

北京大学震旦古代文明研究中心学术丛书之二十五

文明探源与三代考古论集

李伯谦 著



文物出版社

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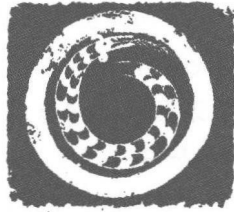
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前 言

《文明探源与三代考古论集》，是1998年我出版《中国青铜文化结构体系研究》之后至2010年底十多年间所写论文的又一本选集。自1961年我从北大考古专业毕业算起，至今已在考古战线上工作了50年。记得1958年学校推行“文体大跃进”，我们曾豪迈地喊出“为祖国健康工作五十年”的口号。五十年走来，虽无大的创获，但仅从时间来说，这个“指标”算是完成了。因此，出版这本集子算是一个汇报，也是一个纪念。

本论文集分三个部分，第一部分是文明起源与形成研究，收有11篇文章。我的研究范围是夏商周考古，之所以对文明起源与形成研究产生兴趣，一是因为讲夏代必然要涉及它，二是因为在参加“夏商周断代工程”时，就知道该工程是文明起源与形成研究的第一步。2000年“夏商周断代工程”取得阶段性成果结题之后，启动了“中华文明探源工程预研究”，我有幸又成为负责人之一。《关于中国古代文明研究的几点设想》，正是“夏商周断代工程”快结束时，我和朱凤瀚、徐天进等对计划启动的“中华文明探源工程”课题设置的建议，目前探源工程已进入到第三期，从其课题设置情况来看，应该说我们所提建议大部分是被采纳了。《中国文明起源与形成研究需要注意的几个问题》是根据2009年4月在河北易县西陵由河北师范大学举办的“中国古代国家起源与形成学术研讨会”上的发言补充修改而成的，文中就问题的提出、如何处理考古材料与文献材料的关系、如何理解马克思主义理论的指导作用、如何对待西方考古学理论与方法、如何看待科技手段与方法在考古学上的作用、如何对待前辈学者的学术成果等方面发表了自己的意见，自认为对当前文明起源与形成研究健康而规范地开展有一定启示作用。《关于文明形成的判断标准问题》是2009年12月在河南省新密市举行的“中国聚落考古的理论与实践——纪念新砦遗址发掘30周年学术研讨会”上的发言，认为判断文明是否形成应从聚落演变入手，紧紧抓住“国家是文明的概括”这个核心，从大型聚落的出现、有无防御设施、是否存在宗教礼仪中心等高规格遗迹、墓地是否出现分化、有无“官营”手工业作坊及仓储遗迹、有无专用的武器或象征最高权力的权杖、是否出现文字和贵族垄断文字使用的现象、聚落内部是否出现异部族的居民及其遗存、各级聚落之间是否出现上下级统辖关系、大型聚落的资源获取方式等10个方面进行具体考察，并依此从6个方面勾勒了中国早期文明的进程。这虽是一次会议上的发言，但却是我多年思考形成的认识。

在中国文明起源和形成问题上,最能代表我学术观点的是《考古学视野的三皇五帝时代》、《中国古代文明演进的两种模式——红山、良渚、仰韶大墓随葬玉器观察随想》、《张家港市东山村崧泽文化早中期大墓的启示》和《中国古代文明演进的三个阶段》几篇文章,其中我比较满意的是文明起源问题上突出神权和突出王权两种模式及其不同发展前途的提出。我认为,广布于中原地区的仰韶文化及其后继的河南龙山文化、二里头文化、商周文化因遵循突出王权的发展道路,从而保证了社会的持续发展和文明的延续,成为中华大地上绵延不绝的核心文化,而避免了像红山文化和良渚文化那样,因突出神权、崇尚祭祀造成社会财富巨大浪费而过早夭折。

第二部分是夏商周考古研究,共收入 34 篇文章,其中近三分之一是论文,三分之二则是为他人著作所写的序和会议发言,我曾经犹豫是否将其收入,后来考虑虽非论文,但其中也包含了很多我自己的学术观点,所以一并纳入。在夏时期考古的 8 篇文章中,7 篇论夏文化,1 篇讨论先商文化,重点则是早期夏文化研究。以登封王城岗遗址大城为代表的河南龙山文化晚期遗存、以新密新砦遗址二期为代表的新砦期遗存、以偃师二里头遗址为代表的二里头文化代表了夏文化早、中、晚期的发展规迹,王城岗大城可能是史籍中“禹都阳城”的阳城,新砦期遗存可能是“后羿代夏”时期的夏文化,二里头文化则可能是“少康中兴”以后直至夏桀灭国时期的夏文化,这是我对夏文化的基本认识。商代先公先王时期的先商文化,应与夏文化基本同时。虽然邹衡先生提出先商文化考古课题至今已过去 50 多年,但与夏文化研究相比,先商文化的研究显得十分薄弱。《先商文化研究的新征程》是针对这种状况于 2009 年 7 月 27~29 日在河南鹤壁和河北石家庄召开的首次“先商文化学术研讨会”上提出的建议。在有关商时期考古的 11 篇文章中,我比较看重的是《对郑州商城的再认识》和《从殷墟青铜器族徽所代表的族氏的地理分布看商王朝的统辖范围与统辖措施》两文。前者通过梳理郑州商城历年的发掘资料,发现以 W22 城墙、97C8IIT166M6 铜器墓和北大街夯土 7、9、12 等为代表的遗存早于郑州商城内城始建时的二里岗 H9,并推测它们可能是商人灭夏前进军至亳地所建的军事据点(灭夏后成为都城的宫城)留下的遗迹,郑州商城和偃师商城一样,也应该有宫城、内城、外城三重城垣。后者将殷墟和其他地区出土的商代青铜器族徽和甲骨文相关资料结合起来,考察了商王朝统辖的地域及其层级、中央王朝对畿内诸侯、地方封国不同的统辖措施,从一个侧面探讨了商后期的社会结构。其他几篇论文则可以看作是对商时期中国青铜文化结构体系研究的补充。

有关两周时期考古的文章有 8 篇,除 2005 年 8 月 6 日在“周原考古与西周文化国际学术研讨会”上以“继往开来谱新篇”为题的致辞和《陕西眉县杨家村出土窖藏青铜器笔谈》,还有 3 篇是针对岭南考古的。其中《岭南地区周代考古年代学的新标尺》是为大型考古报告《博罗横岭山》写的序;《岭南地区何时开始铸造青铜器的再讨论》是从地层学、

器物标型学等角度对含青铜器的浮滨文化的时代的论证,重申至迟在商代晚期至西周早期,岭南地区以浮滨文化为代表已能铸造青铜器是不争的事实;而《粤东地区文明化进程的考古学观察》,则是2003~2005年北京大學震旦古代文明研究中心和广东省文物考古研究所联合在粤东地区所作考古工作的总结。

第三部分是晋文化专题研究。始于20世纪60年代初的对山西侯马晋国遗址的发掘和其作为晋国最后一个都城新田遗址的确定,拉开了从考古学上探索晋国历史的序幕。1963年由北京大學历史系考古专业高明老师和山西省文管会张万钟先生率领北大考古专业毕业班学生对山西曲沃曲村遗址的调查试掘、1979年邹衡先生带队对曲村一天马遗址的再次调查试掘,从1980年开始至1989年北京大學考古学系与山西省考古研究所合作、由邹衡先生带队在该遗址每隔一年进行一次的田野考古实习,以及1992~2001年对晋侯墓地的发掘,都是这一大课题范围内的工作。

作为1979年、1980年、1984年发掘工作的参加者和1992~2001年初晋侯墓地发掘的领队,我自然对晋文化有较多的考虑。这里所选的14篇文章,代表了我对晋文化尤其是对晋侯墓地的基本认识。其中《晋侯墓地发掘与研究》作为提交2002年在上海博物馆举行的“晋侯墓地出土青铜器国际学术研讨会”的论文,较全面地介绍了晋侯墓地的发掘经过和我对墓葬年代、墓葬性质、墓位安排、墓主人与《史记·晋世家》的对应关系以及器用制度等关键问题的看法,其他各篇则是对具体问题的讨论。概言之,我对晋侯墓地的基本认识是:

1. 晋侯墓地是父子相继的从晋国第二代国君晋侯燹父至第十代晋文侯仇9位国君及夫人的专用墓地;

2. 晋侯墓地的时代跨度是从西周早中期之际到春秋早期(约为昭王末年至平王);

3. 晋侯墓地的墓位安排不存在所谓的昭穆制度;

4. 晋侯墓地祭祀坑的发现,证明晋侯墓地存在墓祭现象;

5. 晋侯墓地没有发现类似于后代所见的墓上建筑一类遗存;

6. 晋侯墓随葬5鼎4簋(或6簋),夫人墓随葬3鼎2簋(或4簋),符合文献所载晋为甸服偏侯的身份,表明诸侯国君爵等不同器用制度亦有别;

7. M114出土青铜方鼎铭文中的叔矢应即成王之弟晋国始封君叔虞,该方鼎是叔虞铜器的首次发现;

8. M64、M62、M63组和M93、M102组出土了体型小、器壁薄、花纹简单、制作粗糙且不具使用价值的鼎、簋、卣、觚、爵等仿西周早期铜明器群,这表明,西周晚期开始出现了复古思潮;

9. M63晋穆侯夫人墓的用玉状况,反映了西周晚期用玉观念开始发生变化,部分丧葬礼仪用玉开始向玩好用玉转化。

10. 覲公簋的发现,证明曲村一天马遗址是夔父所徙都,文献记载的“叔虞封唐”之唐不在此地,应另行寻找。

以上文章写于最近十几年间,在一些具体问题上我的观点前后也有变化,此次结集,为忠实于原文,一概未作改动,但敬请读者朋友以后出的观点为准。

时间过得真快,不知不觉间已进入老年,这是谁也无法抗拒的自然规律。但在精神上,说实在的,我还没有特别明显的感觉,心里常想的还是晋侯墓地发掘报告没有写完,雪山遗址的报告我再不整理可能就真的石沉大海了,而学术上一个又一个新问题又似乎都在向我招手,我还想继续探索。学术研究既枯燥又充满快乐,在你梳理材料、思考问题、寻找证据时,感觉是枯燥的;可一旦问题迎刃而解、豁然开朗,又是无比快乐的。正是在这样的治学研究过程中,我常常体会到南宋大诗人陆游所说的“山重水复疑无路,柳暗花明又一村”的境界,我也希望在今后的岁月里,继续经受枯燥的磨炼,更多地享受“柳暗花明又一村”的快乐。

这部集子得以出版,首先要感谢《文物》月刊主编张小舟编审的提议和责任编辑郑彤副编审一丝不苟的严格要求。在准备过程中,雷兴山、孙庆伟两位老师和田伟、曹斌、常怀颖诸位同学收集文章、编排体例、翻译篇目,付出了大量的心血,这也是我心存感激、难以忘怀的。

李伯谦

2011年5月29日

于北京回龙观寓所

Preface

This book is a collection of my studies on the origin of Chinese civilizations and the archaeology of the Xia, Shang and Zhou dynasties and is my second publication after *Studies on the Structure and System of Chinese Bronze Cultures* in 1998. From 1961 that I graduated from the Specialty of Archaeology of Peking University I have been engaged in Chinese archaeology for fifty years. I still remember clearly that my classmates and I royally vowed to sever the state healthily for fifty years when the university carried out the Great Leap Forward of Education and Sport in 1958. Personally, I did not make great achievements in past fifty years except realizing the wish of my early age. Therefore, the publishing of this book is not only a report but also a commemoration.

There are three parts in this book. Part I features eleven articles on the origin and forming of Chinese early civilizations. My major specialty is the archaeology of the Xia, Shang and Zhou dynasties and I became interested in the origin and forming of Chinese civilizations because that the study on the Xia dynasty is firmly related to the origin of civilization and that I knew the Chronology Project of the Xia, Shang and Zhou Dynasties was the first step of the study on the origin and forming of Chinese civilizations. In 2000 the project of the Preliminary Study on the Origin of Chinese Civilizations started and I was one of the principal scholars. The paper *Several assumptions on the study of Chinese ancient civilizations* collected in this book was the proposal to set up a follow-up project and drafted by Professor Zhu Fenghan, Xu Tianjin and me when the Chronology Project of the Xia, Shang and Zhou Dynasties was closing. Now the project of the Study on the Origin of Chinese Civilizations has been in the third stage and most subjects we suggested in the proposal have been accepted. The article *The questions that claim attention during the study of the origin and formation of Chinese ancient civilizations* is a speech I gave at the conference of the origin and forming of states in ancient China conducted by Hebei Provincial Normal University at the west mausoleums of the Qing dynasty in Yixian county in April 2009. In this article I discussed a series key is-

sues such as the reason of studying the origin and formation of Chinese civilizations, how to deal with archaeological materials and extant historical documents, how to follow the guidelines of Marxism, how to treat western archaeological theories and methods, how to employ technological means in archaeology and how to learn from former scholars, all of which I believe are beneficial for shaping the study in this field. The article *Criteria on the formation of ancient civilization* is a speech too that I presented at the conference of Theory and Practice of Settlement Archaeology in China, Memorizing the 30th Anniversary of the Excavation of Xinzhai Site held in Xinmi in Henan province in December 2009. In this article I suggested that the evolution of settlement pattern should be a key point to judge whether a civilization formed, and that state being the top method of civilization was the main principle during the study. I also put forward ten research aspects about the subject, including the emergence of large-scale settlement site, construction of defense installations, discovery of religious and ritual remains, polarization of cemeteries, emergence of official handicraft workshop and storage, employment of weapons and scepters, origin of writing characters that monopolized by aristocrats, alien peoples and their remains in settlement sites, hierarchy among settlement sites and the rule of obtaining and distributing resource inside settlement site. Furthermore, I outlined the evolution process of Chinese ancient civilizations from six aspects. Although it is a conference speech, I have thought about over years.

The follow articles such as *The era of the Three Emperors and Five Sovereigns in archaeological view*, *Two evolutionary methods of Chinese ancient civilizations, inspirations from the jades buried in the noble tombs of Hongshan, Liangzhu and Yangshao cultures*, *Suggestions of the great tombs of early and mid Songze culture at Dongshancun site in Zhangjiagang* and *The three stages of the evolution of Chinese ancient civilization*, expound my viewpoints clearly. The most important point I stressed here is that there were two different methods during the forming of Chinese civilization, one attaching great importance to religious authority and the other regarding state authority much more. As I mentioned in my papers, Yangshao culture and its successive cultures such as Henan Longshan culture, Erlitou culture, Shang and Zhou cultures, all of which were mainly distributed in the Central Plains, developed the method of stressing state authority, ensuring a sustainable evolution and the continuation of civilizations. On the contrary, Hongshan and Liangzhu cultures, both emphasizing religious authority and consuming social resources overly for sacrificial activities,

did not become the core culture of ancient China.

Part II focuses the archaeology on the Xia, Shang and Zhou dynasties and features thirty four papers. More than one third of them are research papers and the others include prefaces I wrote for scholars' books and speech texts given in various conferences. Since all of the papers, including the latter ones, represented my viewpoints truly, I collect them in this book too. Among the papers there are eight ones concerning the Xia dynasty (seven about the Xia culture and one discussing the proto-Shang culture). Undoubtedly, the early Xia culture is the core of my research. Basically, my understanding on the Xia culture includes the follows, a) the late Henan Longshan culture represented by the large city site at Wangchenggang in Dengfeng, the Xinzhai-phase remains represented by the second period of Xinzhai site in Xinmi and the Erlitou culture represented by Erlitou site in Yanshi embodied the early, middle and late periods of the Xia culture individually; and b) the large city found at Wangchenggang site was King Yu's Yangcheng mentioned in historical recordings, the Xinzhai-phase remains was the Xia culture after the great event that King Yi of the East Yi people defeating the Xia people, and Erlitou culture was the Xia culture refreshed by King Shaokang and ending in the period of King Jie. The proto-Shang culture developed parallelly with the Xia culture, but its study is much weaker than that of the Xia culture since Professor Zou Heng advancing the subject about fifty years ago. From July 27 to 29 of 2009 the conference on the proto-Shang culture was held in Hebi of Henan and Shijiazhuang of Hebei, during which I published the paper *A new beginning of the study of the proto-Shang culture and issues some suggestions on the topic*. Among the total eleven articles about the Shang dynasty there are important ones such as *Reconsiderations on the Zhengzhou Shang city* and *The territorial limits and measures of the Shang dynasty as seen from the clan distribution reflected by the clan symbols on the bronzes of Yinxu period*. In former article I made a general survey of the excavated materials from Zhengzhou Shang city site, found that some remains such as W22 city wall, grave 97C8IIT166M6 and nos. 7, 9 and 12 hammed earth foundations at Beidajie were earlier than the ash pit H9 discovered at Erligang in Zhengzhou, and concluded that the Shang city at Zhengzhou was initially a military base which was established by the Shang people before they overthrow the Xia dynasty and featured three walled sections, the palace city, inner city and outer city. The latter article is a complete collection of the clan symbols seen on Shang bronzes and oracle and bone inscriptions unearthed from Yinxu and

other areas and also a research on the social structure in the late Shang dynasty by examining the territories, the relationship between the Shang kings and marquises in that period. The other articles on Shang culture can be regarded as my further researches on the structure and system of the bronze cultures in this time.

Among the eight essays on the Zhou dynasties are speeches, prefaces and research papers, including the address at the International Conference of the Archaeology in Zhouyuan and Western Zhou Culture in Xi'an, August 6, 2005, the essay on the hoarded bronzes from Yangjiacun in Meixian county and three papers on the archaeology in the area south of the Five Ridges. The article titled *A new chronological scale of the archaeology in the area south of the Five Ridges* is the preface of the excavation report Boluo Henglingshan. In the article *A new discussion on the beginning of bronze founding in the area south of the Five Ridges* I tried to demonstrate that the bronzes made by the people of Fubin culture which is dated in late Shang dynasty and early Western Zhou dynasty were the germination of bronze industry in the area south of the Five Ridges. The other article *An archaeological examination on the civilization process in eastern Guangdong* was a summary report of the archaeological works in the area carried out by Peking University and Guangdong Provincial Institute of Archaeology from 2003 to 2005.

Part III is a unit collecting my studies of the Jin culture. The excavations in Houma in 1960s and the identification of Xintian, the last capital of the Jin state, illuminated the study on the history of the powerful Jin state of the Zhou times. In 1963, headed by Professor Gao Ming from Peking University and Mr. Zhang Wanzhong from Shanxi Provincial Committee of Cultural Relics, senior students from the Specialty of Archaeology of Peking University surveyed and excavated at Qucun site in Quwo county. In 1979 Professor Zou Heng and his archaeological team from Peking University conducted another survey and excavation there. From 1980 to 1989 large-scaled excavations were regularly carried out at Qucun site every two years under Professor Zou. From 1992 to 2001 the excavations at the cemetery of the Jin marquises and their consorts played main role in the study.

As a participant of the excavations at Qucun in 1979, 1980 and 1984 and the director of the excavations at Jin marquis cemetery, it is quite nature to me to be interested in Jin culture. The fourteen essays collected here represent my general understandings on Jin culture and Jin marquis cemetery. The paper titled *The excavations and studies*

of the Jin marquis cemetery which was issued at the International Conference of the Bronzes Unearthed from Jin Marquis Cemetery in Shanghai in 2002 is a comprehensive introduction on the excavations and my personal views on the cemetery. Comparatively, the other thirteen articles focused specific questions on the cemetery and excavated objects. I list my main points as below:

- a) the cemetery was an exclusive burial location of the nine Jin marquises and their consorts; it started from the second generation Marquis Xiefu and ended in the tenth marquis Wenhou;
- b) the cemetery endured from the interim of the early and mid Western Zhou dynasty to the early Spring and Autumn period, or from late period of King Zhao to King Ping;
- c) the layout of the tombs in the cemetery did not observe the so-called Zhaomu regulation;
- d) the sacrificial pits at the cemetery were the remains of the sacrifices given to the tomb occupants;
- e) no accessory construction was built over the tombs;
- f) in the Jin marquises' tombs the bronze combination of five *ding* wares and four or six *gui* wares was generally discovered, while their consorts' tombs featured the combination of three *ding* and two or four *gui* wares, marking that the Jin state was a remote state of the Western Zhou regime;
- g) the figure Shu Ze mentioned in the inscription of the square *ding* ware unearthed from tomb M114 in the cemetery was Shu Yu, the founder of the Jin state and King Cheng's younger brother, therefore, the square *ding* is the first confirmed bronze item affiliated to Shu Yu;
- h) the discovery of the bronzes featuring early Western Zhou styles but in poor quality unearthed from the tombs of M64, M62, M63, M93 and M102 indicated the trend of classicism in the closing period of the Western Zhou dynasty;
- i) the jades buried in M63, the tomb of Marquis Mu's consort, indicated the transition of from using funerary jades to adopting artworks;
- j) the inscription on the newly discovered bronze Yao gong *gui* substantiated that Tianma—Qucun site was the capital established by Marquis Xiefu and that the capital of Marquis Shu Yu's Tang state was beyond this area.

The articles collected in this book were written in recent some ten years, so there were different viewpoints on some specific issues. Now I keep them all in original faces,

but I wish readers to adopt my latest ideas.

Time is slipping away and I am going into old age. I understand it is the law of nature, however, in my mind I do not think I am old. What I often think about are the unfinished excavation reports of the Jin marquis cemetery and Xueshan site in Changping, Beijing. I am continually attracted by new academic questions and I wish I can write more. The research process is full of dull and pleasure feeling. When you are looking for evidence among the huge volume of information, you are accompanied with blankness, however, you feel so happy when you finally solve the issue. In my academic career I appreciate the world that the distinguished Song poet Lu You described, "After endless mountains and rivers that leave doubt whether there is a path out, suddenly one encounters the shade of a willow, bright flowers and a lovely village." I am willing to experience the state more in my future studies.

I am grateful to many people with whose help this book is published. They are, Ms. Zhang Xiaozhou, chief editor of the monthly *Wenwu*, who suggested me to compile this book, Ms. Zheng Tong, the hard-working commissioning editor of the book, Professor Lei Xingshan, Professor Sun Qingwei, PhD students Tian Wei, Cao Bin and Chang Huaiying of Peking University, all providing various helps for the publication of the book. I highly appreciate them all for their hard work and kindness.

Li Boqian

May 29, 2011

Huilongguan, Beijing

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