

中国田野考古报告集

# 豫东考古报告

“中国商丘地区早商文明探索”野外勘察与发掘

中国社会科学院考古研究所 编著  
美国哈佛大学皮保德博物馆

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## 内 容 简 介

本书为始于 20 世纪 90 年代初的、由中国社会科学院考古研究所与美国哈佛大学皮保德博物馆联合实施的“中国商丘地区早商文明探索”项目所完成的考古发掘报告。报告首先介绍了商丘地区的地质考古勘探工作，之后分别对虞城马庄遗址、柘城山台寺遗址、商丘潘庙遗址以及老南关古城的考古勘探和发掘工作进行了介绍，特别是对各遗址不同历史时期文化遗存中发现的遗迹、墓葬以及出土遗物进行了重点描述。

本书适合于从事历史时期考古特别是三代考古研究的专家学者，以及相关专业的大专院校师生参考阅读。

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# 河南商丘地区殷商文明 调查发掘初步报告（代序）

张长寿 张光直

## 一、商丘与商城在殷商研究史上的地位

中国现代古史学者对于殷商文明史的了解，经过了四个阶段。第一个阶段始于 19 世纪末殷代甲骨文的问世，终于全面抗战开始，史语所停止发掘殷墟。这个阶段产生了以前不知道的古文字学和考古的新材料，改变了过去只有以文献资料为基础的状况，以确凿的实物遗存确立了这个古代王朝的真实性，并且使我们看到许多殷商后期（从第十九王盘庚到第三十王纣）的遗迹与遗物<sup>①</sup>。第二个阶段是从 1950 年发现比殷墟早一期的郑州二里冈殷商遗址开始的，40 多年来，与二里冈同时的殷商遗址发现很多，分布在黄河、长江流域，正因为他们分布之广，远超过古代一个国家能够实际控制的范围，我们在这个阶段将殷商文化主要当做“文明”来看，相信同享这个文明的有一个以上的国家朝代<sup>②</sup>。第三个阶段是从 1959 年偃师二里头遗址的发现引起来的。这一年徐炳昶先生等人按文献中提供的线索出发去找“夏墟”，在偃师与洛阳之间发现了二里头这个遗址，遗址里的陶器<sup>③</sup>很像殷墟和郑州的殷商陶器，尤其与郑州最早期的南关外可以相比。有许多学者坚持二里头就是早商，代表殷商文明从商汤到郑州所代表的王之前的这一段。这样一来，殷商的次序就从晚到早都全了。但是也有许多学者不同意这个看法，认为二里头的确是夏。这第三个阶段也可以说是中国古史学界与考古学界对二里头遗址是夏还是商这个问题争执不休的 20 多年<sup>④</sup>。

20 世纪 80 年代以来，一直到现在，可以说是研究殷商文明的第四个阶段。在这个阶段里面，很多学者已经接受二里头文化是夏文化的说法<sup>⑤</sup>。如果二里头文化是夏文化，那么郑州二里冈之前的商文化岂不是又得从头找起么？郑州以前的殷商文化在分段上还有争执。北京大学邹衡先生相信郑州的商城最初便是汤都的亳<sup>⑥</sup>，因此，汤以后的十七个王，连他自己在内一共十八个，到了盘庚的时候，已经迁过五次（一说八次）都城了。这些都城在今何处，所知不全。但既然建立商代的汤的亳都便是今日

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① 李济著，苏秀菊、聂玉海译：《安阳——殷商古都发现、发掘、复原记》，中国社会科学出版社，1990 年；中国社会科学院考古研究所：《殷墟的发现与研究》，科学出版社，1994 年。

② 河南省文物研究所：《郑州商城考古新发现与研究 1985-1992》，中州古籍出版社，1993 年。

③ 郑光：《二里头陶器文化论略》，《二里头陶器集粹》，中国社会科学出版社，1995 年。

④ 孙华：《关于二里头文化》，《考古》1980 年第 6 期。

⑤ 白寿彝：《中国通史》第三卷，上册，上海人民出版社，1994 年。

⑥ 邹衡：《夏商周考古论文集》，文物出版社，1980 年。

郑州的遗址，郑州二里冈的文化便可以代表殷商建国以后十八个王的文化的开始，我们所缺的只剩下汤立国之前的“先商”文化了。不知道先商文化的来龙去脉，也就是不知道殷商文化的来龙去脉。先商文化弄清楚了，才能将夏、商、周三代的关系弄清楚。因此，先商文化来源的研究，可以说是当前中国古代史的急务。

## 二、研究先商文明来源的几条线索

所谓“先商”文明，即指汤建立商朝以前的商文明。依《史记》的记载，商朝的始祖为契，然后经过昭明、相土、曹圉、冥、振、微、报丁、报乙、报丙、主壬、主癸等十一个王，才传到汤，自汤以后诸王，多在殷墟的甲骨文里出现，与司马迁《殷本纪》的殷王系谱所差无几。但汤以前诸王，在甲骨文里出现不多。古文字学者建议《史记》中的“振”便是殷墟甲骨文中的王亥，“微”便是上甲，报丁的世次应该移到报丙的后面。这些王的名字、世次和事迹，都有很大的可信性，但这一段时间的长短、王的正确数目、名字和关系，以及他们统治领域的大小和地望，都需要进一步的研究。可是，殷商文明有一段先商时代，是汤以后文明的前身，这是可以断定的。

从考古学的立场看来，从郑州二里冈以后的殷商文明，很可能有两个先商的源头：使用粗制灰色绳纹的日常烹饪陶器的被统治阶级可能来自冀南豫北的漳河流域<sup>①</sup>，而使用夯土基址、城墙、铜器、文字等有财富和美术价值的宝贵物品的统治阶级，则可能来自东方的海岸地带<sup>②</sup>。东海岸从山东半岛到杭州湾在公元前 2500 到前 2000 年这一段关键时期内，从现在已有的材料来看，至少有两组可以辨认出来的区域文化。在山东和苏北有一支比较典型的龙山文化<sup>③</sup>，在长江三角洲和太湖区域的是良渚文化<sup>④</sup>。这两个文化地理分布的细节，现在还画不出来。这两个文化以外，东海岸区域是不是还有其他重要的区域文化，这些其他的文化与龙山、良渚的同异到何种程度，现在都不能说定。但是，有一点事实我们相信多数考古工作者可以肯定，就是龙山和良渚两个文化到了公元前第三个千纪的后期，也就是在夏、商、周三代开始以前的数百年之间，在文化和社会的演进上，都已经达到了很高的水平，并具有很复杂的内容<sup>⑤</sup>。有资格扮演上文所说的先商时代征服者和统治者角色。同时从物质文化风格来看，东海岸的龙山文化与良渚文化都有可说是殷商文化祖型的因素<sup>⑥</sup>。这样看来，考古学材料给了我们一条很坚强、很清楚的线索，说明先商文化自东海岸沿着现在陇海路的路线从苏北经徐州进入豫东，征服了土著，在商丘一带建立了他的第一个都城——商，这种可能性是可以郑重考虑的。

其实，把商城放在商丘是中国一贯的旧说。《左传》将昭明的都城放在商丘。王国维《观堂集林》

① 邹衡：《关于探讨夏文化的几个问题》，《文物》第 1979 年第 3 期。

② 张光直：《中国青铜时代》，生活·读书·新知三联书店，1983 年。

③ 严文明：《龙山时代考古新发现的思考》，《纪念城子崖遗址发掘 60 周年国际学术讨论会文集》，齐鲁书社，1993 年；杨育彬：《龙山文化与中国文明》，同上书；何德亮：《山东龙山文化的类型与分期》，《考古》1996 年第 4 期。

④ 上海博物馆：《良渚文化珍品展》，1992 年；余杭市政协文史资料委员会：《文明的曙光——良渚文化》，浙江人民出版社，1996 年。

⑤ 巩启明、姜捷：《试论龙山文化的社会性质》，《纪念城子崖遗址发掘 60 周年国际学术讨论会文集》，齐鲁书社，1993 年；王锡平：《典型龙山文化社会形态刍议》，同上书；杜正胜：《夏代考古及其国家发展的探索》，《考古》1991 年第 1 期；曹桂岑：《论龙山文化古城的社会性质》，《中国考古学会第五次年会论文集（1985）》，文物出版社，1988 年。

⑥ 黄宣佩：《良渚文化》，上海博物馆出版《良渚文化珍品展》，1992 年。

中《说商》一文将古代的商就放在今天的商丘附近,他的证据和推理都是很有说服力的。甲骨学发达之后,董作宾在《殷历谱》里面将帝辛十年到十一年征人方的路线作了一次复原,这里面就有“商”和“大邑商”的地名<sup>①</sup>。从这个定名与其他地名已知地点的关系来看,董先生的结论给了王国维将商放在商丘的说法以当代文献的支持。所以,20世纪30年代史语所发掘殷墟期间,李景聃特别到商丘去找寻比殷墟时代早的殷商文明的遗物<sup>②</sup>,数十天后,李先生空手而归。这以后直到70年代之后才在豫东有较大规模地对早商文化的搜寻<sup>③</sup>。但是,20年来所发现的考古遗址有龙山文化的、有岳石文化的、有二里冈期文化的、有殷墟期文化的,但是还没能断定有任何先商文明的踪迹。

商丘地区至今没有发现先商文明遗址、遗物,可能有好几个原因。假如先商文化是在殷商文明二里冈期以前、龙山文化以后的一段文化,它应该是东与岳石文化、西与二里头文化同时的一支平行的文化。岳石文化一般相信就是历史上东夷的文化,而商出于夷是中国上古史的常识,所以先商文化也许就是岳石文化的一支。山东龙山文化发展的高潮,专从陶器上看,可以日照两城镇的遗物为代表<sup>④</sup>,从它的埋葬制度、埋葬的规模和随葬玉器来看,临朐县朱封遗址可见一斑<sup>⑤</sup>。从这两个遗址再进一步,它的文化境界和水平与我们可以想象的先商文明恐怕也就没有什么不同了。中国古代的都城,如杜正胜先生所指出的都在低平的地带<sup>⑥</sup>,这就是迄今在商丘地区找不到商城的原因。我们知道,豫东是黄泛区的中心,地表上被好几米厚的黄土和泥沙所掩覆。李景聃先生1936年去商丘调查就曾叹说:“经过这样的水患,无怪旅行商丘境内触目沙田,一望无际!普通地面淤土深约五尺,其下即为黄沙,水井并非用砖圈不可。”<sup>⑦</sup>古代的商丘,即使丘陵起伏,有平地有高岗,经过几百年的水患,低凹之处和这种地形上的城址尽被填平覆掩。所以平地上找不到遗址,而高岗顶面也找不到商代的城址。这样看来,最有希望的找寻途径是向地底下先找到古代平地地面,再在古代地面上面找寻当时地面上的古代遗址。

### 三、中美联合考古队组织和工作主要收获

1988年夏,徐苹芳先生接任中国社会科学院考古研究所的所长。他上任以后不久便写信邀我到北京,希当面谈论中美两国在考古学上合作的问题。我便于同年10月专程前往,与徐苹芳讨论了各种对中美双方均有利无弊的合作方式与合作的课题。在最后决定的合作方式中,以本文所叙述的这个调查发掘计划最为重要。

这个计划是找寻商最初几个王的都城——商,再借商的研究看整个殷商文明的发展经过。如果殷商文明的后面两截与已知的郑州二里冈和安阳殷墟的文明相同或相近,那么比二里冈早的一段就是先商和(若有的话)早商。上面已经说过,传统上学者们都以为商就在商丘,所以我们的协议就是双方

① 董作宾:《殷历谱》,中央研究院史语所石印本,1945年。

② 李景聃:《豫东商邱永城调查及造律台黑孤堆曹桥三处小发掘》,《中国考古学报》第二册,商务印书馆,1947年。

③ 中国社会科学院考古研究所河南二队、商丘地区文物管理委员会:《1977年豫东考古纪要》,《考古》1981年第5期。

④ 抗战前在日照两城镇发掘的黑陶,现存台北史语所。发掘报告初稿早由尹焕章、刘燿两人写就。我们计划在近期中将尹、刘手稿整理后与图片同时发表。

⑤ 中国社会科学院考古研究所山东工作队:《山东临朐朱封龙山文化墓葬》,《考古》1990年第7期。

⑥ 杜正胜:《从村落到国家》,《中国文化新论》,联经出版事业公司,1981年。

⑦ 李景聃:《豫东商邱永城调查及造律台黑孤堆曹桥三处小发掘》,《中国考古学报》第二册,商务印书馆,1947年。

合作在商丘地区调查及发掘。发掘所有文物的处理均照国家文物法处理保护。第一步,我们一定要将商丘地区全新世的地层爬梳清楚,所以前三年集中全力在这个题目上<sup>①</sup>。从地层看来,我们所要调查的文化层都在现在地面以下10米左右,所以下一步的工作就是要集中力量在地面下10米左右找我们需要的遗址和遗物。

1993年,任式楠先生出任考古研究所所长,乌恩先生任副所长,我们双方重申合作的意愿,草拟了合作发掘的计划和队伍的组成,并报请国家文物局批准,申请发掘执照。不久,期待多年的中美合作发掘便正式在商丘地区开始了。

从1994年以来发掘了三个遗址并且在商丘地区做了广泛调查,三个遗址是商丘县的潘庙、虞城县的马庄、柘城县的山台寺。每个遗址大致发掘了两季,发现的文化层出乎意料地多。三个遗址连起来可以形成下面这条文化顺序(从上向下系从早到晚):

仰韶文化(马庄)

龙山文化(山台寺、马庄、潘庙)

岳石文化(潘庙、山台寺)

殷商殷墟类型文化(山台寺、马庄)

东周时代墓葬(潘庙)

汉代文化层和墓葬(潘庙、马庄)

需要说明的是,我们虽未挖到二里冈类型的文化层,但在山台寺附近的孟庄遗址<sup>②</sup>确曾发掘过这类遗存。另外,在潘庙的晚期地层中发现个别类似二里头文化的陶片,这些都有待于进一步的调查和研究。

在上述这个文化序列中比较重要的发现是在龙山文化层和东周文化层。山台寺的龙山文化遗址有意外的重要性,在很小的范围里发现了五间东西相连的房基(图1),有一间房子地面涂满了白灰,墙是用木骨夯土筑成,基部抹得精细光滑,房子和灰坑里有大批的黑陶片,其中不少是薄、细、磨光的蛋壳陶,器形有鬲、高柄杯、豆、觚等。在这排房子的南边约30米处,有一个祭祀坑,略成圆形,其中埋九头整牛和一个鹿头,有的牛已经肢解(图2)。这个牛坑使山台寺的龙山文化遗址与殷商文明搭上了密切的关系。《世本·作篇》“核作服牛”;《楚辞·天问》“该秉季德……胡终弊于有扈,牧夫牛羊”;《管子·轻重戊》“殷人之王,立帛牢,服牛马”;《易·旅上九》“(王亥)丧牛于易”。这里面的几个名字包括核和该,据王国维说都是王亥。殷代先祖与家牛这种密切的关系,是别的朝代的祖先所没有的。殷商考古的遗址里常有祭牛的遗迹,牛是大牢,一个祭祀坑里有九条牛,表现祭祀重要与祭祀者的地位非同一般。龙山文化遗址里面这个发现是没有前例的,它或许说明龙山文化的一支,与其他地方的龙山文化向岳石文化的发展平行,在豫东发展出来以山台寺为代表的一支特殊的晚期龙山或岳石文化,它就是殷商文明的前身。

潘庙的岳石文化与山台寺的龙山文化显然不同。如果山台寺的龙山文化是一支特殊发展的岳石文化,潘庙的岳石文化只能说是它的一个穷亲戚。从上面种种看来,商丘地区的龙山文化和岳石文化需要广泛和深入地研究,它们可能就是早商和先商,也可能是早商和先商的近祖。

① 荆志淳在1994年用这个计划所得的材料作成他的博士论文,题为 Geoarchaeologic Reconstruction of the Bronze Age Landscape of the Shangqiu Area, China. 其中若干材料及结论见 Zhichun Jing, George Rapp Jr., and Gao Tianlin, Holocene landscape evolution and its impact on Neolithic and Bronze Age sites in the Shangqiu area northern China, Geoarchaeology: An International Journal, 10, 1995.

② 中国社会科学院考古研究所河南一队、商丘地区文管会:《河南柘城孟庄商代遗址》,《考古学报》1982年第1期。



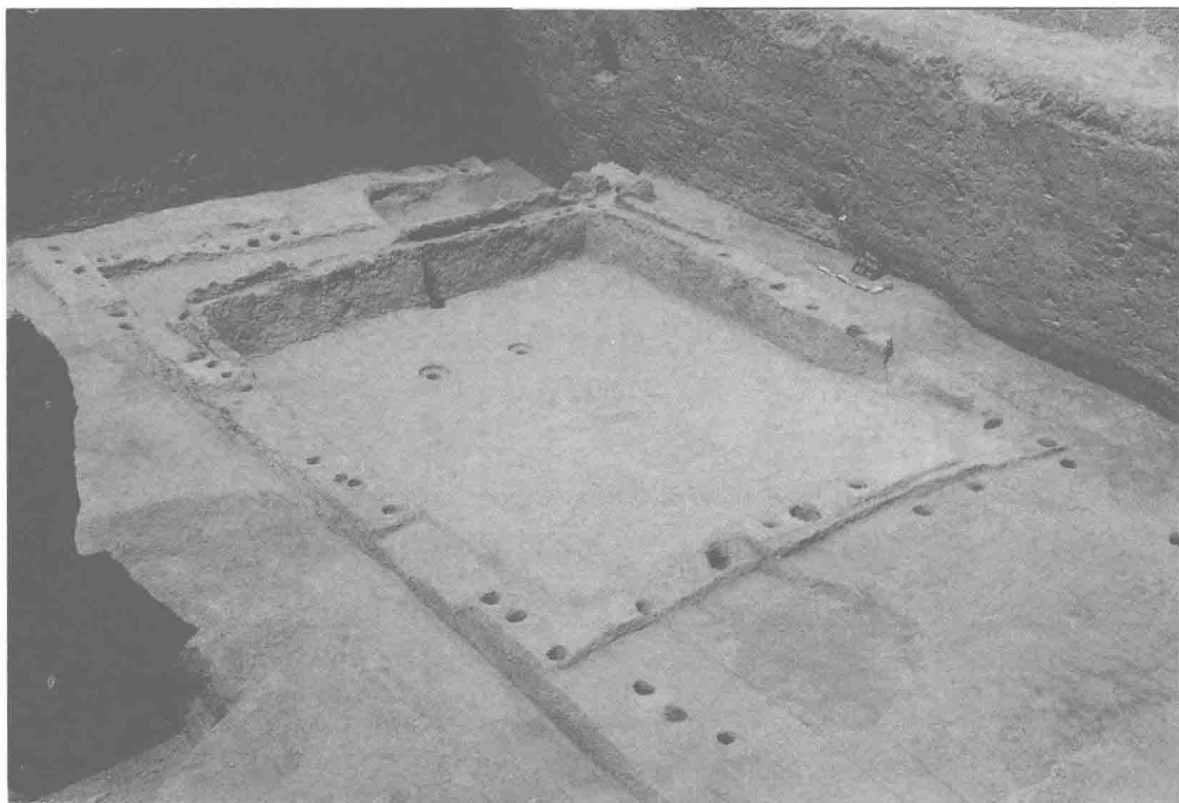


图1 柘城山台寺龙山文化房址

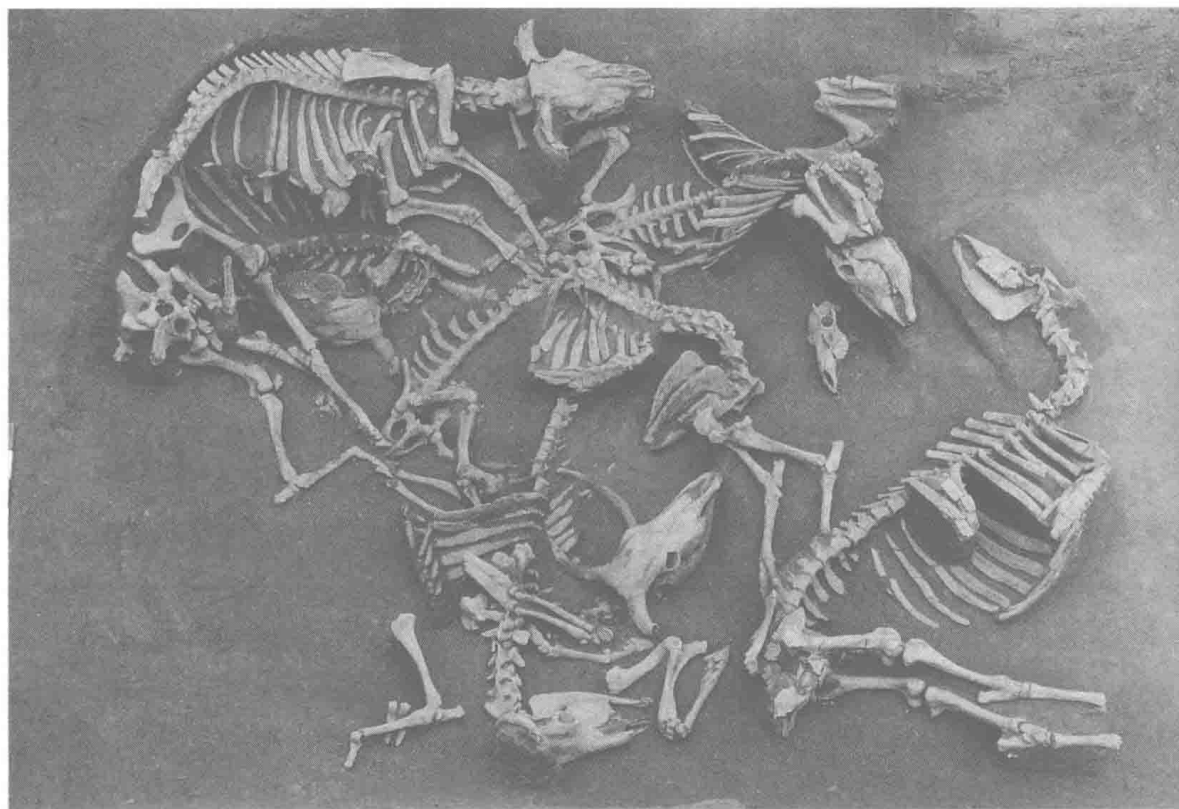


图2 柘城山台寺龙山文化牛坑

除了上面所说的发掘工作给了我们掌握先商和早商文化的线索之外，迄今为止还有一个比较重要的成绩是商丘县（现商丘市）老南关村以西到距阚伯台不远的郑庄一带所发现的一个东周时代的城址（图3），这个城址是中美考古队使用全部新旧技术经过6年的时间（1991~1996年）才发现的，详情

以后专文报告，可以作为类似工作的参考。这个城还只找到西墙 1200 余米，南墙 1100 余米，东墙和北墙尚待继续探索（经 1996 年秋季钻探，西墙全长 3050 米，北墙探出 1400 余米）。另外，西墙的南端距西南拐弯外 530 余米的地方探到一处缺口，呈上部大、下部逐渐缩小的形状，当是一个城门（图 4）。城墙保存高度最高的距地表只有 2 米，低的有 8~9 米，城墙宽度大部在 15~20 米，夯层厚度在 11~13 厘米，夯窝多圆形，直径在 7 厘米左右（图 5、图 6）。从切割的夯土层中的包含物来看，主要是东周陶片。城墙局部有汉代灰坑打破迹象，初步断定是春秋时代一个很大的城市。据我们所知，东周时代这个地方唯一的城市就是宋的都城。《史记·宋微子世家》：“周武王伐纣克殷，微子乃持其祭器造于军门，肉袒面缚，左牵羊，右把茅，膝行而前以告。于是武王乃释微子，复其位如故。武王封纣子武庚禄父以续殷祀。”后来管蔡之乱中，武庚被杀，周公命微子开代殷后，奉其先祀。微子封的地方就叫宋，《世本》说“宋更曰睢阳”，也就是说睢阳、宋和商丘是一地的异名。所以，宋城一般认为建筑在商城之上。宋城的发现使我们找商城的工作在地理范围上缩小了很多。

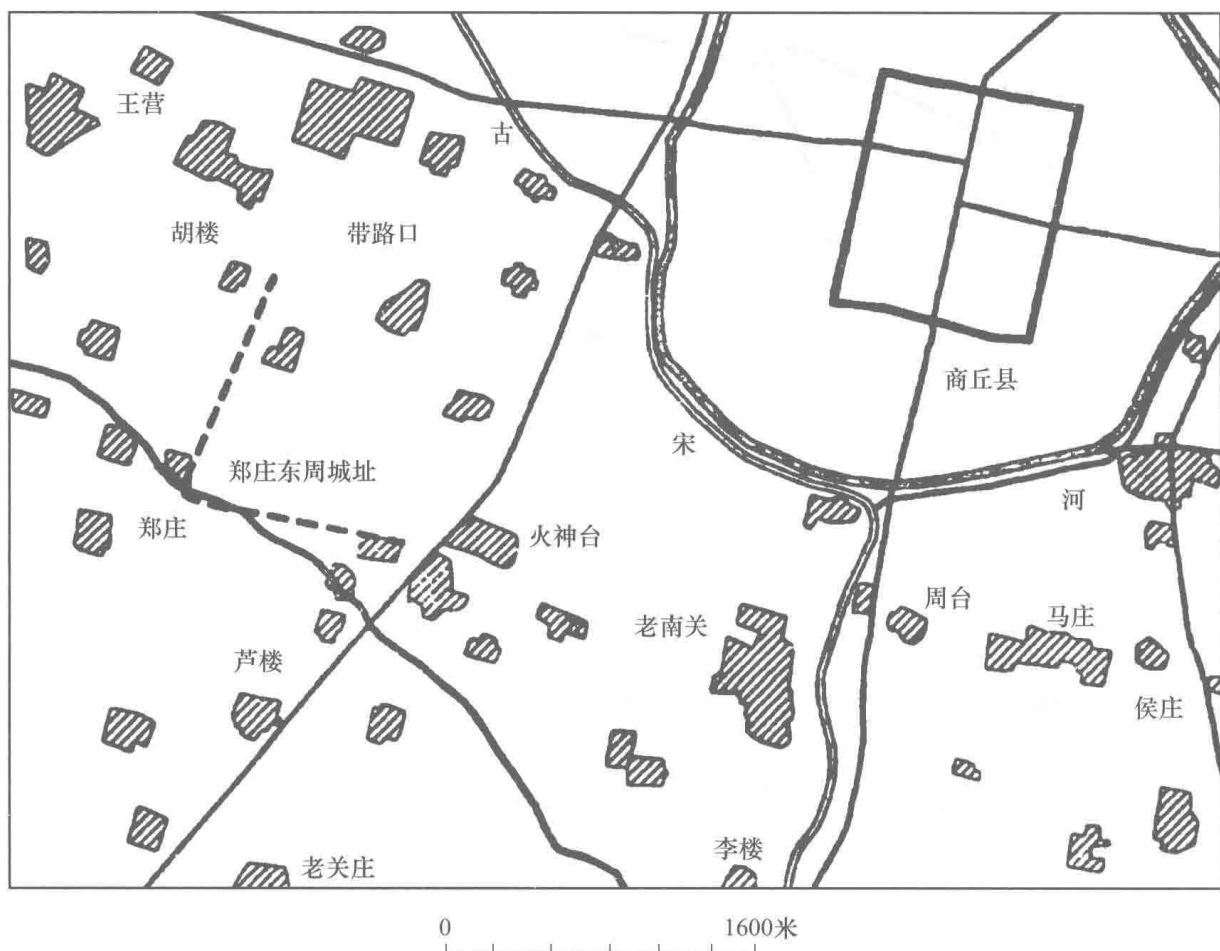


图 3 商丘县老南关发现的东周城址示意图

这只是目前中美联合考古队在豫东地区先商早商研究计划上一些主要成果的很简单的报告。下一步的工作一方面是从龙山文化向下走，走到殷商文明的巅峰，另一方面是从宋城往上推，一直推到岳石和龙山文化，在推的过程中也就将早商和先商给挤出来了。如果能找到商城，在商城里面找到商王朝精美的手工艺品、青铜器、玉器、基址和祭祖的档案等重要文物的可能性是存在着的。但是要将这些任务全部完成，恐怕需要很长的时间和很多的费用。

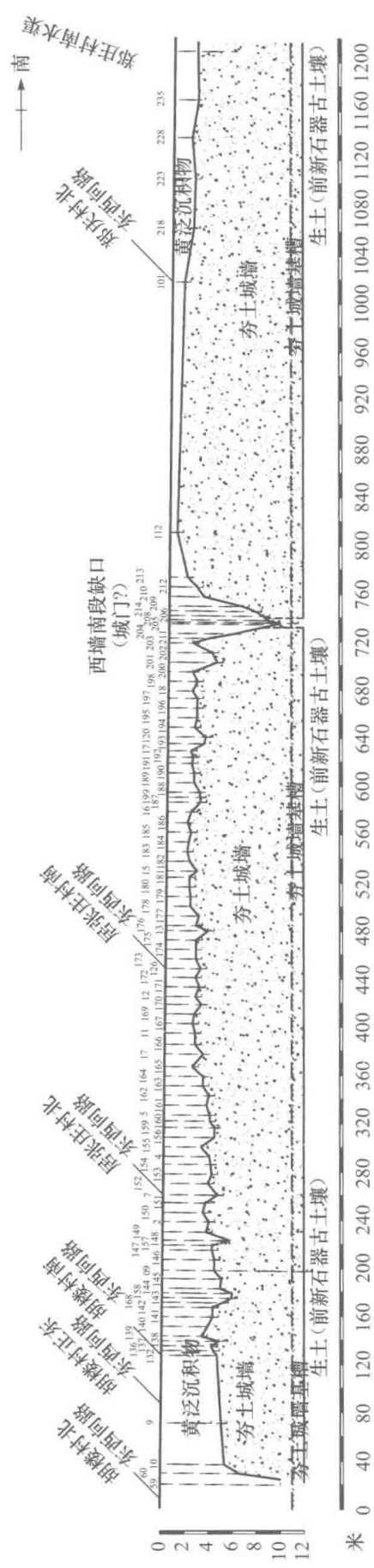


图4 老南关古城址宋城西墙南段钻探纵剖面

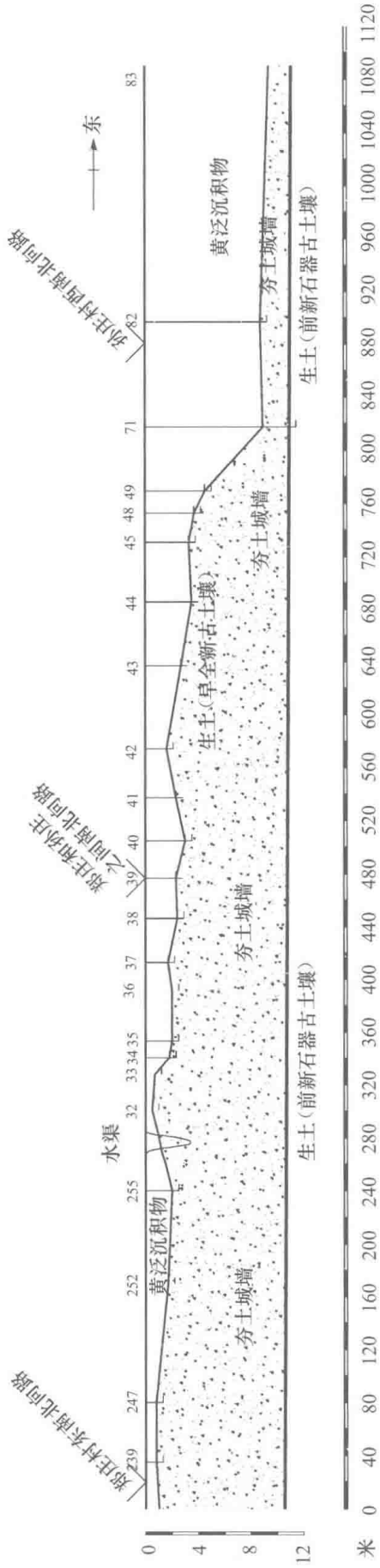


图5 老南关古城址宋城南段西段钻探纵剖面



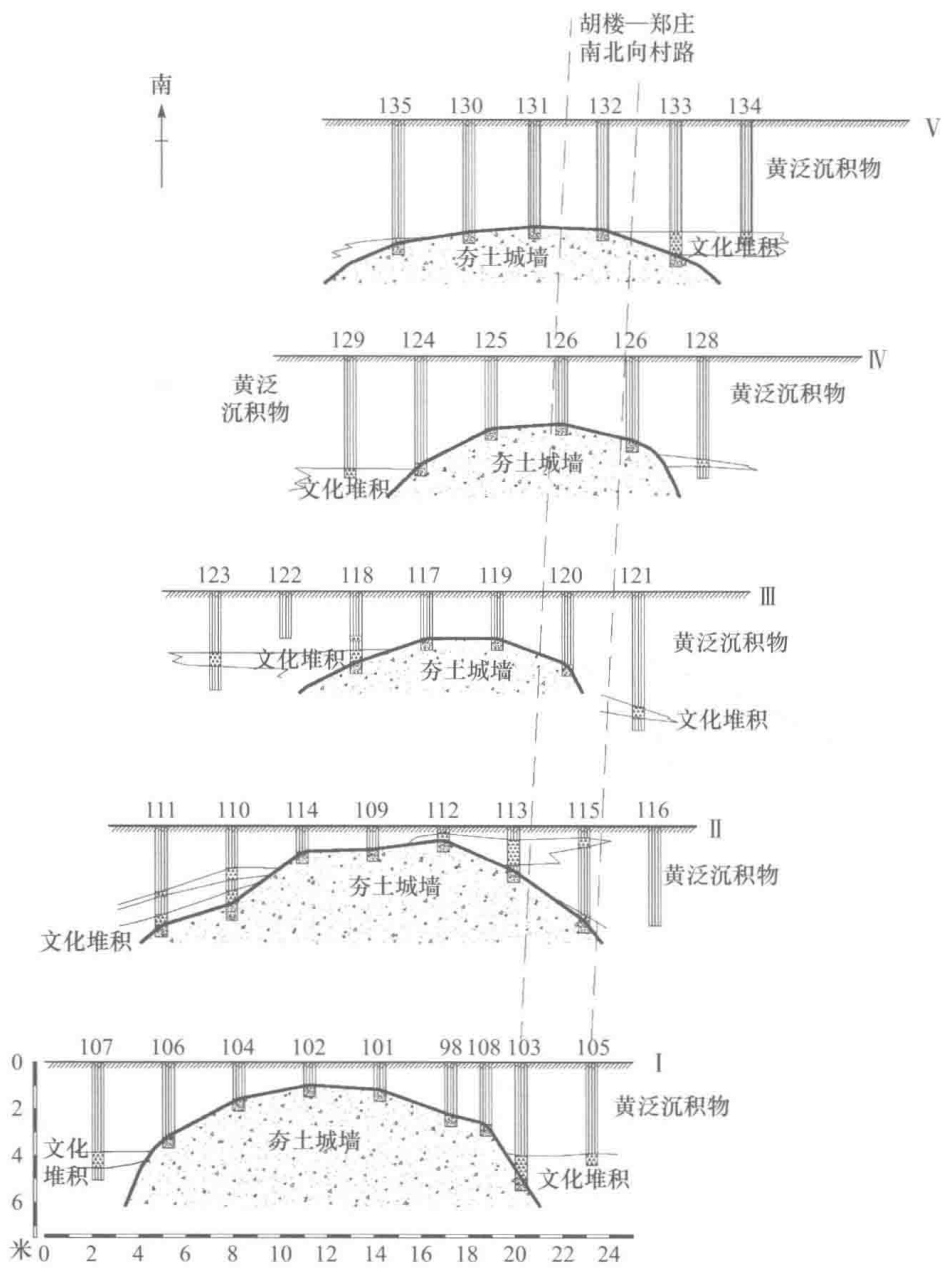


图6 老南关古城址宋城西城墙南段钻探横剖面

[补记：本文系“中国商丘地区早商文明探索”课题实施过程中由张光直、张长寿先生执笔发表于《考古》1997年第4期（24~41页）。《豫东考古报告》以此文作为序言，保留了文章发表时的文字原貌，图略有改动]

# Looking for City Shang of the Shang Dynasty in Shangqiu: a Brief Report of a Sino-American Team

Kwang-Chih Chang, Changshou Zhang

China boasts the longest continuous historical record of any civilization, yet before the early decades of the 20th century when modern archaeology was introduced from the West and began to build an authentic series of early civilizations, our understanding of the beginning of Chinese history was all legendary. In 1899, inscribed oracle bones of the late Shang dynasty were accidentally found and in 1920 intensive efforts to look for their source led archaeologists to Yinxu ("the Ruins of Yin"), near Anyang, Henan Province. From 1928 on, Yinxu has been extensively excavated by archaeologists of the Academia Sinica and yielded an enormous amount of inscribed bones and archaeological remains, authenticating the existence of the Shang dynasty and its capital, Yin, from the 19th king, Pan Geng, to the 30th and final king, Zhou. These remains also provide the actual sites and artifacts of a splendid civilization, whose beauty cannot even be imagined in mere historical tests<sup>①</sup>. Then, in 1950, Shang remains were found 170 km. to the south in Zhengzhou, Henan. Here, both pottery and bronze vessels were antecedent to those of Yin in form, as well as time<sup>②</sup>. Due to its size, the site at Zhengzhou could have served as another royal capital with the Shang state; some scholars believed it to be the city Ao<sup>③</sup>, capital of King Zhongding, the 10th Shang king, while Zou Heng in a series of papers insists that it was Bo, the capital of the dynasty's founder, Tang<sup>④</sup>.

In recent years, Zou's identification has gained popularity, and our knowledge of the Shang civilization could be said to go as far as King Tang, i.e., to the beginning of the dynasty. But about the period previous to Tang, referred to as predynastic Shang, little is known. According to the traditional legends as summarized in the historical text *Shiji*, written ca. 100 B.C., the political line of Shang began with a person named

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① Li Chi. Anyang. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1977.

② An Chin-huai, "The Shang city at Cheng-chou and related problems," in: *Studies of Shang Archaeology*, K.C. Chang, ed., New Haven & London: Yale Univ. Press, 1986, pp. 15-48.

③ An Chin-huai, "The Shang city at Cheng-chou and related problems," in: *Studies of Shang Archaeology*.

④ Zou Heng, *Xia Shang Zhou kaogu lunwen ji (Essays on the archaeology of the Xia, Shang, and Zhou dynasties)*, Beijing: Wenwu Press, 1980.

Xie, who built his capital city at Shang, from which the dynasty's name was derived. Shang, according to a recent theory, is a pictographic character referring to ancestor worship<sup>①</sup>. This town continued its capital status during the next two predynastic kings, Zhaoming and Xiangtu. Then the royal capital moved to several other sites until it settled at Bo for a time. But City Shang had remained in place as the ancestral cult center until the dynasty's fall under King Zhou. The predynastic segment of the Shang civilization would have been revealed with the discovery of City Shang, but City Shang is not yet archaeologically known. As early as 1936, in the middle of the Yinxu excavations, Li Jingdan, a member of the Yinxu team, was sent to Shangqiu, in the eastern end of Henan province, to investigate. In local traditions, the city of Shangqiu, literally "the Ruins of Shang", was the location of City Shang. It was also the seat of E Bo, an official of great antiquity in charge of regulating the calendar according to the Fire Star Antares of the constellation Scorpio. King Zhaoming, local traditions say, took over E Bo's town and made it City Shang. But during Li's investigations, all Li encountered were sands and silts, several meters deep, deposited over the surface of the whole region by the Yellow River floods well recorded from later historical periods. A few earthen mounds dotted the landscape, where small sites of Longshan and a few other "Neolithic-looking" cultures were found<sup>②</sup>.

Although Li failed to find any pre-Yinxu Shang dynasty sites in Shangqiu, assemblages of gray cordmarked pottery similar to the pottery of Zhengzhou and Yinxu in form and in decoration have been unearthed from seemingly earlier layers in northern Henan and southern Hebei, in the Zhang River valley, since the 1970s. This has led many archaeologists, above all Zou Heng, to believe that here is the home of the pre-dynastic phase of the Shang civilization<sup>③</sup>. In 1959, Xu Bingchang led an archaeological team to northwest Henan and southern Shanxi to look for Xiaxu, the Ruins of Xia, the former capital of the first of the Three Dynasties (as the Xia, Shang, and Zhou are often called). Xu and his team excavated Erlitou, an old site located between the towns of Luoyang and Yanshi, and found many potsherds similar to the Nanguanwai sherds, the oldest from Zhengzhou, but Erlitou seemed still older. Subsequent excavations disclosed a settlement of at least four cultural layers the third and the fourth layers containing remains of palatial foundations raised from the ground floor and also bronze ritual vessels such as *jue*, *ding*, *jia*, and *he*, typologically and technologically a giant level below the same types of vessels at Zhengzhou<sup>④</sup>. Undoubtedly, Erlitou and predynastic Shang are contemporary and may be similar. If this is predynastic Shang, then the Shang sequence would be complete. But Chinese scholars spent a better part of two decades, i.e., the 1970s and 1980s, arguing whether Erlitou was Xia or predynastic Shang<sup>⑤</sup>. At the present time, the Xia identity seems to have gained ground. Thus, the only archaeologically identifiable predynastic Shang remains are those gray cord-marked pottery assemblages in

① K. C. Chang, "The meaning of 'Shang' in the Shang dynasty," *Early China* 20 (1996).

② Li Jingdan, "Yudong Shangqiu Yongcheng diaocha ji Zaolutai Heigudui Caoqiao sanchu xiao fajue (The investigation in Yongcheng, Shangqiu, eastern Henan, and three small excavations at Zaolutai, Heigudui, and Caoqiao)," *Zhongguo Kaogu Xuebao* 2, (1947), pp. 88-120.

③ Sun Dehai et al., "Cixian Xiaqiuyan fajue jianbao (A brief excavation report of the Xiaqiuyan site in Cixian, Hebei)," *Kaogu Xuebao* 1979 (2):pp.185-214.

④ Zheng Guang, "Erlitou taoqi wenhua lunlue (A summary discussion of the pottery culture from Erlitou)," in: *Erlitou Taoqi Jizui (The Cream of the Pottery from Erlitou)*, Beijing: Zhongguo Shehui Kexue Press, 1955, pp. 1-27.

⑤ Zheng Guang, *Erlitou Taoqi Jizui*, p.23; "Shi lun Erlitou Shang de zaoqi wenhua (To analyze the earlier Shang culture of Erlitou)," *Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Meeting of Chinese Archaeological Society*, 1983, pp. 18-33.



northern Henan and southern Hebei. Unfortunately, there is no trace of the culture of the elite rulers. The Shang ruling class, the dynasty, who possessed the rammed-earth town walls and house foundations, bronze vessels and weapons, writing, and other items of wealth and objects of artistic value, is nowhere to be found in the Zhang River valley.

In recent years, with the great progress made in the archaeological study of the eastern coastal areas of China, it is increasingly clear that Shang's royal house and its elite culture must have come from the east. During the key period from 2500 to 2000 B.C., according to currently available data on the east coast, we can identify at least two clusters of regional cultures. One is a "typical" Longshan Culture in Shandong and northern Jiangsu<sup>①</sup>, and the other is the Liangzhu Culture of the Yangzi River delta and the Lake Tai basin<sup>②</sup>. We cannot yet draw a minutely detailed map of these two cultures, nor do we know if there were other contemporary cultures along the east coast and if so what were their similarities and differences. What is by now agreed upon is the recognition of the Longshan and the Liangzhu Cultures of the second half of the third millennium B.C.—in other words, during the several centuries prior to the Three Dynasties—had attained a high degree of cultural achievement and social complexity<sup>③</sup>, certainly qualified to play the role of the aforementioned conquering dynasty of predynastic Shang. In the meantime, there are many stylistic similarities between the Neolithic Longshan and Liangzhu, on the one hand, and the Bronze Age Shang on the other<sup>④</sup>. Thus, archaeology has given us a very solid and clear clue to justify the hypothetical scenario that a group of predynastic Shang warriors came into the heartland of Henan from the east coastal area via what is now the Gansu-Lianyungang Railway, marching from northern Jiangsu through Xuzhou and arriving in the neighborhood of Shangqiu. There they conquered the natives and established the Shang city.

To place Shang in Shangqiu is, actually, an old consensus in traditional Chinese historiography. The

① Yan Wenming, "Longshan shidai kaogu xin faxian de sikao (Some thoughts on the new archaeological discoveries of the Longshan period)," *Jinian Chengziyai yizhi fajue liushi zhounian guoji xueshu yantaohui wenji (Papers of the International Academic Conference in Commemoration of the Sixtieth Anniversary of the Excavation of the Chengziyai Site)*, Zhang Xuehai, ed., Jinan: Qilu Shushe, 1993, pp. 39-45; Yan Yubin, "Longshan wenhua yu Zhongguo wenming (Longshan culture and Chinese civilization)," in: *Jinian Chengziyai yizhi fajue liushi zhounian guoji xueshu yantaohui wenji (Papers of the International Academic Conference in Commemoration of the Sixtieth Anniversary of the Excavation of the Chengziyai Site)*, Zhang Xuehai, ed., pp. 46-53; He Deliang, "Shandong Longshan wenhua de leixing yu fenqi (The typology and chronology of Longshan culture in Shandong)," *Kaogu* 1996 (4), pp. 63-76.

② *Liangzhu Wenhua Zhenpin Zhan (Gems of Liangzhu Culture)*, Shanghai: Shanghai Museum Press, 1992.

③ Gong Qiming, "Shilun Longshan wenhua de shehui xingzhi (A preliminary discussion of the social character of the Longshan period)," in: *Jinian Chengziyai yizhi fajue liushi zhounian guoji xueshu yantaohui wenji (Papers of the International Academic Conference in Commemoration of the Sixtieth Anniversary of the Excavation of the Chengziyai Site)*, Zhang Xuehai, ed., pp. 77-89; Liu Jun, "Cong Liangzhu wenhua kaogu ziliao kan dangshi de shehui xingzhi (The social character of the Liangzhu culture according to its archaeological data)," in: *Jinian Chengziyai yizhi fajue liushi zhounian guoji xueshu yantaohui wenji (Papers of the International Academic Conference in Commemoration of the Sixtieth Anniversary of the Excavation of the Chengziyai Site)*, Zhang Xuehai, ed., pp. 159-65; Wang Xiping, "Dianxing Longshan wenhua shehui xingtai chuyi (The first discussion of the Longshan culture and its social form)," in: *Jinian Chengziyai yizhi fajue liushi zhounian guoji xueshu yantaohui wenji (Papers of the International Academic Conference in Commemoration of the Sixtieth Anniversary of the Excavation of the Chengziyai Site)*, Zhang Xuehai, ed., pp. 209-17; Du Zhengsheng, "Xiandai kaogu jiqi guojia fazhang de tansuo (The archaeology of the Xia dynasty and the exploration of its state development)," *Kaogu* 1991 (1), pp. 52-3; Cao Guiqin, "Lun Longshan wenhua gucheng de shehui xingzhi (A discussion of the Social character of the ancient cities of the Longshan culture)," *Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Meeting of the Chinese Archaeological Society*, 1985, pp. 1-7.

④ Huang Xuanpei, "Liangzhu wenhua (Liangzhu culture)," *Liangzhu Wenhua Zhenpin Zhan (Gems of Liangzhu Culture)*, Shanghai: Shanghai Museum Press, 1992, pp. 30-31.

Confucian classic *Zuo Zhuan* twice mentioned the Fire Star calendar official E Bo and that Shang's King Zhaoming took over his capital at Shangqiu. Wang Guowei, probably the greatest sinologist in the twentieth century, in his essay "Shuo Shang (A Discussion of Shang)", concluded that the city Shang was located in Shangqiu of the present day, citing every citable bit of convincing textual evidence<sup>①</sup>. The clinching proof came from Dong Zuobin, whose reconstruction of a military campaign during the 10th and the 11th years of King Di Xin, i.e., King Zhou, against enemies in the east, largely in the Huai River region, included a town-to-town itinerary based upon the records of divination. It contains the names of the towns and the days it took to travel from town to town. The names Shang and Da Yi Shang (Great City Shang) are both there, and by reckoning days it took to travel and other towns passed, Dong placed them in the exact location where Shangqiu stands today<sup>②</sup>.

Notwithstanding the consensus, after Li Jingdan's unsuccessful investigation, it was not until the 1970s that archaeological surveys were resumed in the Shangqiu area. Small sites of the Longshan, Yueshi, and Shang (Zhengzhou and Yinxu phases) Cultures have been brought to light, but of City Shang there has been no trace. No one we knew of even had a plan to go to Shangqiu to look for any Shang city. In May, 1988, Xu Pingfang, a distinguished historical archaeologist who just the month before had taken over the Directorship of the Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, in Beijing, the flagship of China's archaeological institutions, wrote a letter to invite the American author of the present report to Beijing to discuss archaeological collaborations between his institute and Harvard. The author (Chang) went to Beijing in October to meet with Xu and Deputy Director Xu Guangji. Deputy Director Gao Guangren and Institute Secretary Wu En also participated. In the end, among the topics considered for joint excavation was the search for City Shang. Realizing it must be the most difficult archaeological project ever proposed in China, we decided to do this first.

There are several reasons that can possibly explain the absence of archaeological findings of City Shang in the Shangqiu area thus far. The most obvious is that the ancient landscape of the Shangqiu area has been covered by sands and silts brought in by the repeated Yellow River floods, and we can no longer recognize the low plains<sup>③</sup>, where ancient Chinese capital cities were invariably located, and the hills. The landscape of a vast plain is interrupted here and there by small mounds, which are the tops of the former hills and were inhabited by smaller towns and villages. Since earlier archaeologists explored only on the surface, they missed any city by a good many meters in depth. To have any hope of locating a buried Shang city or other related sites, we had to change our strategy from ground survey to underground survey. We decided to investigate Holocene stratigraphy of the area first of all, and during the first three years of the project (1990-1993) the American team consisted mainly of geologists and geophysicists: George Rapp, Jr., of the University of Minnesota (Duluth);

① Wang Guowei, *Guangtang Jilin*, Vol. 2, Zhonghua Shuju, 1959, pp. 516-8.

② Dong Zuobin, *Yin Li Pu (Calendrical Tables of the Yin Dynasty)*, Lizhuang: Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, 1945.

③ Du Zhengsheng, "Cong cunluo dao guojia (From village to state)." *Zhongguo Wenhua Xinlun (Discussing Chinese Culture in a New Light)*, Lianjing Press, 1981, pp. 26-27.

Jing Zhichun, his graduate student<sup>①</sup>; Vincent J. Murphy of the Weston Geophysical International Corporation; David Cist of MIT; Denis Reidy of Boston; Robert Regan of Pittsburgh; and Robert Murowchick of Harvard. Chinese participants in this part of the project included Gao Tianlin, Tang Jigen, Wang Zenglin, and Gao Libing. By 1994, it had become abundantly clear that the richest cultural layer was about 10-12 meters beneath the present land surface and that from that depth cultural layers from the Neolithic to Tang Dynasty (A.D. 618-907) were deposited in relatively thin layers. Beginning just after the Song Dynasty (A.D. 960-1279), the Yellow River floods became suddenly severe and from then on the repeated floods were responsible for most of the ten meters below the present ground surface where we should be looking for City Shang. But the Shangqiu District of Henan is a large area. Where can one begin, when one cannot see the ancient landscape, not even knowing where are the plains and where are the hills?

Our strategy was two pronged. One was to begin small scale excavations on the mounds, and two was to concentrate manpower at a single spot very carefully selected and to saturate that area with geological corers, “Luoyang spades”, and all the geophysical instruments at our disposal (including proton magnetometers, ground-penetrating radar, and electro-magnetic field generator). Just then, in the spring of 1993, Ren Shinan was elevated to the Institute Directorship, and Wu En became the deputy director. On our joint behalf the Institute applied to the National Bureau of Cultural Relics for permission to excavate three sites in Shangqiu District: Panmiao (in Shangqiu county), Mazhuang (Yucheng county), and Shantaisi (Zhecheng county), and to test excavate within the region near E Bo Tai, or “the Mound of E Bo”, just southwest of Shangqiu Xian. We used the E Bo legend as our anchor for the survey because the legend is localized and because his connection to Shang was twice mentioned in *Zuo Zhuan*, the most reliable of the Confucian classics. After permission was granted, archaeological fieldwork began in the fall of 1993. As of the fall of 1997, we have undertaken nine seasons’ work. The archaeologists in this phase of the work were, on the Chinese side, Zhang Changshou (who also serves as director of the excavations on the Chinese side), Gao Tianlin, and Tang Jigen, and, on the American side, Robert Murowchick (Harvard University), Leng Jian (University of Missouri at St. Louis), David Cohen (Harvard), Li Yung-ti (Harvard), Yeh Wei-p’ing (Minnesota), and Kwang-chih Chang (Harvard, also director of the excavations on the American side).

The three sites turned out to be rich and complex. Together they exhibit a cultural stratigraphy of the Shangqiu area, spanning from early to late as follows:

- Yangshao Culture (Mazhuang site)
- Longshan Culture (Shantaisi, Mazhuang, and Panmiao)
- Yueshi Culture (Panmiao and Shantaisi)
- Erlitou-type pottery (Panmiao)
- [Erligang, or middle-period Shang remains, from Mengzhuang site, Zhecheng]
- Yinxu, or late Shang (Panmiao, Mazhuang, and Shantaisi)

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① Jing received his Ph.D. degree in 1994. His thesis is entitled *Geoarchaeologic Reconstruction of the Bronze Age Landscape of the Shangqiu Area, China*. See Zhichun Jing, George Rapp, Jr., and Gao Tianlin, “Holocene landscape evolution and its impact on the Neolithic and Bronze Age sites in the Shangqiu area, northern China,” *Geoarchaeology* 10 (1995), pp. 481-511.