



中国社会科学院青年学者文库

# 中国民族文化源新探

徐良高/著

文史系列

社会科学文献出版社



中国社会科学院青年学者文库/文史系列

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**著 者:** 徐良高

**责任编辑:** 王 正 刘 辉

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## 出版说明

一、本丛书选收中国社会科学院青年学者的优秀学术理论著作，旨在扶植青年，繁荣学术。

二、选题范围为中国社会科学院的各个学科门类，著作范围不限，惟以学术水平和社会效益为标准。

三、国家重点课题、中华社会科学基金课题、青年社会科学基金课题、中国社会科学院重点研究课题及青年科研基金课题的成果是本丛书选收的重点。

四、入选著作的作者年龄均不超过 39 岁。

五、本丛书由“中国社会科学院出版基金”资助出版。

## ·中国社会科学院青年学者文库·

### 总 序

中国社会科学院拥有一支朝气蓬勃的青年研究队伍，他们多数是毕业于本院研究生院和全国许多著名大学的博士生、硕士生，有的曾出国求学。他们接受过严格的专业训练，基础知识扎实，目光敏锐，视野开阔。目前，在经济学、哲学、宗教学、社会学、法学、国际问题、文学、语言学、史学等主要学科领域，正在有越来越多的青年研究人员承担起重要的研究工作。他们中间有的已经崭露头角，有的已经成为博士生导师、学术带头人，在学科建设和发展中起着重要的作用。

在社会转型时期，社会主义市场经济既为社会科学提供了机遇，同时，研究事业也面临着诸多困难和新问题。其中一个亟待解决的困难就是学术著作出版难的问题。社会科学研究主要是通过论著的形式作用于社会，出版问题得不到解决，研究成果就难以产生其应有的社会效应，研究人员的劳动价值也就得不到社会的承认。目前，学术著作出版难已经成了一个困扰研究人员的普遍的社会现象。名家的著作尚且难出版，青年人的就更难了，对青年科研人员来说，学术成果能否被社会所接受比物质生活待遇好坏似乎更为重要。因此，如何解决好这个问题，是关系到科研队伍的稳定和研究事业后继有人，兴旺发达的根本问题。值得庆幸的是，在这样的情况下，社会科学院仍然有相当一部分青年学者兢兢业业，埋头苦干，致力于学科建设和研究事业，在比较艰苦的科研环境和条件下不断做出成绩，这是令人钦佩和感人至深的。从他们身上，不仅能看到可贵的爱国情操和献身事业的精

神，还能看到社会科学研究事业乃至社会主义中国的希望。有这样的精神风貌，相信他们必将能够成为跨世纪的栋梁之才。

出版《中国社会科学院青年学者文库》既是基于学术研究事业的考虑，也是为了实实在在地帮助青年学者，解决他们学术成果出版难的问题。通过丛书的编辑出版，一方面让青年学者辛勤所得能够得到社会的承认，另一方面让他们的成果接受社会和实践的检验和学界的评判，以利于提高他们的水平，促使他们尽快成才。繁荣学术，扶植青年，我想这是编辑《文库》的两个最重要的宗旨吧。

至于《文库》能不能起到这个作用，有没有好的社会效果，就取决于大家的努力和合作了。若干年后再来看这件事情，也许就清楚了。

胡 绳

一九九四年一月三十日

徐良高同志的这本书正是全面系统地利用丰富的中国考古资料所作的大胆的研究、尝试，对中国传统文化的研究另辟蹊径，具有独创性。这本书的主题明确，研究方法有创新，论证是严密而扎实的，结论具有新意，有一定的说服力，读后给人以启示，使我们对中国传统文化产生一些新认识。本书对考古学由资料整理向深层次的文化研究的发展也起到一定的刺激、促进作用。

这本书对于我们认识中华民族文化和中国古代文明，反思中国传统文化，促进学科发展，繁荣学术争鸣均有意义。我们特向贵基金会郑重推荐，望予以资助。

——俞伟超

（中国历史博物馆研究员）

——苏秉琦

（中国社会科学院考古研究所研究员）

——徐苹芳

（中国社会科学院考古研究所研究员）

本书是徐良高同志花费了较长时间和大量的心血的研究成果。徐良高同志勤奋好学，思想敏锐，反映在本书里，其基础广博，观点新颖。本书涉及较多领域，有些是考古学研究的重要课题，如中国文明的特征及形成机制问题。作者以创新精神，以新的视角和新的思维方式，重新审视这些领域的资料和研究成果，提出一系列独到的有一定价值的观点，如新石器结束于仰韶末期问题，铜石并用时代问题，夏商周文化的关系问题，生产工具在三代及其以前社会进化中的作用问题，陶器、玉器、铜器在古代社会中的地位、作用及其变迁问题，中国文明与西方文明不同标准的问题，宗教特别是祖先崇拜在古代中国社会、政治和文化中的地位和作用问题等等。尽管有些问题可能会存在争议，有些问题（如宗教问题）会引起学术界的进一步讨论。本书文字的表述也准确清楚，所用资料为可信的考古学资料，论证过程科学合理，方法上有所创新。我认为此书有出版价值，特此推荐。

——郑 光

（中国社会科学院考古研究所研究员）

# ANCESTRY WORSHIP

A new approach to origin of Chinese culture

## Abstract

All subjects in the field of academy aim to spur the present society ahead of time. Why is it that archaeology can be exceptional? China's archaeology stemmed from the recent development of her culture. With the progress in this branch at home and abroad, you can see a contrast between the two cultures, eastern and western. How did China's culture come into shape? What is the difference in culture between China and the rest of the countries? What is it that influenced China's culture? All these challenge the Chinese archaeologists to work harder. In spite of the answers by far-sighted researchers that may enlighten you, this book offers some new hints for discussion.

What is meant by national culture in the book is a holding of hands of the three brothers; the conception of value, ideology and cultural ideas identified by a group of people. Because of this, there is a nationality, the one that differs from the rest of the nationalities in the world.

When we say Chinese culture, we mean the three brothers brought up in the history of China. Researches were made on it a period later than Warrior Kingdoms. Yet earlier than that time no

enough effort in studies had been spent on the source, content and character of Chinese culture. The pre - history China is new to us. How China started her days of civilization will not be discussed thoroughly until archaeology has been greatly developed on its territory. Chinese archaeologists will go astray if they keep themselves away from China's history. Culture, nation, city, and nationality; what did they mean in ancient China? That is the topic Chinese researchers should spent time and energy on.

Here for you the following points have been ascertained;

a. Farming used to be a means of living in China from the New Stone Age.

b. Changes could be seen in the society later in the New Stone Age. At Lung - Shan Age bronzeware and stoneware were in use brotherly. Then followed the Sandai; Hsia, Shang, Chou dynasties.

c. In cultural traditions such as ritual vessels, temples, beliefs, political systems and social organizations, no signs of critical difference were presented among the three dynasties.

To facilitate our research, the initial relics are divided into several parts; tools, earthenwares, bronzewares, jadewares, settlement buildings, tomb systems and writings. Of all of them a systematic analysis will be made to see how they developed, what effect they brought upon the society, what they were about and the ideology and religious belief that prevailed then.

Tools; Stone - bone - shell - teeth wares played their part historically from the New Stone Age down to the Sandai. Changes of tools pushed the society little forward. What is it, you may guess, that moved ancient China forward? It is man, and man alone. A new idea brings about a new would!

**Earthenwares:** They were used as daily necessities throughout the New Stone Age. Later in the Age pottery ritual vessels were required in small quantities for religious activities paving the way for the turning out of their descendent, the bronze ritual vessel. Gui, widely spread in Lung – shan Age, was a model of various bronze ritual vessels in the Sandai, during which the forefather, earthenwares, stepped down the stage with each passing day.

**Jadewares:** Chosen for ornamental purpose in the middle of the New Stone Age, jadewares did their share for the loyal religious prayers in their ceremony later in the Age. In Lung – shan Age the beautiful wares passed their days in top prosperity. To use came a series of vessels, for instance, Cong, Bi, Yue, Crown decorations, and those in Liang – zhu culture were typical. Jadewares stood as props on the table in a ceremony of worship. Their appearance in various cultures in Lung – shan Age symbolized among them ‘communication’, root of the ritual vessels necessary for religious purpose in the Sandai. When bronzewares were on their historical shift on the ceremonial occasions in that period, jadewares, sadly retired, were rendered for enjoyment. The precious wares that weighed with their masters, however, evidence the part they played in history.

**Bronzewares:** Presenting themselves as small objects in Lung – shan Age, bronzewares developed and came to be a cultural sphere of bronze ritual vessels, which be different from any of other ancient cultures, expanded throughout the Sandai. Ideological, the new wares suited religion and politics of the time. Because of the identity in religious belief and political system within the sphere, there was our nationality, Chinese nationality.

**Settlement:** Settlements built later in the New Stone Age signified kinship families and religious activities. By the Sandai the build-

ings were graded in order. Castles and sites for religious sacrifice were discovered in the days of Lung - shan. Capitals or vast settlements played an important role in religious ceremony and political affairs. Cities in ancient China were different from those in the west in their early days where trading was carried out mainly. Now you can be surprised by the sharp contrast; the slow growing of residential areas and the fast expanding of temples and palaces.

Tomb system; Kinship families lived and died together. Not until Chou dynasty did small families pull themselves ahead. Social grades were clear among kinship families alive and tombed. The number of ritual vessels in one's tomb tells of his position and wealth, or, to be exact, the relationship between his ancestors and himself. and the part he played in ancestry sacrifice. Men, typically prisoners of war, not respected to build a beautiful world, were killed in great number for religious sacrifice in the Sandai.

Oracle - bone inscriptions; Proving the communications between God and man, and serving as a means for political matters, oracle - bone inscriptions, early writings in China, were closely connected with religion in both ways, bone and inscription. Different from the inscriptions in Chinese, however, ancient writings in the west were records mainly for business. From both inscriptions, oracle - bone and bronze vessel, you can learn how sacrifices were made in ancient time. Ancestry worship was primarily a primitive religious worship that passed down the Sandai.

What can you learn from the above? Two sharp contrasts; the stagnant development of farm tools and the rapid growth of props for religion and politics; the poverty of residential areas and folk tombs and the extravagance of temples and palaces. Like 'On contract' that plays a top role among all things in the western countries nowa-

days worship came to be an almighty power that took hold of every soul in ancient China. Beliefs became the governors of men in their early days.

Originating in birth worship probably, ancestry worship rooted itself in ancient China thanks to kinship families socially and the stable farming along with public ownership of the land that fed the families economically. Ancestry was overwhelmingly admired then probably due to the increase of population.

How were nations formed? There are different answers, among which is 'Affairs of paramount importance for a nation are sacrifice and war', one of the sayings in ancient China. Ancestry worship played an important role in China's early nations.

There was a time later in the New Stone Age when a primitive society of equality gave way to a graded one because of religious activities as evidenced by archaeologists.

By the days of Lung - Shan when early nations were in shape, facts prove, ancestry worship paved the way for a graded society where power and wealth became two tigers. The belief that ancestors were above everything else in the Sandai came to be a generalissimo of his armies under him; the graded society, the formation of nations, state power, wealth concentration, redistribution and consumption. Nations in the Sandai were allies of the same belief, not the centralized nations in later sense. It is the belief that caused wars among them. The rise and fall of the belief were the rise and fall of the nations in the Sandai.

When we are clear of what Chinese culture was about in its early days, we begin to see that the two civilizations, eastern and western, are different from each other. Nations undeniably were symptomatic of being civilized, for example, temples and ritual vessels in

ancient China. Rising along the Yellow River in Lung Shan Age and characterized in Hsia dynasty, China's ancient civilization began to be on her way to the countries around.

Worship and identity of ancestry are the essence of China's nationality. You can find this true both in the historical relics as bronze vessels, jadewares, settlement buildings, writings, divination and in the fairy tales on everyone's lips. The belief, ancestry admiration, did not fade away until Warring Kingdoms owing to changes in social organizations, economy and other reasons. The belief, guiding spirit and backbone of China's early culture, is deep in the heart of her people traditionally and culturally governing them how to think, how to behave and how to solve a problem. What science and technology are about in the eyes of the Chinese is self-explanatory.

Now that we are aware of how and where culture rooted and grew in ancient China it will be possible for us, will it not, to make interflows of culture between China and the rest of the countries in the world for a modernized China.

Author: Xu Lianggao

Interpreter: Ning Wang

April 17, 1995

# 序

俞伟超

这本从考古学的角度来探讨三代社会基本特征的著作，先从阐述考古学的一些有关理论概念开始，再从生产工具、陶器、青铜器、玉器、聚落、墓葬、文字这些方面探索夏商周的社会面貌，最后归结出祖先崇拜是古代中国最重要的特征这个大结论。对这个结论的讨论是本书的重点，也是作者的心血所在。

我国的文明时代发端于三代，认识这时期的社会特征，关联到对以后时期社会结构的理解。本世纪初叶，一批又一批的有志之士，力图改变当时的腐朽政策，批评这个社会的文化传统，大家一直在思考这个传统是怎样形成的？于是，三代社会的本来面貌成为研究的重要对象。

当俄国发生“十月革命”后，中国革命成为国际共产主义运动关注的新中心，这个问题就是当时讨论的焦点之一。在国际范围内（包括中国），这种讨论曾于20~30年代和50~60年代出现过两次高潮。后来，国际形势（包括中国）发生了新变化，这种讨论慢慢平静下来，但仍是大家关注的问题。其中，我国学者当然更为关注。我国史学界以往对这个问题的认识，大致说，曾经历过三个阶段。

第一阶段是“五四”以前的漫长时期。那时期，人们一般从治理封建王朝的需要出发，着重于评论古籍中所见导致三代王朝发生兴衰的一些君臣行为和政治措施的得失。

第二阶段大致为本世纪20~40年代。许多史学家开始用近

代西方史学的观点来重建中国古史，包括进行考古学发掘。同时也出现了一些马克思主义史学家，提出了此时中国经历了从原始氏族制到奴隶制或是还包括了从奴隶制到封建制的中国社会发展过程的学说。

第三阶段大致为 50~70 年代。在此新中国建立后不久时，马克思主义已占有社会主流思潮位置，史学家们热衷于讨论三代社会的性质，即其生产关系问题。

至 80 年代以后，似乎又进入一个新阶段。学者们逐渐了解到二次大战后西方史学界和考古学界提出的一系列新观点；同时，我国的考古学也取得了大量新成果，并且相当普遍地对自己的以往研究进行反省，逐渐认识到不宜用已有的固定理论模式套在三代社会身上，而应从具体材料出发，在世界各古文化的具体研究中取得启发，进行比较，寻求自身的，合乎实际情况的认识。

自 70 年代末以来，我国的史学界和考古学界曾在一段时间内，对于二次大战后西方学者提出的一系列新观点，既觉生疏，又感新颖，颇感不知所从。后来，有些人曾简单搬用过来，做过一些新解释，但又感不太适用。大体说，经过十多年的思考后，现在已有愈来愈多的人懂得，只有从本国材料的实际出发，进行合理归纳和推衍，才能得到接近正确的认识。

我知道，本书作者就是以这种态度从事三代社会研究的。书中所述各家之说和各类材料，都极为丰富，读者阅后可以获得大量知识。我感到，作者在写作此书时所抱的热情和认识态度以及所费大量心血而得到的一系列认识，是对三代社会研究作出的新贡献。只要坚持这种精神，一定能取得更大的成绩！

1999 年 8 月 23 日于北京