略論殷遺民的遭遇與地位

杜 正 勝

五十多年前,<u>胡適</u>先生作「說儒」,以所謂儒的本質和其來歷互相發明,認爲最初的儒者都是<u>殷</u>遺民,穿戴殷時的衣冠,習行殷人的古禮。他們是<u>周</u>人所征服、統治和鎭壓的下層民族,飽嚐亡國的慘痛,因此養成柔懦謙遜的人生觀。在動輒得咎的環境裏,不敢進取,只好等待,故「儒」字從「需」。他們所等待的是「時有達者」的大預言的實現,<u>胡</u>先生猜想這個預言就是<u>殷</u>亡五百年後,有大聖人出世。這位大聖人即是「丘、殷人也」的孔子。按胡先生說,這就像希伯來人亡國後的彌賽亞懸記。在預言應驗之前,殷遺民秉其深厚的文化教養爲周人治喪、相禮,代代相承,餬口於四方。不過,孔子終於只作了「素王」,並非眞正恢復殷商王朝的王者,正如作爲希伯來人救世主的耶穌一樣,不能將天國建在人間。然而孔子卻把殷遺部落性的儒擴大到人人可以仁爲己任的儒,把柔弱順娟的儒改造成剛毅進取的儒。胡先生相信他不但發掘到儒的本質,也拈出儒者的來歷,可以補章太炎「原儒」之不足。

「說儒」激起馮友蘭(原儒墨)、郭洙若(駁「說儒」)、<u>錢穆</u>(駁胡適之說儒)等先生的批判,除馮氏稍作歷史探討,指出<u>殷商貴族雖亡國之餘仍有土有民以</u>外,其他各家皆就儒的本質駁議,絕少觸及<u>胡</u>先生自許的來歷部分。誠如郭氏之論,「說儒」建立在<u>孔子與耶穌</u>的對比上,也就是有勝國的慘痛和孑餘的悲哀,乃有儒。 批評者對於<u>胡</u>先生的大膽假設大都默認,但那是和傳統的歷史解釋截然不同的。

[※] 本文初稿曾在國際商文明會議(INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SHANG CIVILIZATION, 1982年9月7~11日,夏威夷檀香山市)宣讀。

討論股遺民的遭遇與地位應與股周革命的解釋分開,唯向來多混作一談。自戰國以下,文、武和商村的臉譜已經定型,周革股命是「順乎天而應乎人」(易革卦象辭)的義舉,百家少有異辭。武王伐村既然是「救民於水火」(孟子滕文公下)的聖戰,他又是一位仁義聖王,殷人「簞食壺漿以迎王師」之不暇,豈會遭受慘痛的苛待?但此正統解釋王充已疑「非其實」,(論衡語增)提倡懷疑精神的胡適先生當然不會輕易接受,何況他又特別表彰王充的思想呢!古文尚書有武成篇,可能即今存逸周畫的世俘篇¹;武成描述牧野之戰「血流浮杵」,(論衡語增)世俘記載武王「凡慈國九十有九國:馘曆億有七萬七千七百七十有九,俘人三億萬有二百三十。」慘烈絕不下於「浮杵」。胡先生於世俘雖無專文論述,但從「說儒」的邏輯來看,他也樂於接受世俘的。另外有一批講奴隸制的歷史家,沿襲胡適先生的論點,配合既定的史觀,不是說殷遺民被嚴密壓迫,(岑仲勉,「宜侯失殷」銘試釋)就是說整個夷爲周族的奴隸。(李亞農,中國的奴隸制與封建制)范文瀾的中國通史簡編和郭沫若的中國史稿這兩部普及讀物亦皆明言殷商貴族當了俘虜。在這個問題上,奉行歷史階段論的唯物史家襲取疑古史家的前提,而賦以教條色彩,他們的共通點是都徹底否定傳統對於殷遺民遭遇與地位的看法。

可是所謂殷遺民的「亡國慘劇」,考察西周與春秋的可信史籍固然無徵,檢點新舊銅器銘文也難以佐證。<u>傅斯年</u>先生的「周東封與殷遺民」已經發現<u>周</u>誥記載周人對待殷遺用一種「相當懷柔的政策」。雖然他仍然堅信周人只放任舊來禮俗,至於統治權則牢牢抓住,故<u>胡適</u>先生引爲「同道」。爾後如張政烺(古代中國的十進制氏族組織)、<u>白川靜</u>(金文通釋)兩位先生及本文作者(周代封建的建立)皆陸續闡揚安撫懷柔之論。西周銅器銘文顯示,殷代邦國貴族的後裔在周王朝依然任官治民,有職有守,他們有能力而且獲准鑄造家國重器,當屬統治貴族無疑。然而學者從語言、曆法、制度等方面分析逸周晝世俘篇,確定爲西周的作品,(顧頡剛,逸周書世俘篇校注、寫定與評論;夏含夷,武王伐商的「新」證據)那麼,和金文資料豈不矛盾嗎?

^{1. &}lt;u>周書武成</u>篇見引於<u>劉歆世經</u>,(漢書<u>律曆志上)劉歆</u>所立<u>古文尚書</u>也有武成一篇,後亡,據<u>鄭玄</u>說,亡於 東漢初年<u>建武</u>之際。<u>願頡剛認爲今逸周書世</u>俘中有世經所引之武成紀日三節,而「<u>武王</u>狩」一節復合於書 序「<u>武王</u>伐殷,往伐歸獸,作武成」之說,故定世俘卽武成。見「逸周書世俘篇校注、寫定與評論」。

逸周書本身即可解答這項疑問。舊本逸周書第三十六篇克殷,第四十篇世俘,生 有 作集訓校釋,移世俘作第三十七,「使與克殷相次。」這番更動不但合理,而且 很有意義。克殷獎勵降順,世俘警誡不服。 任何戰爭皆有投降和抵抗的人, 兼具二 者,乃得全豹。當「商庶百姓咸俟于郊,羣賓僉進曰:『上天降休。』再拜稽首」(克殷)時,豈不正如孟子說的:「(武)王曰:『無畏!寧爾也,非敵百姓也。』若 崩厥角稽首。」(盡心下)殷人額角觸地,叩起頭來像山陵崩塌般地發響。這種順民 自然「尚有爾土」,「尚寧幹止。」(尚書多土)至於桀驁不馴者,非劉即伐,非俘 即馘,亦人世之常情,不值得驚異。所以不論傳統解釋或輓近新說,總將征服時的戰 況和征服後的處置連屬比類,委實是不必要的錯誤。我們在討論殷遺地位之先,須把 這一層釐清。

不過話說回來,投降的<u>股</u>遺並非只擅長於叩頭而已,他們和<u>洪承疇</u>之流的「漢奸」 也不一樣。時代不同,政治社會結構差異,倫理觀念有別,不宜一律以今視昔。今 天再提出<u>股</u>遺民遭遇與地位的老問題,闡釋傳統可信史籍,分析新舊銘文資料,一則 欲正半個世紀以來的視聽,同時希望藉<u>股</u>遺地位問題窺測<u>商周</u>政治社會結構的一些特 質。至於本文的「<u>股</u>遺」,以<u>股商</u>貴族及其後裔爲限,不是泛指<u>股</u>代的東方氏族。少 數族姓不易肯定者,因爲行文方便,間或論及,但總以與殷王室有關係者爲主。

根據先秦典籍的記載,<u>股</u>遺民的政治社會地位並不低,也絕無備受壓迫的痕迹。 左傳定公四年云:衞史<u>祝佗</u>論述周初封建,魯、衞瓜分大批<u>股</u>遺民,其政治措施皆治 襲前朝舊貫,他稱作「啟以商政」。「商政」的內容我們從尚書可以尋得一點端倪。

周公二度定股後,以殷商舊都封給康叔,是爲衞國。他諄諄告誠康叔,謹慎治國,其辭見於尚書的康誥、酒誥和梓材三篇。周公的誥辭可以算是衞國建國的綱領,統御殷遺民的總則。然而周公並沒有要康叔設警察來監視殷人,也未專置軍隊以事鎮壓;相反的,卻一再強調重視殷商的優良傳統,薦舉殷商的老成人。這三篇誥辭尤以康誥爲主,所述的商政大要不外以下三點。第一、「紹聞玄(殷)德言,往敷求殷先哲王,用保乂民。」普遍求索殷商歷代哲王的嘉言懿行,作爲周統治者的典範,以保

養殷人。殷先哲王大概如酒誥所指「自成湯咸至于帝乙」等成就王業的明君,譬如逸 周書商誓篇云:「克辟上帝,保生商民,克用三德,疑商民弗懷,用辟厥辟」的成 湯;尚書無逸所羅列的祖乙、武丁和祖甲。祖乙「嚴恭寅畏,天命自度,治民祇懼, 不敢荒寧;」武丁「時舊勞於外,爰及小人,其惟不言,言乃雍,不敢荒寧,嘉靖殷 邦,至於小大,無時我怨;」祖甲「爰知小人之依,能保惠于庶民,不敢侮鰥寡。」 這些殷先哲王共同的特點是洞悉民隱,勤勞民事,康叔效法他們,才能「應(膺)保 殷民。」第二、與平民最有切身關係的刑罰律令要因襲殷法。周公一則曰:「陳時臬 司(法律),師茲殷罰有倫。」採擇允當的殷刑,作爲新法。再則曰,一旦執刑,當 「蔽(斷)殷彝,用其義刑義殺,勿庸以次汝封。」根據殷法裁斷,所刑所殺乃得其 宜,非康叔封一人恣肆其意。不過,「寇攘姦宄,殺越人于貨,」則刑戮不赦。按 尚書微子篇云,殷之末造, 社會秩序蕩然無紀, 連供奉神明的犧牲也有人敢偷竊取 食;放辟邪侈,無所不為。可以想見當時殺人越貨,盜賊橫行,人民生命財產的安全 受到莫大的威脅。這方面的刑罰愈嚴厲,殷遺民必愈歡迎。至於拘繫嫌疑犯,周公告 誠康叔須愼重處理,切莫草率定讞,五日、六日、十日,以至於三個月纔下判決。今 天看來,也頗尊重人權的。第三、應該「丕遠惟商耇(老)成人,宅心知訓。」虚心 訪問殷遺之老成典型,求教治國之道,並且擢用舊族,協理政事。這批人酒誥叫作「 獻臣」,梓材叫作「大家」,逸周書皇門篇叫作「大門、宗子、勢臣。」他們作為康 叔的「股肱」,輔治「妹土」。

延攬<u>殷商</u>舊族巨室參與政事是收攬民心最有效的政策。<u>殷太師</u>曾對<u>微子啟</u>說過, <u>紂王</u>「乃罔畏畏(威),咈(違)其耇(老)長、舊有位人。」(尚書微子)武王牧 野誓師,列舉商紂罪狀,亦曰:

今<u>商王受</u>惟婦言是用,昏(泯)弃厥肆祀,弗答;昏弃厥遺父母弟,不迪(用)。 乃惟四方之多罪逋逃,是崇是長,是信是使,是以為大夫卿士;俾暴虐於百姓,以姦宄於商邑。(尚書牧誓)

誓師之辭容有渲染歪曲,但指責商約的過失遠較後代傳述者平實,與<u>股</u>人亡國前的檢討也不謀而合,應當可信。商約棄絕「舊有位人」,<u>周</u>人反而重新扶植他們,對這些舊族巨室而言,豈非革末世之弊,復先王之美政乎?<u>康侯封</u>手下的<u>逐</u>即是一個典型的例—664—

子。

現在收藏在不列顛博物館的康侯簋作器主人是渣酮土透,當正名作渣酮土透簋。 簋銘曰:「王來伐商邑,祉令康侯啚(鄙)玗(于)衞。渣酮土透眾啚(鄙),乍(作)氒(厥)考魯彝。闰」(錄遺,157)主人名透,嗣土(司徒)是他的官職,渣 是他的領地,闰是他的族徽。渚,沐之繁體,通沫,即妹。(陳夢家,西周銅器斷代 (一) 妹即詩鄘風桑中的「珠鄉」,尚書酒誥的「妹邦」和「妹土」,地近淇水,在殷都 範圍之內。闰,著錄的銅器銘文有丫闰乙斝和丫闰觚,就銘文風格而論是標準的商 器,推知闰爲殷商族,所以透當是殷遺民。傳世的透器不少,或稱闰溶伯透,或稱闰 透,或稱闰渣,或稱闰渣值,可能與渣酮土透簋同屬一人之作²。周公東征,滅武康,建侯衞,簋銘云:「祉令康侯啚于衞,」當指此事。啚即鄙,廣雅釋詁云:「國 也。」鄙于衞即建國于衞。眾有逮、及之義,法司徒透輔佐康叔封建國,故曰「眾 鄙」。(楊樹達,關涉周代史實之彛銘五篇)透稱法伯,可能是殷的舊虧,又稱法司 徒,當是入衞以後的職官。司徒掌理土地和人民,他旣是「舊有位人」,又是顯赫的 「殷獻臣」,爲康叔之股肱是無可置疑的。

尚書酒誥提到的殷獻臣,外服有侯、甸、男、衞、邦伯,內服有百僚、庶尹、惟亞、惟服、宗工,及百姓里居(君)。逸周書商誓篇,周王曰:「告爾伊舊何父□□□幾、耿、肅、執,乃殷之舊,官人序文……,及百官、里居(君)、獻民。」該篇一再稱呼「百姓」「爾百姓」「商百姓」「商庶百姓」「爾百姓獻民」「爾百姓里居君子」³,這是周王直接命誠殷商舊族的誥辭。「百姓」金文作「百生」,成王時的土上盃曰:「王令(命)士上及史寅廄于成周,禮百生豚。」(三代 ,14,12.2)百姓也是貴族,故周天子大會諸侯百官於成周時,天子餽于豚肉。春秋末葉,楚觀射父亦曰:「王公之子弟之質能言能聽徹其官者,而物賜之姓,以監其官,是爲百姓。」(國語楚語下)按照以上的分析,殷遺民的政治權也沒有被褫奪。

^{2.} Y 阅乙斝, 三代, 13.48.8; Y 阅觚, 三代, 14.17.6; 阅<u>播白送</u>卣, 复古, 2.14; 阅<u>播白送</u>母, 三代, 11.31.1; 阅<u>透</u>鼎, 三代, 3.5.6; 阅<u>送</u>爵, 三代, 15.37.4-6; 阅<u>播白</u>鼎, 三代, 3.16.2。

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當然,<u>股</u>遺民得以保持政權必有一定的條件,首先要老老實實作個「不侵不叛之臣」。康誥說得很清楚,「不率大憂(法)」的臣工「乃別播敷(散佈),造民大譽,弗念弗庸,寮(病)厥君,時乃引惡,惟朕憝(伐)。已!汝乃其速由茲義率(刊)殺。」凡訛言惑眾,製造自己的聲譽,不率舊章,而危害到國君者,罪大惡極,立刻斬除,絕不寬赦。此之謂「義刑義殺」。逸周書商誓篇,周天子對商眾貴族說:

上帝肆命我小國,曰:「革<u>商</u>國。」肆予明命汝百姓,其斯弗用朕命,其斯爾 冢邦君、商庶百姓,予則□ (虔) 劉滅之。

「虔劉滅之」乃周人對於頑抗不馴者的一貫態度,周公警告西遷成周的「殷頑民」即是典型的例子。他誥誠「殷遺多士」「比事臣我宗,多遜」的多士篇,三千年以下讀之,周公森厲威毅的容貌獨在目前。 他說 ,殷士 ! 你們如果謙遜服從 ,「奔走臣我,」「爾乃尚有爾土,爾乃尚寧幹止。」還能擁有田邑,保持職官;否則,不但田邑被剝奪,連生命也不保。最後,一再叮嚀,乖乖聽話就可以安安頓頓過一輩子。(「時予乃或言,爾攸居。」)尚書多方篇記載成王大會諸侯于宗周,也以同樣口吻威脅殷遺多士和東土大族,復加之以利誘。如果「不忌(謀)于凶德」,穆穆在位,在自己的國家田邑效命周王室,「我有周惟其大介賚(賜)爾,迪簡(選)在王庭,尚(加)爾事,有服在大僚。」不但可以獲得賞賜,特別忠心可靠者還有機會被挑選到周王庭擔任重要的職位。

總之, 周族征服者不論多嚴厲, 只要不造反, 不叛逆, 殷遺民仍然不失其土地和

^{4. &}lt;u>左定四:「分魯公以大路大旂,……命以伯禽,而封於少皥之虚。」伯禽,杜預注云,周公世子。孔顯達</u> 疏引劉炫曰:「伯禽爲命書。」從下文「命以康誥」「命以唐誥」來看,劉說較長。

人民,甚至可以有新的權位。若說周的警告正顯示殷的亡國之痛,責於周人者未免太 苛。即使周王近親,一旦背叛王室,不亦殺伐無赦嗎?我們總不能說<u>管叔、蔡叔</u>也是 勝國餘裔吧。大雅文王云,億萬商人「侯服于周,」「殷士膚敏(美貌敏捷),裸將于京。」旣曰「侯服」,又曰「膚敏」,便絕對不是「青衣行酒」了。

股遺民不但沒有遭到特別的壓迫,周人對股商的繼承者——宋國反而特殊禮遇, 春秋史事猶有蛛絲馬迹可尋。西元前 636 年鄭卿皇武子謂鄭伯曰:「宋、先代之後, 於周爲客,天子有事膰焉,有喪拜焉。」周王待宋君以客禮,不以臣屬,宗廟祭祀則 餽贈祭內,宋弔周喪,周王要拜謝。(左僖二十四)周頌有客,詩序曰:「微子來見 祖廟也。」鄭玄箋云:夏股「二王之後爲客。」振鷺篇曰:「我客戾止,亦有斯容。」 詩序也認爲是「二王之後來助祭」的頌詩。在周代封建禮制中,宋君地位高於諸侯一 等。鄭育箴膏肓曰:「禮天子於二王後之喪,含爲先,襚次之,贈次之,賻次之;於 諸侯,含之,赗之;小君亦如之;於諸侯臣,襚之。諸侯相於,如天子於二王後;於 卿大夫,如天子於諸侯;於士,如天子於諸侯臣。」(左文五疏引)諸侯相於的喪禮 如周天子對起、宋,宋君在周禮中爲客不爲臣明矣。清吳大澂編著的蹇齋集古錄有一 件窓鼎,銘曰。

兄(貺) 氒(厥) 師, <u>眉(微</u>) 見王, 爲<u>周</u>窓(客), 錫貝五朋, 用爲寶器, 鼎二, 殷二, 其用亯于氒(厥) 帝考。(4.20)

該鼎素描載於恆軒所見所藏吉金錄,形制花紋近於周初。銘末「帝考」二字,吳大澂 疑爲微子啟之器,可信。但他將首字隸定作「啟」,不能從。(集古錄釋文、賸稿、 字說「客字說」)眉通微,國名。「眉見王」即微子來見周王。微子爲周之客,賞貝 五朋,他的軍隊也受周王錫賞。故知上引兩漢經師的解說不但與春秋時人傳述的古禮 吻合,也能獲得周初銘文的佐證。

陝西岐山鳳雛村新出的甲骨,有一片刻辭,似可再證明周客的舊說。辭曰:

^{5.} 首字隸定作兄,讀爲贶,賜也。眉即徵,古文眉徵通用。二字考釋具從楊樹達積徵居金文說「眉鼎跋」。「見」古文奇字,但其字形特標「目」與「人」,簡寫如作册折觥「見土」之「見」,(文物,1978年3期頁10)再簡化就如揚鼎的「見」(三代,3.46.3)其繁簡變化是有跡可尋的。吳大澂鑑實集古錄釋文 腦稿隸定作「見」,可以信從。本鼎銘文亦見於三代4.10.1,簋銘收在三代8.31.3,行款稍異。

唯<u>衣</u>(<u>股</u>)<u>雞子</u>來降,其執(纍)眾(及)奉(厥)吏(事),才(在)<u>吃</u>常(地名也),卜曰:「<u>南宮辝</u>其乍(酢)。」(<u>陳全方</u>,陝西岐山鳳雛村西周甲骨文概論,附錄摹本。不分行款。)

徐中舒先生說,執當釋作縶,周頌有客曰:「有客宿宿,有客信信,言授之縶,以縶其馬。」即繫留雞子及其隨從執事。卜以南宮辝與之醻酢,即以客禮接待之意。(周原甲骨初論)南宮是周的重臣,文王「度於閔夭而謀於南宮」,(國語質語四)韋解:「南宮,南宮适。」武王克殷,「乃命南宮忽振鹿臺之錢,散巨橋之栗,乃命南宮直達、史佚遷九鼎三巫。」(逸周畫克殷)論語微子云周有八士,起首三人伯達、伯适、仲忽即屬南宮家族(杜正勝,周代封建制度的社會結構),他們在周王朝的地位極爲顯赫。這片甲骨的南宮辝雖不能斷定是三士之一,其爲南宮家族則無可疑。占卜南宮辝接待來降的雞子,類似於武王使周公接待微史烈祖,(下節詳)是相當隆重的。徐中舒、陳全方皆以爲雞子即是箕子,有人懷疑,但卜辭明言「殷雞子」,其爲殷商遺民則斷然無疑。雞子爲周客,又可爲窓鼎添一新證。

上層殷遺爲周王之客;故宋國的封建地位要比一般諸侯爲高⁶,他對周天子的義務也比一般諸侯輕。直到<u>春秋</u>末葉,距離周初已經超過五百年,宋人還引證故事,作爲外交折衝的依據。西元前 509 年晉召諸侯爲天子城成周,分派各國的任務和負擔,宋國代表<u>仲幾</u>「不受功,曰:『滕、薛、郎,吾役也。』」認爲<u>滕薛</u>等國宜代宋服役。雙方爭執不下,主持築城工程的土彌牟說:「子姑受功,歸,吾視諸故府。」<u>杜預</u>注:「求故事。」(左定元)宋國免役,不與一般諸侯等齒,周王室應有檔案可查,否則,仲幾必不敢與覇主爭議。可見宋國居於客的地位也是載在盟府的。

考之金文、甲骨,權衡<u>春秋</u>史事,歸順的<u>殷</u>遺民並未遭受「悲慘」的命運,史家殊不必懷疑尚書誥辭失之宣傳,<u>周</u>廟頌歌流於誇張。何況<u>村王</u>伏誅以後,<u>周</u>人先則立武<u>声</u>,繼則立<u>微子</u>,以承<u>殷</u>祀,豈非周人對待<u>殷</u>遺態度的絕好說明?<u>逸周書克殷篇云,武王入殷</u>都,立刻釋<u>箕子</u>,出百姓之囚,表<u>商容</u>之閭,振<u>鹿臺</u>之錢,散<u>巨橋</u>之栗,封<u>比干</u>之墓:種種措施無非在收攬民心。同時<u>周</u>人一再宣稱他們發動戰爭的對象只商王紂一人而已。逸周書商誓篇,武王曰:

^{6.} 鄭皇武子又以爲鄭伯享宋公,宜不厭「豐厚」,(左僖二十四)因爲鄭的地位低於周天子也。

我其有言,胥告商之百姓無罪,其維一夫。予旣極<u>村</u>承天命,予亦來休命爾。 正與孟子傳述的「無畏!寧爾也,非敵百姓也!」(盡心下)如出一轍。<u>股</u>人一旦 從<u>周</u>,必安堵如故,逸周晝武寤篇才說:「王不食言,庶赦定宗。」可見「誅一夫」 是<u>周</u>人的政治口號,以商王村一人爲敵,非以商民族爲敵。「一夫」語意雙關,旣承 認<u>村</u>爲天子地位,又斥他孤立無援⁷。 這場商周二族的共主爭覇戰在正確的政策指導 下,化爲弔民伐罪,推翻暴政的義戰,而不是民族間的鬪爭。在這種情勢中,「小邦 <u>周</u>」的征服者對待「大邑商」的<u>股</u>遺民自然談不上「奴役」二字了,所以<u>戰國</u>時代傳 述武王「親<u>股</u>如周」,(呂氏春秋簡選)從遺老之願而修盤庚之政,(呂氏春秋慎大 覽)當非粉飾虛言。我們愈研究傳世著錄的銘文和新出的考古材料,便愈肯定文獻的 說法是信史。

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西周銅器很多作器者或其祖先是殷代世族, 研析銘文, 可以發現不少<u>股</u>遺的真相,能說明他們在<u>周</u>人統治下的遭遇和政治社會地位。資料最完備,事例最顯著者, 莫過於微史和<u>条</u>茲兩個家族。族徽學的資料雖然也豐富,但內容極其龐雜,非單純的 家族。本節分別論述微史家族,条茲家族和學族徽等,以證明上文的看法。

(一)微史家族

青(靜) 幽高且(祖),才(在) 殼(微) 靈處。 写武王既戈(災) 殷, 殼史

^{7.} 據<u>殷墟</u>出土的甲骨卜辭,<u>殷王</u>常自稱「一人」或「余一人」,大約早期稱「一人」,晚期稱「余一人」。 天子如此自稱,先<u>秦</u>典籍比比皆是,<u>漢唐</u>注疏家已見及此。其詳參見<u>胡厚宣</u>,「重論『余一人』」。但 <u>孟子</u>說:「聞誅一夫<u>紂</u>矣,未聞弑君也。」按字面賦予新義,是不合古訓的。 <u>孟子</u>每於古人古事增益新 解,闡述他的思想,「一人」也是一證。

則(烈)且(祖)廼來見武王,武王則令周公舍字于周,卑(俾)處<u>角</u>。惟<u>乙</u> 旦(祖),遂(來)匹氒(厥)辟,遠猷腹心,子(仔)側沓(粦)明。<u>亞且</u> (祖)祖辛,遷毓子孫,縣詙(祓)多釐,檳(齊)角(慤)熾光,義(宜) 其禋祀。害屖(舒遲)文考<u>乙公</u>,據謏(競爽),晕(德)屯(純),無諫(謫),農嗇戊(越)歷,隹(唯)辟孝晉(友)。史墙夙夜不壑(墜),其日 茂曆。(不分行款,古文奇字多改作今字。)

盤銘縷述史墻的祖先,計有高祖、烈祖、乙祖、祖辛和他的父親乙公五世。我們結合同出諸器,發現微史烈祖之子乙祖即是折器的父乙,見於哲學、折觥、哲學、折方彝;那麼折便是墻盤的亞祖祖辛,也就是豐器的父辛。 折器銘末有族徽義(木羊雙册),豐襲用這個族徽,當是折之子,亦即是史墻的文考乙公,墻虧有「父乙」,可以爲證。同出微伯瘋器的瘋鐘云:「追孝于高祖辛公、文祖乙公、皇考丁公。」辛公指近,乙公指豐,丁公就是史墻,故瘋爵亦稱「父丁」。墻盤前半部歷述西周諸王的事功,從文武成康昭穆至當代的「種寧天子」共王。史墻大概跨穆共兩朝,上溯其四世祖微史烈祖,適值殷周之際,故上引盤銘曰:「來見武王。」因此,墻子瘋屬共懿時人,瘋溫有司馬共,一般認爲是懿王朝的重臣。(唐蘭,永盂銘文解釋)另外白先父器十件,從鬲的形制風格分析,年代可能在西周晚期偏早,(文物 1978: 3, 頁 8)居這批窖藏器中之末,白先父或即是微伯瘋之子姪輩,詳細關係不明。

微是地名或邦國之名,較早的文獻只見於尚書微子篇和牧誓篇。牧誓記載武王伐 村,周之同盟有庸、蜀、羌、鬘、微、盧、彭、濮,詳細的地望雖不可考,大抵在今 四川和湖北西部一帶,(孔安國傳和史記周本紀正義)屬於當時的少數民族。本報告 撰寫人、唐蘭和李仲操等都主張史增盤之「微」即牧誓的微國(文物1978:3,頁8.20. 33)但作爲少數民族之微和這批銘文的內容不符,不可從。<u>裘錫圭解讀作密國</u>,(文 物1978:3,26)繞的圈子更大,而且周人克密早在文王時代(大雅皇矣)不能說「武 王旣戈殷」才來的。所以我們史增盤之「微」當即尚書微子篇之微,檢討這批銅器的 銘文就可以瞭然了。微史家族銅器羣有一件觚,銘曰:「父乙觚」銘末族徽,象一車 三士,左一右二(有的作左二右一),車上載旗,或隸定作「鑵」。世傳此族之器甚 夥,或單銘,或綴父祖日干,大抵是殷商遺物。商末的經段也署此族徽,銘曰: 卜辭,遷者祭名,殷人對于上甲、大乙、小甲等祖宗致遷祭,(葉玉森,殷虛畫契前編集釋,卷一頁二九)地點在宗廟,所以卜辭云:「丁未卜,……不講……,才宗。」(京都 ,100) 繙銘記宗廟遷祭,顯示他與殷王室有極其密切的關係,稱武乙及其配妣戊,可能是武乙的曾孫;殷銘有父乙,當是帝乙,故知器主縊與帝辛(紂王)兄弟行。(參見郭末若,殷周青銅器銘文研究,卷一戊辰彝考釋;陳夢家,美帝國主義规掠的我國殷周銅器集錄 A196)所謂「唯王廿祀」,即紂王二十年。族徽衞表示殷商的王族。微史家族珍藏商王族徽的重器,說明他們是商王的後裔,典型的殷遺民。前引墙盤曰:「武王既災殷,微史烈祖廼來見武王,武王則令周公舍宇于周。」烈祖微史可能是微子啟之子,那麼,高祖就指微子啟了。史記宋微子啟世家云,武王克商,「微子乃持其祭器,造於軍門,內袒,面縛,左牽羊,右把茅,膝行而前以告。」左傳也說微子「面縛衛璧,大夫衰經,士輿櫬。」(僖六)徐中舒先生以爲墻盤所謂的「靜幽」「靈處」,取幽隱退遜之意,善處逆境,和微子啟的際遇非常符合。(西周墻盤銘文箋釋)

從形制花紋的風格論,商尊和商自是這羣銅器中年代最早的,銘文相同,銘曰:

隹五月,辰才(在)丁亥,

帝后賣(賞)庚姬貝

卅朋、送丝廿冬。 商

用乍文辟日丁

寶尊彝, 學

辟者君也,<u>殷</u>末君王稱丁者只有<u>文武</u>丁,著錄另有<u>商</u>尊,祭<u>父丁</u>,(<u>三代</u>,11.21. 1)則<u>商</u>可能是<u>文武丁</u>之子。<u>殷</u>王后賞<u>商婦</u><u>庚姫</u>貝,(參見<u>楊樹達金文說</u>卷七「師旅 **鼎跋**」)商作器頌揚父德。傳世的<u>庚姬</u>殷(三代 6.44.2)和<u>商</u>婦甗(三代 5.6.2) 銘末皆有學的族徽,當與微史家族的商同屬一對夫婦。學經常見於商周銘文,很可能是<u>殷商</u>的王族,(下詳)故知商與帝乙同輩,是靜幽高祖<u>微子啟</u>之父或諸父;而前引<u>庄白肇父乙</u>觚的父乙也可能是帝乙,亦即同出<u>陵</u>方罍的「父日乙」,所以<u>陵與微子啟</u>或帝辛是兄弟行的人物。

綜合庄白新出諸器,考得微史家族的系譜如下:

文武丁一商…高 祖一烈 祖一乙 祖一亞祖祖辛一文祖乙公一丁公一微伯卿 ॥ (微子啟) (微史) (乙公) (等公 作册折) (豐) (史墻) 庚姬

(註:虛線表示不敢肯定其父子關係)

自這個家族的第一代<u>股遺微史以下至微伯</u>瘋,計六世,事蹟斑斑可考,可以看出王族 殷遺在周人征服者統治下的地位。

住(惟)五月,王才(在)<u>序</u>,戊子,令(命)乍册<u>折</u>兄(贶)<u>見</u> 土于相<u>医</u>(侯),易(錫)金,易(錫) 臣,揚王休,隹(惟)王十 又九祀。用乍<u>父乙</u>

尊,其永寶。為

<u>折</u>傳、<u>折</u>方彝銘同。根據<u>微史</u>家譜比定,<u>折</u>活動期間約在<u>康王</u>,可以晚到<u>昭王</u>初,和著錄的<u>蒙</u>卣(三代13.40.3)、<u>蒙</u>尊(三代11.33.4)的主人同時。<u>康王</u>十九年南征, 駐於序。作<u>册</u>折受命賞賜後世<u>巴郡南蠻</u>五姓之一的相侯(世本),與作册<u>蒙</u>受王姜之 — 672命安撫夷伯,任務是相同的⁸。 <u>折</u>官拜作册,係史官之流,故出使宣勅王命。使命完成後,<u>康王</u>頒賜給他銅器和奴隸。<u>折</u>有官守,有土地,有領民,故有氏,(<u>劉師培</u>, 古政原始論第二)木羊雙册是他的族徽,有資格成爲分族的始祖,或卽禮記所謂「別子」者也。因此,<u>增</u>盤歌頌作册<u>折</u>「窡毓子孫,縣祓多釐,齊慤熾光,宜其禋祀。」 窡,<u>唐</u>蘭先生以爲卽拪,古文通遷;毓,育也。遷育或指分族,子孫綿延, 備蒙釐福,恭謹謙慤,光顯家邦,宜享禋祀。頌詞和新族徽恰好配合。<u>折</u>之子豐,卽第四代 殷遺,襲其職官,沿用木羊雙册族徽。豐尊曰:

催(惟)六月既生覇, 乙卯,王才(在)成周, 令豐廢大矩,大矩易(錫) 豐金,貝,用乍<u>父</u> 辛寶尊彝。螽

展同股,周王會見諸侯百官曰殷。腳卣:「明保殷成周」,(三代,13.39.3)即全彝所載:「明公朝至于成周, 德令舍三事令(命), 聚卿旋(事)寮, 聚諸尹, 聚里君, 聚百工, 聚諸侯:侯、甸、男,舍四方令(命)。」(三代,6.56.2)也近於過畫康誥的「四方民大和會,侯、甸、男、邦、采、衞,百工播民,和見士于周。」周禮春官大宗伯曰:「殷見曰同」,「殷覜曰視。」鄭玄云, 眾見、眾聘也。諸侯百官來朝會,天子召見,命官,佈達政令,故周禮秋官大行人曰:「殷同以施天下之政。」殷禮是封建時代重要的政務,豐參與其事,足見其地位之高。史墻稱頌他「競爽,德純,無譴」,性格剛強爽明,品德沒有瑕疵;又說他「農穡越歷,唯辟孝友。」後句

^{8. &}lt;u>西周記</u>載南征的銅器,金文學家意見向來極不一致,主要分成兩大派:一派主張<u>周初成康</u>時期也南征,以<u>郭朱若兩周金文辭大系及考釋和陳夢家西</u>周銅器斷代爲代表;一派將南征諸器皆歸屬昭王之世,以唐蘭爲首。唐氏從1962年發表的「西周銅器斷代中的『康宮』問題」到最近刊行的遺作「論<u>周昭王</u>時代的青銅器銘刻」,意見都沒有改變。<u>庄白微史</u>家族器世弟分明,年代肯定,記事精細,應該是檢查這兩派意見的上好資料,但諍議仍然不息,因爲學者仍執成見而分析這批銅器,李學勤本唐蘭之說,定作册折於昭王,理由並不充分。(西周中期青銅器的重要標尺)周<u>法高</u>先生提前到成王,(西周金文斷代的一些問題)微史祖孫三代擠在武王成王時代,誠然太緊迫,何況武王克殷後不久就謝世了。別的器物暫且不談,單就微史家族器而言,作册折從王南征宜放在康王之世才合情理。參見<u>劉啓益</u>,「微氏家族銅器與西周銅器斷代」,及杜正勝,「周代封建的建立」。

杜正勝

微史家族自從武王克殷後,來服於周,經歷六、七代,累世有職有守,勤勞王事。或在天子左右,籌謀策畫;或追隨天子出征,代宣勅命;或會見諸侯百官,佈達政令。除世守的史官外,在內參政,出外領兵,一百五十年來,地位權勢不曾稍衰, 采邑甚且日漸擴張。他們原屬<u>殷商</u>王室,是典型的<u>股</u>遺民。這個家族的歷史應該是說 明<u>股</u>遺遭遇及地位的最佳例子,但並不是特例。

(二)条刻家族

另外一支典型<u>股</u>遺是<u>条</u>藏家族。同在<u>扶風庄白</u>,1975年春發現墓葬,取得一批銅器,墓主曰<u>伯</u>藏,其中的鼎和殷記載他的武功。(文物 1976:6, 頁 51-65) <u>藏</u>鼎二云:<u>周王使「</u>茲達(率)虎臣御(禦)<u>淮戎</u>。」記<u></u>或抵禦淮戎。 <u>蔥</u>殷一也記錄<u>或</u>指揮的一次戰役,銘曰:

隹(惟)六月初吉,乙酉,才(在)堂自,戎伐

^{9.} 詩小雅雨無正:「三事大夫,莫肯夙夜;邦君諸侯,莫肯朝夕。」大雅烝民:「夙夜匪懈,以事一人。」 大雅韓奕:「無廢朕命,夙夜匪懈,虔共爾位。」師酉簋:「敬夙夜勿瓊(廢)朕令(命)。」師禮簋、 師虎簋同。師望鼎:「虔夙夜出(納)王命。」或作「夙夕」,如毛公鼎:「恪夙夕敬念王畏(威)不賜 (易)。」梁其鐘:「虔夙夕辟天子。」及本文正文徵引的瘓鐘瘓簋之文。

休宕氒(厥)心,永襲氒(厥)身,卑(俾)克氒(厥)啻(敵),

隻(獲)馘百,執赂(訊)二夫,孚(俘)戎兵:燮(盾)、矛、

戈、弓、備(箙)、矢、裹(裨)、胄,凡百又卅又五

款(欵); 等(捋)戎, 孚(俘)人百又十又四人,衣(卒)

博,無罪(斁)于氡身。(下略)

劉戎之「劉」多隸定作「御」,通「禦」,然字體結構與「御」不同。著錄銘文有劉鬲、劉段和伯劉段。(分別見於三代,5.38.1;6.48.5;7.10.3) 劉鬲銘:「王光(贶)商(賞)劉貝」,劉段銘同,但時間、地點不一。兩器銘文全部鑄在亞形內,似爲股商之器。從伯劉段知道,劉是族名或國名。疑劉戎是戎之一種,和戎戡連言,我們知道戡屬淮夷,(下詳)戡或亦夷也,但函段一和函鼎二所載並非同一次戰爭。賦杜之戰「俾克厥敵」,大有斬獲,計馘百人,執戎酋二,俘戎卒一百一十四,此外還有武器甲胄,戰果相當輝煌。

某年六月初吉,<u>或在堂自</u>受命伐戎,其母亦參戰;戰爭結束後,<u>或</u>班師回堂自, 同年九月旣望,<u>王継姜派遣內史友員賞賜</u><u>或</u>,<u>或</u>作重器享祭文祖乙公和文妣<u>日戊</u>,即 是<u>庄白出土的或</u>鼎一。上引<u>或</u>鼎二享祭文考甲公和文母日庚。 <u>或</u>以日干稱其父祖祭 名,有<u>股</u>人遺風¹⁰;如果我們再以<u>庄白</u>新出<u>或</u>器與傳世著錄的<u>条</u><u>或</u>以及<u>条子</u>之器比 勘,便可肯定他們確實是殷遺民。

著錄的<u>条</u>家諸器記載周師征伐淮夷的事件。東南方的淮夷侵叛,周王派遣師雄父 率軍征討,駐在叶自,遠及討侯之國,參戰的將領如邁、穩、臤、条茲和競皆鑄重器

^{10. &}lt;u>羅振玉集錄般文存</u>,以日名和圖象為斟定<u>股</u>器的主要原則,他相信日名之制雖可「下施於<u>周</u>初,要之不離 股器者近是。」(殷文存序)爾後王辰編輯續殷文存,亦遵從此原則。(續殷文存自序)殷周之器的分野 當然不可能這麼單簡,<u>容庚</u>作商周錄器通考時已指出<u>股</u>商圖形、日名皆下及周代,不能作為斷代標準。(第五章銘文)但作為斟別廣義的族屬,日干還是有用的,自川靜將日名的西周器皆歸作東方系氏族,(金 文通釋)雖失之流統,亦是辨別殷遺民的一項參考。

追記其事。茲據相關銘文排列大事記如下11:

1. 唯六月旣死覇,丙寅,師維父戍在叶自,邁從。師雄父肩 史(爰使) 邁事于獸侯。侯蔑邁曆,錫邁金。 邁甗

稽卣

3. 師雄父戌于叶自, 臤從。

臤觶 (3、7同器)

4. 王令��曰:「淮夷敢伐內國,汝其以成周師氏戍于叶自。」 伯雄父蔑彖曆,錫貝十朋。

泉茲卣、朱尊

5. 唯十又一月,師雄父循導至于獸,霰從。其父蔑霰曆,錫 金。 簸鼎

6. 伯雄父來自獸, 蔑彖曆, 錫赤金。

录段

7. 唯十又三月旣生覇 , 丁卯 , 臤從師雄父戍于叶自之年, 臤 度曆,仲競父錫赤金。

臤觶

- 8. 唯王正月,辰在庚寅,王若曰:「彔伯茲, ……余錫汝矩 鬯一卣、金車、萃嶹較、 萃固、 朱虢靳、 虎冤朱襄、 金 銿、書輯、金厄、書轉、馬四匹、悠勒。 彔伯茲段
- 9. 唯伯茲父以成自卽東,命伐南夷。正月旣生霸,辛丑,在 鄘,白屖父皇(衡)競各(格)于官,競蔑曆,賞競章(璋) 競卣

上列諸器,師雄父的地位最高,多次錫賞部屬,應是這次征伐的統帥。主持賞賜者環 有伯茲父,郭洙若疑卽彔茲之字,似乎可信。因為「屖」通「夷」,「茲」釋為「 戎」,名戎字夷,所謂名字連類也。今按彔亥卣,周天子命彔亥以成周師氏戍叶自,

^{11.} 下列八銘時間可以直接肯定者是邁甗和取觶,有月份,有月相,也有紀日干支,而同在師雄父成於葉目之 年。 從銘文內容看。 邁甗所記之事在前, 臤觶所記之事在後, 以二銘爲立足點, 來檢驗其他諸器所記之 事,鋄鼎顯然也屬於同年而發生在邁甗和取觶之間。假設条伯茲簋和競卣的賞賜皆在戰爭結束之後,那麼 便可能是次年正月發生的事情。 首先我們根據邁顯和較觶核證近代各家月相的說法 , 董作賓先生定點說 絕不適用,勞輸先生修正董先生的說法也扞隔難通,只有王國維和新城新藏的四分月說可以符合,(至少 既生霸和既死霸兩個月相如此。) 這一點最近龐懷清已經討論到了。(西周月相解釋「定點說」芻議) 如 果某年十三月既生霸丁卯是初九,上推六月既死霸丙寅,六月小是廿三,大是廿四;下推次年正月庚寅是 初二或初三,(条伯玄簋)正月既生霸辛丑是十三或十四。(競卣)另有競簋曰:「唯六月既死霸壬申, 白屋父蔑御史競曆,賞金。」可能同屬這次戰爭,那麼壬申是六月廿九或三十,也符合王國維旣死霸的範 圍。唯龐氏分邁甗和取觶爲相次之兩年,是不需要的。諸器銘文參見大系。

綜合相關銘文的月曆知道,周王某年六月,師雜父已駐於<u>叶自抵禦淮夷</u>入侵,天子授命<u>泰</u>家率領成周師氏戍于<u>叶自</u>,也不會晚於六月。 大概<u>泰</u>家抵達<u>叶自</u>之後,有功,師雜父賜予貝十朋;同年十一月,師雜父循省<u></u>書國回來,又表彰<u>泰</u>家的功勞,錫賞赤金,地點可能也在<u>叶自</u>。班師回朝,已經歲尾,翌年正月初,周王親自賞賜<u>泰</u>家命服和車馬等封建階級信物。每有賞賜,<u>泰</u>家皆作器祭祀先人,<u>泰</u>家自祀文考乙公,著錄別有<u>泰</u>設亦祀文考乙公 (三代7.19.4)上引<u>泰</u>設祀文祖<u>辛公</u>,<u>泰伯</u>家設祀皇考釐王。

分析傳世著錄的条茲和庄白新出的伯茲, 我們發現他們兩人不僅同屬於一個家

^{12.} 最近李學勤發表「從新出靑銅器看長江下游文化的發展」一文,其中提到条刻家族,犯了很大的錯誤。第 一、混淆庄白新出或器和傳世著錄条或諸器的記事、將兩批器主視若一人。後者下文會討論。至於前者、 六月初吉乙酉(玄簋一)和六月既死霸丙寅(邁甗)、十三月既生霸丁卯(取蟬)絕不同年。這是一點。 庄白新出銘文周書之戰相當激烈,著錄銘文或曰「伯雒父來自書,」(条簋)或曰:「師雒父循導至于書,」 (家鼎) 或曰:「師雒父爰使邁事于謝侯,」謝侯甚且賞賜邁金, (邁顯) 周與謝似未正式決裂。這是二 點。所以這兩批銅器的內容不能混爲一談。第二、他認爲師雒父卽是永茲,證據之一是庄白茲墓出土一件 「伯雄父自作用器」盤,這點正文將有所解釋。李氏另一理由是刻讀為終,義為盡、止,雍(雒隸定作雜) 意爲閉、塞,一名一字。按師雄父之雄讀作「雍」頗值得商榷。彔簋、彔刻卣、霰鼎、邁甗、敃觶之「雄」 與曾伯聚簠淮夷之「淮」,庄白新出彧鼎二淮戎之「淮」相似,反而與毛公鼎、盂鼎、辛鼎、邻王鼎的「 雜」相去較遠。(周法高金文詁林 No. 485)穭卣亦是「淮」字,器蓋四字皆同,不是筆誤。郭沫若大系 考釋照描不釋,態度是相當謹愼的。退而言之,「雒」作雜卽使可從,李氏引申之義亦不足取。盂鼎「敬 雝德經」,辛鼎,「厥家雝德」,毛公鼎「汝毋敢妄寧,虔夕夙惠我一人,雝我邦小大猷,」「雝」(雍) 皆不宜作閉塞解。而且古人命名,或以德,或以類,不以隱疾,不以畜牲,(左桓六)取義正祥和泰,豈 有以終盡爲名而以閉塞爲字者乎?何況永簋和永茲卣皆曰:「伯雒父蔑条曆,」明明白白是兩個人。第三、 李氏認爲師刻父伐淮夷之戰最高統帥是周天子,亦游辭臆說,不值得深辨。他在一個小註裏把条伯刻簋從 条茲器羣剔除出去,也沒有根據。按照我們的大事編年,這件器物所記之事是很容易安排的。

族,而且是父子,第一庄白伯茲之文考甲公,文母日庚,文祖乙公,文妣日戊;我 家之文考乙公,文祖辛公,則<u>泉</u>家很可能是庄白伯茲之父,祭名甲公。伯茲墓出土的 II式鼎銘曰:「王唯念茲辟烈考甲公,王用肇使乃子茲率虎臣禦淮戎。」又曰:「唯厥 使乃子茲萬年辟事天子。」經過上文分析,我們知道周王所「念」於伯茲之父(辟者 父也)者即命<u>朱茲以成周師氏伐淮夷之事。第二、庄白伯茲</u>墓葬報告人斷定伯茲和傳 世著錄的<u>余茲</u>同是一人,因爲文祖乙公和文祖辛公同是茲的祖輩,文考甲公和文考乙 公同是茲的父輩。(文物1976:6,頁55-56)諸父之說在西周恐怕不存在了,否則銘文 不可能經常出現伯仲叔季的排行,而且微史家族銅器中,墙盤和瘋鐘縷述歷代祖先, 更無任何諸父諸母的痕迹。第三、<u>朱茲</u>父子是征討淮夷的世家,伯茲所抵禦之淮戎, 奔追之鄉戎和搏擊之戎討皆屬淮夷,與朱茲叶自之戍的對象同種¹³。不過朱茲時周與 獸侯似未發生大戰,到伯茲的賦林之役,戰況卻相當慘烈。第四、叶自之戍,朱茲至 少兩度接受師維父之賜,兩人皆王庭重臣,相互間的饒贈錫賞或不止這兩次而已。但 茲墓出土一件「白維父自作用器」之盤足資說明,此盤也可能余茲得自於師維父而傳

^{13. &}lt;u>唐蘭</u>先生考釋<u>庄白伯茲</u>三器(鼎一、鼎二、簋)主張<u>茲</u>鼎二的「<u>維戎</u>」居<u>渭</u>北,是<u>獨狁</u>的前身; <u>茲</u>簋的「 周王朝就發生周原京畿的保衞戰了!我曾從西周對外關係證明這種論調之不當。(周代封建的建立,尤其 是註159)其實唐蘭先生說「淮夷從來不稱戎,」是上了西戎東夷機械劃分的當,因此考證愈細致,愈不得 要領。尚書費誓豈不說「淮夷徐戎並與」?大雅常武曰:「率彼淮浦,省此徐土。」「徐方釋騷震驚,徐 <u>方</u>如雷如霆,」「鋪敦<u>准</u>濆,仍執醜虜。」<u>徐戎亦淮夷</u>之一種也。班簋曰:「王命毛公······伐東國淯戎。」 黃盛璋考證舊國靠近渤海灣,(班簋的年代、地理與歷史)雖不必是,但銘文旣曰東國瘠戎可見東國是有戎 的。左傳隱公七年:「王使凡伯來聘,還,戎伐之于楚丘以歸。」楚丘在今河南東部,其地有戎。春秋經 莊公二十四年:「戎侵曹。」曹在魯西定陶,也有戎。左傳隱公二年:「公會戎于潛,脩惠公之好也。」 魯國亦有戎。這些都是春秋初期的事,西周以來的東土之產,不是後來被秦晉逼出山的遊動民族。傳世有 郑白御戎鼎(三代,3.37.1)郑伯名曰御戎,山東的郑國也有戎人。左傅桓公十三年,羅與盧戎聯軍敗楚, 此時羅國和盧戎皆在襄陽府,(沈欽韓,左傳地名補注)那麼連漢水中下游也有戎。左傳文公十六年:「 楚大饑,戎伐其西南,至于阜山,師于大林;又伐其東南,至於陽丘,以侵訾枝。」時楚都郢,在荆近江 <u>陵縣</u>,則長江中游亦有戎的足跡。<u>淮夷</u>稱戎,又何足異哉?唐蘭先生說點即胡是對的,但非陝北之胡。春 秋經昭公四年曰:「楚子、蔡侯、陳侯、許男、胡子、沈子、淮夷伐吳。」楚世家,昭王二十年,「楚滅 頓,滅胡。」集解引漢書地理志曰:「汝南南頓縣,故頓子國。」又引杜預曰:「汝南縣西北胡城。」胡 的地望在於河南上蔡與汝南之間,近淮水,故稱淮夷。從洛陽經葉到汝南幾乎構成一條西北東南走向的直 線,故周王命条茲即東而伐南夷。我們乃取徐中舒先生說,也釋作叶,即河南葉縣。如果釋作古,按丁山 先生考證在固陵苦縣之間,(殷商氏族方國志)當今河南淮陽、鹿邑、太康一帶,嫌稍偏東北了。最近白 川靜教授發表「淮戎と茲氏諸器・」主張茲器的淮戎是淮夷系的南夷或東夷是對的,但是否屬於北方戎種 則猶可有商。

與其子的。第五、<u>泰</u>茲作器或單稱「泰」,(<u>泰</u>殷)或「泰」「茲」同鑄於一器而分稱,(<u>泰</u>茲);或全稱「泰伯茲」。(<u>泰</u>伯茲) 他顯然襲<u>泰伯</u>之爵,名作<u>茲</u>,<u>庄</u> 白伯茲諸器,三鼎、殷一和甗皆單稱「茲」,兩壺和殷二稱「白(伯)茲」,伯茲稱 謂係父之名字爲子所襲而成爲分族的公稱,西周以來不乏其例。如小臣單之於單伯,小臣艅之於餘伯,合乎邦國水準者稱某伯,否則僅稱伯某,某成爲族名,其實還是具體而微的國,曰「伯茲」而不曰「茲伯」可能是這緣故。儀禮少牢饋食禮曰:「皇祖伯某」,鄭玄註:「伯某、且(疑即「祖」)字也。」黃以周禮書通故卷八「宗法」曰:「伯某之字或即氏。」很有見地。<u>泰</u>茲的「茲」就成爲他的某子之氏名了。所以<u>泰</u>茲與庄白伯茲分明父子二人,卻同具「茲」名¹⁴。

卷茲的条是國名,其始祖可能是周人册封之祿父。關於祿父的來歷,漢代已有異說。太史公以為祿父即武庚,(殷本紀、魯、衞、宋與管蔡等世家)尚書序「微子之命」爲孔傳也說武庚一名祿父。但毛詩「邶鄘衞譜」孔穎達疏引尚書大傳曰:「武王殺村,立武庚,繼公子祿父。」論衡恢國篇云:「立武庚之義,繼祿父之恩。」武庚與祿父別爲二人。不過「邶鄘衞譜」孔疏引尚書大傳又說「使管叔、蔡叔監祿父,祿父及三監叛。」顯然和管蔡世家所謂「二人相村子武庚祿父治殷遺民」一樣,祿父即是武庚,可見書傳對於武庚祿父是否一人亦猶疑不決。唯據今見金文材料;祿父和武庚當分別爲二。大保殷曰:「王伐泰子耶,叡氒(厥)反,王降征令(命)行(于)大保,大保克芍(敬)亡遣。」(三代,8.40)大保者召公君奭也,估計時間,条子耶之叛可能在成王晚年。世傳有王子耶匜(綴遺,14.39)、天子耶觚,(三代,14.31.3)和多亞耶舜(三代,6.49.1)足證泰子耶是殷王子孫。泰子耶叛,周天子派遣召公征伐,未及周公,當與武庚無關,泰子耶和武庚不是同一人,多亞耶舜云(用乍大子丁舜」,天子耶觚亦曰:「天子耶作父丁舜。」則衆子耶與武庚也不是親兄弟。不

^{14. &}lt;u>左隱八,樂仲</u>曰:「諸侯以字爲謚,因以爲族。」<u>史記五帝本紀集解引駁五經異義作</u>「諸侯以字爲氏」, 是也。<u>春秋</u>時代貴族多以祖父之字爲氏,<u>鄭</u>國的八<u>穆:罕氏、駟氏、豐氏、游氏、印氏、國氏、良氏、羽 氏,宋國的華氏、樂氏、皇氏、仲氏、魚氏 鱗氏、蕩氏、向氏</u>等皆是。(<u>陳厚耀,春秋世族譜</u>)這些例 子和<u>条茲</u>家族的情況並不完全符合,一是祖孫而非父子,二是字而非名。但這兩點差異並不嚴重,可能是 春秋與西周之區分吧。

過,<u>条子</u>中當屬<u>股</u>王族無疑,自稱「王子」表示他的出身,「天子」可能是反叛時的 僭號。他的後人条茲猶尊稱皇考曰「<u>釐王</u>」,(<u>条伯茲</u>殷)是有其家族背景的。

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辛巳,王畲(飮)多亞

平,享京麗。

易(錫) 貝一朋,用乍大子工葬。(三代,6.49.1)

多亞是<u>彖子</u>即之官職,<u>京</u>是地名。麗,說文曰:「禮,麗皮納聘,蓋鹿皮也。」徐灏段注箋曰:「土昏禮納徵,元纁、束帛、儷皮。鄭註:儷,兩也;皮,鹿皮。按土冠禮主人酬賓,聘禮上介奉幣,亦皆有儷皮,蓋古人不獨用於昏禮;其用之,則小雅鹿鳴之義也。」詩序云:「鹿鳴,燕臣嘉賓也。旣飲食之,又實幣帛筐篚,以將其厚意,然後忠臣嘉賓得盡其心矣。」周王在京宴飲殷遺多亞耶,賞賜鹿皮海貝,亦安撫懷柔之一端。<u>泰子耶</u>叛變在國王錫飲之前抑或其後,無可考。但他被召公敉平後,終於承認現實,相信天命在周不在殷了,於是臣服周室,作爲周股肱之臣。周天子命<u>泰伯</u>

家時,勉勵他說:「鯀,自乃祖又(有)勞于周邦,又(有)關四方,惠弘天令(命),汝肇不墜。」<u>条</u>茲的祖父<u>条</u>子即勤勞周邦,作爲周王的爪牙腹心,闢土四方。他鑽繼父祖之職,率領成周師氏征伐淮夷,其子伯茲也因父親之蔭,而作周王的親信,以虎臣、有司和師氏追擊淮戎。這個殷遺世家代代擁有兵柄、土地、人民和職守,經歷大約百年,家聲猶能不墜。

三 學及其他

微史和条茲兩個家族的歷史顯示周人統御<u>股</u>遺民的主要政策是安撫懷柔,個別案例見於周代金文者猶比比可考。只是難得找到這麼長期綿延的家族而已,但並不意味個例不代表一個個連綿的家族。現在以學爲主,舉幾個事例以見其一班,我們相信考古工作愈發達這類資料是會層出不窮的。

周初封建時,召公長子區侯旨北征,建立燕國,舉用不少殷遺民。1973和1974兩年考古工作者在河北房山縣琉璃河鎮黃土坡村一帶發掘七座西周墓,六座有殺殉,少者一人,多者二人,五座有銅器殉葬品,銅器銘文多帶商器族徽。(兩座無,但皆有一人殺殉)從墓制、殺殉和殉葬品來看,墓主屬於中級貴族。(考古1974:5,頁309-321)其中墓52,主人曰復,出土的尊銘曰:「區侯賞復门(同)衣、臣妾、貝。」鼎銘曰:「賞復貝三朋。」復鑄寶器以祀父乙。同墓還出土父乙爵、父乙觶,復父之祭名當爲乙;另出父辛爵。大概是先代的遺物。復墓重槨,殺殉一人,隨葬品極富。他旣領受區侯的禪穀(細絹單衣)和臣妾,當是一位有采邑的領主;隨葬品多兵器、如勾戟、矛、劍、鏃和首飾,其官職顯然也是將帥之流。本墓所出陶簋、陶罐的形制與灃酉第一期者一致,屬於成康時期,復活動的年代必在周初,也許可以早到殷末。復傳和復鼎銘末所鑄族徽卽學的簡字,據此可以推測復的出身。

傳世著錄之器甚夥, 旦人小川茂樹 (即貝塚茂樹)整理得一百七十件(殷代金文に見えた圖象文字學に就て)考古新出亦所在多有,如山東長青(文物1964:4,頁42-47) 甘肅靈臺白草坡 (文物972:12,頁8)安陽西北岡,(李濟,殷虚出土伍拾參件青銅容器之研究,圖版十七)上引陝西微史家族器與琉璃河黄土坡。和最近從廢銅中撿出的學園器十九件,器形包括鼎、簋、豆、爵、觚、觶、斝、角、尊、卣、罍、盉等(文 物1982:9,頁34-43)此銘考釋,異說紛紜¹⁵。宋人讀作「析子孫」(呂大臨,考古圖)近人不從,五十年前<u>丁山</u>先生釋作「冀」,今<u>山西冀</u>縣的古國;(說學)最近<u>于省</u>告先生釋作「舉」,舉子也。(釋義)鑄有此銘之器旣然如此龐雜,古之冀國文獻鮮稱,恐怕不足以當之;另一方面,所謂有過如何舉子的故事,後世子孫乃造此字以爲該民族標誌,也純屬臆測。二者皆按圖象之形而勉強隸定成後世文字,檢證缺乏說服力。著錄之器雖失載出土地點,但根據出土報告,東及<u>山東</u>,北至河北,西達<u>甘肅</u>都發現此銘作器。散佈如此之廣,傳世又如此之多,可能不是單個血緣家族或民族的作器。

學,多見於<u>商</u>器,當是<u>股</u>代的族徽無疑,可惜<u>商</u>器銘文簡質,很難提供此族進一步的資料。晚至<u>股周</u>之際有一些銘文稍長,才有點線索可尋,最顯著的體例是「子賞小子某」的銘文每綴以此族族徽。**逢**卣蓋銘云:「學母辛。」器銘曰:

乙巳,子令小子番先目(以)人于

堇,子光商(貺賞) 备貝二朋。子曰:「貝,

唯蔑女(汝)曆」番用乍(作)母辛

彛,才(在)十月二。隹(唯)子曰:「令(命)望人方霉。」(三代,13.42.3)

^{15.} 學,呂大臨釋作「析子孫」,薛尚功從之,云貽厥子孫。西清古鑑因襲未改。但自晚清以下,新說孳生, 或按形隸定,由字溯義;或揣測義涵,不強認識。吳榮光隸定作「鼎」,丁山作「冀」,郭沫若作「異」, 于省吾作「擧」,加藤常賢作「非鬳」(巫賢),屬於前者;後者則如徐柏同「取析薪負荷之義」,劉心 源訓作「析木」,方濬益言「作器以分之子孫」,孫治讓曰黼黻之原始象形,張鳳謂象古代殺人之祭,衞 聚賢云獻俘犧牲,馬叙倫說造牀爲業者的小宗之氏,王國維解作「象大人抱子置諸儿間之形。」吳闓生愼 言關疑,只肯定是上古民族用爲標識的符記。以上各家之說具見於周法高先生編著的全文詁林附錄及金文 詁林補附錄。此銘大概是族徽之屬。古代氏族形成的過程頗爲複雜,或以領地,或以官守,或以職事,或 以父祖的名或字,最近林溪從這些方面來分析早期銅器銘文,方法是對的,(對早期銅器銘文的幾點看 法)但他相信族徽必可隸定成單「字」,因而批判存疑的圖形文字說,則不僅眛於文字演進的現象(參見 汪寧生,從原始記事到文字發明)對於族徽的眞義也有些模糊了。族徽造形古拙,即使單文也可能表示很 豐富的意思,如果是合文的族徽,必是由各部分意義綴合成完整的槪念。譬如智,象一人荷戈,若隸定爲 「何」而解釋古代有何族,意義又安在呢?人荷戈形固是某族的徽幟,但取以爲該族標識的意義則斷非「 何」字所能解答的。況且氏族尚古,唯其作爲族徽,雖文字已經相當進化, 但猶存古風, 即使新族造新 徽,也必以古式爲尚。這是晚到殷商西周,中國文字已非常進步 , 然而仍有這許多奇文古字的緣故 ; 如 果肯定可以一一蒜定出來, 族徽寫法與其他銘文那麼不同, 在文字演進上便很難解釋。 所以關於學的考 釋,目前仍然以族徽標幟較可靠,闡述其義或坐實某字都是危險的。此銘分三個獨立部分,據琉璃河黃土 坡村的復尊和復鼎,上部的밞可簡化其半,但絕不能全省,金文有亞形中狀其,밞可能表示官守或職事, 也是區別族類的一項標幟。薛尚功敖識著錄一個族徽◆,(卷二,頁三一)上面部分顯然非誤摹,當與批 不同。職是之故,我們認爲若對學之義有所闡述,構成的三部分皆宜有所說明。

征伐人方,可能商未之器。小子鲞受子之命,先率軍至堇,似乎是先鋒部隊,刺探軍情,故曰「望」。續殷文存著錄一段蓋之銘,漫患難讀,大意是子賞小子某具,命伐人方。末鑄學(卷上頁四九)與鲞卣類似。小子豐鼎曰:「子易(錫)小子豐,王商(賞)貝,才(在) 芗缺。」(續殷上,25)駐軍之地曰缺。這三器的主人小子某都是帶兵的將領,而且歸子節制。因爲小子是子的部屬,又稱子作「君」。小子省自曰:子賞小子省貝,「省揚君商(賞)貝。」(三代,13.38.3)小子啟尊銘文較簡:「子光(貺)商小子啟貝」,據上文推斷,也不例外。

按銘文體例,小子鳌等人的族徽是學,但甘肅靈臺白草坡潶伯墓出土一件尊,銘曰:「子<u>诺</u>乍母辛尊蕣學(文物,1972:12,頁 8)則子某也有以此銘作族徽。因此上引「子錫小子」諸器,小子不僅是子的部屬,也可能是他的族屬。相對於小子者是大子,小臣<u>田</u>押曰:「王易(錫)小臣<u>任</u>酒賣五年,任用乍享大子乙家祀尊。學父乙」小臣<u>任</u>受王賞,作器祭祀父乙,故曰「家祀」。他的父乙當即太子乙,族徽是學。續殷文存著錄此銘之尊一件。祭祀大子丁。(卷上,頁五七)。

總之,不論大子、子、小子都和學有很密切的關係,故此銘字形子从「子」。甲骨卜辭經見子某,董作賓先生推測是王子,(五等爵在殷商)可從。凡言「子」者可能是歷代殷王之子,而學或卽是殷商王子以及他們後裔的族徽。不過殷商王子及後裔固可有其他族徽,同時也不是所有的王子或後裔都能採用此族徽。本銘除「子」之外還有兩個構成要素,在更多新資料出土之前,暫時闕疑。我們現在唯一敢說的是,署本銘之器者可能是殷王的後代¹⁶。前文討論微史家族,商尊、商自銘未皆鑄學,器祭文辟

^{16.} 旦人具塚茂樹引申董作賓王子之說,認為學是王子及屬國貴族子弟組成的氏族青年團,(見前引殷代金文 に見えた圖象文字學に就て。)白川靜云卜辭雖有「多方小子小臣」(粹1162),但具備此銘的小子小臣 當是殷王室的貴游子弟,加上「多方」二字以區別一般的小子小臣。(小臣考)學代表的族類非常複雜, 我們只敢肯定它與殷王室有淵源,不敢說所有王子後裔必屬此族,也不敢說具此族徽必皆殷王子的後代。 此其一。此族徽是否包括方國子弟,具塚之說依然值得參考。程長新等人最近公佈在北京銅廠廢銅中挑選 的一組二十八件商代銅器,大部分鑄有「齑椒」二字。(文物1982:頁9,3-443) 獻是殷代的方國,殷墟卜辭曰:「伐弗及戲方?伐及戲方哉?」(甲807)「貞伐戲。」(前5.37.5) 戲亦作虛,卜辭曰:「伐及虞方,擊(唯)虛方乍伐。」(鄴3.43.4) 可見學並非皆殷王子之族。但著錄有一件戲壺,族徽是庚丙雙册, (三代,12.9.3) 則虧國統治院級也非純學族。似乎以此銘作族徽者還包含方國子弟。此其二。然而若說 (轉下頁)

日丁,我們推測商是殷王文武丁之子。著錄的婦闆甗文姑日癸,亦具此銘。(三代,5.8.6)殷代先妣祀譜,文武丁的配偶是日癸,各家皆無異說,(島邦男,殷墟卜辭研究,頁九四)婦闆可能和商婦庚姬一樣,皆文武丁的媳婦,王子之族,故可以本銘作爲族徽。如果我們的論證可以成立,殷墟西北岡墓 1601 出土的按段,有學的族徽,(李濟,前引文)也應是殷王子之族的遺物。白川靜先生考論殷代雄族, 追與鄭、雀、臺、畫、逸並稱最強的六族,(殷代雄族考 其六命)卜辭顯示他們與王室的關係極其親近,鄭、臺、畫皆稱「子」,雀祀辛父、父乙、兄丁、母庚,當是武丁之弟,但命的身分不明。按貞松堂集古遺文補遺卷中著錄的命首,有學的族徽,卜辭金文可以互證命是王子之族,學族出身於殷王室應該不須疑惑了。

西周初期有一位<u>員</u>,<u>員</u>自說他從史旗伐鄶,率先入邑,俘金。(三代,13.37.1) 作戰相當英勇。<u>員</u>鼎記載某年正月周王狩于昏敝,「<u>員</u>執犬休善。」(三代,4.5.4) 服侍周王很周到。鼎祭<u>父</u>甲,末有族徽學。同時有一位將領叫作<u>旂</u>,<u>旂</u>鼎云:「公錫 <u>旂</u>僕,」亦屬於學族,祭祀文父<u>日乙</u>。(三代,4.3)<u>旂</u>有軍隊 ,有部屬 ,故師<u>旂</u>鼎 曰:「<u>師旂</u>眾僕不從王征于方。」(三代,4.31.2)金文除稱「師<u>旂</u>」外,又稱作「 值<u>旂</u>」。(三代,2.49.3)這兩位<u>股</u>遺即使在<u>股商</u>王朝剛剛衰替之後,和微史烈祖或 衆子即一樣,並未喪失他們的權勢和地位。

傳世著錄的周初殷遺 , 事蹟比較詳細可考者是安州六器的 中 , (大系 , 頁六一八) 宋徽宗重和元年 (西元1118年) 安州孝感縣出土。 (趙明誠金石錄卷十三) 中 二曰:

隹(唯)王令(命)<u>南宮</u>伐反<u>虎方</u>之年,王令(命)<u>卡</u>先省南或(國)<u>集行</u>。 (不分行款)

⁽接上頁)

是青年團則有可商。<u>商周</u>貴族亦皆武士或將領,不論小臣也罷,小子也罷,作册也罷,史也罷,無不參加軍隊,其他貴族更不在話下。如果貴游年青子弟組織特別的軍團而成為特殊的族,於理難通。此銘从出,或釋作牀,字形雖近,但失其義。禮記曲禮下曰:「在牀曰尸,在棺曰柩。」古代疾病、死亡才用牀,恐難作為族徽,至於馬叔倫釋為造牀為業之族,更不值得深辯。我們認為出當從王國維說,釋作俎,和祭祀有關。使用此銘者可能職司宗廟祭祀,所以本文說不是任何單純的血緣團體。至於王國維說「大人抱子置几間」,也保留。禮記實子問:「尸必以孫,孫幼則使人抱之。」曲禮上:「坐如尸。」大人抱子為尸亦當坐而非立,與圖象不符。

→顧亦記述巡省南國之事,銘文能變發闕,不能通讀。大意說書的軍隊戍守遵制
17,周王命他「事小大邦,」大概監視漢水諸異族。周王曾經賞書馬:(量輝)更重要的是「令(命)大史兄(贶)裏土,」作爲他的采邑。(事雅)輝、顯皆祭父乙。另外續殷文存著錄的書父乙虧,(下.23)可能同屬一人的作器,而書鏡(三代,18.5.2)和父辛書爵(續殷文存,下.30)則爲同族之祭器。侯家莊墓1022出土的爵亦鑄「串」字。「李濟,殷虛出土青銅虧形器之研究,圖版叁伍)1969-1977年發掘殷墟西區墓葬,第六區墓1080年代屬於殷墟第四期, 裁後殘餘的銅觚、銅爵皆有「串」,墓主應是書族之人。第三區墓 699,亦屬於第四期,爲所有九百多座發掘墓中五座甲字形大墓(帶墓道)之一,墓道殉二人,二層臺殉三人,足徵墓主的地位必不低。本墓遭盜掘,殘留的三件銅鐃亦皆鑄「串」銘。(考古學報 1979:1)卜辭云:「犬書告糜,王其射;」(粹,935)又云「小臣書」(前4.27.6);祖甲之世書族族長還擔任過王室的貞人,(張秉權,觚爵兩形銅器銘文考釋)可見書族與殷王的關係非比尋常。周金文存著錄一件尊,可以尋繹這族的出身。銘曰:

卡學穌彝。 (5.10)

著有學的族徽,再參證以上的論述,畫很可能也是<u>殷商</u>的王子之族。那麼,<u>西周</u>初期隨同<u>南宮</u>南征的畫當是<u>殷</u>遺民了。這家族至遲從祖甲以下已顯赫,入周後依然保持優越的政治社會地位,歷久不衰。上引師旂鼎說,師旂眾僕不從王征<u>于方</u>,請伯懋父裁斷,<u>白懋父</u>申誠師旂御下無方,眾僕違上無長,該當刑罰,但暫不罰鍰,不流放,責令他們戴罪立功。(楊樹達,積微居金文說,頁 183)這篇誡辭由畫書記,交給師旂鑄銘。直到西周中葉以後,今陝西扶風齊家村還有一支畫族,族長曰<u>友</u>,作寶器傳之後世。(扶風齊家村青銅器羣圖十——十五)

1971年洛陽舊城東北的北瑤村南瀍河西岸清理一座西周前期墓葬, (考古,1972:2,頁 35-36)有棺、槨(已朽)和腰坑(坑內一狗)。隨葬的青銅禮器種類繁多,計有鼎、簋、卣、尊、斝、觚、爵、觶,其中卣尊斝觚爵五件器物質地類似,銘文相

同,皆作「<u>算</u>作尊彝。」墓主是<u>勇</u>,但勇和<u>唐</u>一樣,族名而非私名。<u>晜</u>見於卜辭,云:「庚寅卜,爭貞:令<u>勇</u>眾處百紡(衞),虫(有)毕(禽)?」(<u>甲</u>1167)<u>募</u>是 武丁時期的將領。金文著錄有<u>勇</u>鼎,族徽是學;(三代,2.13.3)也有<u>勇</u>孟媳毁,(<u>貞松</u>,5.27.1)說明<u></u>了族嘗與<u>媳</u>姓通婚。本墓發掘者認爲墓葬保留若干<u>股</u>俗,銅器形制與花紋也是<u>股</u>周之際習見的。結合考古資料與新舊銘文來看,墓主也是<u>股</u>遺民;葬於<u>洛陽</u>,很可能是被周公遷來成周的股頑第一代或第二代。據墓葬遺物,主人生前具有相當的政治社會地位,是一位謙遜臣服的殷遺民。

當時成周殷頑如聲之「多遜」者必不乏人,土上盉(舊題臣辰盉)曰:「王命土上眾(及)史寅廢(殷)于成周,禮百生(姓)豚。」殷是天子會見諸侯百官,佈達政令的大典,有百姓參與。卜辭曰:「叀(唯)多生(姓)饗,叀(唯)多子〔饗〕。」(甲 380)多子是殷王諸子,多姓即百姓,是殷代的族長。(張政烺,古代中國十進制氏族組織)周王在成周舉行大典,賞賜殷商族長豬內,族長必包括被遷來的殷遺民。

周原是偏處西陲的小邦,自<u>太王以下不斷擴張</u>,也不斷吸收新的成員,大雅縣篇曰:「予曰有疏附,予曰有先後,予曰有奔奏,予曰有禦侮。」這些疏附、先後、奔奏、禦侮都是來歸之臣。前引土上盃,以**\$**為族徽,據傳1929年與土上盃同在洛陽出土的**\$**族器大約五十件。(陳夢家,斷代口)此族是殷商時代的世家,卜辭作*****,釋作「先」,曰「先侯」(煎2.28.2),也是貞人之一。(饒宗頤,貞卜人物通考,頁647-649)西周初年,此族的土上「殷于成周,」他們何時歸附周人則不可考。武王時代的小臣單輝,曰:「王後反,克商,才(在)成自。周公易(錫)小臣單貝十朋」云云。(三代,14.55.5)小臣係殷代的職官,白川靜先生認爲職司此官者多與殷王室有親密的關連。(小臣考)這位小臣單可能也是殷遺,後世的單伯昦生鐘可以作證。鐘銘曰:

(上缺)<u>單白</u>(伯)<u>界生</u>曰:「不(丕)顯皇祖刺(烈)考逑(來)匹之(先)王,指(勳)堇(勤)大(天)命,余小子肇帥井(型)朕皇且(祖)考 **鄂**德,口保奠(下缺)(案2.13,不分行款)

「來匹先王」,語句與<u>墻</u>盤的「唯<u>乙祖</u>來匹厥辟」一模一樣,<u>單伯界生</u>的皇祖烈考旣

然也來歸順佐助周王,有可能卽是周初的小臣單,依銘文體例,小臣其官,單可能是族名,子孫可以「單伯」作爲爵名。此外1963年寶鷄賈家出土的珂尊,(文物 1976: 1,頁62) <u>珂</u>也不是周人。尊銘云,周王初遷於成周,祭祀武王,

傳世著錄和考古新出的銘文在在證明<u>周</u>人不吝吸收<u>股</u>人成為統治階級,而<u>股</u>人也樂於和<u>周</u>人合作,<u>孔子</u>說:「雖有<u>周</u>親,不如仁人,」(論語堯曰)正是這段歷史的寫照。<u>周</u>之安撫懷柔和<u>股</u>之缺乏「民族意識」,應還有更深的意義,只有從<u>股代</u>的政治社會結構考慮才好理解。

川

周人在殖民封建過程中採取懷柔安撫政策,我以前提出兩點因素,一是到殷周之

^{18. &}lt;u>股</u>周貴族皆有宗,不限於王而已,銘文常見「用享于宗」,「用享于宗室」,「作厥宗寶母彝」,例子不 勝枚舉,參見<u>周法高金文計林</u>卷七「宗」字條。

際,政治社會結構依舊以傳統的氏族爲基礎,二是周族的人口結構失之脆弱, (周代 對建的建立) 這意見現在仍然不變。上節說到周征服者不斷吸收新成員成爲統治階級,主要是第二因素造成的;至於政治社會結構,複雜萬端,非現階段的資料所能解決,本文只想就族羣結構提出一些推測,以便說明文獻和銘文對<u>股</u>遺民的描述。

讀史的人大抵多承認三代社會的基本結構在於氏族,但「氏族」的概念向來弄不清楚,不少人還將與原始社會的氏族混而爲一,引起很多不必要的糾葛。三代的氏族其實是一個政治社會單位,各地統治階級固有血緣連繫,基層的被統治者可能也以自然的血緣作爲結合的主要手段。然而每個政治社會單位卻包含不同的血緣羣,統治者與被統治者不同,被統治者之間也互不相同。先秦文獻中通常認爲毫無疑義的血緣羣字彙,如姓、氏、族等,其義涵與其說是血緣性,毋寧是政治性的。魯國眾仲說,姓是賜的;(左隱八)周王子晉曰:「唯有嘉功以命姓受祀,迄于天下。」(國語周語下)楚觀射父亦曰:「物賜之姓,以監其官,是爲百姓。」(國語楚語下)氏,有土地、有人民才可以有氏,眾仲故曰:「胙之土而命之氏。」(左隱八)至於族,造字从旂从矢,表示一羣人共同打獵,收穫分享,共同作戰,死生與之,也絲毫看不出血緣的痕迹,雖然族羣可能也多因血緣而集聚。這些意見我在別文已經討論,此處從略19。股代的民族亦當如是觀。衞史祝佗說,周公分殷民六族(條氏、徐氏、蕭氏、索氏、長勺氏、尾勺氏)給魯,使氏族長

帥其宗氏,輯其分族,將其類醜,以法則<u>周公</u>,用卽命于<u>周</u>。是使之職事于 <u>魯</u>,以昭<u>周公</u>之明德。(<u>左定</u>四)

這六族殷遺民都包括宗氏,分族和類醜三種成分,宗氏是族長的嫡系親屬,分族是族

^{19.} 關於姓氏與族羣,我最近寫的兩篇文章曾有所討論,一是「傳統家族試論」,載於大陸雜誌;一是「古代基層社會的變遷」,民國七十一年八月在中央研究院歷史語言研究所和經濟學研究所合辦的中國社會經濟史暑期研討會宣讀。管東貴先生審查意見說:按,從社會發展史的觀點看,血緣團體必有以爲代表的符號:無文字時代有圖騰;進入文字時代後,乃以文字取代圖騰,成爲血緣團體的符號,是爲姓。古姓多從女,如姫、姜、姚、嬪、姒、好等,即反映了姓的血緣關係。後起的「姓」字,從女、生,生亦聲,也是寓意於此。「同姓不婚」之俗甚古,此處所謂之姓,即指血緣關係而言。故愈古,姓愈具有血緣關係。至後代,血緣的親密性(包括權利與義務)被濫用,乃有政治性的賜姓事件,浸假而成爲一種制度,遂破壞了姓的血緣特性。然萬變不離其宗,故不宜以晚生之變例否認其根本。管先生審查意見又說:氏乃同姓血緣團體再分化的標誌。故同姓不一定同氏,同氏必同姓。故氏的血緣關係較姓尤近。血緣的地緣化可能是氏的最早成因,即所謂「胙之土而命之氏」。往後乃有以職爲氏,以官爲氏,以王父字爲氏等特例。

長的旁支親屬,類醜則是替氏族長從事生產勞動的被統治者。分給衞侯的七族<u>殷</u>民, (<u>陶氏、施氏、繁氏、錡氏、樊氏、饑氏、終葵氏</u>),祝佗雖然不曾明言他們的族羣 成分,想亦涵蓋這三類。類醜和宗氏當無血緣連繫,但他們卻同屬一族;相反的,即 使原有血緣關係,一旦分別擁有土地、人民或職官,就成爲不同的氏族了,於是具備 不同的族徽。異地則異氏,即是<u>眾仲</u>所謂「胙之土而命之氏。」<u>公羊傳解釋周大夫劉</u> 夏曰:

劉者何?邑也。其稱劉何?以邑氏也。(襄十五)

至於職官,眾<u>仲</u>曰:「官有世功,則有官族。」(<u>左隱</u>八)這是以官爲氏。原本同血緣,由於采邑或職官不同,也就成爲異族了。此之謂「分族」。

股之氏族繁彩,史記殷本紀云,契之後分封者有殷氏、來氏、宋氏、空桐氏、稚 氏、北殷氏、目夷氏,不過舉其彰明較著而已。上引左傳魯之六族與衞之七族都不在 這七支氏族之內,金文、卜辭出現的氏族更加不可勝數,足見殷代盛行分族。卜辭的 人名往往延續數期之久,而且也當作地名使用,其實卽是氏族或邦國,(張政烺,前 引文;張秉權,甲骨文中所見人地同名考)其中固不乏東土舊族,但也有不少是殷王 的後代,可惜今日難考了。 其所以難考是有緣故的。殷王室不斷擴張,氏族不斷分 衍,在不同地區建立不同的邦國,由於殷人不重視同姓的連繫,數代之後,卽使同出 於一脈亦往往變成路人。甲骨文的「子某」大抵是殷的王子,他們立邑建國,年久月 深,難免與王朝發生爭端,甚至兵戎相見,這在當時幾乎是以不同國家看待的。茲舉 三例說明之²⁰。一是街。

壬口〔卜〕,內貞,街其來正我于宋?(佚 148)

辛丑〔卜〕,內貞,我戈衡于整? (前 6.22.8)

癸丑卜, 融貞, 自往街, 亡 ? (前 4.31.5)

庚子卜, 融貞, 我勿重街?十一月。(拾遺 9.12)

^{20.} 以下三例所舉甲骨文材料大部分引自張乘權先生的「甲骨文中所見人地同名考」。管東貴先生審查意見 說:「這類事所反映的乃是制度有所缺失時,血緣關係已不足以約束政治利害衝突的緣故,非因姓、氏無血緣關係故。猶如<u>周</u>朝到<u>春秋戰國</u>時代<u>周</u>王與<u>姬</u>姓封國間發生的戰爭事件一樣。」

戈讀作哉,傷也,敗也;证(正)重皆征伐之義;我是貞人自稱,代表<u>股</u>王朝,這四條卜辭涉及<u>股王與術</u>國的戰爭。然而<u>術</u>國原是<u>股</u>王子的封國,卜辭稱作「子術」。(丙 160)第二例是不。

庚申卜,王貞,余伐不?三月。

庚申卜,王貞,余勿š不?

丙寅卜,爭,乎龍、光、侯、名积?(丙1)

貞,勿乎从希子不? (乙 5803)

弗其戈不? (摭佚 90)

王其乎眾追戍受人, 重置土人眾权人又戈? (鄴三下43.6+43.7)

余是<u>商</u>王自稱,**夏**字不識,義可能近於征伐,希有茶毒的意思,权同不。(<u>張秉權</u>丙編考釋)據上引六條卜辭,<u>股</u>王卜問親自出兵或徵召諸侯軍隊討伐不國。但是不也是股王子所建的國家,卜辭又稱,<u>子不</u>,曰:「貞,子不其业(有)疾?」(<u>前</u>4.32.2)和貞卜殷王諸子諸婦有疾同例。第三、<u>子目</u>,可能是武丁諸子之一,卜辭云:「<u>字</u>貞,子目娩如?」(乙 3069)又「貞,<u>目</u>其条疾?」(丙 142)唯卜辭亦

貞,乎雀征且? (丙 261)

大概目國不受命,故卜問召雀征伐之。

股商王子及其後裔和<u>商</u>王室的關係尚且如此不穩定,那些與<u>股</u>王親屬關係疏遠的 邦國若叛服無常,也不值驚異。譬如三,族長嘗任王室貞人,(<u>董作賓</u>,甲骨文斷代 研究例)卜辭有云:

癸卯卜, 融貞, 乎雀, 獨伐亘裁?十二月。(丙 249)

癸亥卜, 亘弗月雀?

丁卯卜,雀隻(獲) 亘。(粹 1553)

郭沫若考釋,月假為挑,說文:「挑,折也。」<u>雀亘兩國之</u>等,殷王廻護雀,至如姫姓的<u>召方</u>曾任殷王西史,(乙 4536)殷王亦「貞召古王事。」(續 3.27.1)然而殷王常卜問征伐<u>召方</u>事宜。(<u>白川靜</u>,召方考)<u>亘、召</u>雖出入王廷 ,卻和<u>殷</u>王和戰無常,當然那可能是異代才發生的。

股代氏族皆是政治社會體,有土地,有人民,相當獨立自主,他們和殷王室不一定共具高度的認同意識。即使是殷王後裔之族,武王革命對某些人來說,不過換了一位共主,無所謂亡國之痛。他們願意歸順周人,小邦周也樂於接納。然而由於殷代氏族的獨立性,使得周人殺了「一夫村」,殺不盡數百年來盤根錯節在各地的殷族邦國,正應了俗話說的「百足之蟲,死而不僵。」周王對付殷遺民乃極盡懷柔安撫之能事。我們從文獻和銘文發現殷遺地位未曾低落,遭遇無所謂悲慘,根本原因當從殷代氏族的政治社會結構去探索。周人克殷以後,特別強調親親,可能是懲前毖後,「殷鑑不遠」的結果。此中或許可能透露一點殷周制度異同的契機,茲事體大,不是這篇文章能够解決的。

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The Status of the Survivors of the Yin Dynasty after the Chou Conquest

(English Abstract)

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I

The idea that the survivors of the Yin 殷 dynasty were oppressed by the Chou conquerors has been popularly accepted by historians for the last half-century. The most important articulation of this theory was published by Dr. Hu Shih 胡適 in his 1934 article Shuo-ju 說儒 (On the Origins of Ju), in which he proposed that the original meaning of the term ju is "coward." According to Dr. Hu, this term was applied to the survivors of the Yin dynasty, who were so subjugated by the Chou people after their conquest that a prophetic myth spread among them to the effect that they would be emancipated after five hundred years by a Sage, a kind of Chinese Messiah.

Dr. Hu's theory was severely criticised by Feng Yu-lan 馮友蘭, Kuo Mo-jo 郭洙若, Ch'ien Mu 錢穗, and others, but with the exception of Feng, most of this criticism was focussed on the characteristics of the Ju or Confucians as a group, while little was said about the main point of Dr. Hu's article, i.e. the close relation between the Ju and the survivors of the Yin dynasty; meanwhile, Dr. Hu's basic hypothesis was generally accepted as historical truth. Although Fu Ssu-nien 傅斯年, for example, found that the survivors of the Yin were treated conciliatorily, he nevertheless believed that the Chou conquerors completely stripped them of political power. Subsequent historians have believed that all the Yin commoners were dispersed as slaves, or that the Yin nobles became captives. Such approaches clearly follow Dr. Hu's early theory.

However, Dr. Hu's hypothesis about the Yin survivors is not supported by classical documents or by the inscriptions on bronze vessels of the period; the information contained in these sources leads us to an entirely different conclusion. For this reason, I would like to review this historical problem in this article.

II

Pre-Ch'in historical data contain no hint at all that the survivors of the Yin dynasty were oppressed by the Chou conquerors and endured a "sorrowful condition." On the contrary, such sources as the Shang-shu 尚書, Tso-chuan 左 傳, Yi Chou-shu 逸周書, and Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu 呂氏春秋, give the impression that the surviving Yin aristocracy largely retained their social status, political power and economic interests, and also their control over the peasants who farmed Even though the last Yin dynastyic ruler, King Chóu 約, was betheir lands. headed by King Wu 武 of Chou, Chou's son Wu-keng 武庚 was permitted to continue to administer the capital city of Yin as the de facto ruler of the Yin The Tso-chuan (Ting 4) contains the late Spring-and-Autumn period court recorder Chu T'o 祝佗 of Wei 衞 's description of the early Chou "fengchien 料建" socio-political system; in it, Chu T'o recounts how large numbers of Yin survivors ended up in the states of Lu a and Wei, with the result that the political systems of those states were modelled on that of the Shang 商. Chu T'o uses the phrase "ch'i yi Shang-cheng 啟以商政" (of governing according to the institutions of Shang).

The general meaning of this term "Shang-cheng" can be found in the "K'ang-kao 康誥" and "Chiu-kao 酒誥" Chapters of the Shàng-shu. These two texts contain the Duke of Chou (Chou-kung 周公)'s admonition to Uncle K'ang 康叔 to carefully administer the Yin people, and were given on the occasion of the Duke's enfeoffment of Uncle K'ang in Wei after the Duke of Chou had successfully put down the rebellion of Uncle Kuan 管叔, Uncle Ts'ai 蔡叔 and Wu-Keng. The Duke's admonitions can be understood as the basic

outline of political principles on which the state of Wei was founded, and contain the following three major points: First, the Duke of Chou ordered Uncle K'ang to work hard to emulate the excellent words and actions of the sage rulers of the history of the Shang, and to find ways to apply these words and actions to protecting and fostering the people. These sage rulers of the Yin-Shang period were most likely Ch'eng-t'ang 成湯, Tsu-yi 祖乙, Wu-ting 武丁 and Tsu-chia 祖甲, whose deeds are recorded in the "Wu-yi 無逸" Chapter of the Shang-shu; they are also described in the "Shang-she 商誓" Chapter of the Yi Chou-shu, while poems praising them make up the "Shang-sung 商頌" section of the Shih-The principles of rulership embodied by the sage rulers in these ching 詩經. texts are none other than respecting and fearing The Heaven God, self-control, not to daring to indulge in dissipation, awareness of the people's suffering, and being able to love and protect the people. The second major point is that the laws having the closest direct effect on the common people, i.e. the system of penalties and punishments, should be modelled on those of the Yin-Shang period. The Duke of Chou ordered the Yin punishments to be set up as the new law of the Wei state so that by using these Yin punishments to punish criminals among the people, the Yin people would not feel that the Chou conquerors were using harsh methods to oppress them. The punishments emphasized by the Duke of Chou at that time were those for murder and theft, which directly reflected the social conditions obtaining at the end of the Yin dynasty. The "Wei-tzu 微子" Chapter of the Shang-shu records that during the time of King Chou, T'ai Shih 太師, the military leader, lamented the prevailing social disorder, in which the people dared even to steal the sacrificial offerings to the spirits and eat them themselves; in addition to such sacrilege, every other crime imaginable was committed. That the Chou conquerors strictly enforced the laws against murder and theft should thus have been welcomed by the Yin survivors. The third major point is that the Duke of Chou advised Uncle K'ang to respectfully approach the surviving elders of Yin-Shang and request their guidance in formulating his ruling policies, and also to obtain the assistance of the ancient clans of YinShang in ruling the state. These people were called the "Yin hsien-ch'en 殷獻 臣" in the "Chiu-kao" Chapter of the Shang-shu, while the "Tzu-ts'ai 梓材" Chapter calls them the "Ta-chia 大家," and the "Huang-men 皇民" Chapter of the Yi-Chou-shu calls them the "Ta-men 大門," "Tsung-tzu 宗子," or "Shih-ch'en 勢臣"; in any case, they were to be used as Uncle K'ang's "legs and arms" in assisting him to rule the state of Wei. One of the goals of this policy was to gain the support of the surviving Yin nobles, for we know that the Yin nobles were strongly dissatisfied by their King Chou's defiance of the elders and ancient clans, his abandonment of his brothers, and the way he would listen instead to the advice of his favorite women and of fugitives from other After the Chou conquest, the ancient clans and great families were respected and restored to positions of influence; those outside the capital were given lands and titles such as hou 侯, t'ien 甸, wei 衞, and pang-po 邦伯, while those within the capital were given the titles of pai-kuan 百官, tsung-yin 眾尹, pai-hsing 百姓, li-chün 里君 and so on. All of this conclusively recorded in the Shang-shu "Chiu-kao" and Yi-Choh-shu "Shang-che" chapters.

Although the *Shang-shu* has no "admonition of Lu," Chu T'o's account quoted above indicates that the foregoing discussion could be applied to the state of Lu as well. Chu T'o, in his speech at *Tso-chuan* mentions that six of the surviving Yin clans in Lu followed the orders of the Duke of Chou and were given offices by the Duke of Lu, so their situation was similar to that of the "Yin hsien-ch'en" in Wei. The Yin survivors moved to Ch'eng-chou 成周 (the Chou eastern capital) by the Duke of Chou apparently put up the most stubborn resistance, but the "To-shih 多士" and "To-fang 多方" Chapters of the *Shang-shu* record that the Duke of Chou told these people that if they only faithfully served Chou kings, they could still have lands and rank, and would even be given rich rewards.

From these documentary sources it is difficult to support the idea that the survivors of the Yin dynasty endured the painful tragedy of a vanquished kingdom. Of course, their merciful treatment by the Chou was contingent on their

faithfully serving their conquerors; otherwise, just as the "To-shih" and "Tofang" Chapters recount, the Duke of Chou told them that not only their lands would be confiscated, but their lives would also be in danger. Since even the Duke's brothers of Kuan and Ts'ai had been put to death and exile respectively without mercy when they rebelled, what better fate could these survivors of a conquered kingdom expect? Thus we cannot view the harsh warnings in the "To-shih" and "To-fang" Chapters as proving that the Yin survivors indeed met with a "tragic fate."

The Tso-chuan account at Hsi 24 contains a conversation between Huang Wu-tzu 皇武子 and the Duke of Chèng 鄭, in which the Chou Emperor is described as treating the ruler of the state of Sung 宋 as an honoured guest and not as a vassal; he offered sacrifices of meat to the Sung ruler, and when there was a funeral in the Chou royal house, the Sung ruler attended as a mourner, for which the Chou Emperor especially expressed his gratitude. From this it is clear that the state of Sung, founded as it was by Yin survivors, nevertheless enjoyed a higher status than other lords in the feng-chien system. The "Honoured Guests" (k'o 客) mentioned in the "Yu-k'o 有客" and "Chen-lu 振鷺" Odes of the "Chou-sung 周頌" section of the Shih-ching are interpreted by the Han Scholiasts as references to the rulers of the states of Ch'i 杞 and Sung (descendants of the Hsia 夏 and Shang dynasties respectively); this interpretation seems indeed to be based on fact.

With King Wu of Chou's victory over the Yin, the Chou became the masters of China, but they did not make this struggle into an all-out popular war; on the contrary, they used the Yin King Chòu's corruption and despotism as an excuse for starting the struggle. The Yi Chou-shu "Shang-che" Chapter describes King Wu's announcement of the Shang people's innocence; only King Chòu himself was guilty of any crime, and this account is similar to that in the "Mu-shih 牧誓" Chapter of the Shàng-shu. Mencius's "Wen chu yi-fu Chòu 閏誅一夫紂 (I have heard of the putting to death of that fellow Chou)" (Mencius I-B/8) and T'ai-tzu Chin 太子晉 's statement that King Wu "yi-sha yi-jen 義殺 一人 (dutifully slew the king)" (Yi Chou-shu Chapter 64) were probably — 700—

the battle cries of the Chou in their attack on the Yin. In this way the Chou conquerors were able to enlist the support of the Yin people and sow rebellion among King Chòu's armies, thus creating the precedent for their merciful treatment of the Yin after the victory. For this reason the accounts of King Wu's merciful treatment of the Yin after his victory over King Chòu in the "Shen ta-lan 慎大覽" and "Chien-hsuan 簡選" Chapters of the Lü-shih Ch'un-ch'iu are basically the same as those in the other pre-Ch'in works, and hardly qualify as excessive praise of King Wu's actions.

III

Besides documentary sources, I would like to use the inscriptions on bronze vessels to pursue my hypothesis concerning the political and social status of the Yin survivors under Chou rule. These materials can be divided into two categories: those vessels which have been known for some time but which were not scientifically excavated, and those which have been more recently excavated under scientifically-controlled conditions. Among the most extensive recent archaeological excavations have been those carried out in 1976 at Chuang-po 庄 白 in Fu-feng 扶風 county of Shensi province, which uncovered the vault of the Wei-shih 微史 Clan; in 1975 the same village yielded the Po-tung 伯敦 bronze vessels, which in combination with some earlier known bronze inscriptions allow us to reconstruct the history of the Lu-tung 叔敦 Clan. Moreover, the groups of the "學" will figure in our discussion.

A total of 103 bronze vessels were unearthed in the Wei-shih Clan group. These vessels bear the names of seven people who had them made: Shang 商, Ling 陵, Che 折, Feng 豐, Ch'iang 墙, Hsing 瘌 and Po Hsien-Fu 伯先父; on the basis of inscription content, clan relationships, the names of those sacrificed to, and the styles of the vessels temselves, we can reconstruct the genealogy of this clan as follows:

TABLE 1: Genealogy of the Wei-shih Clan Wen-wu-ting 文武丁

Shang=Keng Ch'i 庚姫 | | Kao-tsu 高祖 (Wei-tzu Ch'i 微子啟)

- (1) Lieh-tsu 烈祖 (Wei-shih 微史)
- (2) Yi-tsu 乙祖 (Yi-kung 乙公)
- (3) Ya-tsu Tsu-hsin 亞祖祖辛 (Hsin-kung 辛公/Tso-ts'e Che 作册折)
- (4) Wen-tsu Yi-kung 文祖乙公 (Feng 豐)
- (5) Ting-yung 丁公 (Shih-ch'iang 史墻)
- (6) Wei-po Hsing 微伯痶
- (7) Po Hsien-fu 伯先父

In this genealogy, the first generation of Yin survivors is represented by no. 1, Lieh-tsu. From there down to no. 5, Shih-ch'iang, the genealogy is clearly genealogy of the Chou kings from Wu 武 to Kung 共, so we will not elaborate further here. The Hsing-chung 癲鐘 vessel inscription tells us that Hsing was the son of Shih-ch'iang. Meanwhile, the Po Hsien-fu vessels belong to the latter part of the Western Chou dynasty in terms of artistic style, and are the latest of all the bronzes under discussion, so Po Hsien-fu is quite possibly the son of Wei-po Hsing for this reason. Again according to style, the vessels bearing the name of Shang 商 are the earliest in this group, and the "Wen-p'i Jih-ting 文辟日丁" to whom they are dedicated is probably Wen-wu Ting (also called Wen Ting 文丁 in Shih-chi 史記); thus Shang is the son of Wen-wu Ting, of the same generation as Ti Yi 帝乙, and thus also of Weitzu Chi's father's generation. Moreover, a ku 佩 beaker in the Wei-shih Clan bronzes bears the clan-symbol an, which is the same as that on the well known 繇-kuei vessel. This kuei's inscription says it was made by 繇 in the 20th year of King Chóu's reign and dedicated to P'i-wu 妣戊 and Wu-yi 武乙, indicating that its owner was a member of the Yin-Shang royal clan. From these two points we can establish that the Wei-shih Clan belonged to the royal clan of the Yin without a doubt. The phrase "ching-yu Kao-tsu 靜幽高祖 (the quiet

and melancholy High Ancestor)" in the *Ch'iang-p'an* inscription can thus be analysed as referring to Wei-tzu Ch'i, a point that has been conclusively discussed by Professor Hsü Chung-shu 徐中舒.

Following the Chou conquest, this clan came to serve the Chou; King Wu ordered the Duke of Chou to establish Wei-shih 微史, of the first generation of Yin survivors, in the Chou homeland of Chou-yuan 周原, with a fief of fifty sung 码 of land. Yi-tsu, of the second generation, supported the Chou King and became his favoured assistant, while Ya-tsu Tsu-hsin (also known as Tsots'e Che) accompanied the Chou King on military expeditions to the south; he was even entrusted with the duty of enfeoffment of Hsiang-hou 相侯, a southern Feng, of the fourth generation, participated in the Chou King's visits to the regional lords and the officers, and made the formal announcements Shih-ch'iang, of the fifth generation, not only conof the King's commands. tinued in his clan's hereditary office of court recorders, participating in the government of the royal state, but also probably made a name for himself in the military arena as well. Wei-po Hsing, of the sixth generation, given assistance to Yin-shih 尹氏, was twice personally rewarded by the Chou Kings; he enjoyed great favour at his court. Thus although the Wei-shih Clan was made up not just of Yin survivors, but was descended from the Yin royal house, yet their high social and political status under the Chou is clearly illustrated by the history of these six generations.

Another case is the Lu-tung 泉刻 Clan. The name Po-tung 伯刻 appearing on bronzes excavated at the Chuang-po site in Fu-feng county is that of a relatively late member of the Lu-tung Clan, while Lu-tung himself was an early member of it. Bronze-inscription scholars generally date Lu-tung to around the time of the Western Chou King Mu 穆. However, an analysis of the names of persons to whom vessels in these two groups were dedicated reveals that Po-tung's father was Chia-kung 甲公 and his grandfather was Yi-kung 乙公, while Lu-tung's father was Yi-kung and his grandfather was Hsin-kung 辛公; thus it is very possible that Po-tung was Lu-tung's own son. Moreover, Po-tung and Lu-tung

are both mentioned in bronze inscriptions as taking part in military expeditions against the Huai 淮 barbarians; during an invasion by the Huai-i 淮夷, the Chou King ordered Lu-tung to lead a regiment of troops from Ch'eng-chou under the command of Po Huai-fu 伯維父 to attack Fu-hou 默侯, while Po-tung also led the Hu-ch'en 虎臣 (royal guards) and officers in attack on the Huai-jung 淮戎 and Jung-fu 戎誅, in which he established a glorious record of military prowess. The similarity of the duties of these members of two generations of the same clan may reflect what classical sources refer to as a "shih-kuan 世官" or here-ditary office. Finally, that Lu-tung twice received rewards from Po Huai-fu on military campaigns, and that a bronze p'an-vessel found among the Po-tung vessels at Chuang-po bears the inscription "Po Huai-fu tsu-tso yung-ch'i 伯維父 自作用器 (Vessel made by Po Huai-fu for personal use)," both lend further support to the fact that Lu-tung's relationship to Po-tung was that of father to son.

Lu-tung's native state of Lu 彖 was actually founded by Yin survivors; its founding ancestor was probably one Lu-fu 祿父, who had been granted a recorded fief by the Chou conquerors. Lu-fu's own origins have been debated since the Han dynasty; some say he was Wu-keng 武庚, while others say the two names are of different people. The bronze inscriptions tend to support the latter Early in the Chou period, there was a rebellion by Lu-tzu Sheng 泉子頂, which was put down by the t'ai-pao Shao-kung 太保召公. The rebel is alternatively called Wang-tzu Sheng 王子和 or T'ien-tzu Sheng 天子和 in the inscriptions; I suspect that the cognomen "Wang-tzu" or prince reflects Sheng's royal origins, while the "T'ien-tzu" or the Son of Heaven he arrogated to himself during his rebellion against the Chou. If he was indeed a prince, Lu-tzu Sheng must then have belonged to the Yin royal clan, so his father Ting-kung 丁公 could possibly also have been called T'ai-tzu Ting 太子丁, and his descendant Lu-tung would have used the respectful epithet King Hsi 釐 for his father. These materials again show that the Lu-tung Clan was not only a Yin survivor but part of the Yin royal clan; its genealogy can be tentatively reconstructed on

the basis of new and old bronze-inscriptious and dates as in Table 2.

TABLE 2: Genealogy of the Lu-tung Clan

- (1) Fu-ting 父丁 (Wang-tzu Lu-fu 王子祿父; T'ai-tzu Ting 太子丁)
- (2) Lu-tzu Sheng 泉子耶 (Hsin-kung 辛公)
- (3) Yi-kung 乙公 (Hsi-wang-釐王)
- (4) Chia-kung 甲公 (Lu-tung 彔刻)
- (5) Po-tung 伯茲

That Lu-tung's and Po-tung's exploits were recorded in the bronze inscriptions shows that they were not of low official rank; Lu-tung's father's and grandfather's ranks were also quite high. The Lu-po Tung kuei 彔伯 刻設 inscription quotes the Chou King's charge to Lu-tung, in which he says that Lutung's father and grandfather served the Chou court, conducting military campaings in the four quarters and opening up the borderlands in accordance with the Chou heavenly mandate, and tells Lu-tung that he must not fail to continue his father's and grandfather's record of service. This shows that Lu-tzu Sheng eventually capitulated to the Chou King and became one of his trusted "legs and arms." Lu-tung himself led Ch'eng-chou troops against the Huai barbarians, and his son Po-tung commanded the Hu-ch'en guards, officers and troops against the Huai-jung; all of this was indeed a continuation of their ancestors' accom-Thus this clan of Yin survivors also enjoyed a position that was plishments. not inferior to that of the Wei-shih Clan, and again cannot be seen as enduring a tragic fate under the Chou conquerors.

Numerous previously-known as well as newly-excavated Western Chou bronzes bear the 學 Clan-symbol. For example, in 1975 excavations were carried out at the Tomb 25 site at Huang-t'u-p'o 黄土坡村 at Liu-li-ho 琉璃河 in Fangshan 房山 county of Hopei province; the tomb was that of a person named Fu 復. This tomb had a double coffin-wall construction, and contained one human sacrifice and a very rich array of funerary goods, mostly weapons, which indicated that the person buried there had been a military commander or general. A

tsun 傳 and a ting 鼎 vessel were also recovered from the tomb, and bore inscriptions with the clan-ymbols \(\Psi \) and \(\Psi \), which would appear to be simplified This tomb has been dated to the early Western Chou period. variants of \\\. Meanwhile, some vessels discovered at An-chou 安州 in Hupei during the Sung dynasty bear inscriptions recording the deeds of one Chung +, who, at the time when the Chou King ordered Nan-kung 南宮 to put down a rebellion among the state of Hu 虎, was sent by the king to conduct a preliminary reconnaissance of the territory of Hu. Chung's troops encamped at a place called Ch'i-chou 崖州, on the Han 漢 river, and are said to have brought a number of large and small states in the area under control; they probably oversaw the non-Hua-hsia 華夏 states in the Han river plain. According to the inscription on the Chung tsun published in the Chou chin-wen ts'un 周金文存, Chung was also a member of the \underbrace Clan; most bronze-inscription scholars feel that the An-chou Chung vessel group belongs to the early Western Chou period. Moreover, a certain Yuan 員 appears in another inscription as having accompanied the court recorder 旗 on an expedition against the state of K'uai 會, which he distinguished himself heroically while leading an attack; the clan-symbol wagain appears at the end of this inscription. Another Western Chou tombsite was found in 1971 on the west bank of the Nan-Ch'an 南瀍 river in the village of Pei-yao-ts'un 北瑤村, northeast of the old city of Loyang. yielded a number of bronzes bearing basically similar inscriptions and made by a person named Teng 章; a previously-known early bronze, the Teng-ting 章鼎, also bears the same clan-symbol as Yüan's.

Most of the previously-known bronzes, bearing either the clan-symbol alone or the name of an ancestor as well, are Yin vessels; thus the 學 was clearly a large clan at that time. The vessels belonging to the Shang 商 generation in the above mentioned Wei-shih Clan vessel group have this symbol at the end of their inscriptions, as do the previously-known Keng-ch'i kuei 庚姬殷 and the Shang-fu yen 商婦廳. We know that Shang's wife was named Keng-ch'i, as we have discussed; the Wei-shih Clan came from the Yin royal house, so the 學 clan-

symbol is closely connected with the Yin royal clan. From the Chung 卓 subclan of the 學 clan, we have a Chung chueh 爵 -vessel unearthed at Tomb 1022 at Hou-chia-chung 侯家莊, the Yin-Shang cemetery site at Anyang, while a bronze ku and chueh bearing the character Chung were recovered from a rifled tomb, No. 1080, in Zone 6 of the western Yin-hsü 殷墟 grave area during the digging which was conducted there from 1969 to 1977. Tomb 699 in Zone 3 of the same area is one of only five large tombs among the more than nine hundred tombs there; it contains four human sacrifices, and yielded three bronze nao 鐃-bells bearing the character Chung. The finding of bronzes bearing this name in the Yin-hsü area reflects the close relationship between the Chung Clan and the Yin royal house. The head of the Chung Clan served as the Yin king's chen-jen 貞人 or oracle-bone diviner. Teng, mentioned above, also appears in the oracle inscriptions as the name of a sub-clan. All of this reveals the \textsupercept Clan's special status.

The symbol 學 itself has been interpreted by Professor Ting Shan 丁山 as Chi 冀, the name of as ancient state in present-day Chi county, Shansi province, but this interpretation does not appear to fit with the bronze inscriptions seen so The character contains the element $tzu \neq$, "son" or "child", which was used in oracle inscriptions in combination with personal names; such compounds have been tentatively interpreted by Professor Tung Tso-pin 董作賓 as the formal names of royal princes. Thus the character \(\psi\) may be connected to a princely clan; but Professor Kaizuka Shigeki 貝塚茂樹 goes a step further to suggest that this character represents a young clan group made up of princes of Yin royal house and that of the vassal states. We presently lack sufficient documentation to establish whether or not such a group included vassal states of the Yin-Shang kingdom itself, but it does appear that the Yin-Shang princes and their descendants generally used the character as their clan-symbol. If individual members of the group had separate fiefs, they would then use the names of their sub-clans such as Chung or Teng; originally they belonged to the \$\Psi\$ Clan. If this hypothesis is correct, then the Western Chou vessels bearing the clan-symbol \$\foralleq\$, like those of the Wei-shih and Lu-tung Clans, provide ample proof that the survivors of the Yin dynasty enjoyed quite a high socio-political status under the Chou.

IV

The clan structure of the Yin period, just as Chu T'o said, included tsungshih 宗氏 (main clans), fen-tsu 分族 (branch-clans), and lei-ch'ou 類醜 (associated groups). Tsung-shih were made up of direct relatives, and fen-tsu of branch-relatives, while lei-ch'ou were those ruled by the clan and engaged in The Yin clans were constantly sub-dividing and establishing productive labour. independent states and clans; since they did not emphasize the samesurname relationship, sub-clans sharing a common ancestor eventually developed into independent and apparently unrelated groups. As Professor Tung Tso-pin has discussed, the "tzu-X 子某" name-compounds in the oracle inscriptions were the names of Yin princes, but we can see that once these princes had established their own states, they would eventually come into conflict with the Yin royal house; such conflicts could even develop into open warfare, as if they were indeed different countries. Prime examples of this phenomenon in the inscriptions are the "states" of Pú 街, Pu 不, and Mu 目. Since the clan was thus the basic political and social unit of Yin society, and each was effectively independent with its own land and population, the Chou conquerors were able to kill "that fellow Chóu", but were unable to eradicate the widely-scattered Yinclan states that has evolved over several centuries. Added to this is the fact that many of these clan-states were not particularly subservient to the Yin royal house, or had mobilized their own troops against it; in this situation, the Chou King Wu could naturally sow mutiny among the Yin armies. To the survivors of the Yin dynasty, the Chou conquest was in reality a simple change of the master of the states; although they lost their own kingdom, they did not taste the bitter fruits of that loss. To understand the Chou's merciful treatment of the Yin survivors and their consequent high political and social status during the

Western Chou period, it would thus appear necessary to take into account the socio-political structure of the Yin Shang period itself, as revealed by the oracle-bone inscriptions. As I have relied primarily on Chou-period materials in this paper, I can attempt no conclusive answers to this major question in Yin-Shang history here; I seek rather to simply open discussion on this topic.