

中国田野考古报告集考古学专刊
丁种第九十七号

龍口歸城

胶东半岛地区青铜时代国家形成过程的考古学研究
(公元前 1000~前 500 年)

[上]

中国社会科学院考古研究所
哥伦比亚大学东亚语言和文化系 编著
山东省文物考古研究院

李峰 梁中合 主编

GUICHENG

An Archaeological Study of the Formation of States on the
Jiaodong Peninsula in Late Bronze-Age China, 1000-500 BCE

[I]

Li Feng Liang Zhonghe *Chief Editors*

Department of East Asian Languages and Cultures, Columbia University
The Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences
Shandong Provincial Academy of Cultural Relics and Archaeology

Editors

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内 容 简 介

本书为山东龙口归城周代遗址中美联合考古调查和试掘的中英文双语考古科学报告，分为上下两编：上编共分为十章，集中总结归城周代城址2007年到2011年中美联合调查的收获，并就有关方面进行研究。下编包括五章，总结归城乃至龙口地区1896年至2006年之间已有的考古发现，主要是青铜器和玉器的发现。另包括附录三篇，报告归城遗址的碳十四数据和植物、动物标本分析结果。

本书可供从事文物考古、历史学及相关学科的研究者和大专院校相关专业师生阅读、参考，并可为中英考古文献翻译参考。

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Shandong Provincial Academy of Cultural Relics and Archaeology

Collaborating Institutions

Yantai Municipal Museum
Longkou Municipal Museum

谢 辞

山东龙口归城城址的中美联合考古调查、勘探项目自2006年确立以来，已经走过了十二个寒暑。在这十二年里我们得到了中、美两国很多机构和个人慷慨和热情的帮助，才使得这个项目能够顺利开展并取得重要收获。参加这个项目的全体同仁们也能不忘初心，不辱使命，认真完成自己承担的工作，最终写成这部考古报告。这是我们从内心感到欣慰，同时也是我们要深深表示感谢的！

该项目前期的田野工作经费主要由蒋经国基金会（美洲地区）和美国哥伦比亚大学东亚语言和文化系提供。后期得到哥伦比亚大学唐氏早期中国研究中心，东亚语言和文化系及哥伦比亚大学孔子学院提供的报告整理和编写方面的部分资助。我们首先对它们慷慨资助深表感谢。归城项目的确立和实施得到了国家文物局、山东省文化厅文物局的批准和支持，也谨在此表示我们真诚谢意。出版经费方面由中国社会科学院考古研究所、山东省文物考古研究院共同向国家文物局提出申请并得到资助，这也是我们需要特别提出并表示感谢的。

在学术研究机构方面，我们首先感谢归城项目的三个组织和主持单位，包括中国社会科学院考古研究所、哥伦比亚大学东亚语言和文化系、山东省文物考古研究院（前山东省文物考古研究所）。同时作为合作单位烟台市博物馆派人员参加了田野调查和资料整理及编写工作，为项目的开展给予很大帮助。另外，龙口市博物馆在我们田野工作期间、后期资料整理和编写报告过程中为我们提供了工作和生活上的诸多的帮助和支持，这也是我们要特别感谢的。另外，吉林大学边疆考古研究中心在编者之一受吉林大学特聘任职期间允许以归城报告的编写工作立项，并给予支持，这也是我们要感谢的。

上述单位的学术领导和同事们也都给予我们及时的指导和支持，没有他们的热心帮助归城的田野考古工作目标将无法实现，当然也就不会有这本中英双语报告的整理和出版。他们包括中国社会科学院考古研究所所长王巍、陈星灿，山东省文物考古研究所所长李传荣、佟佩华、郑同修、王守功，烟台市博物馆馆长王锡平、高爱东、王富强，龙口博物馆馆长蒋惠民、马志敏、栾文弘等。特别是陈星灿所长多年来对归城项目给予关心和支持，为项目的实施乃至报告的编写做了大量的协调和组织工作，帮助我们解决困难，这是我们要特别表示感谢的。我们也感谢中国国家文物局宋新潮副局长对归城项目的关心和支持。在美国方面，哥伦比亚大学东亚语言和文化系前主任韩明士（Robert P. Hymes）教授指导了归城项目的设立，并在以后给予本项目以很强的支持。哥伦比亚大学人类学系的Terence N. D'Altroy教授帮助我们设计了在归城使用的地面调查方法，并在以后多予及时帮助。对他们我们表示真挚的谢意。我们也要感谢匹兹堡大学许倬云（Cho-yun Hsu）教授和哈佛大学王德威（David der-wei Wang）教授对这个项目的支持。

我们更要感谢参加归城田野调查和试掘的所有人员。他们有中国社会科学院考古研究所的唐锦琼、付群启、毕道传，山东省文物考古研究所韩辉，烟台市博物馆徐明江等。参加工作的美方研究生有哥伦比亚大学的何汉平（Han-Peng Ho）、吴敏娜、侯昱文（Paul Nicholas Vogt）、兰德（Brian Lander）、赵家华（Glenda Chao）、石蕙、关隐（Lee Crawford）、贝丽姿（Elizabeth Berger）、顾言（Jackson Cooper）和以色列耶路撒冷希伯来大学的哈克（Yitzchak Jaffe）等。器物照相、拓制工作由付群启担任。归城遗迹和地形图等由毕道全、唐锦琼绘制。器物绘图则全部由毕道传完成。GIS地理图像由哥伦比亚大学数据图书馆Jeremiah Trinidad-Christensen完成。由于哥伦比亚大学学期时间的限制，多年的田野工作（除2007年冬季外）只能选在每年的五月底到七月中旬来进行。盛夏时节，烈日炎炎，所有课题组的成员都能同甘共苦，恪尽职责，不怕困难，高质量地完成了田野考古调查、勘探等各项任务，从而确保了获取的归城考古调查资料的科学性、系统性和全面性。在此我们要对全体课题组成员的付出和辛勤的工作表达我们由衷的感谢！

作为国内第一本真正的双语考古报告，归城报告编写的工作量是要倍于一本同样规模的中文或英文报告的。我们参考了中、美两国近年出版的一些考古报告，创立了适合归城情况的一个双语考古报告编写体例。哥伦比亚大学和吉林大学的博士研究生们积极参与了报告中各章的英译或中译工作，而从保证我们能达到这个目标。我们感谢同学们对这本双语报告的贡献。他们包括哥伦比亚大学的侯昱文（Paul Nicholas Vogt）、赵家华（Glenda Chao）、兰德（Brian Lander）、贝丽姿（Elizabeth Berger）；吉林大学的刘晓霞、杨琳、周琪等同学。另在哥伦比亚大学学习的台湾大学雷晋豪也参加了翻译。吉林大学刘晓霞同学还担任了报告中插图、表的编排和修改工作，勘定比例，对我们完成这部书稿做出了重要贡献，这是我们要特别感谢的。全部章节的翻译均经编者修改，校定，并纳入书中。另外，班大为（David W. Pankenier）教授担任了全书英文部分的统一校订工作，我们也要对他表示衷心的感谢。最后，我们感谢科学出版社赵越女士为编辑、出版好这本书所作的不懈努力。

李 峰 梁中合

2018年5月26日

Acknowledgments

Twelve years have passed since the establishment of the Guicheng Sino-American collaborative archaeological survey project in 2006. Throughout this long period, we have benefited from generous and often enthusiastic assistance by many institutions and individuals in the United States, and especially in China. Their assistance made possible the project's smooth progress and eventual achievement of significant results. All the participants in the project maintained their enthusiasm throughout, never flagging in attention to their responsibilities, carefully completing their assigned tasks, and duly contributing to the completion of this monographic report. We are genuinely pleased and deeply grateful for this successful outcome.

In its early phase, the Guicheng project fieldwork was awarded two grants from the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange (the American Region), and a start-up grant from the Department of East Asian Languages and Cultures, Columbia University. In the later phases, the new Tang Center for Early China, the Department of East Asian Languages and Cultures, and the Confucius Institute at Columbia University each provided subsidies to underwrite the editing of the project's monograph. First and foremost, we are profoundly grateful for their generosity and support. The Guicheng project also garnered approvals and support from the National Bureau of Cultural Relics of China and the Bureau of Cultural Relics of the Provincial Council for Cultural Affairs of Shandong Province, to whom we would also like to express our sincere gratitude. To support the publication of this book, the Institute of Archaeology of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and the Shandong Provincial Academy of Cultural Relics and Archaeology jointly applied for and received funding from the National Bureau of Cultural Relics of China. We owe them special acknowledgement and thanks.

Among academic institutions, we would like first to thank the three primary sponsors of the Guicheng project: the Department of East Asian Languages and Cultures, Columbia University, the Institute of Archaeology of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, and the Shandong Provincial Academy of Cultural Relics and Archaeology (formerly Shandong Provincial Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology). Collaborating institutions included Yantai Municipal Museum, whose researchers participated in the fieldwork, data analysis, and the writing of this report, which greatly facilitated the fulfillment of the goals of the project; and Longkou Municipal Museum. The directors and colleagues of the latter tirelessly helped us in many ways to secure the logistics indispensable for the fieldwork after we returned to Longkou to analyze data to write this book. For this we owe them special heartfelt thanks. In addition, the Research Center for Chinese Frontier Archaeology, Jilin University, kindly allowed one of the editors of this book to make the preparation of the Guicheng

report his target research project and provided support during his tenure as a “Specially-appointed Lecturing Professor” in the university. We acknowledge our thanks to them as well.

Academic leaders and colleagues at the above institutions have offered us timely advice and support on countless occasions. Without their enthusiastic assistance the objectives of the Guicheng fieldwork could never have been realized, let alone the publication of this Chinese-English bilingual monographic report. In the United States, Professor Robert P. Hymes, formerly Chair of the Department of East Asian Languages and Cultures, Columbia University, oversaw the establishment of the Guicheng project and lent his strong support from beginning to end. Professor Terence N. D’Altroy, Chair of Columbia’s Anthropology Department helped us design the surface survey method used in Guicheng and subsequently offered timely assistance. We express our heartfelt thanks to both. We also thank Professor Cho-yun Hsu of the University of Pittsburgh and Professor David der-wei Wang of Harvard University for their support of this project. In China, we have a longer list of individuals to whom we owe debts of gratitude. Begging indulgence in advance for any omissions, we would like to thank in particular: Wang Wei and Chen Xingcan, Directors of the Institute of Archaeology (CASS); Li Chuanrong, Tong Peihua, Zheng Tongxiu, Wang Shougong, Directors of the Shandong Provincial Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology; Directors Wang Xiping, Gao Aidong, and Wang Fuqiang of the Yantai Municipal Museum; Jiang Huimin, Ma Zhimin, and Luan Wenhong, Directors of the Longkou Municipal Museum. Special thanks must be extended to Chen Xingcan, Director of the Institute of Archaeology (CASS), who has given the Guicheng project special attention and support, and has done much to coordinate and smooth the project’s organization, helping us resolve difficult situations when they arose. We also thank Song Xinchao, Associate Director of the National Bureau of Cultural Relics of China for his attention to and support of the Guicheng project.

The colleagues and graduate students who actually took part in the Guocheng survey and test excavation all deserve our utmost thanks and respect. They include Tang Jinqiong, Fu Qunqi, and Bi Daochuan of the Institute of Archaeology (CASS), Han Hui of Shandong Provincial Academy of Cultural Relics and Archaeology, and Xu Mingjiang of the Yantai Municipal Museum. Graduate students who participated in the fieldwork include: Han-Peng Ho, Wu Minna, Paul Nicholas Vogt, Brian Lander, Glenda Chao, Shi Hui, Lee Crawford, Elizabeth Berger, and Jackson Cooper, all from Columbia University, and Yitzchak Jaffe from Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel. Photographing and ink-rubbing were performed by Fu Qunqi. Site and topographical maps were produced by Bi Daochuan and Tang Jinqiong. Drawings of objects were all completed by Bi Daochuan. GIS imaging was conducted by Jeremiah Trinidad-Christensen of the Digital Library of Columbia University. Due to the restrictions imposed by Columbia’s semesters, the multiyear fieldwork (except in Winter 2007) all took place from late May to mid-July. During the hot summers, and despite multiple sunburns, all participants in the Guicheng fieldwork shared the joys and bitter hardships, took their duties seriously, and overcame tremendous difficulties in completing all segments of the fieldwork. Throughout

they maintained the highest standards and thereby ensured the high scientific quality of the data we obtained. For their hard work and enormous contributions, we express our most heartfelt thanks!

As a true bilingual archaeological report, the editing of the Guicheng report doubled the editorial effort demanded by a monolingual monograph of equivalent magnitude, whether in Chinese or English. To accomplish this, we consulted recently published archaeological reports in both China and the United States, in order to create the style of bilingual report that suited our particular situation. Doctoral students from Columbia University and Jilin University performed the task of translating chapters from Chinese to English and vice versa, which enabled us to accomplish our goal. We thank these students for their contributions to the Guicheng report. They include Paul Nicholas Vogt, Glenda Chao, Brian Lander, Elizabeth Berger of Columbia University; Liu Xiaoxia, Yang Lin, and Zhou Qi of Jilin University. Lei Chin-hao, formerly a visiting PhD student at Columbia University from National Taiwan University, also translated two chapters. In addition, Liu Xiaoxia of Jilin University compiled the illustrations and tables, modifying the drawings and unifying the image scales when necessary, and made important contributions to the production of a well-organized manuscript. We would like to acknowledge our special thanks to her. All chapters in translation were collated by the editors before incorporation in the book. Professor David W. Pankenier copy-edited and proofread the English portions of the manuscript, and we would also like to express our thanks to him. Last but not least, we express our thanks to Ms. Zhao Yue, editor of Science Press, for her tireless effort to edit and publish a very satisfactory book.

Li Feng Liang Zhonghe

May 26, 2018

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绪 论

李 峰 梁中合

归城考古调查是一个研究山东半岛东部青铜时代晚期（约公元前1000～前500年）社会变化的国际田野合作项目。为了了解这个巨大的古代城市综合体的运作和它在区域聚落系统中的重要作用，并且为未来记录和保存相关信息，中美联合考古队于2007～2010年进行了这项多维度的田野研究工作。它也是曾经在山东半岛东部所实施的重点关注过去区域青铜时代的最大的考古学项目。在这篇前言中，我们将讨论这个项目的背景和当时的环境，它的组织和主要研究的问题。前言的最后我们将回顾这四年间田野工作的进展。

第一节 时代和地区社会文化背景

公元前568年，经过多年的准备，霸主国齐国的军队在大将晏弱的率领下大举入侵山东东部莱国的领土。为了支持这一战争，晏弱甚至率领齐国军队花费三年时间在边境建造了一座新的城市。文献记载中说，齐国军队在这一年的第四个月时到达莱国都城，并且可能由于莱国沿其城墙的严格防御，为了有效进攻，齐国军队不得不建造一条坡道以到达其顶部。公元前567年的第三个月，经过将近一年的艰苦抵抗，城内的莱国军队发起了一场反击，但被击败。在丁未这一天（应该是这个月的第二十七天；陈厚耀 1981：6.24），齐军最终破城而入，莱国君主浮柔（莱共公）逃至附近一个被称为棠的小地方，在那里他被抓获，并于年末被处决（左传 30.1937）。

伐莱一事也被记录在同时期的青铜器铭文之中，显然是由参与此次历史事件的齐国官员所铸，它们证实了历史文献中令人印象深刻的一些细节。从政治意义上讲，吞并莱国有助于齐国上升为一个强大的以直接的官僚行政为基础的领土国家，其领土此后扩大到整个山东东部（地图 I.0.1）。在以后的世纪中，齐国将其著名的长城从现今济南附近的黄河岸边延伸至青岛海湾，几乎将山东半岛同中国的其他地区切断。但是将其放在社会和人类学的视角中，此次征伐决定性地打断了本地区——由新石器时代晚期的小族群向一些由国家力量所组织的大型社会（其中莱是最重要的）——的独立发展的漫长过程。对这一发展过程的外来刺激主要是由更大规模的王朝国家向东发展而带来的，比如商（公元前1554～前1046年），特别是以黄河中游为中心的西周（公元前1045～前771年）。因此，在并入齐国之前，山东东部的人类历史进程以两种宏大且相互联系的社会过程所呈现：即复杂社会的逐步发展和国家的崛起——类似于