

鑠 古 鑄 今

—— 考古發現和復古藝術

李 零



鑠 古 鑄 今

—— 考古發現和復古藝術

李 零



校對：毛秋瑾 林巧羚 周越 陳雅飛

圖片處理：毛秋瑾

設計：PS Design

出版：香港中文大學藝術系

發行：中文大學出版社

承印：雅聯印刷有限公司

2005年4月初版

版權所有 不得翻印

序 言

香港中文大學藝術系客席教授計劃於2002年創立，目的在於豐富本科及研究院課程的中國藝術史教學與研究，擴大學生在研究方向及方法上的視野，並加強系方與國際學術同人的聯繫。根據此項計劃，中國藝術史傑出學人將應邀駐系一學期或學年，除教學與研究外，並在任內舉行公開講座，發表研究成果。本書即根據此一講座整理而成，是計劃推行以來出版的首部刊物。隨着客席教授相繼來訪，日後當會有更多同類著作編印問世。

承蒙北山堂基金慷慨資助客席教授計劃與本書出版經費，謹此衷心致謝。李零教授於2002年9月至12月間駐系指導學生，與本系老師交流切磋，系內同人皆獲益良多。“復古”問題貫穿着二千年來中國藝術傳統的發展，李教授的見解精闢獨到，可為藝術史研究提供極具啟發性的參考。

蘇芳淑
藝術學講座教授
2005年1月

Preface

The Visiting Professor of Fine Arts Department, C.U.H.K., was introduced in 2002 to enrich undergraduate and postgraduate teaching and research programs in Chinese art history, to broaden students' perspectives on research directions and methodologies, and to strengthen links between the department and the international academic community. An eminent scholar of Chinese art history is invited to be in residence in the department for one term or one academic year, to teach and conduct research, and to deliver a lecture on this research at the end of his/her tenure. This is the first publication based on the lecture. We hope many others will follow as the department welcomes more Visiting Professors.

We thank the Bei Shan Tang Foundation, Hong Kong, for its generous support of the Visiting Professor programme and this publication. We also thank Professor Li Ling for his guidance to students and staff during his tenure in the department between September and December 2002, and above all, for his provocative research on the problem of "archaism", an underlying thread that links over two thousand years of China's artistic traditions.

Jenny F. So
Professor of Fine Arts
January 2005

Re-casting Antiquity

Archaeological Discoveries and Archaism in Chinese Art

Li Ling

Abstract

This monograph discusses archaism in Chinese art based on archaeological evidence.

Two central concepts in the discussion of archaism are reviewed. First, that archaism is a type of imitation involving the revival of a tradition that has ended. Like the Western concept of "Renaissance," it involves rediscovery and rebirth after interruption of a tradition. Second, that archaism manifests a sense of loss and hopelessness with the present. The past's richness engenders a sense of longing for its return. In the aesthetics of archaism, the ancient is elegant, while all that is new is vulgar. The ancient represents the rarified remains after a long selection process, so it is valued as something rare. The new is associated with excess, inevitably giving rise to a sense of weariness and boredom.

Archaism usually appears in three stages. The first is the discovery of an ancient object, prompting its study and preservation. The second is the imitation and reproduction of the ancient object. The third and final stage is a creative transformation of the ancient object into a new, "archaic", style. It is only with the third stage that one can speak of as true archaism. Archaeological discoveries feed both the second and third stages, both as models for imitations and as sources for creative archaism.

Following are discussions of the creative reactions to and ponderings over past relics as revealed in historical texts. Because Chinese architecture

is mainly made of wood, they disintegrate easily over time. Written records may speak of the grandeur of a certain site, but the structures that survived today are no more than five hundred to a thousand years old. Anything older lies in ruins. These ancient sites can be divided into three categories: the real, the reconstructed, and the fictional. The real sites refer to the ruins still standing. The reconstructed sites refer to those that have been rebuilt at or near the original site and which, as new as they may be, nevertheless serve the functions of the original structure. The fictional sites, as false as they may be, still satisfy the imagination by evoking emotions and expectations generated by a truly ancient site. Some of these fictional sites may be quite old themselves, and are of great value in an exploration of the phenomenon of archaism.

An important facet of archaism are antiquities — remains from ancient times — recovered from Shang and Zhou contexts. Unlike their Western counterparts, these “antiques” are not made of gold or precious stones, but rather jade and bronze. Jade objects were commonly included in tombs, and as such differed from bronzes in that they cannot be “recycled” (i.e. melted down and re-cast). Instead, jades were often re-worked for different functions, which is not the same as archaic reproduction. Unlike jades, bronzes are rarely found in later tombs, although a few exceptional cases are known. Furthermore, archaism also occurred in late Western Zhou bronzes (in pottery imitations of bronzes) and in the Eastern Zhou (of bronze imitations of pottery). All these examples form the backdrop for the study of early Chinese archaism.

The first classic example of archaism in Chinese art occurred during the period of Wang Mang between 0-23 AD. Although his reforms in the end were almost a complete failure, they influenced what followed in two major ways: a revival of the study of ancient classics and a thorough reorganization of the writing system and bibliographical classification; and the replacement of ceremonial rituals as practiced since the time of the Western Han Emperor Wu. Worship would now be only in the vicinity of Chang'an and would be based on the system of the early Han and more

ancient records. In name reinstituting the rituals of the Duke of Zhou, the architecture and ritual objects used were essentially Han in style, with a few cases modeled after Warring States, or even created from pure imagination. Following the Qin spirit of standardization, Wang Mang's "archaism" betrayed its inherent ties with his close contemporaries.

The second classic case of archaism occurred during the Song dynasty about a thousand years after Wang Mang. Also began as a movement in ritual reform, Song archaism nevertheless went further in terms of its development as scholarship and artistic creativity. This development can be divided into four phases:

1. From 960 to 999: Primarily influenced by Guo Zhongshu's *Hanjian* and Nie Chongyi's *Sanlitu*, ritual objects were imaginative creations or designed according to models described in written records since the Eastern Han period.

2. From 1000 to 1100: Based on the discovery and study of real artifacts, research was carried out on ancient bronzes and stone stele inscriptions, starting in the third year of Song Zhenzong's reign (1000), resulting in a number of catalogues over the next hundred years, exemplified by Lü Dalin's *Kaogutu*.

3. From 1101 to 1125: Song Huizong's reign saw a period of reproduction of ancient models. The representative examples were made during the two reigns of Zhenghe and Xuanhe, all of which were based on real models. Following Lü Dalin's *Kaogutu*, Huizong ordered the compilation of the catalogue *Bogutu*, which was a most systematic study of bronzes at that time. The subsequent dynasties — Southern Song, Yuan, Ming, and Qing all continued in the spirit of Huizong's archaism, giving rise to a central set of models in a tradition of manufacture. Whether in jade or porcelain, imitation of ancient bronzes (and in some cases, of ancient jades) was the widely accepted norm.

4. From 1126 to 1911: Literati paintings constituted a new art form that emerged from the imitation of the ancients during the Zhenghe and Xuanhe eras. This art form, combining poetry, *belles lettres*, painting, and

seal carving, is premised on the two conflicting positions of the scholar-official and the artisan. The four genres vary in the limits to which they practice archaism, with painting the least thematically ancient and therefore the least limited. Seal carving, on the other hand, is highly archaistic and is thus subject to a stringent set of parameters. The style of Ming and Qing seals evokes Han and Jin dynasty models and rejects Tang and Song ones. The imitation of Han and Jin models — using white and red — is based on stele carvings, advocating the “return to Li Yangbing and Li Si.” However, Tang and Song influence is still evident. The aesthetic standards of Ming and Qing archaism are quite different, perhaps even diametrically opposed. We see this in the debate between “red and white” (that is, the discourse on whether the characters should be in white or red, and whether they should be in intaglio or relief), and especially in the replacement of impressing seals in clay by impressing seals in pigment.

In conclusion, the author uses archaeological finds and the art of archaism to examine the ancient imagination, yielding the following summations regarding the conflicting effects of archaistic aesthetics. The aesthetic standards of any type of archaism must inevitably encounter historical limitations. *Whether based on a particular style or school, whether claiming thorough revision, complete invention, or wild but focused composition, they are all ultimately fictional creations. Hence the artist’s natural tendency to exaggerate or reject the ancient. These are the inherent contradictions contained within such an aesthetic activity, for all artistic attempts at recovering the past remain intrinsically an artistic activity.*

Finally, the author also uses examples from popular drama to point out that even within these fictional contexts, there can be convincing statements about historical phenomenon. To these we should also give sympathetic consideration. Their historical musings serve as healthy antidotes to the quibbling of archaeologists and the rigorous exactitudes of historians.

鑠古鑄今¹

—— 考古發現和復古藝術

一、序說：復古藝術的概念

中國藝術史的研究，有兩個問題，我最感興趣，一個是中國藝術中的外來影響，²一個是中國藝術中的復古傾向。這兩個問題，都可以用考古資料來研究。它們為消解古今中外的對立提供了很好的例子。³

這裏只談後一個問題。我想講一下它的兩個主要特點：

（一）失而復得，斷而復續。復古藝術乃藝術史上的尋常現象。中國有，外國也有。中國的傳統藝術在很多領域和很大程度上是仿古藝術或復古藝術，特別是，幾千年來，它有連綿不斷的文化傳統，層出不窮的出土發現，好古、尚古、敬古、畏古的心理格外強烈。西方的文藝復興和古典主義，也是復古運動，古代的東西到處找，成為時尚和風潮。這種藝術和現代藝術不同，不像後者，喜歡強調當下的個性張揚和唯一不變就是變，往往予人以棄絕傳統和超越現實的假象。但正如很多創新仍離不開傳統（至少是不能完全離開），復古也是創新，也是發明，其實是“被發明的傳統”（*invention of tradition*）。⁴雖然，一般說，模仿、依託、再現和重構，總是它的基本特徵，但酷似古代很難做到。保存古代風格，多半是靠實物傳承或技法延續，異軍突起的復古風潮，反而往往是以淡忘為前提，即經歲月的無情淘洗，過去的印象已不復存在，現在的風尚也令人厭倦，然後才以某些地下發現為契機，重新點燃他

們對古代的熱情，就像西語表示“文藝復興”的Renaissance，它是中斷後的再生和復興。“久旱逢甘霖”，“饑餓是最好的廚師”，前後反差很大。

（二）以古為雅，以今為俗。復古藝術的出現，有它自己的一套理解方式。古人的心理和今人不同，他們對現在的理解比較停滯，對將來的理解比較空虛，而且對世事盛衰抱因果循環之論。當他們厭倦或失望於現在，第一想法總是回到古代，即過去的盛世和“黃金時代”，而絕不會把希望押在“相信未來”。或者我們也可以說，他們是以舊為新，以退為進，把過去當作未來，就像萬物蕭索的冬天，人們盼望的只是上一個春天的再次到來。⁵對古人抱“瞭解之同情”，我們不難發現，以古為雅，以今為俗，也自有其合理性。因為“今”總是離不開大量複製，而複製的別稱總是“俗”（既是流行，也是庸俗）；“古”總是由歷史千挑萬選，劫後餘存，是剩下的東西。剩下的東西往往是精美之物，理所當然，會被很多人視為珍稀。古人並非反對進步，只不過他們的想法和我們不太一樣罷了。他們相信，進步會與退步交替出現，進步會與退步同時出現。這比以我劃線一往無前也一往無後的進步觀其實更為合理。

研究歷史上的復古藝術，我們不難發現，其典型個案可能包含三個步驟：第一是地下發現的強烈刺激，以及人們對它的研究和認識；第二是由前者引發，人們對古蹟、古物的崇尚和模仿；第三才是對古代的憧憬和幻想，以及利用這類幻想對古代藝術進行再創造。首先是考古（但比現今田野考古的概念範圍要大，既包括宋代金石學說的“考古”，也包括今古物研究和藝術研究的“考古”），其次是仿古（對古物的複製和模仿），最後反而是變古（對古代藝術風格的再創造）。復古的第一個和第二個環節，有時並不明顯，但第三個環節卻不可缺少。很多復古都只是表面上的仿古，其實總是包含着變古，有些甚至完全是出於想象。借屍還魂的目的，是要突出新意。所以，只有前兩步，還談不上復古。這裏，我要借“考

古發現”講話，其意義就在，它既能揭示“復古藝術”的原形，也能揭示“復古藝術”的變形；既發現它的依仿對象，又發現它的創造所在。

在這篇談話裏，我想試着用考古發現來解析復古藝術的審美趣味，看看它在哪些方面是依託古代，哪些方面是背離古代，哪些方面是創造古代（或偽造古代），其審美標準，法古的成分有多大，作古的成分有多大，以及人們怎樣接受和認可這些標準。這個題目很大，我的知識非常有限，只能舉一點例子。但我相信，即使很少的例子也足以說明，今古之間是既有連續也有差異，關係很微妙。我想，正如識言和科幻，可由將來的事實去核驗。同樣，我們對古代的形象也可以用過去的事實來核驗。

對我來說，這是個有趣的話題。十年前，我就想做這個題目，但一直沒有時間，現在有一點粗糙的想法，想跟大家討論一下。

二、古蹟的憑吊和想象：真古蹟、翻修重建的古蹟和假古蹟

古蹟，從一開始就是最能刺激人類心靈，迸發浪漫幻想的東西。它包括地面上還保留的城邑、宮室、陵墓、壇廟，以及附屬於它們的雕刻和裝飾物。⁶探險家和旅行者，古物學家和考古學家，他們心馳神往，是因為古代離我們太遠，就像浩渺的星空，對我們有莫大誘惑力。

中國古代建築，很多都是梁柱結構的土木建築，傾圮之後，埋沒於荒煙衰草，令人彼黍離離，徒興傷歎。城邑因其高大，可能尚有斷壁殘垣，偶存於地面；宮室壇廟，則多夷為平地，除了明清的宮室和宋以來的壇廟，什麼也看不到。凡大型石刻，歷久而長存，赫然屹立於地面，主要都是墓前石刻。⁷所以古人有很多憑弔廢墟的歌詠，淒婉而美麗，千百年來傳唱不絕。

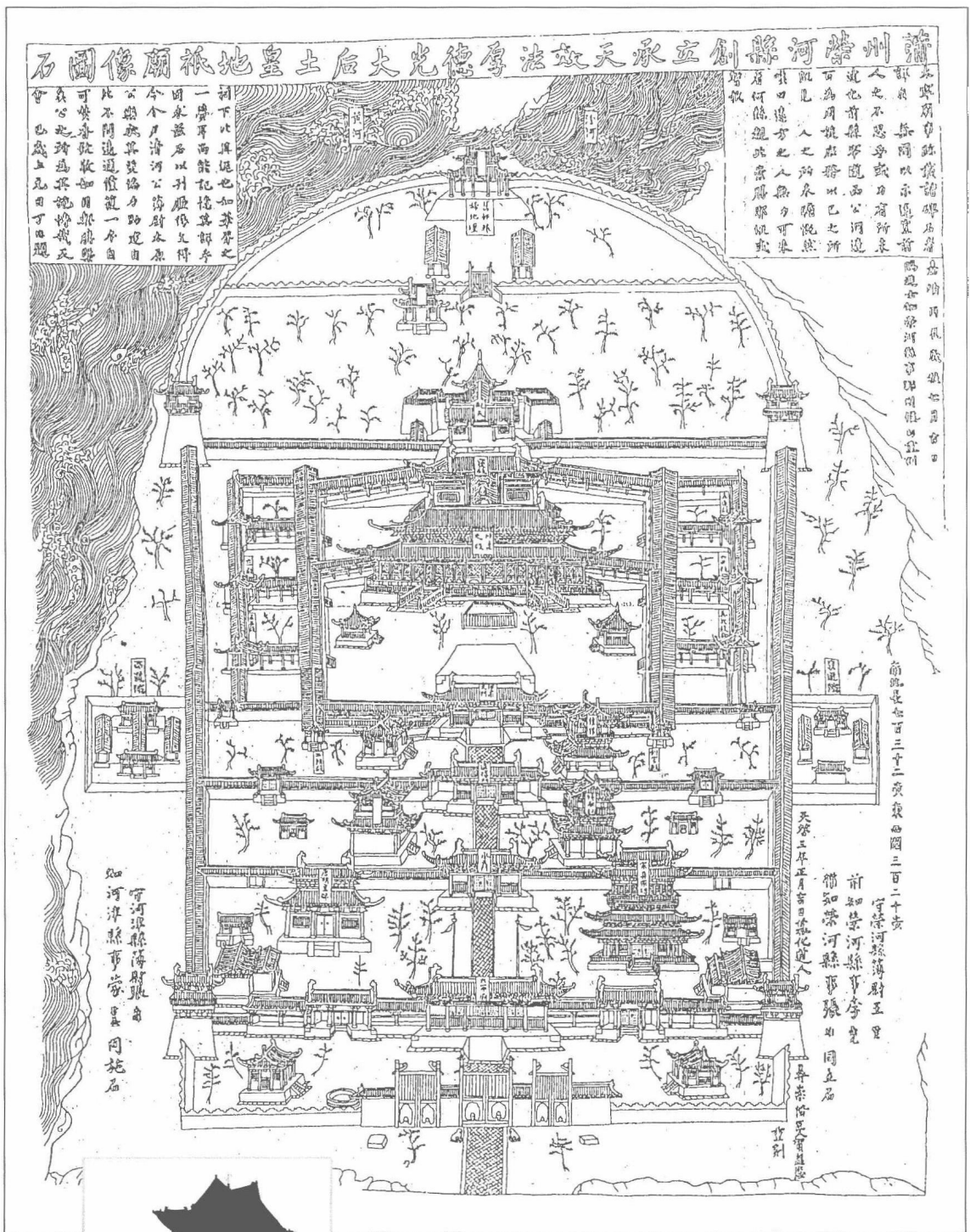
研究早期建築的地面遺存，古代文獻，如《史記》、《漢書》、《三輔黃圖》，還有兩京辭賦，有很多精彩描寫，但大家還能看到的東西非常可憐。早期到埃及、伊拉克和阿富汗探險的西方旅行家，他們總是感慨萬千，難以相信自己的眼睛，這些破敗髒亂，充滿危險和不安的地方，竟是《聖經》和古典作家筆下最輝煌壯麗和充滿詩情畫意的所在。然而，破敗歸破敗，他們總還有很多高大的東西保留在地面。我們的情況是，漢代以前，monument式的建築找不到；漢和漢以後，宏偉的東西也寥寥無幾。學者講monumentality（紀念性），有點束手無策。⁸但現在沒有，不等於以前也沒有。漢唐時期的長安、洛陽，青楊夾道，宮觀玲瓏，池沼苑囿（包括鬥獸場），⁹環繞四周，也曾蔚為壯觀。漢以後，很多古書，如酈道元《水經注》和其他漢唐地志，還有宋以來的金石圖錄，它們還有不少追蹤記錄。我們是眼睜睜地看着，它們一步快似一步，從我們的眼前逐漸消失，就像環保工作者定期公佈的物種絕滅數字，那也是以每年多少種的速度一去不復返。現在，它們或沉睡於地下，或被現代建築的榛莽所覆蓋，找起來非常困難。



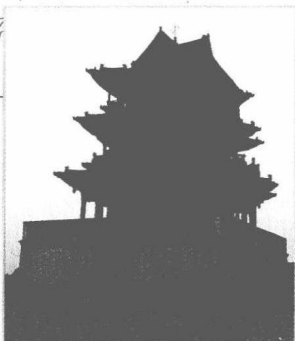
（圖一）陝西省淳化縣漢甘泉宮遺址，石鼓和石熊

現在的古蹟分兩種，一種是地上古蹟，一種是地下古蹟。或者也可以按其歷史可靠性分為三種，一種是真古蹟，一種是翻修或重建的古蹟，一種是純粹的假古蹟。真古蹟，地面建築多半都比較晚，¹⁰但有些早期建築，它們的廢墟還在。比如，陝西淳化縣北有個漢甘

泉宮遺址（圖一），它是西漢皇家避暑和處理番務的地方，有直道遙通北邊，並修有炫耀漢代武功和懷柔遠人的胡祠、越祠各三，情



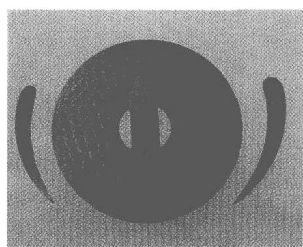
(圖二) 山西省萬榮縣金后土祠廟像圖(摹本)



(圖三) 山西省萬榮縣清后土祠秋風樓



(圖四) 山東省榮城縣清日主廟



(圖五) 山東省榮城縣日主祠遺址出土的玉璧

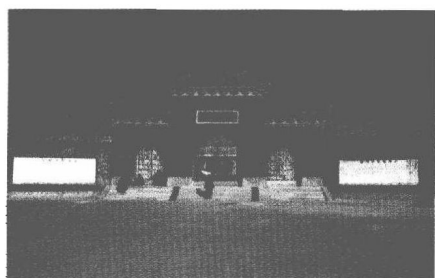


(圖六) 山東省煙臺市芝罘島元陽主廟中的神像

況一如清代在河北承德修建的避暑山莊和外八廟；漢代諸祠，以此為尊，祭天園丘在此，也類似北京的天壇，在西漢諸祠中，地位最重要。它在地面上還保留着高大的建築台基、石鼓和石熊，遍地的瓦當和漢磚，¹¹這就是真古蹟。仿古重建，則有山西萬榮的汾陰后土祠（圖二、三），¹²以及山東半島的八主祠（圖四至圖六）。¹³這些地方，漢代或更早，是重要的祭祀之所。漢以後，還有人祭祀。直到清代，甚至現在，香火仍不斷。其舊祠和新祠有連續性，有些是覆蓋，有些是擴展，有些是搬遷，舊的建築倒塌後，新祠都是就地興建，山水依舊，原地打轉，廢墟就在腳下的某處。¹⁴新建築是模仿老建築，代替老建築。模仿代替之中，也包含着改造。東西是新的，但記憶是老的，在“紀念性”上仍保持着連續。¹⁵

當然，在所有古蹟中，數量最大，也最普遍，還是好事者發思古之幽情，

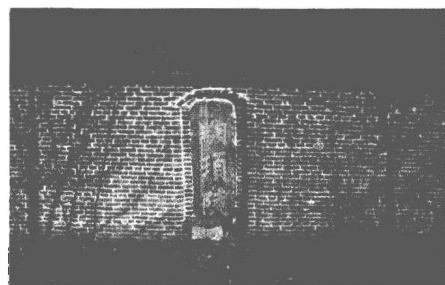
刻意製造，專供後人憑弔題詠的假古蹟，如“南陽諸葛廬，西蜀子雲亭”，以及馬嵬、青塚之類，很多都是穿鑿附會，憑空杜撰。特別是與各種古史傳說的帝王有關，更完全是子虛烏有。比如，河南內黃縣有個顓頊陵，俗稱“二帝陵”（顓頊、帝嚳陵），就是附會所謂“顓頊之虛”。“顓頊之虛”在春秋衛國的都城，這個城因此叫“帝丘”（《左傳》昭公十七年、《春秋》僖公三十一年），戰國以來則屬濮陽縣。杜預說西晉時候的濮陽縣已經就有顓頊塚（《左



(圖七) 河南省內黃縣二帝陵外景

傳》昭公十七年注），可見對顓頊的祭祀是由來已久。現在的“二帝陵”是建於黃泛區，陵墓是兩個沙丘，陵廟據說始建於唐大和四年（830年），歷代翻修，早已不是原貌。年代最近的廟宇已被風沙掩埋而坍塌，前幾年去看，當地人正在利用原來的材料重修（圖七）。¹⁶

它和陝西黃陵市的黃帝陵，河南淮陽市的太昊陵，山東曲阜市的少昊陵一樣，當然不是真古蹟。但這個“二帝陵”，從陵前的碑刻看，至少元代就有（圖八、九）。而且其想象的墳丘，經探查，其實是個新石器時代的聚落遺址，本身也很古老。古人常為不知名的墳塚或土丘，張冠李戴，加派名稱，十分可笑，但荒唐之中，也有其可以理解的一面。它是為了滿足人類對古代的執着想象，其實是符號一樣的代用品。就像“美人”一詞，有空白想象的誘惑，令人神往，但很抽象，一定要滿足其想象，只好用某個美女作原型，乾脆畫一個出來。比如文獻記載，早期宗廟祭祀，有所謂“尸”，“天子以卿為尸，諸侯以大夫為尸，卿大夫以下以孫為尸”（《公羊傳》宣公八年何休注），即用兒孫或子侄當前輩的偶像來祭祀（因其長相與前輩相似，後世易之以神主和畫像）。還有宗教，也是如此。耶穌、聖母像，佛陀、菩薩像，很多都是以世俗之人為模特。偶像是為了彌補想象的不足，至高無上和惟我獨尊的神都很抽象。世界三大教，猶太教、基督教和伊斯蘭教，它們都反對偶像崇拜，但天主教堂和佛教寺院卻不能免俗，為了迎合民間心理，還是要搞點聖像出來，供大家膜拜。如果理解這一點，我們對古人就會比較



(圖八) 顓頊陵的陵碑



(圖九) 帝嚳陵的陵碑

寬容。陳子昂登幽州台，說“前不見古人，後不見來者，念天地之悠悠，獨愴然而涕下”，我們不必罵他自作多情；蘇軾寫前後《赤壁賦》和《念奴嬌·赤壁懷古》，我們也無須計較，他是不是找錯了地方。

正如很多收藏家，現在就動手，為將來製造古董，即使今天，人們也在創造新的“永垂不朽”，¹⁷其中也包括假古蹟。¹⁸盡管人們抱怨說，世人總是短見，拆了真的，去造假的。¹⁹但平心而論，這是古已如此，於今為烈。我們應該理解，作為藝術想象的對象，就連假古蹟也有它的意義。更何況，上面提到的假古蹟，它們都很有年頭，即使讓文物專家去看，也是值得保護的東西。

古蹟的憑弔和想象，以及它分真、仿、假，這對古物的研究，其實很有啟發。

三、早期的“古董”：發現、收藏與仿製²⁰

古物收藏者總是希望“子子孫孫永寶用”，即經活人之手，把他們的寶物一代一代往下傳。這是古物流傳的一個方式，往往很不理想。還有一個方式，是死後埋入地下，後來被發現，也是事出偶然。前者叫“傳世品”，後者叫“出土物”。這兩類東西經常是互為補充。傳世品往往傳不下去，不是消滅於地上，就是掩埋於地下，後來才被發現。同樣，出土物一旦進入收藏，也就變成傳世品。這裏我想指出的是，對於復古藝術的形成，出土物的刺激要比傳世品大得多。

中國的古代遺蹟，除地上所立，很多是地下所出，包括古建的遺蹟，也是從地下挖出來的，特別是古代文物，更主要是來源於地下。傳世品比較短命，多半都是一千年以內，特別是近五百年的東西，和地面上的古建差不多。過去，《禮記·禮運》上有句話，叫“地不愛寶”，古人經常講，現在已經成為文物出土的代用語。我