

云南青铜器

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序 言

云南滇池地区出土的青铜器，在灿烂的中国青铜器文化中占有重要的地位。青铜贮贝器和镂花饰物上展示的滇族社会生活的图景，为研究古滇文化揭开了未知的一页，引起中外学者的极大兴趣。滇池地区出土的青铜器，是建国以来考古工作的重大收获之一。

新中国的成立，为云南考古事业的发展，开辟了广阔的前景。云南的文物普查和考古发掘工作，完全是在建国以后进行的。历年来，在以晋宁石寨山、江川李家山为主的滇池地区和以祥云大波那、楚雄万家坝为主的广大滇西地区，都出土了许多极为珍贵的古代文物，其中仅青铜器就有九十余种，约七千多件。它的时代大体从我国商代晚期至东汉初期，约相当于公元前十一世纪到公元一世纪，前后相继一千多年。考古材料证明，云南古代诸民族在各自发展的漫长历史中，大多是绵延不断、一脉相承的。但由于地理环境、自然条件的区别，经济发展、文化水平的不同，以及民族习惯、宗教信仰的差异等因素，在文化类型上又各自有着鲜明的民族特点、奇异的地域色彩和独特的艺术风格。在文化面貌上呈现出的这些错综复杂的现象，反映了我国古代西南民族历史发展的不平衡。云南境内有数十个不同的民族，是我国少数民族聚居最多的一个地区。如果我们沿着古人留下的踪迹不断地去探赜索隐、推本溯源，那么，云南少数民族与古代西南民族的历史渊源和文化联系，就有可能找到一条清楚的脉络。

中国是一个古老、统一的多民族国家。过去由于种种原因，我们对古代西南民族的历史，知之不多。古代文献虽有若干记载，但只是一鳞半爪，大多语焉不详。因此，云南出土的青铜器，具有极高的研究价值。这对我们探讨古代西南民族的历史、文化和艺术，以及与中原地区汉族文化的关系，乃至与中印半岛邻近地区文化的交流，无异于打开了一扇大门。但是，由于众所周知的原因，过去我们只能大致领略古滇王国的神奇，并未深入探循古人足迹，从而逐步揭开古代西南民族历史之谜。现在的问题是，如何从古滇文化入手，并以此为门径，把沉睡数千年之久的历史遗物，通过认真的清理、排比、探索、研究，使这部已被埋没的历史，恢复其原来的面貌。应该说，这是摆在我们面前的一项艰巨任务。为此，我们把滇池地区出土的青铜器专辑出版，以飨读者。

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古代滇国的所在地，据文献记载，即今昆明市西南端的滇池地区。《华阳国志·南中志》：“滇

池县，郡治，故滇国也。有泽水，周围二百里，所出深广，下流浅狭，如倒流，故曰‘滇池’。”池旁的金马、碧鸡两山，东西夹峙，形势十分险要。有关滇国历史的最早记载，有文献可查的，当始于公元前四世纪战国楚将庄蹻开滇称王的时候。而郡县的建置，则在西汉初叶。据《汉书·西南夷传》：

“庄蹻者，楚庄王苗裔也。蹻至滇池，方三百里，旁平地肥饶数千里，⁴以兵威定属楚。欲归报，会秦击夺楚巴、黔中郡，道塞不通，因乃以其众王滇，变服，从其俗，以长之。”至汉元狩年间（公元前122—前117年），武帝因匈奴隔道之患，探求取道由滇经身毒国（今印度）通往大夏（今阿富汗北部）的道路，派遣使臣王然于等出西南，到达滇池地区。滇王也曾协助汉使探路，但因遭昆明人的骚扰而始终未能实现。《史记·西南夷列传》：“及元狩元年，博望侯张骞使大夏来……骞因盛言大夏在汉西南，慕中国，患匈奴隔其道，诚通蜀，身毒国道便近，有利无害。于时天子乃令王然于、柏始昌、吕越人等，使间出西夷西，指求身毒国。至滇，滇王尝羌乃留，为求道西十余辈。岁余，皆闭昆明，莫能通身毒国……使者还，因盛言滇大国，足事亲附。天子注意焉。”汉元封二年（公元前109年），滇王臣服于汉，武帝即在这里设置益州郡，建立了地方政权机构。据《史记·西南夷列传》：“上使王然于以越破及诛南夷兵威风喻滇王入朝。滇王者，其众数万人，其旁东北有劳浸、靡莫，皆同姓相扶，未肯听。劳浸、靡莫数侵犯使者吏卒。元封二年，天子发巴蜀兵击灭劳浸、靡莫，以兵临滇。滇王始首善，以故弗诛。滇王离难西南夷，举国降，请置吏入朝。于是以为益州郡，赐滇王王印，复长其民。”从此，汉朝恢复了战国楚将庄蹻在滇开创的业绩，确定了与滇政治上的关系，加强了对滇经济、文化的联系。

汉益州郡首府滇池县，据《汉书》、《华阳国志》等书记载，即在今晋宁县东。《华阳国志·南中志》：“晋宁郡，本益州也。元鼎初，属牂柯、越巂。汉武帝元封二年，叟反，遣将军郭昌讨平之，因开为郡，治滇池上，号曰益州。”汉益州郡，蜀汉时改为建宁郡，治所在味县，即今之曲靖县。晋时为晋宁郡，治所复为滇池县。唐初属昆州，置晋宁县。元改为晋宁州。明清时仍是晋宁州，属云南府。民国时复改晋宁县。一九五六年，在晋宁县石寨山六号墓中，发现金印一方。印作蟠蛇钮，背为鳞纹，阴文篆刻“滇王之印”四字。这一金印的发现，证明了《史记》等书有关古代滇国的纪事属实，也确认了滇池地区发现的古墓群及其出土文物，乃是古代滇族王室和奴隶主贵族的文化遗存。

关于滇族与周围邻近部族的社会概貌及其活动地区，据《史记·西南夷列传》：“西南夷君长以什数，夜郎最大；其西靡莫之属以什数，滇最大；自滇以北君长以什数，邛都最大。此皆魑结，耕田，有邑聚。其外西自同师以东，北至牂榆，名为僇、昆明，皆编发，随畜迁徙，毋常处，毋君长，地方可数千里。自僇以东北，君长以什数，徙、笮都最大；自笮以东北，君长以什数，冉駹最大。其俗或土著，或移徙，在蜀之西。自冉駹以东北，君长以什数，白马最大，皆氏类也。此皆巴蜀西南外蛮夷也。”据此，我们大致知道，在西汉时，我国西南地区古代民族的社会发展很不平衡，他们的活动范围是：滇人在滇池地区，夜郎在黔西、滇东一带，今川西地区主要为邛都

人。这些部族，均由数十个部落联盟组成，形成大姓邑落的割据状态。他们主要从事农业生产，过着定居的生活。在滇西广袤的地区内，则印有僇、昆明人的足迹。他们的文化比较落后，还处于“毋君长”的原始社会阶段，过着“随畜迁徙”的游牧生活。其它各族或农或牧，主要散布在今川西、川南和甘南等地。但是，古代文献仅仅勾画了当时西南民族社会朦胧的轮廓。现据考古材料证明，最迟至西汉初叶，滇人已建立了以农耕为主的奴隶社会，从事农、牧、渔、纺织等生产，并经营采矿、冶炼、金属加工等业，与邻近地区及巴蜀等地有一定的商业和贸易往来。他们的文化比较发达，远远超过了其它部族。探其缘由，除了滇人本身的勤劳、智慧、勇敢和富有创造精神外，还与他们生活在得天独厚的自然环境里，以及深受汉族文化的影响是分不开的。

滇池地区气候湿润，水草丰美，野生动物繁多，自然资源和物产十分丰富。据《后汉书·西南夷列传》记载，这里的“河土平敞，多出鸚鵡、孔雀，有盐池田渔之饶，金银畜产之富。人俗豪怵。居官者皆富及累世。”自从汉武帝元封二年在这里建立了政权机构以后，汉中央政权与滇地方政权的关系日益加强，这对滇族的政治、经济和文化的发展，起了推动的作用。《史记·西南夷列传》：“西南夷君长以百数，独夜郎、滇受王印。滇，小邑，最宠焉。”可见，滇在古代西南民族中，与汉的关系最为密切，它的文化超过其它民族，也是十分自然的。出土文物表明，随着西汉王朝对云南边陲地区政治、经济和文化的联系日益加深，流行于中原地区的半两钱、五铢钱和其它青铜器物也相继传入，这对滇人原来的文化有很大的影响。从滇人的古墓群中，我们可以看到汉滇青铜器物相伴、钱币与贝壳为邻的现象。到了西汉晚期至东汉初期，滇池地区出土的青铜器就逐渐地失去其鲜明的民族特色和独特的艺术风格，基本上和中原地区汉族的青铜文化熔为一炉了。

二

在滇池地区出土的青铜器中，首先引人注目的是，刻画在贮贝器上以展示滇族社会生活为主的各种画面。这些青铜贮贝器，显然是奴隶主贵族视作重器埋葬下来的。它的出土，使我们看到了当时滇族社会的真实面貌。可以说，一个古代民族，把自己的社会习俗作为专题直接铸造在青铜器上，这在中国青铜器发展史上是一种独特的创造。这种独特的表现形式，我们只有在滇池地区出土的青铜器物上才能见到。

这些描写滇族社会生活的题材，大多是在类似“圆形舞台”的器盖上展现的。它的布局，大致有两种形式：一种是以某一事件的主要人物为中心，把陪衬的有关人员分成若干组，围绕中心人物展开故事情节。例如，纳贡场面贮贝器(图19)，分为七组，每组前导的主要人物为盛装佩剑的部族酋帅或君长之类，其后尾随的陪衬人员是牵牛引马或作负物之状的部族成员和奴隶，突出反映了邻近部族向滇王朝贡的情景。书中选入的两件反映战争场面的贮贝器(图27、36)，中心人物均为戴胄披甲的滇人主骑，其他卒从分成若干组，围绕主骑展开一场惊心动魄的古代战争场面。前一

件反映的是战争临近结束，滇人所向披靡，昆明人溃不成军的情景。后一件主将通体鎏金，纵横驰骋，威武无比，表现的是滇人和昆明人之间短兵相接、鏖战正酣的场面。昆明人是一支十分剽悍的部族，据《史记·大宛列传》记载，“昆明之属无君长，善寇盗”，经常侵扰东邻农业部族，与滇人一直处于白刃相见的敌对状态。又如纺织场面贮贝器(图13)，中心人物为一女奴隶主，通体鎏金，踞坐于榻。其四周围绕着一群从事纺织生产和侍役的女奴，突出反映了在女奴隶主监视下的家庭手工业生产的图景。从图来看，这种纺织手工业作坊设置在露天，女奴围成一圈，箕踞而织。据《滇海虞衡志》：“蛮织随处立植木，挂所经于木端，女盘坐于地而织之。如息，则取植及所经，藏于室中，不似汉织之大占地也。”可见，直至清代的西南少数民族中，还沿用类似的方法。以上几件贮贝器，主题突出，内容明确，人物安排十分紧凑，把当时人们的朝贡、战争和纺织活动，十分清楚地展现在我们眼前，可以看出古代工匠表现这类题材时，在构图上所费的心思和显示出的艺术才能。

另一种布局则使用对称的形式，把人物活动分成若干场面，随着故事情节的起伏变化，从一个高潮推向另一个高潮，以展示当时滇族社会的习俗风尚。这些题材，多为典礼、祭祀之类，因而在构图上力求加强肃穆庄严的气氛。例如诅盟场面贮贝器(图1)，主要突出器盖中心社坛上的奴隶主贵族会盟立柱的庆典场面。社坛左侧表现椎牛宰羊、宴乐侏舞等活动；社坛右侧反映饲虎养马、杂役繁忙等景象。社坛之后，主要刻画杀人祭柱的情景。诅盟，是我国古代盛行的一种风俗，凡有重大事情，都要“以祸福之言相要”(《左传》襄公十一年杜注)，用“盟誓”来约束，设置祭坛，举行宗教典礼。这种风俗，在我国西南地区尤为盛行。据《华阳国志·南中志》：“其俗征巫鬼，好诅盟，投石结草，官常以盟诅要之。”“有明月社，夷晋不奉官，则官与共盟于此社也。”社，即祀土神之所。按汉代的说法，“人非土不立，非谷不食”(《白虎通》)。因此，封土立社，以示有土；立稷而祭，祈求五谷生长。《荆楚岁时记》：“社日，四邻并结综会社牲醪，为屋于树下，先祭神，然后飧其胙。”这件贮贝器就其整个图像来推测，可能表现的是滇人一次重大的社日活动，滇人与其它部族成员云集于社坛，会盟祭社，立柱定界，以确定滇族与其它部族的关系。这件贮贝器，场面宏伟，情节复杂，在直径只有32厘米的器盖上，铸有圆雕人物达一百二十七个。但由于运用左右分隔、前后错落的手法，把众多的人物活动，处理得有条不紊，繁而不乱，表现了古代工匠久经锤炼的艺术技巧。又如表现滇人宗教生活的两件贮贝器(图48、57)，以铜鼓或铜柱为中心，把人物活动分隔成两个对称的场面。一侧为祈年播种或庆贺丰收的仪式，另一侧则是杀人祭祀活动。随着春播或秋收仪式的展开，反映了滇人与农业有关的杀人祭祀活动。在滇族农耕社会里，大凡与农业有关的生产活动，都要杀人用以祭祀鬼神，祈求农业丰收。因此，宗教仪式总是和农业活动结合在一起。据《楚辞·招魂》记载，早在战国时期，楚人就有“得人肉以祀”的风俗。魏晋以来，散居在西南地区洞川之间的僚族，则把人牺作为祭祀的对象。据《魏书》卷一百一：“其俗畏鬼神，尤尚淫祀。所杀之人，美鬓髯者必剥其面皮，笼之于竹，及燥，

号之曰‘鬼’，鼓舞祀之，以求福利。”直至南宋时，荆楚地区尚有杀人祭鬼的遗俗（见《楚辞集注》）。可见，在我国古代南方及西南地区，均普遍流行一种杀人祭祀的社会风俗。这两件贮贝器，表现的主要祭祀对象，为三个重叠的巨形大鼓和铜柱上的两条缠绕的大蛇。铜鼓，是奴隶主贵族统治权力的象征。《太平御览》卷七八五引《广州记》：“俚僚贵铜鼓，惟高大为贵，面阔丈余，方以为奇……有是鼓者，极为豪强。”因而成为滇人崇拜的对象。铜柱上缠绕的两条蟠蛇，可能被滇人视作与土地有密切关系的神灵。《周易·系辞下》：“龙蛇之蛰，以存身也。”又据《礼记·月令》：“东风解冻，蛰虫始振。”这种藏伏于土中之爬虫类，它的活动规律，往往与四季的变化相适应；而这种自然现象又与当时人们的农业活动有着密切的关系。古代滇人对爬虫类的入蛰、惊蛰的活动规律以及与四季变化的关系，无法解释，因而把它看作与土地有密切关系的一种超自然的力量——土地之神来顶礼膜拜。在这里，可能以双蛇象征土壤中百谷生长的繁殖力，用人牺则表示恢复土地的活力。由此可知，这两件贮贝器所反映的内容，显然是象征奴隶主权力的不可侵犯和土地之神的至高无上。在奴隶制度宗教魔力的淫威下，杀戮奴隶、祭鬼祀神被看作天经地义的事。

可以看出，古代工匠在表现典礼、祭祀之类的题材时，在构图上着意把高筑的祭坛、巨大的铜鼓和耸立的铜柱，布置在鲜明、突出的位置上，其用意无疑是要加强宗教的神秘观念，给人以一种庄严肃穆的感觉。此外，除了选择这种更好突出主题的有力位置外，人物环境的协调搭配和周密安排，也是十分重要的。这方面，古代工匠并未拘泥一格，而是随着所表现的主题内容的不同，人物环境的搭配在布局上也相应起变化。例如，紧紧围绕诅盟典礼，安排了三个不同的人物活动场面。随着椎牛宰羊、宴乐雉舞、饲虎养马、杂役繁忙等活动的层层舒展，把杀人祭祀的高潮推向以诅盟典礼为中心的又一高潮作归结，组成了以会盟祭社、立柱定界为主题的壮阔场面。又如，表现滇人的宗教活动，则采用了杀人祭祀和春播或秋收仪式相结合的对称形式，围绕着重叠的三鼓和缠绕的蟠蛇逐步展开故事情节，描绘了滇人祈年播种和庆贺丰收而进行的杀人祭祀活动的全过程。用不同人物环境的搭配来烘托中心位置上的主题内容，这种巧于变化的手法，起到了点题的作用。因此，给人以深刻的印象。

在滇人的宗教生活里，还有一种猎头血祭是用镂花饰物表现的。这类饰物，形如建筑模型，古代工匠通过它来展现当时人们的家庭祭祀情况。如在干阑式的舍屋里，正壁神龛内供有一人头，围绕人头祭品，滇人吹笙击鼓、手舞足蹈，合家歌饮为欢（图184、191、202）。这类建筑模型，富有真实感，给人以身临其境的感觉。从舍屋内均设有神龛的情况来看，这种家祭活动，在滇人的宗教生活里十分普遍。据《文献通考》：“依树积木，依居其上，名曰杆栏，即夷之榔盘也。制略如楼，门由侧辟，构梯而上，即为祭所，余则以寝焉。”可见，直至唐宋，在西南少数民族中还保留了家祭活动的残俗，而这种供人祭用的神龛也随之发展成为每家每户的祭堂了。由于滇人有供奉人头祭祀的习惯，他们在战争中经常以猎头为荣。如献俘铜扣饰（图244）、青铜斧釜部（图

117)、青铜剑柄(图144)以及反映战争的贮贝器(图36)等,都有猎取敌人或奴隶头颅的题材。此外,滇人的宗教生活还有一种椎牛祭祀活动,我们可以从其它一些镂花饰物上见到(如图243、245、246),这里,不再一一赘述。

由此可知,青铜器物上反映的猎头、祭头、椎牛、剽牛等活动,在滇人的宗教生活里,十分流行。据民族学材料,这种原始野蛮的宗教仪式,每年在农作物播种季节,以部落为单位,都要举行猎头、接头、祭头和送头等一系列的“献祭”活动。当人们在猎头血祭的时候,由于对猎到的人头怀有敬畏感,反过来又把猎头作为祭祀对象,用椎牛、剽牛等形式祭祀人头。因此,剽牛、抢牛又同猎头血祭结合在一起(见《云南宗教问题》1979年1期)。上述表现滇人宗教生活的题材,很可能是反映这种类似的“献祭”活动。

此外,青铜器上直接反映滇族社会生活的题材,还有狩猎活动。例如,杀人祭铜柱贮贝器身上镌刻的狩猎图像(图69—76)、镂花饰物上描绘的一些狩猎活动(图231、233、239、240、242、247)等等,均说明狩猎在当时人们的经济生活中,还起着相当重要的作用。

《左传》成公十三年:“国之大事,在祀与戎。祀有执爓,戎有受脤,神之大节也。”脤与爓,均为祭祀用的肉。《公羊传》定公十四年:“脤曰脤,熟曰爓。”可见,祭祀与战争是我国古代社会重要的两项活动,并都要以脤爓之礼,敬奉神祇。而在滇族奴隶社会里,祭祀与战争两项活动,也同样占有支配的地位。大家知道,在古代奴隶社会里,奴隶是从事社会生产的主要劳动力,是物质财富的创造者。但是,奴隶创造的物质财富,却全部被奴隶主占有。不仅如此,对贪婪的奴隶主来说,掠夺财富要比创造财富容易得多,甚至被看作更为自豪的事情。进行战争不仅成为掠夺财富的主要手段,而且是提供奴隶来源的重要途径。因此,战争在古代奴隶社会里,占有特别重要的地位。在滇池地区出土的戈、矛、钺、戚、斧、剑、镞、弩机等各种兵器达一千多件;江川李家山出土的兵器也有三百多件。此外,还有不少反映骑士形象和表现战争场面的青铜器。这些均说明了这样一个事实:即战争在滇族社会的生活中,占有举足轻重的地位。在滇族奴隶社会里,从战争中俘获的战俘,又经常成为原始宗教最高献祭的牺牲品。从青铜器上一再反映的杀戮奴隶、猎取人头的情况看,用人祭祀的风俗十分盛行。这说明了以人祭为主的宗教活动,作为一种主要的精神支柱,支撑着滇族奴隶社会。

由上可以看出,滇池地区出土的青铜器如同一面历史的镜子,反映了当时滇族奴隶社会广阔的生活画面。如果我们把上述青铜器表现的诅盟、战争、纳贡、纺织、狩猎以及杀人祭祀等活动联系起来考察,那么正是这些活动,构成了滇族奴隶社会生活中的物质和精神两个方面的主要内容。

三

在滇池地区出土的青铜器里,还有许多表现动物形象的镂花饰物。这些动物饰件,风貌古

拙，作风粗犷，具有浓郁的滇文化特色。据统计，刻画的家禽家畜、飞鸟走兽达三十四种之多，大自然里的许多动物，几乎都成为滇人描绘的对象。此外，还有如怪兽、翼虎、神龙之类现实生活中并不存在而纯属想象或被神化的动物。这里，值得一提的一件蛙形矛，制作特别精美(图141)。其銚部处理成一青蛙形象，弯曲欲伸的后腿又形成一支矛头，既刻画了青蛙活泼的姿态，又表现了蛙背鼓起的斑纹。造型别致，形象生动，青蛙那种连跳带蹦、张口觅食的神态，跃然呈现在眼前。江川李家山出土的猛虎噬牛铜枕，是件富有装饰韵味的作品(图105)。枕作马鞍形，高高翘起的枕角，两端各置一立牛。正面以勾连纹为地，其上浮雕三组猛虎扑牛图像，牛头又用圆雕处理成立体状。这种富于变化的手法，既有圆雕的厚重感，又有浮雕的平面效果。圆雕、浮雕和线刻浑为一体，产生了别具一格的装饰效果。虎牛祭案是一件巧中生奇、独具匠心的作品(图108)。这件祭器造型奇特，妙趣横生。作者以独特的构思、巧于变化的手法，成功地塑造了不同神态的虎牛形象，以及由于它们之间拉力的作用而产生一种新颖的构图形式。祭案中的巨牛，双角前伸，颈肌丰腴，沉重的躯体给人以重心前倾的感觉。但由于一虎从后面猛扑过来咬住牛尾，一种后坠力又使器身恢复了平衡。在巨牛的空腹中，又出人意外地钻出一牛犊，从而加强了器物的稳定感。双牛一虎融汇于祭器而成一体，使简单的构图显得丰富多变。巨牛与小虎的前后呼应，起到了相互掩映的作用；而巨牛与犊子之间的纵横交错，又产生了彼此烘托的效果。祭案造型，浑厚稳重，给人以肃穆庄严之感。功用、观念、艺术融合在一起，正符合祭祀内容的要求。

然而，更扣人心弦的是，表现那些充溢自然气息的猛兽格斗的场面。作者通过对比、反衬、烘托等手法，用粗犷有力而又细致入微的作风，真切而又形象地刻画了群兽格斗那种刹那间的紧张情景。可以看出，古代工匠对生活在自然界中的许多兽类的习性，有着敏锐的观察力和深刻的理解力。特别是表现姿态各异、习性不同的猛兽形象，以及善于捕捉最富于特征性的瞬间动态的本领，所显示出的卓越的艺术才能，以及对写实功夫的锤炼，更令人惊叹不已。例如，三虎噬牛铜扣饰(图219)，以熟练精确的技巧，生动地刻画了群虎与巨牛之间进行的一场显然是寡不敌众的搏斗情景。作者在捕捉猛兽格斗的形象时，巧妙地利用兽类互抱一团急速运动着的姿态，使构图显得紧凑集中，毫无疏散之感。又如，二虎噬猪铜扣饰(图217)，表现的是二虎围攻一猪，以迅疾有力的动势，刻画了野猪在猝不及防、腹背受敌的刹那间正在紧张地狂奔逃窜的情景。这里，既刻画了猛虎的凶暴，又表现了野猪的顽强，在构图上抓住了野兽最富于特征性的动态，来表现它们不同的习性。豹狼争鹿铜扣饰(图230)，是一件以情传形、以形传神的作品。这一作品，生动地刻画了猛兽之间为了争食猎获的小鹿而相互激烈搏斗的情景。从被二兽践踏于地的小鹿腹肠显露于外表明，作者是要着意表现这一奄奄待毙、十分可怜的小鹿的。但从整个画面来看，作者并没有过于渲染这只被争逐的小兽，而是突出反映了二兽相互格斗的残暴景象。豹子一口咬住狼颈，前爪紧抓狼腰；贪婪的野狼也不甘示弱，以口咬住豹子右后足，并以左前足抓住豹腹，右后足拨开豹头，其余两足踏住小鹿死死不放。作者把豹狼争食而暴露出来的凶残本性，刻画得淋漓尽致。我们仿佛看到，作

者在表现自然界中野兽之间弱肉强食的生存斗争中，隐约地流露了对被蹂躏对象的同情。

镂花是一种玲珑剔透的装饰艺术。在捕捉动物一类形象时，它能更好地表现出动物圆浑的身段、壮健的形体和疾速的四足。古代工匠以自己的想象力和审美观，用镂花艺术把从自然界中观察到的形象融化在美的形式里，这是他们长期进行艺术实践的结果。顺便指出，这种透雕艺术在构图处理上，为了加强动物的运动感和节奏感，特意在扣饰下沿置一匍伏的长蛇。这种安排，也是经过一番周密的考虑的。这样，既可使凌空的兽足有个落脚点，也可使支撑着巨大躯体的杂乱兽足联成一体，弥补构图上的缺陷。同时，又可随着长蛇波浪起伏的弧线，给人以强烈向前的动感。可以看出，古代工匠在构思这类饰物时，所表现出的苦心孤诣的匠意和举重若轻、绰有余力的艺术本领。另外，我们还可以看到，无论生气盎然的飞禽还是追逐格斗的猛兽，它们都有一个共同的特点，就是表现自然界里那种蓬勃旺盛的生机，而毫无颓败衰落的气息。这反映了古代滇人对大自然生活的热爱、憧憬和留恋。

中华民族光辉灿烂的古代文化，正是中国各族人民在长期的辛勤劳动和互相交往中共同创造的。滇池地区出土的青铜器，虽经历了二千多年的岁月，但始终未减其夺目的光彩。现在，当我们欣赏这些稀世之宝、并被它的艺术魅力吸引着时，不禁想起古代人民在极端艰苦的条件下，用勤劳的双手尚且能创造如此不朽的艺术；如今，正当我们为了实现伟大的目标并为之献身的时候，无可置疑，祖国辉煌的古代文化必将唤起我们的民族自尊心和自信心，激励大家以自己毕生的精力，坚定不移地去创造过去无法比拟的、更加光辉灿烂的未来！

* * *

这部画册，大体是按生活用具、生产工具、兵器和镂花饰物分类编排的。考虑到青铜器的某些特点，在图版上着重采用特写的形式，有些特写还用放大的手法展现。这样，可向读者提供比较清晰、完整的形象资料。本书附有张增祺等同志撰写的《云南青铜器概说》一文，主要从考古角度论述有关云南出土青铜器的情况。我们还根据古代文献辑录了一个年表，大致可以反映汉朝对云南边陲地区政治、经济、军事和文化的关系及政策，可供读者参考；同时，还撰写了一份图版说明，附于图版之后。这份说明，主要是对本书选入的青铜器，参照有关古代文献资料和近代民族学材料，吸收了国内学者的研究成果，作了一些分析、考证和介绍。由于时间仓促，水平有限，不可避免地还会存在缺点和错误。我们殷切希望，通过本书的出版，能有助于学术研究工作的进一步开展，因此也就不揣鄙陋，率尔操觚，敬请读者不吝赐教。

一九八一年三月修定

Foreword

The bronzeware unearthed in Dianchi area Yunnan province is widely known for its distinctive national characteristics and unique artistic style. It occupies an important and dazzling place in the bronzeware culture of China, which has a long and brilliant history. The discovery of bronzeware in Yunnan province is an important achievement in our archaeological work since the founding of the People's Republic and has aroused strong public attention and interest.

The founding of new China has opened a wide vista for the development of archaeological work in Yunnan province. The archaeological investigation and excavation in Yunnan area started only after the liberation of China. In the past years, over seven thousand pieces of ninety odd kinds of bronzeware were unearthed among other things in the archaeological excavation in the Dianchi area centering around the Shi Zhai Shan mountain of Jinning and Li Jia Shan mountain of Jiang Chuan as well as the vast areas of the Western Dian centering around Ta Pona of Xiang Yun and Wan Jian Ba of Chu Xiong. According to preliminary analytical findings, these bronzeware can be dated as from the late Shan Dynasty to the early period of Eastern Han Dynasty, roughly from the 11th century to the 1st century BC, a period lasting over one thousand years. Archaeological excavation shows that, during the long courses of their respective developments, two lines of inheritance can be traced, whereas due to the difference in the social development of the nationalities lived there, the local geological environment and natural conditions as well as their national customs and religious beliefs, distinctive national characteristics and difference in art style are very obvious in their respective cultures. The complexity of their cultural outlooks reflects to a certain extent the historical conditions of the nationalities in the Southwestern part of ancient China, the historical origins of why Yunnan province is up to now still a multi-nationality area, and the cultural ties between these nationalities.

China has been a unified multi-national country since ancient times. But in the past, due to various reasons, we knew very little of the ancient history of the nationalities living in Southwestern China. Although there are some written records in ancient literature, but they are incomplete and very scarce. Therefore, the discovery of bronzeware in Yunnan province has important research values, and will undoubtedly open the gate of knowledge for us to learn the culture, history and art of the nationalities in ancient times of the Southwestern area, their links with the Han culture of central China as well as their cultural exchanges with the neighbouring Indo-China peninsula. The problem confronting us is whether we are prepared to enter into this gate which has been opened before us, to understand these cultural relics of the ancient Southwestern nationalities which had been lying in slumber for thousands of years, through our conscientious work of collecting, researching and exploring. It should be said that this is not an easy task.

It is precisely for this purpose that we are publishing this book on the bronzeware unearthed in Dianchi area for the interested readers. The bronzeware can best represent the culture in Yunnan and at the same time they are very complete, rich and exquisite. The sculpture reflecting the social life of the Dian tribes on the bronzes possesses important reference value for the study of the ancient history of the nationalities in this area. So we just name this book "Yunnan Bronzeware".

Proceeding from the characteristics of the Yunnan bronzes and taking the requirements of the readers to heart, we are trying our best to include as many as possible photos in detail and close-up shots in this collection, and arrange them in the following categories: utensils for daily use, implements for production, weapons and open-work ornaments. Our intention is to give the readers a clear idea and allow this collection be used either as a catalogue of art for pleasure reading or for academic research. There is at the end of this collection "A general account on Yunnan bronzes" an article compiled by Zhang Zengqi and Sun Taichu of Yunnan Provincial Museum. This general account deals with the

unearthed bronzes of Yunnan area from the angle of archaeology and can serve as a reference guide for the readers. In addition, we have also compiled a legend for the plates to be attached at the back.

The legend includes analysis, textual research and introductory remarks basing on the bronzes in this collection and data from the relevant ancient records and ethnology, it has also included results of the research made by Chinese scholars. However, in the process of compiling the material, we come to understand that the difficulties we are encountering were not fully appreciated before hand. Due to the limitation of our knowledge, errors and shortcomings are unavoidable. It is our hope that the publication of this book will help to promote the academic research. We are publishing this book with the understanding that it is far from mature, so that criticisms and corrections are welcome.

With the publication of this book, we would like to say a few words on the social life of the Dian tribes reflected on the Yunnan bronzes and the characteristics in art of the ancient Dian kingdom. The main points are as follows:

According to the "Chapter on Nan Zhong in the History of Hua Yang Kingdom": "The Dianchi county is under the jurisdiction of a prefecture, it was originally the Dian Kingdom. The lake has a circumference of two hundred *li*, the water head is deep and wide, but its lower reaches is narrow and shallow, it seems as if the water flows back into the lake, hence it is called the Dianchi lake (meaning flowing backward lake). Its site is in the Dianchi lake area at the Southwestern corner of the present day Kunming city. There are two hills beside the lake, namely the Jinma (golden horse) and Biji (blue chicken) facing each other on the east and west sides. The place is strategically located and difficult to access. According to written records, the history of the Dianchi area started in the 4th century BC when General Zhuang Jiao of Chu Kingdom of the Warring States period came and made himself king there, the establishment of an administrative prefecture took place in the early Western Han period. The chapter on Southwestern tribes in "Shiji" ("Historical Records" China's first comprehensive biographical compilation written by Szuma Chien, 2nd century BC) says: "The king of Dian was on bad terms with the Southwest tribes, he surrendered to the Han court and asked an official to be appointed to govern this area, from then on the Yi Zhou prefecture was set up, the King of Dian was conferred with a royal seal and the mandate of governing his people again". According to historical records, during the Yuan Shou period of Han Dynasty (122-117 BC), the Emperor Wu Ti sent an envoy to the Southwest in quest for a route to Shendu Kingdom (present day India) and came to Dianchi area. In the second year of Yuan Feng (109 BC) the Han court established Yi Zhou prefecture there. From then on the Han court resumed its control over Dian which started by the Chu general Zhuang Jiao, and strengthened its communication with this area and its influence.

The Dianchi county, capital city of Yi Zhou prefecture during the Han Dynasty, is in the boundary of the present day Jining county according to the "History of Han Dynasty" and "History of Hua Yang Kingdom". A gold seal was discovered in the NO.6 tomb at Shi Zhai Shan, Jining county in 1956. The knob of the seal is in the shape of a coiled hydra, with scale pattern on its back. There are four incised characters in majuscule script on the seal: "Dian Wang Zhi Yin" (Seal of the King of Dian). The discovery of this seal has testified to the fact that the written history concerning the Dian Kingdom recorded in ancient books like "Shiji" is correct, and has ascertained that the groups of ancient tombs excavated in the Dianchi area and the unearthed cultural relics are truly the remains of the ancient Dian people's culture.

In regard to the society of the Dian people and its surrounding tribes, according to the "Biographies of the tribes in the Southwest" it says: "The Yi tribes in the Southwest had a dozen of chieftains, among them, Ye Lang was the biggest, to the west of Ye Lang, there were a dozen of Mimo tribes, Dian was the biggest. A dozen of chieftains existed north of Dian, Qiong Du was the biggest. These people were tall and strong and engaged in farming and lived in compact community. Outside of these areas, from Tong Shi eastward up to Die Yu to the north, the tribes were named Jun or Kun Ming, they braid-

ed their hair and migrated from place to place with their cattle, they did not have any settlement nor chieftain, and their habitate extended to thousands of miles." Again from the same book: "The Dian King had a population of several tens of thousands, to their northwest, there were Lao Qin and Mimo tribes, who had a common family name, and helped each other." There are similar records in the books "The History of Han Dynasty" and "The History of the Late Han Dynasty". However the ancient documents gave only a very ambiguous silhouette of the society of the Dian people. With the archaeological data at hand, it has been proved that in the Western Han Dynasty, the Dian people had already established a slave society with agriculture as the principal production. Besides farming, the people also engaged in animal husbandry, fishery, weaving, mining, metallurgy as well as metal processing, its cultural level far surpassed that of the neighbouring tribes. The reason for this lay in the fact that besides the inherent factors of industriousness, courage and resourcefulness of the Dian people, it was inseparable from the favorable natural environment in which they lived and the influence of the Han culture. The Dianchi area was very fertile, abounded in various produce and the natural condition was exceptionally favorable. According to the chapter on the history of Southwest tribes "History of Late Han": "In the Dianchi area, the land is flat, the rivers flow smoothly, the place is abound with parrots and peacocks, it produces salt, food grains, fish, gold, silk as well as various animal products. The local people is gallant and generous and the officials are very rich". Since the Yi Zhou prefecture was established in this area in the second year of Yuan Feng during the reign of Emperor Wu Ti of Han Dynasty (109 BC) the relationship between the central government and the Dianchi local government became all the more closer. According to the chapter on the history of Southwest tribes in the book "Shiji": "There were hundreds of chieftains in Southwest tribes, only the chieftains of Ye Lang and Dian had been bestowed with official seals. Dian was a small serfdom, but received the most favoured treatment." It was apparent that among the tribes in Southwest area, Dian had the closest relation with the Western Han Dynasty, that is why its culture invariably became higher than its neighbouring tribes. It was proved by the unearthed cultural relics that with the strengthening of the political, economic and cultural ties between the Han court and the Southwest area, the four-leaf pattern mirrors, Zhao Ming mirrors and other bronze articles as well as Ban Liang (half an ounce) coins and Wu Zhu coins had also been imported and these bronze culture had exerted great influence on the local indigenous bronze culture. It can be observed from the ancient tomb burials of Dian people that the bronzeware of both Han and Dian origins, and coins and cowrie-shells were in mixed existence. When it came to the later period of Western Han Dynasty and the early period of Eastern Han Dynasty, the bronzeware of Yunnan had gradually lost its regional national characteristics and merged with the Han culture of central China.

The first thing that attracts the attention of the readers when this book is opened is the scenes of various activities of people depicting a certain event casted on a cowrie container. These cowrie containers apparently were valuable objects in the eyes of the slave owners and were to be buried with them when they die. But to us, they presented before our eyes the actual situation of the slave society of the Dian tribes. It should be pointed out that it was a unique development in the history of bronzeware that social life and custom of an ancient tribe should be casted and sculptured onto bronze articles as a special theme, but this unique and particular expression of art can only be found on the unearthed bronzes in the Dianchi area.

Figurines depicting a certain event were generally casted on the lid of a cowrie container, which often takes the form of a round arena. Generally speaking the scene had two kinds of arrangements, one is to put the main figure of a certain event in the center, and the minor characters are divided into groups surrounding it. For instance, the scene of paying tribute on a cowrie container lid (plate 19) has seven groups of casted figurines. At the head of each group the main figure is a chieftain pompously dressed and carrying a sword at his side, those following in his wake are members of the tribe or slaves,

dressed in various costumes, some leading a horse or cattle, some carrying bundles on their backs. The scene vividly depicts how the nearby tribes are paying tribute to the king of Dian. The central figure in the war scene of the two cowrie containers (plates 27, 36) are armoured horsemen, the other riders are divided into several groups placed around the main horseman. The scene presents a soul-stirring battle of the ancient times. The former depicts a battle scene that is nearing its end with the Dian tribe emerged victorious, and the Kunming army utterly routed. The horseman on the second cowrie container lid is gilded, galloping on the battle field engaging in a heated hand-to-hand fighting. Another cowrie container has a weaving scene on its lid (plate 13). The main figure in the scene is a female slave owner, with its body gilded, and has a number of female slaves engaging in weaving or doing miscellaneous work around her. It depicts vividly a household handicraft production scene under the surveillance of a woman slave owner. The theme depicted on the above mentioned cowrie container lids are conspicuous and the setting is well arranged. Through these works it can be seen that how painstaking the ancient artisans had been in designing and how competent they were in presentation.

Another kind of arrangement is the use of symmetry. The activities of the figures are arranged into several groups, having vivid and concrete plots, to present the development of the story from one climax to another, and in this way the customs and habits of the Dian people in the ancient times are displayed. The theme in this category are mainly ritual or sacrificial ceremonies, and the artisans tried to achieve a solemnity effect in their designing. For example, the cowrie container with "pledging alliance" scene (plate 1) has over a hundred and a few scores of round carving figurings on its lid which is only a little over 30 cm in diameter. The arrangement of this scene of "pledging alliance" laid emphasis on the altar which is in the center where the ceremony is being held to celebrate the alliance "between the slave owners". On the left and right sides of the altar, cattle are being slaughtered, music being played, tigers and horses being fed, and various other activities being carried out. At the back of the altar is a human sacrifice ritual ceremony. All these scenes are designed to supplement the pledging alliance scene at the altar. This piece of work although very rich and sophisticated, however, with the methods of symmetry and separation used, the activities of so many people are arranged in an orderly way, giving prominence to the ritual activities of human sacrifice and pledging alliance, the well trained artistic skill of the ancient artisans is fully demonstrated. All the two cowrie containers (plate 48, 57) depicting religious sacrificial offerings have made the bronze drums and the bronze pillar as the center. The scenes of human activities are divided into two symmetrical parts on the sides. One part is a scene of human sacrificial rite, the other is a ritual of sowing and praying for good harvest, or the ceremony to celebrate bumper harvest. The themes on these two cowrie containers are both concerning the religious sacrificial rite and related with agriculture. They highlighted on the drums, three in all, one on top of the other, and the bronze pillar with coiled hydra design. Obviously the meaning implied by this arrangement was to stress the sacred right of the slave owners and the supreme and holy position of the god of the land. Under the despotic power, which was composed of the right of the slave owners and the right of the god, it was considered completely legal and just to slaughter slaves as sacrificial offerings to god and ancestors. This composition, which lay particular emphasis on the symbols of the intergration of right and god, accentuated mysterious religious concept and solemn atmosphere and the feeling of inviolable holiness.

Such religious sacrificial rites occupied a particular important part in the social life of the Dian people, so that they are not uncommon among the themes on bronzes. For example scenes of human sacrificial offerings to their ancestors and buffaloes to god were quite common in the designs on the open-work ornaments. Take the sacrificial ceremony at home for example, it was almost invariable that a human head was placed in a shrine on the wall facing the entrance of a wooden-railed type house. All members of the family, sang and danced in celebration, played the *sheng* (musical instrument) and beat the drums around it. (plates 184, 191 202). That was supposed to be a religious activity. Since they had

such a custom, they must have taken pride in hunting human heads in wars. Such human head hunting scenes are often found on the bronzes, for instance, on a bronze button-shaped ornament with the design of offering war prisoners, (plate 244), on the socket of a bronze ax (plate 117), on the handle of a bronze sword (plate 144) and on a cowrie container with the design of a battle scene (plate 36) etc.

Another theme of the designs on the bronzes that reflects the Dian people's life is animal hunting, for example, the hunting scene incised on the cowrie container with the design of sacrificing a man in front of a column (plates 69-76) and some bronze ornaments with open-work carvings (plates 231, 233, 239, 240, 242, 247). They prove that animal hunting was still an important activity in their economic life.

From the above we can see that, the themes shown in the designs on the bronzes cover almost all aspects of social life of the Dian people. Whereas the activities of sacrificial rites and wars, as it was pointed out in the passage marked "the thirteenth year of the reign of Duke Cheng" in *Zuo Zhuan* (commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals): "The major affairs of a state are sacrificial ceremony and war", they were, indeed, most important. In the slave society, the slaves were the chief labour force in social production and the creators of social wealth. But all the material wealth created by them were taken away by the slave owners. However, to the greedy slave owners, it was still not satisfactory. Robbing wealth from others was easier than producing them, and it was even considered more glorious. War was not only the chief channel for seizing wealth, but also the principal source for the supply of slaves. The various kinds of weapons, the designs of cavaliers on the ornaments and scenes of battles on the cowrie containers unearthed in Dianchi area prove the great importance of war in the Dian people's society. The slaves they captured in wars often became sacrifices in their religious ceremonies. The designs on the bronzes show that the custom of using slaves as offerings to god and ancestors was prevailing. Such religious ceremonies with human beings as the principal sacrifices had become a spiritual pillar supporting the whole slave system of the Dian people.

Another interesting point of Yunnan bronzes is the great variety of animal designs and ornamentation. They are most lively and marked with distinctive characteristics of the Dian culture. According to an incomplete statistics, there are 34 different kinds of animals in these designs and ornamentation, almost all kinds of animals in nature had become objects for decoration. In addition to these, there are a number of imaginary animals which do not exist in reality, such as monsters, winged-tiger, dragon etc. These lovable and exquisitely sculptured and carved animals are often found on Yunnan bronzes, some sculptured as parts of a vessel, others carved on the bronzes or casted onto open-work ornaments. No matter what the meaning was intended to be, or the way they were presented, a goshawk with its wings spread out ready to fly, or a heron with a long beak looking for a fish, a peacock with gorgeous feathers or a fierce looking tiger, or a group of timid and lovable deer, or a pack of vicious wolves etc, they are all filled with the spirit of life in nature and give the viewers an aesthetic enjoyment. What is worth mentioning here is an exquisitely carved spear (plate 141) whose socket was made in the form of a frog, and the frog's stretched hind legs became the spearhead. It depicts not only the liveliness of the frog, even the pattern on its back are shown on the bronze. Its form is unique and lifelike, with its mouth opened as if ready to leap. A bronze head-rest with the design of a tiger biting an ox unearthed in Li Jia Shan hill, Jiang Chuan (plate 105) is a rather unique piece of work. The head-rest is in the shape of a saddle with its corners raised and a pair of oxen standing on the two ends so that the head-rest forms a beautiful curve. The front of the head-rest was carved with three groups of scenes of tiger attacking oxen in relief on a background of linked thunder patterns, the oxen heads are sculptured. The whole composition is fresh and well-balanced. The combination of sculpture, relief and engraving results in a unique ornamental effect. A sacrificial table with tiger and ox designs is another masterpiece worth mentioning (plate 108). It was wonderfully designed and most interesting to examine. The ancient artisans created this lively piece of work with a terseness and generalization in depicting the balance

of forces between the tiger and the oxen. The bigger ox with its horns thrusting forward and its muscular neck looks as if it is about to lose its centre of gravity, but it is balanced by a small tiger springing up and biting on the ox's tail, and unexpectedly out of the empty belly of the ox emerges a calf which adds steadiness to the object. The three animals combined form a good unity while diversity is stressed. The ox and the tiger form a coordinating pair, while the ox and the calf supplementing each other. The whole sacrificial table is so shaped that it gives the viewers an impression of stability and solemnity. The function, concept and art merge into one, answering well the needs of a sacrificial ceremony.

The most impressive works are bronze open-work ornaments with designs of fighting animals. The artisans employed the method of contrast and shading background to make the theme of fighting animals at the instance of engaging in a life and death struggle stand out in full prominence. They are meticulous, forceful and realistic. Through these works, the keen observation, high artistic talent and realistic approach of ancient artisans were demonstrated clearly. Especially surprising is their adeptness in depicting the different natures of the animals and capturing the most characteristic postures of an animal that disappear in seconds. For example, the bronze button-shaped ornament with the design of three tigers attacking an ox (plate 219) portrays a fierce and apparently hopelessly outnumbered fighting between three highly concentrated tigers and a huge ox with vigorous, accurate and vivid artistic touches. The artisans expertly made use of the rhythm of the animal's movements in such a way that the whole scene was compactly composed, giving the viewers not the slightest feeling of looseness. Another example is the bronze button-shaped ornament with the design of two tigers attacking a boar. With swift and vigorous touches, it depicts the boar running madly for life at the critical moment of being attacked from both the front and the rear. The tigers' fierceness and the boar's tenacity are vividly shown. The artisans successfully captured the moment of their typical postures and expressed well their different characteristics. The bronze button-shaped ornament with the design of a leopard scrambling with a wolf over a deer (plate 230) is a moving masterpiece. It vividly portrays a fierce struggle between the two wild beasts over their prey, a young deer trampled under their claws with its intestine exposed. Though the artisans wanted to show the poor dying deer, the focus of the scene is the fierce fighting between the beasts. The leopard has the wolf's neck in its teeth and clutches the wolf's loin with its front claws, while the wolf which shows no weakness is biting at the right hind leg of the leopard, clutching the leopard's belly with its left front claw, warding off the leopard's head with its right hind leg, and treading on the deer with the other two claws. It clearly expresses the artisans' sympathy for the victim while realistically reflecting the jungle law of nature.

It is suitable to note that in handling the composition of such open-work ornaments with the design of fighting and pursuing beasts the ancient artisans ingeniously made use of the numerous postures and rhythm of movements of the animals, put them close together to achieve compactness and concentration of composition while making their images true to life. To create a stronger impression of motion, the artisans deliberately put a long coiling hydra along the border of the designs. With such a border all the claws of the animals have a common base to rest on. While serving to cover up a weakness in composition the long hydra in waving curves adds forward motion to the whole picture. It shows the ancient artisans' endeavour as well as their artistic expertise. What is more, in these rich and colourful animal themes, either the lively fowls or the running and fighting beasts, we can find one thing in common, that is the spirit of life in nature without any sign of decline and frustration, the love of nature of the ancient Dian people is fully born out.

The Chinese civilization is created in a long history by the various nationalities of China living in harmony. While we are appreciating with great interest these bronzes of Yunnan province, which are eye openers by themselves, our thoughts naturally turn to our glorious past and cannot but admire the splendid civilization of various nationalities in ancient China. It provokes a sense of pride in us as a great people and fills us with a confidence that we are able to create a more splendid future incomparable by any previous periods in history.

1980. 1.

(Translated by Yao Tsong)

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