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## The Nieh Ling Yi

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For some years my studies have been spread over rather variegated fields of research and with a predilection towards scientific and technical aspects of investigation on archaeological remains with the view of utilizing such data in historical research. As a result attention to the inscriptions in Chinese bronzes has lagged somewhat, and numbers of completed and partly completed studies have laid dormant dust-collecting on my shelves. The present paper is one such instance. It was prepared for a particular publication some 12 years ago but, for reasons stated elsewhere, was withdrawn. It was later resurrected for a projected Symposium that was to have been held six or seven years ago, but the Symposium failed to materialize for lack of funds. The present form of the paper is largely that of the Symposium version but with some slight changes made to up-date it. As it is rather lengthy in the Symposium form (which covers two major inscriptions) I have now divided it into two sections for separate publication—the survey on the Tso-ts'e *Fang-Ting*-cauldrons forming the second part. This part will be submitted for inclusion in a later issue of the *Journal*, although reference to the four *Fang-Ting*-cauldrons has occasionally to be made hereunder.

I am indebted to the late Mr. A. G. Wenley, Director of the Freer Gallery of Art, for kindly allowing me access to the Collection on my first visit to the U.S.A. in

1961, while my debt to the late Mr. R. J. Gettens for many hours of patient explanation on things scientific and for the many fruitful discussions we had on technical problems in casting during my first and succeeding visits to the U.S.A. is, indeed, profound. In its original form the present paper was based largely on my studies of the well-known *Fang-Yi*-casket in the Freer Gallery of Art (accession no. 30.54). Later, the opportunity to examine the *Fang-Tsun*-beaker (accession no. J. W. 65.32) in the National Palace Museum, Shih-lin, Taipei, was generously afforded me by the Director, Dr. Chiang Fu-tung. During one of my recent field-trips to Taipei, Mr. W. T. Chase (who succeeded John Gettens as Chief Curator of the Freer Gallery of Art Research Laboratory) arrived and we were able to study together the *Fang-Tsun*-beaker and the two *Fang-Ting*-cauldrons—Tom Chase is preparing a detailed technical study of the four *Fang-Ting* and has kindly supplied me with copies of radiographs, the results of his analyses of the bronze, and has written at length on various points in the course of correspondence. Radiographs of the *Fang-Tsun*-beaker and several of the photographs of this vessel have been generously supplied by the National Palace Museum. With these brief acknowledgements and notes on the background of this survey by way of an Introduction, we may now proceed directly to the subject.

## The Nieh Ling Yi and the Tso-ts'e Ta Ting<sup>1</sup>

The Nieh Ling Yi [ins. 179.1 (v.b)] with its total of 179 characters and the Tso-ts'e Ta Ting [ins. 40.2 (v.a), (v.b)] with a text of 40 characters — respectively accession nos. J.W. 65.32 and J.W. 12.32/13.32 in the National Palace Museum Collection — are two important representatives of a large group of vessels unearthed near Lo-yang in 1929 or thereabouts.<sup>2</sup> Other vessels of this group are lodged in Japanese and American Collections and will also receive some attention in this survey. The Nieh Ling Yi inscription is not so well known in the form in which it appears in the Fang-Tsun-beaker and has usually been studied upon the basis of the Fang-Yi-casket [ins. 179.1 (v.a), (1.a)] “format” as first publicised by Lo Chen-yü 羅振玉 and Kuo Mo-jo 郭沫若. The line length of the Fang-Tsun-beaker text creates difficulties in printed presentation, thus on this account and for various other reasons, the Fang-Yi-casket format is followed here. Both vessels are regarded as examples of considerable artistic merit. In terms of the finest technical achievements of the ancient

bronze founders' art, the Nieh Ling Yi vessels occupy also a place of high honour. There is a large literature covering the vessels and the inscription text but here we may not hope to touch upon more than a small part of it particularly when we recall the existence of such mammoth-size papers as Wu Ch'i-ch'ang's 吳其昌 “Nieh Yi k'ao-shih” 矢彝攷釋, *YCHP*, 9 (1931): 1661-1732 and the exhaustive research of scholars of the calibre of Shirakawa Shizuka 白川靜 (*Hakutsuru bijutsukanshi* 白鶴美術館誌, 6 [1964]: 276-308).

### A. Problems of Provenance Relating to the Nieh Ling Yi Vessels and Others Associated with the Find

Several notes concerning the discovery of this important inscribed vessel and of others said to have been unearthed together with it are preserved amongst the numerous studies of the inscription published over the last 40 years. The earliest reference is recorded in Lo Chen-yü's “Nieh Yi k'ao-shih” 矢彝考釋, in which appears the first attempted transcription into modern characters (with, of course, the usual form of

<sup>1</sup> In romanisation of these and other vessel-names two or more versions may appear: Nieh Ling Yi and Nieh Ling Fang-Yi; it is also permissible to use the vessel-maker's title and name, thus Tso-ts'e Nieh Ling Fang-Yi could also result. The term Yi 彝 is that used in the inscription in reference to the parent vessel, while the combination Fang-Yi 方彝 is a relatively modern creation “square Yi-casket”. In my writings on the ritual vessels, I alternate between the “pure” Chinese term Yi, Ting, Kuei, etc. and the arbitrarily constructed combinations: Yi-casket, Ting-cauldron, Kuei-tureen, etc. As a full list of these combinations and an introductory note will be incorporated in a forthcoming publication (referred to in note 2, below) the reader's attention is directed there.

<sup>2</sup> As a simple means of identification of inscriptions I use reference numbers which derive from the number of characters in the inscriptions. Thus the Nieh Ling Yi 矢令彝 is ins. 179.1, the Tso-ts'e Ta Ting 作册大鼎 is ins. 40.2, etc. Different vessels containing the same inscription text are differentiated by the addition of: (v.a), (v.b), (v.c), etc. while lid texts are denoted by: (1.a), (1.b), (1.c), etc. The method has been described in detail in earlier papers; a complete list of inscriptions by reference numbers is in the course of preparation and should be published soon. Meantime, reference may be made to the forthcoming survey: *Chung Iih Ou Mi Ao Niu so-chien so-to so-mo chin-wen hui-pien* 中日歐美澳紐所見所拓所摹金文彙編 [Rubbings and Hand-copies of Bronze Inscriptions in Chinese, Japanese, European, American, and Australasian Collections], Noel Barnard and Cheung Kwong-yue, shortly to be published by Yee Wen Publishing Coy. Ltd. 藝文印書館, Taipei, for the reference numbers applied to some 2,000 items.

commentary) repeated in four different sources published in 1929 and in 1931:

1. *Shinagaku* 支那學, 5 (1929): 481-485, wherein is reproduced a rubbing of the lid-text bearing Lo's seal.
2. A privately printed lithograph copy, 1929, which I have not seen (*Kimbun kankei bunken mokuroku* 金文關係文獻目錄 [1956]: item 921b).
3. It is incorporated in Lo's small collectanea entitled *Liao-chü tsa-chu* 遼居雜著 (1929) with hand-copies of both the vessel-text and the lid-text.
4. A copy of the study together with additional illustrations comprising rubbings of the vessel-text and lid-text and also of the *Tsun*-beaker inscription [ins. 179.1 (v.b)] with composite rubbings (全形拓本) of the two vessels precedes Pao Ting's 鮑鼎 investigation into the authenticity of the Nieh Ling Yi. These are to be found in his *Mo-an chin-shih san-shu* 默庵金石三書 (1931). The title page of Lo's study is dated "first month of winter, *chi-ssu* (1929)"; Pao Ting's investigation entitled "Nieh Yi k'ao-shih chih-yi" 矢彝考釋質疑 is dated a few months later and, interestingly, the title page is in the calligraphy of Ch'in Keng-nien 秦更年. Ch'in also has cast doubts on the authenticity of the Nieh Ling Yi and some other vessels in a work entitled "Chin-wen pien-wei" 金文辨僞 according to Jung Keng (*Shang-Chou yi-ch'i t'ung-k'ao* 商周彝器通考 [1941] I: 215) but no indication of the location of this study is given.<sup>3</sup>

To return now to Lo Chen-yü's study we find he merely remarks to the effect that

the Nieh Ling Yi was unearthed together with the Nieh Ling Kuei [ins. 106.1 (v.a), (v.b)]. Pao Ting furnishes a little further information which illustrates also the reaction of another party, an antique dealer:

In the summer of this year (1929) the vessel was brought to Shanghai in anticipation of a sale. The proprietor of the Yi-wen-ko 猗文閣 and I were first to view it. Right from the start the proprietor maintained it was spurious declaring that the inscription was constructed by compiling together characters and phrases drawn from various other inscriptions.... (p. 1a)

Neither Pao (and the dealer who certainly might be expected to have known) nor Lo mention in this year anything concerning the provenance of the vessel. While writing up an additional note (dated 20.5.1930) for the 3rd edition of his *Chung-kuo ku-tai she-hui yen-chiu* 中國古代社會研究 Kuo Mo-jo draws attention to this omission of detail (p. 3) in reference to the version in *Shinagaku*. In July 1930, Kuo published his *Yin-Chou ch'ing-t'ung-ch'i ming-wen yen-chiu* 殷周青銅器銘文研究 and was apparently still unaware of the provenance of both the Nieh Ling Yi and the Nieh Ling Kuei. In August, however, he received rubbings of the Ch'en-ch'en *Ho* 臣辰盃 inscription [ins. 48.5 (v.d)] from Jung Keng and completed his manuscript incorporating a study of this inscribed *Ho*-kettle. It was published in *YCHP*, 9 (1931, following immediately after Wu Ch'i-ch'ang's long study) under his alternative name, Kuo Ting-t'ang 郭鼎堂, and repeated in a slightly revised form in his *Chin-wen ts'ung-k'ao* 金文叢考 (1932); Kuo remarks:

<sup>3</sup> My colleague, Dr. Cheung Kwong-yue 張光裕 found this article when in Kyoto, three years ago. It is published in *Ch'ing-hao tsa-chih* 青鶴雜誌 (Vol. 1:17-19, 21-24, July-Nov. 1933) under the author's hao: Ying-an 嬰閣. The level of scholarship on the question of the vessel's authenticity matches that of Pao Ting (see p. 24) — i.e., not particularly convincing. He cites the main points offered by Pao then adds several of his own observations which may generally be summed up as: ... such matters or phrases are not recorded in the classics, or in other inscriptions, thus the inscription is fraudulent.

I have heard that the Ch'en-ch'en *Ho* was excavated together with the Nieh Ling group of vessels at Lo-yang in the winter of 1929. Altogether there were 30 or so bronze vessels. How unfortunate it is that they have all been dispersed! Also I have heard that there is a *Yu*-flask bearing the same inscription but I have not yet seen it... (p. 227)<sup>4</sup>

A *Tsun*-beaker [ins. 48.5 (v.c)] containing the same inscription is illustrated in Sun Hai-po's 孫海波 *Ho-nan chi-chin t'u-chih sheng-kao* 河南吉金圖志 賡稿 (1939) and in exactly the same words Sun states that it was "excavated at Lo-yang together with the Nieh Ling vessels" . . . "30 or so excavated" . . . "how unfortunate" . . . etc. Similarly other writers have followed suit and base their statements partly on Kuo's and partly on those of Lo Chen-yü in his *Chen-sung-t'ang chi-ku yi-wen* 貞松堂集古遺文 which was published in January 1931. The preface of this famous collection of bronze inscriptions is dated November 1930, thus the data recorded in the pages concerning our group of vessels came to the attention of Lo about the same time as Kuo obtained his information—sometime after July 1930. *Chen-sung* contains both the vessel-text and the lid-text [ins. 179.1 (v.a), (1.a)—the Freer vessel], the *Tsun*-beaker inscription [ins. 179.1 (v.b)] and two inscriptions stated to comprise the vessel-text and lid-text of the Nieh Ling *Kuei* [ins. 106.1]. Regarding these Lo presents the following observations:

The Nieh Ling *Yi* appeared in Lo-yang in recent years and from what I have heard has already come on to the market. Vessels that were excavated with it were by no means few. Unfortunately it is impossible to present information on them. A few years ago I wrote a study on this inscription which was published in my *Liao-chü tsa-chu* and will not be repeated here. (4.51a)

This *Tsun*-beaker recently appeared in Lo-yang and has entered the collection of Mr. Liu Shan-chai of Lu-chiang 廬江劉氏善齋 (i.e. Liu T'i-chih 劉體智). The text is identical with the *Yi*-casket inscription. (7.20b)

This vessel (and lid—the Nieh Ling *Kuei*) recently appeared in Lo-yang and already has passed through the market and gone to Europe. Of the vessels unearthed at the same time as this one there were three *Ting*-cauldrons, a *Tsun*-beaker and a *Yi*-casket—altogether six vessels. (6.13a)

Kuo drew upon this information when writing the relevant notes in his *Liang-Chou chin-wen-tz'u ta-hsi* 兩周金文辭大系 (Preface dated September 1931):

These two vessels [ins. 179.1 (v.a), (1.a), and (v.b)] recently were unearthed at Lo-yang; the *Yi*-casket has already gone to the U.S.A. and the *Tsun*-beaker has entered the Shan-chai Collection. Over and above these were excavated the Ling *Kuei*—two items and the Tso-ts'e Ta *Ting*—three items. (p. 2)

The addition of the Tso-ts'e Ta *Ting* set [ins. 40.2 (v.a)–(v.d)] to the Nieh Ling group is based upon Lo's statement that "three *Ting*-cauldrons bearing this inscription were unearthed recently at Lo-yang" at the same time as the Nieh Ling items. Lo continues with the observation that he was uncertain as to whether there may have been other vessels (3.26b). He also lists the Ch'en-ch'en *Ho* inscription (which Kuo stated above was unearthed together with the Nieh Ling group) but simply records that it was lodged in the Shan-chai Collection (8.43b).

It is interesting to note Kuo's record relating to the Nieh Ling *Kuei* which implies "two vessels" rather than "vessel and lid" as recorded by Lo. He was probably referring rather loosely to the fact that two different inscriptions were involved for later

<sup>4</sup> Actually there are two *Yu*-flasks, each with the inscription text in both vessel and lid: ins. 48.5 (v.a), (1.a) now lodged in the Fogg Art Museum (accession no. 1943.52.95) and ins. 48.5 (v.b), (1.b) in the Hakutsuru Collection. The *Tsun*-beaker containing ins. 48.5 (v.c) is also in the Hakutsuru Collection.

in his *Ku-tai ming-k'o hui-k'ao* 古代銘刻彙攷 (1933) he discusses the two inscriptions specifically in terms of a "lid-text" and a "vessel-text" (2.4a). No one, in the early stages, seems to have actually seen the two items, however, according to Sun Hai-po in *Ho-nan* there was, in fact, no lid:

In *Chen-sung*, 6.11, is reproduced a "vessel-text" and a "lid-text" and a note stating that three *Ting*-cauldrons, a *Yi*-casket and a *Tsun*-beaker were unearthed at the same time as the Nieh Ling *Kuei* — altogether six vessels. Now, when I was in Ho-nan a dealer by the name of Lin Shih-an 蘭石厂 presented me with a photograph taken just after the vessel was excavated. There were two vessels and no lid! One of the vessels was cracked at the mouth. I rather believe that Mr. Lo's inscriptions recorded as a vessel-text and a lid-text are in fact two vessel inscription ... (notes on Plate 12).

Sun's observation was, indeed, well founded particularly in view of the fact that the two *Kuei*-tureens appeared in the one photograph — in cases of separate illustrations (often taken from different angles) mistakes as to identity or variation may be made even in the best of circles, e.g. Karlgren's listing of two Nieh Ling *Yi* vessels ("Yin and Chou in Chinese Bronzes", *BMFEA*, 8 [1936]: items B23 and B24).<sup>5</sup>

As to the date of the discovery of the Nieh Ling *Yi* and associated vessels Lo never mentions the year 1929 but always speaks vaguely: "in recent years . . ." — this in the latter half of 1930 when compiling the passages in *Chen-sung* quoted above. His earlier study of the Nien Ling

*Yi* inscription was completed about the middle of July, 1929, but no mention was made as to the time or place of the find. In the version printed in *Shinagaku* (p. 486) he appends a short survey which he had compiled in the "winter of 1928" discussing the term 里君 *li-chün* in the Shih Sung *Kuei* 史頌殷 inscription. To this he adds the remark: "Just recently I saw a rubbing of the Nieh *Fang-Yi* (i.e. Nieh Ling *Yi*) which likewise contains the term . . . (dated:) August 1929." Here it is quite evident that Lo knew of the Nieh Ling *Yi* (and *Kuei*) per media of rubbings during the summer of 1929 but six or eight months before when writing his brief study of the Shih Sung *Kuei* term was quite unaware of their existence. These points may be accepted as a rough indication of the date of excavation, corroborated, too, by Pao Ting's record of the Nieh Ling *Yi* reaching Shanghai in the summer of 1929. Twelve months later in their writings both Lo and Kuo begin to speak of Lo-yang as the site of origin and Kuo states in fairly precise terms "the winter of [1928-] 1929" as the date of excavation. Although no authority is given, the date so interpreted, seems sufficiently plausible to be accepted.

Ma Hsü-lun 馬叙倫 in his article entitled: "Ling Nieh *Yi*" 令矢彝[sic.] (*Kuo-hsüeh chi-kan* 國學季刊, 4.1 [1934]:15) says: "This vessel came to light in Lo-yang in summer of the 19th year (of the Republic). . . ." Placing it thus in 1930, it would appear that Ma mis-read the

<sup>5</sup> When the preliminary version of my study of the Nieh Ling *Yi* inscription was compiled in August 1963, I somehow failed to observe that Ch'en Meng-chia (*KKHP*, 10 [1955]:78) had already stated that there were two vessels — indeed he published reproductions of both in the same article — and observed that the lids of both were lost. Not only did this passage fail to "register" until a later stage but also I had before then the good fortune to visit the David Weill Collection in Paris in May 1964, and saw for myself that there were two vessels. One of these I examined closely and made notes on features of some importance and certainly, of interest, in view of the details available in regard to the Nieh Ling *Yi*-casket and of records in my files covering several of the other vessels supposedly from the same site-area, if not from the same tomb. Such technical observations are presented in detail in Section D.

Western-style date (i.e. 1929) in Kuo's publications but how "winter" became "summer" is difficult to assess! Ch'en Meng-chia 陳夢家 (*KKHP*, 10 [1955]: 77-78) also presents a general statement relating to provenance and date of find: "It is said that in 1929 a large cache of bronze vessels was unearthed five kilometres to the northeast of Lo-yang at Ma-p'o 馬坡 on the lower slopes of Mang-shan 邙山." The source of the information is not given. He states, too, that between 50 and 100 vessels were recovered; however these figures would seem to be exaggerated in view of our evidence above.

In assembling together scattered notes of this kind it is possible to gain a better insight into some aspects of the immediate circumstances attending the find notwithstanding the fact that so much is left unrecorded. First, we have observed the lack of simple provenance details accompanying the arrival of the *Nieh Ling Yi* on the Shanghai market and in its first published introduction in the same year. In the following year, however, Lo Chen-yü and Kuo Mo-jo present in their writings the earliest traceable information; thanks to Kuo's dating of his studies it is clearly evident that the accounts did not become current until sometime between May and August, 1930. On the other hand the basis of the information is not at all clear and one is left with a distinct impression that it could be little more than a dealer's patter. Sun's note on the photograph he received from a dealer in Honan, however, allows some degree of assurance that the provenance details may be reliable.

## B. The Inscription [ins. 179.1]

In presenting the following section-by-section translation and commentary I have chosen to treat the score or so of studies listed in the Bibliography as a general corpus of research from which appropriate statements and conclusions have been drawn to illustrate points under discussion. Although fully acknowledging the individual sources, I have not taken particular care to ensure that the earliest study resulting in a certain conclusion is always selected in preference to the expression of the same matter in a later study. The aim is simply to avoid too cumbersome a presentation of such necessarily repetitious material. For purposes of record and convenience, however, the two translations in English published to date — that of the late Mr. A. G. Wenley and the more recent version offered by Professor W.A.C.H. Dobson — are cited in full, together with my own connected translation at the conclusion of the present section of the survey. Wherever possible I have indicated within my commentary what constitutes the valuable contribution of Mr. Wenley, sometimes by paraphrase, and occasionally by direct citation. Western scholars in this field will surely continue to find stimulation upon due study of the high standards of scholarship he established so long ago.<sup>6</sup>

### 1. 隹八月，辰才〔在〕甲申。

In the eight month, the *ch'en*-phenomenon (occurring) on the day *chia-shen* (the 21st day of the cycle):

Years of reign in the general corpus of inscriptions are recorded only infrequently, while the name of the ruler concerned very

<sup>6</sup> The late Mr. A. G. Wenley compiled in the "Old Freer Catalogue" — *A Descriptive and Illustrative Catalogue of Chinese Bronzes* (1946) — a series of inscription studies which constitute a landmark of high merit in Western language surveys on bronze inscriptions. Foremost amongst these is his detailed commentary on the *Nieh Ling Yi* text (pp. 42-47). Since he wrote, many new studies have appeared and thus the time is ripe for a new appraisal of the text that will introduce the fruits of more recent research to Western readers.

seldom appears thus the dating of “dated” inscriptions presents a problem of some magnitude. Aspects of this will be elaborated upon later.

The term 辰才 [在] *ch'en-tsai* followed by the cyclical day-date occurs in 23 inscriptions (Table 1). Wu Ch'i-ch'ang in his long study of the Nieh Ling Yi — “Nieh Yi k'ao-shih” 夬彝攷釋 (*YCHP*, 9 [1931]) lists 16 examples which at the time he wrote seems to have been exhaustive and remarks upon the lack of association of the term with the “third”, “sixth”, and “seventh” months. The six additional inscriptions here also avoid these three months but it is doubtful in view of the paucity of examples and their wide distribution over nine months of the year that the lack of entries in the above months can be more than a matter of coincidence. On the basis of this situation, however, Wu develops the thesis that *ch'en* is to be regarded as 辰星 *ch'en-hsing* “Mercury” which, according to a source quoted in the Cheng-yi 正義 Commentary to the *Chou-li* 周禮, completes an annual circuit of the heavens at the rate of one degree per day. Accordingly *ch'en* would also have had the meaning of “one day”. Mercury, however, presents considerable difficulties in observation and even if its sidereal or synodic periods — respectively 88.97 days and 115.877 days — had been known at the time, they would hardly have formed the basis for a calendrical term employed so extensively throughout the year. That the term signifies a happening occurring on a single day is clear from the

available formulations but the meaning of “one day” as such is effected without use of *ch'en-tsai* in the majority of bronze inscription dates — the cyclical characters on their own make redundant any Chinese equivalent of our “on the day . . . .”. With this observation in mind, it would seem feasible to regard *ch'en* tentatively as a celestial phenomenon which was easily observable or calculable and occurred, on the average, once a month.

As evident in Table 1 *ch'en-tsai* is a point of reference in the month itself: thirteen cases (twelve cases if we omit the very obvious spurious example ins. 62.2) and also in the month-quarter ten cases (actually nine if the immediately obvious fake ins. 21.13 is discarded).<sup>7</sup> Thus *ch'en-tsai* could be employed with or without the month-quarter. In attested inscriptions available to date it is present to only three Western Chou texts and each lacks the month-quarter. It does not occur in Shang date formulae or in those of Eastern Chou, hence it seems necessarily to be regarded as a purely Western Chou calendrical term. Its position in the general formulae employed in Chou times is illustrated in the attested cases listed in Table 2 which resolve into the following patterns for the Western Chou materials:

- (a) Royal year, month, month-quarter, cyclical day-date.
- (b) Royal month, month-quarter, cyclical day-date.
- (c) Month, month-quarter, cyclical day-date.

<sup>7</sup> Ins. 21.13 (*Hsiao-chiao* 8.7b) is clearly spurious upon several counts that need not be fully elaborated here. The misplacement of the *ti-chih* cyclical character in the *chien-kan* position is sufficient to condemn it almost out of hand. Ins. 62.2 is incorporated in an early acquired piece in the Freer Gallery of Art Collection (FGA 13.30) and long suspected as a fake by Wenley, myself, and others — the inscription has been published for the first time in the “new Freer Catalogue”: *The Freer Chinese Bronzes* (1967) I, and with further technical notes in John Gettens' excellent survey *The Freer Chinese Bronzes* (1969) II. In a forthcoming survey of “incised inscriptions” (刻銘 *k'o-ming*), or more specifically “spuriously incised” inscriptions (偽刻 *wei-k'o*), I will discuss the matter of calligraphy, content, character usage, etc. of ins. 62.2 together with other examples of “spuriously incised” inscriptions. This inscription has recently been studied in some detail in terms of its spurious nature see Cheung Kwong-yue 張光裕 *Wei-tso Hsien-Ch'in yi-ch'i ming-wen shu-yao* 偽作先秦彝器銘文疏要, 323-326.

TABLE 1

1.	T.393.1	〔 隹王廿又五祀……雩若壻日乙酉…… 〕 隹八月既壻辰才 囗囗
2.	190.1	唯王八祀正月辰才丁卯
3.	56.3	唯王正月辰才甲午
4.	T.109.2	隹王正月辰才庚寅
5.	92.1	唯王二月既壻霸辰才戊寅
6.	T.406.1	唯王 𠄎月既壻霸辰才丁酉
7.	T. 45.1	隹王五月辰才丙戌
8.	S.490.1	隹王五月辰才戊寅
9.	T. 97.1	隹王八月辰才戊午
10.	T.349.1	唯王九月辰才乙卯
11.	50.1	隹王十月既壻辰才己丑
12.	90.9	隹王十又二月辰才甲申
13.	118.1	隹 𠄎月辰才丁未
14.	41.5	隹 五月既死霸辰才壬戌
15.	48.4	唯 五月辰才丁卯
16.	T.21.16	隹 五月夙才壬寅
17.	T.24.5	唯 八月初吉辰才乙卯
18.	179.1	隹 八月辰才甲申
19.	21.13	隹 十月既生霸辰才寅 𠄎 ( ! )
20.	T.110.1	唯 十又一月初吉辰才丁亥
21.	T. 84.1	隹 十又二月既壻辰才壬午
22.	S.60.3	隹 十又二月……辰才庚申
23.	62.2	隹 十又二月辰才庚申

TABLE 1. Inscriptions containing the *ch'en-tsai* term in date of formulae. The inscription reference numbers which appear in above Table and those in Table 2 are listed in the Bibliography section in numerical order with the inscribed vessel names noted alongside each.



TABLE 2

<b>A. Ch'en-tsai type</b>		
1. 佳三月辰才丁未	{ 118.1 }	西
2. 佳王十又二月辰才甲申	{ 90.9 }	西
3. 唯王八祀正月辰才丁卯	{ 190.1 }	西
<b>B. Royal years and months</b>		
1. 佳王元年三月，既生霸……甲寅	{ 96.1 }	西
2. 佳王元年……六月初吉丁亥	{ 37.15 }	西
3. 佳王三年三月初吉甲寅	{ 45.7 }	西
4. 佳王三年八月初吉丁亥	{ 26.5 }	西
5. 佳王五年九月既生霸壬午	{ 57.4 }	西
6. 佳王五年……既孟冬戊辰	{ 29.11 }	東
7. [ 佳王五祀 ] 佳正月初吉庚戌	{ 201.1 }	西
8. ……唯王十又七祀……	{ 131.1 }	西
9. 佳王廿二又六年	{ 39.1 }	東
<b>C. Royal months</b>		
1. 佳王正月初吉丁亥	{ 35.14 }	西/東
2. 佳国正月初吉乙丑	{ 46.7 }	西
3. 佳王三月初吉庚申	{ 70.9 }	西
4. 佳王五月初吉甲寅	{ 77.3 }	西
5. 佳王五月既字白期吉日初庚	{ 52.3 }	東
6. 佳王九月既生霸甲寅	{ 100.8 }	西
7. 唯王十月既吉	{ 15.12 }	西/東
<b>D. Plain years and months</b>		
1. 元年正月初吉辛亥	{ 92.3 }	東
2. 佳三年三月既生霸壬寅	{ 117.1 }	西
3. 佳九年正月既死霸庚申	{ 190.2 }	西
4. 佳十又二年初吉丁卯	{ 121.3 }	西
5. 佳十又七年十又二月既生霸乙卯	{ 110.2 }	西
6. 佳廿又七年三月既生霸戊戌	{ 71.6 }	西
<b>E. Plain months</b>		
1. 佳正月初吉庚午	{ 23.24 }	西
2. 佳正月初吉丁亥	{ 29.17 }	東
3. 佳正月初吉丁亥	{ 36.13 }	東
4. 佳正月初吉丁亥	{ 32.8 }	東
5. 佳三月初吉丁亥	{ 54.1 }	西
6. 佳三月既生霸甲申	{ 154.1 }	西

7. 佳五月初吉庚午	[ 55.3 ] 西
8. 佳五月初吉圉戊	[ 70.2 ] 西
9. 佳五月既生霸庚申	[ 51.6 ] 西
10. 佳五月初吉壬申	[ 46.5 ] 西
11. 佳六月初吉	[ 37.9 ] 西
12. 佳六月初吉乙酉	[ 132.2 ] 西
13. 佳八月初吉	[ 106.2 ] 西
14. 佳八月初吉	[ 27.7 ] 西
15. 佳八月既壑戊辰	[ 32.9 ] 西
16. 佳八月初吉戊寅	[ 71.5 ] 西
17. 佳八月初吉丁亥	[ 55.4 ] 西
18. 佳九月既壑乙丑	[ 63.4 ] 西
19. 佳十月	[ 16.39 ] 西
20. 佳十月又二月初士	[ 22.7(v.a) ] 西
21. 佳十月又二月初吉	[ 22.7(v.b) ] 西

## F. Dating by Days; Miscellaneous

1. 乙亥	[ 22.1 ] 西
2. 丙午	[ 26.50 ] 商/西周
3. 丁亥	[ 22.16 ] 商/西周
4. 佳正二月既死霸壬戌	[ 36.15 ] 西

## G. Dating by Events

1. 佳公賡于宗周	[ 23.9 ] 西
2. 曾從王南正□山谷在般水	[ 19.21 ] 西
3. 王出就南山向豐山谷至上侯嶠川上啟從征	[ 37.14 ] 西
4. 佳王初斿于成周圍圖珣王豐禘自天、才三月丙戌	[ 122.1 ] 西
5. 佳三月王才成周□珣禘自高；咸	[ 23.23 ] 西
6. 佳留箭旌素替人	[ 12.60 ] 東
7. 大司馬邵郵敗替幣於襄陵之戡顯景之月乙亥之日	[ 162.1 ] 東
8. 公孫翁立夔威飯魯月	[ 37.13 ] 東
9. 陳喜魯立夔區鄧月己酉	[ 25.6 ] 東

TABLE 2. Date formulae amongst inscriptions of the Chou period assembled from properly attested and acceptably attested materials. For identification of the reference numbers see Bibliography.

- (d) Month, *ch'en-tsai*, cyclical day-date.
- (e) Month, month-quarter.
- (f) Royal year.
- (g) Dating by event.

Unattested inscription dates fall into the same patterns except for a comparatively small number of exceptions. In Eastern Chou times the date formulae as instituted in early Western Chou with month-quarters and the *ch'en-tsai* term was modified — the latter seems to have been entirely dispensed with while month-quarters gradually fell into disuse and a greater emphasis was placed in Chan-kuo times upon the seasonal names of the months [e.g. ins. 162.1 and 29.11]. In this later period the frequent appearance of the phrase 吉日 *chi-jih* “on an auspicious day”, occasionally with a more explicit formulae as in ins. 52.3, may be a continuation of the *ch'en-tsai* term in a new form but this observation should be taken merely as a speculative statement.

Wu Ch'i-ch'ang places emphasis also upon the explanation in the *Tso-chuan*: “*ch'en* is the term used for the conjunctions of the sun and the moon whence the days of the month are regulated.” (Chao, 7th year) What is described here is simply the new moon — conjunction occurring only when the Sun, Moon, and Earth lie in the same vertical line and in this order. This point seems to have missed Wu's attention insofar as it might indicate the significance of the *ch'en-tsai* term. The tradition of its indication of such a celestial conjunction — easily observable and important to ancient calendar regulators — is quite strong in the *Tso-chuan* and the *Kuo-yü*, as well as in the *Shuo-wen* and other Han period sources

quoted by Wu. This particular line up of the Sun, Moon, and Earth would, naturally, have been of especial interest because of its occasional result in a solar eclipse. Tentatively, therefore, it is suggested here that *ch'en-tsai* indicated either the phasic cycle of the moon (29.53 days) or the actual lunation (27.33 days). In either case the irregular occurrence of the event in terms of month-quarters (as illustrated in Table 1) would be easily explained, so, too, its distribution throughout most of the months of the year and its rare appearance amongst the total of 200 or so “dated” Western Chou inscriptions.

In the rendering of “on the day . . . . .” (*Old Freer Catalogue*, p. 44) Wu Ch'i-ch'ang's conclusion that *ch'en* signified “a day” was probably followed by Wenley. I have also translated it earlier on the same lines “the day being . . . . .” (*Monumenta Serica*, xvii [1958]:29). Dobson's “In the eighth month, in *ch'en-ts'ai*, on the day *chia-shen*” results in a duplication of 才 *ts'ai* (= 在 *tsai* “in”) and the English word “in” prefixing the phrase. Just what this is intended to convey is not quite clear.

2. 王命〔命〕周〔周〕公子明保〔明保〕尹三  
舉〔事〕三〔四〕方，曼卿〔曼卿〕

the King commanded Ming-Pao,<sup>8</sup> son of the Duke of Chou, to superintend the *San-shih* and the *Ssu-fang*, and to take charge of the *Ch'ing-shih-liao*

For many years there has been a lively controversy in regard to the dating of this vessel and the several others which are believed to have been discovered with it at Loyang in 1929. This situation has not

<sup>8</sup> There are occasions where character combinations forming a person's name, or title-name (or name-title) are not fully understood, or there is appreciable disagreement as to how the individual characters in combination are to be explained. In the present instance there is uncertainty as to whether the characters *ming-pao* are to be read as a person's name: *Ming-pao*, or as a name-title combination *Ming* [T'ai]-*pao* (i.e. the Grand Guardian [T'ai]-*pao*, *Ming* [person's name]). In maintaining a neutral stand in romanising such enigmatic combinations, I use capital initial letters for each word and hyphenate the term: *Ming-Pao*. Other examples such as: *Ming-Kung*, *Yin-Po*, *Fu-Ting*, etc. may be noted in later sections of this paper.

altered significantly since Wenley succinctly summarised the position along the following lines: Two schools of thought place these vessels respectively in the reigns of Ch'eng Wang 成王 and Chao Wang 昭王. The chief protagonist for the latter dating is Wu Ch'i-ch'ang (*Chin-wen li-shuo shu-chêng* 金文辭源疏證, [1936]:8.21b) who upon the basis of the *San-t'ung-li* 三統曆 computed backward to the time of Wu Wang 武王, taking into careful account all items such as intercalary months, etc. which might affect the results. By means of this carefully worked out chronology Wu believed it possible to assess exactly which years contained given days expressed on the bronzes in cyclical characters in given quarters of given months. From this and other data appearing on the bronzes themselves he has proposed dates exactly to the year, month, and day of a large series of inscribed bronzes. As Wenley continues to observe there are, however, several objections to this system, the main point of opposition being based upon Wu's use of the *San-t'ung-li* which being of Han period origin is generally considered to be inapplicable to the earlier periods. Furthermore, it would seem unlikely that Chou period modifications of the calendar effected by means of intercalary months would necessarily have been made in exactly the same manner and between precisely the same months as proposed by Wu—any such variation would naturally put the months astray in terms of the cyclical day-dates allocated to them. Intercalations of the months would not, of course, affect the regularly recurring cycle of 60 days nor would there be an over-all effect on the years. Then, on the basis of an attack

on Ch'u 楚 mentioned in the Nieh Ling *Kuei* [ins. 106.1], which Wu regards as a reference to the reign of Chao Wang because wars with Ch'u are recorded in the *Chu-shu chi-nien* 竹書紀年 in this reign (cf. Fan Hsiang-jung's 范祥雍 ed., p. 25) and also because of the mention of the K'ang-kung 康宮 which he maintained could refer only to an ancestral shrine dedicated to K'ang Wang (see notes under Section 3 later) Wu decided to place the Nieh Ling *Yi* in the reign following K'ang Wang. He found that the 6th day of the 8th month of the 10th year of Chao Wang (1043 B.C.) concided with the month and day that is recorded in the opening sentence of the Nieh Ling *Yi* text.

In addition to the preceding points assembled by Wenley further support for the Chao Wang dating may be discovered. Lo Ch'en-yü, in the first published commentary (*op. cit.*) is of the opinion that the Chou Kung here is not Tan 且, Duke of Chou, but a later successor holding office at the Royal Court. Ma Hsü-lun in his "Ling Nieh Yi" (p. 16) does not dispute the identification with Chou Kung Tan but accepts Wu's dating of the inscription in Chao Wang's reign. T'ang Lan 唐蘭, in the same journal (p. 21) is also in accord so far as Chao Wang's reign is concerned but contests the validity of Wu's allocation of a reign-length of 51 years to Chao Wang as well as his backward calculations made in accordance with the *San-t'ung-li* calendar.<sup>9</sup> B. Karlgren ("Yin and Chou", p. 35) remarks: "Those who date them (Nieh Ling *Yi*, Nieh Ling *Kuei*, etc.) in Ch'eng Wang's reign expose themselves to a great difficulty from the term K'ang-kung. Therefore those who place them in Chao Wang's reign are

<sup>9</sup> Shirakawa (6.278-286) discusses each of the six possibilities of identifying Ming-Pao as proposed by the authorities cited here in considerable detail. Volume 6 of his excellent *Kim bun tsūshaku* 金文通釋 series published by the Hakutsuru Bijutsukan did not appear until some time after I had more or less finalised my draft on the Nieh Ling *Yi* inscription. It has not seemed necessary to elaborate the matter further as Shirakawa's researches are readily available and the conclusions advanced by him confirm those offered here. In other instances, I have simply added appropriate notes in the form of annotations.

surely right." The K'ang-kung problem will be discussed in its place shortly.

Wenley has conveniently summarised the situation of the Ch'eng Wang date group headed by Kuo Mo-jo (*K'ao-shih*, 6: 5b-10a) whose most important arguments may be summed up as follows:

To begin with he calls attention to the beginning of the present section of the text 'The King commanded Ming Pao, son of the Duke of Chou ...' The Duke here mentioned, he says, must be Tan, Duke of Chou, who carried on the government during Ch'eng Wang's minority. As an added proof of this he cites the Ming Kung *Kuei* 明公設 [ins. T.23.2] bearing an inscription which mentions Duke Ming and, later, the Marquis of Lu who are taken by him to be the one and the same person, and therefore the same as the Duke Ming and Ming Pao mentioned in the *Fang Yi* inscription. (p. 47)

Now, the full text of this inscription (see Figure 1) may be translated as follows:

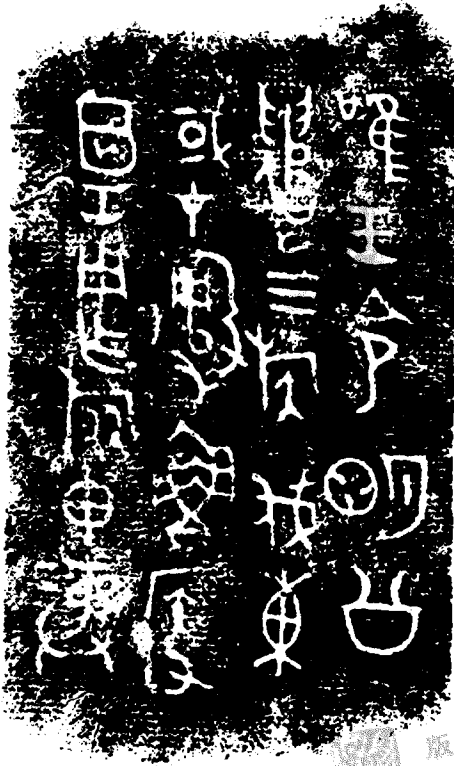
- (1) (When) the King commanded Ming-Kung
- (2) to despatch the *San-tsu* 三族 in an attack against the Eastern
- (3) Countries. (While) in Hsien (驚 = 獮?), Lu Hou obtained
- (4) great merit (?). Therefore made (this) series of (?) *Yi*-vessels.

Kuo proceeds to build up his thesis that Ming-Pao, being son of Chou Kung and also Marquis of Lu, must be no other than Po Ch'in 伯禽. The connecting link in his argument is essentially the association he asserts in respect of the Ming-Kung and the Lu Hou in the above inscription. There is, however, not the slightest suggestion in the original text that these are the one and same person — Wenley, I believe, had doubts on this score as seems evident in his cautious wording above and more particularly in his

next paragraph (p. 47) where he speaks only of "a Ch'eng Wang date". Ch'en Meng-chia in his earlier study of the Nieh Ling Yi ("Ling-Yi hsin-shih" 令彝新釋, *K'ao-ku she-k'an* 考古社刊, 4 [1936]:28) refutes Kuo's interpretation: "Upon what basis can the Marquis of Lu recorded in the Ming-Kung *Kuei* be regarded as Duke Ming? Duke Ming is Duke Ming, the Marquis of Lu is the Marquis of Lu!" He continues then to advance the theory that Ming-Pao is Chao Kung Shih of Yen 燕召公奭 (*Shih-chi*, ch. 34) on the assumption that the character *Shih* can be equated with *Ming* and that *Pao* is an official title — while the latter is admissible the former is merely an ingenious juggling of *chia-chieh* applications. In his later study (*KKHP*, 10 [1955]:88) Ch'en has a new theory — Ming-Pao is Chün Ch'en 君陳, a younger brother of Po Ch'in, the eldest son of Chou Kung. Ma Hsü-lun, referred to above, considers Ming-Pao to be Chou P'ing Kung 周平公, identified by some commentators with Chün-ch'en (*Chu-shu chi-nien t'ung-chien* 竹書紀年統箋: 7.19b) but a different person according to the authority of Tung Feng-yüan 董豐垣, whom Ma follows. In a recent study of several problems attending the Nieh Ling Yi (*Li-shih yen-chiu* 歷史研究, 4 [1959]:62-63) Chou T'ung 周同 seeks to interpret the characters 子明保 as comprising: a courtesy title (子) + the *tzu* 字 of Chou Kung, namely, 明 + the rank of *Pao*. In other words the five characters *Chou Kung tzu Ming-Pao* refer to one person (Chou Kung) and not to two people. Ming-Kung which appears later in the inscription is accordingly to be understood as a reference to Chou Kung. Chou T'ung's idea is interesting but hardly supported by the context of the inscription which clearly records two persons.<sup>10</sup> How-

<sup>10</sup> Much the same theory was put forward by Kaizuka Shigeki 貝塚茂樹 in his *Chūgoku kodaishigaku no hatten* 中國古代史學の發展 (1948 ed.): 146 and possibly is the source of inspiration of Chou T'ung's idea. Shirakawa (6:284-285) has disposed of Kaizuka's strange reading of the Chinese in terms of: 周の公子なる明保 which like Chou T'ung's interpretation above is considerably in conflict with normal pre-Han inscription character usage.

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1 唯[推]王 令[命]明[明]公

2 獲[遣] 三鬪[族] 伐東

3 或[國] 才[在] ?, 魯 戾[魯侯] 又

4 ? 工[功] 用乍[作] 物車[輦:旅] 彝

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FIGURE 1. Rubbing and transcription of ins. T. 23.2 (after Fig. Twelve, MS Vol. xxiv, 1965, p. 353).

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ever, it may be noted in his discussion that he interprets the Ming-Kung *Kuei* inscription correctly — Ming-Kung is not Marquis of Lu.<sup>11</sup>

It does not seem necessary to dwell much longer on this problem. Most writers are in accord in accepting Chou Kung in the inscription to be the famous Duke of Chou. Ming-Pao (possibly a contraction of Ming T'ai-pao 明太保 "the Grand Guardian, Ming") is his son but not necessarily his eldest son, Po Ch'in, who was enfeoffed as Marquis of Lu. The arguments offered by Ch'en and Ma in favour of Chün-ch'en, Chou P'ing Kung, or Chao Kung Shih each contain a number of historical details approximating closely to the inscription data but in each case, however, the parallel sought fails in certain essentials. We must simply assume that Ming-Pao has to be placed amongst the growing number of hitherto unrecorded persons of rank now coming to our attention following the results of archaeological excavation. Chou Kung may well have had a much larger family than the traditional records inform us (see Wu Ch'i-ch'ang's long study for a convenient table, p. 1676). That the inscription belongs to the reign of Ch'eng Wang (1115–1070 B.C.) — leaving aside the enigma of identification attending Ming-Pao — we find a long list of scholars in general agree-

ment: Kuo Mo-jo, Hsü Chung-shu, Ch'en Meng-chia, Jung Keng, Sun Hai-po, and Chou T'ung. In 1936 Jung Keng inclined towards a Chao Wang dating (*Shan-chai yi-ch'i t'u-lu* 善齋彝器圖錄, 2:34a–38b) but he finally placed the Nieh Ling group in Ch'eng Wang's reign in his *Shang-Chou* (1.43). As Wenley has rightly observed:

This seems to tip the scales in favour of Kuo Mo-jo's contention of a Ch'eng Wang date. This being the case, but with no intention of insisting on an accurate dating to the day, it may be interesting to see how our Fang-Yi date would fare in Wu Ch'i-ch'ang's calendar for the reign of Ch'eng Wang. Our inscription names two months and five days as follows: 八月辰在甲申 'the 8th month, the *ch'en*-phenomenon occurring on the day *chia-shen*', the day 丁亥 *ting-hai* in the same month, and 十月月吉癸未 'the 10th month in the first quarter on the day *kuei-wei*', also the days 甲申 *chia-shen* and 乙酉 *yi-yu*. Using Wu Ch'i-ch'ang's table there is only one year (1085 B.C.) during the reign of Ch'eng Wang (his 24th year following the Regency period of Chou Kung) when these combinations occur as given in the inscription, and the above dates correspond as follows: The 2nd and 5th days of the 8th month, and the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th days of the 10th month. Admittedly it would be extremely hazardous to claim such an exact date, but it may be worth noting that it is only 42 years earlier than Wu Ch'i-ch'ang's contention of the 10th year of Chao Wang. (Cf. Figure 2.)<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> In my review-article on Cheng Te-k'un's *Chou China* (MS [1965] xxiv) several inscriptions concerned with Chou Kung are presented in translation and discussed at some length, including ins. T.23.2 above. A line-drawing of the parent vessel appears in Fig. Eleven of the review-article and in the caption I have hinted — perhaps not as strongly as the bronze vessel warrants — my view that it is a fake. Stylistically it would seem to be extremely difficult to demonstrate an acceptable basis for dating the vessel as early as Han let alone pre-Han.

<sup>12</sup> Upon a recent check on these combinations of dates in Wu Ch'i-ch'ang's table, I find if we allow, say, seven to eight days for the "first quarter" of a month that the above combination of dates in ins. 179.1 will actually hold also for the following years: 1111, 1110, [1100, 1085, 1079, 1074,] 1064, 1054, 1043, 1028, 1022, 1018, [1013, 1012, 1007,] 997, 996, 986, etc. There are in fact four possible years in Ch'eng Wang's reign according to the orthodox system and three in the 1027 B.C. system as delineated by Ch'en Meng-chia (1017–1005). The two groups of years in Ch'eng Wang's reign are enclosed by brackets.

八月		九月	十月
	19 [last day, 7th month]		
	20 [first day, 8th month]	49 [first day, 9th month]	19 [first day, 10th month]
	[21] [八月辰才甲申]	50	[20] [十月=吉癸未]
	22	51	[21] [甲申]
[i]	23	[i] 52	[i] [22] [乙酉]
	[24] [丁亥]	53	23
	25	54	24
	26	55	25
	27	56	
	28	57	
	29	58	
	30	59	
[ii]	31	[ii] 60	
	32	1	
	33	2	
	34	3	
	35	4	
	36	5	
	37	6	
[iii]	38	[iii] 7	
	39	8	
	40	9	
	41	10	
	42	11	
	43	12	
	44	13	
[iv]	45	[iv] 14	
	46	15	
	47	16	
	48 [last day, 8th month]	17	
		18 [last day, 9th month]	

小

大

小

FIGURE 2. Dates in the Nieh Ling Yi placed into Wu Ch'i-ch'ang's reconstructed calendar for Western Chou. Month-quarters are approximations only.



The term *San-shih* 三事 in this section has given rise to two schools of thought: Lo Ch'en-yü states: "It is similar to the *San-yu-shih* 三有事 in the *Shih-ching* — the Three Ministers (*San-ch'ing* 三卿) of the States, namely the *Ssu-t'u* 司徒, the *Ssu-ma* 司馬 and the *Ssu k'ung* 司空" (*op. cit.*). The majority of the later commentators seem to be in full agreement that Lo's interpretation is wrong; Kuo Mo-jo says:

The *San-shih* is simply the officers mentioned in the Li-cheng Chapter of the *Shu-ching*: 'In the establishment of the government and the management of the people, the Administrative Officers (準), the Officers of State (夫 = 吏) and the Regional Officers (牧) were the Three (Types of) Officers.' The character 夫 is a scribal error for the graph 吏 ... the *San-shih* is a general allusion to the officers as a whole (百官) and it is just as if one were to speak of the Three Classes of Officialdom. The older interpretation of *Ssu-t'u*, *Ssu-ma*, and *Ssu-k'ung* misses the point .... (*K'ao-shih*, 6b)

Until recently Kuo's arguments have been generally accepted but with the discovery of the *Lai Yi* 盩彘 set of inscribed bronzes [ins. 106.2] in the village of Li-ts'un, Mei-hsien, Shensi 陝西郿縣李村 in March 1956, the validity of Lo's interpretation would appear to be established. The relevant section of the text runs: "The King assembled the *Ts'an-yu-ssu* (namely:) the *Ssu-t'u*, the *Ssu-ma*, and the *Ssu-kung*."<sup>13</sup> *Ts'an-yu-ssu* 參有嗣 is equivalent to the *San-yu-shih* 三有事 of the classics and here is clearly defined as comprising the *Ssu-t'u* "Supervisor of Territories", the *Ssu-ma* "Supervisor of Armies" and the *Ssu-kung* "Supervisor of Works". Before the discovery of this set of vessels Yang Shu-ta

楊樹達 in his *Chi-wei-chü hsiao-hsüeh shu-lin* 積微居小學述林 advanced the opinion that the *Ssu-t'u* 司徒 "Supervisor of Instruction" of the classics was actually 司土 (now graphically confirmed by ins. 106.2) and accordingly an office relating to land and not to the instruction of the people (pp. 242-243).<sup>14</sup> The *San-shih* of the Nieh Ling Yi is equivalent to the *San-shih* of the *Shih-ching* (Legge, p. 326) which the commentaries interpret here as the "Three Dukes" 三公 — ministers in the Royal Court. According to the *Shu-ching* passage quoted by Kuo above, however, an entirely different set of officers is involved, but they are Royal Officers. The term *San-kung* "Three Dukes" is likewise clearly understood to comprise Royal appointments although two variant definitions have been current since Han times: the *Chou-li* states that the Three Dukes were the *T'ai-shih* 太師 "Grand Tutor", the *T'ai-fu* 太傅 "Grand Assistant", and the *T'ai-pao* 太保 "Grand Guardian" — this is repeated in the forged Chou-kuan Chapter of the *Shu-ching*. In the "Pai-kuan kung ch'ing piao" of the *Han-shu* (19.2b) the same definition appears but a few lines further on an alternative theory is cited:

The *Ssu-ma* was in charge of the affairs of Heaven (the Emperor), the *Ssu-t'u* was in charge of the affairs of the people, and the *Ssu-k'ung* was in charge of the affairs of the earth — these were the "Three Dukes" while the "Four Mountains" were the Princes of the Four Regions. Following the collapse of Chou, however, the (system of) officials became obsolete and (the nature of) the numerous appointments confused. During the internecine strife of the Warring States all became changed and different.

<sup>13</sup> The rendering "the King assembled ..." for 王行 is proposed in the *ms* of my as yet unpublished study of ins. 106.2, 90.3, and the short lid inscriptions. I have sought to read 行 in the sense of 列 *lieh* "ranks", "line", etc. — the reading is by no means proven. Other interpretations proposed are similarly open to further consideration.

<sup>14</sup> Regarding the three terms discussed here, it should be observed that the office, *ssu-k'ung*, is also read in the revised form, *ssu-kung* (i.e. "Supervisor of Works") as proposed by Yang. At the conclusion of his study he has drawn attention to Wu Ta-ch'eng's 吳大澂 even earlier proposal to read the three terms along the lines which the inscription character usage would suggest (p. 244).

Notwithstanding this state of affairs, which Pan Ku appreciated, something of the original nature of triumvirate of ministers of the Royal Domain of Chou seems to have seeped through the fires and proscriptions of Ch'in.

The *San-yu-shih* are not, however, traditionally recorded as officers of the Royal Domain but are found associated with the States of the feudal Princes. As we have observed, they comprised the *Ssu-t'u*, *Ssu-ma*, and *Ssu-k'ung* regarding which point there seems to be general agreement amongst the commentators. It was also recognised that they were known as the *San-ch'ing* which term was also understood as one related to the feudal States and not to do with the Royal Domain. Ins. 106.2, however, illustrates the fact that in Western Chou times the *San-yu-shih* (*viz.* *Ts'an-yu-ssu*) were, indeed, Royal ministers and were not officers (or ministers) of the feudal Princes. From the context of the Nieh Ling Yi it is equally evident that the *San-shih* were Royal ministers whose despatch of Royal decrees extended to the feudal princes (*Chu-hou* 諸侯, line 6). The terms *San-shih*, *San-yu-shih*, *San-ch'ing*, and *San-kung* of the traditional literature are, in all probability, derived from the inscription terms

*San-shih* and *Ts'an-yu-ssu* and only a vague understanding of the original nature of the latter was current in Han times.<sup>15</sup>

*Ssu-fang*, "the Four Regions", is sometimes defined as *Ssu-kuo* 四國 "the Four States" in the sense of the feudal States as distinct from the seignorial Domain of Chou. The association of the term *Ssu-fang* with the *Chu-hou* "feudal Princes" (line 6) supports this interpretation well. Ming-Pao has thus been commanded by the King to assume duties involving supervision of the "Three Ministers" — probably one of the highest administrative posts in the feudal kingdom — and control over the feudal Princes. The latter was exercised per medium of the *Ch'ing-shih-liao* who were responsible to the Three Ministers. Definition of the *Ch'ing-shih-liao* is difficult beyond the obvious identification of *Ch'ing-shih* 卿 笈 = 卿 士 in the traditional texts and *liao* defined in the *Tso-chuan* and the "Shih-ku" of the *Erh-ya* 爾雅釋詁 as "officers of the same rank" and "officers" respectively. Wu Ch'i-ch'ang (pp. 1679-1682) has assembled together most of the relevant passages from inscription sources and the traditional literature and succeeds in illustrating the existence of the office in Shang times and shows that in Western Chou times

<sup>15</sup> On this matter Shirakawa cites most of the various sources and authorities discussed above but has not taken into account the content of ins. 106.2. He believes there to be a difference between the *Ts'an-yu-shih* and the *San-shih* on the basis of a sentence in the Mao Kung Ting 毛公鼎 but this famous inscribed vessel is of highly questionable authenticity — see my brief studies: "New Approaches and Research Methods in Chin-Shih-Hsüeh", *Tōyōbunka kenkyūjo kiyo* 東洋文化研究所紀要, 19 (1959):25-31 and *MS*, xxiv (1965): 395-407. The latter has been translated into Chinese by Dr. Ong Ti-wa 翁世華 in *Shu-mu chi-k'an* 書目季刊 (5.4[1971]:3-38, 6.2[1972]:11-66) and has led to a remarkably spirited defence by Chang Kuang-yüan 張光遠, "Hsi-Chou ch'ung ch'i Mao-kung-ting" 西周重器毛公鼎 (*Ku-kung chi-k'an* 故宮季刊 7.2[1972]: 1-69): a further appraisal by me has since been published: *Mao Kung Ting — A Major Chou Period Bronze Vessel* (Canberra, 1974).

Further relevant inscriptions employing the term *Ts'an-yu-ssu* have recently been excavated, e.g. amongst the vessels in the Tung-chia-ts'un 董家村 hoard found near Ch'i-shan 岐山, Shensi (*WW* 1976.5: 26-44) is one with a long inscription (ins. 117.1), the Wei Ho-kettle 衛盃 which not only defines the three offices but also names the individuals holding these offices. It is further important to observe that they are subservient to various noble ranks at the Royal Court, a feature to be noted also in the Wei Ting-cauldron (A) from the same find which has the same three offices mentioned by different persons occupy the posts (ins. 201.1). These and other examples will receive fuller discussion in a later projected paper; the issue of *Wen-wu* containing these new documents came to hand just as the present survey went to press.

the *Ch'ing-shih-liao* were Royal Officers. This is about as far as one may proceed with the presently available evidence with any degree of confidence—the term has not yet appeared amongst properly-attested inscriptions.

In his translation Wenley renders 受 *shou* as “receive” but it would seem that a somewhat more complex meaning is involved; note the *Shih-ching* sentence: 受大國是達 “Charged with a large State, he commanded success” (Legge, p. 639) where the character 受 *shou* is employed with the meaning of “receive” together with the implication of administrative responsibilities engendered by the object following it. As several of the Nieh Ling Yi commentators point out, the inscription usage is identical. Dobson follows this, too, but translates the *Ch'ing-shih-liao* as: “the administration” rather than as: “the senior Ministers” which he uses on the two later appearances of the term. Although the general sense is maintained the more precise rendering of “the senior Ministers” would, I think, be preferable here.

3. 丁亥：夬矢告〔告〕玆〔于〕周公宏〔宮〕  
公夬徂〔徂：出？〕同卿〔卿〕

On the day *ting-hai* (the 24th day of the cycle): (Ming-Pao) commanded Nieh to announce (the honour) in the Chou Kung Palace. The Duke (Ming-Pao) ordered the assembly of the *Ch'ing-shih-liao*.

An interval of two days falls between this and the opening date of the text—the two dates occur within the first quarter of the eighth month as shown in Figure 2. As Ming-Pao is recorded as arriving in Ch'eng-Chou 60 days later (line 7) Wu Ch'i-ch'ang, T'ang Lan, Kuo Mo-jo, Sun Hai-p'o, and Jung Keng are all of the opinion that this was his first visit to the Capital (i.e. he was not present in Ch'eng-Chou on the above dates) thus the subject of the first sentence above is taken to be the King. Upon this assumption Kuo presses his theory

that Ming-Pao must be Po Ch'in, Marquis of Lu, because it took so long for him to travel to the Capital from the State of Lu—he obviously lived a considerable distance from Ch'eng-Chou. The text does not, however, give any suggestion at all that Ming-Pao was *not* in Ch'eng-Chou at the time of the investiture. On the contrary, appointments and awards made by the King always were effected directly upon the recipients during the course of a formal ceremony. Princes and officers did not receive honours in their absence or by proxy. The investee had to be present at the ceremony in order to receive the diploma containing the Royal commands and to confirm his oath of fealty to the King at the conclusion of the ceremony. The subject of this sentence can be no other than Ming-Pao. Wu Pei-chiang 吳北江 (K'ai-sheng 闡生) as quoted and supported by Yü Hsing-wu 于省吾 (*Shuang-chien-yi chichin-wen hsüan* 雙劍謠吉金文選, A.2: 26a) is apparently otherwise alone amongst Chinese commentators in holding this view. Wenley probably had this in mind, too, although he does not state who “he” represents (p. 44). Nevertheless, the context as translated clearly indicates that it is Ming-Pao. To my mind the Chinese text is no less lacking in ambiguity. Dobson is also in accord.

There are various interpretations of the “Chou Kung Palace”—was it a Palace or a Temple (Shrine)? Was it “a Ducal Palace of Chou”? The two versions given by Wenley in his translation, represent aspects of other views:

[These] merely involve the question of translating the phrase 周公宮, which might be taken either as Chou kung-kung, “Palace of the Dukes of Chou”, or as Chou-kung kung, “Palace of the Duke of Chou”. In the latter case it might refer to a particular duke of the line such as Tan 旦 the Duke of Chou who handled the government

during the minority of Ch'eng Wang.<sup>16</sup> The former translation, however, which has the more general meaning of ducal palace is perhaps best as being suitable under any circumstances. There is also the question of the rendering of the character *kung* 宮 in its usual meaning "palace". The character occurs twice more (lines 7 and 8) in the names *k'ang-kung* 康宮 and *ching-kung* 京宮. In at least these two latter cases the context refers to the performance of certain rites in these places, and so some Chinese authorities tend to interpret the character as *miao* 廟 "shrine". While this may be true, it seems more likely that the reference is to palaces or their precincts within which were situated ancestral temples or shrines. (p. 45)

There have been several new studies on this question directed especially towards the "K'ang Palace" in line 8. Ch'en Meng-chia (*KKHP*, 10 [1955]: 87, 133ff) shows the difference between "palaces" 宮 *kung* and "temples" 廟 *miao* in the inscriptions quite well.<sup>17</sup> T'ang Lan has published a massive 33-page survey of the term K'ang-kung (*KKHP*, 1962.1: 15-48) asserting again his thesis that inscriptions referring to the K'ang-kung must be of a vintage later than the reign of K'ang Wang (1078-1053 B.C.). The data and arguments are far too involved to allow a reasonable representation of the two divergent opinions here. My own view is that Kuo, Ch'en, and others mentioned earlier are correct in contesting the "posthumous Royal appellation" theory, as it might be called, of Wu Ch'i-ch'ang, T'ang Lan, and others. I am in full agreement with Wenley's cautious discussion on this point.

The subject of the second sentence which simply reads "The Duke ordered . . ." requires definition. Wenley has presented two possible versions (p. 44):

- (3) "The Duke (i.e. Ming-Pao) commanded A [徯] to assemble the Chief Ministers (Ch'ing-shih-liao)".  
or: "The Duke (i.e. Duke of Chou) commanded him (i.e. Ming-Pao) to go (徯) and assemble . . ."

He does not indicate a preference. The Chinese commentaries are either divided or silent upon this matter. Dobson's rendering which follows Ch'en's punctuation (p. 86) would appear to favour the "Duke of Chou" version — Ch'en does not, however, elaborate. In his earlier survey (*K'ao-ku she-k'an*, 4:32) he states that "Kung" is "Ming-Kung" and takes the character 徯: 徯 to be a person's name thus following T'ang Lan but in his recent study Ch'en now regards it as a meaning (= 造 *tsao* in sense of 聚 *chü* "assemble"). I have adopted the view that the "Duke" is Ming-Pao (i.e. Ming-Kung: Duke Ming) upon the basis of the context which seems clear enough. If Ming-Pao was commanded by the King to take charge of the *Ch'ing-shih-liao* it would be most unlikely that anyone but Ming-Pao would promulgate orders for their assembly, especially with his appointment only a few days old.

Controversy rages over the character 徯 as already noted. One thing seems certain — it cannot be a proper name. The context in both instances of its use (cf. line 4) prevents such an interpretation. It is simply an element in two compounds: 徯同 and 徯令 both with a verbal function. It surely has to be transcribed as 徯 = 徯 and is definitely not 徯 = 造 *tsao* which in archaic form is written: 廌, 廌, 徯, etc. wherein the element 廌 is distinctly different from 徯. Archaic forms of 出 *ch'u* are generally written: 出 which is the

<sup>16</sup> Ch'en Meng-chia is of the opinion that the Duke of Chou is mentioned as a living person in the present inscription but it is most doubtful that this could be the case. As Shirakawa shrewdly observes it would be quite unnecessary to add the character 宮 to the clause 告于周公 if Chou Kung were actually alive (6:298).

<sup>17</sup> Shirakawa disputes Kuo and Ch'en's interpretation of 宮 *kung* as "palace" and believes it to be generally used in the inscriptions in the sense of "temple", "shrine", etc. (6:289). His argument is weak and unconvincing in the face of the extensive evidence cited by Ch'en.

nearest structural approach to which the upper element, 𠄎, in the Nieh Ling Yi character conforms.<sup>18</sup> The Chinese commentators nearly all accord in reading the command as “assemble the *Ch'ing-shih-liao*”. T'ang Lan alone suggests: “The Duke ordered Nieh to commence (造 = 始 *shih*) to act with his ‘fellow officers’ (同僚) in rendering him assistance.” (p. 23) which has probably prompted Dobson's: “The Duke then charged me to take my place among the senior Ministers”. Wu Ch'i-ch'ang, however, has dealt with the problem exhaustively (pp. 1684-1685) — the meaning would clearly appear to be “assemble”.

4. 佳十月二〔月,月〕吉,癸未:明公軌  
〔朝〕至尹成厝佻舍舍三畢舍眾卿對審眾  
罌〔者:諸〕尹,眾里君,眾百工;眾罌  
辰=侯,侯〕田〔甸〕男,舍三〔四〕方舍。

In the tenth month, the first quarter, on the day *kuei-wei* (the 20th day of the next cycle): Ming-Kung (Ming-Pao) held audience. Arriving in Ch'eng-Chou (he, Ming Kung,) sent out orders to put into effect the decrees of the *San-shih* concerning the *Ch'ing-shih-liao*, the *Chu-yin*, the *Li-chün* and the *Pai-kung*; and as to the *Chu-hou* (namely:) the *Hou*, *Tien* and *Nan*, (they were) to put into effect the decrees of the *Ssu-fang*.

The Chinese commentators seem to be in agreement that 朝 *chao* = 旦 *tan* “morning” thus following the Chao-kao Chapter of the *Shu-ching*: “The Grand Guardian, in the morning, arrived at Lo.” (Legge, p. 421) but the meanings of “audience”, “visiting a superior”, “holding a court”, etc. are so much more commonly found that I wonder if Wenley's: “Duke Ming went to audience at Ch'eng-Chou” is not to be preferred? I have chosen, however, to break the sense at “audience”, then commence a new sentence: “Arriving in Ch'eng-Chou . . .”, there are thus various modes of interpretation possible here. Dobson's: “The Duke of Ming, proceeding towards the east (朝), came to the city of Ch'eng-Chou to put into effect the decree.” seems to pre-suppose that a State situated to the west of Ch'eng-Chou was the fief of Ming-Kung. So far as I am aware there is no real authority for rendering 朝 *chao* as “proceeding towards the east”.<sup>19</sup> It may be observed that he translates here the enigmatic graph, 徯, as: “put into effect” which is somewhat inconsistent with his interpretation on its earlier occurrence. A remark should be made at this stage, too, regarding Dobson's interpretation of Ming-Kung as “Duke of Ming”. Lacking definition it would tend to be understood by English readers as meaning “Duke of (the State of) Ming”. Should there be any

<sup>18</sup> The transcription generally favoured is 徯 thus taking the element 𠄎 to be 𠄎: 𠄎 = 止. Throughout the three inscriptions this character is written: 徯 and 徯 (l.a), 徯 and 徯 (v.a), and 徯 (v.b) — the second occurrence in the *Tsun-beaker* inscription is not determinable. The lid text version alone is close to the element 𠄎: 止 in shape but varies slightly in the lack of curvature in the centre vertical stroke, cf. 徯 in line 13. The remaining examples in (v.a) and (v.b) show clearly that the element is unlikely to be 𠄎 = 止, and each contrasts markedly with the element 𠄎: 𠄎 = 止 in 徯. As to there being an identity with archaic 𠄎: 出 *ch'u*, this, too, is open to question. Amongst the examples in *Kochühen* 古籀編 (65: 14-15) and *Chin-wen-pien* (ku-lin: 0223, 2: 01041-46) are additional instances of the Nieh Ling Yi structure in other inscriptions and further commentaries may be studied. It seems doubtful, however, that a definite view can be offered yet upon comparison with other inscription usage.

<sup>19</sup> Dobson has no doubt followed Ch'en Meng-chia's suggestion that the phrase 朝至 means 東至 (*KKHP*, 10 [1955]: 89) but Ch'en is actually overdoing the argument and, moreover, has omitted reference to other highly relevant instances of usage of the character 朝 *chao* which demonstrate decisively enough that *chao* simply indicates the time of royal audiences. Shirakawa has dealt with this matter at some length (6.293) and shows that Ch'en's interpretation lacks foundation.

authority for such a rendering — so far as I know there is not — the combination Ming-Pao might also be written “Guardian of Ming” as Dobson has done. The position is such that one cannot make it a general rule that “X-title” means “title of X”. Clear-cut cases that may be cited are: Yi Po 乙白 and Ch’ih Kung 刺 (= 烈) 公, which appear in recently excavated vessels — these are the names of deceased persons to whom the relevant vessels are dedicated. The first characters are certainly not place-names. Amongst living people mentioned in the inscriptions, we may find examples such as Mu Kung 穆公, Yi Kung 益公, K’ang Kung 康公, etc. wherein the first characters have, no doubt, the same significance as they do in: Mu Wang — “King Mu”, K’ang Wang — “King K’ang”, Mu-kung — “The Mu Palace”, etc. Unless it is definitely known that the first characters are place-names, it would be simply a matter of caution to render them as Ming-Kung (or Duke Ming), etc.

As to the remainder of this section Wenley has offered several possible interpretations:

- (5) “A (德) and (Nieh) Ling gave out the commands of the Three Ministers concerning the Chief Ministers, all the Directors, the Prefects, and all the officers,”  
 or: “He sent orders to give out the commands . . . .”  
 or: “He (i.e., Duke Ming) sent (Nieh) Ling to give out the commands . . . .”  
 (6) “and concerning the hereditary nobility, the Marquises, Lords and Barons, to give out the commands of the Four Directions”.  
 or: “. . . they gave out . . . .”

The original text is such that any one of these variations, which more or less amount to much the same general idea, may be supported by copious examples from traditional sources and unattested inscriptions.

Some degree of correspondence with traditional records of the various titles listed

in the inscription may be observed, e.g. in the Chiu-kao Chapter of the *Shu-ching*:

In the exterior domains, the Princes of the States of the Hou, Tien, Nan (侯甸男) and Wei with their chiefs; and in the interior domain (i.e. the Royal Domain) all the various officers (百僚), the Directors of the several departments (庶尹), the inferior officers (惟亞) and petty officers (惟服), the honoured officers (宗工), with all the men of honoured name living in retirement (百姓里居〔居 = 君?〕). (Legge, p. 407)

In the inscription it is clear that the decrees issued by the *San-shih* were promulgated to the *Ch’ing-shih-liao* (cf. 百僚) thence to the *Chu-yin* (cf. 庶尹), the *Li-chün* (cf. 里居 in the *Shu-ching* which Kuo Mo-jo wishes to read as 里君) and to the *Pai-kung* (cf. 宗工). The decrees concerning the *Chu-hou* (enumerated in the inscription as:) the Hou (侯) Tien (甸) and Nan (男) were those put into effect outside the limits of the Royal Domain i.e. the *Ssu-fang* “Four Regions”. Dobson’s rendering and mine accord thus in most respects with one or other of Wenley’s alternatives — the decision one takes is necessarily a matter of personal judgement.

5. 既〔既〕咸令〔令〕, 甲申: 明〔明〕公用牲〔牲〕苴〔于〕高〔京〕宏〔宮〕。乙酉: 用牲〔牲〕苴〔于〕肅〔康〕宏〔宮〕。咸既〔既〕, 用牲〔牲〕苴〔于〕王, 明〔明〕公歸〔歸〕自〔自〕王。

Having (carried out) completely the (Royal) commands, on the day *chia-shen* (the 21st day of the cycle): Ming-Kung sacrificed a victim in the Ching Palace. On the day *yi-yu* (the next day): he sacrificed a victim in the K’ang Palace. All this accomplished; and having sacrificed a victim in (the presence of) the King, Ming-Kung returned from the King.

In the Chao-kao Chapter of the *Shu-ching* is reference to the same sacrificial ceremony: “Three days later, the day *ting-ssu*, he sacrificed two oxen in the suburbs.” (Legge,

p. 423) 越三日丁巳，用牲于郊，牛二。 The correspondence of the phraseology is remarkably close. In the *Ch'un-ch'iu* frequent record of the *yung-sheng* 用牲 ceremony is to be noted and in particular in association with eclipses (Wen 15th year, Chuang 25th year and 30th year) where it was conducted in the (Hou-t'u 后土) shrine — on one occasion in the gateway of the shrine. Ch'en Meng-chia in his later study (p. 90) suggests in this connection that it may have been a sort of building foundation ceremony because of archaeological finds of ox, sheep, and dog bones buried in and around the foundations of Shang building remains at Anyang. Accordingly he considers that Ming-Kung was engaged in such sacrificial ceremonies at the two Palaces. His theory might perhaps be deemed acceptable except for the awkward fact that the ceremonies are clearly stated to have been conducted in the two Palaces, which presumably must have been already built!

My rendering of the whole section above differs from Wenley's only in the interpolation "(i.e., in the presence of) the King." Sacrifices were not made to a living person. Pao Ting makes much of this point in contesting the authenticity of the Nieh Ling Yi considering what he takes to be "piece-meal" compilation of the inscription here to be quite ludicrous (*op. cit.*, p. 11a). Ch'en Meng-chia pointed out in his earlier survey that "sacrificing a victim 'to the King' is simply sacrificing a victim 'in the Temple Hall in which the King is present'." (p. 35). This is surely correct in view of the preceding sentences which state precisely enough that the sacrifices were conducted "in such-and-such a Palace (or Temple?)" But in his later study (pp. 86, 91) Ch'en disregards his earlier argument and wholeheartedly adopts T'ang Lan's thesis that the character *Wang* "King" is to be taken as a proper name and thus an abbreviation of *Wang-Ch'eng* 王城. T'ang's argument is based upon a statement in the "Geographical Treatises" of the *Han-shu* which he thinks implies that the place to which the Nine *Ting*-cauldrons were removed by King Wu and where Chou Kung built a "royal city" (T'ang's *Wang-Ch'eng* 王城 — where in the Kings of Chou resided until P'ing Wang's time) was a city other than Ch'eng-Chou. There were, he says, actually two cities: Ch'eng-Chou and *Wang-Ch'eng* (p. 25). The thesis seems untenable not only in view of T'ang's necessarily arbitrary reading of a meaning, "royal city", as a proper name but also because there is no other record of a place called "Wang". Ch'en has developed the argument further to the effect that "Wang" is equivalent to "Chou" 周 which occurs so often in the inscriptions and is, he believes, a place to be distinguished from Ch'eng-Chou and Tsung-Chou 宗周. His discussion (pp. 133-142) is ingenious but without the critical approach so necessary when the sources range as they do through so variegated a corpus of materials.<sup>20</sup> Dobson follows T'ang and Ch'en and renders "Wang" as a place-name: "Having made both sacrifices at Wang, the Duke of Ming returned (to his residence) from Wang."

So far as I can judge from the original text the third *yung-sheng* is, indeed, a third sacrificial ceremony conducted after the

<sup>20</sup> Two studies by Gotō Kimpei 後藤均平: "Ōsai Seishū kō" 王在成周考, *Tōyō gaku* 44, 3:340-364 and "Seishū to ōjō" 成周と王城, *Wada hakase koki kinen tōyōshi ronsō* 和田博士古稀紀念東洋史論叢 (1960):399-410 are relevant to this problem of "Wang-Ch'eng". Gotō demonstrates that while "Wang-Ch'eng" and Ch'eng-Chou seem clearly to have been different places in Eastern Chou times, this was not the case in Western Chou times — there was just the one city Ch'eng-Chou.

It may be observed, of course, that "Wang-Ch'eng" in the possible sense of a place-name appears only in comparatively late sources such as the *Tso-chuan*, *Shih-chi*, *Han-shu*, etc. Accordingly there is little foundation for speculative interpolations extending so far back as early Western Chou times.

completion of the second ceremony. The character 咸 *hsien* "all" is often found used in the inscriptions in the sense of "successfully completed", "all being attended to", or just simply "all" but only as a matter of coincidence does it translate as "both". It would appear amongst other considerations that Dobson has followed T'ang Lan's gloss rather too literally (p. 25): "Having sacrificed a victim in the two Palaces (Temples) of Ching and K'ang — these *all* 皆 located in Ch'eng-Chou". Normally one would translate 皆 *chieh* as "both" in this particular context simply because two items only precede it, but we are actually dealing with the character *hsien* which may follow many items or only *one* item, e.g. ins. 39.3: "The King was in Peng-ching 蒙京 (in the) Shih Palace 溼宮 and personally commanded Shih Mou 史懋 to rectify the calculations. (When this was) completed 咸, the King called forth Yin-po 伊白 to award Mou cowries." Similarly the Nieh Ling *Yi* example must be read with a break in the sense after the character *hsien*; Ming Kung's next action was to conduct a sacrifice in the presence of the King.

Ch'en's long and impressive array of data with long and involved argument requires careful reading in order to sort out the more reliable of his ideas. Like T'ang, he sometimes forgets that the original inscription text should be allowed free expression of its contents before one attempts to view it in relation to the often less trustworthy data in the traditional texts. The inscription account is quite explicit as to the locality wherein the two Palaces were situated and the *zung-sheng* ceremonies conducted. The compiler records the date in detail and speaks of Ming-Kung's arrival in Ch'eng-Chou where he commences to implement the Royal decrees. These he completes on the next day — this point is significant and Ch'en avoids discussion on its obvious implication. Erroneously he states on two

occasions (pp. 90–91) that on this day the ceremonies were conducted in the two Palaces. Regardless of this slip, however, he does not seem to realize that during the course of the one day, *chia-shen*, he requires Ming-Kung to attend to the remainder of the administrative affairs, travel 40 *li* (T'ang says 30 *li*, p. 26) in a westerly direction from Ch'eng-Chou to the hypothetical city of Wang (p. 141) and then conduct the first *zung-sheng* ceremony in the Ching Palace which he (Ch'en) supposes is situated there. On the following day he conducts the second ceremony in the K'ang Palace, Ch'en says: ". . . Ming-Kung having sacrificed victims in the Ching Palace and the K'ang Palace, thereupon returned from Wang to a certain place. On the day *kuei-wei* Ming-Kung promulgated the decrees in Ch'eng-Chou and then on the next day, *chia-shen*, sacrificed victims in the two Palaces thus the place, Wang, wherein were situated the Ching Palace and the K'ang Palace, being less than a day's journey distant from Ch'eng-Chou, should be Wang-Ch'eng 王城." (p. 90) This flitting around three places is not anywhere suggested in the inscription text. On the contrary, the compiler takes particular pains in his reversing the order of the earlier 既咸 令 to 咸既 to signify that it is the second of the ceremonies — that in the K'ang Palace — which took place on a different day and was completed 咸 during the course of this particular day. Up to this point the inscription text has been describing the events that took place from the time of Ming-Kung's arrival in Ch'eng-Chou — neither the Palaces nor Ming-Kung have shifted from this locality. The *zung-sheng* ceremonies are obviously connected with the successful completion of Ming-Kung's management of the administrative matters and, so far as the context illustrates, the King was not in attendance during these activities. Before returning to his own residence in Ch'eng-Chou — in all probability



the Chou Kung Palace mentioned earlier in the inscription — Ming-Kung had to carry out, in the King's presence, a further *yung-sheng* ceremony. Having attended to this he returned to his Palace wherein an investiture ceremony was held to reward the two people mentioned in the next section. There is absolutely no need to postulate a city called Wang and have Ming-Kung driving between it and Ch'eng-Chou and perhaps a third place as Ch'en suggests. If we follow the inscription text carefully we must regard *Wang* as meaning "the King" and nothing else.

6. 明〔明〕公易〔錫〕尙〔尙〕師：鬯，余，半〔牛〕；曰：用禱。易〔錫〕令〔令〕：鬯，余，半〔牛〕；曰：用禱。

鬯〔酒〕令〔令〕曰：今我唯令〔令〕女〔汝〕二人尙〔尙〕眾矢爽督〔左〕各〔右〕珩〔于〕乃審〔察〕目〔以〕乃双舉〔事〕。

Ming-Kung awarded K'ang Shih aromatic spirits, a *chin* and an ox; saying: "Use these in the x-sacrifices." (He) awarded Ling (i.e. Nieh) aromatic spirits, a *chin* and an ox; saying: "Use these in the x-sacrifices." Then (he) gave orders, saying: "Now I command you two men, K'ang and Nieh, . . . to give aid and support to your colleagues by means of your friendly services."

A completely new person now comes upon the scene. The first character of his name is either 太 *T'ai* or 尙 *K'ang*. T'ang Lan presents a good case for the reading of *K'ang* which Kuo Mo-jo, too, has adopted. In the *Shuo-wen* the Small Seal forms of 尙 and 尙 appear, the latter is close to the Nieh Ling Yi structure of 尙. T'ang refers to the Han period *Li*-style 隸 form of 方 which is also strongly reminiscent of

the Nieh Ling Yi graph. Ch'en Meng-chia seeks to identify it with the *Shuo-wen* graph 尙 : 尙 *wang*, Dobson follows this. Structurally speaking, as it were, T'ang's parallel has more to recommend itself — the preservation of the short diagonal stroke across the legs of the anthropomorphic graph is evident in both the Seal and *Li* versions cited, whereas Ch'en's suggested parallel of 尙 is merely the drawing of a man with a bent leg and no cross-stroke at all in the structure. This person, K'ang Shih, we must assume carried out duties in connection with the affairs attended to by Ming-Kung. These duties were similar in scope to those of Nieh Ling, accordingly both K'ang and Nieh received identical awards from Ming-Kung and both were enjoined jointly to continue their friendly services in guiding the activities of the officials. The character *liao* in this statement may, as several of the commentators suggest, indicate two things — the *Ch'ing-shih-liao*, and that K'ang and Nieh were ranked amongst this body of officials.

The majority of the commentators read the three small strokes under the element 金 *chin* as a separate character *hsiao* 小 and thus the following item is rendered as "small ox". This is not correct, 尙 is a composite structure of somewhat elongated form; comparison with 尙 *liao*, which would never be broken up into 尙 and 呂, illustrates the point. As to the meaning of this unique character the context offers no assistance — probably it is a metal artifact.<sup>21</sup> The complex character 禱 is obviously a kind of sacrifice but again the specific meaning eludes the investigator and the commentaries result in speculative discussions whose validity cannot be assessed until new relevant evidence is unearthed. I have

<sup>21</sup> Shirakawa has also come to much the same conclusion and recognises the three strokes as being directly connected with graph *chin* — probably they represent rays of light reflected from the metal (6:301). He draws attention to the hatchet-shape base in many of the archaic forms of this character (like the character 王 : 王 *wang*) implying thus that the cutting edge would be the source of the light rays as denoted by the small strokes.

left the graph 爽 untranslated, there being no really acceptable interpretation available. Kuo thinks it is 母 because a somewhat similar graph is apparently interchangeable with 母 in the oracle bone texts (*K'ao-shih*, p. 9b) and in the *Nieh Ling Yi* it must be read as 敏 *min* "diligently". But as the majority of the examples in the oracle bone texts are written: 爽, 爽, 爽, or 爽 wherein the two small elements are written: 𠄎 or 𠄎, 𠄎 or 𠄎; these two groups seem to have nothing in common with the small elements 𠄎. It is doubtful that the *Nieh Ling Yi* graph can be paralleled as Kuo suggests.

My translation varies to some extent from Wenley's:

(7) "Duke Ming bestowed sacrificial wine, metal and a small ox on C Shih, saying: 'Perform D' (a rite of some sort); he bestowed sacrificial wine, metal and a small ox on (Nieh) Ling, saying: 'Perform D' (the same rite). Then he gave orders, saying: 'Now I command you two men C (Shih) and Nieh (Ling) . . . to be on the left and on the right, to be colleagues, and also to serve with loyalty.'"

And also in respect of Dobson's:

The Duke of Ming presented Wang-shih with sacrificial wine, metal, and a calf, saying "Use these in sacrificing to your ancestors." He presented me, the Recorder (Ts'e-) Ling, with sacrificial wine, bronze and calf, saying "Use these for sacrificing to your ancestors."

Thereafter, he issued a decree which said "Today, we are going to charge you two men, Wang and Ts'e, actively to take your places right and left (i.e. serve as couriers) among your colleagues. Together with your friends to serve me."

The differences are mainly matters of individual preferences in respect to the way in which particular terms are to be interpreted. In the last statement of Ming-Kung the interpretation will vary according to the way the particle 以 *yi* is read and whether 双 : 友 *yu* "friend" is to be regarded as a noun or an adjective. The compound 左右 *tso-yu* "on the left and

on the right" is the equivalent of the later phrase 佐佑 *tso-yu* "assist" and clearly used in **this** sense in many inscription texts — nowhere have I come across it used with the meaning of "serving as couriers".

7. 𠄎[作]册[令]𠄎[敢]𠄎[揚]明[明]公尹人室[休]。

用𠄎[作]𠄎[父丁]𠄎[寶]𠄎[尊]彝, 𠄎[敢]𠄎[追]明[明]公賚[賞]𠄎[于]𠄎[父丁]。用𠄎[光]𠄎[父丁]。𠄎册

The Tso-ts'e (Nieh) Ling presumes to extol the beneficence of Ming-Kung, the Manager of Men. Therefore (he) has made (for his deceased father) Fu-Ting (this) precious and honoured *Yi*-vessel. (He) presumes to reflect upon Ming-Kung's bestowal (of honour) upon (his deceased father) Fu-Ting thus glorifying Fu-Ting. Clan-sign.

In this final section of the *Nieh Ling Yi* inscription there are only two points requiring comment in a little detail. The rendering given by Wenley: "The Annalist (Nieh) Ling presumes to extol the beneficence of his Chief Duke Ming by using (material presented by the Duke) to make for Father Ting a precious sacral vessel . . ." is based, no doubt, upon Lo Ch'en-yü's gloss: "The text says here that with (the metal) awarded by the Duke of Chou he manufactured the vessel for his forebears in order to glorify them." To my mind this reads more into the text than is justified regardless of the popular transcription of 𠄎 amongst the gifts as 金 "metal" and as "small". The "making of a precious and honoured vessel" is a stock phrase which in hundreds of inscriptions is intended to indicate only the fact that the vessel-maker commissioned artisans to manufacture the item — it does not imply that metal was given to him for the purpose. A few inscriptions do, of course, record metal amongst the gifts received but there is no indication that such metal was specifically employed in casting the vessel.

The last sentence is capable of various renderings but these all tend towards the general idea of the dedication of the vessel to the glory of Nieh Ling's deceased father with mention of Ming-Kung's bestowal of honour in this connection.<sup>22</sup>

Throughout these notes I have made mention on one occasion only of the substance of Pao Ting's reasons for proclaiming the Nieh Ling Yi to be a forgery. His arguments are barely worth consideration in any detail because his approach to the matter is quite unacceptable. In principle he maintains that the content of the Nieh Ling Yi text conflicts with data recorded in the traditional literature, therefore it must be a fake.

### C. Connected Translations

In the case of my own translation the text accords line by line with the modern character transcription in Figure 3 and the punctuation in both is identical so as to allow easy comparison. Mr. Wenley's and Professor Dobson's versions are similarly arranged but without interference with their original punctuation. As a basis for the modern character transcription I have taken the lid-text of the Nieh Ling Yi thus direct comparison with the original structures of the archaic graphs can be effected with reasonable despatch. The complete text of my translation now follows:

#### The Nieh Ling Yi

ins. 179.1 (1.a)

1. In the eighth month, the *ch'en*-phenomenon (occurring) on the day *chia-shen*: the King commanded Ming-Pao, the son of the Duke of Chou.
2. to superintend the *San-shih* and the *Ssu-fang*, and to take charge of the

- Ch'ing-shih-liao*. On the day *ting-hai*: (Ming-Pao) commanded Nieh to announce (the honour)
3. in the Chou Kung Palace. The Duke (Ming-Pao) ordered the assembly of the *Ch'ing-shih-liao*. In the tenth
  4. month, the first quarter, on the day *kuai-wei*: Ming-Kung (Ming-Pao) held audience. Arriving in Ch'eng-Chou (he) sent out orders to put into effect the decrees of the *San-shih* concerning the *Ch'ing-shih-liao*, the *Chu-yin*, the *Li-chün* and the *Pai-kung*; and as to the *Chu-hou* (namely:) the *Hou*, *Tien* and *Nan*, (they were) to put into effect the decrees of the *Ssu-fang*. Having
  7. (carried out) completely the (Royal) commands, on the day *chia-shen*, Ming-Kung sacrificed a victim in the Ching Palace. On the day *yi-yu* (he) sacrificed a victim in the K'ang Palace. All this accomplished; and having sacrificed a victim (in the presence of) the King, Ming-Kung returned from
  9. the King. Ming-Kung awarded K'ang Shih aromatic spirits, a *chin* and an ox; saying: "Use these in the x-sacrifices." (He) awarded Ling (i.e. Nieh) aromatic spirits,
  10. a *chin* and an ox; saying: "Use these in the x-sacrifices." Then (he) gave orders saying: "Now I command you two men, K'ang and
  11. Nieh, ... to (give) aid and support to your colleagues (*liao* = *Ch'ing-shih-liao*) by means of your friendly services." The Tso-ts'e Ling
  12. presumes to extol the beneficence of Ming-Kung, the Manager of Men. Therefore, has made for (his deceased father) Fu-Ting (this) precious and honoured
  13. Yi-vessel. (He) presumes to reflect upon Ming-Kung's bestowal (of honour) upon (his deceased father) Fu-Ting, thus glorifying Fu-Ting.
- Clan-sign.

<sup>22</sup> In an early paper the matter of a possible connection between the Tso-ch'e Nieh Ling of ins. 179.1 and the Marquis Nieh of Yi (and of Ch'ien) was briefly considered ("A Recently Excavated Inscribed Bronze of Western Chou Date", *MS*, xvii [1958]: 39-40). My conclusion was, and still remains, that there is no connection.

The translation according to Mr. A. G. Wenley:

1. Now in the 8th moon, on the day *chia-shen*, the King commanded Ming-Pao, son of the Duke of Chou,
2. to take charge of the Three Ministries and the Four Directions (i.e., departments having to do with internal and external affairs), and to receive the Chief Ministers. On the day *ting-hai*, he commanded Nieh (the name of an annalist) to report
3. in the Palace of the Duke of Chou. The Duke (i.e. Ming-Pao) commanded A to assemble the Chief Ministers. Now in the 10th
4. moon, in the first quarter, on the day *kuei-wei*, Duke Ming went to audience at Ch'eng-chou. He sent orders to give out the commands
5. of the Three Ministries concerning the Chief Ministers, all the Directors, the
6. Prefects, and all the officers, and concerning the hereditary nobility, the Marquises, Lords and Barons, they gave out the commands of the Four Directions. All
7. commands having been carried out, on the day *chia-shen*, Duke Ming sacrificed a victim in the Ching Palace, and, on the day *yi-yu*, sacrificed
8. a victim in the K'ang Palace. All this accomplished, he sacrificed a victim to the King. Then Duke Ming returned from
9. the King. Duke Ming bestowed sacrificial wine, metal, and a small ox on C Shih, saying: "Perform D" (a rite of some sort); he bestowed sacrificial wine,
10. metal, and a small ox on (Nieh) Ling, saying: "Perform D" (the same rite). Then he gave orders saying: "Now I command you two men C (Shih)
11. and Nieh (Ling) E to be on the left and on the right, to be colleagues, and also to serve with loyalty." The Annalist (Nieh) Ling
12. presumes to extol the beneficence of his Chief Duke Ming by using (material presented by the Duke) to make for Father Ting a precious sacral

13. vessel which he ventures to beg Duke Ming to offer to Father Ting for the glory of Father Ting.

Recorded by G.

In the above I have chosen the particular alternative versions which I feel best suited to the original text. Professor Dobson's rendering now follows:

1. In the eighth month, in *ch'en-ts'ai*, on the day *chia-shen*, the King decreed that the Guardian of Ming, son of the Duke of Chou,
2. should take charge of the (Ministers) of the Three Affairs, and of the (Feudal Lords of) the Four Quarters, and to receive charge of the administration. On the day *ting-hai* (that is, three days later), the (Guardian of Ming) commanded me. Ts'e "Announce (this charge)
3. in the Palace of (my father) the Duke of Chou." The Duke then charged me to take my place among the senior Ministers. In the tenth
4. month, the *yueh-chi* period of the month, on the day *kuei-wei*, The Duke of Ming, proceeding towards the east, came to the city of Ch'eng-chou to put into effect the decree. He released the decree concerning the "Three Affairs" to the senior Ministers, the governors, to officials living in the provincial
6. towns and to the craftsmen with official appointments and also to the Feudal Lords, those of *hou*, *tien* and *nan* rank. He released the decree concerning the "(Feudal Lords of the) Four Quarters." Having
7. issued both decrees, on the day *chia-shen* (that is, the day following), the Duke of Ming sacrificed an ox in the Ching Palace. On the day *yi-yu* (that is, the day following), the Duke of Ming sacrificed
8. an ox in the K'ang Palace. Having made both sacrifices at Wang, the Duke of Ming returned (to his residence) from
9. Wang. The Duke of Ming presented Wang-shih with sacrificial wine, metal, and a calf, saying "Use these in sacrificing to your ancestors." He pre-

1. 佳(惟) wei In	八 pa eighth	月 yueh month	辰 ch'en phenomenon occurring	才(在) tsai on	甲 chia no. 1 (t'ien-kan)	申 shen no. 9 (ti-chi)	王 wang King	周(周) chou Chou	公 kung Kung	子 tzu son	明(明) ming Ming-	保(保) pao Pao
2. 尹 yin govern	三(事) san shih San-shih	三(四) ssu Four	方 fang Regions	受(受) shou receive	卿(卿) ch'ing Ch'ing-	事(事) shih shih-	寮(寮) liao liao	亥 hai no. 12 (ti-chi)	令(令) ling command	矢 nieh Nieh	告(告) kao announce	
3. 尹(于) yü in	周(周) chou Chou	公 kung Kung	宮 kung Palace	令(令) ling command	出(出) ch'u(?) send out	同 tung assemble	卿(卿) ch'ing Ching-	寮(寮) liao liao	佳(惟) wei in	十 shih tenth		
4. 月 yueh month	*	吉 chi lst quarter	癸 kuei no. 10 (t'ien-kan)	未 wei no. 8 (ti-chi)	明(明) ming Ming-	公 kung Kung	輶(輶) ch'ao audience	尹(于) yü at	成 ch'eng Ch'eng-	周(周) chou Chou	徂(徂:出) ch'u(?) send out	舍 she put into effect
5. 三 san San-	事(事) shih shih	令(令) ling command	眾 ta and	卿(卿) ch'ing Ch'ing-	事(事) shih shih-	寮(寮) liao liao	眾(眾) ta and	尹(于) yü at	眾 ta and	里 li Li-	方 fang Regions	舍(舍) she put into effect
6. 君 chün chün	眾 ta and	百 pai Pai	工 kung kung	眾 ta and	君(君) chün chün	侯 hou hou	眾(眾) ta and	尹(于) yü at	舍 she put into effect	三(四) ssu Four	方 fang Regions	舍(舍) she put into effect
7. 咸 hsien completed	令(令) ling command	甲 chia no. 1 (t'ien-kan)	申 shen no. 9 (ti-chi)	明(明) ming Ming-	公 kung Kung	用 yung made	牲(牲) hsing sacrifice	尹(于) yü in	宮 kung Palace	乙 yi no. 10 (ti-chi)	酉 yu no. 10 (ti-chi)	用 yung made
8. 牲(牲) hsing sacrifice	尹(于) yü in	康(康) k'ang K'ang	宮 kung Palace	咸 hsien completed	師(師) shih Shih	用 yung made	牲(牲) hsing sacrifice	尹(于) yü in	明(明) ming Ming-	公 kung Kung	師(師) kuet return	自 tzu from
9. 王 wang King	明(明) ming Ming-	公 kung Kung	易(錫) hsi award	亢 k'ang K'ang	師(師) shih Shih	豐(豐) chung spirits	眾(眾) ta and	尹(于) yü in	用 yung employ	禱 tiao (sacrifice)	易(錫) hsi award	舍(舍) she put into effect
10. 眾 ta and	半(牛) niu ox	日 yueh stated	用 yung employ	禱 tiao (sacrifice)	畫(畫) hua then	令(令) ling command	眾(眾) ta and	尹(于) yü in	唯 wei (particle)	舍(舍) she put into effect	女(汝) nü you	天 t'ien two
11. 眾 ta and	矢 nieh Nieh	爽 shuang ....	右 yu assist	尹 yin govern	尹(于) yü to	乃 nai your	眾(眾) ta and	尹(于) yü in	雙(友) shuang friendly	事(事) shih action	士(士) shih Tso-	册 ts'e ts'e
12. 融(融) kong presumes	尹(揚) yin extol	明(明) ming Ming	公 kung Kung	公 kung Kung	人 jen men	室(休) shih grace	用 yung therefore	尹(于) yü upon	* ting Ting	蕭(蕭) hsiao honoured	曠(曠) kuang honoured	令(令) ling Ling
13. 彝 yi Yi-vessel	融(融) kong presumes	佳(佳) chui reflect upon	明(明) ming Ming	公 kung Kung	費(費) fei bestowal	尹(于) yü upon	尹(于) yü upon	尹(于) yü upon	用 yung therefore	尹(于) yü upon	用 yung therefore	尹(于) yü upon
14. 爿(爿) pang K'ang												

FIGURE 3. (a) Transcription of ins. 179.1 (v.a) into modern character form. (b) verso: Direct transcription and modern character transcription.

a b c d e f g h i j k l m n o p

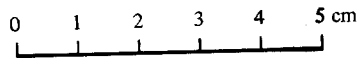
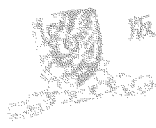
1 惟八月辰在甲申王命申王命周公子明保  
 2 尹三事四方受卿事寮丁亥命矢告  
 3 于周公宮公命徂同卿事寮惟十  
 4 月。\* 吉癸未明公朝至于成周徂命舍  
 5 三事命眾卿事寮眾諸尹眾里  
 6 君眾百工眾諸侯侯牲于京宮乙酉用既  
 7 咸命甲申明公威既用牲于王明公歸自  
 8 牲于康宮亢師廼命曰今我惟命汝二人  
 9 王明公錫日用禕命曰寮以乃友事作册令  
 10 衆牛曰用禕左右于乃寮以乃友事作册令  
 11 衆矢爽左尹人休用父丁寶尊  
 12 敢揚明公尹人休用父丁寶尊  
 13 彝敢追明公賞于父丁用光父丁

a b c d e f g h i j k l m n o p

1 佳八月辰才甲申王命申王命周公子明保  
 2 尹三事四方受卿事寮丁亥命矢告  
 3 于周公宮公命徂同卿事寮惟十  
 4 月。\* 吉癸未明公朝至于成周徂命舍  
 5 三事命眾卿事寮眾諸尹眾里  
 6 君眾百工眾諸侯侯牲于京宮乙酉用既  
 7 咸命甲申明公威既用牲于王明公歸自  
 8 牲于康宮亢師廼命曰今我惟命汝二人  
 9 王明公錫日用禕命曰寮以乃友事作册令  
 10 衆牛曰用禕左右于乃寮以乃友事作册令  
 11 衆矢爽左尹人休用父丁寶尊  
 12 敢揚明公尹人休用父丁寶尊  
 13 彝敢追明公賞于父丁用光父丁



FIGURE 4. Rubbing of the Nieh Ling Tsun inscription.







0 1 2 3 4 5 cm

FIGURE 5. Rubbings of the vessel-text (opposite) and the lid-text (above) of the Nieh Ling Fang-Yi inscriptions.

- sented me, the Recorder (Ts'e-) Ling, with sacrificial wine,
10. bronze, and a calf, saying "Use these for sacrificing to your ancestors." Thereafter, he issued a decree which said "Today, we are going to charge you two men, Wang
  11. and Ts'e, actively to take your places right and left (i.e. serve as couriers) among your colleagues. Together with your friends to serve me." I, the Recorder Ling,
  12. have taken the liberty to make known the grace of the Governor, the Duke of Ming, and accordingly I have made this precious and honourable
  13. yi-vessel made in honour of Fu-ting. I have taken the liberty of making known the gift of the Duke of Ming to Fu-ting, in order to bring glory to Fu-ting.

Recorded by the Recorder

#### D. Technical Notes

The Nieh Ling *Tsun* is highly corroded over most of the surface and with pronounced effect along the flanges and on high relief features of the décor — laminated cone-shaped incrustations and deep fracturing of the corrosion product are general. In the décor, corrosion has resulted in several bold elements of the ornamentation attaining higher levels and although the increase in volume comprises corrosion products, the shapes of the décor elements are reasonably well preserved but with some degree of distortion. The phenomenon is one frequently found amongst bronzes that have reached an advanced stage of corrosion (see Plate 1). As may be observed in the radiographs (Plate 2) the bulging mouth of the vessel has fractured and repairs have since

been effected — the use of modern plumbers' solder and pins is clearly evident. A large fissure in the rim-base may also be noted. It would thus appear that the bronze is quite brittle and accordingly comprises a high tin alloy. The silver colour of the metal surface would seem to support this impression.<sup>23</sup> In the inscription area the metal surface is not only distinctly silver in colour but a fair amount of "blistering" of the surface layer may be observed. Possibly the silvery colour is merely a surface manifestation and thus, perhaps, indicative of some kind of segregation effect? Laboratory examination is required to determine the exact nature of the feature and analysis of the metal is yet to be undertaken. Fossilized fabric remnants are preserved in the corroded surface of the vessel interior around the mouth area.

As demonstrated in Figure 6, the Nieh Ling *Tsun*-beaker was cast in a 4-piece (8-divisions) mould assembly. True-joints are in vertical line with the corner flanges and run through their centres; the pre-assembly joints may be traced through the centre flanges — they are less distinctly evident, which is usually the case. Along the under edge of the rim-base, sections of the parting line between core and outer moulds are discernible. Two small brackets are located in each of the inside corners of the rim-base — the lower brackets coincide with the commencement line of the plain flaring edge of the rim-base. The original function of the brackets here, and in other vessels (notably *Ku*-beakers) is uncertain. Visual inspection of the vessel and close scrutiny of the radiographs results in the conclusion that spacers have been

<sup>23</sup> Analysis of the *Fang-Yi*-casket (vessel) shows the alloy to be high in tin: Cu 77.7, Sn 21.5, Pb 1.2, while the lid is practically identical: Cu 77.9, Sn 20.3, and Pb 0.9 (*The Freer Chinese Bronzes* 1:218). The presence of lead is almost small enough to be regarded as an unintentional ingredient in the alloy.

The Nieh Ling Yi

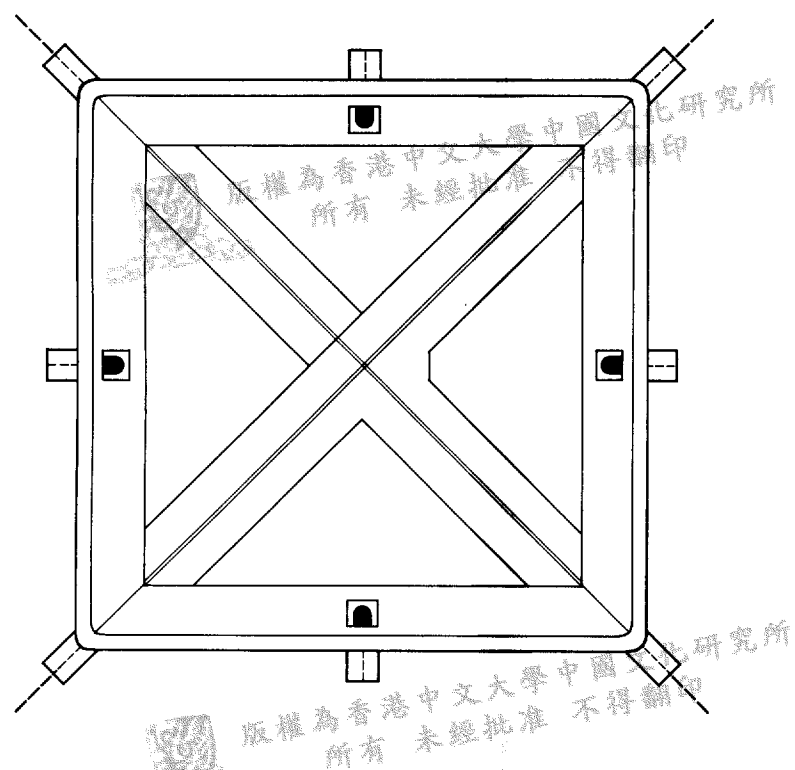
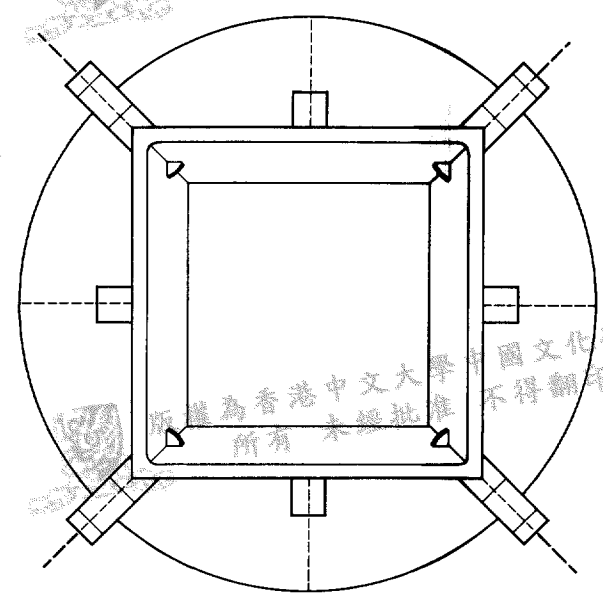


FIGURE 6. Mould-divisions employed in the casting of the Nieh Ling Tsun (above) and the Nieh Ling Fang-Yi (below).

employed, but the full extent of their use is not clear.<sup>24</sup>

It is interesting to recall that the sister vessel, the Nieh Ling *Fang-Yi* in the FGA Collection, is particularly well preserved and in its corroded areas exhibits minimal signs of the advanced stage of corrosion so characteristic of the *Tsun*-beaker. The two Nieh Ling *Kuei* in the David Weill Collection, on the other hand, compare closely with the *Tsun*-beaker in this respect. Lacking as we do relevant provenance details, it is difficult to decide upon a definite hypothesis to explain the actual cause of the variation in the corrosion stages — varying rates of corrosion might well occur in the one tomb, or the *Fang-Yi* may have been lodged in a different tomb (a somewhat less likely circumstance). If we take into consideration the other vessels supposed to have been excavated at the same time and presumably all within close proximity of one another, the comparatively good state of preservation attending the several which I have personally examined at one time or another raises further questions.

As the Nieh Ling *Tsun* has not as yet been fully examined under laboratory conditions, the foregoing notes may later be

found to require some revision should a more intensive examination be conducted.

Very exacting laboratory investigation of the Nieh Ling *Fang-Yi*-casket has been made by John Gettens and is reported in the first volume of *The Freer Chinese Bronzes* (pp. 215–219) and takes into account the earlier assessments of casting approaches had attempted in *Bronze Casting and Bronze Alloys in Ancient China* (pp. 118–124). Further details of importance are covered in the second volume of *Technical Studies* by Gettens, thus there is little need to repeat here all relevant details. Suffice it to note that the lid and vessel were cast in 4-piece (8-divisions) mould assemblies and in the construction of the moulds some evidence of horizontal sub-division is to be observed.<sup>25</sup> Spacers were extensively employed. Except, possibly, for the positioning of spacers the two vessels have much in common in constructional features and there is little doubt that they would have issued from the same foundry. This impression is further supported by the identity of the calligraphy throughout the inscriptions and the close similarity of the *t'ao-t'ieh* and bird elements common to the décor in both vessels as well as the flanges and their side designs.

<sup>24</sup> In only one of the three radiographs of the *Fang-Tsun*-beaker (see Plate 2) is there definite evidence of spacers — two, which are symmetrically placed in the *lei-wen* décor area above the bird crests, as indicated by arrows. One would expect the placement of spacers to be limited mainly to the plain inter-décor bands as in the case of the *Fang-Yi*-casket (see Gettens, in *The Freer Chinese Bronzes* 1:215). Unfortunately the radiographs of the *Fang-Tsun* have not been planned to explore the presence and placement of spacers — they are simply preliminary shots taken through both walls of the vessel.

<sup>25</sup> In my earlier assessment of the casting method employed for the *Fang-Yi*-casket (*loc. cit.*) a rather complex horizontal division of the moulds was proposed. This is not now entirely acceptable. However, the features giving rise to the idea have since been recognised as aspects of décor preparation in the mould sections. Actual instances of horizontal mould divisions are found in various vessels (see the examples illustrated and discussed in my article: "Notes on Selected Bronze Artifacts in the National Palace Museum, the Historical Museum, and Academia Sinica" in N. Barnard (ed.), *Ancient Chinese Bronzes and Southeast Asian Metal and Other Archaeological Artifacts*, 1976. So far as the *Fang-Tsun* and *Fang-Yi* are concerned it is obvious that horizontal sub-divisions of the moulds would have been required to cope with the b<sup>1</sup>, b<sup>2</sup>, and d sections as proposed in appropriate examples in *Bronze Casting* (cf. items 39, 41–44, etc. in Figs. 73–75). To this extent the reconstructions in my earlier survey are acceptable and proven in other examples. But the point, not always appreciated by readers of the theoretical discussion in my text, is that the major horizontal divisions existed *only during the ceramic stages of mould production*. In the case of the Nieh Ling *Fang-Yi* the three major horizontal pieces would have been joined to form a single section.

### Acknowledgements

The author wishes to record here his gratitude to Dr. Chiang Fu-tsung, Director, National Palace Museum, Taipei, for his generous permission to examine the very fragile *Tsun*-beaker at close quarters, and for the provision of photographs and radiographs of the vessel. The excellent drawings in Figure 6 are the work of Miss Winifred Mumford. Dr. Cheung Kwong-yue provided a copy of Ch'in Keng-nien's article. It has been a pleasure to work with the Chinese University Press who have attended to the technical problems of a paper of this kind very efficiently indeed.

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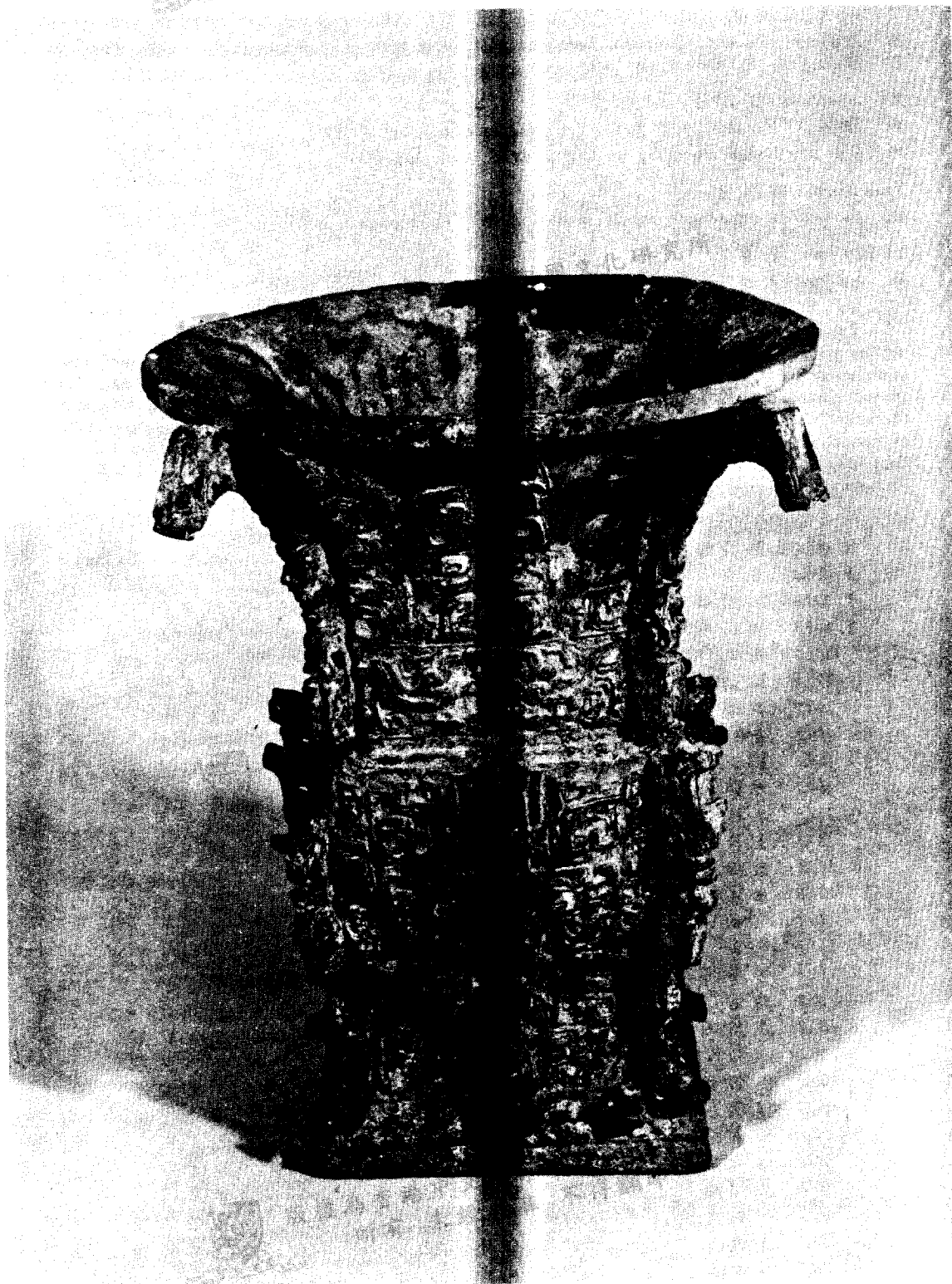
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Inscriptions cited in this paper are listed below in numerical order according to the reference number system which I employ (see note 2 earlier). It should be further explained, perhaps, that counting of inscription characters in this system involves actually a count of the number of "character-spaces" covered by the inscription thus "combined characters" such as 崑, 尖 etc. and "repeated characters": 子, 孫= etc. are necessarily each regarded as single graphs (i.e. they occupy the space of normal single graph). Complex clan-signs at the close of Shang and Early Western Chou inscriptions are counted as a single character regardless of the number of units (appearing as separate characters) involved.

S. 490.1	齊侯罇	77.3	南宮柳鼎	37.15	叔龜父盃
T. 406.1	召鼎	71.5	弭伯段	36.13	墨子□臣蓋
T. 393.1	小孟鼎	71.6	衛段〔蓋〕	36.15	齊乎段
T. 349.1	散氏盤	70.2	弭伯師祭段	35.14	攻教中成冬…鐘
201.1	衛鼎〔甲〕	70.9	即段	32.8	樂子敬補蓋
190.1	師執鼎	63.4	戎鼎	32.9	不斝方鼎
190.2	衛鼎〔乙〕	62.2	作冊般段	29.17	庚兒鐘
179.1	矢令方尊〔方彝〕	S. 60.3	尹亞彝	29.11	陳敦壺
162.1	鄂君啓金節	57.4	師城段〔乙〕	27.7	獲鼎
154.1	饒匝	56.3	饒段	26.5	叔伯車父鼎
132.3	戒段	55.3	幾父壺	26.50	戊擊鼎
131.1	匄段	55.4	衛段	25.6	陳喜壺
122.1	猗尊	54.1	長田壺	T. 24.5	旂彝
121.3	永孟	52.3	吳王光鑑	T. 23.2	明公段
118.1	宜侯矢段	51.6	曾中大父段	23.9	僕尊
117.1	衛壺	50.1	庚嬴彝	23.23	循〔德〕方鼎
T. 110.1	善鼎	48.5	臣辰壺	23.24	伯鮮鼎
110.2	此鼎	48.8	祭故彝	22.1	史賄段
T. 109.2	柔伯戎段	46.5	梁其鼎	22.7 (v.a.)	伯吉父鼎
106.1	矢令段	46.7	跋叔□姬鼎	22.7 (v.b.)	伯吉父段
106.2	達方彝	T. 45.1	豐姑段	22.16	姜方鼎
100.8	輔師段	45.7	咻大鐘	T. 21.16	伯中父段
T. 97.1	伯晨鼎	41.5	呂彝	21.13	□段
96.1	師城段	40.2	作冊大方鼎	19.21	留肩尊
92.1	豆閉段	39.1	曾姬無卹彝	16.39	孟嬰段
92.3	蔡侯鐘鑑	37.9	曾中毋父段	15.12	曾伯从龍鼎
90.3	壺犧尊	37.13	公孫宿壺	12.60	留甯編鐘
T. 84.1	指段	37.14	啓卣		



A.





B.



D.



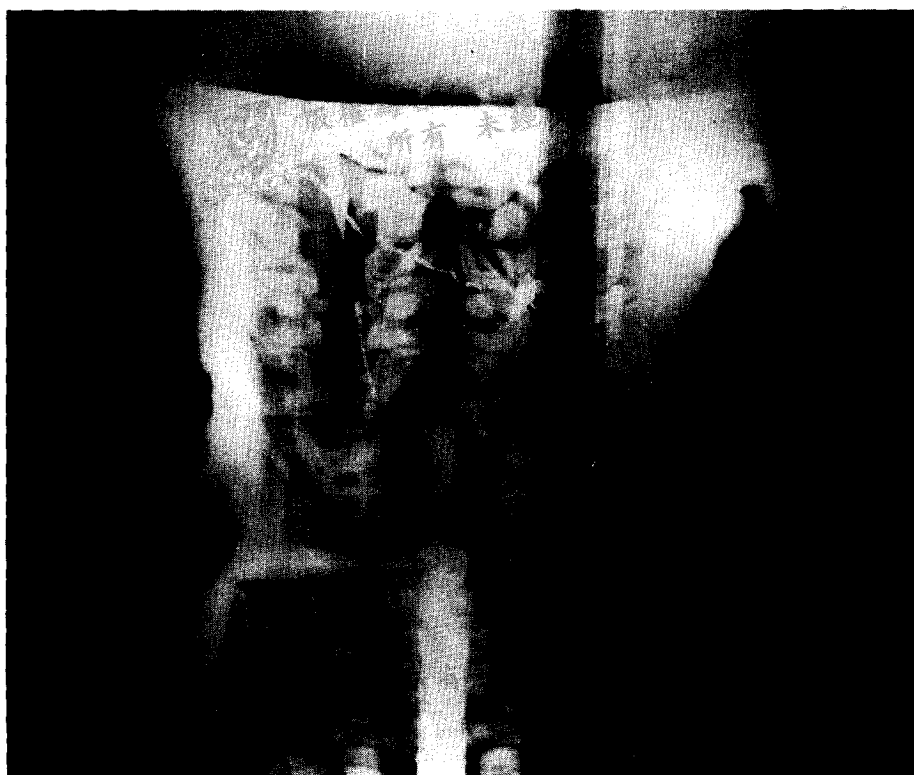
C.



E.

PLATE 1. The Nieh Ling Tsun

A: Full view of the vessel (photograph courtesy National Palace Museum, Taipei). B: Close-Up of the mouth and neck area illustrating the variant degrees of corrosion over the surface area and the heavily corroded nature of the flanges. Note the raised levels of the more heavily corroded décor details. C: Continuation of same side as B showing body and base of the vessel. D: Further view of flanges — note vertical lamination and fissures; the original metal of the flanges is now almost entirely corrosion product as demonstrated where large pieces have broken away. E: View of under side of rim-base; the small "brackets" may be noted. (Photographs by author)



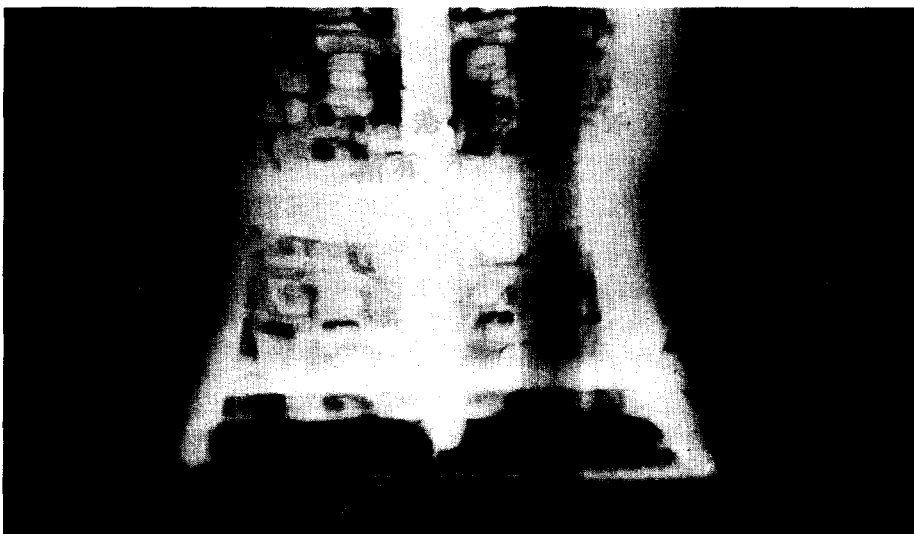
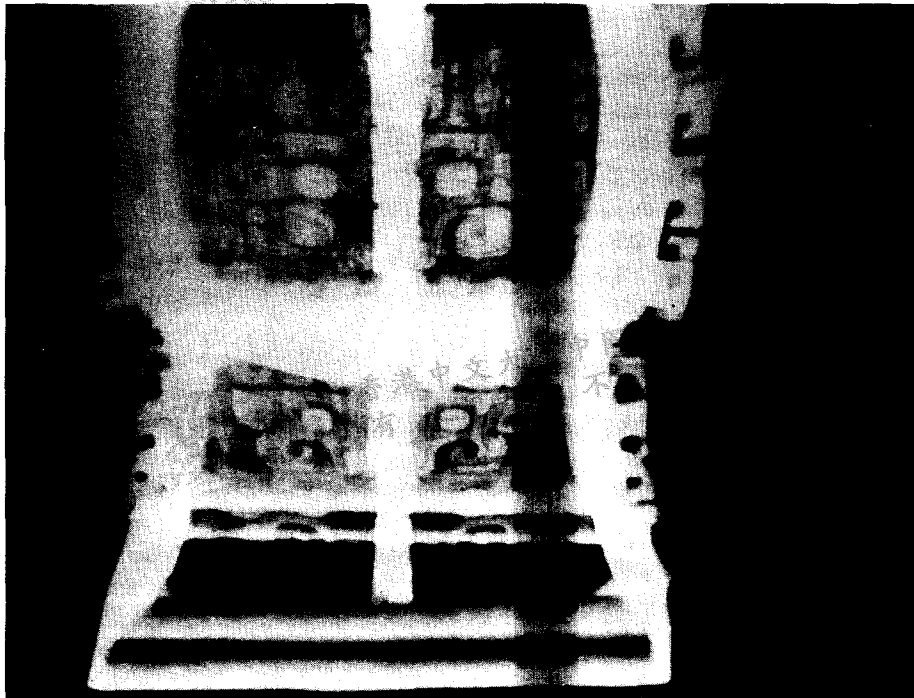


PLATE 2. Radiographs of various sections of the Nieh Ling *Tsun*.

Opposite: Two sides of the vessel showing fractures, repair solder, and repair pins in the mouth and neck area — both near and far sides are registered on the X-ray transparencies; the upper view shows the presence of spacers just above the two birds' heads, and in the body area below may be noted the inscription. Above: the upper transparency is a continuation of the upper view opposite. The lay-out of the inscription which extends from the near shoulder (on the inside surface of the vessel) over the vessel bottom and up to the opposite shoulder may be traced. The lower view above is an extension of the lower view opposite. (Radiographs courtesy National Palace Museum)

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# 矢令彝集釋

(中文摘要)

巴 納

自從四十年前矢令彝面世以後，不少專家學者會對其銘文作探討研究。本文（初稿成於十二年前，準備發表，旋因事撤回。）並不準備作有如吳其昌《矢令攷釋》〔《燕京學報》第九期（1931）頁1661—1732〕般之詳細討論，但却涉獵有關中、日及西方學者之研究。有關矢令彝出現之時間、背景，以及與該器同時出現之部分有銘銅器，亦作了必要之討論，然後再分段將全篇銘文加以銓釋。本文可能提供一些新意見以供專門從事金文研究的中、日學者作參考，當然，更願意接受批評和指教。

（一）「辰才」一辭在金文中出現次數，於表一中可見一斑，而其原義，當以《左傳》昭公七年傳稱「日月之會謂之辰」者為最佳之注脚。有關「日月之會」偶爾會形成「日蝕」之景象，這對古人來說是饒有趣味的。

（二）「三事」一辭，郭沫若以《書·立政》作立論，以為「三事乃泛指百官而言，猶言三種官吏，舊解為司徒、司馬、司空者，失之。」（《考釋》頁六）雖為一般學者所接受，但筆者却不以為然。反之，羅振玉早期以《詩經》所稱「三有事」即司徒、司馬、司空一說，却可由一九五六年陝西郿縣李村所出遼彝諸器，及最近甫自岐山董家村出土之衛盃獲得有力之佐證。而楊樹達以為司徒當讀為「土地」之「土」而非「徒」，司空當讀作「工作」之「工」而非「空」之說亦可從（吳大澂亦有此說）。

（三）「徯同」、「徯令」兩辭之「徯」字皆從「𠄎」；在筆者《楚帛書——翻譯及詮釋》一書中曾建立一些有關偏旁字劃結構之理論，從那些理論作基礎，可以反駁「徯」不能逕釋作「造」或「徯」，如釋作「徯」或近似之，然仍有待進一步之探索。

（四）陳夢家以為「用牲于王，明公歸自王」之「王」係地名，一說可以不辯。後藤均平在其《王在成周考》及《成周と王城》兩文中指出西周並無一地稱作「王城」者，亦可證陳氏之非。

（五）「余牛」一辭當讀為二字，不應釋作「金小牛」，白川靜在《金文通釋》6.301亦主此說。

本文對上述諸點以及中、西學者不同之意見皆曾作討論，並以 A. G. Wenley, W. A. C. H. Dobson 及筆者之三篇英譯作結。

本文最後對矢令諸器之製作技術問題有簡短之敘述，有關鑄造之技法可參閱圖六，於此不多贅說。至於故宮所藏矢令方尊及現藏費利藝術館 (Freer Gallery of Art) 之矢令方彝，兩者當日是否同埋於一墓，則是值得令人三思的，因為前者器身曾經嚴重之銹蝕，而後者則器身保存完好，可惜的是，資料不全，無法作進一步之深究。

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