

赫章可乐

二〇〇〇年发掘报告

贵州省文物考古研究所 编



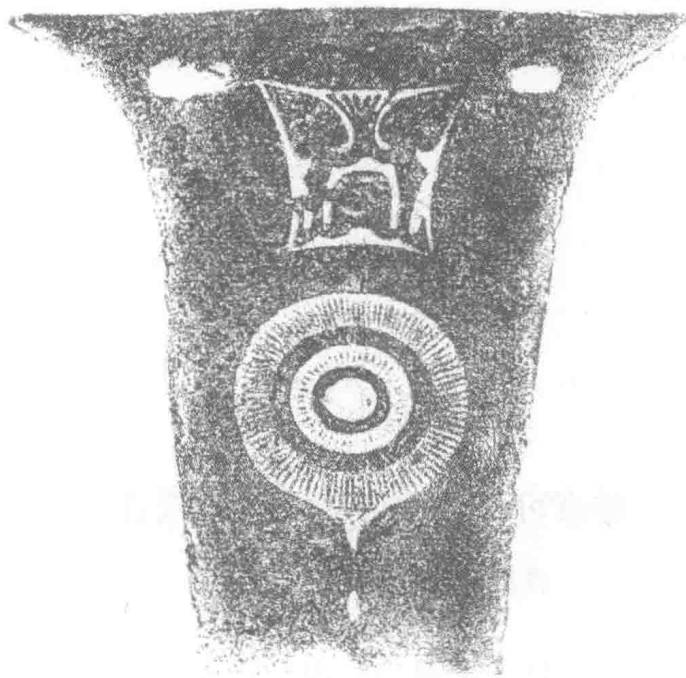


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序

贵州省文物考古研究所于世纪之交对赫章可乐夜郎时期墓葬的考古发掘，在新世纪初，曾经引起考古学界的关注。2002年1月17日在北京组织举办了“中国考古新发现学术报告会·2001”。为了较好地遴选出首届“中国考古新发现学术报告会”的考古新发现项目，我们广泛征求了全国考古界朋友们的意见，希望从2001年（包括2000年开始、2001年仍在进行的）全国数以千计的田野考古发掘项目中，根据中国考古学中史前、先秦、汉唐等不同时期，北方、南方、西部、东部等不同地区，选出有学术代表性的六项中国考古新发现，其中“贵州赫章可乐夜郎时期墓葬”就被确定为“中国考古新发现”之一，其学术上的重要性是不言而喻的了。

“贵州赫章可乐夜郎时期墓葬”的学术报告，在首届“中国考古新发现学术报告会”上产生了积极的、重要的学术影响，当时与会的在京考古科研机构 and 高等学校专家、学者，对此给以很高的学术评价，他们就贵州赫章可乐夜郎时期墓葬的时代序列、墓葬人骨保存状况、青铜器成分、相关形制及纹饰特点的青铜器分布与产地情况、不同形式“套头葬”演变关系等进行了热烈的讨论。参加“中国考古新发现学术报告会·2001”的新华社、中央电视台、人民日报、光明日报等十余家中央新闻媒体记者，对这一考古新发现进行了频繁采访。在这次“学术报告会”上，我曾经讲：“这六项考古新发现都具有代表性，具有重要的科学价值，有些已经在海内外产生重大影响。为了使这些考古新发现发挥更大的社会效益和科学作用，考古工作者有责任将这些资料尽早编写出发掘简报或报告，出版面世。”（《考古》2002年第7期）现在我欣喜地看到贵州省文物考古研究所编著的《赫章可乐二〇〇〇年发掘报告》即将付梓，这是令人感到十分欣慰的。

我为我的同行——贵州省文物考古研究所科研人员，在不长的时间里编撰出有新意、有特色的田野考古专著——《赫章可乐二〇〇〇年发掘报告》，更感到由衷高兴！作为考古发掘报告，其新意、特色主要表现在锐意的创新意识与严谨的科学意识。

《赫章可乐二〇〇〇年发掘报告》与以往编写的田野考古发掘报告不同之处是，作者在专著中增加的“发掘者说”部分。田野考古资料是考古学的科学成果，同时田野考古资料也是现代人文科学、社会科学乃至自然科学不断发展的科学研究“材料”或“资源”，这种“材料”或“资源”是供所有“学科”的科学研究使用的，因此让其他学科的学者们

能够起码读懂田野考古发掘报告，进而在他们各自相关学术领域科学运用这些考古资料，在科学研究中充分发挥田野考古资料的作用，是学术界对我们的期盼，也是科学事业的发展对考古科研人员提出的要求。考古学是对与人类相关的“过去”客体物质世界的“整体性”科学，当然它必将服务于当今“整体性”客体的世界。《赫章可乐二〇〇〇年发掘报告》中的“发掘者说”，在这些方面进行了开创性探索，使田野考古的“材料”或“资源”不只是面向考古界自身，也面向了更为广泛的科学领域，面向更多学科的科学工作者，使他们通过“新材料”、“新资源”的获得，出更多“新学问”、“新成果”，使各相关科学领域的学科得以更快、更大的发展！使田野考古资料真正“物尽其用”，使考古学自身的科学价值得到最充分的体现。当然，这种创新刚刚起步，它可能会有一些不足之处，我想这是所有科学研究创新的“通病”。问题是，只要创新的方向是正确的、创新的技术路线是可行的、创新的成果是主要的、创新中的问题在发展中是可以克服的，这样的创新我们应该给以支持。

《赫章可乐二〇〇〇年发掘报告》与以往编写的田野考古发掘报告的另一个不同之处，是其严谨的科学意识，它们集中表现在专著之中专门设置了“田野疏漏项清点”一节。这种严谨的科学意识，实在令人钦佩、令人敬仰！其实我们都知道，像其他许多学科一样，考古学也是一门“遗憾”的科学，可以说田野考古工作没有十全十美的。在田野考古进行中觉得没有问题，但是进入资料整理、报告编写阶段的时候，都会发现“不足”，都会感到存在不尽如人意的地方，都会不停地“吃后悔药”。田野考古发掘报告的编写，本来就是田野考古科学研究的总结，这种“总结”应该是包括成功与不足（或者说失误）两方面，对今后科研工作而言，过去成功的要继承、发扬，过去不足的今后要克服、改正。对于科学工作者而言，后者应该是其科学研究活动中更为宝贵的“财富”。只有这样科学才能健康地发展、快速地发展。但遗憾的是，过去我们这方面做得很不够。我也编写过几部田野考古发掘报告，在田野考古资料整理和发掘报告编写中，我也发现了当时田野考古工作中存在的一些本不该存在的技术问题或其他问题，我都把它们记在本子上，作为自己今后科学研究的借鉴。但是我们在考古发掘报告中没有把“不足”、“过失”写出来，没有把自己的科研工作中的“代价”，作为“共同”的“财富”让大家来分享。《赫章可乐二〇〇〇年发掘报告》在这方面为我，我想也为我们考古界树立了一个很好的榜样，而“榜样的力量是无穷的”！

作为历史时代考古学的田野考古报告，《赫章可乐二〇〇〇年发掘报告》尽可能多地将自然科学技术应用于考古学，这是相当难能可贵的。在其十七项出土遗物检测及分析中，几乎涵盖了自然科学技术在考古学应用的大部分内容。正如作者所说的，虽然有个别项目的检测、分析，目前“还未产生（对考古学的）直接作用，但是对于专业研究将提供有价值的资料。而且作为原始资料积累，将有其长远意义”。在自然科学技术应用于考古

学的科学研究过程中,《赫章可乐二〇〇〇年发掘报告》突出了考古学研究的主导性,正确处理了科学研究中方法、手段与目的的关系,克服了不同学科结合的“两张皮”现象,作者在每项遗物的检测、分析报告之前的说明,是这方面最好的例证与体现。

《赫章可乐二〇〇〇年发掘报告》主要内容是关于2000年考古发掘的夜郎时期墓葬的考古研究,这批墓葬的时代约相当于西汉时代。西汉时代是中国古代历史上从王国进入帝国的时代,是“汉文化”形成、发展、扩及全国并远播域外的时代,是以汉族为主体的中华民族形成与早期发展的时代。长期以来,学术界基本一致的看法是:秦汉时代是多民族的、统一的、中央集权的封建帝国时代。从国家的主体社会形态来看这是没有问题的,但是社会历史并不是这样简单的。发掘报告作者敏锐觉察到这一问题,即在同一国家的空间范围之内,不同社会形态共存的问题,以及由墓地布局反映出的主体社会形态与非主体社会形态人们的和谐相处问题。这些都是非常有重要历史意义与现实意义的科学研究。

刘庆柱

2007年10月8日

中文提要

2000 年秋贵州省文物考古研究所在赫章县可乐乡发掘 111 座战国至西汉时期墓葬，其中 3 座为汉式墓葬，108 座为地方民族墓葬。地方民族墓葬中不同形式的套头葬等奇特葬俗，在中国其他地区从未发现过，世界其他国家也不见报道。墓中出土一批地方特色突出的文物。这次发掘被评为 2001 年度全国十大考古新发现之一。

本报告分六编详细介绍发掘获取的田野资料，以及相关的基础研究结果。按照可乐考古以往分类惯例，报告将墓葬中的汉式墓葬称为甲类墓，将地方民族墓葬称为乙类墓。

第一编为地理环境和发掘、整理概况介绍。

可乐是贵州西北部乌蒙山脉东麓一个普通的山间坝子。在坝子周围方圆约 5 平方公里范围，已发现战国至汉代墓葬群 14 处、遗址 2 处，是贵州同期考古遗存最为集中的地点。从 20 世纪 60 年代以来，已进行过 9 次以上考古发掘。2000 年在可乐罗德成地和锅落包墓地的发掘，发现多种形式的套头葬和其他特殊葬俗，出土陶、铜、铁、玉、骨、木、漆、皮、纺织品等不同质地文物 600 多件。2004 年开始整理编写考古报告，充分考虑了与原有报告的延续性，在综合介绍分析的基础上，还逐墓逐件介绍了所有出土遗存的基本资料，确保所有资料的详尽、完整。对出土物还进行了 17 项检测分析。

第二编综合介绍甲类墓资料和相关研究。

甲类墓发掘主要为与乙类墓进行必要对比，非本次发掘重点。三墓均为修筑规整的竖穴土坑墓，随葬物以陶器为主，有少量铁制兵器、工具、农具。铜器很少，还有少量五铢币。根据出土的五铢币等资料，认为墓葬年代属汉武帝开发西南夷前期阶段。墓主人可能为汉王朝开发西南夷时从中原奉调迁入的兵士和应募迁来的平民。

第三编综合介绍乙类墓资料和相关研究。

乙类墓最重要的发现是不同形式的套头葬。这种葬俗 20 世纪 70 年代末已发现，以其独有特征而命名。其基本形式是用大型金属容器套在死者头顶上埋葬，使用容器以鼓形铜釜为主，还发现使用过不同造型的铜釜、铜鼓和铁釜。套头葬多数仅使用一件器物套于死者头顶，但也有同时用铜釜或铁釜套足、用铜洗垫足、用铜洗盖脸盖臂、在墓坑周边垒筑石块等不同形式的套头葬。除套头葬外，还发现用铜洗垫头等数种特殊葬俗。

乙类墓中约一半墓葬出土随葬物，但多寡不均，其中约三分之一墓葬仅随葬一件器

物。随葬物中陶器很少，多为明器，腹部饰有乳丁的折腹罐是典型器物，制陶泥料中添加大量植物炭屑，形成质地很轻的夹炭陶尤其具有特点。

铜器中套头葬所用铜釜有的铸造十分精美。HKM274 铜釜肩部铸造两只威武的立虎，显示出特殊的寓意。鼓形铜釜均用红铜制成，工艺及蕴含的文化意义都值得重视。

铜兵器数量多，种类为戈和剑。镂空牌形茎首铜剑和铜柄铁剑是最具特色的代表性兵器。戈内饰人物图案的铜戈具有强烈的原始宗教意义。一期和二期墓葬出土较多巴蜀式铜剑，提供了研究两地文化交流、地理交通等问题的资料。

铁器数量虽不多，但在墓葬中所占比例甚高。铁器类别和造型均属中原特点，明显由中原传入，传入时间最早可至战国中期。在当时西南夷中，是较早出现铁器的地区。

装饰品中铜发钗特点突出，证实了史籍记载的“椎髻”发型的确为当地民族的一个特征。玉、骨耳珰以及铜手镯使用较多，往往不对称佩戴，显现了墓主人生前对美的追求和多样化的审美观。

在不同质地随葬物的分类介绍中，对制作工艺以及器物反映出的一些文化现象等内容有所侧重，使读者能更多了解当时人们生活的各个方面。

根据墓葬出土器物的排比、相互打破关系等研究，将所有出土随葬物的墓葬划分为三期，分别相当于战国早期至中期、战国晚期、战国末期至西汉前期。墓主人分别属于当地民族中具有宗教和社会特殊地位的成员、具有武士身份的成员以及一般身份成员，虽然他们之间存在地位和财富状况的差异，但基本身份都应同为自由民。

第四编分类介绍出土物的检测分析。

这是从另一个角度对墓葬资料进行的综合研究。所有检测分析共涉及 17 项，为忠实反映检测结果，分项列题作专门说明。除说明检测的目的、方法和主要结果，便于读者把握要领外，同时原文载录原检测部门提供的检测报告。

第五编分别以墓葬为单位，逐墓介绍两类墓葬的基本资料。

以墓葬为单位对出土资料的分述，有利于报告的详尽和完整性，便于不同研究者查找出土资料的各种细节。分述侧重于墓葬结构、出土现状与随葬器物的图像展现。编末并列所有墓葬的登记表以及所有出土文物分类统计。

第六编为结语。

对可乐古地望、墓葬族属、不同墓地的关系、与省内其他同期考古遗存的比较、遗存反映的社会形态及文化定性等问题提出初步分析。这些分析只是报告编撰者的初步研究，不过多展开，不作为最后结论。

由于可乐乙类墓丰富的遗存和突出的特点，在贵州古代夜郎历史研究中引起特别的关注，报告对文化定性问题作了专门讨论，着重强调按照考古学文化定名原则，可乐墓葬遗存虽已揭示出一定的规律性特征，但对该部族最上层人物的墓葬尚缺乏了解，针对这类遗

存空间分布上开展的工作也很不够，所以，确定为一种考古文化的条件还不够充分。而在所属民族的可靠证据方面更还是空白，所以尤不可轻率将这些遗存指认为所谓夜郎文化，造成今后研究中不必要的混乱。

值得专门说明，编撰者有感于考古报告难以让专业之外读者群接近的事实，在一、二、三、六各编最末段，特别安排“发掘者说”一章，用较简洁、通俗的语言，略述该编基本内容，并引导需要的读者从报告中进一步寻查到详细的资料。这是本报告为尽可能满足专业外不同层次读者的需求所进行的一项尝试，与其他考古报告相比，体例有所变更。目的在于使考古发掘资料最终成为具有一定文化水平的公众可以直接阅读和利用的资源，促使考古成果的社会效应逐渐达到最大化，更好履行考古职业的社会职责。这种尝试还有待在今后实践中得到验证。

以往关于本次发掘的相关报道，如有不尽相同的资料 and 描述，应以本报告为准。

报告最后，附录原刊载于《考古学报》1986年第2期上的可乐1977年、1978年考古发掘报告。

Abstract

In the autumn of the year 2000, Guizhou Provincial Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology excavated 111 burials in Kele Township, Hezhang County. Among these burials, three were in Han style and the others were in local style. The special burial customs of “Head Encasing” and like in local burials have not been seen in other regions of china and abroad; lots of artifacts with strong local features were unearthed from these tombs. This excavation was elected as one of the annual Top Ten National Archaeological Discoveries of 2000.

This report presents the fieldwork data and results of relevant basic studies in six parts; based on the conventional classification of the past archaeological work in Kele, this report named the burials in Han style as Type A and those in local style as Type B.

Part One is the introduction of Kele’s geographical environment and the outlined procedure of the excavation and the data processing.

Kele Township is located in a common small flatland at the eastern foot of Wumeng Mountains in the northwest of Guizhou Province. Within the scope of about five square kilometers nearby this flatland, 14 cemeteries (or grave clusters) and two settlement remains belonging to the Warring-States Period through the Han Dynasties have been found, which is the densest distribution of remains of these periods in Guizhou Province. Since the 1960s, at least nine formal archaeological excavations have been conducted in this area. The excavations to the Luo Decheng Land and Guoluobao Cemetery in the year 2000 revealed many types of “Head Encasing Burial” ——to encase the head of the tomb occupant in a bronze *Fu*-cauldron, a bronze drum or other vessels——and cases of other special local burial customs, as well as almost 600 pieces of artifacts made of pottery, bronze, iron, jade, bone, wood, lacquer, leather, textile, and so on. This report was started to write and compile since 2004 with the consideration of the consistency to the published reports and adopted their classifications and terminologies. Besides of the comprehensive introduction and analyses, this part described all of the artifacts by tombs from which they were unearthed, as well as the situations of these tombs to keep these data detailed and complete. 17 types of examinations and analyses in natural science techniques and methods have

also been made to the unearthed artifacts.

Part Two contains the data of Type A tombs and relevant studies.

The excavation of Type A tombs was only for comparison to Type B and not the central motive of this whole excavation. The three tombs were all shaft pit tombs dug into very regular shapes, the artifacts unearthed from which were mainly pottery with few of iron weapons and handicraft and farming tools. Bronze (copper) objects were very rare; some *Wuzhu* coins were found. Based on the typological study of the *Wuzhu* coins, these tombs could be dated as the early period of the Expedition into Xinan Yi (the Southwestern Barbarians) by Emperor Wu of the Western Han Dynasty, and the occupants of these tombs might be the soldiers in this expedition and civilians levied to inhabit here.

Part Three consists of the data of Type B tombs and relevant studies.

The most important discoveries in Type B tombs were the “Head Encasing Burials” in various forms, which have been found in the 1970s and named after their unique features. The common feature of this burial custom was to encase the head of the tomb occupant with large metal vessels, most of which were drum-shaped copper *Fu*-cauldrons; other vessels such as bronze *Fu*-cauldrons, bronze drums and iron *Fu*-cauldrons were also used. Most of the head encasing burials had only one metal vessel to cover the occupant’s head; some of them also had bronze (or copper) *Fu*-cauldrons to cover feet, or to pad the feet with bronze basin, to cover the face and arms with bronze basins or to line the grave with stone pebbles, and so on. Apart from the head encasing, pillowing the occupant with bronze basin and some other special customs were also found.

About a half of Type B tombs yielded artifacts, but the amounts varied sharply: almost a third of the tombs had only one artifact unearthed. Pottery took very small proportion among them, and most of them were funeral objects; the bending-bellied jar with nipple pattern on the belly was the symbolic utensil among them. Plant charcoal pieces were mixed in large amounts into the pottery paste, the very light charcoal-mixed pottery wares baked with which were also the featured artifact in Type B tombs.

The metal vessels used for encasing the tomb occupants’ heads were usually cast exquisitely; for example, the *Fu*-cauldron unearthed from M274 had two powerful-looking standing tigers cast on the shoulder, which showed special connotation. All of the drum-shaped *Fu*-cauldrons were cast of copper, the metallurgical technique and cultural significance shown by which are both very noticeable.

Weapons took large proportion, the main categories of which were *Ge*-daggers and swords.

The most representative weapons were bronze sword with openwork-decorated hilt and pommel and iron sword with bronze hilt. The bronze *Ge*-daggers with human images on the hafts showed strong hints of primitive religions. The tombs of Phases I and II yielded more *Ba*- and *Shu*-styled bronze swords, which provided materials for our researches on the cultural relations and geographical communications between the *Kele* area and the *Ba* and *Shu* regions.

Iron artifacts took not too large proportion; however, the tombs yielding iron burial articles took rather high proportion in the Type B tombs. Their categories and styles were all of the Central Plains, clearly showing that these iron artifacts were brought in from there; the earliest ones might be in the middle stage of the Warring-States Period. Among the Xinan Yi, *Kele* was one of areas where iron wares the earliest emerged.

Among the ornaments, bronze hairpins had the most characteristics, which confirmed that the hairstyle of “*Zhuiji* 椎髻 (the conical hair bun)” was a feature of local people. Earrings made of jade and bone and bronze bracelets were also very popular, which were often worn asymmetrically, showing the pursuit of beauty and diversified aesthetics of the tomb occupants when they were alive.

In the classified introductions and descriptions of the artifacts made of different materials, the contents such as manufacturing techniques and cultural phenomena reflected by these artifacts were somewhat emphasized so that the readers may understand more aspects of the social lives of ancient local people.

Based on the chronological analysis to the unearthed artifacts and the stratigraphic relationships of the tombs, the Type B tombs yielding artifacts were dated into three phases corresponding to the early to the middle stages of the Warring-States Period, the later stages of the Warring-States Period and the end of the Warring-States Period to the early stage of the Western *Han* Dynasty. The occupants of these tombs were the social members in special religious and hierarchical positions, the warriors and the common people, whose personal statuses and wealth situations might be different but all of whom would have been free people.

Part Four consists of the examinations and analyses to the unearthed artifacts.

These examinations and analyses are comprehensive researches to these tombs from another angle. In total 17 examinations and analyses were done; to reflect the results correctly and clearly, every examination or analysis is set as an independent topic. Besides of the introductions of intentions, methods and main results of these examinations and analyses and the original experimental reports produced by the departments doing them are also attached.

Part Five is the introduction to the data of the tombs of both types by tomb.

Introducing data one tomb by one tomb as a unit is helpful to keep the details as well as completeness of the materials and for the researchers in different disciplines to easily find the data they need. The introduction stresses on the tomb structures, pattern in situ of the burial articles and furniture. The detailed tomb list is attached to the end of this part.

Part Six is the conclusion. In this part, the ancient geography and topography of *Kele* Township, the ethnic attribution of the burials, the relationships among the cemeteries, the comparisons with other contemporary archaeological remains within present-day Guizhou Province, the social pattern and cultural identities reflected by the remains are discussed, the opinions on which are only the preliminary studies of the authors and compilers without in-depth researches and cannot be regarded as the final conclusions.

Because of their rich yields and unique characteristics, the Type B burials in *Kele* cemeteries get special attention in the field of ancient Yelang history researches of Guizhou Province. This report has discussions on the issue of cultural identities especially and pointed out that the burial remains of Kele Township, although showed some features of regularity, still cannot be defined and nominated as an archaeological culture because of the insufficient understanding to the elite burials of the tribes or clans shown by remains of this type and the limited exploration to its spatial distribution. As for the reliable evidence for the ethnic attribution of these remains, what we have so far is still a blank. Therefore, we cannot yet regard these remains as that of Yelang Culture, lest it may make unnecessary confusion in our future researches.

What we need to explain hereby especially is, in the light of the fact that the archaeological reports are hardly understandable and accessible to the non-professional readers, the authors and compilers arranged a chapter of "the Story of the Excavators" behind Parts One, Two, Three and Six to describe the content of the corresponding part in concise and easy language, and guide the readers to the details of the data they need. This is a new trial of this report different from its counterparts to meet the demands of readers on different professional and academic levels, the goal of which is to make the archaeological materials a kind of cultural resource understandable and utilizable to the public, to maximize the social effects of archaeological achievements and then to fulfill the social duty of archaeology as a walk of life. The results of this trial are still to be verified in the future practices.

If disagreements are found in this report and the past reports or other materials about this excavation, the contents in this report should be taken as the standard.

The excavation reports of the years 1977 and 1978 in *Kele* Township published in *Kaogu Xuebao* (*Acta Archaeologica Sinica*) No. 2, 1986 are attached to the end of this report.

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