



China Before China:  
Johan Gunnar Andersson, Ding Wenjiang,  
and the Discovery of China's Prehistory

A companion volume for the new exhibit  
at the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities

Bilingual edition, in English and Chinese  
by Magnus Fiskesjö and Chen Xingcan

中国之前的中国：  
安特生，丁文江和中国史前史的发现  
配合瑞典东方博物馆新的常设展览而作  
英中文双语版  
马思中、陈星灿编著

# ÖSTASIATISKAMUSEET

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马思中、陈星灿编著

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## Preface: China before China

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The collections of objects from prehistoric East Asia, first discovered by Johan Gunnar Andersson and his Chinese colleagues under the leadership of Ding Wenjiang, were the foundation of Sweden's Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities in 1926. A large part of these collections, the very first in the archaeological discovery of the prehistory of China, are still cared for by Sweden and are kept in this museum, located on the cultural island of Skeppsholmen in Stockholm, Sweden's capital.

From 2004 they are put on display in a new permanent exhibit, under the strange title of "China Before China." The word play is intentional. The exhibit makes use of the objects in order to showcase the rich cultural creativity displayed by people living in what is now China, but who were creating their art and their artefacts several thousand years before the later Middle Kingdom was even conceived or thus named. They cannot be expected to have heard of China or other nations, even though they lived alongside the same rivers that now flow through what we know as China. They undoubtedly had their own names for every place and every river, but the names are forgotten, for this was thousands of years before written history.

At the same time, we recognize that some elements out of those artistic and other traditions created by the people of distant prehistory – necessarily unnamed but not necessarily less intelligent than us – also came to be used as building blocks of what came later to be known as Chinese traditions: Agricultural tools recognized by Andersson and still in use in the same areas in the 1920s; the famous tripod ceramic forms, the oracle bones, and other examples, indeed possibly even genetic or linguistic continuities across time. Thus the pregnant double entendre of the exhibit's title.

The MFEA curates the largest collections from China's prehistory outside of China. Each and every one of these objects show a wonderful creative and artistic power. If we could travel across time and space and meet these relatives of ours who were their creators, we surely would meet very witty people and jokes would abound.

Nations are not eternal entities, they are instead our imagined communities, as humankind has learned most emphatically in the twentieth century. The same goes for any example of history's plurality of cultural traditions. The creative capacity that all humans possess, and which flowers differently under different historical and prehistorical circumstances, is what unites humanity across any imaginary borders in time or space, always in unexpected ways where the only constant is our creativity.

Even the idea of the nation of Sweden, just like the idea of a Roman empire or Kossinna's infamous ideas of an enduring Germany, is necessarily an imagination orche-

## 前言：中国之前的中国

中国尚未成立之前，谁住在那里？

最早发现的中国史前遗物由安特生以及丁文江领导下的中国地质调查所公诸于世之后，便成为一九二六年成立的瑞典东方博物馆的基本收藏。这些东方史前遗物至今仍然由位于瑞典首都斯德哥尔摩市中心的文化岛上的东方博物馆保管。

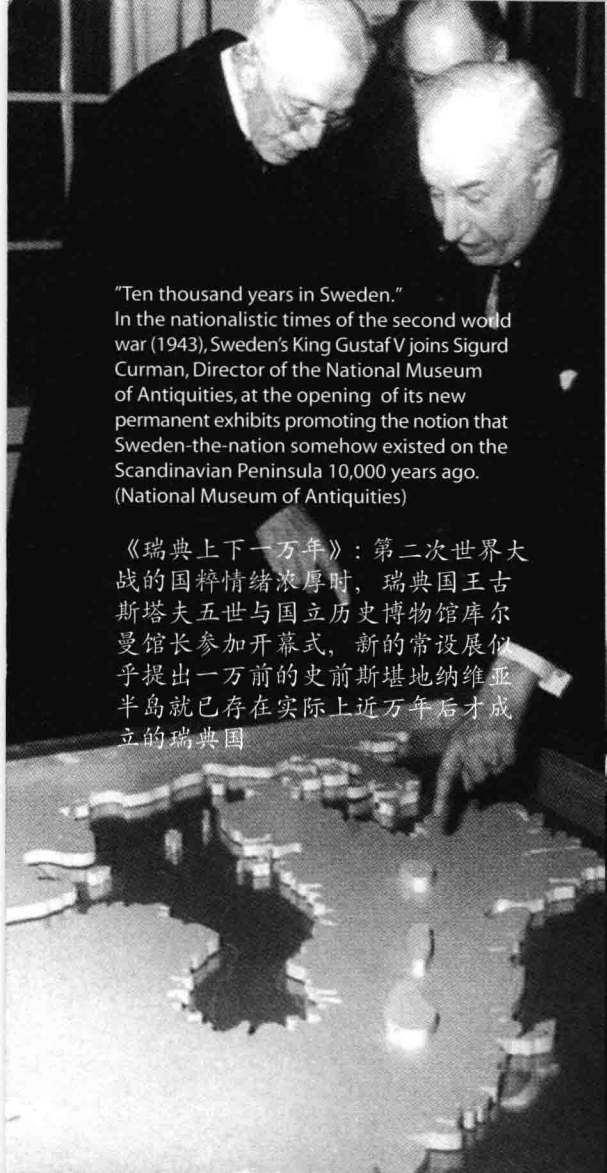
从2004年秋季开始，这些东方文物将在奇特的名为《中国之前的中国》这样一个常设展览里对公众开放。这个名字是有意而为。借以展示生活在今日中国这块土地上的远古人们的丰富多彩的文化创造力，这是发生在中国这个国家成立或说定了名称数千年之前的事。尽管他们同样生活在流淌于今日中国的众多的河流边上，他们当然不可能事前预知中国或者其他东方国家将来的存在。我们不必怀疑他们对每一条河流和村庄都有自己的名字，但是这些名字永远被遗忘了，因为事情远远发生在历史记载数千年之前。

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与此同时，我们也认识到，这些生活于远古的史前先民，他们所创造的艺术和生活传统——尽管未必知名，却也构思巧妙不输今人——其中某些却也成为后来中国文化的组成部分：安特生1920年代在同一个地区发现的农业工具与史前工具同形，史前的陶质鼎鬲形器、无字卜骨等等也可在历史时期的中国找到后裔，其他比如基因和语言等等跨越时代的延续性也有。正是在这样的一个认识基础上，《中国之前的中国》这样一种一语双关含多层意义的名字才可谓恰如其分。

东方博物馆是中国之外中国史前文物的最大收藏地之一。每件文物都显示了惊人的创造力和想像力。如能跨越时代，与创造了它们的我们这些亲属见面说话，遇见的人一定非常聪明，一定会跟我们谈笑风生。

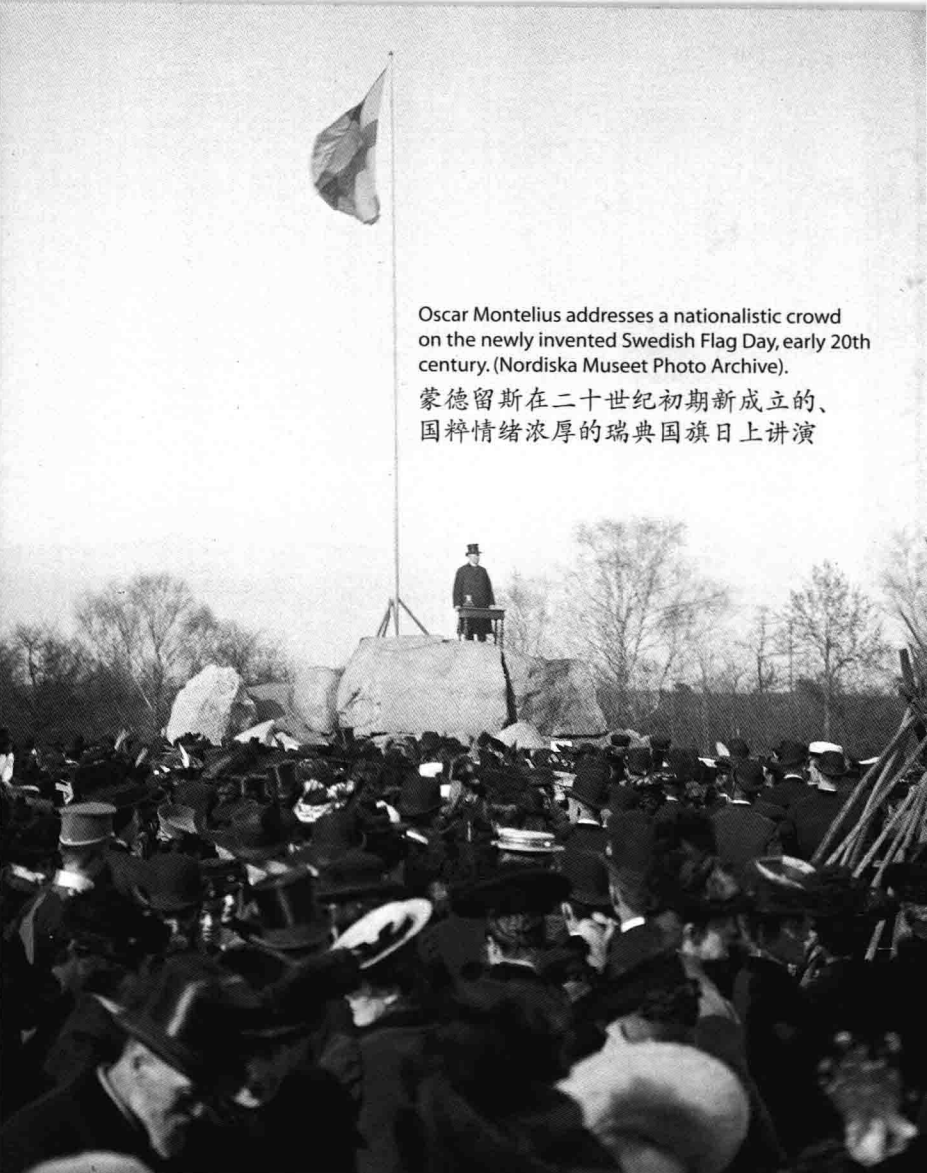
现代意义的民族国家并非永恒，而同属我们想像中的群体。这是人类在二十世纪充分体认到的。历史上的所有文化传统都是如此。而跨越时空的创新能力，才是联结整个人类的共同点，不管它有如何不同的史前和历史的先决条件，也不管它的表现多么出人意外。



"Ten thousand years in Sweden."

In the nationalistic times of the second world war (1943), Sweden's King Gustaf V joins Sigurd Curman, Director of the National Museum of Antiquities, at the opening of its new permanent exhibits promoting the notion that Sweden-the-nation somehow existed on the Scandinavian Peninsula 10,000 years ago. (National Museum of Antiquities)

《瑞典上下一万年》：第二次世界大战的国粹情绪浓厚时，瑞典国王古斯塔夫五世与国立历史博物馆库尔曼馆长参加开幕式，新的常设展似乎提出一万前的史前斯堪地纳维亚半岛就已存在实际上近万年后才成立的瑞典国



Oscar Montelius addresses a nationalistic crowd on the newly invented Swedish Flag Day, early 20th century. (Nordiska Museet Photo Archive).

蒙德留斯在二十世纪初期新成立的、国粹情绪浓厚的瑞典国旗日上讲演



Archaeologist Oscar Montelius and Crown Prince Gustaf VI Adolf at a 1905 excavation in the southern province of Skåne. From Isaksson, ed., *Kungen gräver*

瑞典考古学家蒙德留斯  
1905年与当年的古斯塔夫  
阿道夫王太子一起在斯  
堪内省进行考古发掘

## Carl-Axel Moberg Innan Sverige blev Sverige

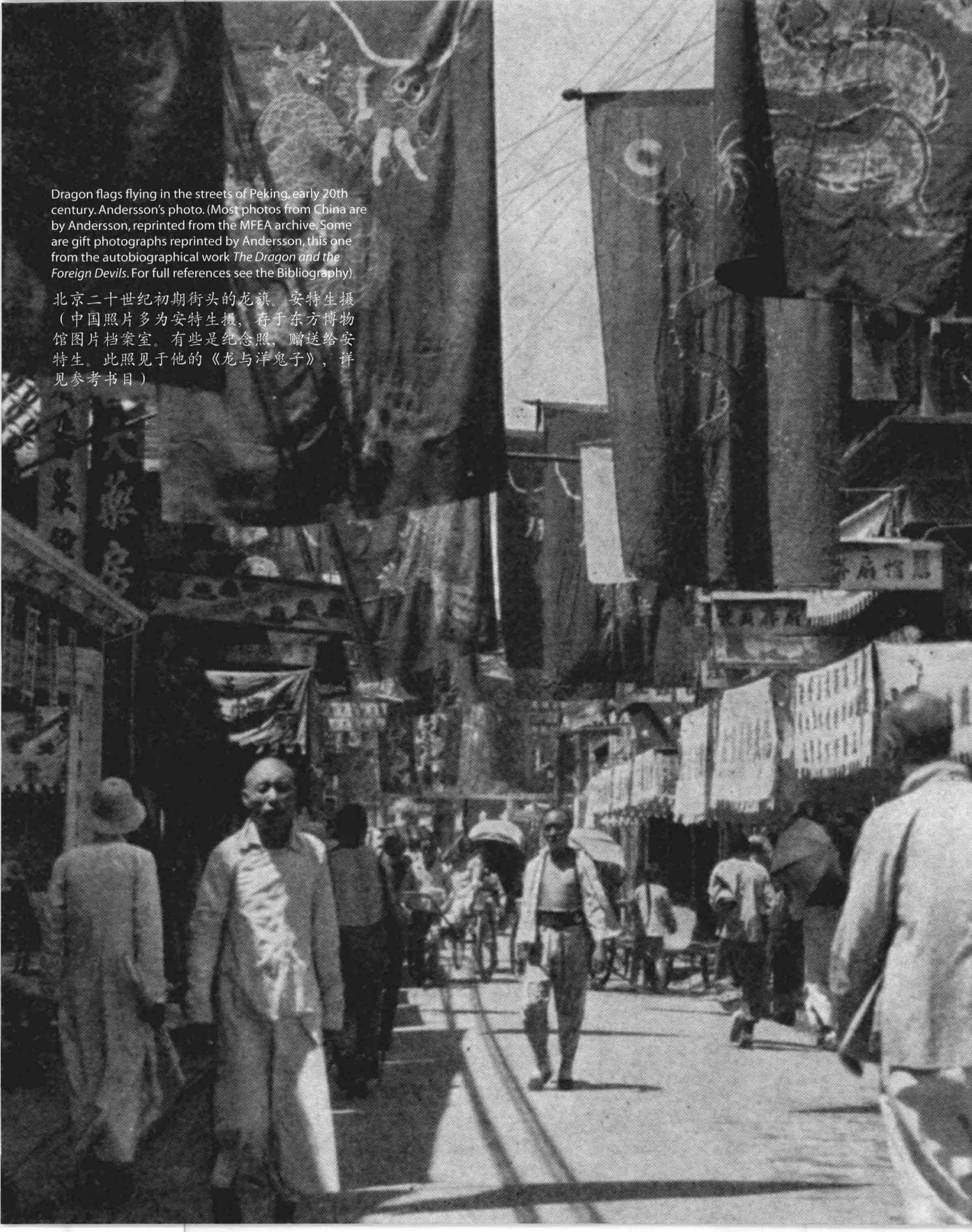
The cover of Carl-Axel Moberg's 1964 book *Before Sweden Became Sweden*

瑞典考古学墨贝格所著《瑞典变而为瑞典之前》的封面图



Dragon flags flying in the streets of Peking, early 20th century. Andersson's photo. (Most photos from China are by Andersson, reprinted from the MFEA archive. Some are gift photographs reprinted by Andersson, this one from the autobiographical work *The Dragon and the Foreign Devils*. For full references see the Bibliography).

北京二十世纪初初期街头的龙旗。安特生摄（中国照片多为安特生摄，存于东方博物馆图片档案室。有些是纪念照，赠送给安特生。此照见于他的《龙与洋鬼子》，详见参考书目）



strated by living people and has historically been projected back in time well beyond its actual historical existence. We can see this use of prehistory in the following examples, some of which are also helpful in relating to the prehistory of Johan Gunnar Andersson's discoveries in China themselves. The now-abandoned idea that Sweden-the-nation somehow existed 10,000 years ago on the Scandinavian Peninsula was exemplified in the national display of prehistoric artefacts in 1943, "Ten thousand years in Sweden" (see page 6). The famous Swedish archaeologist Oscar Montelius, who – as we shall see later on – urged Andersson to search for China's prehistory, was himself an instrumental figure in the construction of the idea of an enduring Swedish nation in the late 19th and early 20th century (see p. 6 for a photo of Montelius excavating prehistory, in the company of the Crown Prince Gustaf Adolf, in a region of Sweden once owned by the Danish crown; and on p. 6, Montelius addressing the national celebration of Swedish flag, itself a recent invention). Recently, many Swedish archaeologists have abandoned this line of thought, as signalled already in Carl-Axel Moberg's 1964 work *Before Sweden Became Sweden* (see p. 6) and publications like *The Making of Sweden* (Peter Sawyer, 1989).

That is one context in which to consider the world-famous painted pottery from China's prehistory. In the museum's exhibit you will encounter many more selections from the collections, from mundane cooking vessels to the world famous shamanistic figures fashioned as ceramic heads (see Section 5),

one of which adorns the museum's scientific journal, the *Bulletin of the MFEA*; as well as ceramic rattles and other instruments; prehistoric oracle bones without writing, compared with the inscribed oracle bones of the early kingdoms in the Chinese Bronze Age, and many other intriguing objects. These include the "Banshan Chieftain", on display since 1929 (See Section 4 for a further introduction).

This volume, however, is not about these objects. Its objective is instead to indicate the history of how and why these objects were first discovered. The book is shorter than originally planned (in part because of the reconstruction of the museum's buildings, and other not directly related reasons). It outlines this little-known story of discovery, where many issues remain to be explored. It is set in the context of the modern-era discovery of mainland East Asian prehistory by Johan Gunnar Andersson and his Chinese colleagues – above all his Chinese collaborator, fellow scientist, and employer, Ding Wenjiang, with the encouragement and shared enthusiasm for science that he provided; of how the collections were brought to Sweden in accordance with a Chinese-Swedish agreement that governed their fate; and of how approximately one half of the collections were returned to China (after which they disappeared and were subsequently forgotten there, seemingly without a trace, in the fog of war).

The volume ends with a note of reflection regarding the future of these collections and their status as world cultural heritage.

瑞典这个民族国家也不例外。与罗马帝国的概念和柯西那(Kossinna)声名狼藉的永恒德国的第二次世界大战前概念略同,它当然也只不过是活人发明、导演的一种想像,才被认为早在其客观历史存在之前就已经存在了。在下面的例子里可以看到这样的对史前史概念的滥用,这些例子多多少少同安特生在中国发现的史前史密切相关。比如,一九四三年,第二次世界大战民族情绪浓厚时,瑞典国立历史博物馆开办《瑞典上下一万年》的新的展览,似乎是要说明瑞典这个民族国家早在10000年前即已存在(图见6页)。

正文中还会提到,瑞典著名考古学家蒙德留斯去世前曾敦促安特生寻找中国的史前史。蒙德留斯本人也积极参与了十九世纪末、二十世纪初创造永恒瑞典理念的活动,且是此种创造工作的有力人物(6页图为蒙德留斯1905年与当年的古斯塔夫阿道夫王太子一起在曾经属于丹麦统治之下的瑞典地区进行考古发掘的照片)。同页图为蒙德留斯在二十世纪初新发明的、国粹情绪浓厚的瑞典国旗日上讲演。

近年,多数瑞典考古学家早已背离此种观念。近年的出版物亦足以证明这一点,比如萨维尔一九八九年的出版的《瑞典如何变成瑞典》,墨贝格所著《瑞典变为瑞典之前》(1964)(图见6页)等等,概念之不同,一望而知。

以上就是观看闻名于全世界的中国史前彩陶的一种可能的出发点。而如果参观博物馆的新展览,您还会遇到更多的收藏中选出的文物,从普普通通的炊煮器到刊登于东方博物馆馆刊封面上的陶制萨满人头器盖、陶制摇响器、无字史前甲骨(可与青铜时代早期的有字甲骨进行比较)、还有各种其他类型的有趣文物和一九二九年以来一直展览的《半山头人》墓葬(另请参见第四章的特写)。

但本书并不是为介绍文物而做。其目的在于介绍这些文物如何、还有为何最早被发现的故事。全书因为博物馆楼房的改建等没有直接关系的原因,比预计的规模要小一些,还有很多问题待考。本书介绍安特生本人和他的中国同事们的故事,特别是大力倡导科学研究和共同为科学研究献身的、安氏的中国同行和领导丁文江先生。我们还简短地介绍了这些文物如何按照当年瑞典和中国之间的有关协议被运到瑞典,而其中大约一半的文物又按同一个协议退还中国而后又似乎是在战火中在中国失踪和被遗忘的故事。

最后,本书还讨论这些文物做为世界文化遗产的未来命运。

## The Discovery of China's Prehistory and the Origins of the MFEA Collections: A Chronological Account

The founding of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities in 1926, based on the first archaeological discovery of a Chinese prehistory, a China before China, is inescapably related to the modern history of both Sweden in Europe, and of China in Asia.

The following account introduces this partly forgotten history for the benefit of future research. It highlights two men of the high modern era, one Chinese and one Swedish scholar, allied in their pursuit of science: Johan Gunnar Andersson (1874 – 1960, in Chinese: Antesheng 安特生), the Swedish geologist-turned-archaeologist active in China from 1914 to 1925, and Ding Wenjiang (1887 – 1936, also written as Ting Wen-chiang, or V.K. Ting; in Chinese: 丁文江), the Chinese scientist, intellectual, and politician of the young Chinese Republic that had succeeded the last imperial monarchy after its overthrow in 1911. (The two men's portraits are on p. 22–23; their name cards are seen on p. 102).

Ding Wenjiang is widely regarded as one of the sharpest minds of his times and was one of the forefront figures of the New Culture Movement. He was among the first Chinese with a complete Western science education. He made lasting contributions to Chinese geology, paleontology and prehistoric archaeology, and was the founding director of China's National Geological Survey (NGS)

He promoted the expansion of modern China's mining industry and once served as a Mayor of Greater Shanghai, combining in himself the virtues of a modern scientist, and a new form of the Classical humanistic Chinese scholar-official. Ding Wenjiang was born in Jiangsu, eastern China, the second of seven children, in 1887. At just fifteen, in 1902, he joined the many Chinese students in Japan, and two years later continued to England. He studied at Cambridge and later in Glasgow, where he received bachelor degrees in zoology and geology. Returning to China he took up teaching and then was appointed to a post in the mining department of the new central government's Ministry for Industry and Commerce, where along with Zhang Hongchao and other associates he set up a geology research center.<sup>1</sup>

Johan Gunnar Andersson also became fascinated with science and nature at an early age. He was born in rural Sweden near Örebro, Närke, in 1874. As a young boy (see p. 24), he encountered a fossil woodlouse near his house. He never gave up his interest in field research and natural study, and read geology and paleontology at Uppsala University (p. 24). After undertaking several North and South Polar expeditions, he was the director of Sweden's Geological Survey for a while, and was recruited to China from that position. Thanks in great measure to the encouragement of Ding Wenjiang, his counterpart as director of China's newly organized Geological Survey, Andersson became a key figure in the discovery of China's prehistory and "undoubtedly exerted the strongest influence" on Chinese archaeology among the various Western scho-

<sup>1</sup>On Ding's biography, see Hu Shih's *Biography of Ding Wenjiang* and Charlotte Furth's *Ting Wen-chiang: Science and China's New Culture*, as well as Cheng and Chen, eds. *The Former National Geological Survey: A historical retrospective, 1916–1950* (for full bibliographical information, please see the Bibliography).

## 中国史前史的发现和东方博物馆收藏之源流： 一种年表式的介绍

1926年成立的瑞典东方博物馆，建立在中国史前考古的第一批发掘品上。博物馆的成立同时还与中瑞现代历史密切相关。

本文简述这段在一定程度上被遗忘的历史，重点介绍其中与此相关的两位共同献身科学的学者：一位是中国人，一位是瑞典人。

安特生(Johan Gunnar Andersson, 1874-1960)，是由地质学家转为考古学家的瑞典学者，1914至1925年间受聘于中国地质调查所工作，先后完成了多项中国近代学术史上的重要发现；丁文江(1887-1936)，中国近代历史上最早接受完整西方教育的人员之一，著名的科学家、知识分子和政治活动家，中国近代科学的奠基者之一（两人的肖像参见22-23页图；名片参见102页图）。

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丁文江被认为是新文化运动中思想最犀利的前沿人物之一。他是中国地质调查所的创所所长，对推动中国地质学、古生物学和史前考古学的发展贡献卓著，对中国近代采矿业的发展也贡献至巨。他还做过北票煤矿公司总经理和淞沪商埠总办，既是一个能办事的实业家，又有新式中国文官的风采，而同时又是一个现代意义上的第一流的科学家和新型的知识分子。丁氏1887年出生在中国东部沿海的江苏省，1902年，年仅15岁留学日本，两年后转学英国。先后就学于剑桥大学和哥拉斯格大学，并从后者获得动物学和地质学的学士学位。回国之后，先执教，接着很快就被新成立的工商部聘用。他和从日本留学回国的章鸿钊等人创立地质研究所，筹划为刚刚脱离帝制的年轻的共和国培养地质学人才。

<sup>1</sup> 参见丁文江的传记资料，如胡适著《丁文江的传记》、Charlotte Furth著《丁文江—科学与中国新文化》、程裕淇、陈梦熊著《前地质调查所(1916-1950)的历史回顾》（详见参考书目）。

lars in Asia in this period.<sup>2</sup>

In the following, the red thread of the story remains the path towards discovery of China's prehistory, intertwined with these two men's careers.

The high tide of modernity of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was an era of scientific exploration and discovery, and of industrial and colonialist exploitation, which originated mainly in Europe and America. Expeditions which captured the imagination of people everywhere were launched across the supposed unmapped spaces of the world, opening up new paths for the use and exploitation of natural resources as well as of human beings. Sometimes there was over-confidence in the ability of science to solve all problems.

For example, Sven Hedin (1865–1952), Swedish explorer and cartographer, devoted himself to the white spots of Central Asia with expeditions in 1893–97, 1899–1902, and in 1905–08, which Hedin reported and popularized widely across Europe. These and other feats of discovery were retold by Andersson in his two-volume *How We Conquered the Earth: The Geographical Discoveries Through the Ages*, published in Swedish in 1953, a work full of praise for the explorers – but also replete with scorn for the ill-treatment of indigenous peoples, such as the Native American populations of Mexico, and elsewhere.

At the turn of the 19th century, Andersson was above all engaged in polar research, as a geologist and paleontologist. In 1898, he participated in the Nathorst Arctic expedition. The year after, he organized a

geology expedition to Bear Island in the north Atlantic, which becomes the subject of his doctoral dissertation in Uppsala in 1901, *Über die Stratigraphie und Tektonik der Bären Insel*. Then, in 1901–04, he joined the Swedish Antarctic Expedition led by Otto Nordenskiöld, and published numerous works on polar research, including the work *Antarctica* jointly with Nordenskiöld, and acquires a certain fame as a scholar and explorer. On his return he addressed a Grand Hotel gathering in Stockholm, in gratitude to Axel Lagrelius (1863–1944), director of the printing office of the Swedish military (Generalstabens litografiska anstalt) and sponsor of the South Pole expeditions. The same Mr. Lagrelius later became an important sponsor of Andersson's research in Chinese paleontology and archaeology.

Meanwhile, in China, there was constant trouble for the last monarchs of the moribund Qing dynasty. In 1898, the famous scholars Kang Youwei, Liang Qichao (see p. 31) and other reformers make one of several failed attempts to reform the moribund monarchy (Kang Youwei subsequently found refuge in Sweden, for a short period).

During this time, it was common for Western scholars to argue for Western origins of Eastern civilizations. It is easy to see the linkage between these ideas in the minds of people in more dynamic Western countries, and the ossified Chinese imperial state. As an example, see the French scholar Terrien De Lacouperie who published his influential book on the *Western Origin of the Early Chinese Civilization, from 2,300 B.C. To 200 A.D.*, in 1894, locating the origins of Chinese civilization in ancient Babylon.

<sup>2</sup>K.C. Chang, *The Archaeology of Ancient China*, 1986, 14; Andersson has told the story of his life in several popularly written autobiographical books, *The Dragon and the Foreign Devils*, 1926; *Children of the Yellow Earth*, 1932, etc.; see also Andersson's account in the *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 1, 1929, 11-27, and others. Strangely enough, there is not yet any biography of Andersson.

安特生对科学和自然的兴趣也肇始于他的少年时代。1874年安氏出生于瑞典纳克省奥里不罗市附近的乡村。童年的安特生(见24页图)在自家房子的附近即发现土鳖化石,从此引发他对自然和田野工作的浓厚兴趣。长大后就读于乌普萨拉大学,系统学习地质和古生物学(图见24页)。在完成数次对南北两极地的探险活动之后,他成为瑞典地质调查所所长,但不久即远赴中国,受聘为中国政府的矿业顾问。正是由于同样是地质调查所所长的丁文江的推荐和支持,安特生始成为中国史前考古学史上的关键人物,在这个时期在亚洲工作的众多西方学者中对中国考古学“无疑是发挥最大影响力的学者”<sup>2</sup>。

下文将围绕着安特生和丁文江的故事,讲述中国史前史发现本身的历史。

\* \* \*

在十九世纪末二十世纪初欧美地区的现代化高潮中,科学探索、工业化和殖民剥削同步展开。倍受人们关注的探险活动遍及世界各地,为自然资源甚至人类自己的开发和利用开拓了新的领域。曾几何时,科学成为人们心目中无所不能的灵丹妙药。

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斯文·赫定(1865-1952),瑞典探险家和制图学家,曾深入中亚所谓空白地区探险三次(1893-97, 1899-1902, 1905-08),通过通俗书籍等在欧洲广泛宣传。安特生在他1953年瑞典文版的两卷本著作《我们怎样征服地球:历史上的地理大发现》中对此及其他探险活动有详尽的描述。一方面他对这些探险活动推崇备至,另一方面则对原住民(比如墨西哥等地的印第安人)所受到的不公正待遇屡有批评。

从十九世纪末年开,作为地质学家和古生物学家的安特生多次参与极地探险活动。1898年,他参加了纳琐斯特北极探险队,首征北极。次年,他自己组织了对北大西洋熊岛的地质考察,并以此在1901年完成他在乌普萨拉大学的博士论文《熊岛地层及其构造地质学研究》。1901-1904年,他参加了由奥托·诺顿斯基德率领的瑞典南极考察团,并发表了大量著作,其中包括和诺顿斯基德合著的《南极》一书,获得世界声誉。回国之后,安氏在斯德哥尔摩大饭店的集会上发表演说,感谢拉各雷留斯对南极探险活动的资助。拉氏是瑞典军方印刷厂的老板,也是后来支持安特生在中国从事古生物学和考古学研究的重要赞助人。

<sup>2</sup>张光直: *The Archaeology of Ancient China* (《古代中国的考古》), 1986, 页14。安特生在其数本通俗性的自传体著作中对其生平均有所涉及,参见《龙与洋鬼子》、《黄土的儿女—中国史前文化研究》,另见安特生发表在《东方博物馆馆刊》(Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities)一九二九年第一期的回顾文章(详见参考书目)。奇怪的是,至今没有一本安特生的传记。

These theories flourished on account of both the preponderance of the world powers of the Western industrial nations, but in the case of China, also in the almost complete absence of hard evidence for China's prehistory. The above-mentioned books were, of course, read by both Ding and Andersson, as were those arguing for local origins, or combinations thereof.

In 1901, the potential of modern archaeology was discussed in China for the first time in Liang Qichao's *Zhongguo shi xulun* (Prolegomenon to Chinese History). By coincidence, this was the same year in which Andersson defended his thesis in geology, a science that actually is a foundation of archaeological research, because of the power of geology to help us read the history of the landscape as the context in which human cultural history is embedded.

In 1904, Ding Wenjiang arrived in Britain as a bright young student, to study science, including such subjects as geology, and also finds time to travel around Europe. He learned Latin and French and acquired not only an impeccable spoken and written English which rivals that of any learned British scholar – but also a fair dose of British positivism.

In 1906, Andersson, himself already an accomplished scholar, was appointed Director of Sweden's Geological Survey (Sveriges Geologiska Undersökning), and four years later hosted the 11th International Geological Congress in Stockholm. He also launched a project on global iron, published as *The Iron Ore Resources of the World*. This attracted the attention of geologists and others in China, very keen on developing their own country's natural resources as a basis for its industrial modernization.

Meanwhile, the Japanese scholar Torii Ryuzo was working in Japanese-controlled Manchuria (Northeastern China). In 1908, Torii discovered the prehistoric site of Hongshan, near Chifeng. The site was later excavated, in 1924, 1930, and 1935 by Japanese archaeologists. In 1914 and 1915, Torii and his wife published accounts of prehistoric stone implements in the *Journal of Science, University of Tokio*; Andersson later recognized them as pioneers.<sup>3</sup>

In 1911, the Chinese Republican revolution toppled the Manchu (Qing) imperial dynasty. The same year, Ding Wenjiang graduated from the university at Glasgow, and returned to China to teach in Shanghai. He joined the Ministry for Industry and Commerce, and became the Director of its Geology section in 1913, at 25 years of age. Later on, Ding led the new Geological School in Peking. The first class of 22 students were offered a three-year course taught by pioneer scientists eager to promote China's modernization. Among them was Zhang Yi'ou (Chang Yi Ou), a Director of the Department of Mines, and Weng Wenhao (Wong Wen-hao, p. 30), himself also later a Director of China's new National Geological Survey, itself organized in 1916 and staffed with many of the first students (some of which are also seen in the photo on p. 26-27).

On May 16, 1914, Andersson took up the invited position as Mining Adviser to the Chinese government and its Ministry for Agriculture and Commerce. His recruitment as one of several foreign experts serving the young Chinese Republic was promoted by Erik Nyström, a Swedish geologist resident in Taiyuan, Shanxi, for many years active at the

<sup>3</sup>Chang Kwang-chih, *The Archaeology of Ancient China*, 1986, 181; Andersson, *Children of the Yellow Earth*, 244.

与此同时，中国最后一个王朝满清还在垂死挣扎。1898年，以著名学者康有为、梁启超（图见31页）等为代表发动的“百日维新”改革活动终告失败（康有为后来曾在瑞典避难）。

其时，东方诸文明西来说甚嚣尘上。以1894年出版的法国学者拉库柏里的著名著作《中国早期文明的西方起源：从公元前2300年到公元200年》为例，他倡导中国文明源自古巴比伦的学说。凡此种种，一方面可以看作西方工业国家世界霸权的心态所致，但另一方面，就中国而言，却也是因为缺乏中国史前史的有力证据。对此，丁文江和安特生当然都不陌生。东方文明起源于东方的理论或多源论，也是如此。

1901年，现代考古学的概念在梁启超的《中国史叙论》里首次被加以讨论。凑巧的是，这一年安特生完成其地质学的博士论文。地质学是考古学赖以产生的基础科学之一，得地质学之赐，我们才能读懂人类赖以生存的层累的历史。

1904年，聪明过人的丁文江来到英国学习地质学，同时在欧洲旅行。他还学了拉丁语和法语。英语的说写能力堪与任何英国学者比肩。同时他一定程度上也成了英国实证主义的信徒。

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1906年，已是一位出色学者的安特生被任命为瑞典地质调查所所长，4年后他主持在斯德哥尔摩召开的第11届万国地质学会大会。在此基础上，他主编并出版了《世界铁矿资源》一书。凡此种种，均引起中国科学界的关注。中国正在开发自己的自然资源，而铁矿等资源正是实现工业现代化不可或缺的重要保证。

同时，日本考古学家鸟居龙藏也在日本掌控下的中国东北工作。1908年鸟居在赤峰附近发现史前的红山遗址。此后日本考古学家分别在1924、1930和1935年三次发掘该遗址。1914和1915年鸟居和他的妻子在《东京帝国大学科学杂志》上发表了有关史前石器的研究报告，安特生因此把鸟居夫妇视为该领域的先行者。<sup>3</sup>

1911年辛亥革命中满清王朝被推翻。同年丁文江从英国哥拉斯格大学毕业后返国。他先在上海任教，此后进入工商部并于1913年成为该部地质科科长，时年25岁。稍后，他成为在北京新成立的地质学校—中国地质研究所的所长。

<sup>3</sup>参见张光直，《古代中国的考古》，页181，和《黄土的儿女—中国史前文化研究》，页244。

new university there, and founder of the Nyström Institute in Peking, the "Sino-Swedish Scientific Research Institute."<sup>4</sup> Andersson's life in Beijing is reflected in the photos on p. 25. In his first year, Andersson explored the geology outside Peking together with Nyström. To the delight of the Chinese government they located large new iron ore deposits, and in the new year Andersson was even asked to brief a delighted Yuan Shih-kai, then China's President.

World War I began, and Yuan Shih-kai died in 1916. Attempts to restore China's monarchy failed. In Andersson's view, this all signalled the beginning of a slide toward disorder and local warlord rule in many parts of China. Japan, which industrialized and modernized far sooner than China, annexed Germany's territories in China.

In early 1915, Ding Wenjiang returned to Beijing from geological and ethnological research in Southwestern China during 1914–15, and met Andersson for the first time. The two scholars, united by their belief in Science and their interest in nature, become close associates. Ding's new textbook of *Zoology* had just been published. The dedication in Andersson's autobiographical book *The Dragon and the Foreign Devils*, full of his experiences in China (including rich personal, ethnological and folklife photographic materials), is to Ding Wenjiang, who is introduced as follows: *...it was in the spring of 1915, ... that my great personal experience in China began. That is when Ding Wenjiang, the Director of the NGS, returned to Beijing from a long research trip to Southwestern China. He came back with a rich throve of scientific materials from the high*

*plateaus and the malaria-ridden valleys of Yunnan, eager to sit down and work through his maps, diaries and fossils, but also at the same time full of ideas for new field ventures. Thus began a collaboration with him which lasted until [in 1925,] the time when he, after a pleasant evening hosted by him in Tianjin, came with me to say goodbye at the Mukden night train which got me on my way home ...[He] may not count as a typical Chinese: for that he is too driving in his work, too demanding towards his collaborators, much too frank in his criticism, and has too keen a sense of merciless justice. But as one of the most advanced members of today's Chinese intelligentsia, he is a shining representative of his people...*

Andersson's initial appointment was extended, and an intensive period of enthusiastic work building up the NGS ensued. In April 1916, graduation and field tests were conducted for the first group of Chinese geology students. In June, Andersson made important paleontological discoveries in Shanxi. Later, in 1917, he continued geology explorations for the Chinese government in western Honan, where, incidentally, he established contact with a Swedish missionary station at Xin'an (Sinan hsien), Henan, near Luoyang (see p. 40). Andersson heard of more fossil sites with dinosaurs and other "dragon bones," as they are known colloquially, and conceived the idea of contributing fossil collections to Swedish museums. He wrote Axel Lagrelius for funds to cover related expenses. He approved, and began to fund-raise for Andersson's Chinese paleontology (many of the fossils

<sup>4</sup> Nyström, *Det nyaste Kina* [The newest China], Stockholm: Natur & Kultur, 1936; Andersson, *BMFEA* 1 (1929), 11–14.