貴戚田蚡就曾學過《盤盂》諸書。能辨識古銅器銘文的還有方士李少君和大臣張敞等。東漢許慎編撰《說文解字》,也曾利用過出土的商周銅器銘文。宋代的青銅器研究熱就發端于辨識銘文,以期補經證史。清代乾嘉時期,樸學昌明,古銅器銘研究大盛。清季民初的王國維,創古物刻銘和典籍文獻互相印證的"二重證法",遂使銅器銘文和其他古文字資料的史證價值被充分地發掘出來。

自郭沫苦先生以銅器斷代為樞紐,把器型、紋飾的演變與銘文內容綜合在一起進行學術研究,開創了青銅器研究的新紀元。1941年,容庚先生出版《商周彝器通考》,使青銅器研究擺脫了偏重器物銘文的傾向。之后,青銅器的藝術價值日益受到重視。青銅器的裝飾紋飾不僅是古代匠師的藝術創造,同時也反映了青銅時代的意識形態。《呂氏春秋·先識篇》說:"周鼎著饕餮,有首無身,食人未咽,害及其身,以言報更也。"就是從意識形態的角度對青銅器紋飾進行考察的最早紀載。今天對青銅器的藝術價值所進行的細致考察有了許多超越前人的突破,但對其所反映的商周意識形態,仍有待于更為深入的研究。當然,