

董作賓先生全集

甲 編

第 三 冊

董 作 賓 著

藝文印書館印行

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王 孫 舌 考*

這一批史料是二十年前在安陽搜集的，保存在稿紙堆裏，直到現在才加以整理，光陰荏苒，壯年去了，老年來了，真令人不勝今昔之感！

河南安陽縣境內，三千年前殷代叫作洹水的，現在叫安陽河，循着古老的河道，襟帶於縣城之北。出了北門，渡了河，不遠就是袁世凱曾經住過的洹上村。西面是平漢鐵路，縱貫南北，穿河而過。再西，濱臨於洹河南岸有一帶高岡，上有彩陶，黑陶，白陶，三種文化積累的遺址，土人叫作後岡。在後岡之西，薛家莊的村後，有一座古墓，曾在民國二十二年（1933）被盜掘過，據調查，知道是一個長方形的墓。這座墓，盜掘時出土了不少的銅器，經縣官的追究，繳出了十二件，存在安陽古物保存會。其中有銘文的五件，都有「舌」字，因而知道舌就是墓的主人。這座墓，距小屯村東三里。殷代後期二百七十三年，十二個王的陵墓，都在洹河北岸去殷墟六里之遙的一片高地叫西北岡，在那裏，我們曾發掘過三次，所做的都是清理殘餘的工作，因為這些陵墓規模宏大，沒一個不是早被盜發過的。薛家莊後地這位舌的墓，較西北岡的陵墓為小，出土的銅器追繳了一部分，隱匿了一部分，後來售與北平尊古齋黃濬氏，黃氏把這批銅器在他的鄭中片羽第二集，尊古齋所見吉金圖中發表過，其中六件銅器上部有「舌」字。當時我就注意到「舌」的問題，搜集金甲資料，畧加考證，知道舌乃是武丁的王孫。分四節述之如下。

一 舌字的認識

舌字在卜辭中作，以前大家不認識，民國二十三年（1934）孫海波氏作甲骨文編時就沒有收入。其實，在民國十七年，余永梁氏作殷虛文字續考，就注意到前編卷一，二十九葉第三片「舌母庚」的舌字（見圖2至6），余氏說：

此古舌字。說文「舌在口，所以言，別味者也。从干口，干亦聲」。（國學論叢一卷四號）

二十一年，葉玉森氏作殷虛書契前編集釋，引余氏說，又疑為「者」字，其說云：

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森案本辭若讀爲「舌母庚」，似覺不適。予疑古「者」字即「諸」，殆「貞諸母庚」也。

葉說非，當以余說爲是。今按，總計我所收集的甲骨金文材料，得舌字共十二體，錄之如下（圖一）：

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	附錄	
後上 24 10	乙 4550	前 3 34 5	續 5 17 3	佚 98	前 4 35 5	觚 (尊)	鼎 (圓)	庫 685	卣	聲	前 6 9 2	前 4 55 4	青 4

圖一 (Figure One)






在這十二種異體中，1，2 兩體均無異，其餘 3—12 十體，兩旁均有小異，示舌上有水。舌下有口，示舌在口中，但是何以舌端分歧？于省吾氏有詳細解說，他在民國三十年寫雙劍謠殷契駢枝續編時，曾作釋舌一篇，內有云：



舌字有點，象錫物之殘靡。然上端歧出，何以象舌形，舊均無辭。說文以爲从干口，干亦聲，易象形爲形聲，已失造字本真。山海經外南經：「岐舌國在其東」，郭注「其人舌皆岐。或云『支舌』也」。郝氏箋疏云「支舌即岐舌」也。爾雅釋地云「枳首蛇」即岐首蛇，岐一作枝，枝支古字通也。又支與反字形相近，淮南墜形訓有反舌民，高誘注云：「語不可知而自相曉」。又注呂氏春秋功名篇云：「一說南方有反舌國，舌本在前，末倒向喉，故曰反舌」。是支舌古本作反舌也。按郭說是也。郭氏謂支舌古本作反舌，非是。支舌謂舌端歧出，作反舌者，或支譌爲反，或以其歧出異常，因而云然。







于氏謂點象殘靡，必所錫之物有米粒，不如以點作水的點滴說之爲好，舌上必有口水，是自然現象，點形在古象形字中，也以代表水者爲多。至於舌尖歧出，當是象其文理之形，在殷代已小有訛變。近人奚世榦氏作說文校案曾舉舌字，云：

說文舌部，「舌在口所以言也，別味也。从干口，干亦聲」。世榦案舌字古文當

本象形，篆文變古文之體耳。古文當作。弓部「舌也，象形」。段注云：

「謂象輪郭及文理也」。是全象舌形，即之變，即之變矣。

奚氏的見解很好，字下象形，上從弓聲。今就甲骨金文考之，如圖一之 10 至 12，若連其兩旁直畫，正是形，不過于訛變之後，又加點點口水而已。

于省吾氏釋舌篇中，又舉欠，飲二字以證之必爲舌字。欠作，（圖一附錄）余氏未釋。今按卜辭中用爲人名，如：「戊子(卜)令史欠」？（前 8, 4, 3）「欠其蚩蚩」？（前 4, 55, 4）均是。欠有反正二體，象人側面立形，上象張口露舌形，爲欠伸本字，卜辭中假爲人名。飲字（圖一附錄）爲會意字，本象人立酒尊旁，俯首下瞰，特寫張口吐舌狀，以表現其渴望飲酒之姿態。卜辭中則用爲飲水字，如菁華第四版云：「昃，亦有出蜺自北，飲于河」。欠飲二字，示舌字側倒二形，均極可信。我從舌字的認識，想到了言字。以爲言字卜辭作（前 5, 20, 3），（後下 10, 4），從舌字 1, 2 兩體，上加一，一者指事之記號，與日字从口加一，造法相同。日是說話，言也是說話，說話必用口與舌，所以在口上作一記號（），話從口出，言語由舌而生，表示相同，日、言、皆當是標準的指事字。奚世翰氏校案中也講到言字從舌，他說：「言部從口字聲。世翰案六書畧謂言字从舌从上，發於舌上者言也」。奚氏據六書畧以言爲「會意」字，我覺不如說爲「指事」更要恰切。





二 甲骨文中的舌

在骨文字中，有舌字的卜辭，共二十多片。舌字的用法：（1）是口中的舌頭，（2）是人名。前者是卜舌病的，稱爲「疾舌」，胡厚宣君曾作過一篇殷人疾病考，舉出「六曰舌病」，有武丁時代卜舌病的三辭：

甲辰卜，貞：「疾舌，惟有咎」？（續 5, 17, 3 見圖 2 之 5）

貞：「王舌疾，惟有故」？（甲 3080）

貞：「疾舌，犬于母庚」？（福 26）

胡君云：「舌作，余以爲即舌字。古鈔『羊舌垣』之舌作，孟鼎字偏傍舌作可證」。他的意見和于省吾氏相同。

卜辭中作人名用的，由於金文而推知。以前大家說以爲是祭名，如于氏在「釋舌」一篇，曾作推測，說：

其餘舌字多爲祭名，前 12, 9, 3「舌母庚」，6, 34, 5「王𠂔舌鼎」，後上 24, 10「乎舌酒河」，粹 50「王勿舌河」。舌祭當於周代何祭，未詳其義。吳其昌謂舌即說文𠂔字之本字（解詁六續 750），亦未遽也。一說舌古亦讀他念切，與禪字通，然與經傳禪祭之意義，迥不相同也。

于氏駢枝一書，考釋契文，極其精密深刻，創獲甚多，但對舌祭猶未得其解。現在據金文知舌爲武丁之孫，作人名解，則一切皆無問題。

最顯著舌爲人名的例子，是下列卜辭：

丙子卜，設貞：「勿羊酒河」？

丙子卜，設貞：「乎舌酒河，亥二豕，三羊，卯五牛」？（後上 24, 10 圖二之 1）

貞：「王勿舌河，弗其口」？（粹 50 圖二之 4）

參閱附圖二，可知在丙子日，設曾卜過兩次，一次卜問是不要命羊去酒祭于河，一次卜問是呼舌命他去酒祭于河。另一版與酒祭于河有關，但作「王勿舌河」，意思是王不要命舌祭河。卜辭每有簡畧過甚之句，非增字解之，往往不能懂。又如：

癸丑卜，爭貞：「𠂔犬于娥，翌，舌征」。（珠 700 圖二之 2）

庚辰卜，𠂔貞：「舌母庚」？（前 1, 29, 3 圖三之 6）

癸丑一辭，言將有用犬于娥，舉行翌祭，命舌前往。庚辰一辭，庚日爲祭母庚之日，「舌母庚」，即命舌祭于母庚。吾人已知舌是祖己之子，武丁之嫡孫，故時常命他代王主持祭祀。此類使王子王孫主祭之事，武丁世最常見。所祭者爲武丁的祖妣父母。

試舉數例：

貞：「子漁𠂔于祖乙」？（前 5, 44, 5）

貞：「子漁𠂔祖丁」？（戠 4, 13）

貞：「子漁𠂔𠂔于娥，酒」？（鐵 264, 1）

貞：「子漁于父乙」？（前 1, 25, 2）（以上王子漁）

貞：「今癸巳，口子央口于妣口」？（前 6, 19, 7）

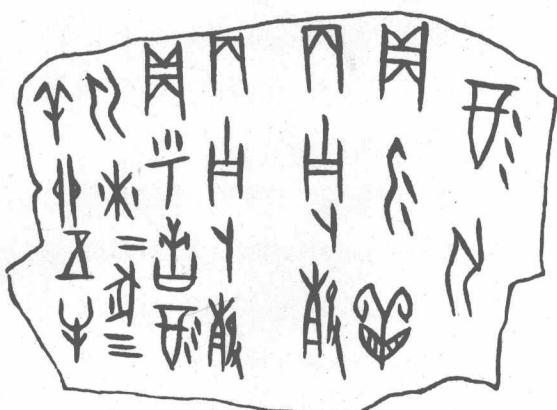
貞：「御，子央于父甲」（前 6, 19, 6）

貞：「御，子央犬于娥」（戠 9, 5）（以上王子央）

尙有一辭，言舌曾見於武丁之夢，可知他們祖孫感情的親密。

辛亥卜，𠂔貞：「王夢𠂔（有）舌」惟之𠂔。（佚 98 圖二之 3）

1



後上 24, 10

2



珠 790

3



佚 98

5



續 5, 17, 3

6



前 1, 29, 3

4



粹 50

圖二 (Figure Two)

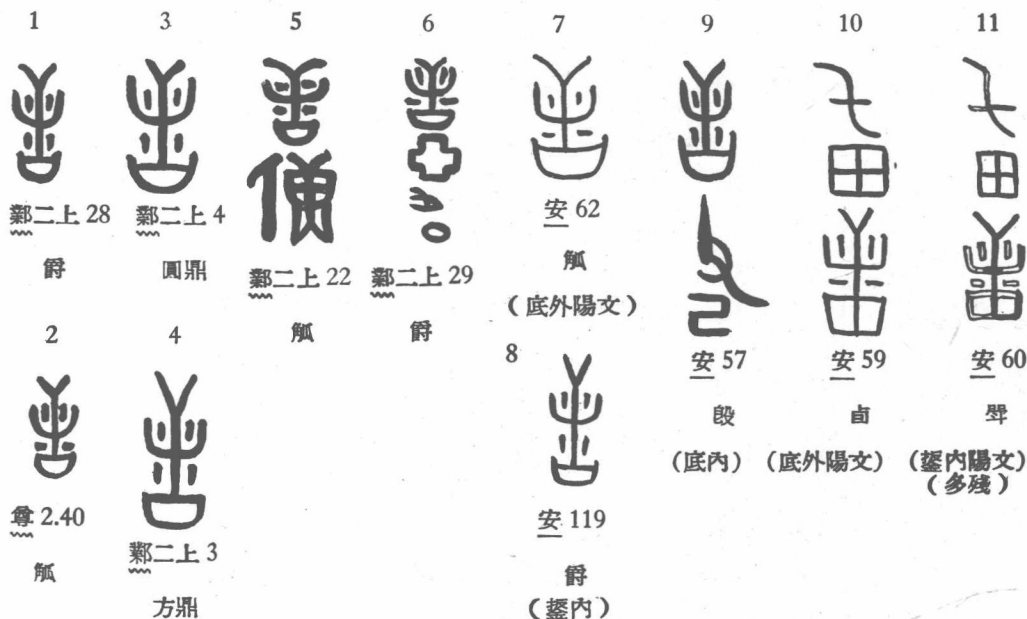
除了上舉六版及各辭之外，還有許多殘辭，含義不大明白者，彙餘如次：

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| 貞：「聞 <u>𠩺</u> 舌」？（餘 9, 0） | 貞：「余聞 <u>𠩺</u> 舌」？（續 5, 30, 10） |
| 貞：「惟臣 <u>𠩺</u> 令弋隻」？（前 6, 9, 2） | 貞：允 <u>𠩺</u> 王」？（乙 4550） |
| 貞：「王 <u>𠩺</u> 父乙」？（乙 1419） | 丁亥卜， <u>𠩺</u> 貞：「王 <u>𠩺</u> 隻于口」？（乙 3811） |
| 貞：「王曰之 <u>𠩺</u> 」？ | 「勿 <u>𠩺</u> 曰之 <u>𠩺</u> 若」。（乙 7122） |
| 貞：「亡 <u>𠩺</u> 于 <u>𠩺</u> ，殛循」？ | 貞：「亡 <u>𠩺</u> 」？（乙 3199） |
| 王固曰「口勾， <u>𠩺</u> 由不往」？（乙 2288） | 「勿 <u>𠩺</u> 」（乙 1418） |
| 「亡 <u>𠩺</u> 」？（乙 6258） | 貞：「王 <u>𠩺</u> 舌口」？（乙 8052） |
| 貞：「王 <u>𠩺</u> 舌鼎」（前 6, 34, 5） | 卜， <u>𠩺</u> （貞）：「 <u>𠩺</u> 舌」（康 685）？ |
| 貞：「勿 <u>𠩺</u> 」？（契 8） | 「口勿 <u>𠩺</u> 」？（鐵 102, 1） |

以上十八辭，如無舌，有舌，舌王並列，皆不易解，存以待考。今所能見在卜辭中的舌字，已止於此。𠩺的時代，不出於武丁之世，是可以斷言的。

三 金文中的舌

舌字發見於銅器的銘文中，可以說始自民國二十二年（1933）薛家莊村後殷墓的盜掘，在以前是沒有的。這一批有舌字的金文，據我所見到的共十一件，且必是一坑所出。現在輯餘在下面，（圖三）：



圖三 (Figure Three)

觀上圖，可知金文中書體較為鄭重，是正體字，所以舌字兩旁都加水點，表示舌上必有口水。分述如下：

- (1) 舌爵 鄴中片羽二集上冊 28 葉
- (2) 舌尊 尊古齋的見吉金圖卷二，40 葉（此係老友王獻唐抄示）
- (3) 舌圓鼎 鄴中片羽二集上冊 4 葉
- (4) 舌方鼎 同上 3 葉
- (5) 舌儺觚 同上 22 葉
- (6) 舌亞止丁爵 同上 29 葉
- (7) 舌觚 安陽古物保存會 62 號（此舌字陽文在器底之外）
- (8) 舌爵 同上 119 號（陰文）
- (9) 舌父己殷 同上 57 號（陰文。此殷舌爲父己作的祭器，極重要）
- (10) 男舌卣 同上 59 號（陽文。此爲舌自用的酒器，男表他的官爵，亦極重要）
- (11) 男舌罍 同上 90 號（陽文。有剝蝕，字多殘損）

前六器僅據黃濬氏著錄，後五器，是我親至安陽古物保存會，摩挲摹拓的，而重要的材料却都留在安陽。以下即據這批金文，討論「父己」和「男」的問題。

四 父己和男

我們可以斷定甲骨文中舌，是武丁的嫡孫，證據就在一件銅器「舌父己殷」。我們知道商代祭祀的神主，用十干作名子的，祇限於王室貴族的近支，王子，王孫，可以有父甲祖乙之類名子的父祖，並且根據以十干爲名的祖妣父母，可以知道作器人在王族中的地位，所以這在殷代是很多的，到西周初年還有，以後就漸少以至絕迹了。

從舌的銅器上，至少我們可以討探父己和男的兩個問題：

甲，關於父己 殷代已有大宗，小宗和完備的宗法制度，而且殷王室是極爲重視，又能嚴格遵守的。這在新舊兩派，祭祀時的稱謂中，已表現得非常清楚。二十年前我作甲骨文斷代研究例，斷代的重要標準，就是「稱謂」。我曾說：

殷人祭祀，於近親屬的稱謂，一以致祭之時王爲主，兄稱兄某，父稱父某，母稱母某，祖父祖母以上，則稱祖某，妣某；輩次較遠則稱名諡。如此，以主祭之王本身關係定稱謂，秩然有序，絲毫不紊。由各種稱謂，定此卜辭應在某王時代，

這是斷代研究的絕好標準。

現在試本此父己，以考定作器之舌的時代，也是絕對不會錯的。

在史記殷本記裏，殷代先王名己的，只有一個雍己，在太乙以下的第五世，如果稱雍己爲父，必在第六世中丁外壬河亶甲（卜辭作彘甲）一輩，這是殷墟時代所不能包括的，由卜辭理出的殷代王室世系，盤庚以下，也祇有一位祖己，是武丁的長子孝己，是祖庚祖甲之兄。在祖庚祖甲時，祭祀他稱爲兄己，例如：

己丑卜，行貞：「王賓兄己歲，報亡尤」？（前 1, 40, 5）

根據這一片王字的書法，上有橫畫，可知是祖甲時的卜辭。在廩辛康丁一輩，稱他爲父己；

「祖辛二牛，父己二牛」。（前 3, 23, 4）

到了武乙，文武丁以下便均可稱他爲祖己了，例如：

己卯卜貞：「王賓祖己翌日，亡尤」？（前 1, 23, 3）

這是第五期帝乙或帝辛時的卜辭。殷代王室，對於親屬稱謂，是很嚴格的，現在既然舌爲祖己作殷，稱他爲父，舌又供職于武丁之世，祖己是武丁的長子，早死，曾立爲太子，所以他的弟弟祖庚祖甲都稱他爲「小王兄己」，廩辛康丁也稱他爲「小王父己」，可見他雖然沒有繼位，地位却甚爲重要，舌是他的兒子，是武丁老王的嫡孫，無怪乎他在卜辭中爲王所寵愛了。我們稱他爲王孫舌的理由也在此。

乙，關於男 我以前寫過一篇五等爵在殷商，輯錄的男爵有兩人，一個是男乙（前 8, 7, 1），一個是雀男（龜 2, 22, 13），男在殷代爲封建制度中侯，伯，子以外的一種，是沒有問題的。我在中國古代文化的認識講稿中，講到殷代文化鳥瞰，於「封建」一節說：

據最近整理的結果，偶然在武丁和帝辛時代表現於卜辭中的，稱「方」的二十六，稱「伯」的十五，稱「侯」的二十七，稱「子」的四，稱「男」的二，稱「田」的一。又武丁時有封地的王后三，將領五。帝辛時當在卜征伐辭中記着王率領「多田與多伯」征某方。我們現在能看見的，只是許許多多侯伯子男的一小部分而已。

現在又知到了一位武丁時的舌，是男爵，是他的王孫。

傅孟真先生作論所謂五等爵，第二段之末云：

男者，附庸之號，有周公子明諸器所謂「諸侯，侯田男」者爲之確證。按以周書所稱「庶邦侯田男衛」諸詞，此解可爲定論。男既甚卑，則稱男者應多，然春秋只書許男，而許又自稱子（許子鐘，簠）。此由許本魯之附庸，魯之勢力東移，漸失其西方之綱紀，許緣以坐大，則不甘於附庸之列。

男爲附庸，不但春秋少見，卜辭金文中亦少見。男爲力田之會意字，力卽犁，犁田者從事農田耕作之義。傅先生以爲「子」是王子，今由舌證之，男爵亦有確爲王孫者。古代封建制度，仍基於農業社會。武丁時卜辭有

「（錫）多子孫田」？（後下 14, 7）

同時亦有

庚戌卜貞：「錫多女有貝一朋」？（後下 8, 8）

武丁對於他自己的許多位女兒，不過每人賞給一串錢（一朋貝），可是對於自己的許多子、孫，却賞賜他們每人都有田地。有田地必須耕作，耕作就是力田，所以他們的爵位也就叫作男。這是我國古代封建制度的真象，它和宗法社會，農業社會，發生了密切的聯繫，王孫舌的故事，是一個具體的說明。

王孫舌的財產，不但他有封地，是不動產，他的動產，也很可觀。他死了之後，爲他殉葬的貴重器物必有很多，單就銅器而言，計有銘文舌字的共十一件：

圓鼎一件（圖三 3），方鼎一件（三 4），爵三件（三 1, 三 6, 三 8），觚三件（三 2, 三 5, 三 7）斝一件（三 9），卣一件（三 10），罍一件（三 11）。

無銘文而出土於同一墓中，存在安陽古物保存會的，共七件：

圓鼎一件（安 58 號），方鼎一件（安 56），觚二件（安 61, 63），尊一件（安 64），罍一件（安 113），爵一件（安 118）。

可知的銅器凡十八件，銅器就有如此之多，其餘也不難想象了。

王孫舌一個人的故事可考者大致如此，以此類推，則殷代王室的富裕，國力的充沛，農業的發達，文化的優越，封建制度和宗法社會組織的嚴密，已足以見其一斑。

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SUMMARY

*A Study of Wang-sun Shê (Prince Shê)*¹

TUNG TSO-PIN

THIS study is based on material gathered by the author at An-yang twenty years ago, which he has not had an opportunity to put in order until now.

North-west of An-yang city 安陽, west of the hillock of Hou-kang 後岡, and north of Hsieh-chia chuang 薛家莊 village, is an ancient tomb of the Shang-Yin dynasty which was rifled by robbers in the year 1933. On investigation it proved to be an oblong tomb from which a considerable number of bronze vessels had been removed; twelve of these were recovered by the district magistrate and deposited with the Society for the Preservation of Antiquities at An-yang. On five of these there were inscriptions, each of which contained the character *Shê* 舌, from which we can conclude that *Shê* was the name of the person buried in the tomb. The tomb is three *li* east of the village of Hsiao-t'un 小屯 on the southern edge of the 'Waste of Yin' (*Yin-hsü* 殷墟).

North of the Huan River 洹河, about six *li* away from Yin-hsü, the site of the Shang-Yin capital for about two hundred and seventy-three years during the latter part of the dynasty (1384—1112 B.C.),² there are twelve Royal Tombs, on a piece of rising ground known as the North-western Ridge 西北岡, where the author took part in a series of three excavations over a large area.

The Tomb of *Shê* was smaller than those on the North-western Ridge. Of the bronze vessels removed from it, only a part were recovered by the magistrate: a part were secreted and afterwards sold in Peking to Mr. Huang Hsün (黃濬, P. C. Huang 百川) of *Tsun-ku Chai* 尊古齋, who published them in his *Yeh-chung p'ien-yü*, part two 鄴中片羽第二集, and in his *Tsun-ku Chai so-chien chi-chin t'u* 尊古齋所見吉金圖. Among them six bore the character *Shê* 舌.

At the time the author of this article was aware of the problem of this character *Shê* 舌; he gathered material and after studying it came to the conclusion that this *Shê* 舌 was the descendant 王子孫 of Wu-ting 武丁 the twenty-second ruler of the Shang-Yin dynasty (1339—1281 B.C.).

1. *The Identification of the Ancient Character Shê* 舌.

On the Oracle Bones the character *Shê* (舌, 'tongue') is written 𠂔. It was first identified by Yü Yung-liang 余永梁 in 1928.

¹ This article was written while the author was holding an Institute of Oriental Studies Research Fellowship financed by the Harvard Yenching Institute.

² See Editor's Note at end.

The present author has collected altogether twelve variant forms of the character *shé* on the Oracle Bones and on Bronze vessels (Figure One). Numbers 1 to 2 have no dots; Numbers 10 to 12 have dots, indicating moisture on the tongue. Beneath the tongue is a mouth, indicating that the tongue issues from the mouth. But why should the tongue be forked? There are various explanations, of which the right one seems to be that the original form of the character was a tongue-shaped pictogram, on which the 'fork' showed the lines or veining on the tongue.

2. *Shé* 舌 on the Oracle Bones

On the Oracle Bones the character *shé* 舌 occurs more than twenty times. It is used in two ways:

- (a) as the tongue
- (b) as the name of person

Shé with the meaning of 'tongue' occurs in enquiries about diseases of the tongue 疾舌. Hu Hou-hsüan 胡厚宣 in his *Yin-jên tsi-ping k'ao* 殷人疾病考 has noted six occurrences of *shé* with this meaning on the Oracle Bones, of which three belong to the time of Wu-ting (武丁 1339—1281 B.C.)

Shé as the name of a person can be deduced from its occurrence on the Bronze vessels. Here it was formerly thought to be the name of a sacrifice, but it cannot be satisfactorily explained as such. If however it is interpreted as the name of a person all questions are solved.

Examples are then quoted by the author from the Oracle Bones inscriptions (Figure Two) ordering *Shé* 舌 to perform or to refrain from performing certain sacrifices.

Among these, one inscription orders *Shé* to sacrifice to 'Mother' Kêng 母庚. Since *Shé* (as we shall see) was the son of Tsu-chi 祖己 and the grandson of Wu-ting 武丁, he was frequently ordered to preside at the sacrifices in place of the king.

Next, examples from the Oracle Bones are quoted to show that in the time of Wu-ting (武丁 1339—1281 B.C.) instances of his sons and grandsons being ordered to perform sacrifices to the royal ancestors in place of the king are frequent.

To complete the list, there follow eighteen other instances of the occurrence of the character *shé* 舌 in which the meaning is not clear.

It will be shown below that the date of *Shé* cannot fall outside of the reign of Wu-ting (武丁 1339—1281 B.C.)

3. *Shé* 舌 in Inscriptions on Bronze vessels

The discovery of the character *shé* on Bronze Vessels commences with the robbing of the tomb behind Hsieh-chia Chuang 薛家莊 in 1933. As far as the author's knowledge goes, the character occurs on eleven of the

vessels taken from this tomb, which must all belong to the same period (Figure Three).

The character in these inscriptions is very boldly carved, and always has the dots indicating moisture on the tongue.

The first six (Numbers 1—6) are taken from the publications of Huang Hsün; the last five (Numbers 7—11) are from rubbings made by the author himself from the bronze vessels in the hands of the Society for the Preservation of Antiquities at An-yang.

Below is a discussion of *Fu-chi* 父己 and *Nan* 男 as they appear in these inscriptions.

4. *Fu-chi* 父己 and *Nan* 男

The evidence that the *Shê* of the Oracle Bones was the grandson of Wu-ting (武丁的嫡孫) is to be found on a bronze *kuei* 𣎵: the *Fu-chi kuei* 父己𣎵. We know that in the Shang-Yin dynasty the use of the 'ten stems' 十干 to denote the spirit-recipients of sacrifices was restricted to the near kindred, of the Royal House and nobility.

Sons and grandsons of a king could have fathers and ancestors with names such as *Fu-chia* (父甲 Father Chia) or *Tsu-i* (祖乙 Ancestor Yi), respectively. Moreover by examining the ancestral names formed from the Twelve Branches, we can know the position in the Royal Clan occupied by the makers of the bronze vessels. These were very numerous in the Shang-Yin dynasty; at the beginning of the Western Chow about one quarter still remained; afterwards they diminished and finally disappeared.

(a) *Fu-chi* 父己. The Shang people had a well-developed clan system in which the Royal House held the highest place.

Twenty years ago the author in his article *Chia-ku wên tuan-tai yen-chiu li* 甲骨文斷代研究例 wrote:

The Yin People at their sacrifices, made the officiating king the decisive factor in determining the titles of the departed kindred. The king's elder brother was addressed as Elder Brother So and So; his father as Father So and So; his mother as Mother So and So; from his grand-parents upwards they were addressed as Ancestor or Ancestress So and So. Those still farther removed were addressed by their posthumous names. Thus their names were determined by their relationship to the king presiding over the sacrifice in question, without any exception or deviation. From the names used, the reigns to which each inscription belongs can be determined, thus providing an absolute standard by which the date of any given inscription can be fixed.

In this way the date of *Shê* on the Bronze vessels is something which can be established with certainty by means of the name *Fu-chi* 父己.

In the list of Royal Ancestors of the Shang-Yin dynasty in the *Shih-chi* 史記, *Yin pên-chi* 殷本紀 (Annals of the Yin), pt. 3, p.6b, there occurs only one name with the character *chi* 己, namely: *Yung-chi* 雍己, in the fifth generation from T'ai-i 太乙 (Ch'êng T'ang 成湯), the founder of the Royal

House of Yin. Any inscription calling Yung-chi 'Father Chi', must belong to the sixth generation from T'ai-i (Ch'êng T'ang)—a period which lies outside the range of the Oracle Bones inscriptions.

After the time of P'an-kêng 盤庚, the nineteenth ruler of Yin (from whose reign the earliest known Oracle Bones inscriptions date), there is also only one occurrence of a name comprising the character *chi*: Tsu-chi 祖己, the elder brother of Tsu-kêng 祖庚 and Tsu-chia 祖甲. The author gives an example from the Oracle Bones inscriptions of sacrifice to him as 'Elder Brother Chi' 兄己 (i.e. the officiating person belonged to his own generation); in the inscription relating to it the character for 'king' (Wang 王太) was written with a cross-stroke on top: 𠩺, which determined the date of the inscription to be the period of Tsu-chia 祖甲. The generation of Lin-hsin 廩辛 and K'ang-ting 康丁 called him 'Fu-chi' (父己 Father Chi); and the next generation after that—the generation of Wu-i 武乙 and Wên-wu-ting 文武丁 and thereafter, would call him 'Tsu-chi' 祖己.

Now *Shê* on the *kuei* which he made for Tsu-chi called him 'Fu' 父. *Shê* also presided at the sacrifice to the generation of Wu-ting 武丁; Tsu-chi 祖己, the eldest son of Wu-ting 武丁, died early, having been appointed Crown Prince 太子, so his younger brothers Tsu-kêng 祖庚 and Tsu-chia 祖甲 called him 'Small King Elder Brother Chi' 小王兄己. Lin-hsin 廩辛 and K'ang-ting 康丁 also called him 小王父己. So although he did not succeed to the throne, we can see that he held a very important position. *Shê* was the son of Tsu-chi 祖己 and the grandson of Wu-ting 武丁. It is not to be wondered at that he was shown special favours by the King on the Oracle Bones. For this reason the author calls him 'Prince Shê' (王孫舌).

(b) *Nan* 男. The present author in an earlier work: *Wu-têng chüeh tsai Yin-Shang* 五等爵在殷商 (The Five Ranks of Nobility in the Yin Dynasty) indicated two persons belonging to the rank of *Nan* 男.

In his *Ch'ung-kuo ku-tai wên-hua ti jên-shih* 中國古代文化的認識 (Ancient Chinese Culture) he noted the number of occurrences of each of the five feudal ranks of nobility on the Oracle Bones in the time of Wu-ting 武丁 and Ti-hsin 帝辛.

Now it is known that *Shê* 舌 of the time of Wu-ting was both a Prince 王孫 and at the same time held the rank of *Nan* 男.

The *Nan* 男 rank of feudal lords 附庸 is not often referred to either in the *Ch'un-ch'iu* 春秋 or on the Oracle Bones. *Nan* 男 is a *hui-i* character 會意字 and means one who works 力 = 犁 in the fields. Ancient society was based on agriculture. There is evidence on the Oracle Bones that Wu-ting 武丁 gave lands to his numerous sons and grandsons, and strings of money to his numerous daughters. Lands imply agriculture, hence the rank was called *Nan* 男.

The account of Prince Shê furnishes a concrete example of the close relation in ancient China between feudal society, agriculture and the clan system.

Prince Shê not only had immovable property, he also had considerable movable property, as the eleven bronze vessels on which his name occurs, show. Several other bronze vessels preserved at An-yang also came from his tomb. The remainder of his property can be estimated in proportion.

This enquiry into Prince Shê thus gives further insight into the feudal society of the Yin, with its emphasis upon agriculture and its close clan organization.

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(*Editor's Note:* The traditional chronology of the Shang-Yin dynasty is 1766—1122 B.C. The chronology according to the current text of the Bamboo Books 竹書紀年 is 1558—1050 B.C.; according to the ancient text of the Bamboo Books, as reconstructed by Wang Kuo-wei 王國維, it is 1523—1027 B.C.)

The present paper follows the chronology established by Tung Tso-pin in his *Yin-li p'u* 殷曆譜上編殷之年代章 [‘The Chronology of the Yin Dynasty’, Part I] 1954, according to which the Shang-Yin dynasty commenced in 1751 B.C. and ended in 1112 B.C.)

湯盤與商三戈

—

禮記大學篇載湯之盤銘曰：

「苟日新，日日新，又日新」。

自漢大小戴傳禮記，宋程朱取大學篇而表章之，列爲四書之一，迄於近世，學童誦習，家喻戶曉，無不知此爲「新民」之義。誠如所謂「此銘在古代倫理思想史上佔有極重要之位置，自來學者視爲天經地義，曾無人絲毫疑及者也。」

羅振玉氏於民國六年春得商三戈，銘文分紀祖父兄三世之名，凡二十人，傳出土於保定南鄉。羅氏云「三戈皆左行，合三戈讀之，其文方全，如編鐘之合數器而成一文也」。三戈者：一大祖日己戈，二祖日乙戈，三大兄日乙戈，銘如下：

大祖日己，祖日丁，祖日乙，祖日庚，祖日丁，祖日己，祖日己，（第一戈附圖一）

祖日乙，大父日癸，大父日癸，中父日癸，父日癸，父日辛，父日己。（第二戈附圖二）

大兄日乙，兄日戊，兄日壬，兄日癸，兄日癸，兄日丙。（第三戈附圖三）

羅氏以重值得之，詡謂「傳世古兵無逾此者」。先後著錄於夢鄣草堂吉金圖錄、周金文存、三代吉金文存各書，並世學者咸珍異之，視爲商代信史新資料，亦無人絲毫疑及之者。

湯盤大抵爲七十子後學者所記，其銘文自古流傳，或有所本，亦如大學中所引詩、書、孔、曾、舅犯、孟獻子之語，故可能爲商代早期之盤銘。商三戈者，觀其字形，自屬晚殷之物。無論其孰真孰贗，上下數百年，各有千秋，固所謂風馬牛不相及也。

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