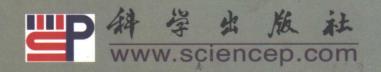
# 长紅鄉鐵青銅丸化研究

高崇文 安田喜宪 主编





《长江文明的探求》研究项目资助





# 长江流域青铜文化研究

主编 高崇文 安田喜宪

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#### 内容简介

本书是 2001 年 2 月 24~26 日在北京大学考古文博院召开的"长江流域青铜文化国际学术研讨会"的论文集。书中收录与会学者提交的论文 24 篇,其中既有对长江流域青铜时代考古学文化区系类型的研究,也有对青铜器、墓葬、遗址等的个案研究,还有采用环境学、建筑学、矿物冶金学等多种学科的研究成果,以及从物质文化的研究上升到对礼制文化、社会制度及意识形态等方面的研究。本书全方位、多角度地探讨了长江流域各青铜文化的来源、文化特征、各区域间的文化异同以及与中原青铜文化的关系等重要问题。

本书可供从事青铜文化研究及考古学研究的学者、科研机构人员及大专院校师生参考。

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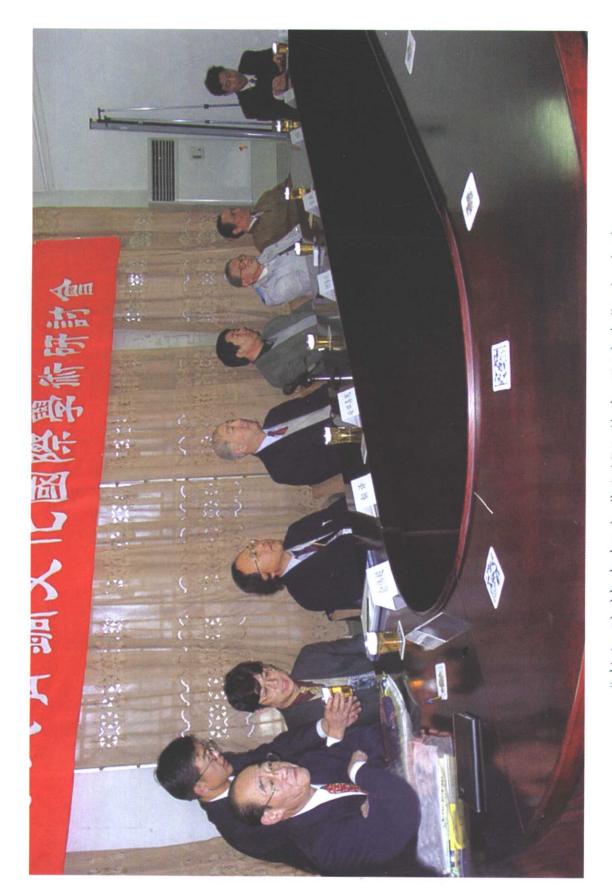
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"长江流域青铜文化国际学术研讨会"会场

#### 前 言

近二三十年来,长江流域考古工作有了快速的进展,许多重大的考古发现表明,长 江流域也是中国古代文明的发源地之一。早在新石器时代早期,这里就出现了中国最早 的稻作农业。发展到新石器时代中后期,长江流域形成了几个相对集中的文化圈及其相 应的几大文化体系。至龙山时代,四川盆地、两湖平原、江浙一带都相继出现了作为政 治、经济、文化和宗教中心的城邑及祭祀性建筑等,社会生产力也有了很大的发展,说 明长江流域几个大文化区域至此时已经加速了文明化的进程。然而,长江流域各文化体 系的发展也是不平衡的,尤其是到了龙山时代晚期,几支原本非常发达的原始文化体系 似乎是突然衰落甚至在一些地区中断,只是至商周时期,各地又重新出现了发达的青铜 文化。如湖北黄陂盘龙城、湖南宁乡一带、四川广汉三星堆、江西新干大洋洲等地都发 现了相当于商时期的青铜器群。这些新崛起的青铜文化,都逐渐形成了各自系统发展的 青铜文化体系,如四川的三星堆文化、江西的吴城文化、江浙一带的马桥文化及两湖地 区的青铜文化体系等。至两周时期,又形成了巴蜀文化、楚文化、吴越文化等。这说 明、长江流域青铜文化的产生有着许多方面的因素、其发展形成过程也是非常复杂的。 近些年来,学术界对长江流域各青铜文化的研究还是比较活跃的,但多是分散的或局部 的进行。因此,我们想召开这次"长江流域青铜文化国际学术研讨会",以便有机会使 各区域性的研究进行交流,更进一步促进对整个长江流域青铜文化的综合研究和认识。

这次学术研讨会是由北京大学考古文博院和国际日本文化研究中心联合举办,于 2001年2月24~26日在北京大学考古文博院召开。有来自中国、日本和印度的50余名学者参加了会议。其中既有深受学术界敬仰的老一辈著名专家学者,如邹衡、俞伟超、严文明、李伯谦等先生,又有大批中青年学者。这些中青年学者都是长期工作在考古第一线,既熟悉第一手的考古资料,又活跃于学术研究的最前沿。他们在老一辈先生们的指导下,以年轻人特有的勇气,开拓进取,在学术上已崭露头角。正因为得到了这些老中青学者们的支持,会议充满了青春的活力和光彩。

与会学者提交的论文有 30 余篇。其中既有对长江流域青铜时代考古学文化区系类

型的研究,也有对青铜器、墓葬、遗址等的个案研究,还有采用环境学、建筑学、矿物冶金学等多种学科的研究成果。另外,有的学者则从对物质文化的研究上升到对礼制文化、社会制度及意识形态等方面的研究。总之,这次会议是从多视角、多领域、多学科出发,深入探讨了长江流域各青铜文化的来龙去脉、文化特征、各区域间的文化异同及与中原青铜文化的关系等重要问题。李伯谦先生指出,"这次会议是把长江流域作为一个整体来讨论,应具有里程碑意义。"

为了让更多的人了解这次会议的成果,我们决定出版这部会议论文集。论文集共收入论文 23 篇,还有一篇李伯谦先生的会议总结报告。另外有的与会学者只提交了论文提要,会后没有完成文稿,因而无法收入了。为出好这部文集,我们成立了由高崇文、安田喜宪、刘绪、孙华、雷兴山、杜林渊组成的编辑小组,负责审稿等工作。论文除因篇幅过大而有所删节,或偶然的失误予以更正外,基本上尊重作者的原文。因此,文责自负,其论点自然是见仁见智了。

这次讨论会的召开和论文集的出版,均得到了日本政府文部科学省核心据点形成推进计划(COE)研究项目"长江文明的探求"(研究主持人:安田喜宪)、国际日本文化研究中心、日本京磁株式会社和科学出版社的大力支持,在此谨表示衷心的感谢。

高崇文 安田喜宪 2001年12月9日

#### **Preface**

During the most recent two or three decades, archaeological work in the Yangtze River valley has developed rapidly. Many great discoveries have shown that the Yangtze River valley was also one of the cradles of ancient Chinese civilization. As early as the initial Neolithic period, the earliest paddy agriculture had emerged in this area. By the Longshan period, the Sichuan basin, Lianghu plain, and Jiangsu-Zhejiang area all saw the emergence of walled towns, which are political, economic, cultural and religious centres, and of sacred structures. At the same time, social productivity developed significantly. These factors all indicate that the interaction of several cultural regions in Yangtze River valley accelerated the civilizing processes up until the Longshan period. At that point, and especially by the late Longshan period, the developments of these cultural systems were not balanced, and several advanced cultural systems suddenly declined or became extinct. Then, beginning from the Shang-Zhou period, advanced bronze cultures emerged again in each region: the bronze assemblages unearthed from Panlongcheng in Hubei province, the Ningxiang area in Hunan province, Sanxingdui in Sichuan province and Dayangzhou in Xingan of Jiangxi province are examples of such cultures. These new bronze cultures gradually formed their own systematical cultural systems; such as the Sanxingdui culture in Sichuan province, the Wucheng culture in Jiangxi province, the Maqiao culture in Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces, etc. By the Western and Eastern Zhou periods, the Bashu, Chu and Wuyue cultures all came into being. The bronze cultures along the Yangtze River consist of many different factors and their developmental processes were also very complicated. In the recent years, the study of bronze cultures in the Yangtze River valley has been quite active, but most research focuses on single factors and are independent of other work. We therefore conducted this international conference on bronze cultures in Yangtze River in order to provide the opportunity for academic communication, and promote the synthetic studies and understandings of bronze cultures along the Yangtze River.

This conference was conducted by the School of Archaeology and Museolgy at Peking Unviersity, and the International Centre for the Study of Japanese Cultures from Japan. During the 24<sup>th</sup> to 26<sup>th</sup> of February 2001, over 50 scholars from China, Japan and India came to the School of Archaeol-

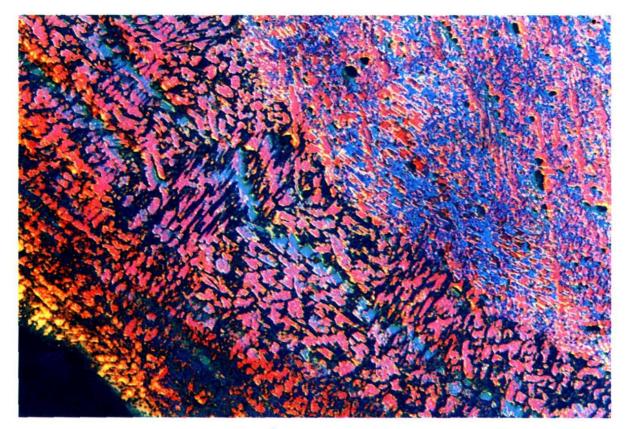
ogy and Museology to participate in this meeting. Among them, there were not only famous venerated scholars such as Zou Heng, Yu Weichao, Yan Wenming, Li Boqian, but also lots of middle-aged and youthful experts, who have worked in the field for a long time and who know the original materials very well and are active situated on the academic frontier. Due to the support from both the elders and youth, this conference was full of activity.

Over 30 articles were submitted to this conference. Among them there are studies of cultural systems in the Yangtze River region, and case studies of bronzes, burials and sites, and many articles adopt methods from environmental study, architectural analysis and metallurgy into the studies. In addition, some scholars extended their studies of the material remains of cultures into discussions of ritual systems, social systems and ideology. In sum, the articles presented at this conference used a variety of perspectives to discuss aspects of the bronze cultures from along the Yangtze River; including their origins and development, cultural characteristics, similarities and differences. As Prof. Li Boqian remarked, "In this conference, the Yangtze River valley is regarded as a whole in discussion. It has landmark significance."

In order to let the public know about the achievements of this conference, we have decided to publish this collection. This compilation includes 23 papers and a summary report by Prof. Li Bo-qian. It is regrettable that the summaries that some scholars submitted without formal papers couldn't be collected into this book. The editing team consists of Gao Chongwen, Yasuda Yoshinori, Liu Xu, Sun Hua, Lei Xingshan and Du Linyuan, who have taken charge of the examination of papers. Except for some abridgement necessary for limiting length, and corrections for occasional mistakes, all papers are the original versions. Therefore, the authors will be responsible for their papers and opinions expressed therein.

A deep gratitude must be extended to "The Yangtze River Civilization Project" which is the Grant-in-Aid Program for COE Research Foundation of the Ministry of Education, Science, Sports and Culture, as well as to International Research Center for Japanese Studies, Kyocera Corporation and Science Press, for their support of the conference and this publication.

Gao Chongwen Yasuda Yoshinori



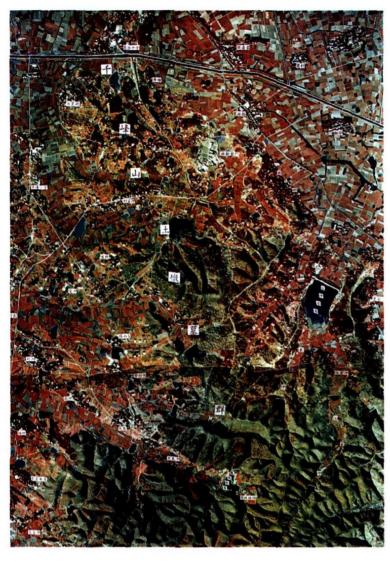
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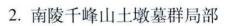
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《吴干之剑研究》

#### 彩版二



1. 南陵千峰山土墩墓群





《皖南地区土墩墓初步研究》



1. 墓坑、墓室



2. 墓室内视 《绍兴印山越王陵葬制的初步研究》

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## 长江流域青铜文化发展背景的新思考

#### 俞伟超

(中国历史博物馆)

自晚清以来,洞庭湖周围出土的"人虎卣"(以往习称乳虎卣、虎食人卣、虎卣等),已因形态特殊而受到高度重视。近数十年来,洞庭湖周围又出了许多动物造型的青铜器,本身特征突出,大家更加关注。后来,湖北黄陂盘龙城、四川广汉三星堆、江西新干大洋洲三大批青铜器的发现,加上长江三角洲宁镇地区陆续发现的一批有本地特征的相当于西周时期的青铜器,长江流域青铜文化的轮廓,已经渐渐清楚了。但是,至今还没有放在中国境内各支青铜文化发展过程的大背景中来审视长江流域青铜文化的产生、变化过程。其实,只要从这个角度作出观察,就能看到长江流域的青铜文化并非土生土长的,而是二里岗文化时期的一支商人来到长江中游带来的。直到殷墟阶段时,二里岗文化普遍向商王朝核心地区退却,在殷墟文化分布范围的四周,才大量发展起本地的青铜文化。三星堆、洞庭湖周围、大洋洲、宁镇地区的青铜文化就是在这种历史背景条件下出现的。

要看到这个变化过程,当然必须了解相邻的黄河流域青铜文化的发展过程;而看清了长江流域青铜文化变化过程的背景后,对黄河流域青铜文化有兴有衰的原因,特别是对殷墟文化分布区比以前大为缩小,也增加了新的理解。

## 一、黄河流域真正进入青铜时代及其制作 青铜武器技术大扩散的时间

在黄河流域,近四五十年来随着马家窑、马厂、齐家和各地龙山阶段(含山西、河北、河南、山东等)及岳石等遗存中,小型铜器的陆续发现(如小刀、锥、小凿、小斧锛、小铃及小型饰物等),在距今5000~4000年间,黄河流域已经出现数量并不多的人工制造的铜器,已被肯定下来。这些小型铜器,或为红铜,或为青铜,而且如同所属文化的关系联系起来,是红铜抑或青铜的早晚界限是相当模糊的。因此,仅据这些物品来

确定何时从红铜时代进入青铜时代还是很困难的。

其实,红铜时代和青铜时代的来临,并不是仅拿红铜器和青铜器的出现为惟一根据的。例如在土耳其的萨约诺(Cayöru)遗址,就出过公元前 7500 年的铜质装饰品。印度次大陆的西北部,在公元前 6000 年也开始有铜器。可是谁也没有把上述铜器,当作本地开始进入铜器时代的标志。

真正能表明当地已进入铜器时代的,应当是冶炼铜和使用铜器已达一定程度。例如在公元前4000年时,伊拉克、伊朗至印度次大陆的东北部,其熔炼铜和使用铜器都已有些规模,一些学者才把前4000年作为当地红铜时代的开始。到了前3000年,则又进入青铜时代。当然,那里红铜器的发达情况,在其他地区还是难以见到的。

在人类技术进步过程中,红铜时代是原始时代向文明社会过渡的、自身特点并不突出的比较短暂的阶段。但青铜冶铸技术被掌握后,人们将会大大提高生产能力,并因冶炼和铸造器物的技术要求,引起社会分工的加速扩大,并引发出其他一系列新技术的进步,从而导致社会结构的改变和观念形态的变化。但正像新石器时代出现了红铜器、红铜时代出现了青铜器后人们仍把这个时代叫做新石器和红铜时代一样,这个新时代不会因为一出现青铜器就算来临。

可以具体看看中国黄河流域的情况。已发现的从马家窑到各地龙山阶段的全部铜器,不论是红铜的还是青铜的,形体都小,数量又很少。可以看出,制作这些铜器的生产规模一定很小,对促进社会分工扩大的影响,恐怕是相当有限的。如果再考虑使用这些铜器对当时生产、生活能产生的影响,也一定不会很大。总之,这样一些铜器的出现和使用,看来还不能把当时的社会带到一个新阶段。

那么,在当时的历史背景中,有哪一种新的青铜器会对当时的社会群体产生最大影响呢?就选择的可能性来说,恐怕是莫大于青铜武器。

只要仔细思索,就能想到在那部落林立、争夺资源之战随时都会发生之时,如果有的部落,提高了冶铸青铜技术,发明了青铜武器,一旦他们装备了青铜武器之后,对于手持木矛、石斧的敌人来说,取胜就会变得轻而易举了。这样,这个部落(或是联盟集团)一定会迅速强大起来,成为一方霸主。

不要以为青铜兵器的制作,同制作其他普通铜器一样容易。对于青铜器的制作来说,制造武器需要更好地掌握铜、锡等合金成分,不是一开始就能懂得的。例如在印度次大陆的东北部,前 4000 年可以制作大量红铜器,而青铜武器则是在前 3000 年时才会制作的。

在我国,目前所见最早的一件青铜武器是河南偃师二里头文化的铜戈,时代属二里