

The *Lü-shih Ch'un-ch'iu* 呂氏春秋 and  
Tsou Yen's 鄒衍 Theory of the  
Five Rotatory Ascendants  
(*Wu Hsing* 五行<sup>①</sup>)

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I

That there is a connexion between some of the views contained in the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* and Tsou Yen has been accepted by many scholars since the general discussion in the twenties and thirties about Tsou Yen and the *wu hsing* theory sparked off by Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's 梁啓超 "Yin-yang wu-hsing shuo chih lai-li" 陰陽五行說之來歷 (The Origin of the Five Rotatory Ascendants Theory)<sup>②</sup> and Ku Chieh-kang's

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- ① As the conventional rendering of *wu hsing* as Five Elements fails to bring out the connotations of the term, I propose to substitute for it the new rendering of the "Five Rotatory Ascendants", as this at least brings out the salient points that at any one time one of the *wu hsing* is in the ascendance, and that this ascendancy is passed on by rotation.
- ② First appeared in *Tung-fang tsa-chih* 東方雜誌, 20.10 (25 May 1923), pp. 70-79, subsequently collected in *Ku-shih pien* 古史辨 (Peiping 北平: P'u-she 樸社, 1935), Vol. 5, pp. 343-62.

顧頡剛 subsequent “Wu-te chung-shih shuo hsia te cheng-chih ho li-shih” 五德終始說下的政治和歷史 (Politics and History as Conditioned by the Theory of the Cycle of the Five Virtues).<sup>③</sup> Ku thinks that Tsou Yen’s *wu-te chung-shih* theory, though none of Tsou’s work have survived, is preserved in the opening passage of the “Ying-t’ung” 應同 chapter in the *Lü-shih ch’un-ch’iu*.<sup>④</sup> What is preserved there is the theory that succession of ruling dynasties is in accordance with the principle of rotation of the Five Ascendants. In 1966, Professor Wang Meng-ou 王夢鷗 published his detailed study of Tsou Yen under the title *Tsou Yen yi-shuo k’ao* 鄒衍遺說考 (A Study of the Remnants of the Doctrines of Tsou Yen), in which he put forth the theory that Tsou expounded two versions of his theory which can be designated (a) the minor rotation of the Five Ascendants and (b) the major rotation of the Five Ascendants. The first refers to the cycle of the seasons in the year. The second refers to the succession of dynasties.<sup>⑤</sup> Ku Chieh-kang dealt only with the latter. In 1975, Hsü Fu-kuan 徐復觀 published Volume 2 of his monumental *Liang Han ssu-hsiang shih* 兩漢思想史 (A History of the Thought of the Two Han Dynasties), the opening chapter of which is entitled “*Lü-shih ch’un-ch’iu* chi ch’i tui Han-tai hsüeh-shu yü cheng-chih te ying-hsiang” 呂氏春秋及其對漢代學術與政治的影響 (The

③ First appeared in *Tsing Hua hsüeh-pao* 清華學報, 6.1 (June 1930), pp. 71-268, subsequently collected in a revised version in *Ku-shih pien*, Vol. 5, pp. 404-636.

④ Ku, pp. 419-20.

⑤ Wang Meng-ou, *Tsou Yen yi-shuo k’ao* (Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press, 1966), p. 56.

*Lü-shih Ch'un-ch'iu* and Its Impact on the Learning and Politics of the Han Dynasties).<sup>⑥</sup> In this chapter he deals at length with the influence of Tsou Yen on the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu*. Hsü, like his predecessors, believes that Tsou Yen influenced the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* in its account of the dynastic succession in the "Ying-t'ung" chapter and in its treatment of the monthly ordinances in the opening chapters of the twelve books forming the *chi* 紀 (schemata) part of the work. The focus of interest, however, is different. With Hsü it is political and intellectual. He thinks that the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* put far more emphasis on the monthly ordinances than in the succession of dynasties, and it was through this side of the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* that Tsou Yen exerted his influence on posterity. Hsü argues that as the twelve parts of the "Yüeh-ling" 月令 (Monthly Ordinances) is dispersed into the twelve books forming the *chi*, Tsou Yen's teaching was made the framework of this part—the most important part—of the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu*, the remaining two parts, the eight *lan* 覽 (surveys) and the six *lun* 論 (discourses), being subsidiary in nature. The possible influence of Tsou Yen is confined to certain portions of the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu*, with the major rotation theory being found in the opening passage of the "Ying-t'ung" chapter and the minor rotation theory in the "Yüeh-ling", but as the "Ying-t'ung" chapter has been shown to have incorporated Tsou Yen's views by previous scholars, particularly Professor Wang, I shall confine myself to the opening chapters of the twelve

⑥ Hsü Fu-kuan, *Liang Han ssu-hsiang shih* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1975), pp. 1-72.

*chi* which make up the “Yüeh-ling”.

## II

The “Yüeh-ling” is a calendrical work. It deals, on the one hand, with the natural phenomena that appear in each month, ⑦ and, on the other, with administrative measures appropriate to the month. On this was, at some time, superimposed the scheme of the *wu hsing*. There were various ways this was done, and the point at issue, for us, is whether the way followed in the “Yüeh-ling” was the way adopted by Tsou Yen.

The crux of the matter lies in the correlation of the Five Ascendants with the Four Seasons. In order to learn more about the problem, we should, perhaps, survey briefly other calendrical works that existed before the “Yüeh-ling”.

A number of calendrical treatises are to be found in two works, the *Yi Chou-shu* 逸周書 and the *Kuan-tzu* 管子. In the former there are three chapters, 51 to 53, which deal with the calendar. Chapter 51 is entitled “Chou-yüeh chieh” 周月解 and, as the title suggests, deals with the months of the Chou calendar. It divides the year into four seasons, *ch'un* 春, *hsia* 夏, *ch'iu* 秋, *tung* 冬, and each season into

⑦ It is to be noted that in this aspect of its content, the “Yüeh-ling” follows the tradition of the “Hsia-hsiao-cheng” 夏小正 which forms chapter 47 of the *Ta Tai li-chi* 大戴禮記. The simple nature of the information appended to each month seems to point to the “Hsia-hsiao-cheng” being an ancient compilation. As to whether it is actually a work going back to the Hsia dynasty, it is difficult to say.

three months, *meng* 孟, *chuug* 仲, *chi* 季, a nomenclature followed also in the “Yüeh-ling” of the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu*. Each month has its *ch'i chieh* 氣節.

The “Chou-yüeh chieh” states,

萬物春生夏長，秋收冬藏。⑧

The myriad things come into being in the spring, grow in the summer, are harvested in the autumn, and stored in the winter.

We can see in the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* that *sheng* 生, *chang* 長, *shou* 收, *ts'ang* 藏 form implicitly the underlying themes of the four sections of the *chi* 紀 part of the work. The “Chou-yüeh chieh” makes statements about

順天革命，改正朔，變服殊號。⑨

according with Heaven while appropriating the Mandate, adopting a new month as the year's beginning, and changing the dress and altering the designation.

and goes on to explain that

一文一質，示不相沿。⑩

the alternation between refinement and plainness is to show that one does not follow in the footsteps of one's immediate predecessor.

There is no mention of the Five Ascendants, although there is mention of *yin-yang* 陰陽.

Chapter 52 “Shih-hsün chieh” 時訓解 seems all of a piece with

⑧ *Yi Chou-shu, Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng* 叢書集成 ed., ch. 6, p. 152.

⑨ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

⑩ *Ibid.*

chapter 51. The main difference is that instead of dividing the year, as in the “Chou-yüeh chieh”, into the twelve *chung-ch'i* 中氣, it divides the year into twenty-four *ch'i*, that is, the twelve *chung-ch'i* together with the twelve *chieh-ch'i* 節氣. The natural phenomena in each *ch'i* period are noted, and these mostly agree with the “Yüeh-ling” of the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu*.

Chapter 53 “Yüeh-ling chieh” 月令解 is no longer extant. There is a comment by Wei Cheng 魏徵 in his *Chien-lu* 諫錄：

《月令》起於上古。呂不韋止是修古，《月令》未必始起秦代也。<sup>①</sup>

The “Yüeh-ling” arose in high antiquity. All Lü Pu-wei did was to put this ancient “Yüeh-ling” in order. Hence it is by no means certain that the “Yüeh-ling” stems from Ch'in times.

It is very likely that the ancient “Yüeh-ling” referred to here is that of the *Yi Chou-shu*. If so, then, in Wei Cheng's view the “Yüeh-ling” in the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* was based on the “Yüeh-ling” of the *Yi Chou-shu*. As a good deal of the contents of the two chapters, 51 and 52, is preserved in the “Yüeh-ling” of the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu*, this conjecture is likely to be correct. This places the “Yüeh-ling” of the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* squarely in the tradition of the calendrical literature of the *Yi Chou-shu*. There is one point of difference which is worth noting. Both the “Shih-hsün chieh” of the *Yi Chou-shu* and the “Yüeh-ling” of the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* accept the principle of the interaction between natural phenomena and human action in the form

<sup>①</sup> Wei Cheng-kung *chien-lu* 魏鄭公諫錄, *Chi-fu ts'ung-shu* 畿輔叢書 ed., ch. 4, fol. 5a.

of ritual action of the Emperor and administrative measures, but whereas, according to the "Shih-hsün chieh", any abnormalities in natural phenomena will have an adverse effect on human affairs, according to the "Yüeh-ling" in the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu*, it is the other way round: any action on the part of the Emperor and any administrative measure out of season will lead to natural calamities.



The *Kuan-tzu* is even richer in calendrical treatises than the *Yi Chou-shu*. There are five chapters which deal with the calendar, viz., chapter 8 "Yu-kuan" 幼官, chapter 9 "Yu-kuan t'u" 幼官圖, chapter 40 "Ssu-shih" 四時, chapter 41 "Wu-hsing" 五行 and chapter 85 "Ch'ing-chung chi" 輕重己. Besides these five chapters, chapter 52 "Ch'i-ch'en ch'i-chu" 七臣七主 and chapter 53 "Chin ts'ang" 禁藏 also contain some calendrical material, but as this is not germane to our problem, we shall not discuss these two chapters.

Our problem is the correlation of the seasons of the year with the Five Ascendants and all five chapters have a bearing on the problem. We start with chapter 41 "Wu-hsing" as the method it adopts is a simple one. The year, instead of twelve months or four seasons, is divided, instead, into five equal periods, each consisting of seventy-two days. Each of the Five Ascendants is dominant, in turn, in one period. The formula  $x$  *hsing yü* 行御 appears in each period,  $x$  being the Ascendant dominant in that period. The point to be noted is that in order to match the year with the *wu hsing*, the normal division of the year into four seasons is put aside in favour of a five-fold division.

Chapter 85, "Ch'ing-chung chi", which divides the year into four seasons of ninety-one days, each correlated with one colour, has got one peculiar feature. Its correlation is as follows:

Spring	Summer	Autumn	Winter
Green	Yellow	White	Black
(Wood)	(Earth)	(Metal)	(Water)

It differs from the standard correlation of

Spring	Summer	Autumn	Winter
Green	Red	Yellow	Black
(East: Wood)	(South: Fire)	(Centre: Earth)	(West: Metal)

The revision consists in the replacement of red (fire) with yellow (earth) for summer. This was done obviously to deny recognition to red (fire) as a legitimate dynasty. The man with a motive for doing this can only be Wang Mang 王莽.<sup>⑫</sup> Wang Mang's political manipulations do not concern us, but the standard scheme of correlation of the Five Ascendants with other categories of things, which is to be found in most calendrical treatises, does.

In the standard scheme the Five Ascendants are, amongst other things, correlated with the Five Positions and the Four Seasons. As a consequence of the prevalence of this correlation, it has simply been assumed by scholars that from the very beginning the Four Seasons

<sup>⑫</sup> See Ma Fei-pai 馬非百, *Kuan-tzu Ch'ing-chung p'ien hsin-ch'uan* 管子輕重篇新詮 (Beijing: Chung-hua shu-ch'ü, 1988), p. 735.



and the Five Positions (*wu-fang* 五方)<sup>⑬</sup> were directly matched, but it is doubtful if this was the case. There is evidence that, in the first instance, the Four Seasons were correlated with the Four Positions (四方) while the Five Positions were correlated with the Five Ascendants. This is borne out by the “Shih-tse” 時則 chapter of the *Huainan-tzu* 淮南子 where there is a passage with the heading *wu-wei*.

#### 五位

〔Ha1〕 東方之極，自碣石（山）過朝鮮，貫大人之國，東至日出之次、（扶）（樽）〔樽〕木之地，青（土）〔丘〕樹木之野，太皞、句芒之所司者，萬二千里。

〔Ha2〕 其令曰：挺羣禁，開閉闔，通窮室，達障塞，行優游，棄怨惡，解役罪，免憂患，休罰刑，開關梁，宣（出）〔庫〕財，和外怨，撫四方，行柔惠，止剛強。

〔Hb1〕 南方之極，自北戶孫之外，貫顛頊之國，南至委火炎風之野，赤帝、祝融之所司者，萬二千里。

〔Hb2〕 其令曰：爵有德，賞有功，惠賢良，救飢渴，舉力農，振貧窮，惠孤寡，憂罷疾，出大祿，行大賞，起毀宗，立無後，封建侯，立賢輔。

〔Hc1〕 中央之極，自崑崙東絕兩恆山，日月之所道，江漢之所出，眾民之野，五穀之所宜，龍門、河、濟相貫，以息壤堙洪水之州，東至於碣石，黃帝、后土之所司者，萬二千里。

〔Hc2〕 其令曰：平而不阿，明而不苛，包裹覆露，無不囊懷，溥汎無私，正

⑬ *Ssu-fang* 四方 consisting of east, south, west and north are the Four Positions. To this is added the Centre (*chung-yang* 中央) and the result is *wu-fang* 五方 or *wu-wei* 五位. There is no ready equivalent in English. In this paper I have used the term the “Five Positions”, though, strictly speaking, *fang* carries also the connotation of direction.

靜以和，行稗鬻，養老衰，弔死問疾，以送萬物之〔所〕歸。

〔Hd1〕西方之極，自崑崙絕流沙、沈羽，西至三危之國，石城金室，飲氣之民，不死之野，少皓、蓐收之所司者，萬二千里。

〔Hd2〕其令曰：審用法，誅必辜，備盜賊，禁姦邪，飾羣牧，謹著聚，修城郭，補決竇，塞蹊徑，退溝瀆，止流水，離谿谷，守門閭，陳兵甲，選百官，誅不法。

〔He1〕北方之極，自九澤窮夏晦之極，北至令正之谷，有凍寒積冰、雪雹霜霰、漂潤羣水之野，顛頊、玄冥之所司者，萬二千里。

〔He2〕其令曰：申羣禁，固閉藏，修障塞，繕關梁，禁外徙，斷罰刑，殺當罪，閉（關）〔門〕閭，大搜客，止交游，禁夜樂，蚤閉晏開，以索姦人，〔姦人〕已德（「德」讀為「得」），執之必固。天節已幾，刑殺無赦，雖有盛尊之親，斷以法度。毋行水，毋發藏，毋釋罪。<sup>⑭</sup>

This passage consists of five paragraphs, (a), (b), (c), (d), (e), dealing with the Five Positions. Each paragraph is made up of two sections, (1) and (2). In the first section the demarcation of the geographical region of each of the Five Positions is given. It is to be noted that nowhere are the Five Ascendants explicitly mentioned. The second section begins with the formula *ch'i ling yüeh* 其令曰 (its ordinances are). What strikes one is that these ordinances which here come under the Five Positions, are the same as the ordinances that appear in calendrical works under the months or the seasons. It is, at any rate, inconceivable that the ordinances prescribed here should have no seasonal connotation but observed only in certain geographical

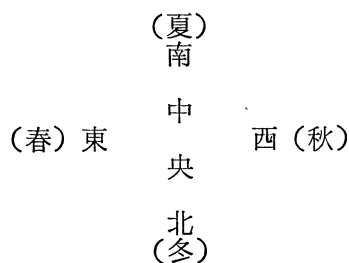
<sup>⑭</sup> *Huai-nan-tzu, Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an* 四部叢刊 ed., ch. 5, fols. 14b-15b.

regions. Thus one cannot escape the conclusion that the appearance of the ordinances is an implicit reference to the seasons and so linking the seasons of the year to the Five Positions. Furthermore, the Five Positions are also correlated with the Five Colours, a correlation also to be found in the "Yüeh-ling" of the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu*.

The treatment here of the Five Positions is reminiscent of what is found in chapter 8 ("Yu-kuan" 幼官) in the *Kuan-tzu*. The interesting thing about the *Kuan-tzu* is that the text of chapter 9 is identical with that of chapter 8, except that chapter 9 is called "Yu-kuan t'u" 幼官圖 instead of "Yu-kuan". As the word *t'u* occurs in the title, this may give the impression that only the "Yu-kuan t'u" text was originally arranged in the form of a diagram. This is not the case. Although the word *t'u* does not occur in the title of chapter 8, there is reference to the *t'u* in the body of the text where the location of the relevant sections in the diagram is given as follows:

- (1)此居〔於〕圖方中
- (2)此居於圖東方方外
- (3)此居於圖南方方外
- (4)此居於圖西方方外
- (5)此居於圖北方方外
- (6)此居於圖方中
- (7)此居於圖東方方外
- (8)此居於圖南方方外
- (9)此居於圖西方方外
- (10)此居於圖北方方外

In chapter 9, (1) to (5) are further designated as *pen t'u* 本圖 (primary diagram) and (6) to (10) as *fu t'u* 副圖 (secondary diagram). From this we can see that the text was originally arranged in the form of a diagram with a section in each of the Four Positions and a section in the Centre, with each section consisting of two parts. The two parts of a section, in the present linear text are separated and no longer contiguous presumably because of the actual order in which the sections were read. There is one other point of difference from the *Huai-nan-tzu* text. In the "Yu-kuan t'u" the Four Seasons are mentioned explicitly in each section. From this we can draw two conclusions: (1) the Five Positions are explicitly linked with the Four Seasons, and (2) the correlation between the two is set out in the form of a diagram.



Now there is a fundamental difference between the Four Seasons and the Five Positions. The Four Seasons is a linear concept while the Five Positions is a two-dimensional concept. Being linear, the succession of the Four Seasons represents the whole year. There is no room for an extra season. The Four Positions, being spatial, leave room for a fifth position, the Centre. Thus in correlating the Four Seasons with the Five Positions where to find a niche for the Centre is the

problem. One method is for the Centre not to have a domain of its own, as in the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu*. Another method is to rob Summer of its last month and give this to the Centre as in the *Huai-nan-tzu*. Needless to say, neither arrangement is satisfactory.

In the *Shang-shu ta-chuan* 尚書大傳 a version of the passage from the *Huai-nan-tzu* quoted above is to be found, which runs as follows:

〔Sa1〕 東方之極，自碣石東至日出，搏木之野。帝太皞、神勾芒司之。

〔Sa2〕 自冬至至數四十六日，迎春於東堂，距邦八里，堂高八尺，堂階八等，青稅八乘，旂旒尚青，田車載矛，號曰助天生，倡之以角，舞之以羽。此迎春之樂也。

〔Sa3a〕 孟春之月，御青陽左个，禱用牡，索祀於艮隅。貌必恭，厥休時雨，朔令曰：挺羣禁，開閉闔，通窮〔室〕〔室〕，達障塞，待優游。其禁：毋伐林木。

〔Sa3b〕 仲春之月，御青陽正室，牲先脾，設主於戶，索祀於震正。朔令曰：棄〔怒〕〔怨〕惡，解役罪，免〔優〕〔憂〕患，休罰刑，〔閉〕〔開〕關梁。其禁：田獵不宿，飲食不享，出入不節，奪民農時，及有姦謀。

〔Sa3c〕 季春之月，御青陽右个，薦用鮪，索祀於巽隅。朔令曰：宣庫財，和外怨，撫四方，行柔惠，止剛強，九門磔禳，出疫於郊，以禳春氣。

〔Sb1〕 南方之極，自北戶南至炎風之野。帝炎帝、神祝融司之。

〔Sb2〕 自春分數四十六日，迎夏於南堂，距邦七里，堂高七尺，堂階七等，赤稅七乘，旂旒尚赤，田車載弓，號曰助天養，倡之以徵，舞之以鼓鼗。此迎夏之樂也。

〔Sb3a〕 孟夏之月，御明堂左个，嘗麥用彘，索祀於巽隅。視必明，厥休時燠。朔令曰：爵有德，賞有功，惠賢良，舉力農。其禁：毋墮防。

〔Sb3b〕 仲夏之月，御明堂正室，牲先肺，設主於竈。索祀於離正。朔令曰：

振貧窮，惠孤寡，慮休疾，出大祿，行大賞。其禁：棄法律，逐功臣，殺太子，以妾爲妻。乃令民雩。

〔Sb3c〕季夏之月，御明堂右个，牲先心，設主於中霤，索祀於坤隅。思必睿，厥休時風。朔令曰：起毀宗，立無後，封廢國，立賢輔，卹喪疾。

〔Sc1〕中央之極，自昆侖中至大室之野。帝黃帝、神后土司之。

〔Sc2〕土王之日，禱用牲，迎中氣於中室。樂用黃鍾之宮，爲民祈福，命世婦治服章，令民口虐。其禁：治宮室，飾臺榭，內淫亂，犯親戚，侮父兄。

〔Sd1〕西方之極，自流沙西至三危之野。帝少皞、神蓐收司之。

〔Sd2〕自夏日至數四十六日，迎秋於西堂，距邦九里，堂高九尺，堂階九等，白稅九乘，旌旄尙白，田車載兵，號曰助天收，唱之以商，舞之以干戚。此迎秋之樂也。

〔Sd3a〕孟秋之月，御總章左个，管穀用犬，索祀於坤隅，言必從，厥休時暘。朔令曰：審用法，備盜賊，禁姦邪，飭羣牧，謹貯聚。其禁：毋弛戎備。

〔Sd3b〕仲秋之月，御總章正室，牲先肝，設主於門，索祀於兌正。朔令曰：謹功築，退溝瀆，修困倉，決刑獄，趣收斂。其禁：好攻戰，輕百姓，飾城郭，侵邊竟。乃令民改醢，庶疋畢入于室，曰：時殺將至，毋罹其菑。

〔Sd3c〕季秋之月，御總章右个，薦用田禽，索祀於乾隅。朔令曰：除道路，守門閭，陳兵甲，戒百官，誅不法，除道成梁，以利農夫。

〔Se1〕北方之極，自丁令北至積雪之野。帝顓頊、神玄冥司之。

〔Se2〕自秋分數四十六日，迎冬於北堂，距邦六里，堂高六尺，堂階六等，黑稅六乘，旌旄尙黑，田車載甲鐵，號曰助天誅，唱之以羽，舞之以干戈。此迎冬之樂也。

〔Se3a〕孟冬之月，御玄堂左个，祈年用牲，索祀於乾隅，聽必聰，厥休時寒。朔令曰：申羣禁，修障塞，畢積聚，繫牛馬，收澤賦。其禁：毋作淫巧。

〔Se3b〕仲冬之月，御玄堂正室，牲先腎，設主於井，索祀於坎正。朔令曰：

搜外徒，止夜樂，誅詐僞，省醞釀，謹閉關。其禁：簡宗廟，不禱祀，廢祭祀，逆天時。乃令民罷土功。

[Se3c] 季冬之月，御玄堂右个，薦用魚，索祀於良隅。朔令曰：省牲牲，修農器，收秸薪，築囿圃，謹蓋藏。乃大難以禳疾。命國爲酒，以合三族。君子說，小人樂。<sup>⑮</sup>

It is obvious that the passage is a longer version of the *Huai-nan-tzu* passage. Each of the five paragraphs begins with a section which has a parallel in the *Huai-nan-tzu* (Sal, Sbl, Scl, Sdl, Sel parallel Hal, Hbl, Hcl, Hdl, Hel respectively). The parallel texts can be set out in pairs of parallel lines as follows:

H 淮南子·時則訓

S 尚書大傳

五位

(Ha1) 東方之極自碣石(山)過朝鮮貫大人之國東至日出之次(扶)(搏)

(Sa1) 東方之極自碣石 東至日出

H [搏] 木之地青(土) [丘] 樹木之野 太皞 句芒之所司 者萬

S 搏 木之 野帝太皞神句芒 司之

H 二千里

S

(Hb1) 南方之極自北戶孫之外貫顛頊之國南至委火炎風之野 赤帝 祝融

(Sb1) 南方之極自北戶 南至 炎風之野帝炎帝神祝融

H之所司 者萬二千里

S 司之

<sup>⑮</sup> *Shang-shu ta-chuan*, SPTK ed., ch. 3, fols. 21a-23b.

- (Hc1) 中央之極自崑崙東絕兩恆山日月之所道江漢之所出 眾民之野五  
 (Sc1) 中央之極自昆侖 中至大室之野  
 H 穀之所宜龍門河濟相貫以息壤堙洪水之州東至於碣石 黃帝 后土之  
 S 帝黃帝神后土  
 H 所司 者萬二千里  
 S 司之
- (Hd1) 西方之極自崑崙絕流沙沈羽西至三危之國石城金室飲氣之民不死之  
 (Sd1) 西方之極自 流沙 西至三危之  
 H 野 少皞 蓐收之所司 者萬二千里  
 S 野帝少皞神蓐收 司之
- (He1) 北方之極自九澤窮夏晦之極 北至令正之谷有凍寒積冰雪雹霜霰  
 (Se1) 北方之極自 丁令北至 積 雪  
 H 漂潤羣水之野 顓頊 玄冥之所司 者萬二千里  
 S 之野帝顓頊神玄冥 司之

Then follows a section with no parallel in the *Huai-nan-tzu* which, when extracted from the rest of the text, runs as follows:

- 〔東方〕 (Sa2) 自冬至數四十六日，迎春於東堂，距邦八里，堂高八尺，堂階八等，青稅八乘，旂旒尚青，田車載矛，號曰助天生，倡之以角，舞之以羽。此迎春之樂也。
- 〔南方〕 (Sb2) 自春分數四十六日，迎夏於南堂，距邦七里，堂高七尺，堂階七等，赤稅七乘，旂旒尚赤，田車載弓，號曰助天養，倡之以徵，舞之以鼓鼗。此迎夏之樂也。
- 〔中央〕 (Sc2) 土王之日，禱用牲。迎中氣於中室。樂用黃鍾之宮。
- 〔西方〕 (Sd2) 自夏日至數四十六日，迎秋於西堂，距邦九里，堂高九尺，堂階九等，白稅九乘，旂旒尚白，田車載兵，號曰助天收，唱之以商，



舞之以干戚。此迎秋之樂也。

〔北方〕 (Se2) 自秋分數四十六日，迎冬於北堂，距邦六里，堂高六尺，堂階六等，黑稅六乘，旗旄尚黑，田車載甲鐵，號曰助天誅，唱之以羽，舞之以干戈。此迎冬之樂也。

This extra section in the *Shang-shu ta-chuan*, except for the Centre, gives in each Position an account of the ritual welcoming of the advent of each of the Four Seasons. Thus the Four Seasons are correlated with the Four Positions. The welcoming of the Four Seasons is also found in the "Yüeh-ling":

- (1)立春之日，天子親率三公、九卿、諸侯、大夫以迎春於東郊。
- (2)立夏之日，天子親率三公、九卿、大夫以迎夏於南郊。
- (3)立秋之日，天子親率三公、九卿、諸侯大夫以迎秋於西郊。
- (4)立冬之日，天子親率三公、九卿、大夫以迎冬於北郊。<sup>⑩</sup>

There are, however, sufficient differences between the two accounts to suggest that they belong to somewhat different traditions. First, in the *Shang-shu ta-chuan* the concluding remark to each of the seasonal accounts relates the ceremony to music, e. g., "This is the music for welcoming Spring." This reference is absent in the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu*. Second, in the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* the ceremonies take place in the outskirts in the Four Positions: *tung-chiao* 東郊, *nan-chiao* 南郊, *hsi-chiao* 西郊, and *pei-chiao* 北郊, whereas in the *Shang-shu ta-chuan*, they take place in the *t'ang* 堂 of the Four Positions: *tung-t'ang* 東堂, *nan-t'ang* 南堂, *hsi-t'ang* 西堂, and *pei-t'ang* 北堂. The difference in

<sup>⑩</sup> *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu*, SPTK ed., ch. 1, fol. 2a; ch. 4, fols. 1b-2a; ch. 7, fol. 2a; ch. 10, fols. 1b-2a.

the case of the Centre (中央), however, is intriguing. In the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu*, it is said that the sacrifice is to the *chung-liu* 中霤. This puts the sacrifice to the Centre (in a) set of sacrifices to various parts of the household in the different seasons: *ch'i ssu hu* 其祀戶 (the sacrifice is to the door), *ch'i ssu tsao* 其祀竈 (the sacrifice is to the cooking range), *ch'i ssu men* 其祀門 (the sacrifice is to the door (double leafed)) and *ch'i ssu hsing* 其祀行 (the sacrifice is to the abode of the god of travellers). In the *Shang-shu ta-chuan*, however, the welcoming of the *chung-ch'i* 中氣 (*ch'i* of the Centre) takes place in the *chung-shih* 中室. The phrase *ying chung-ch'i* 迎中氣 puts the ceremony in the category of the welcoming of the seasons. Wang Kuo-wei 王國維 is surely right in identifying the four *t'ang* 堂 and the *chung-shih* with the *ming-t'ang* 明堂.<sup>⑦</sup> It should be noted that for the Four Positions it is the Seasons that are welcomed, but for the Centre, it is the *chung-ch'i* that is welcomed.

What is significant for us is that the short paragraph about the Centre is clearly grafted arbitrarily on to a text about the Four Positions and the Four Seasons. Nothing is done to bring the two into line with each other. The crucial point is that for the Centre, we find the phrase *t'u wang chih jih* 土王之日 (the day Earth is dominant), clearly linking the Centre to *t'u* 土 of the Five Ascendants, whereas there is no such linking of the Four Positions to the other Four Ascendants. The only

⑦ Wang Kuo-wei, "Ming-t'ang miao-ch'in t'ung-k'ao" 明堂廟寢通考, in *Kuan-t'ang chi-lin* 觀堂集林, *Wang Kuo-wei yi-shu* 王國維遺書 (Shanghai: Shanghai ku-chi shu-tien 上海古籍書店, 1983), ch. 3 fol. 2b.

link to all Five Positions is the Five Musical Notes, but even here the uniformity is more apparent than real. For the Four Positions the notes *chiao* 角, *chih* 徵, *shang* 商 and *yü* 羽 appear independently in the formula *ch'ang chih yi x* 倡之以 x. On the other hand, *kung* 宮 in the Centre appears in the phrase *yüeh yung huang-chung chih kung* 樂用黃鍾之宮, thus giving it a different context. We cannot but conclude once again that the passage consisted originally in a correlation between the Four Positions and the Four Seasons. The short section about the Centre, with its explicit mention of *t'u* must have come from a text correlating the Five Positions with the Five Ascendants. When this section was grafted onto the passage about the Four Positions and the Four Seasons, little was done to integrate the former into the latter. This must be an early attempt, earlier than even the "Yüeh-ling", where there is complete integration as far as sets of five are concerned, as the Centre is given the taste of *kan* 甘 (sweetness), the smell of *hsiang* 香 (fragrance), the number of *wu* 五 (five), the sacrifice to *chung-liu* 中霤, the precedence given to the *hsin* 心 (heart) in sacrificial offerings.

In this passage it is said that the welcoming of the Four Seasons serves to aid Heaven in its function appropriate to each season. In spring it is the production of life (*hao yüeh chu t'ien sheng* 號曰助天生) ; in summer it is nurture (*hao yüeh chu t'ien yang* 號曰助天養) ; in autumn it is harvesting (*hao yüeh chu t'ien shou* 號曰助天收) ; in winter it is punishment (*hao yüeh chu t'ien chu* 號曰助天誅) . *Chu* here replaces the more usual *ts'ang* 藏 (storing). The function of Heaven

in the Four Seasons is mentioned a number of times in Tung Chung-shu's 董仲舒 *Ch'un-ch'iu fan-lu* 春秋繁露. In the "Yang tsun yin pei" 陽尊陰卑 chapter, it says,

春主生，夏主養，（冬主藏，秋主收）〔秋主收，冬主藏〕。⑱

Of spring the dominant function is the production of life; of summer it is nurture; of autumn it is harvesting; of winter it is storing.

In the "Ssu-shih chih fu" 四時之副 chapter, it says,

天之道：春煖以生，夏暑以養，秋涼以殺，冬寒以藏。⑲

The way of Heaven: spring produces life with its warmth, summer nurtures with its heat, autumn kills with its coolness, winter stores with its cold.

In the above quotations the function of the Four Seasons is designated by a single characteristic. However there is a case where there are two.

In the "Hsün t'ien chih tao" 循天之道 chapter, it says,

故天地之化：春氣生而百物皆出，夏氣養而百物皆長，秋氣殺而百物皆死，冬氣收而百物皆藏。⑳

Hence the transformation of Heaven and Earth: the *ch'i* of spring gives life and the myriad things issue forth, the *ch'i* of summer nurtures and the myriad things grow to maturity, the *ch'i* of autumn kills and the myriad things die, the *ch'i* of winter harvests and the myriad things are put in store.

⑱ *Ch'un-chiu fan-lu*, SPTK ed., ch. 11, fol. 5b.

⑲ Ibid., ch. 13, fol. 1a.

⑳ Ibid., ch. 16, fol. 10b.

It may be mentioned in passing that of the pair of characteristics used to designate the function of each season, the first is a process and the second is a result. This is of some relevance to what the "Wu-hsing tui" 五行對 chapter has to say,

春主生，夏主長，季夏主養，秋主收，冬主藏。②

This is unique in giving *chi-hsia* (the last month of summer) an independent function. Obviously this is an attempt, after *t'u* was given the domain over *chi-hsia*, to give it an independent function. Thus the functions of the seasons become a set of five. In doing so it assigns one of the two characteristics belonging to the whole of summer to the last month. This is interesting because it shows not only that the process of thorough integration with the Five Ascendants by making up sets of five was still going on in the time of Tung Chung-shu but also that some attempts were less successful and the idea of Five Functions for the Four Seasons together with the independent Last Month of Summer never caught on.

Section (3) of the five paragraphs, i. e., Sa3, Sb3, Sc3, Sd3 and Se3, is also very interesting. It corresponds to section (2) of the *Huai-nan-tzu* passage, i. e., Ha2, Hb2, Hc2, Hd2 and He2.

H淮南子·時則訓

S尚書大傳

[Ha2]

其令曰挺羣

[Sa3] 孟春之月御青陽左个禱用牡索祀於艮隅貌必恭厥休時雨朔令曰挺羣

② Ibid., ch. 10, fol. 9b.

- H 禁開閉闔通窮 室 達障塞行優游
- S 禁開閉闔通窮(室)〔室〕達障塞待優游其禁毋伐林木
- H 棄 怨 惡
- S 仲春之月御青陽正室牲先脾設主於戶索祀於震正朔令曰棄(怒)〔怨〕惡
- H 解役罪免 憂 患休罰刑 開 關梁
- S 解役罪免(優)〔憂〕患休罰刑(閉)〔開〕關梁其禁田獵不宿飲食不享出
- H
- S 入不節奪民農時及有姦謀
- H 宣(出)〔庫〕財和外怨
- S 季春之月御青陽右个薦用鮪索祀於巽隅朔令曰宣 庫 財和外怨
- H 撫四方行柔惠止剛強
- S 撫四方行柔惠止剛強九門磔禳出疫於郊以禳春氣
- 〔Hb2〕 其令曰爵有
- 〔Sb3〕 孟夏之月御明堂左个嘗麥用彘索祀於巽隅視必明厥休時燠朔令曰爵有
- H 德賞有功惠賢良救飢渴舉力農
- S 德賞有功惠賢良 舉力農其禁毋隳防
- H 振貧窮惠孤
- S 仲夏之月御明堂正室牲先肺設主於竈索祀於離正朔令曰振貧窮惠孤
- H 寡憂罷疾出大祿行大賞
- S 寡慮休疾出大祿行大賞其禁棄法律逐功臣殺太子以妾爲妻乃令民雩
- H
- S 季夏之月御明堂右个牲先心設主於中霤索祀於坤隅思必睿厥休時風
- H 起毀宗立無後封建侯立賢輔
- S 朔令曰起毀宗立無後封廢國立賢輔卹喪疾
- 〔Hc2〕 其令曰平而不阿明而不苛包裹覆露無不囊懷溥汜無私正靜以和行稔
- 〔Sc2〕

H 鬻養老衰弔死問疾以送萬物之〔所〕歸

S

爲民祈福命世婦治服章令民

H

S 口虐其禁治宮室飾臺榭內淫亂犯親戚侮父兄

〔Hd2〕

其令曰審

〔Sd3〕 孟秋之月御總章左个嘗穀用犬索祀於坤隅言必從厥休時暘朔令曰審

H 用法誅必辜備盜賊禁姦邪飾羣牧謹著聚

S 用法

備盜賊禁姦邪飾羣牧謹貯聚其禁毋弛戎備

H

修城

S 仲秋之月御總章正室牲先肝設主於門索祀於兌正朔令曰謹功築

H 郭補決竇塞蹊徑遏溝瀆止流水離谿谷

S

遏溝瀆

修困倉決刑獄趣收斂其禁好攻

H

S 戰輕百姓飾城郭侵邊竟乃令民畋釀庶忙畢入于室曰時殺將至毋懼其

H

S 蓄

H

守門閭陳兵

S 季秋之月御總章右个薦用田禽索祀於乾隅朔令曰除道路守門閭陳兵

H 甲選百官誅不法

S 甲戒百官誅不法除道成梁以利農夫

〔He2〕

其令曰申

〔Se3〕 孟冬之月御玄堂左个祈年用牲索祀於乾隅聽必聰厥休時寒朔令曰申

H 羣禁固閉藏修障塞繕關梁

S 羣禁

修障塞

畢積聚繫牛馬收澤賦其禁毋作淫巧

- H 禁外徒斷罰
- S 仲冬之月御玄堂正室牲先腎設主於井索祀於坎正朔令曰搜外徒
- H 刑殺當罪閉(關)(門)閭大搜客止交游禁夜樂 蚤閉晏開以索
- S 止 夜樂誅詐僞省醞釀謹閉 關
- H 姦人〔姦人〕已德執之必固天節已幾刑殺無赦雖有盛尊之親斷以法度
- S
- H 毋行水毋發藏毋釋罪
- S 其禁簡宗廟不禱祀廢祭祀逆天時乃令民罷土功
- H
- S 季冬之月御玄堂右个薦用魚索祀于艮隅朔令曰省牲脗修農器收秸薪築
- H
- S 囿園謹蓋藏乃大讎以禳疾命國爲酒以合三族君子說小人樂

The *Huai-nan-tzu* passage consists of a simple list of ordinances with a general prohibition at the end. Each list is introduced by the formula *ch'i ling yüeh* 其令曰 (its ordinances are) where the *ch'i* can only refer to the Position appearing at the beginning of section (1). Thus though no season is explicitly mentioned to which the ordinances are to be attached, in their nature they must have a seasonal connotation. The *Shang-shu ta-chuan* supplies this deficiency. In each section under one of the Positions, the ordinances are divided into three parts, each appended respectively to one of the three months of the season in question. For instance, the ordinances of the east are divided and appended to *meng-ch'un chih yüeh* 孟春之月 (the first month of spring), *chung-ch'un chih yüeh* 仲春之月 (the second month of spring), and *chi-ch'un chih yüeh* 季春之月 (the last month of spring). There are a



number of ritual observances by the ruler, such as the room in the *ming-t'ang* 明堂 he resides in, which viscus he uses in sacrifice. These are also the same as the ones given in the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu*. The interesting case is the correlation with the eight trigrams. This is as follows:

	First month of spring:	<i>ken</i>	(艮)
East	Second month of spring:	<i>chen</i>	震
South-east	Third month of spring:	<i>hsün</i>	巽
	First month of summer:	<i>hsün</i>	(巽)
South	Second month of summer:	<i>li</i>	離
South-west	Third month of summer:	<i>k'un</i>	坤
	First month of autumn:	<i>k'un</i>	(坤)
West	Second month of autumn:	<i>tui</i>	兌
North-west	Third month of autumn:	<i>ch'ien</i>	乾
	First month of winter:	<i>ch'ien</i>	(乾)
North	Second month of winter:	<i>k'an</i>	坎
	Third month of winter:	<i>ken</i>	艮

The correlation of the eight trigrams with the Positions is a straightforward one as there are Four Cardinal Positions, east, south, west and north, and Four Intermediate Positions, south-east, south-west, north-west and north-east, making a total of eight. Difficulty arises, however, when an attempt is made to correlate the eight trigrams with the twelve months, through the mediation of the Eight Positions. The solution adopted by the *Shang-shu ta-chuan* is that each of the Four Cardinal Positions stands for one month while the Four Intermediate

Positions doll double duty with each standing for two months. This allows a month that gets a Cardinal Position to itself to have a trigram to itself, and months that share an Intermediate Position also share one trigram. This again shows that the eight trigrams were correlated with the Eight Positions in the first instance and only through the intermediary of the Eight Positions were they then correlated with the twelve months. The Positions thus play a key role in the correlation of the eight trigrams to the twelve months just as they do in the correlation of the Five Ascendants with the Four Seasons. As far as the Five Ascendants are concerned, what is germane to our discussion is that the Centre is left out in the cold and does not get a share of the trigrams.

Once again, this shows that when the *wu hsing* framework was superimposed on the calendar the result was a misfit. On this point we can return to the *Kuan-tzu*. The "Ssu-shih" chapter also has a paragraph devoted to *t'u* 土.

中央曰土，土德實輔四時入出，以風雨節，土益力。土生皮肌膚。其德和平用均，中正無私，實輔四時：春嬴育，夏養長，秋聚收，冬閉藏，大寒乃極，國家乃昌，四方乃服。此謂歲德。日掌賞，賞爲暑。歲掌和，和爲雨。<sup>②</sup>

In its opening statement the passage seems to make two points: the Centre is known as *t'u* 土, and the virtue of *t'u* is to assist the arrival and departure of the Four Seasons. It gives the impression that

<sup>②</sup> *Kuan-tzu*, SPTK ed., ch. 14, fol. 5a.

*t'u* is here one of the *wu hsing*, but this is misleading. The passage ends with the statement, "This is called the virtue of the Year." This shows that even though the Centre is said to be known as *t'u*, the virtue that is dominant is not that of *t'u* but that of the Year. This is confirmed by the corresponding passages under the other Positions and Seasons:

- (1) 東方曰星，其時曰春，其氣曰風，風生木與骨。……此謂星德。
- (2) 南方曰日，其時曰夏，其氣曰陽，陽生（人）〔火〕與氣。……此謂日德。
- (3) 西方曰辰，其時曰秋，其氣曰陰，陽生金與甲。……此謂辰德。
- (4) 北方曰月，其時曰冬，其氣曰寒，寒生水與血。……此謂月德。<sup>②</sup>

It can be clearly seen that the Four Positions are known as *hsing* 星, *jih* 日, *ch'en* 辰 and *yüeh* 月. Hence the *t'u* in *chung-yang yüeh t'u* is odd man out. Moreover, the mention of the *wu hsing* in the context of the Four Positions is always in conjunction with something else, *mu yü ku* 木與骨, *huo yü ch'i* 火與氣, *chin yü chia* 金與甲 and *shui yü hsüeh* 水與血. This shows that the *wu hsing* terms are mentioned here only as one characteristic among others, a far cry from the dominant virtues they are supposed to be in the fully fledged theory of *wu hsing*.

As is the case with sections numbered (2) in the *Shang-shu ta-chuan* passage, the "Ssu-shih" chapter is, thus, an example of the correlation of the Four Seasons with the *wu hsing* at a time when this was still tentative. *Chung-yang yüeh t'u* and *t'u-te* are grafted on to a

<sup>②</sup> Ibid., fols. 4a-6a.

text in which they are not truly integrated.

We have seen that in the *Kuan-tzu* there are examples of the matching of the Five Positions with the Four Seasons. Some are only implicit as the seasons are not in fact mentioned. This seems to mark a beginning in the path to the matching of the Five Ascendants with the Four Seasons. An example of an early attempt is the "Ssu-shih" chapter. There, as we have seen, except for *t'u* which is identified with Centre, none of the other four Ascendants are treated as dominant factors but only as one amongst other factors.

For a more systematic imposition of the *wu hsing* on the calendar we have to go to the "Yüeh-ling" in the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu*. There *mu*, *huo*, *chin*, *shui* are treated as dominant forces, as evidenced by the formula *sheng te tsai* 盛德在 x (the paramount virtue lies in x) where x is one of the Five Ascendants. The feature which distinguishes the "Yüeh-ling" in the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* from the "Shih-tse" chapter of the *Huai-nan-tzu* is its treatment of *chung-yang t'u*.<sup>24</sup>

*T'u*, in the "Yüeh-ling", is not given a portion of the year in which it is dominant whereas in the "Shih-tse" *huo* 火 is deprived of the last month of summer and this is, then, given to *t'u* so that it can

<sup>24</sup> There is no difference on this point in the text between the *Li-chi* 禮記 and the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu*. Hsü Fu-kuan (op. cit., p. 17) was mistaken in thinking otherwise. He was misled by the fact that the text in the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* was divided into twelve parts according to the twelve months, giving the illusion that the section on *chung-yang t'u* is an appendage to the last month of summer in the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu*, while it is an independent passage wedged between summer and autumn in the *Li-chi*.

have its own sphere of influence. This difference turns out to be crucial for determining whether the "Yüeh-ling" reflected the views of Tsou Yen.

There was a ritual practice in ancient China of the renewal of fire. There was a fresh drilling at the beginning of every season, using a different kind of wood. This is mentioned in both the "Ssu Kuan" 司燿 (Official in charge of ordinances concerning fire) section of the *Chou-li* 周禮 and Book XVII of the *Analects* (論語). Cheng Hsüan's 鄭玄 commentary to the *Chou-li* says,

鄭司農說以鄴子曰：春取榆柳之火，夏取棗杏之火，季夏取桑柘之火，秋取柞櫟之火，冬取槐檀之火。<sup>25</sup>

In this commentary, a passage about the use of different trees for drilling fire in different seasons is attributed to Tsou Yen on the authority of Cheng Chung 鄭眾, the Minister of Agriculture in the early part of the Eastern Han.

The Tsou Yen passage is also cited by Li Shan 李善 in his commentary to the *Wen-hsüan*.<sup>26</sup> Although Li Shan makes no mention of Cheng Chung, he is, nevertheless, likely to have based himself on Cheng Hsüan.

In the *Lun-yü chi-chieh* 論語集解 (Collected Commentaries on the

<sup>25</sup> *Chou-li chu-shu* 周禮注疏, *Ch'ung-k'an Sung-pen Shih-san-ching-chu-shu* 重刊宋本十三經注疏 ed. (1815; reprint, Taipei: Yi-wen yin-shu-kuan 藝文印書館, 1960), ch. 30, p. 458.

<sup>26</sup> Hsiao T'ung 蕭統 (comp. ), *Wen-hsüan* 文選 (1869; reprint, Taipei: Cheng-chung shu-chü 正中書局, 1971), ch. 29, fol. 24a.

*Lun-yü*) by Ho Yen 何晏 we find

馬曰：《周書·月令》有更火之文。春取榆柳之火，夏取棗杏之火，季夏取桑柘之火，秋取柞櫨之火，冬取槐檀之火。一年之中，鑽火各異木，故曰改火也。<sup>27</sup>

The commentary is generally interpreted as to mean that the passage from “有更火之文” to “冬取槐檀之火” was to be found in the “*yüeh-ling*” chapter of the *Chou-shu* according to Ma Jung 馬融.

In Pei Yin's 裴駟 *Shih-chi chi-chieh* 史記集解 (Collected Commentaries on the *Shih-chi*) we find a repetition of the passage in Ho Yen, except that Pei gives Ma Jung 馬融 instead of simply Ma 馬 as is given in the extant *Lun-yü chi-chieh* of Ho Yen. <sup>28</sup>

Now there are two questions concerning the passage attributed to Tsou Yen. First, is it relevant to the problem of the correlation of the *wu hsing* with the seasons? Second, is it likely that this passage was in fact from the book named after Tsou Yen?

Let us take the question of authorship of the passage first. Cheng Chung attributes it to Tsou-tzu (or *Tsou-tzu*) while Ma Jung attributes it to *Chou-shu: yüeh-ling*. The first point we should remember is that Cheng Chung flourished at the beginning of the Eastern Han while Ma Jung lived towards the end of the same dynasty. The second point is that there is legitimate doubt as to the meaning of Ma Jung. His actual words are “《周書·月令》有更火之文。春取榆柳之火……冬取槐檀之

<sup>27</sup> *Lun-yü chu-shu* 論語注疏, *Ch'ung-k'an Sung-pen Shih-san-ching chu-shu* ed., ch. 17 p. 157.

<sup>28</sup> *Shih-chi* (Beijing 北京: Chung-hua shu-chü 中華書局, 1959), ch. 67, p. 2194.

火”。Did he mean to attribute the whole passage to the *Chou-shu*, or did he only mean that in the *Chou-shu* is to be found the term *keng huo* 更火? It seems to me that the second interpretation is more likely to be right. In that case, what follows from “春取榆柳之火” to “冬取槐檀之火” is a gloss on the term *keng huo*. That is why Ma Jung ends by saying “故曰改火也” (Hence the term “changing the fire”). As to the source of the passage Ma Jung gives no indication. Even if this suggestion is not accepted, there remains the alternative that the passage though it appeared in the *Chou-shu*, was also to be found in the *Tsou-tzu*. The result of the examination is that there are no reasons for us to doubt that the passage comes from Tsou Yen.

The point in the Tsou Yen passage that is particularly significant is this. While each of the four seasons has its own peculiar trees the fire from whose wood is used, the last month of summer is the only month that enjoys the independent status of having its own trees. This five-fold division naturally suggests the *wu hsing* scheme of things. This suggestion was accepted, at least, by Huang K'an 皇侃 in his subcommentary to Ho Yen's commentary to the *Lun-yü* passage in question. Huang K'an says,

更猶改也。改火之木，隨五行之色而變也。榆柳色青，春是木，木色青，故春用榆柳也。……桑柘色黃，季夏是土，土色黃，故季夏用桑柘也。②

Huang links the use of different trees for different seasons with *wu*

② *Lun-yü chi-chieh yi-shu* 論語集解義疏, TSCC ed., pp. 252-53.

*hsing* through the colour of the trees. The significant thing is that the *sang-che* 桑柘 used in the last month of summer is correlated with *t'u* through the colour yellow. Thus we see that according to Tsou Yen, *chung-yang t'u* was correlated with the *chi-hsia* 季夏, the last month of summer, a correlation adopted in the "Shih-tse" chapter of the *Huai-nan-tzu* but not in the "Yüeh-ling" of the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* (or the *Li-chi* for that matter).

We have come, at long last, to the conclusion that it is not the "Yüeh-ling" of the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* that represents the position of the minor rotation of the *wu hsing* as propounded by Tsou Yen but the "Shih-tse" of the *Huai-nan-tzu*. Thus, the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* incorporates only the theory of the major rotation of the Five Ascendants of Tsou Yen. As to the theory of the minor rotation of the Five Ascendants incorporated in the "Yüeh-ling" chapter, it is in a form somewhat different from that propounded by Tsou Yen. This is only to be expected. We have seen in our investigation that the matching of the Four Seasons with the Five Positions went through a long process of development from the crude beginning of arbitrary grafting of the one onto the other to the more satisfactory integration of the two. Tsou Yen instead of being the architect of the integration, represented only a stage in the long development. It would be surprising indeed if a calendrical work like the "Yüeh-ling" of the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* should happen to have adopted precisely the practice advocated by Tsou Yen.



## 《呂氏春秋》與鄒衍的五行說

劉 殿 爵

### 提 要

鄒衍的五德終始說（亦即五行說）應用在兩方面。一是朝代的興替；二是四時的更代。《呂氏春秋·應同》論朝代興替即採用鄒衍五行說，這點學者已多有論列，王夢鷗教授論之尤詳。尙待探討的是〈月令〉所載一年四時的更代是否根據鄒衍說。本文從五行與四時的關係著手。論者多以爲五行與四時直接相配，但原來應是四時與四方，五行則與五方或五位相配。五行與四時的相配是通過五方或五位的，最初相配時未能完全整齊劃一，這是顯而易見的。但更重要的是在實行時並無一致的模式。在土與中央相配的過程中，在〈月令〉裏，土在一年之中不佔任何時間。到了《淮南子·時則》才把夏季最後一個原屬火的六月撥歸土。《淮南子》這個處理辦法似乎和鄒衍說一致。可見〈月令〉在處理五行與四時關係時採取與鄒衍不同的手法。

The *Lü-shih Ch'un-ch'iu* 呂氏春秋 and  
 Tsou Yen's 鄒衍 Theory of the  
 Five Rotatory Ascendants  
 (*Wu Hsing* 五行)

D. C. Lau

Tsou Yen's theory of the Cycle of the Five Virtues (五德), in other words, the Five Rotatory Ascendants, has two applications. In the first instance, it applies to the succession of dynasties. In the second, it applies to the seasons of the year. That the "Ying-t'ung" 應同 chapter of the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* has incorporated the former application has been shown by previous scholars, particularly Professor Wang Meng-ou 王夢鷗. What remains to be investigated is whether the "Yüeh-ling" 月令 represents the latter application. The investigation approaches the problem through the correlation of the Five Ascendants with the Four Seasons, and although it is commonly assumed that they were directly correlated, this paper argues that originally the Four Seasons were correlated with the Four Positions (四方) and the Five Ascendants with the Five Positions (五方, 五位). The Five Ascendants were, then, superimposed on to the Four Positions and in turn on to

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the Four Seasons through the mediation of the Five Positions. This can be seen from the lack of any attempt at integrating the two. For us, what is more important is the lack of uniformity in the practice. *T'u* (土, earth) which is correlated with *chung-yang* (中央, centre) is not given a period of time of its own in the "Yüeh-ling" whereas in the "Shih-tze" 時則 of the *Huai-nan-tzu* 淮南子, the last month of summer is taken from *huo* (火, fire) and given to *t'u*. There is some evidence that the practice of the *Huai-nan-tzu* is in agreement with what Tsou Yen advocated. Thus the "Yüeh-ling" seems to have followed a method somewhat different from that followed by Tsou Yen in the correlation of the *wu hsing* with the Four Seasons.