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趙誠集字



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目錄

卜辭的辭式與辭序(沈之珩 撰 茅左)	一
殷墟甲骨分期的兩系說(李學勤)	二六
甲骨綴合拾遺(葉錫圭)	三一
有關甲骨文田獵卜辭的文字考訂與辨析(陳煒湛)	四五
甲骨刻辭叢考(連劭名)	六二
自組卜辭分類研究及其它(彭裕商)	九四
論「非王卜辭」(方述鑫)	一二〇
從甲骨卜辭看姬周族的國號及其相關的問題(晁福林)	一二〇
第五期五種祭祀祀譜的復原——兼談晚商的歷法(加、許連雄)	一二〇
殷周青銅鼎器名、用途研究(張亞初)	二七三
靈石商墓亞光銘試析(陶正剛)	三二六
西周穆王時期銅器的初步清理(劉啟益)	三三六
南陽仲再父殷不是宣王標準器(劉雨)	三九〇
兩周金文中的婦女稱謂(李仲操)	三九八

卜辞的辞式与辞序

沈之珩
撰

一、卜辞的组成部份

殷墟甲骨文是以卜辞为主体的王室记录。由于占卜的特殊性质，卜事都是按占卜者的意愿卜问的形式分别逐一记载的，且时繁时简，有同卜一事数日连续者，或同一甲骨众事并存者。诸辞经契刻者分散处置后，给人造成纷乱无章，辞序不明的现象。因此，要在一块多卜辞的甲骨中正确地理解，还原出三千余年前殷人的卜序，揭示完整的占卜事件，这就必须要对殷人的卜辞组合的辞式、刻序的习惯，卜问的规律作全面系统的研究，探求其内在联系。这就是本文要讲到的殷墟卜辞的辞式与辞序。

早期唐兰先生提出，一条完整的占卜记录应有：前辞、命辞、占辞、验辞四个部分组成。继而有人补充，认为完整的卜辞应有：署辞、前辞、贞辞、兆辞、果辞、验辞等六个部分组成。我们从卜辞总体成份分析，认为一条完整的卜辞应有如下七个部分组成：

一、前辞，或称「叙辞」。卜辞前部记有干支、地点、贞人名的部分。如「干支卜」、「干支贞」、「干支王在某月某地卜」、「干支卜某贞」等。

二、命辞，即命龟之辞，亦称「贞辞」或称「问辞」。《说文》「贞卜问也」。即前辞之后卜问的内容部分，如《归桑》三、《癸未卜，兄贞：旬亡田》中的「旬亡田」。《乙》五二六五「壬寅卜，殷贞：河弗克王」中的「河弗克王」。

三、占辞，或称「果辞」，即根据卜兆所作出的判断之辞。如《乙》三四二一「丙子卜贞：雨。王占曰：其雨」中的「王占曰：其雨」。

四、决辞，即占卜事项取用与否的专用词。如：「用」、「不用」、「兹用」、「兹不用」等。如《京》三四五四「庚午卜，王曰贞：翌辛未其雨，往来七灾，不遭田，兹用」中的「兹用」即是。

五、验辞。即记录占卜结果应验与否的刻辞。如《续》四·一七·八「丁卯卜贞：今夕雨？之夕允雨」中的「之夕允雨」即是。

六、序数。或称「兆序」，为卜辞兆纹旁的数目字。用以标明占卜时的次序。如《存》下一五七「壬子卜宾贞：我受年？一、二、三、四、二告、五、六、七、八」中的「一二三四五六七八」。

七、兆辞。一称「兆记」或称「兆语」。即卜兆的专用语，这些专用术语刻于卜兆旁。如：「一告」、「二告」、「吉」、「引吉」（或释弘吉）、「大吉」等。上举《存》下一五七辞中的「二告」即是。

至于「署辞」是贡龟、治龟及整治之后甲骨的保管者等人的签名，与卜辞内容并无直接关系。而前辞、问辞、序数、兆辞、决辞、验辞都与卜事有直接密切的关联，是研究殷墟卜辞的辞式和辞序的主要依据。其中序数最易为人忽略，其实是很重要部分，不注意这个问题就会把单贞卜辞和其他形式的卜辞混淆起来，并难以发现卜辞的组合群。

关于序数，郭沫若先生早在《卜辞通纂》中就指出：「一、二、三、四等数字乃纪卜之次数，数止于十，周而复始」（第九片考释），以后张秉权先生专门撰写了一篇文章来论《卜龟腹甲的序数》，他认为：「在殷墟的甲骨中，无论龟甲或兽骨上，标记卜兆的序数，从来没有发现过。十以上的，因此，我们断定：殷人对于一件事情（即一个题目）的占卜，最多不会超过十次以上，那是离事实不会太远的」（《中央研究院历史语言研究所集刊》第二十八本）。又说「序数是一种甲骨上的数目字，即一、二、三、四、五、六、七、八、九、十等数字，在甲骨上，它们是用来标记卜兆的占卜次序的，是用来标明某一卜兆属于某一事件的贞卜之中的第若干次占卜的，它们并不是卜辞，但与卜辞有着十分密切的关系，和兆语一样，它们在甲骨上，是独立的部分」（《同上》）。现在我们才真正弄明白序数的性质：每个序数都有相对应的占卜灼痕；在单列重贞卜辞、选贞卜辞、对贞卜辞、定型卜辞中序数表示占卜的次数；在多列重贞卜辞、重复选贞卜辞、重复对贞卜辞、对选卜辞、三联卜辞中，序数不是代表占卜次数，而是表示占卜的组类；序数一般以十为终，越十者仅见《乙》五三九九版一例，序数有十一；序数有时还是卜辞辞意最省略的表现形式。它是判别殷墟卜辞辞式的准绳之一，亦是辞序确认的标志。

下面我们通过卜辞中各组成部分的内在联系，卜辞与卜辞间的联系，分析介绍殷墟卜辞各种辞式如

下：

二、单贞卜辞

对某一事件或某一内容只进行一次占卜，这种卜辞称之为「单贞卜辞」。单贞卜辞在殷墟卜辞的辞式中最普遍最简单的独立的卜辞。如：

《合集》三八八六一

1 丙申卜贞：王今夕亡眚

2 戊戌卜贞：王今夕亡眚

3 庚子卜贞：王今夕亡眚

4 壬寅卜贞：王今夕亡眚

5 甲辰卜贞：王今夕亡眚

6 丙午卜贞：王今夕亡眚

7 戊申卜贞：王今夕亡眚

8 庚戌卜贞：王今夕亡眚

9 壬子卜贞：王今夕亡眚

10 甲寅卜贞：王今夕亡眚

这一版十条卜辞都只有前辞和问辞，分别在十天内占卜各当天晚上是否有祸害。这十条卜辞是彼此独立的，对于「今夕亡眚」的占卜，一日进行一次，故这十条卜辞都是单贞卜辞。但在殷墟甲骨文中，并非「卜旬」「卜夕」辞都属单贞卜辞，有些是经过反复多次占卜的，这就构成重贞卜辞（详后述）。现再举几个单贞卜辞的例子如下：

《合集》二八六九正「庚寅卜贞：雷妃亡不若」

《合集》一五二四「丙申卜贞：出（侑）於且乙十白豕」。前者庚寅日，由贞人宾卜问，雷妃不会不顺利吧？后者在丙午日，由贞人宾卜问出祭祖乙用十白豕事。这二条卜辞都只进行了一次占卜，故亦属单贞卜辞。

三、重贞卜辞

对于相同的某一内容在一日之内进行二次或二次以上的连续占卜，这种同一内容，经反复占卜的情况下所形成的卜辞组称之为「重贞卜辞」。如：

《合》四九「甲子卜（宁）贞王（寔）上甲鲁（亡尤）」

甲子卜宁贞王寔上甲鲁亡尤

甲子卜宁贞王寔上甲鲁亡尤

甲子卜宁贞王寔上甲鲁亡尤

（甲）子卜（宁）贞王寔上甲鲁亡尤

甲子卜宁贞王寔上甲鲁亡尤

《合》四九反甲子卜（宁）贞王寔上甲鲁亡（尤）」

甲子卜宁贞王寔上甲鲁亡尤

甲子卜宁贞王寔上甲鲁亡尤

甲（子）卜宁贞王寔上甲鲁亡尤」

《合》四九版共十辞，骨正面六辞，骨反面四辞，都在甲子日，由贞人宁占卜，问王亲自鲁祀上甲「无尤」一事，对这一内容重复占卜了十次，构成了一组重贞辞。「王寔（寔）」之文大半当解为动词「寔敬之义」，「亡尤」从丁山说，犹言无灾异，《说文》「尤，异也。」因为重贞卜辞的内容字句完全相同，故殷人在契刻时往往省略，如下组重贞卜辞，用字逐渐递减省略：

《乙》三二一二「己亥卜内贞王出石在瑯北东作邑于之 一

王出在瑯北东作邑于之 二

作邑于瑯 三

此版在己亥日由贞人内卜问，王有石在瑯地之北东就地作邑。「作邑于之」的「之」通「兹」（见唐兰《天考》五五页）。首辞序数为一，刻辞内容完整，次辞序数为二，省略卜辞的前辞，第三辞序数为三，更为省略，祇刻「作邑于瑯」四个字。最常见的重贞卜辞祇有首辞内容完整，其余相同的卜辞都被

省略了，祇刻序数。例如：

《存下》一五七「壬子卜旁贞：我受年

(辞) 全 省 (一)

(辞) 全 省 (二)

(辞) 全 省 (三)

(辞) 全 省 (四)

(辞) 全 省 (五)

(辞) 全 省 (六)

(辞) 全 省 (七)

(辞) 全 省 (八)

此版在壬子日卜，由贞人旁卜问，我地（指商地）是否受年。除了首辞完整外，其余七辞相同的内容都省略了，祇刻序数，以表示同一内容的延续占卜，最后序数八，表明反复卜问了八次。由此可见，序数也成了卜辞的省略内容。

重贞卜辞有见于甲骨一面的（或正、或反，如上《存下》一五七），有见于正反两面的，（如上《合》四九），亦有分见于数块甲骨的，就目前已发现有五块同一内容卜辞。如：

《丙》一「二」贞出犬于父庚卯羊 一

《丙》一「四」贞出犬于父庚卯羊 二

《丙》一「六」贞出犬于父庚卯羊 三

《丙》一「八」贞出犬于父庚卯羊 四

《丙》二〇「贞出犬于父庚卯羊 五」

上述五条完全相同的卜辞分刻在五版不同的腹甲上，反复五次卜问用犬、羊侑（出）祭于父庚（盘庚）事，辞旁都刻有序数，组成重贞卜辞。

重贞卜辞可分为单列重贞卜辞和多列重贞卜辞。凡同一内容连续占卜次数不超过十次，所记序数为十以内的自然数，而序数无重复者，为单列重贞卜辞，其序数表示占卜的次数。以上所举诸例都属于单

卜辞的辞式与辞序

列重贞卜辞。

多列重贞卜辞：由若干同内容的单列重贞卜辞所组成，其序数形式为：「一一、二二、三三、四四……十十。」这就说明了多列重贞卜辞的序数不表示占卜次数，而表示重贞卜辞的组数，每组各重复占卜二次以上，如：

《丙》三四七

广制 一	广制 一	(辞省略) 二	(辞省略) 二	(辞省略) 三	(辞省略) 三	(辞省略) 四	(辞省略) 四
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此版是占卜病有希事，殷人对此事分组逐一反复占卜，每组以相同内容各重复占卜二次，共占卜四组才结束，总达八次，它的简省写法可作：

《丙》三四七「广制 一二三三」

广制 一二三三

兹将单列重贞卜辞与多列重贞卜辞再各举两例以资比较。

单列重贞卜辞举例

1. 《丙》一一「贞吕(不)其受年 一(二)三(三)五」

贞吕不其受年 六七八九十「吕」非「吕」字，各家说者纷纭，其为地名当不误。

误。

2. 《合集》二九八四六「其雨」

其雨

多列重贞卜辞举例

1. 《丙》一〇六，乙未旁贞：氏武易 一二三

氏武易 一二(三)

2. 《丙》九六，贞甲子翌，乙丑王穆牧石麋，不佳田，佳又，二月，一、二。

乙丑卜，殷贞：甲子翌，乙丑王穆牧石麋，不佳田，佳又，一、二告、二。

翌字于省吾先生释为，读为覲（《集韵》：「当侯切音覲」），乃天气阴蔽之义。（见《殷契骈枝续编》、释为，「田」读为答，义为灾祸，「佳又」即「佳祐」。

四 对贞卜辞和重复对贞卜辞

对贞卜辞即是对某一内容，以否定和肯定的语意各占卜一次，这种情况下所组成的一对卜辞称之为「对贞卜辞」，对贞卜辞只能有二条卜辞。我们把否定语意的卜辞称之为「反卜」，把肯定语意的卜辞称之为「正卜」，反、正二辞的序数是连续的。如

《丙》一〇九，翌祭卯帝不令风 一

贞翌祭卯帝其令风 二

《丙》一〇九版，贞卜翌日祭卯上帝是否命令有风，先反卜，「不令风」，序数为一；次正卜，「其令风」，序数为二。对贞卜辞以先反卜，次正卜为常，在殷墟卜辞中凡记有序数的都可证明，或有反卜序数为二，正卜序数为三，反卜均在正卜之先。

对贞卜辞在腹甲上所处方位往往是左右对称的，对贞卜辞习见于第一期，第四期次之，其他诸期少见。

重复对贞卜辞是对某一内容，以否定与肯定的语意进行反复地卜问，这种情况下所组成的卜辞称之为「重复对贞卜辞」。它们的反卜和正卜之辞在腹甲上往往是对称部位，或右边全部刻正卜，左边全部刻反卜；或右边全部刻反卜，左边全部刻正卜。如

《丙》三三八

一丙寅卜口贞父乙「宀」于且乙 一
一丙寅卜口贞父乙「宀」于且乙 一

单列重复对页卜辞，常有省略，如

《丙》三五三

丙午卜方貞呼省牛于多奠
貞勿呼省牛于多奠

一
 二
 三
 四
 五
 六
 七
 八
 九
 十
 十一
 十二
 十三
 十四
 十五
 十六
 十七
 十八
 十九
 二十
 二十一
 二十二
 二十三
 二十四
 二十五
 二十六
 二十七
 二十八
 二十九
 三十
 三十一
 三十二
 三十三
 三十四
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 九十五
 九十六
 九十七
 九十八
 九十九
 一百

此版整个腹甲占卜一事，即在丙午日，由贞人宾卜问是否省牛于多奠事。殷人只刻第一组对贞辞，自二至六组的对贞卜辞全省略了，只用序数表示，这是一种规范化的省简形式。

单列重复对页卜辞习见于第一期、第三、四期，而以第一期为最多。

多列重复对贞卜辞，即由相同内容的若干单列重复对贞卜辞所组成。如

丙九三

庚午卜内贞王勿作邑在兹帝若
庚午卜内贞王作邑帝若

（辭）（辭）
（省）（省）
（略）（略）
（二）（二）

卜辞的辞式与辞序

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此版前载在庚午日，由贞人内卜问，王在兹作邑是否受帝若，「若」读作「诺」。第一列重复对贞卜辞正反对贞重复四次，除了第一组有卜辞外，其他三组内容全部省略了。只用序数表示相同辞意。四组重复对贞结束后，又重复演一次，即第二列对重卜辞，第二列对贞重复卜辞共有五组重复的对贞，亦只记一组卜辞，且正卜反卜均有省略，其余四组亦均省略，用序数表示，有关此事的占卜共有二列序数，即「一一、二二、三三、四四」、「一一、二二、三三、四四、五五」。第一列重复对贞卜辞的正卜刻于腹甲左边，反卜刻于腹甲右边，第二列重复对贞卜辞则与第一列相反，正卜在右，反卜在左。

多列重复对贞卜辞的序列祇能按上述方法排比，而不能把《丙》九三版作如下比次：

《丙》九三

一庚午卜内贞王勿作邑在兹帝若一

庚午卜内贞王作邑帝若

贞〔王〕勿作邑帝若

贞王作邑帝若 八月

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一 辭 省 略 一

甲的左右下版，劍版

者序列排比，势必使

与对贞卜辞的区别是

2
3
4
5
6
7

一 辭序

因为《丙》九三腹甲的左右下版，剑版的背部每一个钻凿都经灼用，灼后正面所呈的每一兆旁都有序数无一省略，如按后者序列排比，势必使组合序数、刻辞处位失调乱序。多列重复对贞卜辞也有分刻在数块甲和牛胛骨上的。

上
辭
納
辭
式
與
辭
序

序数是相接续的，即「一、二」，而单列重复对贞卜辞则可有 $2 \times X$ （ X 为二至十的自然数），多列重复对贞卜辞则可有若干个 $2 \times X$ （ X 为二至十的自然数）一条的卜辞，而且，每组对贞的反卜、正卜序数都分别相同，参见上列《丙》八一版第一排列式。

五 选贞卜辞和重复选贞卜辞

选贞卜辞是选择两个或两个以上并列的内容分别进行一次占卜，藉以肯定其中的某一吉利的内容，这种情况下形成的卜辞组称之为「选贞卜辞」，如：

《遗》六六二

其一小宰

二小宰

三小宰 大吉

此版所记载的是殷王将举行祭祀时，选问究竟用几小宰为牺牲，用一小宰呢？还是二小宰？或三小宰？结果是三小宰为大吉。这三条卜辞内容并列，彼此组成选贞卜辞，选贞卜辞的序数是相连续的。如

《平津·双》一二七

庚子卜行贞其又（侑）于妣庚牡 一

贞牝 二

此版是在庚子日由贞人行选卜，侑祭妣庚时用牡牲还是用牝牲。二辞内容并列，序数「一、二」相续，组成一组选贞卜辞。

选贞卜辞的内容有选问时日，祭名、用牲种类，用牲数量，地名、年成、方位、祖神、自然神、人物等等。选贞卜辞中的受选对象的顺序是按世系为序，有规律的。又如用牲选贞卜辞，占卜时择数或递增，或递减，决无忽大忽小漫无规则的情况，如由小数至大数，逐渐递增：

《甲图》一〇八

贞小宰 二

贞宰 三

贞二宰 三

1 2 3

一 页三宰 五 4
 页五宰 介 5

此版是占卜祭祀的用牲数，共有六辞，第一辞完全残缺，第二辞是占卜用小宰为牺牲，未能得吉，结果改用宰为牺牲。第四辞开始黜占卜用二宰？还是三宰？或五宰？记有序数「四、五、六」辞中用牲数逐渐增加。此版共有二组选贞卜辞，辞1、2组成用牲选贞，辞3、4、5组成用牲数量的选贞卜辞。另一例是由大数至小数，逐渐递减。

《榘续》六五 庚申卜王贞翌辛酉其陞饗 一

庚申卜王贞翌辛酉十人其二陞 二

庚申卜王贞其五人 三

此版「陞」字从目从収从且，《说文》所无，疑是祭名。记载庚申日由王亲自占卜，问第二日辛酉陞祭时，用十人还是五人？

有关用牲的选贞卜辞无一不合上述规律，绝无忽大忽小的现象。张秉权先生在考释《丙编》一八七版时没有注意这一规律，以致释序不能还原卜序，卜辞顺序相混。

殷人为了确定某行动的具体时间，往往采用选贞。选贞的规律是：或自远日至近日，或由近至远，绝无混乱跳跃式的选贞。

由远至近，如

《掇》二、一五九 庚辰卜壬雨 一

庚辰卜辛雨 二

庚辰卜雨 三

此版是在庚辰日卜雨事，由序数一、二、三可知顺序是第三天壬午，第二天辛巳，当天庚辰，由远及近。又如由近日送至远日，如

《甲》三九一五 甲辰卜狄贞王其田翌日乙亡灾 一

甲辰卜狄贞翌日戊亡灾 二