

藝術、死亡

與關於墓葬遺存之詮釋

Art, Death and the Interpretation of Mortuary Remains

Katheryn M. Linduff^{***}

摘要

就其內在本質而言，無論宗教性或世俗性的禮儀都異常令人嚮往。禮儀作為一種社會活動，一旦被隔離於社會情境之外便不可能被充分理解。它被執行它的社會所界定，也因而必須被置於適合它的社會和物質情境中進行研究。但是當禮儀主要是透過古代社會的墓葬遺存來進行研究時，我們又該如何回復前述各種情境呢？以中國為例，葬儀中的各種陳設便是史前時代晚期到歷史時代早期物質遺存的主要內容。

由於墓葬的禮儀化情境可以（也一直被）視為形塑信仰、意識型態與身份認同的重要機制，或者被視為相關禮儀活動參與者及其操控或創造者社會力的主要根源，因此可以相當程度地反映一個特定的社會及其內在動能。此外，它們也可以被視為社會網絡的核心，或是呈現一個特定社會之希望和慾求的手段。

這篇論文將思考墓葬中（尤其是位於中國者）的物質內容，並且為這些被置於禮儀化情境的遺存提出數種理解和闡釋方式。有些學者雖然也曾對這些遺物在墓葬中的擺放位置、佈局以及它們的視覺表現進行研究，卻又同時徵引非考古性證據（如民族史材料和歷史文獻），即使它們在被當作和歷史事件或信仰連結的直接依據時往往缺乏足夠的信度。

此外，有關「延續性」（例如一個母題）的觀點經常被使用到相當誇張的境地，以致於任何在新石器時代文化層中觀察所得的圖案即使與王朝時期所見的某個母題僅有極其微小的類似性，依舊會被認為不足以論證它在後一時期存在某種相異的禮儀或意義。我們在此呼籲應針對迄今討論古代社會遺存的方式重新進行評估，並希望藉此認清並提出可以比較完整理解死者被安置時所牽涉之複雜性的種種方法。

關鍵詞：禮儀藝術、喪葬研究、商代中國、安陽

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Abstract

Whether religious or secular, ritual is intrinsically fascinating. Ritual is an activity which when isolated from its context cannot be studied fully. It is defined by the society that practices it, and as such, needs to be studied in its proper social and material contexts.¹ But how does one do so when the rituals being studied are known primarily in burial remains of ancient societies? In China, for example, mortuary settings are the primary locus of findings for remains from the late prehistoric and early dynastic periods.

The ritualized context of burial can and has been seen as a mechanism for the shaping of beliefs, ideologies, and identities; or as a source of social power for those who participate in, control, or create them, thus revealing of a great deal about the given society and its dynamics.² They can also be seen as a focal node of social networks, or as a means of illuminating the hopes and desires of a given society. Ritual and the materialization of belief has more recently been seen as an important and informative class of social action, or even as a social construction of the sacred.³

This paper will consider the material contents of tombs, especially in China, and propose ways to understand and explain them within this sort of ritualized context. Others have studied their placement and distribution in tombs as well as their visual countenance, and also have brought to bear non-archaeological evidence such as ethno-historical accounts and historical texts, although they are not straightforward accounts of historical events or beliefs. Moreover, the notion of continuity (of a motif, for instance) which has often been used to such an exaggerated extent that any pattern observed in the Neolithic layers that has even the slightest similarity to a motif from the dynastic periods will be questioned as insufficient to argue for the existence of a certain ritual or meaning in a later period.⁴ With this appeal for the assessment of how we have dealt with the remains of ancient societies, I hope to recognize and propose ways to understand more fully the complexity of the treatment of the dead.

Key Words: ritual art, mortuary analysis, Shang China, Anyang

¹ Evangelos Kyriakidis, *The Archaeology of Ritual* (Los Angeles: Cotson Institute of Archaeology, University of California-Los Angeles, 2007), 1.

² Evangelos Kyriakidis, *Ritual in the Aegean: the Minoan Peak Sanctuaries* (London: Duckworth, 2005), 69-75.

³ David Morgan, ed., *Religion and Material Culture: The Matter of Belief* (London and New York: Routledge, 2010).

⁴ Lane Anderson Beck, ed., *Regional Approached to the Mortuary Analysis* (New York and London: Plenum Press, 1995), viii.

從考古遺存論中國古代西南文化的神樹崇拜及其相關信仰

Tree Worship and Related Issues in the Material Cultures of Ancient Southwest China

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摘要

神樹崇拜在中國古文獻中有諸多記載，至今在西南各族群的民俗活動中仍可看到一些蛛絲馬跡，而當前的考古遺存則進一步提供了切確的物證。根據目前的研究資料，西南考古遺址出土的樹形及類似的柱狀物實為原始社會祭拜地母的子遺。其成因與古人信奉自然界的神靈相關。基於此因，史前公社裡供奉的社稷之樹便成了原始宗教系統裡的一種典範，進而在西南的歷史演繹及各地社會分化的過程中衍生出各種不同形制的神樹崇拜以及相關的信仰。

關鍵詞：社樹（社稷之樹）、神樹崇拜、西南文化、天梯、祭柱

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邱茲惠，2010，〈從考古遺存論中國古代西南文化的神樹崇拜及其相關信仰〉，《南藝學報》1：119-142

Abstract

Veneration of deified trees, a subject frequently included in old Chinese texts, has left perceptible signs in the religious practice of ethnic minorities in southwestern China of today. It also finds visual evidence in archaeological discoveries, in which metal objects in the shape of trees or pillar-like designs suggest worship of deities related to the Mother Nature. All these point to the possibility that tree worship has been an important theme in the religious practice of southwestern China since ancient time.

In the history of southwestern cultures that incorporated affinities from different sources, this distinct ancient belief is expressed in various forms of tree worship as well as in comparable religious activities.

Key Words: communal tree, tree worship, southwestern culture, heavenly ladder, pillar worship

邱承墩遺址史前雙祭臺初識 兼談良渚文化的玉琮和玉璧

A Preliminary Exploration of the Double Altars at Qiuchengdun Site-Partially on the Jade Cong and Bi of the Liangzhu Culture

張 敏 Min Zhang

摘要

邱承墩遺址位於江蘇省無錫市鴻山鎮東北約1公里，東南距蘇州市區約20公里，西北距無錫市區約20公里，地理座標120°30' 16.8" E，31°29' 38.6" N。2003年3月～2005年5月，南京博物院考古研究所對邱承墩遺址進行了考古發掘。考古發掘最重要的收穫之一是首次發現並清理了兩座並列的新石器時代祭祀遺跡—雙祭臺。祭臺編號JS1、JS2。

JS1底部近似正方形，底邊東西長12.55，南北寬11.50，高1.10米，方向195°。JS1堆積的第3層近中部向上凸起呈不規則方柱狀祭祀遺跡，祭祀遺跡的頂部置2件從腹部切割的夾砂陶罐，陶罐底部平置，口部扣置，呈並兩排列置放，四周有經過燒烤後留下的不規則燒土。JS2底部近似正方形，東西長10.90，南北寬11.50，高1.50米，方向193°。JS2的堆積呈弧頂狀，頂部有祭祀遺跡，祭祀遺跡略向內凹，置2件從腹部切割的夾砂陶罐，陶罐底部平置，口部扣置，呈十字形交叉置放，置放方式與JS1不同，四周有經過燒烤後留下不規則的燒土。根據祭祀遺跡內出土的文化遺物推測，其年代為崧澤文化與良渚文化之交，大致為公元前3300年前後。

祭祀遺跡JS1的規模較JS2略大，JS1在西，JS2在東；JS1的堆築較JS2複雜，除堆積層多於JS2外，其底部有類似建築的遺跡，頂部有夾有黃、紅、綠、褐、白色土五花土的第3層並

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向上凸起呈不規則方柱狀祭祀遺跡；JS1出土的皆為小玉器和小陶器而非實用器，出土的石器僅打製成形而磨光，JS2出土的小玉器為非實用器外，陶器和石器皆為實用器。邱承墩遺址的祭祀遺跡JS1居西，而JS2居東；JS1頂部有一向上凸起呈不規則方柱狀祭祀遺跡，而JS2 頂部的祭祀遺跡則內凹平置。「以西為尊」和「以北為尊」代表了不同的思想體系和文化傳統。JS1的規格明顯高於JS2；JS1的地層堆積和建築結構亦明顯複雜於JS2；JS1中部有凸起的方形祭祀遺跡以象徵男根，而JS2頂部的祭祀遺跡內凹則應象徵女陰，雙祭臺應為生殖崇拜的祭祀場所。

邱承墩遺址雙祭臺的發現，無疑為重新探討良渚文化玉琮和玉璧的原始含義和原始功能提供了新的契機。根據對玉琮、玉璧的古文字考察和相關文獻的發微，玉琮的原始含義即男根的象徵，而玉璧的原始含義即女陰的象徵。人類的原始宗教大致可分為自然崇拜、生殖崇拜和祖先崇拜等幾個發展階段，良渚文化的先民顯然處於生殖崇拜的發展階段。邱承墩遺址發現的雙祭臺，無疑為探討良渚文化玉琮玉璧的原始功能和研究良渚文化的社會形態提供了新的啟示。

關鍵詞：邱承墩、雙祭臺、生殖崇拜、玉琮、玉璧

張敏，2010，〈邱承墩遺址史前雙祭臺初識—兼談良渚文化的玉琮和玉璧〉，《南藝學報》1：53-76

Abstract

Qiuchengdun site was located at about 1 km north-east in Hongshan town, Wuxi city, Jiangsu Province. In March 2003 to May 2005, the Institute of Archaeological of Nanjing Museum had excavated the Chiuchengdun site. The most important gain of this excavation was, for the first time, Chinese archaeologists discovered and cleaned up two parallel double pre-historical altars. These altars were numbered JS1 and JS2.

The bottom of altar JS1 was approximately square-shaped, the east-west direction of the bottom length is 12.55 meters, the north-south width 11.50 meters, high 1.10 meters, at a direction of 195°. The bottom form of altar JS2 was also approximately square, the east-west direction of the bottom length was 10.9 meters, the north-south width 11.50 meters, high 1.50 meters, with a direction of 193°. And there were some sacrificial remains on the top of altar JS2. According to the data of excavated materials from these sacrificial remains, the age of the altar was between the Songze Culture and the Liangzhu Culture, roughly around 3300 B.C.

The scale of sacrificial altar JS1 located on west side was slightly larger than the one of JS2 on east side. All the excavated materials of JS1 were equipments of nonutility-like small jades and small pottery, and the unearthed stone implements made by sculpting and polishing. The excavated jades of JS2 were the non-utility equipments, yet pottery and stone were used as practical devices.

There was a ritual construction with the shape of irregular and square columnar on the top of the altar JS1, but the ritual remains on the top of the altar JS2 was concaved. The convex square sacrificial relics on the central altar of JS1 might be a phallic symbol, while the concave top of JS2 symbolized the female genitalia. Therefore, the double altars should be the ceremonial location of fertility worship.

Therefore, the discovery of the double altars of Chiuchengdun site provided new chances to re-examine the original significance and function of the jade Cong and Bi of the Liangzhu Culture. According to paleography and related ancient documents, the original meaning of Jade Cong was male penis, and the original significance of jade Bi symbolized the female genitalia.

The development of primitive religion of mankind could be divided into several stages: from the nature worship, the fertility worship to the ancestor worship. Therefore, it was obvious that the stage of beliefs in Liangzhu Culture stay in fertility worship. It was also undoubtedly that the findings of two altars in Qiuchengdun site provided new possible indications for the original function of Jade Bi and Jade Cong of Liangzhu Culture, and also provided explanation for the social formation in the Liangzhu Culture.

Key Words: Qiuchengdun, double altars, fertility worship, jade *cong*, jade *bi*

再論中國新石器時代晚期 玉琮形制與角色之演變

The Evolution of Style and Role of Jade Cong in the Late Neolithic China— an In-depth Analysis

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摘要

玉琮在中國新石器時代晚期各區域文化中分佈廣泛，然而不同地區出土的玉琮不僅在形制和裝飾上有所差異，其使用方式也明顯有別，充分反映玉琮及其象徵意涵在不同時空座標中的傳承與變異。本文以良渚文化玉琮之類型與分期脈絡為基礎，除再次梳理中國各地新石器時代晚期遺址出土的玉琮，並逐一比較其形制與功能角色之異同外，亦嘗試以晉陝以及寧甘青地區各文化間之交流為輔助，探討中國北方和西北地區玉琮之淵源關係及其可能發展。

整體而言，良渚玉琮不僅在形式風格與裝飾圖像基本體現了一個從萌芽、發展、成熟到簡化等大致完整的發展序列，玉琮的角色也從具有濃厚儀式意味的宗教法器和神權象徵，逐步演化為凝聚跨區域間世俗權力和階級秩序的物質標記。相較之下，在良渚文化以外地區，玉琮不僅出土數量零星、形式單調，使用方式也很不一致，顯示其禮儀意味已相當薄弱。然而到了西元前二千年前後新石器時代末期，在黃河中上游寧南、甘中及其與寧青兩省交界地區，玉琮和玉璧的使用以及其儀式性功能又開始東山再起。此波的發展對於歷史早期玉琮和玉璧在四川地區的局地興盛，極可能扮演了關鍵性的角色。

關鍵詞：玉琮、宗教法器、神權象徵、物質標記、文化失憶

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Abstract

The jade *cong* was widely used in China during the late Neolithic period among various cultures, yet they not only differ in form and decor, the ways they were used evidently varied, which fully reveal the inheritance and evolution of jade *cong* and its symbolic meaning in different time and space axes. Using the typology and developmental stages of jade *cong* of Liangzhu culture as gauge and starting point, this article once again combed through the excavated jade *cong* from numerous late Neolithic sites in ancient China. Not only individually comparing and contrasting their styles and functional roles with one another, but also explore the relationship of the origins and developmental trajectories of jade *cong* in Northern and Northwestern China, based on the cultural exchanges between these two areas.

Overall, Liangzhu jade *cong* not only revealed integrated phases of origination, development, maturation, and simplification through its formal style and iconography, its role have also evolved from ritual implement and theological symbol to material label, which was an adhesive of secular power and hierarchical orders among different regions. In contrast, jade *cong* were scattered in number, flat in design, and inconsistent in its usage in areas outside of the Liangzhu culture. Its ritualistic role had essentially faded away. Nonetheless, at the end of the Neolithic period around 2000 B.C., the usage of jade *cong* and jade *bi* and their ceremonial function rose again in Southern Ningxia, Central Gansu and the border of Ningxia and Qinghai of the upper-middle reach of Yellow River valley. This evolvement has possibly played a crucial role in the prosperity of jade *cong* and *bi* of early historical period in the Sichuan region.

Key Words: jade *cong*, ritual implement, theological symbol, material label, cultural amnesia

史前玉器與原始信仰齊家文化玉器 一些現象的初步觀*

察與探討

Neolithic Jades and Primitive Beliefs -Preliminary Observation and Exploration of Some Phenomena of Jade Objects from the Chijia Culture

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摘要

齊家文化玉器廣受關注。齊家文化的時空範圍也頗受重視。齊家文化有許多廣為人們所知的原始宗教現象，而玉器上的原始宗教表現尤其具有研究價值。本文主要從喇家遺址出土的齊家文化玉器所表現的特殊現象的觀察入手，進行了原始宗教學的思考和解讀，如齊家文化玉器的重璧輕琮現象、使用玉料或下腳料的現象、普通房址裏出土玉器的現象、玉器的音樂功能等現象，試圖找到一些對於玉器現象的理解和可能的解答或探討。初步的討論認為，齊家文化原始宗教觀念的發展變化，可能是玉器現象上的反映。原始宗教觀念中的靈石崇拜，石崇拜與玉崇拜的關係變化，自然崇拜與社會發展的複雜關係的變化發展等，從這些角度也許有利於闡釋齊家文化玉器的一些特殊現象，有利於逐步理解和解釋齊家文化原始宗教的發展和社會演進的發展。

關鍵詞：齊家文化、喇家遺址、原始信仰、靈石崇拜、音樂功能

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Abstract

Not only Neolithic jades of the Qijia culture have received much attention from the world, but its spatial and temporal scope also attracted many eyes of archeological circles. There are many widely known phenomena of primitive beliefs worth advanced research, particularly observed by the appearance and context of Qijia jades. By comparing and analyzing general phenomena of primitive religion, this article points out some disinctive circumstance of Qijia jades that were excavated from the Lajia site in Qinghai Province. For example, the worship of jade bi but neglect of jade cong, the attitude toward jade material usage, the context of jades unearthed in the house ground, and the musical function of jade objects were all considered as the keys for better and further understanding of Qijia jades. According to our preliminary conclusion, the phenomena and detail of jades that we excavated revealed the stages of development of primitive religion in Qijia: The worship of spiritual rocks, stones and jades, and more complex relationships between nature worship and social development....etc., may help us to explain the characteristic of Qijia jades, and help us to better understand and explain the progression of primitive beliefs and social expansion of the Qijia culture.

Key Words: Qijia culture, Lajia site, primitive beliefs, worship of spiritual rocks, musical function

中國史前文化中的八角星圖案初探

The Octagonal-Star Image of Prehistorical China: A Preliminary Exploration

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摘要

八角星圖案的基本形制為中部有一個封閉的心，圍繞著中心向周邊伸出八個呈放射狀的銳角，是一種主要見於陶器表面的圖案或紋樣。八角星圖案的分佈範圍包括了長江、淮河、黃河、遼河流域在內的大半個中國，其中主要集中在兩個區域：一是從泰沂山經淮河、長江到太湖東側一帶，南北基本連成一片；二是洞庭湖周邊及沅水流域。其他地區則屬於零星發現。

八角星圖案可以劃分為兩大類：**A類**是中心部分為方框，方框的每一邊上有兩兩相對而外伸的直角三角形，即直角邊在外側，斜邊相對，整體上分佈得對稱而不均勻，是典型的八角星圖案；**B類**是中心部分為圓形，圓邊上等距或基本等距分佈著八個外伸的銳角，像放射的光芒狀。

目前所發現的**A類**八角星圖案，年代最早的出自長江中游的湖南湯家崗遺址，在距今6000年之前。然後是從黃淮下游的海岱地區到太湖地區，年代約在距今6000~5000年之間，其他地區的發現時代更晚。

B類八角星圖案的年代跨度較大。這類圖案年代最早的是湖南沅水流域的高廟文化，絕對年代在距今7000年前後甚至更早，其他地區的發現則均在距今6000年以內。

A、B兩類儘管都稱為八角星圖案，實際上他們之間的差別大於共性，本質上應屬於兩種不同的圖案。**A類**八角星圖案與太陽圖案是兩類不同性質的圖案，相互之間不存在內在聯繫。**B類**八角星圖案則有表示太陽的寓意。關於**A類**八角星圖案的含義，目前存在多種不同的解釋。本文傾向於認為其體現了先人天圓地方的概念，並用於祭祀和禮儀活動。

關鍵詞：海岱地區、環太湖地區、八角星、天圓地方、太陽紋

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Abstract

The octagonal-star image had been a kind of icon or décor mainly found on the surface of Neolithic pottery. The basic form of octagonal-star had a closure heart, surrounding with eight protruding and radial angles. Their distributions area exceeded half of China, including the basins of Yangtze River, Huai River, Yellow River and Liao River, whose coverage was concentrated in two regions: firstly, the area from Tai Mountain, passing Huai River, Yangtze River to the east side of Tai Lake; secondly, the area surrounding Dongting Lake and Yuanshui River basin. However, octagonal-star icons in other areas were found to be scattered and random.

In addition, the octagonal-star image can be separated into two classes: class A with core of a square frame on each side had relative extension of the right triangle was the typical octagonal-star pattern; class B had a core of a round form on its circumference edge with equidistant distribution of the eight basic acute angles, resembling light radiating from the Sun.

According to the current discoveries, the earliest type A pattern was found at the middle basin of Yangtze river, in Tanjiagan sites in Hunan province, and could be dated before 6000 years ago. Later, it was also found in the Haidai region and Tai Lake region, between 6000 to 5000 years B.P.. As for the time period in which type A pattern was found in other regions was much later.

The duration of type B patterns spaned longer than A. The earliest type B icon of the current discoveries were situated at Yuan river basin in Hunan province, the so called Gaoumiau Culture, and its absolute chronology could be dated to 7000 years ago or even earlier. However, the type B pattern in the other areas was not earlier than 6000 years ago.

Although type A and B were called “octagonal-star image,” they had more differences than similarities. In essence, they should belong to two different icons. The type B octagonal-star pattern symbolized the sun icon, whereas the meaning of type A required more complicated alternative explanations. My article inclined to think that type A represented the Chinese ancestors’ ancient idea of “round sky and square earth” used in ceremonial activities and rituals.

Key Words: Haidai area, circum-Taihu area, Octagonal-Star, round sky and square earth, sun motif