

饒宗頤  
著

殷代貞卜人物通考

上冊

中華書局

饒宗頤 著

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□ 責任編輯：沈海龍  
□ 裝幀設計：高林  
□ 排版：時潔  
□ 印務：林佳年

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著者

饒宗頤

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出版

中華書局（香港）有限公司

香港北角英皇道 499 號北角工業大廈一樓 B  
電話：(852) 2137 2338 傳真：(852) 2713 8202  
電子郵件：info@chungwabook.com.hk  
網址：http://www.chunghwabook.com.hk

□

發行

香港聯合書刊物流有限公司

香港新界大埔汀麗路 36 號  
中華商務印刷大廈 3 字樓  
電話：(852) 2150 2100 傳真：(852) 2407 3062  
電子郵件：info@suplogistics.com.hk

□

印刷

美雅印刷製本有限公司

香港觀塘榮業街 6 號海濱工業大廈 4 樓 A 室

□

版次

2015 年 3 月初版

© 2015 中華書局（香港）有限公司

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規格

大 32 開 (210 mm × 153 mm)

□

ISBN：978-988-8310-85-2

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© 1959 香港大學出版社

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## FOREWORD

The greater part of the books on the Oracle Bones that have appeared since their discovery, sixty years ago, have been compilations of inscriptions ranging from tiny fragments with a single character or part of a character, to a full-size plastron of a tortoise, or the shoulder-blade of an ox, engraved with over two hundred and fifty-three characters. With infinite care these have been transcribed, photographed, reproduced in rubbings, collated and studied, until from the whole known collection of some 100,000 fragments scattered through many lands, about 40,000 inscriptions have been numbered and recorded and made available to scholars throughout the world.

In contrast to this work of reproducing, recording and cataloguing, comprehensive studies have been comparatively few. The *Yin-hsü shu-ch'i k'ao-shih* 殷虛書契考釋 ('Interpretation of the Inscriptions from the Waste of Yin') by Lo Chên-yü 羅振玉 (1914), was the first of these, followed by the special studies of Wang Kuo-wei 王國維, which were afterwards collected in the posthumous *Kuan T'ang tsi-lin* 觀堂集林. The *Preliminary Reports on the Excavations at An-yang* 安陽發掘報告, published by the Academia Sinica 1929-1933, include numerous papers on various aspects of the newly excavated material; while the monumental *Chia-ku wên tuan-tai yen-chiu li* 甲骨文斷代研究例 ('The Method of Determining the Periods of the Oracle Bones') by Tung Tso-pin 董作賓 in 1933 was the most important comprehensive study on the Oracle Bones published in the period immediately preceding the war. During the war the chief contributions were the *Chia-ku hsüeh Shang-shih lun-ts'ung* 甲骨學商史論叢 ('Collected Essays on Shang History from the Oracle Bones') by Hu Hou-hsüan 胡厚宣, published in three series from 1944 to 1946; and the *Yin-li p'u* 殷曆譜 ('The Calendar and Chronological Studies of the Yin Dynasty') by Tung Tso-pin published in 1945. After the war much valuable material collected by Hu Hou-hsüan was published on the Mainland, and a complete corpus of inscriptions on Oracle Bones excavated at An-yang was published in four volumes by

the Academia Sinica, now in Taiwan, between 1948 and 1953 (*Hsiao-T'un: Inscriptions* 小屯 殷虛文字). This recently published material has made available new sources for further study, of which Mr Jao has taken full advantage to produce a work on different lines from any followed so far.

To the present time no scholar has made a comprehensive study of the persons whose names appear on the Oracle Bones in connection with the divination ritual, that is to say, the actual diviners whose names are recorded in the divination inscriptions as officiating at the divination ceremonies.

This task has been undertaken by Mr Jao Tsung-i. Mr Jao has listed some 130 names which appear in all some 10,000 times on the Bones, being all names of persons, other than the King himself, participating in the divination ceremonies. Some occur only once or only a few times; some as many as 2,000 times or more. Collecting and transcribing every one of the sentences in which these names occur, Mr Jao has been able to present a picture of the activity of the diviners of the Yin dynasty, from the reign of Wu-ting 武丁 to the end of the dynasty.

The period in which some of these persons lived is determined, by the appellations with which they address the deceased ancestors, to belong to the reigns of certain monarchs. The dating of the remainder is deduced by their association on the Oracle Bones with those of known date. Thus a large number of inscriptions, hitherto undated, is brought into the datable sphere.

The inscriptions in which the names of these diviners occur are arranged first under the names of the persons concerned, and next under the matters in connection with which they were called upon to divine: 'the weather', 'the evening', 'the decade', 'sacrifices', 'coming and going', 'military expeditions', 'outlying regions' etc., a survey of which is sufficient to reveal the matters which were of daily concern to the Yin people. A convenient summary of these for Western readers can be seen in the list of *Contents*, given in English at the end of the work.

The divination ritual is discussed in relation to the divination rules preserved in the three Ritual Books, *I-li* 儀禮, *Chou-li* 周禮, and *Li-chi* 禮記, and others of the Chinese Classical books, each throwing light upon the other. Although compiled at a later date, the Ritual Books, as can be seen from resemblances on the Oracle Bones, are based upon ancient rites and usages derived from the dawn of Chinese history. The Oracle Bones thus provide the evidence for the 'rites of Yin' that Confucius admitted was lacking in his day. Similarly, in his study of the 'idioms and phrases' used by the different diviners, the author has revealed resemblances to the style of the Classical books that increase our confidence in the antiquity of the sources from which those books are derived.

Thus, this book of 1,400 pages, which might appear at first sight to be but a compendium of oracular sentences, many of which are in a fragmentary condition, is in reality a valuable source book for a systematic study of the Oracle Bones in relation to the Classical books, and does in fact provide in a convenient form a basis for the critical study of Yin dynasty history, society, and religion.

Mr Jao, who is a lecturer in Chinese literature at the University of Hong Kong, is peculiarly well fitted for this task. Ranging wide in his studies since his earliest days, he has for ten years devoted a large part of his energies to the study of the Oracle Bones, upon which he has already published a number of important papers, of which the following may be mentioned: *Oracle Bones in Collections in Paris* 巴黎所見甲骨錄, Hong Kong, December 1956; 'Oracle Bones in Japanese Collections' 日本所見甲骨錄, *Journal of Oriental Studies*, Volume III, No. 1, University of Hong Kong, January 1956 (published in June 1957); 'Some Oracle Bones in Overseas Collections' 海外甲骨錄遺, *Journal of Oriental Studies*, Volume IV, Nos. 1 and 2, University of Hong Kong (in the press).

In addition, Mr Jao is at present preparing for publication an encyclopaedic work on the 'Interpretation of the Divination Sentences': *Pu-tz'ü i-chêng* 卜辭義證.

In all these studies Mr Jao Tsung-i has combined a capacity for tireless work and comprehensive outlook with extraordinary exactitude and infinite attention to detail.

We wish to acknowledge with gratitude a generous grant from the Trustees of the Harvard-Yenching Institute by which the publication of this important work has been made possible.

F. S. DRAKE

*University of Hong Kong*

*14th July, 1959*

## 殷代貞卜人物通考自序

有清之季，洹水炳靈，龜文呈兆，曠代未覩，一旦發塚，並出塵埃；既補亡之取資，尤沾溉之無盡。學者鑽研其塗多方，或師汲冢以考文，或類廣徵之證史，無不銳心冥索，各立瑰異。自董氏貞人之說行，然後分期斷代，略有可循；而殷商遺事，晦盲否塞，近三千年莫之知者，乃得粗具端倪，寢且蔚爲顯學，亦一時之盛事也。

惟契文簡質，通讀匪易，單辭隻語，咸是碎金，人地專名，罔由尋證，自非通體董理，爬梳抉剔，而欲綜覈名實，受乎其難。宗頤研討有年，闡測所得，竊以斷代根柢，在於卜人，分人研究，當務尤急。惟有比次其貞卜之文辭，鉤稽相關之人物，則時代序次，庸有脈絡之可尋，融會旁通，庶免枘鑿之難入；是故見爻與旁內同版，知向隸文武丁之未安，爻與旁同版，見小屯甲二三六一；與內同版，見屯甲二三四。又察泳有沚臧之貞，悟曩說第五期之難信。庫方一五一云：「卜泳貞：今十一月，沚臧至。」同版又見卜人亘、旁等，原物現藏大英博物院，余覆勘無誤，永字旁明從水，與貞人泳同名。凡所臆理，稍異時賢，但求心安，非敢

唐突。亦以前修未密，直綴有待，是用屬詞比事，莫憚其勞。又卜辭爲殷王室檔案，所見人物，大都王之親近不出宗老小臣多子世婦之流，迹其名字，晦蕤千載尚書，殷本紀，竹書人表，概乎未聞者歷世綿遠，凡茲鉤索，未始不可補龍門之遺，莒蘭臺之缺，紹子氏之統緒，而激一代之風烈者也。

若夫殷禮無徵，宣尼所喟。少牢特牲，乃諸侯卿士之祭，鄭氏三禮目錄肆獻裸享，惟周官凡目之存。杜君卿閒拾



珠璣，凌次仲差具條例，欲以聚毚毛之冠，綴狐腋之裘，湮墮既多，望古興嘆而已。今者賴此契龜，粗得涯略，王賓之文，徵諸洛誥，立尸之義，同乎禮器。立尸見屯乙六六九六，參本書頁二九五。八命可證太卜之篇，洫卜亦符士喪之禮。俱詳本書前論。

轅審兆，果見龜焦。詳魏書諸帝子孫傳。焦即龜焦不兆也。小屯乙四八二二及四七四一有「卜龜」語，其甲面俱不見兆。上甲作犧，載在世本。太平御覽禮儀部引世本云：「微作犧。」他如

「不興」「惟農」之語，非易象管子莫由詳。屯甲二二四云：「歲卜不興，亡句。」後編下一一、一：「歲不興，用。」易同人九三爻辭：「三歲不興。」語可互證。「歲屯農」語，不見後

編上七、一，續編二、二、一，明義十六六八。又云：「歲今農」，合豎大御之惜，得春秋公羊而彌備。小屯乙五七見明義士四六。管子五行篇云：「歲農，豐年大茂」，可爲卜辭佐證。

凡此之類，留心古禮，固宜講明，析疑抉隱，譬電拆與霜開，覓證尋源，每珠流而璧合，雖曰

草昧之初闢，亦類涇渭之疏鑿者矣。

宗頤束髮受書，即耽倉雅，慕義之心方切，淑世之術長乖；坐閱日月之馳，彌深瀕洞之歎。海隅留滯，淹忽

十載。中間亦曾東走扶桑，西極羅馬，曝蠹書於羽琕，索玄珠於赤水。余於東西諸國所見甲骨，俱有載錄。於扶桑有日

土則有瑞士巴塞爾人類學博物館所藏甲骨考釋，於英國則有倫敦讀契記待刊，其重要者，散見本書各條下。獨行踽踽，窺古茫茫；冥搜遐想，慚無補於時艱；饋貧課虛，味

深同乎畫餅。惟是反覆龜策，耽思傍訊，非徒考史，蓋以研經，冀循此塗，參互證繹，庶幾經文可通，三禮辨秩。曾

謂不明故訓，不甄典制，不通校勘，不嫻文例，而欲尙論三古，譬諸絕潢以漸至海，其道奚由。天下方毀經，相率

侈於言史，本根之學既蹶，則皮傳奇邪之論滋起矣。餘杭章氏謂說彝器款識之極，足以覆國，慨乎其言，可勝

嘆哉！

余書牘列舊辭，有類獮祭，鉤稽名號，事等點鬼。自知緒煩而寡要，思勞而蔑功，玉少石多，其瑣已甚。然而殷代荒邈，文獻不足，僅此剩文，略可徵信，故不憚覲縷，撰爲長編，以便來彥；所謂蟲繭重厚，稱其出絲，想讀者之不我譴訶也。凡予所解悟與所考論者，未敢自信其是，當俟後之匡正。惟甲骨發現，歷五十年，叢碎繁賾，散無友紀，至於今茲，乃粗具條理，此則肇於余手，其中甘苦，治卜辭者類能道之，無庸余之煩言耳。戊戌秋饒宗頤自序。

## 例言

現存數萬片甲骨刻辭，以貞卜者性質而論，大別可分爲三類：一爲王自卜者，一爲卜人記名者，一爲不記名者。其卜人記名約占全數三分之一，本書即專從卜人記名之刻辭加以研究。如武丁時卜人般，本書所采輯即有二千餘條，幾與「殷虛書契」一書相埒。

治卜辭者，無不盛言分期，因有所謂「斷代」及「分派」二種方法，然分派必以斷代爲依據，斷代則以貞卜人物及其對先王稱謂爲區劃標準。過去甲骨學者，於卜人之探索，往往僅舉一二事以示例，未能將刻辭所見之卜人，通體董理，以故斷代標準不能確立。即偶有揭出者，大都以偏概全，衡之他辭，動多乖謬。鄙見無論「斷代」「分派」，必先以分人研究爲基礎，本書之作，即在提出卜辭之「分人研究法」，使有卜人記名之刻辭，得一綜合之整理。

本書所謂「貞卜人物」，乃指前辭記名之「卜某」及「卜某貞」一類之人物。舊目之爲貞人，然間多省略「貞」字，而「貞人」一詞，舊籍罔徵，故茲改稱曰「貞卜人物」。（「貞」「卜」二字連言，見左傳哀十七年云「衛侯貞卜」。）凡刻辭所見卜人記名，爲例綦繁，別爲釋例一篇，以論究之。

貞卜事項，周禮八命，不出天象人事兩大綱，而「國之大事，在祀與戎」，殷人亦不能外，故此兩類所見

特多。祖甲以來，時占則卜夕卜旬，賓祭則夕禱禴禴，尤更僕難數。今不避稠疊，并爲臚列，凡貞卜之事，謹依類詮次，殷禮可徵，其在茲乎。

卜辭所見人物，若侯、伯、子、婦、小臣、方國君長，多與卜人有關，若此之倫，別爲綴粹考證，撰成外編，將與本書相輔而行。本書則但於卜人事輯中舉出同辭人物之名號，及所見書名葉數，以備鈎稽，而免繁冗。

卜辭簡質，通讀維艱，本書撮錄各辭，審釋句讀，隨文闡義，多出已見，揚榷論定，尙待方來；其事采前修近賢之說，則揭明所出，不敢攘善；惟通訓則從略，但甄採精要，於異說不復繁陳，用祛紛紜之病。（至於句讀方面，學者每於句末，不理是否卜問，一律加上疑問號，今則但作斷句，以求矜慎。）

讀契之事，校勘爲先。綜其大要，約有兩端：一曰原物對勘，一曰同辭互勘。余於金璋方法，歛諸摹本，曾就大英博物院、劍橋大學圖書館、瑞士巴塞爾人種學博物館（即德國衛禮賢舊藏）所藏者，加以覆勘，頗有發正，如泳應改屬武丁時，即其一例也。至於同辭互見之版，甲骨著錄書，比比皆是。有同書重出者，（如前編四、三六、五與六，兩片上下自重。）有同片而重出凡四次者，（如鄴中片羽初集下三三、八，又見於雙劍謄一二八，京津三三二六及續存下六六三等。）紛紜難究。大抵摹不如拓，拓不如影，參互比勘，是在乎善讀之士。本書於重出之片，不殫繁瑣，詳爲注明，或於契學，不無涓埃之助。

龜甲古脆，出土卽遭斷碎，彌增斷爛之憾，於是綴合工作尙焉。自觀堂開其端，至於近世，若曾氏（殷契

存綴合編、郭氏、李氏（殷虛文字綴合）、張氏（小屯丙編）皆顛門之業，前人之勞，後人之逸，裨益無窮，今多摭取。間亦有一二新綴，或舊綴未安者，不敢強從，并爲注出，用資考校。

治卜辭者，類多注重年世，武丁祖甲，享年尙永，至於廩辛康丁，則皆短祚。（據今本紀年，廩辛四年，康丁八年。）卜人之高壽者，何嘗不可綿歷數世，倘欲區別某某爲某王之人，事甚困難。其或以字形成語，擇攢立證，每乖通達之義。今但列其事實，不欲妄斷。至若以事繫年，董氏曆譜，間有比次，偶爲附記，以資參考，而俟論證。

殷代祭祀之制，卜辭所載，稍存梗概，如七甲連續之祭，歲事之祭，皆犖犖大端，而名目繁多；或欲納爲五種祀典，苟廣觀旁求，則知非此所能畢賅者。其祭法祭統，較之周禮，其間損益之跡，猶灼然可稽。本書於殷周禮制異同，多隨文診發，庶幾卜辭與經籍，有參互證驗之功。

刻辭有但記「卜某」而他處不見「貞」字，末由確定爲卜人與否者，僅依存疑之義，不欲刪剝，姑列於備考中。

大龜巨骨，所鐫刻者，往往占卜不止一人，其同版及同辭所見卜人，即爲同期之明證，除於卜人各條下分述外，別爲兩表於卷末，以備稽覽。

甲骨叢帙，雜處各方，勾集非易。治此學者，實其涓滴，有同瑾瑜，傳拓之勤，嘉惠來學。本書於有卜人記名

之殘碎各辭，雖僅存一二字者，亦爲撫拾；明知榛楛不汰，蕪濫可譏，而歸納條繫，標注出處，期不負前賢蒐討之心，而爲後人省尋檢之勞，區區微意，覽者或有取焉。

徵引甲骨書籍簡稱表 以甲骨著錄書爲限，并依出版先後爲次。

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菁華	殷虛書契菁華	羅振玉	一九一四
之餘	鐵雲藏龜之餘	羅振玉	一九一五
後編	殷虛書契後編	羅振玉	一九一六
圖錄	殷虛古器物圖錄	羅振玉	一九一六
明義士	殷虛卜辭	明義士	一九一七
戩壽	戩壽堂所藏殷虛文字	姬佛陀	一九一七
林	龜甲獸骨文字	林泰輔	一九二一
簠室	簠室殷契徵文	王襄	一九二五
拾遺	鐵雲藏龜拾遺	葉玉森	一九二五
存真	殷虛文字存真	關百益	一九三一

福氏

福氏所藏甲骨文字

一九三三

燕大

殷契卜辭（燕京大學藏）

一九三三

通纂

卜辭通纂

一九三三

續編

殷虛書契續編

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殷契佚存

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鄭齋

鄭齋所藏甲骨拓本

一九三五

庫方

庫方二氏藏甲骨卜辭

一九三五

柏根

柏根氏舊藏甲骨文字

一九三五

侯家莊

安陽侯家莊出土之甲骨文字

一九三五

文錄

甲骨文錄

一九三七

粹編

殷契粹編

一九三七

七集

甲骨卜辭七集

一九三八

天壤

天壤閣甲骨文存

一九三九

商承祚

一九三三

容庚

一九三三

郭沫若

一九三三

羅振玉

一九三三

商承祚

一九三三

黃濬

一九三五

金祖同

一九三五

方法斂

一九三五

明義士

一九三五

董作賓

一九三五

孫海波

一九三七

郭沫若

一九三七

方法斂

一九三八

唐蘭

一九三九



