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FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS ABOUT THE YIN AND THE CHOU CALENDARS

Being the First Part of the Chronology of the Late Yin and the Early Chou Periods

By *Liu Ch'ao-yang*

1. Introduction

What kind of calendars were actually used in the Yin 殷 and the Chou 周 Dynasties? This is a problem which had already become a hot topic in the circles of learning as early as at the beginning of the Han 漢 Dynasty, because of its importance both in the political theories and in the historical studies, and which remained almost entirely unsettled during these thousand years in the past. The general principles of these calendars seem to have long been lost and forgotten. While there are numerous pseudo-records concerning them scattered here and there in many classical literatures, their discrepant conflict with each other appears to be so wide and deep that a harmonic reconstruction is evidently unattainable. The calculating rules of the so-called Six Ancient Calendars, including the Yin and the Chou in question, had been of course handed down to later generations. They are, for instance, clearly described in detail in the book *K'ai Yuan Chan Ching* 開元占經, which is still available at present. But they are certainly not genuine and not to be relied upon. Indeed, one of the conclusions, reached unanimously by most official astronomers since the Chin 晉 Dynasty, is that all these pretentious calendars were definitely only the artificial products of the theorists, probably of the period from the Warring States 戰國 to the Western Han 西漢. They can not be regarded as the real representatives of the things their names indicate. There seems to be no way to escape from the confused conditions, if uses can only be made of these old sources. Any discussion along this line will only make things worse than ever.

As the old situation of this problem looks so embarrassing and hopeless,

one waits naturally and earnestly for a new route to search for the characteristic features of these ancient calendars. But, at first, no such new route could be found at all. Then came the unearthing of the oracle inscriptions on the bones and tortoise shells of the later Yin periods at the ruined city, An Yang 安陽. It is almost incredible that it offers suddenly a real chance for the resurrection of the Yin calendar which had died away so long in our memory that its corpse was already rotten and fell into pieces. For the oracle inscriptions consist of different kinds of divination records which were generally dated with the combinations of the symbols of the stems and the branches 干支, sometimes also followed accidently by the indications of months, seasons and years. They naturally attract the expectant attention and satisfy the thirsty desire of those who have interest in ancient calendars. Different designs have been effected to reconstruct a Yin calendar upon this basis. The development is quite promising and fruitful, although there still exist differences of opinion which can hardly be unified.

The present author had published several years ago three Notes (1) on Yin calendar, attempting to sketch an outline of it out of the available data of those unearthed oracle records. Many evidences were there enumerated and illustrated, showing why he should of the opinion that, in the Yin calendar, at last the calendar prevailed in her later periods, a common year seems always to consist of three hundred and sixty days, equally divided into twelve months, making the order of the dates within the months to bear a definite relation with the order of the stems. These evidences are so strong and powerful that, so far as he knows, no critical fault against his theory has ever been found by his opponents.

On the other hand, there are some writers who apt to think of the Yin calendar as one of the luni-solar type, somewhat similar to the calendar long practiced by old Chinese in these thousands of years since the Han Dyansty, with the only difference that in a leap year, the former always deposits the intercalary month to the end of the year, calling it the Thirteenth Month 十三月. Referring also to the oracle data mentioned above, this theory seems to have many essential difficulties which are almost unconquerable. The present author has, for instance, pointed out in a former paper (2) that there are in oracle

(1) The Question of the Calendar of the Yin Dynasty, *Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies*, No. 10, P. 2009 Dec. 1931; Second Note on Yin Calendar, *Yenching Journal*, No. 13, 1933; Third Note on Yin Calendar, *Journal of Historical Research*, Vol. 1 No 2, Feb. 1936 Sun Yat-sen University.

(2) Third Note on Yin Calandar.

inscriptions records of events which covered continuously an interval of more than half a year and whose dates indicated that every month in this interval should have thirty days. This phenomenon could not happen in a luni-solar calendar at least of the suggested type. There also occur many Fourteenth Months 十四月 in oracle records and a few Fifteenth Month 十五月 in bronze inscriptions. What should they mean if the Thirteenth Months are understood as the intercalary months? Apparently no reasonable answer can be given by this theory.

So far only the Yin calendar is concerned. It is generally believed by many people that the calendar of the early Chou period was probably identical with the Yin at least in first principles. This is, in fact, found to be true. The author has applied his tentative scheme of the Yin calendar to the documental records of the early Chou period and the success he meets here by so doing is found to be far beyond his original expectation. It is well known since the Han Dynasty that the dates and the lunar phases in the chapter *Wu Ch'eng* 武成 of *Shu Ching* 書經 had always been the obstinate obstacles in the course of chronological arrangements with a calendar of the luni solar type. With the regular calendar of twelve months each of which always contains thirty days, as suggested by the new theory, they can, indeed, be so suitablly adjusted that no more difficulty will appear again. All the other data in *Shu Ching* and *I Chou Shu* 逸周書 can be also treated in the same manner with equall easiness and success. The detailed discussion concerning this problem is given in an earlier monograph (3).

Up to this step of development, the main features of the Yin and the Chou calendars may be said to have been decisively and firmly established. The only things remain to be done are to carry out the minute modifications when needed in some cases and to trace out all the new moons and the full moons or other lunar phases and to adapt them to the records of these two dynasties in great detail. This has been done by the present author. It begins with the eighth year of the King Hsiao I 小乙 of the Yin Dynasty and ends with the eighth, that is, the last year of the King I[3] 夷王 of the Chou Dynasty. It includes therefore altogether four hundred and eighty nine years.

It seems also to the present author that the calendar used in the time shortly after the King I[2], that is, in the middle age of the Chou Dynasty, is most probably the same as that of the earlier time, although some small modifications or additional hypotheses must be introduced in the theoretical part in

(3) *Calendar of the Early Chou Period*, *Studia Serica*, Monographs, Series B, No. 2, 1944.

order to well adapt it to the inscription records on bronzes which are supposed to belong to a period near the Ch'un Ch'iu 春秋. It has better to go into detail in connection with the Ch'un Ch'iu calendar and will, therefore, be touched elsewhere in the future.

It is generally recognized that the traditional system of the history of the Yin and the Chou Dynasties requires yet much work of purification, sublimation and corroboration. Both the oracle records on bones and tortoise shells and the ritual inscriptions on bronzes offer the available and reliable data for these purposes. They are rich in number but always too fragmentary in statement. It is one of the objects of the present work that these materials have to be organized on the frame work of the proposed calendar. Organizations of this nature have been known to exist before. They were, however, all based on the calendars of the luni-solar type, not essentially different from each other. The present arrangement is probably the first one which revolutionizes the fundamental idea. Whether it is a failure or a success, let the reader exercise his own judgment on it.

The present paper is the first part of the writer's Chronology of the Late Yin and Early Chou Periods. It gives the complementary reasonings and explanations that will be necessary for the understanding of the calendar scheme and the chronological arrangements of the oracle records of the Yin Dynasty and the bronze records of the Chou Dynasty. The second part will be the Calendar Scheme and the third, the Chronicle. Both these two latter parts are already finished and wait for publication. The original plan was to combine these three parts to form a monograph. It is prevented from realizing this plan by some inconvenience. The consequence is that the first part is to be first published here separately, while the projected monograph will only consist of the remaining two parts and to be published in the near future. In many places, the reader will do good by refering to this monograph.

II. Theoretical Modifications

Along with the hypothesis that, in the Yincalendar, a common year consists always of three hundred and sixty days equally divided into twelve months, the author has also assumed in his former Notes that, for some reason which is yet unknown, a leap year seems to have been made sometimes by an extra addition of ten or thirty days to a certain month in that year. He is led to the idea of ten days' intercalation mainly by two lines of reasoning. They are the following.

Firstly, as the combinations of the ten stems and the twelve branches

yied exactly a sexagesimal system, and the number of dates in a common year is also supposed to be an integral multiple of sixty, an odd month in this calendar will always begin with chia tzu 甲子 and end with kuei ssu 癸巳 while an even month will begin with chia wu 甲午 and end with kuei hai 癸亥, evidently nothing will be changed in the long run in the relation between the order of dates and that of the stems in the months, if there is no leap at all. On the other hand, the addition of a full month of thirty days as an intercalary month will allow only two different sets of combinations of the stems and the branches to enter alternatively into a month, that is, either the odd month begins with chia tzu, ends with kuei ssu and the even month begins with chia wu, ends with kuei hai, or vice versa. As a matter of fact, the oracle records reveal definitely that every one of the possible combinations with chia, that is, chia tzu, chia hsü chia Shên, chia wu, chia chên, chia yin, seems to have its turn to be the first day of a month and every one of the possible combinations with kuei, that is, kuei yu, kuei wei, kuei ssu, kuei mao, kuei ch'ou, and kuei hai, may also seemingly take a turn to be the last day, inspite of the fact that the first and the last days of every decade 旬 are still always a chia and a kuei respectively, so that there still exists some partially fixed relation between the order of the dates and that of the stems.

Thus a set of oracular inscriptions

(1) 前 2, 4, 5; 2, 3, 5及 2, 4, 1 合

癸巳卜在上鬯貞王旬亡尸在七月
癸未卜貞王旬亡尸在七月王正 X X (4) 商在爵
癸酉卜在上鬯貞王旬亡尸在七月
癸亥卜在向貞王旬亡尸在六月王徙于上鬯
癸丑卜在宮貞王旬亡尸在六月王徙于上鬯
癸卯卜在㯥貞王旬亡尸在六月王徙于上鬯
癸巳卜在反貞王旬亡尸在五月王徙于上鬯

shows that odd months in this year began actually with chia tzu and ended with kuei ssu, while the even months began with chia wu and ended with kuei hai, as the theory could have predicted. But there are another records, for example,

(2) 林 2, 20, I,

..未卜貞王.. (5)旬亡尸…正月
癸酉卜在㝬貞王旬亡尸在十月又二十十
癸亥卜貞王旬亡尸在十月又二在㝬

(4) X stands for a character which is not yet identified in oracle record and which has nothing to do with the subject in question. It is so represented as to be facile for publication.

(5) ... stands for a breakage in oracle record by which two or more characters are lost.

癸丑卜‥(6)王旬亡尸(災)在十‥又二

which seem to indicate that the odd months should begin with chia hsü and end with kuei mao, while the even months should begin with chia ch'ên and end with kuei yu, the order of the stems is thus displaced forward, ten days before the order of the dates. The occurrences of other possible cases of displacements may also be manifested by the following inscriptions:

(3)	粹 1421	癸亥‥賓‥旬…二月	Odd months begin with chia shên end with kuei ch'ou; even months begin with chia yin, end with kuei wei.
		癸酉卜賓貞旬亡禍	
		癸未卜賓貞旬亡禍二月	
		癸未卜賓貞旬亡禍‥月	
	or 粹 1443	癸亥卜㱿貞旬亡禍四月	
		癸酉卜㱿貞旬亡禍四月	
		癸未卜㱿貞旬亡禍四月	
		. . . 五‥	
(4)	徵,雜事 37	癸…兄…亡禍	Odd months begin with chia wu, end with kuei hai; even months begin with chia tzu, end with kuei ssu
		癸亥卜兄貞旬亡禍七月	
		癸酉卜兄貞旬亡禍八月	
		‥未卜‥貞旬…八月	
(5)	徵,雜事 35	癸…賓…亡…	Odd months begin with chia chen, end with kuei yu; even months begin with chia hsü, end with kuei Mao.
		癸未卜賓貞旬亡禍六月	
		癸巳卜賓貞旬亡禍六月	
		癸卯卜賓貞旬亡禍六月	
		癸丑卜賓貞旬亡禍七月	
		癸巳卜賓貞旬亡禍八月	
		癸卯卜賓貞旬亡禍八月	
(6)	戩29, 3及4合	癸未卜卽貞旬亡尸在正月	Odd months begin with chia yin, end with kuei wei; even months begin with chia shên, end with kuei ch'ou.
		癸酉卜卽貞旬亡尸在正月	
		癸亥卜卽貞旬亡尸在…月	
		癸丑卜卽貞旬亡尸十二月	
		癸卯卜卽貞旬亡尸十二月	
		癸巳卜卽貞旬亡尸十二月	

On the ground of these examples one can evidently not only maintain that there must be a certain way of inserting intercalary days or months to form a leap year in the Yin calendar, but can also further infer that the formation of a leap year in this calendar can not be a simple insertion of a month always of thirty days, if every combination of the stem and branch stands in the oracle sentences is understood to belong to the month that occurs and

(6) . . stands for a breakage in oracle record by which only one character is lost.

follows it, as it seems to be superficially at first sight. The last statement is very important, for all these interpretations are so far deduced from this premise.

Secondly, there is an oracle record of uncommon character which deserves our special attention. It runs as follows:

(7) 明687 ..未卜‥貞旬亡禍九月
癸酉卜‥貞旬亡禍八月
癸丑卜‥貞旬亡禍八月
癸卯卜‥貞旬亡禍八月
癸酉…貞…七‥

The number of the days from kuei mao to kuei yu can be easily evaluated according to the combination rule of the stems and the branches. It is thirty one. The eighth month in that year recorded in this oracle inscription includes, therefore, at least thirty one days. It may be more, since the days in the interval between the kuei yu of seventh month and the kuei mao of the eighth month, and also those between the kuei yu of the eighth month and the kuei wei of the ninth month, are not definitely indicated to which month they are belonged; but it can certainly not be less. Remembering that a luni-solar calendar of the type long used by old Chinese usually consists of two kinds of months, of which one is the small month of only twenty nine days and the other, the big month of thirty days. Neither a month in a common year nor in a leap year can be allowed to be of more than thirty days. This record alone may, therefore, shut out the possibility of the Yin calendar's being such a luni-soler one. For the months before and after the eighth in the records had been definitely denoted as the seventh and the ninth months respectively. It limits the number of days before the kuei wei and after the kuei yu to be not more than fourty nine, It is at least ten days less than total sum of a month plus an intercalary month.

While the luni-solar theory can hardly give a resonable explanation of this phenomenon of including four kueis in a month, its explanation in the author's theory is quite simple and natural. This is a leap year. It is formed by an extra addition of ten days to the eighth month. This month has, therefore, fourty days. By this way of peculiar intercalation the rigidity of the relation between the order of the stems and that of the dates in the months is affected partially. The first day of the odd month is displaced from chia tzu to chia Hsü by inserting once such an intercalation. It may be further displaced by inserting another intercalation. Every one of the possible combinations with chias may thus have the opportunity to be the first day of an odd month simply by enough times of inserting the intercalation of this peculiar

kind. This is the conclusion reached by the present author in his former Notes. It is to be emphasized here also that, this conclusion is inevitable, only when every combination of stem branch in the oracle records is understood to belong to the month closely fwllows it in the same sentence.

But the author becomes by and by realized that this last condition may not always necessarily satisfied. In some times, some of the stem branch combinations may, in fact, not necesarily belong to the month which follows it closely in each sentence in the oracle records. Note that the records cited above all refer to the information-asking about the fortune of the decades that are coming. In Chinese, it is called 卜旬. The Yin people seems to be customary to divide every month into three equal parts, each contain ten days, and called them 上旬 or 初旬, 中旬 and 下旬 respectively. This is the result of the regular division of a year into months and that of months into days.

Take, for instance, a month whose first day is chia tzu. The tenth day, that is, the last of the first decade, would be a kuei yu; the twentieth day, that is, the last of the second decade, kuei wei; and the thirtieth day, that is, the last of the third decade, kuei ssu. The above mentioned information-asking about the coming decade was always done at the end of each decade, that is, always with a day of kuei. Thus, at the tenth day kuei yu of this moth, the last of the first decade, an information-asking would be made about the fortune of the second decade, that is, from chia hsü, the eleventh day of the month, to kuei wei, the twentieth day of the month; in the same manner, at the twentieth day kuei wei, the last of the second decade, an information-asking would also be made about the fortune of the third decade, that is, from chia shên, the twenty first of the month, to kuei ssu, the thirtieth day of the month. So far the days of information-asking and the coming decades whose fortunes are expected both belong to the same month. Now, at the thirtieth day of this month, the last of the third decade, kuei ssu, an information-asking would also be made about the fortune of the coming decade. But these coming ten days are the days from chia wu to kuei mao, all belong to the second month, not the same month to which belongs the day of information-asking. What month was to be denoted in the oracle records in such an ambiguous case? The month to which belongs the day of information-asking, or the month to which belongs the tend ays whose fortunes are expected? Either of them seems to have the equal probability. Which to appear depends on nothing but arbitrariness. No definite rule can be concieved to have existed for the selection.

In order to make the things still clearer, a few evidence may be taken to show that a combination of stem branch standing at the head of the oracle sentence does not necessarily always belong to the month which directly follows

it. In fact, a piece of oracle inscription is found to include the following sentences

(8) 前 3, 25, 5: 癸巳卜泳貞王旬亡尸在六月甲午工典其X
癸丑卜泳貞王旬亡尸在六月翌甲寅酒上甲王廿祀
…泳‥王旬‥尸…翌…
…貞‥旬…在八月

Attention must be paid to the fact that it is distinctly indicated by the record itself that, it was of the twentieth year of a king, who is, from other sides of argument, known most probably to be the notorious King Chou 紂, the last king of the Yin Dynasty. There is another record which reltes that, in this year, the King went to a certain place called 上𠂤 for some millitary enterprise:

(9) 前 2, 14, 1 與前 癸未王卜貞旬亡尸在九月上𠂤王廿祀
4, 28, 1 合 癸巳王卜貞旬亡尸在九月在上𠂤

It can be easily shown by simple calculation that the sixth month of this twentieth year ought to begin with the day chia wu, while the combination of the stem branch kuei ssu, although occurring in the same sentence with that chia wu in the former record, ought to belong to the fifth month, not to the sixth month which closely follows it. For otherwise, one of the months in the interval from sixth to ninth months in this year at least should have thirty one days, a number which is not allowed by and therefore unpleasing to the luni-solar theory, since in the latter record the ninth month in this year is definitely known to include a kuei ssu and there are one hundred and twenty one days from that kuei ssu before the sixth month in the former record to this Kuei ssu of the ninth month.

That the first kuei ssu must be of the fifth month, not the sixth, of this year is also borne out by the Example (1) cited above. There shows that the king passed through the four cities, 反, 𣪊, 𠂤 and 向 in the fifth and sixth months and arrived at 上𠂤 in the seventh month. It agrees completely with the other two records. They are evidently of the same year, the twentieth year. And there is a kuei ssu which is in fact followed by a fifth month! Note here in passing that these records serve also as the good evidence that a common year of the Yin calendar always consists of months of thirty days, for they show that, from the sixth to the ninth month, of this twentith year of the King Chou, each month has really thirty days.

In the light of these considerations, one can see very easily that the above mentioned breaking up of the rigidity of the relation between the order of the stems and that of the dates in the months is only apparent, not real, and an

account can be given to it without necessarily assuming an insertion of an extra ten days to some month as an intercalation. Thus, the kuei hai in the first case of Example (3) was rather of the first month than of the second, and the kuei hai in the second case of the same Example was probably of the third month, not of the fourth, according to the above hypothsis. In the same manner, the kuei ssu and kuei hai in Example (6) must be assigned to the eleventh and the twelveth months respectively. By this way we may read from the Example (3) that the events recorded were of a year whose odd months began with the day chia tzu which will happen to be after even times of intercalation of a month of thirty days from the very beginning, while the Example (6) indicates that it belonged to a year, whose odd months began with the day chia wu, and which came to be after odd times of regular intercalation of theirty days. It is the same as Example (4).

On the other hand, evidently no such simple interpretation can be given for the examples (2) and (5), nor for (7). They can, however, be explained in terms of the new hypothesis by a zigzag way. Suppose a year whose months before the eighth always have the chia wu as their first days until the eighth month to which is added another thirty days as an intercalation. The stems of the last days of the decades of the months before and after the eighth would run as follows:

Sixth month: kuei yu, kuei wei, kuei ssu;
Seventh month: kuei mao, kuei ch'ou, kuei hai;
Eighth month: kuei yu, kuei wei, kuei ssu, kuei mao, kuei ch'ou, kuei hai;
Ninth month: kuei yu, kuei wei, kuei ssu.

Example (7) is of this model if an account is taken of the fact the kuei ssu was so placed in its line that it ought to belong to the sixth month, not the seventh, as it is apparently seen to be, just because of the fact that the information-asking was done at the last day of the sixth month, while the fortune expected was of the coming decade of the seventh, and either due to the breakage of the bone, or due to original absence (for the information-asking was evidently not necessarily done in the last day of every decade), no record is extant for the three kuei days of the seventh month, nor for the kuei wei and kuei ssu of the eighth. In a similar manner, the original arrangement of the kuei days of the Example (2) may be

Twelvth month: kuei yu, kuei wei, kuei ssu, kuei mao, kuei ch'ou, kuei hai;
First month: kuei yu, kuei wei, kuei ssu.

As a matter of fact, only four of these nine kueis do appear in the oracle records.

As for the Example (5), it seems to be still a little more complicated from

this point of view. The six sentences with the indications of months may be divided into two groups and considered as belonging to two successive years in the midst of which there is an intercalary month. Either it may be assumed that the group of kueis before the intercalation is

Sixth month: kuei yu, kuei wei, kuei ssu;
Seventh month: kuei mao, kuei ch'ou, kuei hai;
Eighth month: kuei yu, kuei wei, Kuei ssu;

and that after the intercalation

Sixth month: kuei mao, kuei ch'ou, kuei hai;
Seventh month: kuei yu, kuei wei, kuei ssu;
Enghth month: kuei mao, kuei ch'ou, kuei hai.

.. vice versa. In the first case, the kuei wei and kuei ssu of the sixth month in the second and third lines and the kuei ch'ou of the seventh month and the kuei mao of the eighth month in the fifth and seventh lines respectively would belong to the first group and the remaining kueis, to the second group. The reverse occurs for the second case.

By assuming every month of the Yin calendar to be always of thirty days, the above mentioned Examples I to 6 will constitute a complete group and represent all the possible cases of the displacements of the order of the stems with respect to that of the dates, and this modified hypothsis will also be complete in the sense that it will give all the possible cyclic changes of the stems of the first days in the months. It is important to note that here are only concerned the oracle records of the later Yin period. For the earlier Chou Period, it is the bronze records, instead of the oracle records, that is predominant. Whether or not this hypothesis will serve equally well for the Chou records is a question which requires really a reconsideration.

There seems to exist a fundamental difference between the manner of dating in the oracle records of the Yin Dynasty and that in the bronze records of the Chou Dynasty. Besides the combinations of the stem and branch, there were oftentimes attached in Chou bronzes another terms of which the majority denotes the lunar phases, while a minority has nothing to do with these phases. Among the latter is the term 初吉. It seems originally to mean the lucky day of the first decade of a month, perhaps selected by the oracular revelations. Assuming the Chou calendar to be always the same as the Yin, this term should, according to its original meaning, be applicable only to a limited number of days, that is, either from chia tzu to kuei yu, or from chia wu to kuei mao, since these twenty out of the sixty are the only days that could be allowed to occur in the first decades of the months, if every month is supposed to have

thirty days according to the modified theory. This is really found to be the case for the bronze records belonging to the period before the king Li.

In and after the reign of the King Li, the things appear to be quite different. The theoretical regulations seem to hold no longer. Days with the combinations of the stems and branches beyond the allowable limits also came to be prefixed by the term 初吉. Thus chia hsü is aleays the eleventh day of the month according to the modified theory, it is, however, found to be called 初吉 in the following bronze records:

(9)	師晨鼎	佳三年三月初吉甲戌
	師艅敦蓋	佳三年三月初吉甲戌
	吳生鐘	(初)吉甲戌
	彔敦	佳十月初吉甲戌

In the same manner, both I hai and I ssu ought to be the twelvth days, they also occur to be connected with 初吉 in a few examples of the bronzes:

(10)	虢季氏子緩盤	佳十又一年正月初吉乙亥
	君夫敦	佳正月初吉乙亥
	邾公鐘	隹正月初吉辰在乙亥
	吳嬛匜	佳十又二月初吉乙巳

examples of this kind are:

(11)	不嬰敦蓋	佳九月初吉戊申
(12)	簋鼎	佳正月初吉辛亥
(13)	貿鼎	佳十又一月初吉壬午
(14)	邾公平侯鼎	佳鄀八月初吉癸未
(15)	趩尊	佳三月初吉乙卯
	旂鼎	佳八月初吉乙卯
(16)	善夫克盨	佳十又八年十又一月初吉庚寅
	靜敦	粤八月初吉庚寅
	師趛鼎	佳九月初吉庚寅
	諫敦	佳五年三月初吉庚寅
	克鐘	佳十又六年九月初吉庚寅
	叔朕鼎	佳八月初吉庚申
	楚子簋	佳八月初吉庚申
(17)	鬲以攸鼎	佳三十又一年三月初吉壬辰
(18)	格白敦	佳正月初吉癸巳

All these combinations of the stems and branches should no more be called 初吉 if our theory is still supposed to hold.