



Study of Decorations
on Ancient Chinese Bronze Wares

商周青铜器
幻想动物纹研究

414

段勇 著

上海古籍出版社

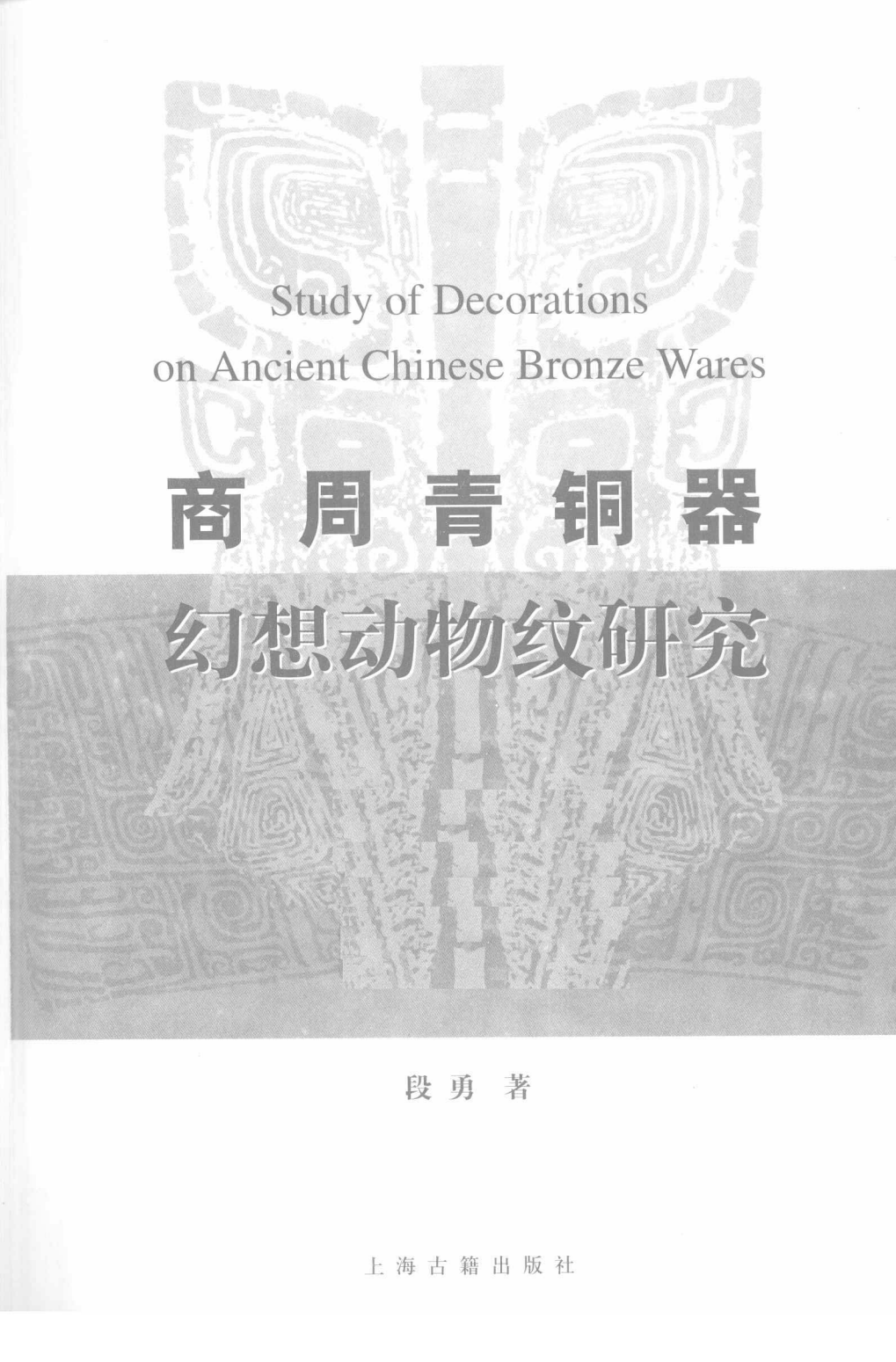
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序

段勇博士在文博系统工作有年,80年代末任职于中国历史博物馆,后到国家文物局,最近又调至故宫博物院。这样的经历,使他有特殊机会直接观察和接触珍贵文物,特别是引起他浓厚兴趣的古代青铜器。通过长时间的研究积累,段勇博士撰成《商周青铜器幻想动物纹研究》一书,即由上海古籍出版社印行。蒙他要我写几句话,正好我一贯认为青铜器纹饰的研究非常重要,故乐于从命。

现代的青铜器研究,与传统金石学的路数有根本区别。过去金石学家著录和研究青铜器,志在证经补史,他们所侧重的是铭文,以致许多无铭器物遭到忽视弃置,有铭器物也每每只有铭文传流。今天研究青铜器,则应并重其形制、纹饰、铭文、功能、工艺及艺术性质等方面,作多角度的综合研究,而纹饰一项尤有关键的意义。

青铜器仅有一部分具有铭文,但几乎所有的青铜器都有纹饰(素面在一定意义上也是一种纹饰)。在青铜器的各种因素中,纹饰的时代性、地域性最为鲜明,流迁变化最是敏感,就像服装的时尚一样。因此,我常说纹饰可称作青铜器的“语言”,能告诉人们许许多多的信息。然而,国内学者对青铜器纹饰的研究成果相对较少,这可能还是没有完全摆脱只重铭文的传统偏见

的缘故。

青铜器纹饰研究水准的提高,是与考古学的进步发展分不开的。现代的青铜器研究,本来是考古学的一个组成部分,因而同样适用类型学等考古学的科学方法。近年发表的一些在青铜器纹饰研究方面有突出贡献的论作,如中国社会科学院考古研究所王世民、陈公柔、张长寿等先生《西周青铜器分期断代研究》所收关于鸟纹、兽面纹、窃曲纹的专题论文,便是这样方法的实践。

段勇博士的这部《商周青铜器幻想动物纹研究》,正是贯彻同样的方法。全书在第一章简要回顾国内外学者对商周青铜器纹饰研究的主要历程之后,集中就这一时期最常见的三种纹饰——兽面纹(即饕餮纹)、夔龙纹和鸟纹逐一作类型学的分析,并且指出各纹饰的时代变迁与地域差异。各章后,又都附有该种纹饰的“标本图”和“断代表”,甚便于读者使用。

书中将这三种纹饰都称为“幻想动物纹”,是把握住了这些纹饰的共同特点。大家知道,用动物的形象去装饰器物,本是世界上诸多文明的常见习惯。中国古代青铜器上作为纹饰的动物,其特点是在自然界并不存在,而是集合若干自然动物的因素而成。例如所谓夔龙,往往角似鹿,首似牛,身似蛇,鳞鳍似鱼,足爪似鸟,这就和心理学家弗洛伊德在《梦的解释》里讲的梦幻人物一样,不是客观的肖形写真。由此出发,段勇博士进行了深入讨论,参考了文化人类学、神话学的不少论点,确实是很有启发的。希望段勇博士今后把这方面探索持续下去。

在阅读本书的时候,我还联想到多年来在我心中萦绕的一个问题,就是青铜器研究中专门名词的统一与规范化。这一学科分支有大量专有名词,包括纹饰,但诸家分歧很多,容易造成混淆紊乱。在翻译成外文的时候,问题更是复杂,莫衷一是。在学科业已相当成熟的当前情况下,这种现象亟需加以改变,应该加强有关方面的

研究整理,逐步推进,最后在适当的时机,召开专门名词的制订会议。相信做到这一点,会使青铜器研究更迅速顺利地前进。

李学勤

2003年11月3日于北京昌运宫寓所

Study of Decorations on Ancient Chinese Bronze Ware

I

Shang and Zhou (Western Zhou and the Spring and Autumn Period) Dynasties, the heyday for Chinese Bronze Age, have directly established China as a country with an ancient civilization in the world. The bronze ware decorations in that age were important carriers of social ideology in ancient China, and serve as the ciphers that later generations have been trying to decipher to gain insight into the society of that time.

The history for the study of China's bronze ware decorations has lasted for 2700 years ever since the Spring and Autumn Period. It can be roughly divided into five stages.

Embryo stage: the Spring and Autumn Period and the Period of Warring States (770 BC ~ 221 BC). *Zuo Zhuan* • *The Third Year of Xuangong* keeps the earliest record of the bronze ware decorations. *Lu's Spring and Autumn Annuals* indicates the name, shape, meaning and functions of the bronze ware decorations. Somehow, no illustrations are attached to the denomination, so it is hard for us to match the names with

the decorations they refer to, which left a myth through all ages.

Stagnation stage: from Qin Dynasty to the Five Dynasties (221 BC ~ 960 AD). The turbulence of the times and the tremendous cultural changes impeded the study of bronze ware decorations for a thousand years. The *Records of the Historian · the Aristocratic Zhaos*, *Ode to Two Capitals · Poem of Precious Vessels*, *Ode to Capital of Wu*, *San Li Picture Variorum* preserve some valuable materials about the decorations, but such materials are generally fragmentary and want of creative ideas.

Development stage: Northern and Southern Song Dynasties (960 ~ 1279). *Kaogu Antique Illustrated Catalog* by Lv Dalin and *Xuanhe Bogu Collection* by Wang Fu made great contributions in the history of decoration study: 1. Denominate the decorations; 2. Name large quantities of bronze wares according to the decorations; 3. Draw the decorations also while portraying the wares; 4. Study the implication of the decorations; 5. Study the decoration crafts; 6. Authenticate the views of the predecessors. The two books are epoch-making in the history of decoration study. However, the main purpose of these two people is to verify the classics and amend the historical records. Therefore their research is dominated by the inscription on the wares and only supplemented with the description of decorations.

Waning stage: Yuan, Ming and Qing Dynasties (1279 ~ 1911). Epigraphy came to its height of prosperity but also declined in this time while the study of decorations never regained its past glamour. However, *Xiqing gujian Collection* spurred the revival of the epigraphy, but it failed to achieve the same with decoration study.

Revival stage: Republic of China and People's Republic of China

(1911 ~ present). The introduction of the modern archaeology from the west into China reenergized the study of decorations. *Songzhai Jijin Collection* by Rong Geng is the earliest book of rubbings systematically recording the decorations, while his *General Research on Bronze Wares in Shang and Zhou Dynasties* is the first monumental work that comprehensively studies the bronze wares in ancient China and focuses on the study of decorations. Guo Moruo initiated the systematic and phased study of ancient bronze ware decorations while Li Ji was the first to classify the decorations by referring to the archaeological concept of the west. *Bronze Ware Decorations in Shang and Zhou Dynasties* edited by Ma Chengyuan is the earliest monograph on bronze ware decorations in China. Cheng Gongrou and Zhang Changshou made the in-depth, phased and dynasty-specific study on certain decorations. *Bronze Ware of the Ancient China* by Zhu Fenghan has been a comprehensive work on China's ancient bronze wares up to now.

The review of the relevant studies abroad: Hamada Kosaku has initiated the idea of combing the research methods of traditional Chinese epigraphy with those of the modern archaeology in the west. Hayashimi Nao is the most prolific expert with the greatest accomplishment among Japanese scholars dedicated to the study of bronze ware decorations of the ancient China. The approach and achievement of Bernhard Karlgren represent a peak for the European and American scholars who are specialized in this kind of study. Zhang Guangzhi systematically applies western theories in his study and attempts to analyze decorations with the aid of the computer.

The existing problems: 1. Contemporary scholars in China generally neglect the study on the meaning of the decorations, which is a deviation

from the time-honored tradition: to study bronze ware decorations from the perspective of their connotations. 2. The study on the classification of bronze ware decorations is still under development and the existing theories have their own merits and flaws. 3. Evident defect exists in perceiving the profound meanings of the bronze ware decorations by using theories and materials in the relevant areas.

II

With diversified patterns, large quantities, rich and changeable styles and prominent position in decoration, the animal design on the bronze wares prevailed in the Shang and Zhou Dynasties. The inexistent fantastic animal designs such as the beast mask design, Kui dragon design and the mythical bird design have long been the main target for the domestic and foreign scholars who study the decorations on the bronze ware in the Shang and Zhou Dynasties.

According to the shape of the most changeful part—the horns (or ears in substitution), the beast mask designs fall into the following categories: the ox's horn designs, the ram's horn designs and the hog's ear designs as well as few metamorphous designs. In order to achieve the effect of a direct-view, the English capital letters which resemble the designs in shape are used to represent them: the ox's horn designs are in U or V patterns, with 7 sub patterns and 17 styles; the ram's horn designs are in M or W patterns, with 8 sub patterns and 20 styles; the hog's ear designs are in T or M patterns, with 8 sub patterns and 6 styles; the metamorphous designs are in T, M, F or M patterns, with 6 sub patterns and 2 styles. According to the variations of the patterns, the

beast mask designs are divided into three stages and five sections: the first stage ranges from Erligang stage of Shang Dynasty to phase I of Yin Dynasty ruins; the second stage generally parallels with the period from stage II of Yin Dynasty ruins to the early Western Zhou Dynasty; the third stage is from the middle period of Zhou Dynasty till the late Spring and Autumn Period. According to the regional differences, the beast mask designs were distributed among the four areas: the central plains areas, the northwestern region, the southwestern region and Hunan & Jiangxi areas.

According to the features of shape, Kui dragon designs are in S, Z, W, L, O, C, A, Y and H patterns, 35 sub patterns and 77 styles. In line with the change of the patterns, the Kui dragon designs are divided into three stages and 9 sections: the first stage corresponds to Erligang Stage of Shang Dynasty till the Phase IV of Yin Dynasty ruins; the second stage extends from the early Zhou Dynasty to the late period of the Dynasty; the third stage runs through the Spring and Autumn Period. According to the regional differences, the Kui dragon designs covered five areas: the broad central plains areas, the northwestern region, the southwestern region, southeastern region, and Guangdong and Guangxi areas.

Mythical bird patterns are distinctively put into two classes: one is characterized by the bird head and beast body which is a greatly deformed design; the other is featured with the bird head and bird body design, a rather realistic design. The times when they were prevalent were different: the former prevailed in the Shang Dynasty, and some even outlived the Shang till the early Western Zhou; the latter were flourished in the Western Zhou Dynasty, and few of them had emerged in the late

Shang before this. Therefore, we call the metamorphous design of bird-head and beast-body as the bird design of Shang Dynasty and the realistic design of bird-head and bird-body as the bird design of Zhou Dynasty.

The bird designs of Shang Dynasty are in 9 patterns of S, Z, J, L, K, R, C, Y and H, with 4 sub patterns and 19 styles, while the bird designs of Zhou Dynasty are in 6 patterns of J, C, W, S, Z and O with 11 sub patterns and 19 styles. The former is divided into two stages and three sections: the first stage ranges from Erligang stage of Shang dynasty to Phase I of Yin Dynasty ruins; the second stage runs from Phase II of Yin Dynasty ruins to the early Western Zhou Dynasty. The latter is divided into three stages and four sections: the first stage parallels with Phases II and III of Yin Dynasty ruins; the second stage spans from Phase IV of Yin Dynasty ruins to the late Western Zhou Dynasty; the third stage dates to the early Spring and Autumn Period.

According to the regional differences, the bird designs of the Shang Dynasty were distributed in the central plains areas and the surrounding areas, whereas the bird designs of Zhou Dynasty spread in the northwestern region, the central plains areas and the south region.

III

Among all the decoration on the bronze wares of the Shang and Zhou Dynasties, the beast mask design is the most eminent decoration with the most mysterious meanings and the most mature structure. The prototype of the beast mark design is the sacrifices such as the oxen, lambs and hogs. However, what many scholars referred to as the "tiger" is in fact the "hog" which has huge ears and is placed together with the ox and lamb.

Usually there are the sword-like figures on the back of the hog in T pattern of hog's ear decorations, which should be the "bristles" of hogs recorded in the literatures. The conditions of three-sacrifice decorations on the bronze wares are in consistent with the depiction in the oracle inscription, literatures and historical remains, and are supported by the "Law of Trace" proposed by Hegel and "Minimum Image" Theory by Gombrich.

The beast mask designs engraved on the ritual vessels carry three meanings: 1. The indication of the functions. The portrayal of oxen, lambs and hogs on the ritual vessels which respectively contain cooked beef, mutton and meat is identical to people's practice in the latter ages—to paint corns on the food bowl and weeds on the basin bottom. 2. For sacrifice. *Book of Rites · Jiao Te Sheng* says "a man of honor in the ancient times who exploited the animals would reward them...he would stand in front of them and worship them." 3. Substitution for ancestors and gods. The sacrifice, the fundamental medium for communication between gods and human beings, and the creature closest to gods and ancestors, had become the symbols of gods, ancestors and even "emperors". According to the time of the stage when the beast mask design prevailed, the beliefs and worships represented by the designs have the closest relation with those of the Shang Dynasty (Shang tribe).

The bronze ware decorations of Shang and Zhou Dynasties were dominated by the Kui dragon designs, which were in the most complex forms and remained popular for the longest time. The Kui dragon, a link between the preceding embryonic dragons in the remote ancient times and the standard dragon of the later ages (the body is composed of three sections and the dragon resembles 9 animals), very probably stems from

the animal-based totem complex in the clanship age. Among the diversified Kui dragon designs on bronze wares in Shang and Zhou Dynasties, only few can be dated back to the birth of the Shang and Zhou cultures. Besides, only few are found to be from the core cultural zones of the two dynasties, and the Kui dragon designs of that time were usually placed in a subordinate position. It can be inferred that the Kui dragon is not a major god for either Shang or Zhou tribes.

The mystical bird design on the bronze wares of Shang and Zhou Dynasties can be classified into the bird pattern of Shang and the bird pattern of Zhou. The former may be the incarnation of the ancestral god of the Shang tribe (can be called dark bird design) according to its age of prevailing, its relations with the beast mask design and relevant records in the ancient literature. The latter is called phoenix pattern, and phoenix is a divined creature worshiped by Zhou people.

The transitional time from early stage to the middle stage of the Western Zhou Dynasty draws a well-marked line between the fantastic animal designs on the bronze wares of the Shang and Zhou Dynasties. Prior to that time, the fantastic animal designs were multitude in number and rich in patterns and mysterious profiles; after the time, the fewer designs were monotonous in pattern but vivid in forms. This phenomenon should be related with the "Duke Zhou's Reform" and reflect the different beliefs held by the Shang and Zhou societies. Shang people were pious to their gods, and thus their religion was called the Shamanism which evolved into the mainstream belief among the Chinese folks. Since the belief of the Zhou tended to be rational, it can be called ethical code, which developed into the orthodox thought in China.

前 言

中国古代青铜器纹饰绝不仅仅是一种装饰艺术,尤其在青铜时代,青铜器纹饰具有十分重要和独特的功能。正如张光直等人指出的:政治、宗教与艺术的紧密结合在古代世界是一个普遍现象,而在中国,这种结合就集中体现在青铜器尤其是青铜器纹饰上^①。

商、周(本书中指西周、春秋)是中国青铜时代的主要阶段,商、周青铜器是中国古代青铜器最重要的组成部分,青铜器纹饰与政治、宗教的结合也在商、周时期表现最为突出,因此,我们在某种意义上可以说:中国古代青铜器纹饰研究主要就是对商、周青铜器纹饰的研究。

商、周青铜器纹饰大致可分为三类:一类是动物形纹饰,一类是几何形纹饰,还有少量人物形纹饰。其中,动物形纹饰以其种类多、数量大、变化丰富、位置显著而在中国古代青铜器纹饰中居于主体地位(据张光直统计:“殷商的器物中有纹饰的十之九是动物形的”^②)。在形态各异的动物纹饰中,又可划分为两小类:一类是写实动物纹,如象纹、蝉纹、鱼纹、龟纹等等,均是自然界中真实存在的动物形象;另一类是幻想动物纹,即兽面纹、夔龙纹和神鸟纹等现实世界中并不存在的神话动物形象。写实动物纹虽然种类多,但出现在青铜器上的数量相对较少、各自流行时代较短、装饰

器类和部位较为次要而不显著；而幻想动物纹虽然仅有几种，但大量出现在青铜器上，含义神秘，型式丰富并且长期占据着大多数重要青铜器的显著位置，始终是中外专家学者研究中国古代青铜器纹饰的主要对象。因此，商、周青铜器纹饰研究的核心实际上就是对商、周青铜器上幻想动物纹的研究。

在中外学者的共同努力下，青铜器纹饰研究作为青铜器研究的组成部分，已从过去较单纯的义理范畴扩展到包括型式、工艺、美学、民俗等在内的诸多领域，取得了较为丰硕的研究成果并初步呈现出多学科渗透、交叉的发展趋势。

但是，由于纹饰既不如器型形象直观，又不如铭文能证经补史，且意义玄奥，难有定论，因此与器型、铭文等相比，纹饰较受近、现代学者冷落而成为青铜文化研究中相对薄弱的环节。

现存问题主要是：1. 与青铜器铭文研究和器型研究的广度、深度相比，纹饰研究仍处于相对落后的状况；2. 国内现代学者普遍忽视对纹饰涵义的研究，与我国历史上长期从义理角度研究青铜器纹饰的传统脱节；3. 对青铜器纹饰的类型学研究尚处于发展阶段，现有诸说各有长短；4. 在多学科协作发掘青铜器纹饰深层次涵义方面尚有明显欠缺。

为此，本书力图通过对古今中外有关研究成果进行较为系统的梳理，来凸显纹饰研究的传统，强调纹饰研究的重要性；根据笔者对青铜器纹饰演变规律的认识，对商、周青铜器上幻想动物纹的类型学研究提供一种新的参照体系；运用一些相关领域的理论和材料来发掘幻想动物纹的深层涵义，揭示青铜器纹饰与当时社会意识之间的内在联系，为复原三代社会开辟新的视野。

在类型学研究部分，本书据以分析的纹饰资料大都选自公开发表的商、周青铜器上的纹饰拓本、线图或照片，其中以考古发掘资料为主，辅以较可靠的传世资料。同一地点、同一时期、同类器