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中国青铜文化结构体系研究

李伯谦 著

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Studies on the Structual System of Chinese Bronze Culture

by Li Boqian

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内容简介

本书分综论篇、中原篇、北方篇、南方篇及方法篇,收录了李伯谦先生在中国青铜文化结构体系方面的研究论文共 31 篇。全书重点论述了中国古代青铜文化的起源、分期、分区、谱系演变及相互关系,以阐明以中原夏、商、周文化为中心的中国青铜文化发展的全过程及其发展特点。

本书可供从事历史、考古、文物的工作者、大专院校师生及历史、文物、考古爱好者参考。

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作者近照

前言

《中国青铜文化结构体系研究》一书是一本论文集,而不是一本专著。原来确曾想写一本专著,着力探讨中国青铜文化的起源、发展以及不同谱系文化之间的影响、碰撞、融合等问题,使读者对中国青铜文化有一个鸟瞰式的全面、系统的认识,为此我还申请了八五计划社科博士点研究项目,获得了九千元的资助。遗憾的是,自己本来精力有限,加上这些年行政工作又占去了不少时间,几次提笔又几次放下,一直未能如愿。专著是没有写成,但我对这个课题的兴趣却丝毫没有降低。粗粗统计了一下,在我所写的论文中,三分之二以上都是与此相关的。我之所以对中国青铜文化的结构体系课题情有独钟,是因为我很早以前就形成了一种认识。我认为,中国幅员辽阔,古代文化错综复杂,过去由于历史的原因,大家将中国青铜文化的研究重心放在中原地区的夏、商、周文化固然无可厚非,但随着中原以外各地大量青铜文化遗存的不断涌现,对之仍然不加重视,很可能就要犯"以点代面"、"以偏概全"的错误了。这次在专著计划未能完成的情况下,退而求其次,将自己围绕该课题所写的文章选出31篇汇集成册,并仍以《中国青铜文化结构体系研究》为名出版发行,正是要表达这样一种认识。

收入本书的 31 篇文章, 按内容分为五个部分。

综论篇中《中国青铜文化的发展阶段与分区系统》一文是从宏观角度对中国青铜文化的起源、发展、分期、社会发展阶段、谱系关系等所作的概括,可以看作是我对中国青铜文化结构体系认识的一个框架;《中国古代文明的起源与形成》一文是基于对中国古代文化结构体系的认识从文明发展角度对中国古代社会进行的纵的考察。《庄重典雅的商周青铜器》是为电视系列片《中华文明之光》中介绍商周青铜器一集写的文字稿,《商周青铜剑发展谱系的缩影》则是为台湾友人出版的《古越阁铜兵萃珍——铜剑篇》所写的文字说明,这两篇虽是普及型的文章,但也代表了我的学术观点。关于论述中原地区东周铜剑渊源的一篇,实际上探讨的是中国铜剑的起源,青铜剑最早并不产生于中原地区是我的一个基本论点。

北方篇的 5 篇有 4 篇是论文, 1 篇是讲话。分布于我国北方地区的青铜文化非常复杂, 这里并未一一涉及, 重点探讨了夏家店下层文化和张家园上层文化以及山西、陕西

北部黄河两岸的青铜文化。笔者认为夏家店下层文化是北方地区相当于夏至早商时期的早期青铜文化,其后以燕山南麓为重点分布地区的张家园上层文化与其有一定渊源关系。西周初年"召公封燕"的政治举措开始了漫长的以周文化为代表的中原系统文化和以张家园上层文化为代表的北方系统文化碰撞与融合的过程,燕文化的形成正是二者融合的结果。山西、陕西北部黄河两岸的青铜文化据其特征和文化渊源可分为两个系统,以灵石旌介商墓为代表者应是与石楼、绥德青铜器为代表者有区别的商系统国族的遗存。

南方篇有 10 篇。其中用力较多的是对广泛分布于我国南方地区的几何形印纹陶遗存的研究,《试论吴城文化》一文依据发现的地层叠压关系和对其包含的遗物的分析,确立了赣江流城青铜文化的年代分期标尺,《我国南方几何形印纹陶遗存的分区、分期及其有关问题》首次将含几何形印纹陶的遗存区分为七个不同的文化区,其后有关马桥文化、吴文化的探讨都是在此基础上进行的。长江上游的早期蜀文化与城固铜器群也是研究的一个重点,文中提出的一些认识可供继续研究者参考。《长江流域文明的进程》是对长江流域文明发展历程作出的概括,我虽然认为长江流域有着自己发达的原始文化和青铜文化,在自己发达的原始文化、青铜文化基础上同样孕育了文明的因素,产生了文明的萌芽,但进入文明的时间却要晚于黄河流域,正是由于以夏、商文明为代表的黄河文明的介入长江流域才真正开始了这一过程。

方法篇只有 3 篇小文章,但我自认为都是我研究实践中真切的体会,有时甚至觉得一旦离开文化因素分析方法,我可能一篇文章都写不出来。

以上扼要介绍了收入本书的 31 篇文章的基本论点,目的不是宣扬这些论点多么正确,只是想表明自己的一个研究过程。现在回过头来看这些东西,老实说满意的不多,有些文章的论点似乎还站得住脚,但论证的过程显然太粗疏了,有些论点,当时觉得还可以,但随着新材料的发现不得不承认到了应该修正的时候了;而有些论点本来论据就不足,似乎早该束之高阁了。不过为了尊重历史,这次付印之前,对各篇文章的基本观点,均未作改动。假如有合适的机会,坐下来好好思考一下,写一篇《自我批判》,对以往做个总结,我想是最好不过的了。

在编辑本论文集过程中,雷兴山先生帮助遴选文章并加以编排,孙庆伟先生帮助翻译英文提要并校改错字,邢文先生、艾兰教授帮助翻译前言,徐勇先生帮助冲印照片,程宏鲲先生帮助清绘线图,都付出了艰辛的劳动,在此谨致诚挚的谢意!本书选用的照片和线图过去均已公开发表,这里我也要特别感谢这些文物的发掘者、收藏单位和出版机构的朋友们!

本书出版的时候,即将迎来北京大学百年华诞,谨以此作为小小的礼物献给培养我的伟大的母校和我敬爱的师长!

作者 1988 年元月

PREFACE

Studies on the Structural System of Chinese Bronze Culture is a collection of essays rather than a monograph. Originally, I planned to write a monograph about the origin and development of Chinese bronze culture which would discuss such questions as the influence, impact and fusion of the different cultures and give the reader an overview of Chinese bronze culture and a systematic explanation. With this intention, I applied to a doctoral training program in the social sciences under the auspices of the nation's eighth 5-year plan and received financial assistance amounting to nine thousand yuan. Regretably, I still have not achieved my aim. With limited energy and time-consuming administrative duties, every time I have taken up my pen, I have put it down again. Although I have not been able to finish my book, my interest in this project has not lessened at all. Calculated roughly, almost two thirds of the articles in this volume are related to it.

The reason I have focussed so keenly on the topic of the structural system of Chinese bronze culture is because of an hypothesis that I formulated about it very early on. I believe that because China is so vast and has such an intricate and complex ancient culture, it was entirely excusable, for historic reasons, for everyone in the past to concentrate their studies of Chinese bronze culture on the Xia, Shang and Zhou cultures in the Central Plains. However, if we do not pay more attention in the future to the remains that have been continuously discovered of bronze cultures outside of the Central Plains, we may fall into the errors of unrepresentative and one-sided analyses. Not having completed my planned monograph, I have looked for an alternative, and selected 31 articles which I have written centering on this topic for this volume. The title that I have used for this collection of articles, Studies on the Structural System of Chinese Bronze Culture, is intended to reflect this hypothesis.

The 31 articles in this book are grouped in five sections according to their content. In the *General Discussions* section, the article "Stages and Districts of Bronze Cultures in China" is an outline of the origin, development, periodization, stages of social development and genealogical relationships of Chinese bronze cultures from a macroscopic perspective. It can be regarded as the framework of my hypothesis concerning the structural system of Chinese bronze culture. The article "The Origin and Formation of Chinese Civilization" is an investigation delineating social progress in ancient China from

the perspective of my hypothesis concerning the structural system of ancient Chinese culture. "Sober and Elegant Shang-Zhou Bronzes" was the script for the television series Precursors of Chinese Civilization of a section introducing Shang and Zhou bronzes. The article "An Epitome of the Development of the Shang-Zhou Bronze Swords" was originally written as a precis for the "Bronze Swords" chapter of the book, Collected Gems of Bronze Weapons in Guyue Ge, published by a Taiwan friend. Although these two articles are written for a popular audience, they also represent my academic opinion. "The Tentative Probation on the Origin of Eastern Zhou Bronze Swords in the Central Plains" is in fact a discussion of the origin of China's bronze swords. That bronze swords did not originate in the Central Plains is one of my primary themes.

The Central Plain section includes eight articles. Five of them focus on Xia and Pre-Shang culture. The primary opinions expressed in these articles are: that Xiaqiyuan Culture represents Pre-Shang culture; that Erlitou Culture represents Xia Culture as formed after Hou Yi took over the Xia; and that the beginning of the construction of the Shang city at Yanshi represents the boundary between the Xia and Shang Cultures. The other three articles in this section individually discuss: the identity of the clan whose members are buried in the Shang tombs discovered at Mangzhang, Luoshan, Henan Province; the clan emblem inscription of the Ju clan; and the site of the first place of settlement of the Jin dukes in the Western Zhou. My conclusions are: that the Shang tombs at Mangzhang, Luoshan are the tombs of the nobility of the Shang period Xi State; that the Ju clan is a tribe that settled in Shanxi in the Shang period; and that the Tianma-Qucun site was the first settlement of the Jin dukes.

Four of the five articles in Northern China section are papers and one was originally a speech. The bronze cultures of North China are extremely complex and I have not described them individually. My emphasis is on the Lower Xiajiadian Culture, the Upper Zhangjiayuan Culture and the bronze cultures which straddle the Yellow River in North Shanxi and Shaanxi Provinces. I regard the Lower Xiajiadian Culture as the early bronze culture of the northern region, corresponding in time to the Xia and early Shang and consider it to have a definite relationship to the origin of the Upper Zhangjiayuan Culture, which was later distributed in sites centered around the southern slope of Yan Mountain. The political decision to assign Duke Shao to Yan in the early Western Zhou Dynasty initiated a long period of interaction between the cultural systems of the Central Plains and the North—the former represented by the Zhou Culture and the latter by the Upper Zhangjiayuan Culture. The formation of the Yan Culture was a result of the fusion of these two cultures. The bronze cultures of the Yellow River Valley in northern Shanxi and Shaanxi Provinces can be divided into two systems on the basis of their char-

acteristics and cultural origins; the one represented by the Shang tombs at Jingjie, Lingshi, to be distinguished from that represented by the bronze vessels from Shilou and Suide. Their archaeological remains are those of different Shang states and their peoples in the Shang system.

Southern China section has ten articles. In these, I have paid particular attention to the study of the geometrically stamped pottery remains that are distributed widely throughout South China. "A Preliminary Study on Wucheng Culture" establishes a chronological gauge for dating the bronze cultures in the Ganjiang River valley based on an analysis of the remains of artifacts found in stratigraphical aggradations. The article "Districts and Stages of the Remains Featuring Pottery Artifacts with Geometric Designs in South China and Related Issues" first divides the areas with geometrically stamped pottery remains into seven different cultural areas and subsequently discusses Magiao Culture and the Wu Culture on the basis of this analysis. My research in this section also emphasizes the early Shu culture of the upper reaches of the Yangtze River and a group of bronze vessel from Chengdu, Sichuan Province and I have proposed some hypotheses for further research "The Course of Ancient Civilization in the Yangtze River Valley" is an outline of the development of civilization in that region. Although I believe that this region had developed its own indigenous primitive and bronze cultures, which contained the defining factors of civilization in an incipient form and that they produced the sprouts of civilization, the Yangtze River Valley entered into the stage of civilization later than the Yellow River Valley, and it was the intervention of Yellow River civilization—represented by Xia and Shang civilizations—in the Yangtze River Valley that instigated the progress to civilization proper in the Yangtze River Valley.

The *Methodology* section only includes 3 short articles, but I think that they represent my honest experience of research practice. Sometimes I even think that I would not be able to write a single article if I once neglected the methodology of the cultural factor analysis.

The above is a brief introduction to the major theses expressed in the 31 articles collected in this book. Their purpose is not to advocate these viewpoints but to indicate the course of my research. Now when I look back on these articles, frankly, I am not satisfied with many of them. The arguments in some of the articles still seem tenable to me but the proofs are obviously too carelessly carried out; some arguments seemed convincing at the time, but I now have to admit they are due for revision because of the discovery of new materials, and some arguments that originally lacked sufficient supporting evidence seem like they should have been shelved long ago. However, respecting history, I have not changed any of the basic viewpoints in these articles before this volume was sent to

the press. If there is an appropriate opportunity, I think that nothing would be better than for me to sit down, reflect carefully on these questions for a while, and summarize the past in a "self critique".

In editing this collection, Mr. Lei Xingshan helped select and compile the articles; Mr. Sun Qingwei translated the abstract into English and proofread the proofs; Professor Sarah Allan and Dr. Xing Wen provided the English translation of the preface; Mr. Xu Yong made the photographs; Mr. Cheng Hongkun made the drawings and Mr. Hu Huaqiang of the Science Press examined and proofread the whole book repeatedly. They all put great effort into the book. I hereby wish to express my sincere thanks to them.

When this book has been published, the magnificent centenary of Peking University will have arrived. I wish to present this book as a small gift to my great alma mater as well as my teachers and seniors!

Author January, 1998

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壹 综论篇

中国青铜文化的发展阶段与分区系统

中国古代究竟从什么时候开始出现治铜术,一直是一个有争议的问题。

1973 年在陕西临潼姜寨仰韶文化早期遗址第 29 号房子居住面上发现过一个铜片^①,经化验含铜 65%、锌 25%,还有少量的锡、铅、硫、铁等,是一种黄铜。29 号房子木椽的碳十四年代为 4020 ± 110 B. C. ,校正为 4675 ± 135 B. C. 。由此可见,中国在公元前第五千年纪前期发明冶铜术是有可能的。

考古发现最早的青铜器是甘肃省东乡林家马家窑类型遗址出土的刀子,据激光光谱分析为锡青铜^②。马家窑类型的年代相当于仰韶文化晚期,可见早在公元前第四千年纪末或三千年纪初,我国西部的居民已开始铸造青铜器了。不过这毕竟是孤例,我们还不能以此作为当时已进入青铜时代的根据。严文明论定仰韶文化或仰韶文化晚期是中国的早期铜石并用时代是符合实际情况的^③。

继仰韶文化之后的龙山时代(约公元前 2600—前 2000 年),铜器发现较多,有红铜器、黄铜器及青铜器,还有与熔铜有关的遗物。

在河南龙山文化中,郑州牛砦出土有经分析确认为是熔化铅青铜的炉壁;临汝煤山出土有熔铜炉底残块,"经化验,炉壁上铜的含量近似值为 95%,此炉应是熔红铜的炉子";淮阳平粮台龙山文化城址出土有铜渣^⑥;在山西襄汾陶寺类型墓葬中出土一件铃形铜器,经化学定量分析,含铜 97.86%、铅 1.54%、锌 0.16%,系纯度较高的红铜^⑤。

在山东龙山文化中,诸城呈子和长岛北长山岛店子发现有铜片,栖霞杨家圈和日照 王城安尧发现有铜炼渣,胶县三里河和栖霞杨家圈发现有铜锥[®]。胶县三里河的铜锥经分析含锌从 20.2 %到 26.4 %不等,其余尚有锡、铅、铁、硫、硅等,是含杂质较多的黄铜[©]。

在黄河上游,属于该时期的甘肃水登蒋家坪马厂类型遗址中出土有残铜刀,经化验是锡青铜[®]。马厂类型后的齐家文化(约为公元前2055—前1900年),与龙山文化晚期基本同时或稍晚,出土铜器的地点多达六七处,器形有刀、锥、斧、凿、钻头、指环、泡、镜等,经分析,分别属红铜、锡青铜和铅青铜[®]。

龙山时代较之仰韶时代,出土铜器的地点、数量和器类增多,青铜器占了一定的比例,为晚期铜石并用时代,其内部已蕴育着青铜文化的萌芽,开始了由铜石并用时代向

青铜时代的过渡。

至约公元前 21 世纪中国开始进入青铜时代,经过夏代二里头时期的初始阶段,早商时期的发展阶段,晚商至西周前期的鼎盛阶段,西周后期至春秋的衰落阶段,到战国初最终被早期铁器时代所代替,大约经过了一千五六百年。

中国青铜文化自身的发展史清楚地表明,它不是由域外传来的,而是在中国新石器文化的基础上形成和发展起来的。然而中国青铜文化起源的本土论并不排斥其起源的多元论。正如我们前面所述的那样,早在新石器时代,众多的新石器文化都出现了铜器,但是其发展是不平衡的,而且很难说某一地方的冶铜术一定是由另一个地方传去的。

正是由于起源和历史文化传统的不同以及所处自然地理环境的差异,不同地区逐步 形成了独具特征的自成系统的青铜文化。它们相互影响、彼此交流,有的发展迅速,有 的发展缓慢;有的互相融合,有的产生分化;有的壮大了,有的削弱乃至消失了,从而 构成了一幅错综复杂而又有规律可寻的绚丽多彩的中国青铜文化发展图景(见附表)。

- (一) 二里头文化时期,基本上可以分为四区,包括六支不同的青铜文化(图一)。 中原地区,分布有二里头文化和漳河型-辉卫型遗存。
- 二里头文化的分布范围以河南省西部和山西省南部为中心,包括了河南省大部和山西省、陕西省的一部分。目前分为两个类型:河南省西部的二里头类型;山西南部的东下冯类型。二里头型是二里头文化的原生型,东下冯型是二里头文化的派生类型[®]。
- 二里头文化的铜器几乎都是青铜制品,爵和斝是目前中国发现的最早的青铜容器。表明二里头文化是当时发展水平最高的一支青铜文化。

漳河型-辉卫型遗存,主要分布于河南省北部和河北省南部⁶。青铜器仅见刀、镞等小件器物,未见青铜容器。漳河型-辉卫型与二里头文化基本同时,依其分布地域和与二里岗期商文化的密切关系推测,应是灭夏前的商族文化即先商文化。

山东、苏北沿海地区是岳石文化,其影响西到豫东,北到辽东半岛,南至淮河流域。根据泗水尹家城等遗址的地层叠压关系,岳石文化晚于山东龙山文化,早于二里岗上层商文化,岳石文化是继承山东龙山文化发展而来的。它的青铜器有锥、镞、刀、鼻环和青铜残块等³,但尚未发现青铜容器,其文化发展水平显然要低于二里头文化。

北方地区, 东部是夏家店下层文化, 西部是朱开沟文化。

夏家店下层文化分布范围很广,北达西喇木伦河,南到拒马河,西至张家口地区,东抵医无闾山。依据文化内涵的差异,目前可以分为三个类型[®]:燕山山脉以北的辽西、内蒙古东南部地区以赤峰药王庙遗址为代表的药王庙类型;燕山山脉以南的京、津、唐地区以天津大厂大坨头遗址为代表的大坨头类型;张家口地区以壶流河诸遗址为代表的壶流河类型。

在这三种类型早期遗存中,都发现有铜器,器形有刀、削、戈、镞、耳环、指环等, •2•