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商人日干為生稱以及同干不婚的意義

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過去大多數學者將商人貴族所使用的日干視為「廟號」,也必然是一種「殘 稱」。近年甲骨文研究發現不同組的子卜辭中皆有「丁」之生稱,且已有學者證明 此人為商王「武丁」,造成了相信日干為歿稱者極大的困擾。筆者利用屬於商人貴 族的金文材料,歸納出數種日干為生稱的類型,證明商人的日干可以用為生稱,而 且日干也不是私名,而是一種群體的符號。筆者並進一步指出祭祀用親屬稱謂以 「親稱+(日)+日干」的形式出現,方是歿稱,日干單獨出現時往往為生稱。在 筆者的另外幾篇文章中,已經從親屬稱謂體系,特別是女性在婚前與婚後的稱謂上 的差別,證明了商人貴族群體具有三個以上的世系群,並且在世系群間的婚姻模式 與「父方交表婚」的模式類似。本文進一步以甲骨文與金文中所見的「同干不婚」 的現象,說明商人使用的日干就是世系群的符號。如此,關於商人貴族社會結構的 基本論述已經完成,商人貴族「子姓」與其他單一世系群的古姓,如姬、姜、姒等 不同,它包含了甲、乙、丙、丁、戊、……壬、癸十個世系群,彼此之間互為婚 姻,以同干不婚為原則。

關鍵詞:日干為生稱 同干不婚 商人貴族 日干 親屬結構

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The Meaning of the Heavenly Stems as Designators for Lineages and the Related Marriage Taboo of the Shang Elite

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Most scholars have viewed the Heavenly Stems of the Shang elite as the "temple names," namely, posthumous designators. Studies of various recently discovered *zhi* group oracle bone inscriptions that bear the *ding* characters have found that the Heavenly Stems actually could refer to someone who was alive. Some scholars further suggest this *ding* refers to the Shang king Wuding, which poses an enormous challenge to the traditional view. By classifying and analyzing different types of bronze inscriptions of the Shang elite, this article concludes that the Heavenly Stems, when occurring alone, designated the names of the lineages, not personal names. They could also be used posthumously. In this case, the Heavenly Stems appear in the formula as "kinship term + (*ri*) + heavenly stem." By examining the terms used by the Shang kinship, especially the usage of different kinship terms for women before and after marriage, I have shown in other articles that the Shang elite comprised more than three lineages and formed marriages similar to "patrilateral cross cousin marriage" among different lineages. This essay further studies the taboo against tong-gan bu-hun (not marrying someone from one's own gan lineage) recorded in the oracle-bone and bronze inscriptions, suggesting that the Heavenly Stems served as the designators for different lineages. On the grounds of the above studies, the social structure of the Shang elite can be reconstructed to demonstrate that in contrast to other uni-lineage clans (such as *ji*, *jiang*, and *si*) the Shang elite consisted of ten different lineages, each of which was designated by one of the Heavenly Stems. Regulated by the principle of tonggan bu-hun, the Shang elite inter-married among lineages within their group.

Keywords: Shang elite, kinship structure, ten Heavenly Stems, tong-gan bu-hun

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