



東方文明的曙光

良渚遺址與良渚文化

The Dawn of the Oriental Civilization
Liangzhu site and Liangzhu culture

周 鷹 / 著
Zhōu Yīng

五洲出版
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Zhou Ying

郭成钢/译

Guo Chengang

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Introduction Searching Evidence For the 5,000-Year-Old Chinese Civilization

引言 求证中国5000年文明史

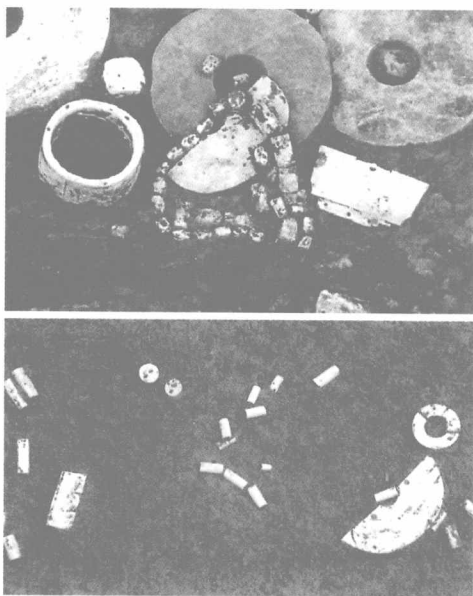
本性转型。

中国最早的文献《尚书》《诗经》有过夏的记载。20世纪20年代的中国疑古派学者曾经怀疑过与夏有密切关系的人物禹的实在性，也不否定夏的存在。20世纪90年代中期，“夏商周断代工程”作为“九五”国家重点课题启动。这一课题集合了中国几百位考古、历史、古文字、天文、物理学专家，目的是寻找“失落的年表”，证明夏的存在，并厘清夏、商、周三代纪年。

“夏商周断代工程”运用了大量文献学和天文学研究成果，但其结论在学术界没有得到公认，因为并未

达到两重证据意义上的证明。而即便如课题报告所称，以禹之受禅为夏王朝的开始，夏王朝的始年应在公元前21世纪前期，大体就在公元前2070年前后，夏开元之时限最多也仅只距今4100年左右。^①

西方考古学界定文明包括城市、礼仪中心、文字、青铜器四要素。对照此标准，良渚文化仅含有前两项或至多前三项要素。但良渚文化的综合发展水平显示出其已达到或超出新石器时代最高的社会发展水平。良渚文化是人类的伟大功业，它的突出成就表现在：全世界至今最精湛的玉器、石器和黑陶工艺及其所表征的社会礼仪制度，早期城市规划与大型工程营建及其社会组织系统，世界上最早的大规模犁耕稻作农业，早期科学技术思想以及丝绸、玉器、髹漆等生产为主的手工业的专门化抑或商业的萌生。良渚文化中心遗址良渚遗址是一个具有早期城市形态的大型聚落遗址，规模和品质全世界罕见，在人类文明史上具有惟一性和特别的重要性，中国考古学界称其为实证中国5000年文明史规模最大、水平最高的大遗址。良渚文化又是中国人创造的最早的形态完整的、与物质文化相分立的独立的精神文化，其核心是以原创、首创、独创和外拓为特征的“良渚精神”。黄河流域的仰韶文化、长江流域的跨湖桥文化、河姆渡文化、马家浜文化、崧泽文化等等发源均比良渚文化早，它们虽有更早的农业经济，以及描绘于石器、陶器、木器上的“鱼人”、“双鸟朝阳”这样的零散的精神文化图符和非常广泛的巫祝活动，但总体说文化形态凝结于生产工具之中，表现为物质形态的文化，未形成较为完整的体系性精神文化。良渚文化之精神文化发育显示人类有了比较完整的自我意识、自我认识。苏秉琦《太湖流域考古问题》一文称，根据良



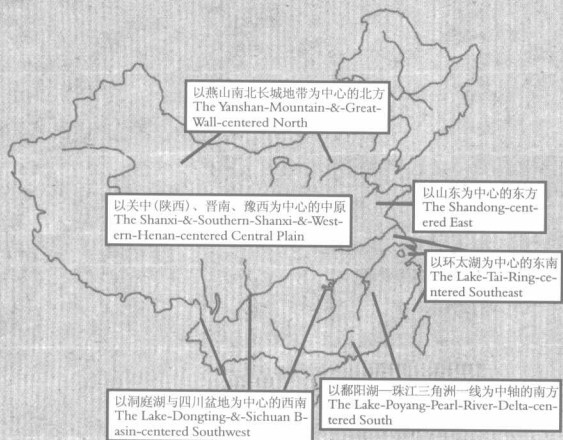
※良渚遗址玉器出土(反山)
Excavation of jades at Fanshan, Liangzhu Site

① 《夏商周断代工程1996—2000年阶段成果报告》（简本），世界图书出版社2000年版。

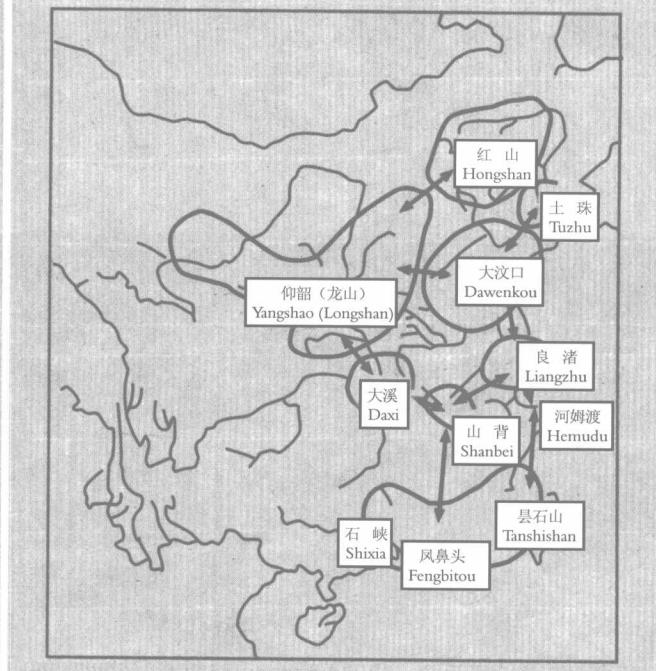
Every Chinese would now and then refer to the 5,000-year-old history of the Chinese civilization, unsuspectingly thinking that it is common knowledge. As a matter of fact, however, there is no solid scientific evidence that underpins this statement.

The Chinese civilization is one of the world's earliest and independent original civilizations such as the Sumerian civilization, the Egyptian civilization, the Indian civilization in Asia and the Indian civilization in Americas, but there have been controversies about the origin of the Chinese civilization. Some contend that it started with the Yellow Emperor; some claim that it began with the Dawenkou Culture; some declare that the Hongshan Culture was its earliest origin; some argue that it started with the Longshan Culture, and some contend that it started in the late years of the Erlitou Culture. Generally, the international academic community considers the Chinese civilization to have originated in the Shang Dynasty in the 16th century B.C. In another word, the Chinese civilization started approximately 3,600 years ago to say the most. The *Records of the Yin Dynasty* in the *Records of the Historian* (史记·殷本纪) is an important documentation that serves as the only reliable written evidence for the existence of the Shang Dynasty. The existence of the Shang Dynasty became firmly established due to the research and study conducted by Luo Zhenyu in 1910 on the inscriptions on the oracle bones excavated at the Yin Ruins at Xiaotun Village of Anyang in Henan Province, to the dozens of archaeological excavations at the Yin Ruins performed by Dong Zuobin et al. in 1928 and following years, and to other archaeological finds at the sites of both the Shang City of Zhengzhou and the Shang City at Yanshi in Henan Province on later occasions. The discovery of oracle-bone inscriptions stimulated a whole generation of Chinese scholars such as Luo Zhenyu, Wang Guowei, Hu Shih and Chen Yinke to seek new academic ideas. Inspired by the concepts of western history, they adopted new methods such as dual evidence and comparison of Chinese and foreign data to re-explain our ancient history, thus helping to bring about a fundamental change in Chinese historical research.

The *Book of Documents* (尚书) and the *Book of Odes* (诗经), which are China's earliest classics, refer to the Xia Dynasty. In the 1920s some Chinese scholars of the School of Discrimination of Ancient History questioned the authenticity of Yu the Great who was closely connected with the Xia Dynasty, but they did not deny the existence of the Xia dynasty. In the mid 1990s, a key national Xia-Shang-Zhou Chronology Project during the Ninth Five-Year Plan period was launched to determine the chronological framework of the three dynasties. Hundreds of specialists in the fields of archaeology, history, ancient philology, astronomy, and physics participated for the purpose of looking for the lost chronological table and proving the existence of the Xia Dynasty. A great amount of research results from the studies of related literatures and astronomical records were employed in the project, but the conclusions, for want



※苏秉琦提出的中国六大考古学文化区系(引自苏秉琦《中国文明起源新探》)
Six major archaeological cultural areas in ancient China proposed by Su Bingqi
In *A New Probe Into the Sources of Chinese Civilization*



※中国主要新石器区域文化(据张光直《古代中国考古学》附图修订)
China's major Neolithic regional cultures (revised on a map in *The Ancient Chinese Archaeology* by Zhang Guangzhi)

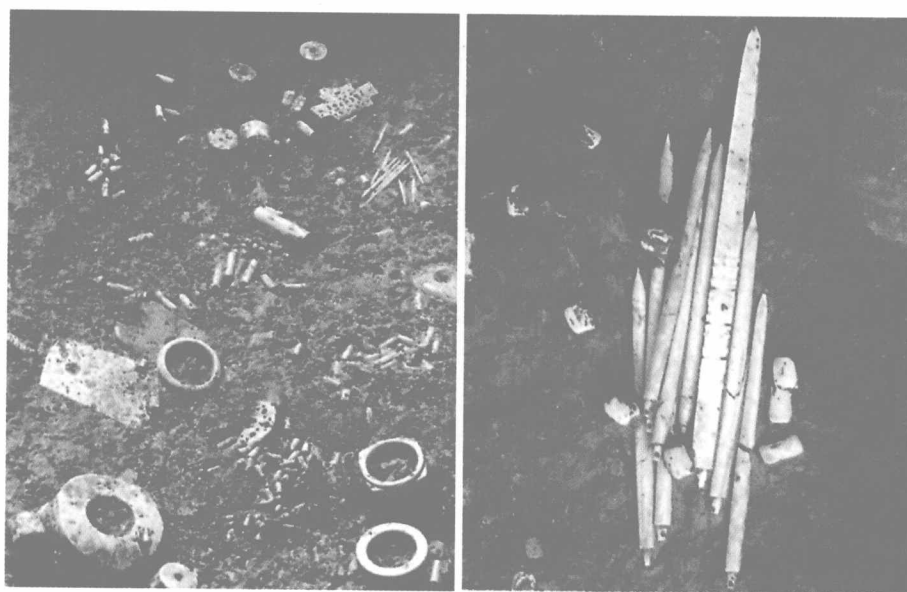
①苏秉琦：《太湖流域考古问题》，《东南文化》，1987年（1）。

②严文明：《良渚随笔》，《文物》，1996年（3）；《良渚遗址的历史地位》，《浙江学刊》，1996年（5）。

③张忠培：《中国古代文明形成的考古学研究》，《故宫博物院院刊》，2000年（2）；《中国古代的文化与文明》，《考古与文物》，2001年（1）。

诸文化等，“我们这个号称5000年历史的文明古国的黎明期历史虽然还是‘若明若暗’，但已决不是‘虚无缥缈’的传说神话了。”^①北京大学教授严文明在《良渚随笔》《良渚遗址的历史地位》等文中多次指出，良渚文化是中国文明的曙光，良渚遗址是探索中国文明起源的圣地。^②故宫博物院教授张忠培《中国古代文明形成的考古学研究》《中国古代的文化与文明》等文认为良渚文化已跨入文明门槛。^③本书持“良渚文明”说，为照顾习惯，行文仍称良渚文化。

良渚文化是一种集大成的文化，它对环太湖流域新石器文化进行了全面吸收和综合。马家浜文化、崧泽文化是其直接的发源基础。近年的考古发现又不断揭示跨湖桥文化、河姆渡文化对其影响的事实。良渚文化也与属龙山文化体系的中国西部其他考古学文化相互关联。良渚文化的后续文化马桥文化、好川文化、湖熟文化等是良渚文化的余末，而马桥文化、好川文化、湖熟文化等又是越文化、吴文化的渊源。良渚文化也是夏、商、周三代文明的重要来源。良渚文化与整个环太平洋地区的其他文化、文明类型，如印第安文明，有着相似性，并且也是其中的杰出范例，于世界文明起源研究不可或缺。

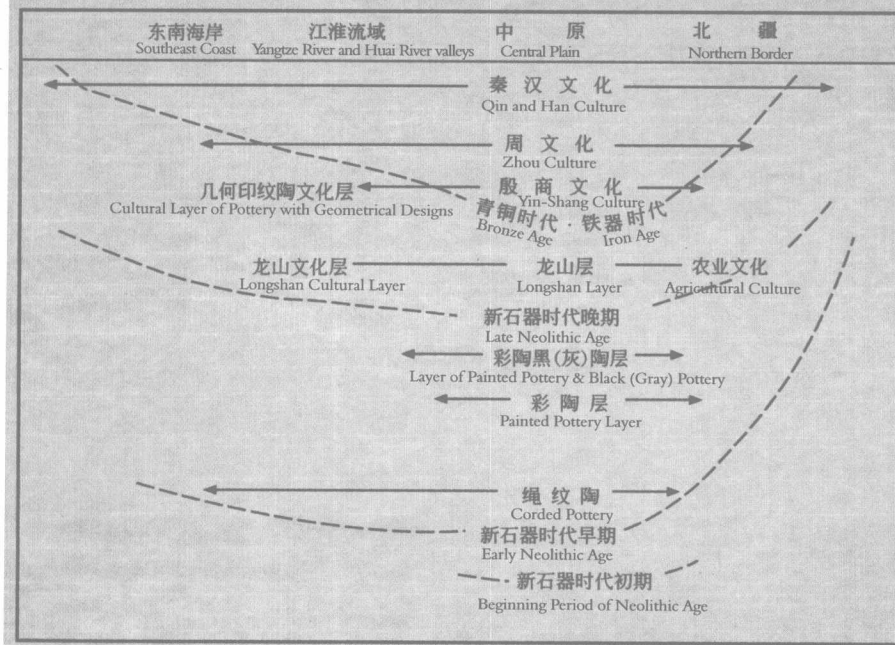


of the assistance of dual evidence, have not been acknowledged by academic circles. Nevertheless, even if we came to acknowledge the arguments in the reports of the project that Yu the Great ascending the throne through a peaceful transfer from another emperor marks the beginning of the Xia Dynasty, the conclusion could be that the Xia Dynasty started in the earlier part of the 21st century B.C., that is, around 2070 B.C. Computed on the basis of this conclusion, the Xia Dynasty commenced approximately 4,100 years ago.^①

The western archaeological community defines civilization by means of four fundamentals: a civilization must have a city, a center of rites, writing, and bronze utensils. If examined under this definition, the Liangzhu Culture possesses the first two elements or three elements at most. On the other hand, however, the comprehensive development of the Liangzhu Culture demonstrates that it reached or even surpassed the highest social development level of the Neolithic Age. The Liangzhu Culture is a great achievement of humanity and its outstanding features are as follows: the world's finest jade artifacts, stoneware, black pottery and a social ritual system signified by these objects; embryonic city planning, large-scale engineering and construction, and an organized social system; the world's most ancient large-scale plow-based rice-growing agriculture; germinating scientific and technological concepts, specialization of handicraft industry engaged mainly in silk, jade objects and lacquerware, and even the possible germination of commerce. The Liangzhu Site, which is central to the ruins of the Liangzhu Culture, is a site of large-scale settlements where the embryonic city took shape, and its scale and quality are rare in the world. In a class by itself, the site is of great significance in the history of human civilizations. The Chinese archaeological community considers it the largest and best site that demonstrates the physical existence of the 5,000-year-old Chinese civilization. What is more, the Liangzhu Culture is the earliest full-fledged Chinese spiritual civilization in parallel with the material civilization. At the core of the Liangzhu spiritual civilization is the Liangzhu Spirit signified by its originality, uniqueness, and pioneeringness. The Yangshao Culture in the Yellow River Valley and the Kuahuqiao Culture, Hemudu Culture, Majiabang Culture, and Songze Culture in the Yangtze River Valley enjoyed a head start on the Liangzhu Culture. Agriculture began earlier in these cultures. There was a spatter of icons that define their cultural

①Report on 1996—2000 Phase Achievement on the Xia-Shang-Zhou Chronology Project, Simplified Version, World Books Press, 2000.





※张光直划分的中国新石器时代文化层(引自张光直《中国考古学论文集》)

Cultural layers of China's Neolithic era mapped out by Zhang Guangzhi in his *A Collection of Dissertations on Chinese Archaeology*

and spiritual dimensions, represented by the fish-man design and the two-birds-facing-the-sun design painted on stoneware, pottery and woodenware, and there were extensive witch activities. But in general, the cultural dimension of these cultures was embodied by tangible implements of production. No complete cultural system materialized in these cultures. On the other hand, the cultural growth in the Liangzhu Culture displayed a relatively full-fledged self-awareness and self-recognition. Su Bingqi states in his *Some Archaeological Issues in the Lake Tai Valley* (太湖流域考古问题) that “an overview of the Liangzhu Culture demonstrates that although the dawning era of our five-millennium-old Chinese civilization still appears slightly dubious, yet the five millenniums’ history is by no means a legend”.^① Yan Wenming, a professor with Beijing University points out in both *Notes on Liangzhu* (良渚随笔) and *The Historical Status of the Liangzhu Site* (良渚遗址的历史地位) that the Liangzhu Culture stands for the dawn of the Chinese civilization and is a sacred place where the origin of the Chinese civilization can be traced and explored.^② Zhang Zhongpei, a professor with the Palace Museum, remarks in *Archaeological Research on the Formation of the Ancient Chinese Civilization* (中国古代文明形成的考古学研究) and *The Culture and Civilization of the Ancient China* (中国古代的文化与文明) that the Liangzhu Culture crossed the threshold of a civilization.^③ The present author advocates the theory of the Liangzhu Civilization and, for the sake of convenience and out of habit, will employ the concept of the Liangzhu Culture in this book.

The Liangzhu Culture, as a remarkable cultural synthesizer, fully assimilated and integrated the various Neolithic cultures around the Lake Tai. The Majiabang Culture and Songze Culture constituted the basis of its direct origin. The archaeological finds in recent years have continuously revealed the fact that it absorbed impacts from the Kuahuqiao Culture and Hemudu Culture. It was also correlated with other archaeological cultures in western China that are classified within the Longshan Culture System. The Liangzhu Culture engendered the subsequent Maqiao, Haochuan and Hushu Cultures, which were the last echoes of the Liangzhu Culture and in turn gave birth to the Yue Culture and Wu Culture. The Liangzhu Culture was also a source that contributed significantly to the birth of the Xia, Shang, and Zhou civilizations. It shares similarities with other cultures and civilizations that occurred around the Pacific Ocean such as the Indian Civilization in Americas and can serve as a paradigm of these cultures. For this reason, the Liangzhu Culture is indispensable for the study of the origin of the civilizations in the world.

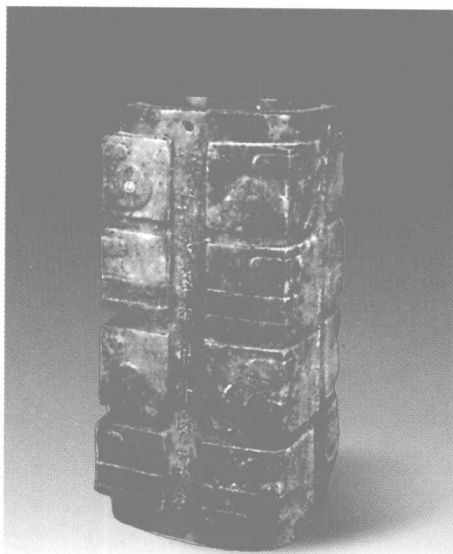
① Su Bingqi: *Some Archaeological Issues in the Lake Tai Valley*, Southeast Culture, 1987 (1).

② Yan Wenming: *Notes on Liangzhu*, Cultural Relics, 1993 (3); *Historic Status of Liangzhu Site*, Zhejiang Journal, 1996 (5).

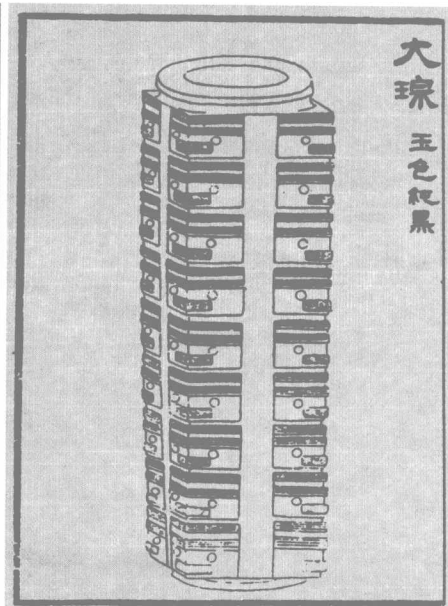
③ Zhang Zhongpei: *Archaeological Research on the Formation of the Ancient Chinese Civilization*, Journal of Palace Museum, 2000 (2); *The Culture and Civilization of the Ancient China*, Archaeology and Cultural Relics, 2001 (1).

掘地惊天

早在春秋战国之际，良渚文化玉器即有出土。宋代赵明诚《金石录》有详细的良渚文化玉器图录。清代乾隆皇帝收有许多传世的良渚文化玉琮、玉璜及其他玉饰品，或作考证，或题玩赏御制诗，收于深宫。这些玉器现仍存于故宫博物院。由道光十二年（1832）瞿中溶《奕载堂古玉图录》、光绪十五年（1889）吴大澂《古玉图考》和端方《陶斋古玉图》可知，清季传世或出土的良渚文化玉器已不少。据光绪年间徐寿基所辑《玉谱类编》，晚清时良渚一带出土的古玉已闻名遐迩。到了民国时期，当时称做“安溪玉”、“安溪土”（安溪为并入良渚镇的原一乡名）的良渚文化玉器风靡市肆，一时盗挖成风，有的还辗转流于海外。1929年西湖博览会展出良渚出土的石



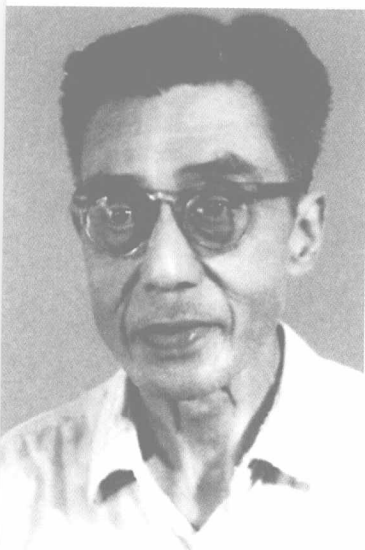
※乾隆皇帝题刻的良渚文化玉器
Emperor Qianlong wrote an inscription for this jade Cong of the Liangzhu Culture.



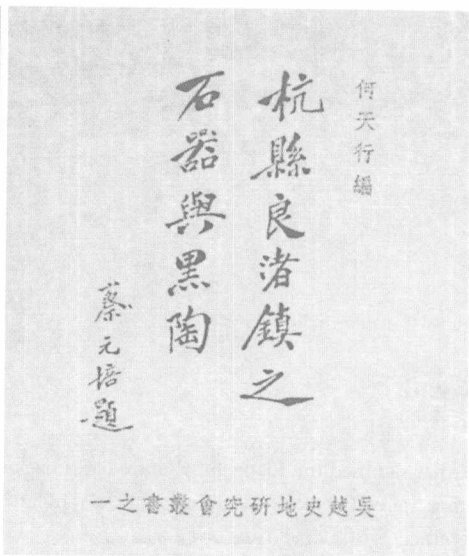
※吴大澂《古玉图考》中的大琮
An illustration of a super-size cong in A catalogue of Ancient jades by Wu Dacheng

Chapter 1 Early State and Ancient Town

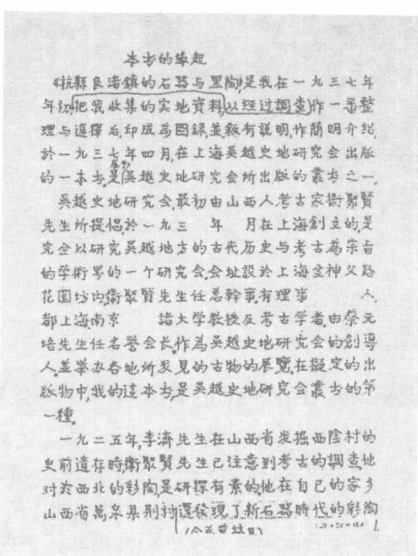
一 古国古城



※何天行
He Tianxing



※蔡元培题签的何天行的考古报告
Cai Yuanpei inscribed the title of He Tianxing's archaeological report.



※何天行《〈杭县良渚镇之石器与黑陶〉说明》手迹
This page from He Tianxing's introduction to *Stone Objects and Black Pottery of Liangzhu Town, Hang County* shows the archaeologist's handwriting.

钺，但出土遗址并未引起较多关注。中国近代考古学发端以后，考古学家开头把眼光集中于黄河流域，对北京周口店、河南渑池、安阳殷墟、山东城子崖、河南后岗等遗址进行了卓有成效的田野考古发掘，很长一段时间里只视远古江南为“化外”之地。传世之良渚文化玉器被认作“周汉之器”。1906年，在上海求学的慎微之返回浙江湖州老家度假，拣到钱山漾遗址石器，非常有心，于1934年趁干旱再次采集，结果发现了钱山漾遗址。1920年，卫聚贤在南京栖霞山发掘六朝墓时，找到一些良渚文化石器。嗣后陈志良在江、浙许多地方发现属良渚文化的被称为“吴越民族先期文化”的遗物。杭州籍学者何天行、施昕更慧眼识珠，很早便从田野考古资料中注意到中国文明的多元因素，发现了良渚遗址，不仅奠定了长江文明考古的基础，而且成为中国考古学的开拓者。

良渚文化及其中心遗址良渚遗址的最早发现得缘于何天行的工作。1935年5月，杭州市政府在现西湖区古荡镇建公墓，发现老和山遗址及出土陶器、石器，正在复旦大学求学的何天行注意到了此事。^①他通过对杭州一些古玩市场的调查，即刻又找到了新的同类型文化的线索，于这年暑假对老和山遗址和余杭区良渚镇、瓶窑镇的良渚遗址区进行了考察。在良渚镇荀山和瓶窑镇长命桥一带发现了一些遗址，并发掘和采集到许多石器和陶器，其中包括一只刻有陶文的黑陶盘。他把这件事告诉了老师吴越史地研究会总干事卫聚贤，受到卫聚贤的重视。及至1936年毕业后，他又采集到文物100多件。当时河南安阳后岗黑陶和山东龙山城子崖黑陶已发现，他加以对照，并向中央研究院历史语言研究所要了殷墟陶器和卜辞实物图片进行比较，意识到良渚

①《省政府公告征用土地建筑一二两公墓》、《杭州市政府招标建筑公墓路基通告》，《东南日报》，1935年5月6日、8日、10日。

Excavations that Shocked the World

The earliest unearthing of jade artifacts that signified the Liangzhu Culture dates back to the Spring and Autumn Period and the Warring States Period. Zhao Mingcheng, a scholar of the Song Dynasty, provides us, in his book entitled *A Record of Gold and Stone* (金石录), with detailed drawings of jade objects from the Liangzhu Culture. In the private collection of Emperor Qianlong of the Qing Dynasty were many jade ornamental artifacts such as *Cong* and *Huang* and others, which had been unearthed in Liangzhu and passed down into the emperor's collection from the past centuries. These jade artifacts helped the emperor conduct textual researches and inspired him to write poems to record his pleasure and appreciation resulted from admiring these jades. Today, the emperor's collection of Liangzhu jades is in the possession of the Palace Museum in Beijing. We can learn from *A Catalogue of Ancient Jades of Yi Zhai Studio* (奕载堂古玉图录) compiled by Qu Zhongrong in the 12th year (1832) of Emperor Daoguang, *A Catalogue of Antique Jades* (古玉图考) compiled by Wu Dacheng in the 15th year (1889) of Emperor Guangxu and *A Catalogue of Antique Jades of Tao Studio* (陶斋古玉图) by Duan Fang that there existed many Liangzhu jades in the Qing Dynasty, either passed down from the past or unearthed during the dynasty. According to *A Classified Catalogue of Jades* (玉谱类编) compiled by Xu Shouji during the years of Emperor Guangxu, ancient jades unearthed in Liangzhu and surrounding areas enjoyed popularity in the late years of the Qing Dynasty. During the Republic of China period, these jade objects, generally known as Anxi Jade or Anxi Soil, all named after Anxi, a town that had merged into Liangzhu's administration system, were hot on the market, sparking off tomb robberies for these jades in Liangzhu. Some jade objects were even sold to overseas buyers. A stone *Yue* excavated in Liangzhu was on display at the West Lake Expo in 1929, but the site where it came from caught little attention. After the modern archaeology started in China, Chinese archaeologists focused their attention on the Yellow River Valley. The field excavations conducted at Zhoukoudian in Beijing, Mianchi, the Yin Ruins of Anyang, and Hougang in Henan Province, Chengziya in Shandong Province, yielded excellent results. For a long while, however, the ancient southern Yangtze River Delta was viewed as a location beyond civilization. The jade objects, which were unearthed in Liangzhu and are actually representatives of the ancient Liangzhu Culture, were mistakenly viewed as "artifacts passed down from the Zhou and Han Dynasties". In 1906, Shen Weizhi, who was studying in Shanghai, came back to his hometown Huzhou on a vacation and picked up some stone objects from a spot which is now known as the Qianshanyang Site. These stone objects caught his attention. In 1934 when a drought hit his