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前

言

所谓镇墓神物,指古代人们专门为死者及其亡魂驱鬼辟邪,使之免遭侵扰的镇墓之物。镇墓神物种类甚多,其中流传最广、流传时间最长、数量最多的是形象怪谲而富于变化的镇墓神兽俑,这是镇墓神物的主体部分。此外,还有镇墓武士俑、镇墓天王俑以及上面书写文字和符箓的镇墓石、镇墓券、镇墓瓶、镇墓石人等。

镇墓神物是一定历史时期人类社会活动的产物,具有鲜明的时代特征,因而成为各不同历史时期具体而完整的、现实生活与精神生活的实物见证。很值得从不同角度、不同层面加以探讨研究,可以反映人类社会发展进程中许多发人深思的重要内容。它反映了人类在一定的民族心理和民族精神影响下的活动和怎样进行活动,以及在什么样的历史背景和意识形态支配下进行活动;反映着人类活动之间的社会关系和产生的社会效果;也反映了我国民族特有的传统文化,具有浓郁的民族色彩。由此可见,研究镇墓神物的产生、发展、演变规律,探讨它的历史背景,具有较重要的历史、精神和文化价值,有助于我们观察由原始文化转化为文明文化进程中镇墓神物所起的作用,进而对原始社会向阶级社会过渡时期意识形态的演变得到进一步的理解和认识。人们意识形态(特别是鬼神观念)的演化过程,在镇墓神物中得到了原始、质朴、直率的体现,因而它成为研究意识形态和民族精神发展的珍贵对象。总之,镇墓神物在反映历史、反映传统文化和思想发展等方面具有重要的价值。同时,它也成为对人民群众进行历史唯物主义教育的生动教材。

新中国成立后,全国各地文物考古事业得以飞速发展,先后发掘、清理不同时期的墓葬数以万计,开启了这座深埋地下的文物宝库。包括镇墓神物在内的大量不同时期、不同质料的珍贵文物呈现在我们面前。终于使我们有条件能够对镇墓神物进行探讨、研究,揭开它的神秘面纱。

古代镇墓神物,作为我国传统文化的一个组成部分,曾经在历史上存在了数千年,而且分布地域非常广阔。镇墓神物本身从早到晚的形象演变以及各个地域镇墓神物呈现的不同特点等等,形成一种形制多变、源流不一、混杂并陈现象。要想一下子说清楚,理出其轮廓和体系,确非一件易事。这显然是一个严肃的学术问题,牵涉到多方面的具体问题,有不少迷津尚待破解。举个例子来说,唐宋时期南方的湖广地区和北方的山西长治地区出现的所谓"墓龙"、"仪鱼"以及苏皖地区出现的鳄鱼形、穿山甲形神物等,其性质与形式的转变,可否把它们归属于镇墓神物一类,它们之间又是何种关系,它们是否镇墓神物变形的表现或辗转流变过程中形成的多源一体态势,还有与其他学科的结合问题,如镇墓神物与我国文明起源和发展的关系,镇墓神物与宗教、神话发展中的关系以及与思想发展史的关系……凡此种种,探讨之中难免因认识的分歧而有所争议。我们深切感到,镇墓神物与历史学、考古学、神话学、民俗学、思想史相结合的研究,是一个探究方向和方法问题,接触到实际,涉及的问题却异常复杂。

在我国历史文献中,关于镇墓神物的记载甚少,仅能在相当零散的相关史料中查寻蛛丝马迹,甚至有的还未被认识。有关镇墓神物的实物资料,虽然数量甚多,但散存全国各地,并且建国初期发表的资料,所附线图和图片多不清晰,甚至未附线图和照片,文字记述亦简单、粗略,这也给编写工作造成一定的难度。

基于上述情况,《中国古代镇墓神物》一书的编写,只不过是汇集资料、提供线索,为进一步深入探讨镇墓神物作了一点基础性工作。编写当中,我们注意到了以下几点:

- 1. 把编写工作放在古代的现实生活和精神生活的大环境之中加以探讨。首先着眼于它所反映的宗教信仰、丧葬习俗、生活风尚等方面。
- 2. 分期分区问题。对同一时期而不同区域各种不同形象的镇墓神物,力求确定其所属的大致时代及基本时间跨度,然后对各自的特殊含意(相对其共有含意而言),弄清它得以产生的历史背景,显现其深层价值,并作出较科学的解释。
- 3. 尽量梳理清楚每种镇墓神物各自的源流与发展轨迹,把它安放 到恰当的位置上,按其本来面目作出如实描述。
- 4. 镇墓神物的发展、演变和人类精神文化的发展以及动物神话的关系非常密切。把握住它们彼此间的内在联系是至关重要的。我们把这个视为关键性的问题予以探讨。并认为古代人类思维活动与动物神话是镇墓神物产生与发展的源泉和动力,而镇墓神物的外貌形象是人类思维

在各个发展阶段中的生动反映,又是衡量动物神话发展的标尺。

5. 收入本书的每件镇墓神物标本,均作详细描述,包括出土地点、流布区域、收藏单位以及形貌特征、尺寸、大小、胎质、釉彩等,以备研究、查考。

编写工作中,我们参考了大量历史文献、文物考古资料和民俗资料,曾奔赴许多地方观察实物遗存,征集与拍摄图片资料。通过排比、分类和系统整理,得到不少启发。在此基础上尝试性地提出了一些初步看法,尚未弄清楚的问题只好暂时搁置起来。

本书涉及的内容主要有两方面:一是为中国古代各种各样的镇墓神物划分类别,揭示每一类镇墓神物形成、发展和演变的历史过程;一是对每一类镇墓神物所以能经久盛行的文化、历史背景以及它所反映的人们的思维、信仰状况做力所能及的探讨。显然,用科学的态度和方法研究中国古代镇墓神物的历史,其本身就是对曾经长期风行并对人们思维方式、意识形态产生过深刻影响的镇墓神物现象的批判。

《中国古代镇墓神物》是一本具有资料汇集与理论探讨双重性质的图书。由于编写人员受业务知识和征集资料所限,错误之处在所难免,恳请方家和读者批评、指正。

PREFACE

On the subject of tomb-protecting supernatural objects, although some theses have been published in a few journals, and some valuable, novel ideas have been put forward in them, still no comprehensive and systematic monumental studies or albums have come out up to the present.

The so-called tomb-protecting supernatural objects refer to the burial-guarding artifacts the ancient people entombed to exorcise ghosts and demons so as to prevent the body and spirit of the dead from disturbance. They fall into lots of classes. Of them the most widespread, most prolonged and most numerous were tomb-figures of various strange mythical animals. The other categories include figures of warriors and Lokapalas, and character-inscribed or magic-figure-drawn stones, documents, vases and stone-sculptured human figures.

Tomb-protecting supernatural objects are products of man's social activities in certain historical periods and bear distinct characteristics of ages. So they became material witnesses of specific and complete real and spiritual life of different times, and thus deserve study in various aspects and at various levels. They reflect many important things calling for deep thought that were brought about in the developmental course of human society. Through them we can inquire into human beings' activities performed under the influence of certain national psychology and spirit, as well as the manner, historical background and ideological governing factors of these activities. Based on them we can also research into the social relationship of human beings and the social effects of their activities, as well as our nation's traditional culture with distinct features. So it is evident that to study the birth, development and change of tomb-protecting supernatural objects and to research into their historical background are of great historical, spiritual and cultural value. Such studies contribute to revealing the role of these objects in the transition from barbarism to civilization and to understanding further ideological changes in the transitional period from primitive to class society. The evolutionary course of man's ideology (especially the concept of ghosts and divinities) was simply and straight embodied in tomb-protecting supernatural objects, which, therefore, became valuable evidence for studying the development of ideology and national spirit. In short, these cultural relics are of great significance to the understanding of history, traditional culture and ideological development. Therefore, they form a sort of vivid textbook teaching historical materialism to the masses.

Since the founding of New China, antiquarian and archaeological cause has rapidly developed all over the country. Ten thousands of ancient tombs have been excavated, and numerous deepburied treasure houses have been opened. Before us are invaluable cultural relics in different materials from different periods, including tomb-protecting supernatural objects. We came to have conditions for studying them and taking off their mysterious veils to the full.

As a part of traditional Chinese culture, the ancient practice of using tomb figures and other

grave-protecting objects existed for several thousand years and were distributed in vast regions. Because their forms were changed from period to period and their features were diversified from region to region, there emerged the mixture and co-existence of tomb-guarding artifacts varied in form and origin. It is difficult indeed to explain them definitely and to sort out the sequences and systems hidden in them. This is obviously a serious academic subject involving a series of specific problems and containing a number of unsettled doubts and suspicions. For example, in the Tang-Song period, there emerged the so-called "tomb dragon" and "funeral fish" varying in material in the Huguang region of South China and the Shanxi Changzhi area of North China, as well as crocodile and pangolin-shaped supernatural objects in the Jiangsu-Anhui region. What was their nature and what creatures they originated from? Can they be classified as tomb-protecting supernatural objects, and what relationship existed between them and the latter? Were they transformed from other tombprotecting artifacts or integrated from objects different in origin? And what connections did they have with other social phenomena, such as the origin and development of Chinese civilization, the evolutionary course of religion and myth, and the history of ideology? On all these problems, divergence of views and controversies among researchers can hardly be avoided. We deeply feel that interdisciplinary studies of tomb-protecting supernatural objects in combination with historical science, archaeology, mythology, folklore and the history of ideology are, first of all, an issue of research direction and methodology. As for specific objects, they involve extremely complicated problems.

In ancient Chinese documents tomb-protecting supernatural objects are seldom recorded; only some clues can be found in related historical sources, which, moreover, are rather fragmental or call for discernment. The available related material data are scattered in different areas of the country although they are large in quantity. In addition, the material published in early years of New China has a lack of clear drawings and photos and even no such data, while the textual description is too simple and brief, which also bring certain difficulty to the compilation of publications.

Owing to the above-mentioned circumstances the present book *Tomb-protecting Supernatural Objects in Ancient China* is compiled merely as a data-collecting and clue-providing volume so as to do some basic work for profound studies of these cultural relics. The following principles are what we emphasized in the compiling course.

- 1. Tomb-protecting supernatural objects should be dealt with on the background of real and spiritual life in ancient times, with the religious belief, burial custom and life style they reflect taken into first account.
- 2. In periodization and regionalization, it is essential striving to determine the date and temporal span of those objects that belong to the same period but differ in distribution region and formal

features. Then efforts should be aimed at revealing the particular meanings of their own (against the common meanings), clarifying the historical background of their birth, inquiring into their value in the depth and giving them scientific explanation as fully as possible.

- 3. Tomb-protecting supernatural objects should be studied class by class as to their origin and developmental track, put in appropriate positions, and given a true description of their aspect.
- 4. The evolution of tomb-protecting supernatural objects was closely connected with the development of man's spiritual culture and animal myth. It is the most important to master the internal relations between them. This point should be studied as the key problem. We believe that the ancient people's thinking activities and animal myth were the source and motive force for the birth and development of tomb-protecting supernatural objects. Meanwhile, the appearance of these objects was a lively reflection of man's thinking at its different developmental stages and can be used as a scale to measure the development of animal myth.
- 5. Each sample brought into the present book should be given a detailed description, including its locality, distribution area and collecting unit, as well as its formal features, size, body structure, glaze and color, so as to meet the needs of study and reference.

In the compiling course we referred to wealth of historical records and antiquarian, archaeological and folklore data, and hurried to a lot of places for examining material remains and collecting or taking photos. Through comparison, classification and systematization of material, we got valuable inspiration. On this basis we try to put forward certain preliminary views and leave unsettled problems for further research.

In content the book involves mainly two problems: One is the classification of various tomb-protecting supernatural objects from ancient China and the clarification of the forming and evolutionary courses of each class. The other is research into the cultural and historical background of their prolonged prevalence and the thinking and religious circumstances they reflect. Obviously, to study the history of ancient China's tomb-protecting supernatural objects with a scientific approach is in itself a criticism of the long prevailing practice of using tomb-protecting supernatural objects that exerted profound influence upon man's mode of thinking and ideology.

The *Tomb-protecting Supernatural Objects in Ancient China* is a work of dual character: a collection of data and a theoretical study. Owing to the limitation of the compilers' professional knowledge and the collected material, the book can hardly avoid slips. So we sincerely request experts and readers to oblige us with their comments.



序

张松林

古代,我国以某种"灵物"作为"神佑",置于死者墓前或墓室内的习俗非常普遍。镇墓神物作为特定历史条件下的一种文化现象,世界各文明古国如埃及、希腊、印度等历史上也都较普遍地出现过。我国最早的镇墓神物可以追溯到原始时代,立体木质和铜质镇墓神物,出现在公元前3世纪前叶即春秋战国之交。首先出现在南方的荆楚地区,为楚文化所特有,以后又出现于北方的中原地区,乃至遍及各地。

镇墓神物的出现,反映了古人深信死后地下亡魂确会受到鬼魅的侵害、滋扰。从历代丧葬礼仪和丧葬习俗看,死者亡魂对地下生活的追求,一是升天成仙,一是继续享乐,一是保持亡魂的安宁。三者始终是死者地下生活的主要内容。我们从镇墓神物在墓中的安放位置、外貌形象及其形体较其他俑类高大等情况,可以看出镇墓神物在随葬俑群组合中突出的主体地位。在古人的心目中,镇墓神物具有超越凡人、超越自然的灵性和力量,是保证死者亡魂生活安宁的理想的保护神。

对镇墓神物多角度的探讨与研究有着现实的和历史的重要意义。大致可以归纳为以下几点:

1. 既是不同历史阶段意识形态的生动反映,又是衡量人类精神文化发展水平的尺度。

镇墓神物是人类社会物质文明、精神文明发展到一定阶段时,由人创造出来的。而且人的这种创造物随着社会文明和思想文化的发展而发展,所以它不仅成为我国古代文明的一个组成部分,同时也成为不同时期人类意识形态一种独特的忠实记录,并真切地体现和流露着人类的心理状态。最明显的是对死后亡魂的归宿与安危问题的担心,其实质却在于曲折地反映出活人日常对鬼神恐惧感的社会心态。这不是某个人或某种人思想上的问题,而是一种传统性的习尚,古代帝王卿相乃至贤哲之士也未能或未完全摆脱鬼神迷信的桎梏。这里有一个根本问题,或者说中心问题,即"信仰"问题。形成这种信仰的社会基础是当时古人面临的生活环境和心理环境,尤其是后者。在现代人看来,这种信仰是很难理解的,简直是荒唐可笑的,但在古代,镇墓神物却真真实实地代表着一种不容置疑的精神寄托,能够满足人们心理上的需要,是一种内在的思想

活动。从这个意义上说镇墓神物在很大程度上是一种自觉的精神活动的产物。

镇墓神物的演变轨迹表明,其本质上和表现形式上,都始终带有明显的理想化的、超现实的倾向,给人以浓郁的神秘感。最早出现的纯粹兽形镇墓神物,明显表现出原始动物崇拜和万物有灵观念;继之出现的人兽同体形镇墓神物则表现了人性因素和人类自我意识的产生,这是一个突破性进展;至于后出现的神人同形镇墓神物则是向文明化、人性化方面的又一次飞跃,其性质已完全不同于兽形镇墓神物赖以起源、发展的原始意识和原始思维,成为进入更发达的文明时代的一种文明意识和人类自我意识占居首位的人性意识,彻底摆脱了原始神形。这种洋溢着人间浓厚气息的神物,应是社会人类诸神即将形成的先声。兽形与人兽同体形镇墓神物的继续流行,表明原始的动物崇拜和万物有灵信仰在意识形态领域并未完全消失,动物因素仍保留着较深的印象,但它的性质和形式已不是主流部分,只不过是动物遗性和遗形因素而已。表明民族信仰、民族心理一经形成,便表现为文化的惰性,由这种惰性构成稳定的"传统",使之改变是很不容易的,即使改变之后传统的影响依然会长期留存下来而无孔不入。这一点,镇墓神物表现得非常明显。

2. 研究古代神话发展演变的重要实物资料。

镇墓神物与古代神话的密切联系是显而易见的。首先,不同时期的镇墓神物,给我们传递了史籍中不那么明显的、古老质朴的神话信息,使我们看到了更直观、更生动的神物形象及其演化规律。镇墓神物的形象,或者说其外貌造型,始终是在古代神话,特别是在动物神话影响之下形成、发展、演变的。在这里宗教中巫觋的驱魔活动以及以后的术士、堪舆家等起着关键性作用。还由于镇墓神物分布地域广阔,遍及我国各个省区,并且各有自身的地域特点,这就为神话研究提供了丰富的比较对象。

镇墓神物与古代动物神话中的其他神物一样,早期阶段均采取"拟人格"的兽形外貌;继之,便隐约出现人形、兽形两条线的发展趋势;以后两条线的发展更为清晰。随着人类自我意识的日益增强,镇墓神物的人格化、理性化倾向也更加明朗。需要说明的是,继纯粹兽形镇墓神物之后产生的人兽同体形镇墓神物,并没有完全取代纯粹兽形镇墓神物,而是长期并行发展,就是说人兽



糅合一起的现象一直持续到镇墓神物彻底消失之时为止。所说人形、兽形两条线的发展态势,只是针对人兽同体镇墓神物外貌形态上人形、兽形各自所占比例的多少而言。例如人形者虽然头面、躯体皆为人形,却头部生角,或口吐长舌,或肋生双翼等,兽形者,周身皆为兽(禽)形,而头面却为人形等。镇墓神物的晚期阶段,开始出现纯粹人形的镇墓神物。即现实中武士形象的镇墓神物(后被形体高大、威严凶猛、全身武装、足踏小鬼的天王形象所代替)。同样,这种新型的神人同形镇墓神物并没有取代兽形和人兽同体形镇墓神物。多种镇墓神物的共存发展,只是镇墓神物队伍中又增加了一员。但从神话学的角度讲,神人同形镇墓神物的出现,标志着原始动物神话向着文明化、社会化、人性化方面发展的一个历史转折点,其性质已不同于远古时代原始的动物神话,而成为具有文明意识的体系性神话。

随着历史前进的步伐,人类意识形态的发展,镇墓神物的衰落、消失成为历史的必然,为幽冥世界诸神系列的兴起让开了道路。

3. 文化传统的稳定性、因循性以及早期民族精神的生动体现。

古代的镇墓神物外貌特征形成的诸因素中,除接受宗教信仰、丧葬习俗、志怪小说、外来文化的融入等影响之外,主要是文化传统与民族精神给予的深刻影响。历史表明,各民族的早期阶段往往是形成"传统"的时期,而传统一经形成,即产生一种不易变动的定型化趋势。镇墓神物在这一点上表现得非常明显。首先表现在不同时期镇墓神物演变中一脉相通的迹象上,就是说,它是在继承的基础上发展的。历代镇墓神物,由工匠师根据当时社会上流行的已经被人们认同的形象概念,加以艺术概括而使之定型,以后的发展,往往是在原来形象的基础上作局部加工改进。例如早期作伏卧状,以后渐趋蹲踞状,后期趋向直立状,而头顶生角、背长成束的鬃毛、肋生双翼、裸体、阔口、怒目等细部仅小有改变等等。由此可以看到,文化传统的稳定性与因循性驱使镇墓神物缓慢地沿着既定的轨迹行进,始终未能摆脱几千年的文化心理、宗教影响、社会习俗综合定势发展的桎梏。总之,由于镇墓神物深深植根于民族的集体意识和文化心理之中,因而其演变表现出明显的一贯性和风格上的相似性,反映着它的文化传承性。

民族精神是从原始时代人类对自然事物的敬畏感、神秘感、兴趣感和随之而来的探究、企望和幻想开始的。原始时代,由于人类生产力、控制自然的能力低下而在大自然面前处于软弱地位。民族精神最初表现在借助于神力、神威战胜邪魔。这种不愿作软弱可怜生灵的意识透露了人类朦胧的智性思维、智性认识和抗争精神。当然这种带有强烈幻想成分的民族精神是凝炼在宗教信仰的形式之中的。原始时代的民族精神从早期兽形镇墓神物中可以得到变形的"折射"和朦胧的暗示,透视着初始时代的民族精神。如果从镇墓神物整个转变进程看,即由兽形经人兽同形到神人同形的历程,实际反映了镇墓神物的人格化、人性化的过程。这是人类从崇拜动物的意识形态转向崇拜具有神力的人的意识上来。反映了人类自我尊崇意识,企望通过神人而不是神兽来控制自己无力控制的自然力量。由此可以认为,民族精神的形成是文化积累与文化综合作用的结果。在一定程度上说,民族精神是由文化传统的向心力构成的。镇墓神物形象的塑造是至关重要的,世代相传的工匠师们对镇墓神物外貌形象的构思必须把握以下三项原则:

- 一是人们心目中最理想的艺术偶像;
- 一是最大限度地显示其作为,即担负的克制、镇慑、驱除邪魔以保护死者 亡魂安宁的使命;
- 一是以什么样的外貌形象表现出赋予它的超乎常人、超乎自然的神力,而成为表达"信仰"的最佳方式。

以上三个原则总的精神是符合民族的文化传统、文化心理和民族精神的要求。一种被人们认可的、成功的镇墓神物的艺术形象,正是这种镇墓神物所以能广泛流行、经久不衰的重要因素。

今天,镇墓神物作为中华民族一种历史的载体和古代一种神奇、怪谲形象的雕塑工艺品展现在我们面前。其中不乏工艺精湛、神态生动的精美优秀之作。它不仅凝结着古代工匠师们的汗水和智慧,也体现着不同时期雕塑艺术所达到的艺术水平和艺术成就,从而构成了我国古代富有民族风格的雕塑艺术的重要组成部分。



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