

the book of changes

ZHEN YI



A NEW TRANSLATION
WITH COMMENTARY BY

RICHARD
RUTT

 RoutledgeCurzon
Taylor & Francis Group

The Book of Changes

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

RICHARD RUTT was born in Bedfordshire in 1925 and distinguished himself as an outstanding linguist, reading Italian and Portuguese at Cambridge.

During the Second World War he served in the Royal Navy as a translator of Japanese radio messages. Later, he was ordained in the Church of England and, in 1954, went as a missionary to Korea. It was while working as a village priest on Korea's west coast that his parishioners gave him an abiding interest in ancient Chinese literature and poetry.

He subsequently published translations of Korean and Sino-Korean literature. After twenty years in Korea he returned to Britain, becoming Bishop of Leicester in 1979. He now lives in Falmouth and is a bard of the Cornish Gorsedd. In 1994 he became a Roman Catholic priest.

His other publications in English include *Virtuous Women* (translations of traditional Korean novels in Chinese and the vernacular), *The Bamboo Grove* (anthology and discussion of Korean *sijo* poetry), *Korean Works and Days* (an account of Korean rural life in the 1950s) and, most recently (2000), he co-authored with Keith Pratt, *Korea: A Cultural and Historical Dictionary* (Curzon Press).

The Book of Changes

(Zhouyi)

A Bronze Age Document
Translated
with Introduction
and Notes

by

RICHARD RUTT

DURHAM EAST-ASIA SERIES
No.1

 **RoutledgeCurzon**
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

THE BOOK OF CHANGES
(ZHOUYI)

First published in paperback 2002
by RoutledgeCurzon 2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, OX14 4RN

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada
by RoutledgeCurzon

270 Madison Ave, New York NY 10016

RoutledgeCurzon is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group Transferred to Digital Printing 2005

© 1996 & 2002 Richard Rutt All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record of this book is available from the British Library *Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication Data*

A catalogue record for this book has been requested.

ISBN 0-7007-0467-1

Contents

List of diagrams and tables

Preface

Romanization and Pronunciation

PART I

1. The background: Bronze Age China
2. The history of a book
3. The fascination of Zhouyi
4. European translations
5. The contents of Zhouyi
Title; Hexagrams; Hexagram Order: Tags; Hexagram Statements: Line
Statements
6. Divination
Methods: Probabilities: Prognostication: *Zuozhuan* material

PART II

ZHOUYI

Introduction

Translation

TRANSLATION NOTES

PART III

APPENDIX: The Ten Wings: Introduction

Tuanzhuan

Daxiang

Xiaoxiang

Dazhuan

Wenyan

Shuogua

Xugua

Zagua

NOTES: References and further reading

GLOSSARY of Chinese characters

I Proper names

II Other locutions

Index

List of diagrams and tables

DIAGRAMS

- 1 Map: The China of *Zhouyi*
- 2 The title 'Zhouyi'
- 3 Yin/yang segregation table
- 4 Binary counting system or Fuxi Order
- 5 Counting-board and rods
- 6 Bagua numerals
- 7 The received order of the hexagrams
- 8 Olsvanger's schemes
- 9 Mawangdui order
- 10 Song dynasty diagrams of Hetuluoshu
- 11 Illustrations of short-form characters
- 12 Illustrations of pre-Qin forms of characters
- 13 Illustrations of loan characters
- 14 Characters easily miscopied
- 15 The Tags of Hexagrams 1 and 2
- 16 The sacrifice by the temple gate
- 17 Aprons and leggings

TABLES

- 1 'Weeks' of ten days
- 2 Sovereign hexagrams of the lunar months
- 3 Ringing the changes
- 4 Decimal values of binary notation
- 5 The eight non-invertible hexagrams

- 6 The four counterchanged and inverted pairs
- 7 Olsvanger's top corner computations
- 8 Olsvanger's four top middle pairs
- 9 Mawangdui order principles
- 10 Mawangdui and received orders compared
- 11 The reduplicated trigrams
- 12 Synopsis of hexagram statements
- 13 Changeable lines
- 14 Numbers of hexagrams in the 49 classes
- 15 The trigrams and the four *xiang*
- 16 *Ying* numbers and *xiang*
- 17 Sequences of three-coin tossing
- 18 Probability of generating the 49 hexagram classes
- 19 The significance of the eight trigrams
- 20 Scheme for the translated pages
- 21 Chart of the Ten Wings
- 22 The eight trigrams in *Shuogua*

Preface

‘... the Book of Changes is to be explained in the light of its own content and of the era to which it belongs ...’¹ When Richard Wilhelm wrote these words in 1923, he believed they described what he had done in his great German translation. Yet within ten years archaeology and philology had shed new light on ancient China, revealing that what Wilhelm had produced was a Book of Changes smothered by philosophical theories that were unknown in the era to which it belongs. Three-quarters of a century later, Chinese sinologists have shown that the book is really a Bronze Age diviner’s manual dealing with war and human sacrifice, giving advice to rulers at the dawn of literature.

During the 1950s I lived in a Korean village community among men who needed no translation. They loved the Book of Changes and initiated me into the philosophers’ way of reading it. Before long I was enthused by Waley’s essay of 1933 and got to know about modern studies; but I had to put off serious involvement until I retired five years ago. Then I read the recent work of the American sinologists Edward Shaughnessy and Richard Kunst, the latter generously presented as a ‘kit of tools’ for use by others. I was delighted to find them confirming, often with the same vocabulary, conclusions I had arrived at independently – but also adding a great deal to what I could have done.

The work of professional scholars is tucked away in specialist journals and libraries: this report on twentieth-century *Zhouyi* studies is intended for readers who know little or no Chinese. Necessary technicalities are placed, I hope, so that they can easily be skipped. It should be clear that the translation is a possible one, not one to be staunchly defended at all points: for the time being, perhaps for ever, all translations of *Zhouyi* must be provisional. The notes will show students of Chinese how the work has been done and by whom, and where authoritative expositions may be found.

Writing in Cornwall has meant being far from the daily conversation with interested friends that would have helped to make a better book; but I am grateful

to Professor Keith Pratt of Durham for his encouragement; to Zhong Hong of the East Asian Department at Durham for his patient work on my glossary; and to the Reverend William Hussey of Falmouth. Always willing to help me think aloud, Bill has contributed more than he may imagine. For books I have relied on the kindness of Falmouth Library staff, as well as on the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, which, although not my *alma mater*, has been for more than fifty years an *alma matrina*.

Richard Rutt
Falmouth, Cornwall *All Souls' Day 1995*

Romanization and pronunciation

Chinese words are romanized in Pinyin (as in *Xinhua zidian* 1971), without the diacritics that indicate tones. The following notes may help towards a rough working pronunciation.

Consonants can be pronounced as in English except for:

C as *ts*

G always as in *gate*

Q as *ch*

X as hissed *hs*

Z as *dz*

H as *ch* in *loch*

JH as *j* (not as *s* in *pleasure*)

RII

as *r* and *j* simultaneously

R

Vowels are less like English:

as in *father*

A

rhyme with *sky*

AI

rhyme with *cow*

AO

E

like *-er* without an *r*

rhyme with *may*

EI

I

usually as in *pin* – except:

after C, CH, S, SH, Z, ZH and R: as *ir* in *bird*, lightly buzzed;
before E, A, U: as semivocalic *y*

O

rhyme with *paw*

as in *soul*

OU

U rhyme with *moo* – except: after J, Q, X, Y: as French *u*; before vowels in other situations: as semivocalic *w*, but:

as *way*

UI

Ü as French *u*

Early Old Chinese pronunciations, preceded by an asterisk, are shown as reconstructed by Li Fang-kuei and printed in Axel Schuessler *A dictionary of Early Zhou Chinese* (1987), but simplified in three respects for ease of printing: (1) As in the English note at the end of Li Fang-kuei's original 1971 article (see p472 n52), *ng* is used, rather than the IPA phonetic symbol for that sound.

(2) The same note does not use the letter *e*; here it is used instead of inverted *e*.

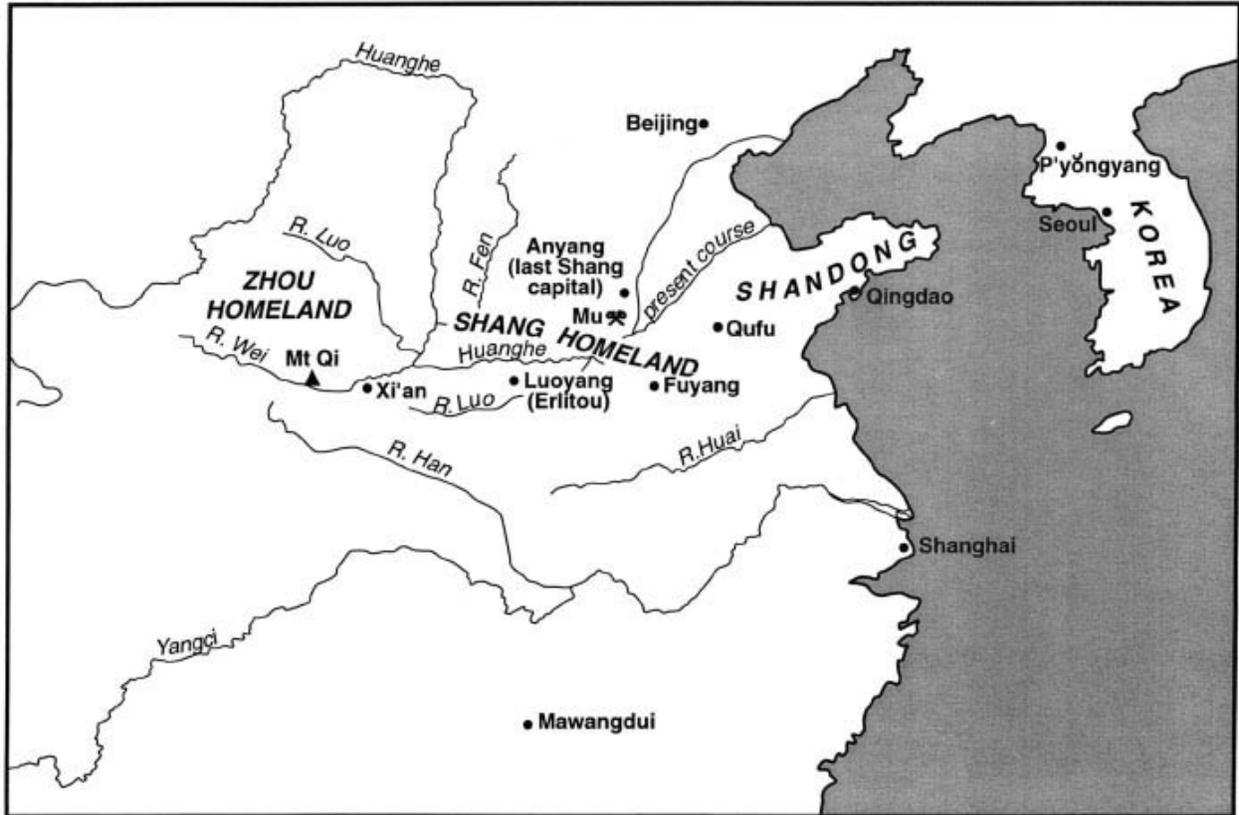
(3) The suffixed letters indicating tones have been omitted.

PART I

Bronze Age China

	XIA
c1560 BC	SHANG
c1050 BC	ZHOU
	(1) Western Zhou (<i>Zhouyi c825</i>)
771 BC	(2) Eastern Zhou
	(1) Spring and Autumn (<i>Confucius 551–479</i>)
c450 BC	(2) Warring States
221 BC	QIN (<i>Burning of Books 213</i>)
207 BC	HAN

THE CHINA OF ZHOUYI



The Background: Bronze Age China

The Book of Changes is often understood by Westerners in terms of what is commonly called ‘traditional’ Chinese culture but is really the culture of the last thousand years or less. Many of its features, including those that most attract Western attention, came into being some centuries after the Book of Changes was compiled. It is important to clear the mind of this sort of chinoiserie when approaching a Bronze Age text.

Although general histories of China usually begin with sections on the Bronze Age, they tend to concentrate on political and social structures, either omitting or merely outlining the domestic and circumstantial details that matter for understanding a book of oracles. Therefore a synopsis of the way of life that was the setting of *Zhouyi* is likely to be useful to non-specialist readers.



The Chinese have traditionally recounted the story of their prehistory in myths and legends¹ telling of rulers who symbolize stages of civilization: Fuxi ‘tamer of animals (that is to say, sacrificial animals)’, for the hunting and food-gathering stage; Shennong, ‘divine husbandman’, for the agricultural stage; Huangdi, ‘yellow emperor’, for the time when boats, wheels, and ceramics were first made.

Historical evidence begins with the rich archaeological deposits from the Neolithic Age and earlier that have been found in the middle reaches of the Yellow River Basin. Next come the ample remains of people who inhabited Bronze Age settlements, such as one at Erlitou dating from the third millenium BC. These people are now referred to by many scholars as Xia, the name that since Han times has been supposed to be that of the first Chinese dynasty. Dynastic lists of Xia rulers appear to be legendary, and the legends about them

are taken to be a mythopoesis from the succeeding periods, Shang and Zhou. Shang and Zhou were literate cultures and have left written remains.

These three 'dynasties', Xia, Shang and Zhou, extending from the end of the neolithic till the middle of the last millenium BC, form the period described here. Archaeological evidence is naturally more plentiful for the later centuries, and many modern scholars regard them less as successive dynasties than as three geographical, possibly racial, groups that became successively dominant in the whole region and were culturally interrelated. Highly developed bronze-casting was typical of the whole period, and although Chinese society was in many ways different from Bronze Age communities in the West – even their dates were not the same – this period is conventionally known as the Chinese Bronze Age.

The traditional dating for Shang (otherwise known as Yin, from the site of its last capital), is c1560–c1040 BC. Until the end of the nineteenth century Shang seemed as legendary as Xia; but archaeological discoveries have confirmed the written accounts to a surprising degree.

About 1040 BC Shang succumbed to Zhou, a people who lived at the Western end of the north Chinese plain, upstream among the mountains beyond the confluence of the Yellow River and the Wei. Before rebelling against the Shang king, the Zhou leaders owed allegiance to Shang and intermarried with the royal family. Their revolt ended with victory on the battlefield of Mu and the establishment of the Zhou dynasty, at a date which is not precisely known. No date in Chinese history before 841 BC is absolute, and scholars have favoured various dates for the establishment of Zhou, ranging from 1127 BC to 1018 BC. Since the bulk of modern opinion favours a later date, and the exact year is not crucial for understanding *Zhouyi*, it is assumed in this book that the conquest happened in the latter part of the eleventh century BC, probably in 1045.²

The leader of Zhou was Chang, known as Xibo 'Viscount (or Elder) of the West', but he died before the overthrow of Shang was complete. He was canonized as forefather of the new dynasty and posthumously given royal rank as King Wen, 'civilizing monarch'. His son Fa defeated Shang conclusively, became the first Zhou ruler, and reigned for two years before he, too, died. Fa was canonized as King Wu, 'military monarch'.

When King Wu died, his son and heir Cheng was still a minor. For some years Dan, younger son of King Wen and brother of King Wu, acted as regent for his nephew and came to play a leading part in establishing the dynasty. Dan is commonly referred to as Zhougong, 'Duke of Zhou', and Confucius, using this

title for him, came to regard him as the ideal statesman of antiquity.

The Zhou dynasty lasted until 221 BC, and is divided into two parts. Up to 771 BC it is known as Western Zhou; after 771, when the capital was moved eastward from Hao (near modern Xi'an) to Luoyi (near modern Luoyang), it is called Eastern Zhou.

Eastern Zhou was a period of political disintegration, somewhat arbitrarily subdivided by historians into the Spring and Autumn Period and the Warring States Period. The Spring and Autumn period lasted till the middle of the fifth century BC, and is so called because it is recorded in *Chunqiu* 'the Spring and Autumn Annals', a chronicle covering the years 722–481 BC. This is also called the Period of the Hegemons, because while the Zhou king retained religious and ceremonial supremacy, effective power resided in the leaders of subsidiary states. Confucius (551–479 BC) lived at the end of the Spring and Autumn Period.

The Warring States Period, the second half of Eastern Zhou, lasted from the mid-fifth century to 221 BC. This title is also taken from a quasi-historical compilation, *Zhan'guoce* 'Bamboo Records of the Warring States', which contains stories about much of the period. Despite political and military turmoil, Eastern Zhou was the period during which Chinese philosophy and literature matured, when Confucianism and Daoism were developed.

The material in *Zhouyi* dates from late Shang and Western Zhou. In those five or six hundred years there was much change, but our knowledge of detail is restricted, because written documents are few, and archaeology can discover only durable objects. Nevertheless, we know enough to help us avoid a significant degree of anachronism in translation.

The idea of China did not yet exist. We refer to Shang and Zhou as Chinese only because their culture was the beginning of what we now call Chinese culture and their dialects were the immediate ancestors of the Chinese language. Though they were highly civilized in most respects, their customs and morals were in some ways barbaric. Human sacrifice was only gradually discontinued after the beginning of Zhou; justice was summary and *Zhouyi* suggests that it often involved cruel mutilations. Confucian ideals of courtesy and benevolence had not as yet been named, though there were signs of a chivalric code among the aristocrats, at least in the conduct of battles.

The worst anachronism would be to read into *Zhouyi* moral attitudes that belong to later centuries. Arthur Waley wrote of this period:

... there was no conception of a human morality, of abstract virtues incumbent upon all men

irrespective of their social standing, but only an insistence that people of a certain class should fulfil certain rites and maintain certain attitudes. The chief duty of the gentleman is to be dignified and so inspire respect in the common people ... (even) 'filial piety' means tendence of the dead ...³

*Climate and terrain*⁴

Shang originally ruled a relatively small area of the northern Chinese plain, drained by Huanghe, the Yellow River, and its tributaries. The area controlled by the dynasty gradually expanded, and by the end of Shang may have stretched as far south as the Yangzi River. By the end of Western Zhou, the kingdom was even larger.

Although the four seasons were clearly marked and the winter was severe, with notorious dark sandstorms at the end of it, the climate of the region was more benign than it is now. The people remained indoors during the winter months, and, as in most cultures, warfare was suspended. As anyone who has ever lived without electricity in a temperate climate must know, springtime brought intoxicating joy and relief, while autumn harvests gave opportunities for elaborate festivals. Spring and autumn were essential elements in the genesis of lyric poetry.

Scenery varied from the riverine plains to the high mountains. Much of the countryside was covered with trees and bamboo groves, growing as woodland and bush rather than thick forests. Trees included apricot, oak, willow, medlar and cypress, as well as conifers – a rich flora. Mulberry trees were esteemed for sericulture, and much planted near working folk's houses. Lakes, marshes, streams and rivers provided ample water, though drought in summer was a constant fear. Throughout the period this luxuriant wild landscape was continuously being reclaimed for cereal agriculture: no trees were left growing in the tilled fields.

Political and social structure

Sinologists are divided on the subject of social structure. There has been much debate about the use of terms drawn from Western history, especially 'feudalism' and 'slavery', to describe early China. Feudalism, however, as it existed in Bronze Age China, has been aptly defined as 'an institution of delegated authority, made up of contractual relationships'.⁵ Political organization, social structure and military chivalry had much in common with the feudalism of medieval Europe.

Power was based on heredity in noble families, and society was broadly

divided between a ruling class and the peasants, though there was probably little difference in speech between peasant and aristocrat. Indeed, there is some evidence of kinship being recognized and maintained across economic and social boundaries, and it is known that aristocrats defeated in battle could be reduced to peasant status. We know little for certain about divisions within the two main groupings, or how many other groups there may have been. *Zhouyi* mentions, for instance, *feiren* ‘non-persons’, who may have formed a recognizable group, perhaps barbarians living among the Chinese, or barbarian slaves. Nor can we be quite sure what *junzi* were. Superficially the word means ‘prince’s sons’ but this meaning changed in the course of time. At first it was probably applied to minor royalty, who became a noble group. From this the word came to mean a man of princely or noble character, then to be used as an honorific term for one’s host or husband, and finally applied to the ‘gentleman’ or ‘superior man’ of the Confucian ideal.⁶

There was no concept of Empire, though the paramount ruler was called *wang*, ‘king’, and was able to give ‘fiefdoms’ to deserving subjects. These grants carried geographical titles whose significance changed over the centuries. The areas to which they were applied varied in size, and most were not large, though armies of thousands could be organized by some. Fiefdoms gave noble status, military and religious domination, with rights to a large share of the produce of the area. They now have conventional English translations: *gong* duke; *hou* marquis; *bo* earl; *zi* viscount; and *nan* baron; but they were not as rigidly graded as the translations suggest, and did not imply political hierarchy. They were parts of what had originally been a clan-title system (*gong* clan leader, *bo* elder brother, *zi* son) overlapping with parts of a feudal system (*hou* archer-lord, *nan* a man with lands).⁷ *Gong*, theoretically the highest rank, became a courtesy title used as an honorific formality for the head of any feudal state.

Administrative posts, with official titles for the rulers’ servants and government officers or ‘ministers’, existed from Shang times. Much of the intellectual culture – writing, astronomy and mathematics in particular – was stimulated by the needs of administrators with large areas to govern.

Marriage and the sexes

Though the cultural spheres of men and women were clearly distinguished, women probably had greater influence over group affairs than was later supposed. Sacrifices were offered to female as well as male ancestors. Fieldwork,

hunting, fishing and fighting were the work of men, performed in the sunshine outdoors. Women dealt with food and wine-making, sericulture and weaving, mostly in indoor shade. The *yin-yang* polarity, contrasting light and male with dark and female, began to be perceived long before it gave rise to a philosophical theory.

A nobleman could have more than one wife. A ruler had to marry at least three wives, all of the same surname; the subsidiary wives were normally junior sisters, step-sisters or cousins of the principal bride.⁸ Marriages were arranged through matchmakers. The bride was ceremonially purified before the bridegroom or groomsmen fetched her in a carriage to his own home, where the ceremonies took place. She took gifts of paired objects, such as shoes; and the feast was followed by visits to the bridegroom's ancestral shrine and to the bride's father.⁹

Peasants met their mates at great outdoor spring festivals. Their unions were less formal than those of aristocrats, because they did not carry the religious significance of ensuring continuity for the ancestral cult.

Agriculture

The economy was essentially agrarian, with outlying settlements centred on small cities of craftsmen and court officials.

The staple grain for common folk was millet, with rice and some wheat for the privileged classes. Because of uncertain rainfall patterns, irrigation was a major concern in the production of grain; but the wet-field or paddy system, whereby rice seedlings are transplanted from nursery beds to flooded plots, had not yet been developed.

Some historians believe that the traction plough, drawn by oxen, was not introduced until about 500 BC.¹⁰ In Western Zhou the only plough was a long pole with a blade or hoe made of stone, pushed by one man and pulled by one or two others holding attached ropes. Indeed, all agricultural implements were little if at all different from those of neolithic times. Fish traps were made of wicker, either split bamboo or osier. Sacks were doubtless made of straw – as they were till the twentieth century – but naturally have not survived.

Cattle, including water-buffalo, were used for drawing wagons, but were not milked. Like the sheep and pigs that were kept in large numbers, cattle were butchered for meat, but there were no dairy goats and apparently no spinning of

wool. Camels are not recorded before the Warring States period. Dogs, used for food and in hunting, were common; domestic cats were unknown. (It is sometimes claimed that the domestic cat, whose history has been surprisingly little studied, existed in China in the fifth century BC; but early references are to wild species, and domestic cats probably did not arrive in China until the growth of maritime trade brought them from the Middle East, well within the Christian era. Cats would not travel well on camel-back across the land routes.)

Warfare

There were smallish erect-maned horses, but they had no role in agriculture. Horseflesh was not eaten. Horses were for prestige, for pageantry and for warfare. During the Shang period they may mostly have been imported from central Asia, rather than locally bred. By Zhou times they were highly esteemed for stamina, speed, elegance, and especially for the wide variety of their colour. Care was taken in their breeding, and the surname Sima, 'master of the horse', came into being as the title of a high post in the royal court.

Riding was an Iron Age development, unknown in China until the fifth century BC, when it came as a skill learnt from the raiding pastoral peoples of the west. In the Bronze Age horses were used only for drawing chariots and carriages, a practice dating from about 1300 BC. Unfortunately, the written vocabulary does not distinguish war-chariots from state carriages, or even from carts and wagons. At first, two horses went to a chariot, later four. Harness might be hung with bells and finely decorated with metal.

Magnificently ornamented war-chariots were prestige equipment bringing high honour, the core and the measure of military power. Scholars disagree about how they were used in battle: their psychological value was considerable, but they were obviously inefficient on any but the smoothest ground. The wheels were some 4 feet in diameter. A shaft ran between the horses, which were harnessed to a wide yoke. The hinder end of the shaft was fixed to a box-like axle-case, on which was erected the dais, with bodywork or railing of wood open at the back. This bodywork was finished with wickerwork or leather, and often lavishly decorated with bands and fittings of shining bronze. Three people could ride in it.¹¹

War-chariots declined in importance during the Warring States period, by which time parasols were being fitted to carriages, suggesting purely civilian use.

Shields were of wood with leather or basket-work covering. Quivers and some

other objects might be made of fish-skin. Flags took the form of large pennants, while the primitive standard was made of a yak's tail. The bow with double curves at each end was often as tall as a man, and made of wood, bone and horn. Bronze battle-axes were used, some of them ceremonially for executing sacrificial victims, especially the prisoners who were sacrificed after forays. A ceremonial axe also served as a royal emblem. The only other weapon was the halberd. Swords did not appear until the sixth century, and were scarcely more than daggers until true swords were made with iron in the third century.

Standing armies were maintained, but peasants were conscripted to enlarge them in time of war. This enforced service was naturally much disliked, partly because of the clothing – not so much a uniform as a battle dress – and equipment that went with it. In Shang times 1,000 or 2,000 men might be mobilized in one army; when Qi and Jin fought at An in 589 BC, 800 chariots and 12,000 men are said to have been involved.

Warfare between the states was persistent. Campaigns were intermingled with diplomacy and alliances, conducted with solemn ceremony and covenants written on tablets. The need for ceremonial victims appears to have contributed to the frequency of fighting.

Hunting

The ruling classes hunted constantly, using arrows with heads of bone, stone or flint, fitted on bamboo shafts; hunting dogs were kept. Hunting served to provide meat and sport, but was also a method of training the lower classes for military service. (In Greece a little later, Xenophon – if he really was the author of *Kynegetikos* – and Arrian, biographer of Alexander the Great, saw coursing as military and moral training for the officer class.) For the Chinese, hunting was also a way of keeping outlying districts under surveillance and control. Royal display was effective for this purpose, which doubtless explains why there was often a ritual hunt after a military victory. The principal quarries were deer (Pere Davids deer, sika and water deer), boar, goral (a goat-antelope often called 'mountain goat') and birds, especially pheasants. Kings are known to have hunted tiger, bear and leopard. Asiatic elephants and rhinoceros related to south-east Asian species are also thought to have lived in the region.

Archery has been called the favourite sport of the upper classes. It was practised with stylized stance and gestures, a kind of chivalric choreography, lyrically described in the Book of Odes (Ode 106). The principles of the composite

bow were known in neolithic times for making animal traps; crossbows were in military use by the fourth century BC, and perhaps earlier.

Cities and buildings

Cities, which were essentially the fortresses of the rulers, used as refuges for country people in troubled times, were surrounded by twenty-five-foot walls of rammed earth with steeply sloping sides, and a ditch outside. The enclosed area was probably never more than about a mile-and-a-half square, often smaller. It was rectangular in plan, with a gridiron pattern of streets and the main gate on the south side. In the centre of the city or at the centre of its northern part was the royal or aristocratic palace, surrounded by the craftsmens' districts. These workshop areas where stone, bronze, bone and ceramics were worked became a typical feature of city layout. Every town had at least one market-place where regular markets were held. (Streets of shops selling goods and provisions came later.) The population was usually to be reckoned in thousands rather than in tens of thousands.

Agricultural workers lived outside the city, where there was no road system beyond tracks and paths. Engineered roads came later in the millennium, when they were carefully planned by the Qin dynasty. There were perhaps some bridges, of wood and stone, though streams and rivers were more often forded or crossed in boats. Military expeditions might use pontoon bridges of boats. Navigational canals began to be constructed only in the sixth century BC.

Houses were built on a rectangular plan, with wooden frames, pillars and roof beams. A few palace buildings were two-storied. Though sun-dried blocks of clay were made before Shang, compressed earth or wattle-and-daub was the usual material for building walls. Inner divisions in a large house might be of trellis work. Roof-tiles¹² and kiln-fired bricks began to be made in the Western Zhou period, but were not much used for houses. The roof was usually thatched or made with wattle-and-daub. Sometimes a large building had a broad band of roofing set around a higher section bearing the central roof. The roofs had not yet developed the graceful curves that now typify the romantic Western view of China. (Seraphin Couvreur¹³ seems to have thought that roof corners were already swept up 'like pheasant pinions' in Zhou times, but the verse he translated in this way is obscure, and archaeology teaches us otherwise.)

A palace or other large building – remains up to 35 metres long have been discovered – was set on a plinth of rammed earth with steps going up to it.

Exterior pillars of such grandiose places were coloured red with cinnabar (mercuric oxide). There was a main court where sacrifices, investitures and judgements were held, and a series of further courtyards on a north-south axis. Gardens are mentioned, but the word means an enclosed park or orchard rather than a cottage garden or flower garden.

The lower classes lived in primitive round 'pit-dwellings', dug a few feet into the ground and roofed with thatch. Much firewood was burnt.

Furniture was sparse. People sat on mats. The upper classes sometimes had a stool to lean against when they were sitting, even on formal occasions, and they had daybeds that were probably raised parts of the floor; but chairs were not used before the eighth to the tenth centuries AD. Even in the nineteenth century a ruler would sit cross-legged on his throne, which was effectively a platform rather than a chair. Mats (sometimes several piled one on top of another) and blinds were made of reeds or bamboo, awnings of split bamboo. Leather screens are also mentioned.

Utensils, bowls and pitchers of various kinds, were of white or unglazed grey ceramic, sometimes patterned in relief. Dried gourds of several shapes were used as flasks and jars. Various kinds of baskets are mentioned. Wooden spoons or ladles, and stone or bronze knives were used, but chopsticks had not yet been invented. Food was served on low tables like trays with feet.

Lacquer had been known since neolithic times, but we know little about its use or how common it was until the end of the Bronze Age.

*Food and drink*¹⁴

Cereals were cooked in three ways: porridge, gruel, and cooked whole grain. The method for this last was to put the grain into cold water over a fire and bring both to the boil together – just as is done today – or to steam the grain in a colander over boiling water. Rice was used by the wealthy, millet by the majority. Pulse of various kinds counted as grain, but was not eaten as a staple.

Meat included beef, mutton, venison, pork, hare, poultry and dog-flesh, and was eaten especially by the ruling class. It was preserved by sun-drying, curing, or pounding, and was mixed with salt and spices before being dried – a kind of pemmican. Like fish it could be marinated in wine, minced, mixed with spices or eaten raw. Edible molluscs included snails, and some insects were eaten. Food was braised, boiled, fried, roasted and steamed, but baking in ovens seems to have been unknown. We know the outline recipes of some gourmet dishes for

banquets, and the Chinese penchant for rare meats was already evident: bears paws were highly prized. Though peasants kept pigs and chickens, the poor usually had a low-protein diet of grain and greens.

Soups, sauces and pickles were made. Spices such as pepper, ginger, mustard, scallions and cinnamon were a feature of the cuisine. Wild herbs, such as cress, duckweed, sow-thistle and shepherd's purse, used chiefly as salads or green vegetables, were gathered by women. Melons, bamboo shoots and water chestnuts were enjoyed. Top fruit, including peach, quince, jujube, plum, cherry, persimmon and chestnut, was eaten. Mulberries were cultivated mainly for their leaves, to provide fodder for silkworms; but most fruit and vegetables seem to have been collected from the wild. Honey was not much used: malt was the usual sweetening agent.

Alcoholic beverages, commonly called 'wine' in English, were actually non-effervescent ales made from fermented grain, resembling Japanese *sake* and having a much higher alcohol content than European beers. There were several kinds, some thick or cloudy, others clear, including sweet day-old wine, wines clarified by straining and wines flavoured with herbs. (Distilled spirits were not made until medieval times.) All these drinks were sometimes warmed before serving. Large quantities of alcoholic liquor were used in sacrificial libations, especially by the Shang. Drinking cups were usually gourds or ceramic, but sometimes made of buffalo or rhinoceros horn.

*Textiles and dress*¹⁵

The most important textile fibres were silk and hemp, but much use was made of 'grass cloth' or ramie, a cool linen-like cloth made from the fibres of various plants, especially cogon-grass and a creeping plant usually called dolichos. Wool was not spun, but ordinary folk kept warm with clothing made of felt. Leopard, fox, other furs and lambskin were upper-class wear.

Both sexes wore sleeved jackets or coats, made of woven silk or hemp, and fastened at the right shoulder. The skirt below the jacket was made with seven gores, three at the front and four at the back. A man could also wear a knee-length apron and leggings, buskins or puttees that reached above the knees.¹⁶ (Trousers came with cavalry, after the fifth century.) For informal wear there was a loose, ample-sleeved robe, worn with a belt. The flap of a garment in front of the chest was used, at least by the common people, for carrying things.

Multicoloured patterns were not woven at first, but even in Shang a kind of

damask or twill was woven, perhaps with different colours for warp and weft. Decoration was applied to the borders of garments. By the end of Zhou both warp and weft patterning as well as stencil printing, were used, in addition to the much older art of embroidery. A kind of eyed-needle knitting technique – resembling European *nalbinding* but, strictly speaking, a type of embroidery – has been discovered in ribbon or braid used for the decoration of fourth-century BC robes. Colours mentioned for clothing include black, white, red, blue, green, yellow and purple. Indigo, madder, and a range of other vegetable and lichen dyes were available.

Ceremonial caps and caps of rank were used, made of fibre, bamboo, leather or deerhide. It is thought that the royal headgear was a kind of mortar-board with twelve pendant strings of gems hanging round the edges. Hats of plaited or woven bamboo splints were worn by fieldworkers. The hair of both sexes seems to have been worn in a chignon, sometimes with a headband. A cap pinned over the chignon was a sign of adulthood for males of the upper classes; the lower classes wore a folded and knotted head-cloth. Women sometimes used additional false hair, and decorated their hair with coloured ribbons. Youngsters of both sexes had their hair done up in two tufts, one on either side of the head. Bone hairpins were used, sometimes elaborately carved.

Leather was also used for belts, and perhaps for shoes. Formal shoes for the upper classes were topped with silk and could be decorated. Ordinary work shoes and walking shoes had soles of woven bark. Shoes were made of bast and dolichos fibre, and doubtless also of straw. Rainwear, hats and capes, was made of straw or rushes.

Pheasant tail feathers, goose and other feathers were used for decoration, particularly on headgear. Jade was prized, and made into dress ornaments of various shapes and sizes. Gemstones and gold were little used, though gold, silver and turquoise inlays sometimes occur. Ivory was known, and some pearls were imported. Decorative motifs were largely based on animal forms, especially mythic dragons.

Colours, dyes and painting

Colours had not the significance they had in later Chinese culture. In any culture colour vocabulary and sensitivity depend on the development of paints and dyes and are much influenced by the growth of literature. The most primitive colour distinction is that between dark or blackish and bright or light.¹⁷ This appears in

ancient Chinese as *xuanhuang* ‘dark and dun’, often translated as ‘black and yellow’. Used in Shang times to classify animals for sacrifice, it came to represent day and night, heaven and earth, and eventually *yin* and *yang*.

It is probable that during the Bronze Age ‘white’ included the colour of unbleached cloth, and ‘black’ cloth was of a deep purplish or ‘plum-black’ hue.

Yellow was not yet the distinctive colour of royalty, though as the colour of the life-sustaining loess it seems already to have been highly esteemed in the Shang dynasty. The later assigning of yellow as the imperial colour is typical of Han. (For further notes on colours in *Zhouyi* see page 216.)

Cloth was dyed, but evidence of paint is obscure. Coloured pictures have not been traced (the earliest known painting on silk dates from the Warring States period), though coloured designs were made on ceramics and, towards the end of the period, on cloth. When *Zhouyi* was composed, the word *hua*, which later came to mean a picture, meant a drawing – as often as not an incised outline on wood, stone or bronze. Such pictures and diagrams were simple, as are the small sculpted items that have survived. Apart from bronzes and jade, Zhou showed little interest in the visual arts and less in grandiose artefacts.

Technology

Our knowledge about most areas of Bronze Age technology is disconcertingly vague.¹⁸ We know little, for example, about the technique of sawing and preparing tortoise-shells for divination, and we have not succeeded in discovering how heat was applied to them to produce oracular cracks. More is known about metalwork.

Gold was rarely used. Shining bronze took the place of precious metals. It was a sign of wealth. Magnificent vessels of superb design, with high relief ornament, served both for religious ceremonies and as embodiments of rank and wealth. They were made in commemoration of important events, often with long and elaborate inscriptions that now provide some of our most important sources for the history of the period, especially political history. Bronze mirrors, round, with a knob in the middle of the ornamented back, were probably used by Shang, certainly by Zhou. Bronze was also used to make weapons, but tools, including ploughs, reaping knives and some arrow heads, went on being made of stone, bone and flint until the Iron Age.

Table 1 ‘WEEKS’ OF TEN DAYS (The sixty-day cycle)

1 JIA-ZI
2 YI-CHOU
3 BING-YIN
4 DING-MAO
5 WU-CHEN
6 JI-SI
7 GENG-WLJ
8 XIN-WEI
9 REN-SHEN
10 GUI-YOU

11 JIA-XU
12 YI-HAI
13 BING-ZI
14 DING-CHOU
15 WU-YIN
16 JI-MAO
17 GENG-CHEN
18 XIN-SI
19 REN-WU
20 GUI-WEI

21 JIA-SHEN
22 YI-YOU
23 BING-XU
24 DING-HAI
25 WU-ZI
26 JI-CHOU
27 GENG-YIN
28 XIN-MAO
29 REN-CHEN
30 GUI-SI

31 JIA-WU
32 YI-WEI
33 BING-SHEN
34 DING-YOU
35 WLJ-XU

- 36 JI-HAI
- 37 GENG-ZI
- 38 XIN-CHOU
- 39 REN-YIN
- 40 GUI-MAO

- 41 JIA-CHEN
- 42 YI-SI
- 43 BING-WU
- 44 DING-WEI
- 45 WU-SHEN
- 46 JI-YOU
- 47 GENG-XU
- 48 XIN-HAI
- 49 REN-ZI
- 50 GUI-CHOU

- 51 JIA-YIN
- 52 YI-MAO
- 53 BING-CHEN
- 54 DING-SI
- 55 WLJ-WU
- 56 JI-WEI
- 57 GENG-SHEN
- 58 XIN-YOU
- 59 REN-XU

60 GUI-HAI

The cycle consists of 6 weeks of 10 days each and begins again after *guihai*. The ten stems recur each week as the first element in the day-name; the 12 branches are repeated five times during the cycle as the second element in the day-names.

Bronze ingots, precious cowrie shells imported from either the Pacific coast or the Indian Ocean, and bolts of silk cloth served as currency, though there was no real commerce. Wealth was reckoned in terms of livestock, especially horses. Salaries were paid in grain, and other commodities were used in barter. From the

sixth century BC, bronze spade-shaped, knife-shaped and cowrie-shaped currency began to circulate. Round coins arrived in the fifth century, when trading began to develop, middlemen and entrepreneurs appeared and streets of shops were established.¹⁹

Iron was used, though not commonly, and cast rather than wrought, from about the sixth century BC. During the Warring States Period its use became commoner, but was still not widespread.

Mathematics

Administrative need stimulated the development of mathematics: geometry for measuring land and arithmetic for supervising taxation.²⁰ Extant writings on the subject may date from Eastern Zhou, but probably reflect much older knowledge and skill. The decimal system is thought to have been used in Shang times, and the concept of zero by the end of Eastern Zhou. Mathematical ability would have been restricted to professional users, most people remaining wholly or partially innumerate – as has been usual in most cultures.

Calendar and religion

Astronomy was a key element in royal government. Astronomical records were being kept by about 1300 BC, when the Chinese system, dividing the celestial sphere into 28 segments called *xiu* ‘lunar mansions’, was being developed. Stars and constellations were named, though neither the asterisms nor the names coincided with those known in the west.

Time was measured by the moon and the solar seasons, reckoning the year as composed of twelve moons arranged in four seasons.²¹ The quarters of the moon were recognized. From about 975 BC onwards, four terms²² were applied to them: *chuji* ‘beginning of good luck’, *jishengpo* ‘already waxing’, *jiwang* ‘already full’, and *jisipo* ‘already waning’.

There was also a system for reckoning a ten-day ‘week’, purely numerical and based on no astronomical principle. By this system every day was named with one of ten *gan* syllables or ‘stems’ in a series (*jia, yi, bing, ding, wu, ji, geng, xin, ren, gui*) that was also used for other numbering purposes. Combining these ten ‘stems’ with a further cycle of twelve *zhi* or ‘branch’ syllables (*zi, chou, yin, mao, chen, si, wu, wei, shen, you, xu* and *hat*) gave a cycle of sixty bisyllabic number words (from *jiazi* to *guihat*) for counting longer series. (See [Table 1](#), page 19.)

From the second century BC onwards this cycle was used also for numbering years, but the usual way of counting years was by reckoning the years of the reigning king.

Sacrificial religion was a principal function of government and was the source of state unity. Shang worshipped ancestors, especially royal ancestors, a universal ruler-god (Shangdi) and the gods of the soil; Zhou did the same, but also gave great importance to worship of the gods of Heaven. Earth altars were square, heaven altars were round, all erected outdoors. The largest and most important were outside the city walls. The heaven/earth axis that later became so important is not defined in Western Zhou writing. The earth was not considered as feminine, and earth gods, like heavenly gods, were treated as male.

There was no theological or mythical concept of a separate heaven or spirit world; nor were the spirits conceived as relating to one another, as the gods of the Greeks were. Spirits were beings in this world, significant only in so far as they related to living beings and existent things. The concept of prayer was severely limited; and personal spirituality, as in the earliest parts of the Old Testament, was non-existent. Religion was based on an ill-defined responsibility to ancestors rather than on belief in an after-life.

Temples were built to honour the ancestors, who were represented in them by enshrined tablets and the tortoise-shells that were used in divination. During the sacrifices the ancestors were impersonated by the youngest of their descendants, who were dressed for their parts.

Sacrifices were complex rituals, accompanied by orchestral music. There was no priesthood, though professional ritualists, *zhu*, recited most of the incantations ('prayers') and prompted the participants in their roles. The ceremony began with the slaughter of animals (and, in Shang times, human beings too), often in large numbers. Raw and dried meats, cereals and other plant materials were then offered, and alcoholic libations poured. The occasion often concluded with an elaborate dance pantomime in which stylized gestures and poses re-enacted the myth honoured by the occasion. Finally there was a feast on the food and wine that had not been consumed by the impersonators and officiants during the ceremony. In Shang times the feast usually deteriorated into a drunken orgy. Zhou moderated this custom but did not entirely lose it.

This system of sacrifices and ancestor worship had a potent political role, maintained by the king and ruling families. It was combined with the cult of nature deities, the winds and the cardinal points of the compass. Shamans (*wu* and *fangshi*) were employed in healing and other rites. Drought being a perennial

summer problem, rainmaking was important. Shamans would induce copious sweating by dancing in the torrid heat, as a kind of sympathetic magic. Otherwise a rainmaking shaman or an emaciated cripple might be burnt to make the rains come; but this cruelty was frowned on before the period ended.

Closely associated with sacrifices were divinations, performed by official diviners. Shang rulers invariably divined before sacrificing. At some period plastrons, or ventral parts of tortoise-shells, probably brought from the Yangzi region, Sichuan or south-east Asia, began to be used in preference to bones. Divining by shuffling yarrow wands was also used from very early times, and continued in use alongside tortoise-shells until the end of the Warring States period, though it is thought that tortoise-shells were less used in later years. *Zhouyi* is a manual of yarrow-wand divination.²³

The *yin-yang* theory and the *taiji* emblem of a roundel composed of a red comma and a blue comma were as yet unknown. The roundel did not become popular until Song times, and is therefore an inappropriate symbol for *Zhouyi*.

Similarly the concept of *dao* (familiar to many Westerners as *tao*), had not yet evolved. The word existed as **deg*, meaning 'road, path or way'. It is occasionally found developing a metaphorical sense in the Odes and the Book of Documents, where it can mean 'way or method', but its three occurrences in *Zhouyi* (9:base, 10:2 and 17:4) all have the concrete meaning 'road'. Philosophical meanings did not develop until the Eastern Zhou period. From then onward *dao* played an increasingly important role in Chinese thought, combining the senses of (1) the root of all being and happening; (2) the way of right conduct; and (3) the way of truth. This abstract and moral meaning will be found again and again in the Ten Wings of *Yijing*.

Music

As well as being an important element in ritual and warfare, music was a source of pleasure and entertainment. Musical instruments included bells, drums, gongs, and stone chimes; wind instruments, such as flutes, trumpets, flageolets and a sort of mouth-organ with several pipes and reeds; and stringed instruments, generally with silk strings, resembling the guitar and the zither.

Group dances at upper-class rituals were performed by young men. There was communal dancing at harvest festivals, and also at spring festivals, when large numbers of youths and girls danced near river confluences.

Writing and literature

Paper had not been invented. 'Books' were written on bamboo slats. Each slat might be up to 40 centimetres long and carry one or two columns of up to forty characters. The slats for one book or 'volume' were fastened together with silk thread twisted between the slats at two points near the top and bottom. The volume could be rolled up for storage and unrolled to lie flat for reading. Atmospheric conditions would affect such books and the threads would wear and decay. Individual slats could easily become detached. Documents of this kind were known during at least the last three centuries of Shang (the period of extant oracle bones and tortoise-shells) and were used for political covenants and in ritual.

Oracle-bone inscriptions show that the writing system was complete in its fundamentals before 1250 BC, and about 5,000 characters were in use at the beginning of Western Zhou. By the end of Eastern Zhou that number may have doubled. Calligraphic styles changed and varied, especially under the influence of materials and technique, so that bronze inscriptions and oracle-bone inscriptions differ considerably. Writing on bamboo or wood, using a kind of dark varnish for ink, both black and red, was possibly done with a wooden stylus – though some scholars are convinced a writing brush was used on oracle-bones.²⁴ Characters were also carved on stone and jade, scratched on the bones already mentioned, and cast in metal or ceramic. Seals did not come widely into use until shortly before the end of the period, though a few bronze examples from Shang have been found.

We know little of the extent of literacy. Reading and writing were probably professional or semi-professional skills until the end of Western Zhou, perhaps even later. The concept of 'literature' was unknown. The written word remained close to its oral roots, but songs, proverbs and speeches, like records of events, were recorded for essentially administrative purposes. Writing was also of political importance for making covenants between states and for the feudal induction of individuals to new rank or status. Divination belonged among the functions of government, and divination inscriptions may have been the origin of writing. Huge numbers of divinations were recorded, especially on tortoise-shells. Books were needed by rulers, and were written, read and handled by officials, whose posts were described by titles meaning 'diviner', 'scribe', 'recorder' or 'historian' without distinction of these functions. As in the rest of the world, reading meant reading aloud, and silent reading was an art that would not be

learnt for many centuries to come. In this period the word *du*, which later came to mean ‘to read’, still meant only ‘to recite’.

Only four works²⁵ survive that are now generally attributed to the period: *Shu* (also called *Shangshu* or *Shujing*), the Book of Documents; *Shi*, the Book of Odes or Book of Songs; one chapter of *Yi Zhoushu*; and the Book of Changes, *Zhouyi*. All four are connected with government: the Documents as records and examples, the Odes as records and ritual texts, *Yi Zhoushu* as records, and the Changes for use in divination.

The Book of Documents²⁶ is an heroic composition, about government, war, religion, and the primaeval administration and geography of the region. It contains documents, decrees and speeches, nearly all fictitious, but probably modelled on inscriptions for ritual bronzes. Some of them are attributed to high antiquity, the mythic kings and the Xia dynasty; the rest to Shang and Zhou. In truth, a small proportion of the oldest were probably written in early Zhou, the rest much later. The few fragments of narrative among them have little value as records and contain almost no detail about daily life and customs. Though they mention divination, they shed little light upon *Zhouyi*.

The Book of Odes²⁷ is very different. It is an anthology of words for 305 songs, for which the music has long been lost. They are arranged in four groups.

- (1) Odes 1–160 are *guofeng* folk airs, including courtship and wedding songs, work shanties, hunting songs, complaints about military service, and songs for village feasts. They are now generally believed to belong to the Spring and Autumn period, 8th to 6th centuries BC.
- (2) Odes 161–234 *daya* and
- (3) Odes 235–265 *xiaoya* are more sophisticated poetry, including epics on the legends of the royal house of Zhou, poems on the origins of crafts, and political complaints. They may date from the 10th and 9th centuries BC.
- (4) Odes 266–305 *song* are solemn hymns for ritual use, mostly attributed to the state of Zhou, that may date from around 1000 BC.

The whole collection shows signs of having been reworked more than once. In the hands of modern scholars, it has become a quarry for reconstructing Bronze Age customs, and helps to illuminate the contents of *Zhouyi*. A number of themes and standard phrases occur in both books (see page 140ff).

Yi Zhoushu, ‘lost Zhou documents’, sometimes known as *Zhoushu*, has also been claimed as a piece of early Zhou writing. According to tradition – which is questionable – this group of unknown or forgotten documents giving details of the establishment of the Zhou dynasty was discovered when the tomb of King

Xiang of Wei (died 296 BC) was opened in AD 281. Most of the documents are generally accepted as writings of the Warring States period, but Gu Jiegang and others have persuasively claimed that Chapter 37, *Shifu*, is a genuine early Zhou composition.²⁸ It is a brief record, barely two pages in length, of ceremonies, including sacrifices of captives, carried out by Wu Wang in the early weeks of his conquest of Shang. The events bear little direct relation to *Zhouyi*, but they accord with it and are described in language that assists in understanding the oracles.



The development of Bronze Age culture can be traced in some detail. Its barbarity gradually diminished, practical arts improved and the great philosophical systems developed. With the flowering of the Iron Age, the totalitarian rulers of Qin were able to establish the full bureaucracy of the Empire in 221 BC. Fourteen years after that, the Han dynasty began developing the elegant culture that we now think of as typically Chinese.

The History of a Book

The book familiarly known as *Yijing* ‘The Book of Changes’ is a composite work, consisting of a Bronze Age document called *Zhouyi* embedded in a mass of later commentary. The two titles are sometimes used as though they were interchangeable, but, properly speaking, *Yijing* refers to the composite work, and *Zhouyi* to the ancient core document.

Zhouyi is a collection of oracular material for use when divining with yarrow wands. Much of this material was probably already old when the collection reached its present form – some of it may have been used in Shang times. It is arranged in sixty-four short chapters, each consisting of three elements: a hexagram, a hexagram statement, and six line statements. The hexagrams (*gua*) are drawings of six parallel lines, some whole and some broken. The two kinds of statements, collectively called ‘appended texts’ (*xici*), ‘sayings’ (*zhou*) or ‘yarrow texts’ (*shici*), explain the mantic value of each hexagram and each line.

Other oracle collections

There may have been other books of divinatory material in ancient China. *Zhouli*, an idealized description of Zhou court procedures probably compiled during the Warring States period, mentions three systems for divining with sixty-four diagrams: *Lianshan*, *Guicang*, and *Zhouyi*.¹ Although *Zhouli* does not rate high as a reliable source for the history of Zhou, this simple statement has often been taken as sound evidence that there were two other books similar in form and scope to *Zhouyi*, called *Lianshan* and *Guicang*.

The Tang commentator Kong Yingda (AD 574–648) in his influential *Zhouyi zhengyi* quoted the Later Han commentator Zheng Xuan (AD 127–200) on this subject. Zheng said that *Lianshan* belonged to Xia, *Guicang* to Shang, and *Zhouyi*

to Zhou – rather too neatly fitting the three titles into the pattern of the three classical dynasties. *Lianshan* was supposed to have begun with the present Hexagram 52. Since Hexagram 52 is made up of the Mountain trigram repeated above itself, this was probably an attempt to explain the name *Lianshan* (‘linked mountains’). *Guicang* (‘return and keep’) was similarly said to have belonged to Shang and to have begun with the present Hexagram 2. This also looks like an explanation of the book’s name, because Hexagram 2 consists of the Earth trigram doubled and the earth is where everything from seed to corpses returns and is kept. If these explanations are correct, both books must have been named after the hexagrams began to be analysed into constituent trigrams, late in Zhou times. Kong Yingda also noted that *Lianshan* was a name for Shennong, the Divine Husbandman; and *Guicang* for Huangdi, the Yellow Emperor. Since *Zhouyi* was connected with Fuxi, this theory would link the three titles to the three primary mythic rulers. Maspero thought *Lianshan* might have been the state manual of the dukedom of Jin, *Guicang* of Song.² Perhaps they were different arrangements of the *Zhouyi* material; but other modern scholars think that no such books ever existed. Since no texts have survived, all theories about them are speculative, and can be of no help in understanding *Zhouyi*.

Fuxi

Before the critical work of twentieth-century historians was begun, there was a generally accepted tradition that the *Zhouyi* hexagrams were created by Fuxi. Fuxi is a mythic ruler not mentioned in any extant document earlier than Eastern Zhou. He was credited with the invention of writing, marriage, herding, netting, weaving and the cooking of meat. In other words, the hexagrams were attributed to the herding and hunting stage in Chinese civilization, before it became intensively agricultural, perhaps in the third millennium BC.

There are various forms of the tradition that connects Fuxi with *Zhouyi*. It first appeared in the Ten Wings, where the Great Treatise³ says that Fuxi invented the eight trigrams as a result of his observations of nature, both heavenly and terrestrial. In another part of the Great Treatise the hexagrams are said to have been given to Fuxi as markings on the back of a mystic tortoise that emerged from a great river (see page 165); but in the 8th Wing (see page 445) a quite different tradition leaves Fuxi aside and says the hexagrams evolved from the process of divination. Wang Bi (AD 226–249), Han dynasty author of the seminal commentary *Zhouyi lueli*, believed that Fuxi first drew the hexagrams. In the

twelfth century AD the even more influential commentator Zhu Xi said the same thing at the beginning of his *Zhouyi benyi*. Not surprisingly, *Zhouyi* is sometimes described as *Xijing*, 'Fuxi's classic'.⁴

Trigrams enter the story because each hexagram can be divided into two trigrams. There are only eight different trigrams (*ba gua*), because there are only eight ways of combining broken and whole lines into groups of three. During or shortly before the Han dynasty the development of mathematical thinking led to the surmise that the hexagrams had been built out of these trigrams. We shall see later that this theory is contestable. Although it has persisted in China, it is a fallacious *a priori* argument for which there is no evidence.

King Wen and the Duke of Zhou

Another tradition about the origin of the hexagrams lying in the trigrams is found in the 4th book of *Shiji*, the first history of China, written by Sima Qian (c145–90 BC). Sima says that the Zhou leader King Wen increased the eight trigrams to sixty-four hexagrams, probably while he was imprisoned at Youli by the Shang monarch. A slightly earlier, but less precise, reference to King Wen as originator of *Zhouyi* occurs in the Great Treatise.⁵ Later in the Han dynasty Ma Rong (AD 79–166) taught that the hexagram statements, rather than the hexagrams themselves, were to be attributed to King Wen.⁶

A tradition recorded by Sima Qian in *Shiji* book 127 attributed the line statements as well as the hexagram statements to King Wen; but Ma Rong attributed the hexagram statements to King Wen and the line statements to the Duke of Zhou. This became the accepted tradition. It was supported by Kong Yingda's *Zhouyi zhengyi* in the seventh century AD, and handed on by Zhu Xi in *Zhouyi benyi* in the twelfth century. (Legge thought that a story in the Zuo Commentary gave earlier evidence.⁷ The Commentary records that an emissary of Jin, visiting Lu in 540 BC, found *Zhouyi* in the ducal archives, but the dating of this record is open to question; and it does not explicitly state that the Duke composed the line statements.)

Although these tales of King Wen and the Duke may reflect a reliable tradition that the book came from Zhou, they survived principally because Confucius looked back to early Zhou as the golden age and made both king and duke political heroes for later generations. After *Yijing* became accepted as a canonical classic in Han times, such stories helped to validate its authority for Confucian

scholars; but the idea that the hexagram drawings, hexagram statements and line statements were created in that order was no more than an inference from the order in which they appear on the page. It is just as likely that the oldest things in *Zhouyi* are some of the line statements, which were probably common sayings and proverbs that became attached to the divinatory hexagrams.

The King Wen legend implies that *Zhouyi* was a book for royal use. This may well be true. Divination was primarily a royal function in Shang times; in early Zhou it was, if not a royal prerogative, at least a ruler's function. By the Eastern Zhou Period, men and women of various ranks were divining; but that was when Chinese society was evolving and changing, several hundred years after *Zhouyi* was compiled.

The five dynastic stories

Internal evidence shows that the book cannot have been edited in its present form until after the establishment of the Zhou dynasty. Three stories in the appended statements, first properly identified and discussed by Gu Jiegang in a famous article in *Gushibian* (1931), refer to Shang times; and two relate to the establishment of the Zhou dynasty.

The Shang stories are:

- (1) the loss of his cattle by King Hai, a forefather of Shang kings, in Yi (Hexagrams 34:5 and 56:top);
- (2) the quelling of the Gui border state by the Shang ruler Wuding (recorded only in *Zhouyi* 63:3 and 64:4);
and
- (3) the marriage of Diyi's female relative (11:5 and 54:5). This story is also linked to the establishment of the Zhou dynasty, for the bride was supposed to be an ancestor of King Wen.

The two stories about the founding of the Zhou dynasty are:

- (4) the story of Jizi (36:5), which belongs to the struggle between rising Zhou and declining Shang; and
- (5) the royal gift of horses to Kang Hou (35), who was Feng, a younger son of King Wen.

All five tales are part of a fund of dynastic legends, and could not have been brought together before the Zhou dynasty was established.

Some writers have traced further signs of historical reference in *Zhouyi*, allusive or symbolic rather than explicit. The most developed presentation of this approach is by Greg Whincup⁸, who tentatively links every hexagram to early Zhou history. Other writers have remarked on points of detail, some less convincingly than others. In the notes to my translation, I have mentioned some of the more reasonable examples. (See Note 7:3 and the notes on Hexagram

Statements 2, 39 and 40.)

Proper names

Place names and personal names might give some help in dating a document, but they are rare in *Zhouyi*. Only two place names are found; Qi, the mountain in present-day Shanxi on which the lords of Zhou sacrificed before Zhou became the royal house (46:4); and Yi, the legendary place where Wang Hai of Shang lost his cattle (34:5 and 56:top). Personal names are hardly more common. There are six and they all occur in Gu Jiegang's five stories: the legendary King Hai; the two Shang kings Diyi (11:5 and 54:5) and Wuding (63:3); a general called Zhen, who defeated the Gui people (64:4); Jizi, the Viscount of Ji (36:5); and the Marquis of Kang (35). Thus proper names give no more help about the date or provenance of *Zhouyi* than can be gained from the five dynastic stories.

Origin in western Zhou

Social customs implied by the text reinforce the suggestion that *Zhouyi* is a document of Western Zhou times (c1045–771 BC): marriage customs involving real or feigned abduction (22:4); the practice of rulers marrying two or three cousins at once (11 and 55); a system of royal enfeoffments (3:base); ownership of slaves or at least of servants (39:3); a lavish sacrificial cult (20:5 and top), including human victims, especially prisoners of war (17:4 and *passim*); a developed cult of ancestors (18 and 62:2); and the use of cowries as currency or as royal gifts (42:2). These were all elements in Western Zhou culture that can be deduced from other sources.

Because they contain many references to animals (horses 11 times, cattle 10, pigs 10, sheep or goats 7), but scarcely any to agriculture, some writers have thought the oracles come from a pastoral rather than an agrarian phase in cultural history.⁹ The Chinese, however, never developed the dairying skills that are typical of a truly pastoral culture, while they learned agriculture very early. Bronze Age princes lived in cities of a kind that can exist only in an economy based on agriculture. The book was written for use at the royal court, where chariot-horses were symbols of aristocratic status, and elaborate sacrifices required large numbers of animals. The daily concerns which the ruling class brought to divination were warfare and sacrifices; they were not directly involved in tilling and harvesting. This explains why horses and sacrificial animals are often mentioned, and tilling the fields much less frequently: the

oracles belonged to the urban ruling class. 'Urban' in this context, however, has a limited connotation: the people were town-dwellers with primitive commercial customs and minimal civic organization. All this is consonant with a Western Zhou date.

The style and language of *Zhouyi* can be dated by correlation with two sorts of external evidence: books and inscriptions. The only relevant book is the Book of Odes, which is also a redaction coming from Western Zhou times. Its relation to *Zhouyi* is more fully discussed on pages 140–4. Here it will suffice to note that the greatest resemblances are to the *daya* and *xiaoya* odes, which are attributed to the tenth and ninth centuries BC.

Though these resemblances and some shared material suggest that *Zhouyi* and the Book of Odes belong to the same period of language and literature, evidence from literary sources, often edited and possibly corrupted, cannot prove much. Inscriptions, on the other hand, are often precisely dated and are virtually uneditable. Shang bone and shell inscriptions have intriguing points of resemblance with the oracles, but the language of *Zhouyi* most strongly resembles the language of later Western Zhou bronze inscriptions.¹⁰

These inscriptions are found on the magnificent ritual vessels that were made from Shang times till the end of Zhou. They include a variety of urns, bowls, dishes, jugs, caskets, cups and kettles, some with three or four sturdy legs to stand over a fire, some with handles and some with lids, nearly all with splendid high relief ornamentation. The inscriptions include some rhyme, and vary in length from a couple of dozen characters to over 500. They normally record a date, the occasion for casting the vessel, the man who ordered the work and the ancestors to whom it was dedicated. The occasion was usually a victory and the ensuing sacrifice, or the investiture of a nobleman. Victory records may tell of hundreds of captives being interrogated and beheaded, and enormous numbers of animals sacrificed. Lists of gifts from the king or overlords include cowries, jade insignia, servants, chariots, horses, harness, headgear, clothing and fragrant wine.

Some inscriptions describe the ceremonies concisely but vividly, as in this example from the Qiu Wei gui (an urn), made about 390 BC:

On *Wuxu* day in the 2nd quarter of the 3rd moon of the 27th year of the reign, the king being at Zhou, he goes to the great hall and takes his place. Elder Nan comes to the right of Qiu Wei, as they enter the gate and stand in the middle of the court facing north. The king tells the Domestic Equerry to bestow on Wei a crimson apron, a ruddy half-moon jade and some bridle bells. Wei kowtows. He presumes to laud the munificent favour of the Son of Heaven by ordering this precious urn to be made in honour of his revered grandfather and deceased father. May his descendants treasure it and use it

for ever.

Though of late date, this is unmistakably the world of *Zhouyi*, which tells of similar sacrifices, investitures and gifts.

Edward Shaughnessy has shown that it is possible by using inscriptions to define the date of *Zhouyi* fairly closely. He makes three points. (1) The use of *Tianzi*, 'Son of Heaven' as a royal sobriquet (14:4) is typical of inscriptions from the tenth-century reign of King Mu (?956–?918 BC) onwards and consistent with the latter part of the Western Zhou period.¹¹ (2) Military vocabulary in two of the hexagrams coincides with what occurs in bronze inscriptions only during the reign of King Xuan (827–787 BC). The words in question are *zhe shou* 'decapitate' and *zhi yan* 'interrogating captives', which appear in *Zhouyi* as:

A triumph with beheading of the foe (30:6)

and

Favourable for interrogating captives (7:5).

(3) Xuan was the last king for whom the relationship between the king and the dukes was *de facto* as it is described in Line 14:3:

Dukes make banquets for the Son of Heaven.

While all this is not conclusive, it suggests that the editing was done before the the end of Xuan's reign.

Weighing all the indications, it is not unreasonable to conclude that the book as we now have it comes from late Western Zhou times, possibly the last quarter of the ninth century BC (825–800 BC);¹² but the material in it may well reflect an oral history going back three to five centuries or more. Attempts to establish the name of the redactor are doomed to failure, unless some new evidence is discovered. The material must have been collected and collated by diviners; and that is all we need to know for understanding the text.

Confucius and Zhouyi

In the time of Confucius (551–479 BC), *Zhouyi* was still regarded as a divination manual. Confucius insisted he did not concern himself with spirits and divination,¹³ yet some writers claim that Confucius knew and admired the book. This idea, which was current for a thousand years, depended on a single sentence in the *Analects*, the collection of sayings that is our only source for Confucius's teaching. In Legge's translation of *Analects* vii.16, this sentence reads: 'If some years were added to my life, I would give fifty to the study of the *Yi*, and then I might come to be without great faults.' The Lu text of the *Analects*, now preferred by most scholars, has the word *yi* written with another character of the same sound, meaning not 'change' but 'also' or 'more'. This makes the sentence mean: 'If I were given a few more years, so that I might spend a whole fifty in study, I believe that after all I should be fairly free from error.'¹⁴ This is likely to be the correct reading.

Some writers believe that another sentence in the *Analects* proves that Confucius knew *Zhouyi*. They hold that because oracle 32:3, *Not fixing the power of an augury will lead to failure*, is also found in *Analects* xiii.22, Confucius must have known *Zhouyi* and quoted from it. The *Analects* paragraph is:

The Master said: 'The men of the South have a saying: "A man without fixity will not make a

shaman-healer.” How right! “Not fixing the power of an augury will lead to failure.” The Master said: ‘They do not simply read omens.’

This passage deals explicitly with a popular saying from the south. The same proverb was probably quoted in both the *Analects* and *Zhouyi* independently.¹⁵ The coincidence does not provide satisfactory evidence that Confucius knew *Zhouyi*.

Sima Qian’s charming story, in his biography of Confucius (*Shiji* 47), about the leather thongs of Confucius’s copy of *Yi* wearing out because he loved the book so much, is equally to be distrusted. It comes from the time when *Zhouyi* had been elevated to the status of Confucian classic, and legends were beginning to accrue. The same is true of the words attributed to Confucius in a satirical passage of *Zhuangzi* Book 14, where he says that he has studied *Yijing* for many years; and equally of the praise of *Yijing* uttered by Confucius in *Liji* ‘Records of Rites’ section 23.

There is in fact no reliable evidence that Confucius either knew or did not know the book. From what we know of his approach to divination and spirits, he would have taken little interest in *Zhouyi*; and there is no trace either of his typical teachings anywhere in *Zhouyi*, nor of *Zhouyi* in any of his known sayings and writings.¹⁶ Since in his lifetime the book was almost certainly extant in only one copy or very few copies, kept by the Zhou diviners, there is little likelihood that he would have seen it or known what was in it.

Early transmission of the text

Our earliest independent evidence for the existence of the book lies in the *Zuo Commentary*, written in the late fourth or in the third century BC. There are discrepancies between the received text and the quotations in the *Zuo Commentary*, but they are not important.¹⁷ Though the samples are sparse, this suggests that the text used in the *Zuo Commentary* was much the same as the received text. References to discussion of variant texts in Han times are probably to variations in orthography and in the content of the Ten Wings, and do not challenge the continuity of the textual tradition.

Zuo Commentary references are discussed in detail in Chapter IV. If they are to be believed, then during the Warring States period *Zhouyi* was known among rulers and diviners in several states. At first, however, there may have been only one copy, the one at the royal court of Zhou. One story indeed, already referred

to (see above page 28), suggests *Zhouyi* was not widely available in the mid-sixth century BC. Even when Qin united the states in the third century BC, *Zhouyi* was probably still a professional manual, rather than a book in wide circulation. The received text bears marks of casual annotation, especially in the parts of the line statements known as ‘observations’.¹⁸ It may well have originated in a personal copy of one diviner’s notes, inherited by his successors. As it accrued fame within the profession, copyists would carefully preserve all the details of the master manuscript. If it were a rare book, kept in the royal library, it would have a better chance of preservation, and run less risk of developing variant texts.

Such views gain credibility from the story that explains why so few books survive from pre-Qin China: the violent cultural policy of the Qin dynasty (221–206 BC). From 213 BC most old books were banned and their destruction ordered, in the interest of the Qin state’s political doctrine. Confucian writings were particularly targeted. Since books were relatively few in number and written on slats of combustible material, this cultural revolution would not be hard to carry out; but according to Sima Qian’s *Shiji* (Books 6 and 87), books on divination were exempted; and according to the section on Confucianism in *Qian Han shu*, the ‘Records of Former Han’, *Zhouyi* was not put under the ban. The emperor considered divination manuals were useful, as were works on medicine and agriculture; furthermore, *Zhouyi* was not then considered a Confucian work.

There is no sign that it was ever considered Confucian before the Han dynasty came to power in 206 BC. There was then a revival of esteem for the past. The ban on books was formally lifted in 191 BC, twenty-two years after the ‘burning of the books’. Not surprisingly, older men could remember the lost texts they had learnt by heart and they rewrote them from memory, using a style of handwriting, known as *jinwen* ‘new script’, that had been introduced by the Qin administration. Differing versions of some of the ancient texts began to circulate, and the situation was complicated by claims that some of them were derived from copies that had lain hidden in house walls and other hiding places since 213 BC and were written in the ‘old script’ or *guwen*. Two schools of thought about ancient writings emerged, known as *jinwen* (‘new script’) and *guwen* (‘old script’) schools.

These schools were divided by their methods of interpreting the classics as well as by their variant texts, though scholars today are not all agreed about exactly what the differences were. Some believe that the *jinwen* school was more addicted to esoteric interpretation, which was certainly applied to *Zhouyi*; yet it

is not clear that there was any difference in the texts of this work used by the two groups. Since the book had not been subject to the Qin ban, there should have been no question of discovering old copies significantly different from copies in the new script.

The Mawangdui silk manuscript

The oldest known copy of *Zhouyi* bears marks of the *jinwen* tradition. It was found in autumn 1973, when three Han dynasty graves were excavated at Mawangdui near the city of Changsha in Hunan province. Tomb No 3 contained the skeleton of a man about thirty years old, son of Li Cang, Marquis of Dai, Chancellor of Changsha. A wooden tablet dated the burial to 168 BC. Several manuscripts¹⁹ in the tomb included two pieces of silk on which *Zhouyi* and five commentaries were written with Chinese ink in *xiaozhuan* or *lishu* style characters. Since *bang* ‘country’, the tabu name-character of the first Han emperor (reigned 202–195 BC), was avoided, while that of his successor was not, the copy can be roughly dated to the beginning of the second century BC. The usual 4,400 or so characters of *Zhouyi* bore no title but are now known as *Liushisi gua* ‘sixty-four hexagrams’.

The five commentaries all treat *Zhouyi* as a book of wisdom, not a divination manual. One is entitled *Yao* ‘essentials’. Three of the others are now known by their opening words: *Ersanzi wen* ‘two or three disciples ask’; *Yi zhi yi* ‘the meaning of Yi’; and *Mu He*, which is very long (about 6,000 characters) and by some is divided into two parts, the second part being called *Zhao Li*. (Mu He and Zhao Li are disciples who question their master about *Zhouyi*.) The fifth is known as *Xici* because it contains three quarters of a document of that name, also called the Great Treatise. The remaining quarter, except for one paragraph (*Dayan*, see page 158) and a few other lines, is found in *Yi zhi yi*, which also contains the first three sections of *Shuogua*. The Great Treatise and *Shuogua* are two of ‘the Ten Wings’ (*shi yi*) that were combined with *Zhouyi* in Han times to make *Yijing*. They are described and fully translated in the Appendix to this book.

In the Mawangdui manuscript, the hexagrams are given in a mechanical order that smacks of the intellectual fashions of the later Warring States Period (see page 114) – although the accompanying commentaries treat the hexagrams in more or less the received order. Broken lines in the hexagram drawings have upturned serifs at their inner ends so that they resemble *ba*, the Chinese figure 8

(see [Diagram 9](#)). The text is not divided into two sections as the received text is, while nearly half the hexagram tags and two dozen other much repeated characters differ from those in the received text. These characters are nearly all variant ways of writing the sounds of the words – so-called ‘loan characters’ that look ostentatiously elaborate. (More detail is given on page 121.) Such variants do not constitute a substantially different textual tradition.

No fully commented edition of the Mawangdui manuscript has yet been published. A coloured photograph of part of it appeared in the official Chinese archaeological journal *Wenwu* (1977.7), followed later by a transcription of the text with explanatory essays by Zhang Zhenglang and Yu Haoliang (1984.3). Publication of the text of the five commentaries has continued, but is still not complete. In *Early China* 19 (1994; pages 47–73), Edward Shaughnessy published ‘A first reading of the Mawangdui *Yijing* manuscript’, giving a bibliography of relevant Chinese studies.

The Mawangdui manuscript encourages us to read the received text of *Zhouyi* with an eye to the use of loan characters and phonetic variants; but its greatest interest lies in the light it seems likely to throw on the history of the Ten Wings.

The Fuyang slips

During July and August 1977, four years after the discovery at Mawangdui, this principle was further confirmed when more than 300 fragments of another Han period copy of *Zhouyi* were excavated from one of a pair of tombs called Shuanggudui, near Fuyang in northern Anhui.²⁰ The burial was dated to 165 BC – only three years later than the funeral at Mawangdui. Sadly, the bamboo slips on which *Zhouyi* was written had decayed into very small pieces. Few details have been published. Fragments referring to about 40 different hexagrams have been identified, including several hexagram drawings, 9 hexagram statements and more than 60 line statements. The line statements are separated from each other by roundel spots. There are also some notes about the results of divinations.

The Fuyang slips are therefore of little help to historians; but two points are of interest. The first is that the broken lines in the hexagrams are drawn as upward-pointing chevrons, broken at the top, like the so-called *bagua* numerals found in Shang and Western Zhou oracle-bone and bronze inscriptions.²¹ This is perhaps no more than a minor calligraphic variant, because a curve and an angle, when written with a brush, can look much the same; but the *bagua* numeral similarity is striking. The second point is that many loan characters are used, but they are

not the same as at Mawangdui.

Had either the Mawangdui or Fuyang versions become the received text, later generations would have found in it loan characters even more baffling than what we now have. We shall probably never know what chances determined the form of the received text. The oldest copy we have of it – and that merely fragmentary – is on the Han stone tablets, which are two hundred and fifty years younger than Mawangdui and Fuyang, and mark another significant stage in the history of the book.

The Han stone tablets

Although the ‘old script’ school began to achieve better official status during the first century BC, its progress was gradual. When the Later Han dynasty undertook to stabilize the texts of the classics, including the recently canonized *Yijing*, by carving them on 46 stone tablets, ‘new script’ texts were used. The work began in AD 175 and was completed eight years later. Each tablet was 175cm high and 90cm wide, with 2.5cm-square characters in about 40 columns of 73 characters each. The tablets were damaged during the rebellion of Dong Zhuo in AD 190, and were thereafter several times moved to new sites. Fragments, several hundred in all, were discovered during the Song dynasty and during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, mostly at Luoyang. They are now housed in a number of public and private collections throughout the world.²²

These fragments and rubbings have preserved only about 1,170 characters of the *Yijing* text, written in handsome *lishu* ‘clerk’s hand’, the typical style of the period. They have been published in Chinese, but not in English. The text used was that passed on by the ‘new script’ scholar Jing Fang (77–37 BC) and contained about 24,500 characters, because it included the Ten Wings.

Yijing the Confucian classic

In spite of this extended *jinwen* tradition, the text that became the received text is regarded as belonging to the *guwen* or ‘old script’ tradition. This may not mean much: we have noted that textual variations in *Zhouyi* were probably negligible. They were now unlikely to occur, because *Zhouyi* had been accorded classic status, canonized as *Yijing* ‘the changes classic’, and made the subject of imperially approved teaching. According to the *Rulinzhuan* or ‘account of Confucian scholars’ in *Hanshu*, ‘the annals of Han’ Section 88), Tian He (c202–143 BC) was appointed to teach it during the reign of the first Han emperor. Tian

He passed the text to Ding Kuan (c180–140 BC) and Tian Wangsun (140–90 BC) during the reign of Wudi (141–87 BC). During the reigns of Xuandi and Yuandi (74–33 BC) a third generation of teachers, living c90–40 BC, continued the tradition: Liangqiu He, Shi Chou, and Meng Xi. The stone tablets are attributed to the Liangqiu tradition.

The received text, however, is believed to have been collated by Liu Xiang (79–08 BC), and is associated with the name of the *guwen* commentator Fei Zhi (c50 BC – AD 10), about whom little is known. During the Later Han dynasty (AD 25–220) *guwen* finally became normative, largely as a result of the work of the eccentric *guwen* scholar Ma Rong (AD 79–166), the man who taught that the hexagram statements were written by King Wen and the line statements by the Duke of Zhou. By the time of Ma Rong's disciple Zheng Xuan (AD 127–200), who is famous for his efforts to reconcile the 'old script' and 'new script' schools, it was usual to append the Ten Wings to the text and they became an integral part of the teaching version. The stone tablets were engraved during Zheng's lifetime.

Between the composition of *Zhouyi* in the first quarter of the first millennium BC, and the writing of the Ten Wings towards the end of the millennium, the Chinese language had undergone great changes. *Zhouyi* was written in Early Old Chinese. When the Ten Wings were written, the language was well on the way to developing into what is now called Middle Chinese. Pronunciation had changed, the script had been reformed. No one any longer knew what the *Zhouyi* oracles, composed in archaic language, outmoded script and arcane style, had originally meant. Intellectual life had been transformed by the doctrines of *yin/yang* and the five-fold phasing of matter, by Confucian ethics and Daoist philosophy, none of which had been known when *Zhouyi* was first written. The whole understanding of the book was changed: the hexagrams became a source of supposedly Confucian metaphysics; both hexagrams and oracles were reinterpreted as the source of a philosophy concerned more with change than with being, more with ethics than with prognostication. *Yijing*, the expansion of *Zhouyi*, was becoming the most revered book in China and began spawning an immense literature of comment and criticism.

Han to Qing

Fei Zhi's text, handed on by Zheng Xuan, was used by Wang Bi (226–249), a brilliant young commentator trained in the 'old script' tradition. Wang's text was included in the early Tang dynasty work of Kong Yingda (574–648), *Zhouyi*

zhengyi ‘real meaning of *Zhouyi*’. In Song times the same text was used by Cheng Yi (1033–1107) in his book *Yichuan Yizhuan* ‘Yichuan’s commentary on *Zhouyi*’, whence it passed to Zhu Xi (1130–1200), who used it in his hugely influential *Zhouyi benyi* ‘original meaning of *Zhouyi*’. The earliest printed copies now known date from Song.

Hu Guang (1370–1418), the Ming dynasty editor of the imperial *Zhouyi zhuanyi daquan* ‘*Zhouyi* with complete commentaries’, used the Song text. It was used again by Li Guangdi (1642–1718), editor of the imperial Qing edition, *Yuzuan Zhouyi zhezhong*, ‘imperial sponsored balanced commentaries on *Zhouyi*’ published by order of the Kangxi emperor in 1715; and appeared again in the Wuyingdian (imperial printing office) edition of the Thirteen Classics in 1739.

Early in the nineteenth century the same text was included in the *Shisanjing zhushu* ‘collected commentaries on the thirteen classics’, published 1816 and edited by Ruan Yuan (1764–1849), who derived it from the Song editions of Kong Yingda’s text. The *Shisanjing zhushu* text was used in *Zhouyi yinde*, a concordance of *Zhouyi* with variant readings published by the Harvard-Yenching Institute as Supplement 10 of its Sinological Index Series in 1935. This is now the preferred text of Western scholars, and has been used for this translation.

Twentieth-century reassessment

In the eleventh century Ouyang Xiu (1007–72) examined the whole *Yijing* text dispassionately and came to the conclusion that it was originally a divination handbook of hexagrams used in Xia and Shang, to which King Wen had added the *Zhouyi* text in order that it might be used as a guide to wisdom. Ouyang thought that Confucius, concerned that people did not appreciate what King Wen had intended, wrote the first four wings to explain King Wen’s meaning. In Ouyang’s estimation, the remaining wings were certainly not written by Confucius. They came from various hands and were of unequal value, inconsistent and even trivial. His rationalist historical approach was not continued by other writers, and his radical criticisms were never generally accepted. During the Qing dynasty a few writers raised textual questions, but philosophical problems dominated the agenda for *Yijing* scholars until this century. One or two Western writers proposed new historical assessments of the document during the nineteenth century, but they were generally ignored by Chinese scholars and regarded as maverick by Westerners.²³

Modern methods of textual and historical criticism were neither broadly nor

rigorously applied to *Zhouyi* until the publication in Beijing, from 1926 onwards, of a series of essays on ancient literature and history called *Gushibian*. Written by the leading new-style scholar Gu Jiegang (1893–1980)²⁴ and others, these essays typified a new approach, including the use of philological techniques to rediscover the original meaning of ancient writings. After an issue of *Gushibian* dealing with the Book of Changes in 1931, Arthur Waley (1889–1966) in 1933 published some of these findings in English. He promised to write more on the subject, but never did. This was a pity, because within the next few years he was learning more about the Bronze Age background. In the 1933 article he translated *Zhouyi* 22:3 as ‘If the horse she rides on is brindled ...’; in his 1939 translation of *Zhuangzi* he noted that the Chinese of the period ‘drove horses, but did not ride them’.²⁵

Waley’s ideas were endorsed, with some criticism of details, by the great French scholar, Henri Maspero; and later wholeheartedly accepted by the English historian Joseph Needham in his monumental *History of science and civilization in China*.²⁶ The surge of popular interest in *Yijing* among English-speaking people after 1960, however, largely ignored and even resisted this academic work.

Further studies by Chinese writers followed Gu Jiegang’s work. The Manchurian Gao Heng²⁷ (born 1900) began teaching *Zhouyi* in Canton in the 1930s, and he alone has published a commentary on the whole text, drawing on palaeography, philology and ancient literature for glosses on every phrase. His *Zhouyi gujing jinzhū* ‘modern annotations to the ancient classic *Zhouyi*’ was first published in Shanghai in 1947, revised and published in Beijing in 1957 and subsequently re-issued in Hong Kong, Beijing and Taiwan. He also wrote *Zhouyi gujing tongshuo* ‘general account of the ancient classic *Zhouyi*’, first issued in Beijing in 1958, covering broader issues about the structure of *Zhouyi* and methods of divination.

Wen Yiduo (1899–1946),²⁸ given a traditional training in the classics from childhood, studied art in America during the 1920s, and became a leading figure in modern Chinese poetry; but after returning to China he went back to the study of Chinese classical literature and worked as a professor of the subject at Qinghua and other universities for the last twenty years of his life. He was credited by some Chinese with having pioneered modern philological study of ancient Chinese poetry. His notes on *Zhouyi*, which show extraordinary flair and imagination, were published in two collections: *Zhouyi yizheng leizuan* ‘Evidence

for meanings in *Zhouyi*, topically arranged', in the *Tsinghua University Journal of Chinese Studies* (*Qinghua xuebao* 13.2) of 1941, and *Putang zashi* 'Unpolished Jade Hall Miscellany'. Both were printed in *Wen Yidou quanji*, his complete works, published posthumously in Shanghai in 1948 (pages 5–65 and 583–602). Though full of philological, grammatical and palaeographic material, Wen's work is different in character from Gao's. Wen was a poet as well as a scholar. His views are often brilliant and sometimes surprising. He was also a patriot and a socialist. In the difficult days of the early 1940s he was teaching in Kunming. He refused invitations to live in America, and became courageously involved in political action. He was shot dead by the right wing of the Kuomintang, near his house in Kunming on the evening of 15 July 1946.

Others who made significant contributions to *Zhouyi* studies were Guo Moruo (1892–1978), a leading scholar, novelist, poet and historian, trained partly in Japan, who later held positions of high responsibility in the Communist government; Qu Wanli (1907–79), who worked in Taiwan after the establishment there of the Nationalist government; and Gu Jiegang's pupil Li Jingchi (died 1975), who for the last twenty-five years of his life taught in Canton. As a result of their work, certain emendations of the text (described in my Translation Notes, pages 288–360) have come to be widely accepted, and general principles for understanding *Zhouyi* in its Bronze Age context have been adumbrated.

The discovery of the Mawangdui manuscript late in 1973, although it threw no dramatic new light on the subject, stimulated fresh work by Chinese scholars that continued through the 1980s. Developments in the interpretation of oracle bones and bronze inscriptions have combined with the work of linguists during the last few decades to improve our knowledge of Old Chinese. This knowledge has given further impetus, especially in America, to the study of a book that most sinologists tended to veer away from because of its obscurity – even the great Bernhard Karlgren referred to the Changes as a 'rigmarole'.²⁹ Obscurities remain; but it is now possible to give an account that removes much of the frustration and allows *Zhouyi* to be seen more nearly as Wilhelm wished: 'in the light of its own content and of the era to which it belongs'.

The Fascination of Zhouyi

Why has this stark Bronze Age manual exerted such a powerful fascination for so many people throughout the centuries?

Philosophy and cosmology

Once *Zhouyi* had been converted into *Yijing* by the addition of the Ten Wings, the ideas expressed in the Wings drove the hexagram and line statements into the background. Interest in the divinatory processes petered out as interest in mathematics and philosophy expanded.

The outline history of these changes is not hard to discern. The Zuo Commentary describes interpretations created by an early understanding of divination, but moral and metaphysical elements were already beginning to be considered. This change of emphasis coincided roughly with the lifetime of Confucius, not because of any personal connection with him, but because the spirit of the age favoured such development. A few centuries later, with the blossoming of abstract and ethical thought, it became natural for each hexagram to seem to represent the characteristics of a particular point in the ever-changing continuum of time and space, a point which the authors of the Ten Wings called *shi* 'the time' or 'the occasion'.³⁰ This philosophy eventually became Confucian orthodoxy, but it was wholly a superimposition on the teachings of Confucius. Though some have discerned a theory of change in a remark he made while standing by a riverside, 'What passes away is like this stream: day and night there is no break' (Analects ix.16.), he was reflecting on the passage of time, not on cosmology.

Han scholars were intrigued by the mysteriousness of the oracles and the mathematical patterns created by the hexagrams. These two aspects of *Zhouyi* led

to scholars being grouped into what are now called two ‘schools’: *yili* ‘meaning-principle’ and *xiangshu* ‘form-number’.³¹ Men like Zheng Xuan (127–200) and Wang Bi (226–249), primarily concerned with the meanings of the hexagram and line statements, represented *yili*, while Yu Fan (164–233) was an early exponent of the blend of mathematics and symbology that informed the *xiangshu* concern with the structure of the hexagrams.

The status of *Yijing* as an imperially canonized classic encouraged such men to study it. They fell under its spell, but the spell was cast more by the Ten Wings than by *Zhouyi*. It would be centuries before the Chinese would again think of the book in any other light than that with which it was suffused by the wings, especially the Great Treatise. Wang Bi, while arguing strongly for the direct meaning of the text to be considered, was convinced that the true meaning was abstract. Not only did he transmit the text; his influence set the general course of *Yijing* study for nearly two thousand years.

The Great Treatise itself is primarily about cosmology. Its doctrine can be summarized under nine points, which contain some surprising hints of ideas now associated with Plato, Jung and modern physics:

- 1 All things are between the poles of heaven and earth.
- 2 The principle of all being (*dao*) is the constant alternation and interaction of the positive heavenly pole (*yang*) and the negative earthly pole (*yin*).
- 3 This polarity creates plus/minus, male/female, light/dark, proactive/reactive, firm/yielding and other polarities, the *yin/yang* of whose constant alternation and flux all things are constituted.
- 4 The polarities produce archetypal figures, seen in heaven as changing asterism patterns, on earth as geometric, geographical and biological patterns.
- 5 The archetypal figures can be traced analogically in all entities, and their flux gives rise to events, including birth, growth and death.
- 6 Ancient sages were inspired to create the hexagrams as analogues of the archetypal figures, in which polarity is expressed by firm (whole) and yielding (broken) lines, while flux is expressed by the changing places of the lines within the hexagrams.
- 7 The sages added oracular statements or prognoses indicating the changes to be expected in the lines and in analogous turns of events.
- 8 To achieve all this the sages needed communication with spirits. Spirits stand outside the *yin/yang* polarity and are involved in the use of *Zhouyi* because they control the random counting of the yarrow wands, by which the figure (hexagram) analogous to any given situation (time) can be ascertained.
- 9 The wise man therefore accepts *dao* and uses the hexagrams to help himself make right decisions.

Westerners may find this schema strangest at the point where patterns are discerned in the skies, the earth and man. Britons especially, because they live in a land of few cloudless nights, their sight further dimmed by ubiquitous artificial lighting that pollutes the darkness, find it hard to imagine the clear night skies of

north-east Asia, where the brilliant patterns of the asterisms gave primitive man some of the first linear designs he discerned. The stratification of rocks and soil showed him parallel lines, his own body taught him symmetry. Such details in the Great Treatise are perceptive and accurate.

As the hexagrams came to exert more fascination than the oracles, their tags or 'names' were assumed to be meaningful titles, and were interpreted in increasingly abstract fashion. Eventually some of the meanings attributed to them became far removed from their origins, though some remained close to the earliest meaning of the tag character. In this way 8 'joining' became 'coherence', 44 'locking horns' became 'reaction' or even 'fusion'; 47 'beset' became 'conglomeration'; while 41 'diminishing' became 'diminution'; 4 'dodder' became 'early stage of development'; and 18 'mildew' became 'decay'.

These abstractions, with the help of a broadening connotation for *yi* 'change' (see page 85), bolstered the theory that the hexagrams portrayed the ever-changing nature of the world and everything in it. The hexagrams became, in Joseph Needham's memorable expressions, a 'stupendous universal filing-system' for 'pigeon-holing novelty', into which anything and everything could be fitted.³² Daoists had their version, buddhists eventually had theirs, while alchemists found the whole arrangement very useful. Since government departments were organized to accord with the universe and its changes – rites and agriculture belonged to spring, punishments to autumn, and so on – *Yijing* was applied to the bureaucratic system. Though the oracles never mention the four seasons, hexagrams were discovered to relate to them too. (There was a simple logic at the base of this. See [Table 2](#).) Since numbers to the power of 2, together with multiple symmetries, turn up everywhere in mathematical and physical structures, Chinese scholars found no difficulty in applying the 64 hexagrams to everything from the structure of crystals to the solar system.

[Table 2](#) THE SOVEREIGN HEXAGRAMS OF THE LUNAR MONTHS

--- --- --- --- ---	--- --- --- --- ---	--- --- --- --- ---	--- --- --- --- ---	--- --- --- --- ---	--- --- --- --- ---
KUN 2	FU 24	LIN 19	TAI 11	DAZHUANG 34	JUE 43
10th moon winter solstice	11th moon	12th moon	1st moon spring	2nd moon	3rd moon
--- --- --- --- ---	--- --- --- --- ---	--- --- --- --- ---	--- --- --- --- ---	--- --- --- --- ---	--- --- --- --- ---
QIAN 1	GOU 44	TUN 33	PI 12	GUAN 20	BO 23
4th moon summer solstice	5th moon	6th moon autumn	7th moon	8th moon	9th moon

Once the *yin* influence (symbolized by broken lines) has passed its apogee at the winter solstice, the *yang* influence (symbolized by whole lines) reappears and increases till it too reaches its apogee at the summer solstice, when the rise of *yin* begins again.

Even zoological classification was found, or manipulated, to fit the hexagrams. This is not surprising, for the biological importance of the powers of 2 is obvious in the pedigree of any individual created by sexual reproduction: it must have 64 great-great-great-grandparents. The natural world is indeed susceptible to complex mathematical patterning. The Fibonacci series (1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 13, 21, 34 ...), implicit in the helix and frequent in biological structures from snailshells to pineapples, was discovered from a problem about the breeding potential of rabbits.

Yijing was thus held to contain the answers to all the questions the human mind could formulate, in science, metaphysics and morals. In the nineteenth century Westerners repeatedly reported that if any new invention appeared in China, Chinese scholars regarded it as only a matter of time before the relationship of the new invention to the hexagrams would be discovered. In 1901 Herbert Allen Giles (1845–1935), who in 1897 became professor of Chinese at Cambridge after twenty-five years in the British Consular Service in China, wrote: ‘No one really knows what is meant by the apparent gibberish of the Book of Changes. This is freely admitted by all learned Chinese, who nevertheless hold tenaciously to the belief that important lessons could be derived from its pages if

only we had the wit to understand them.’³³

Joseph Needham holds that nothing did so much to delay scientific thought in China as this filing-system approach. He suggests that the longevity and persistence of *Yijing* as a universal symbolic system was largely due to the congruence of the hexagrams with the concerns of a bureaucratic social order. This social order was designed for an agrarian society dominated by needs of irrigation and flood control – needs that were by nature cosmic and ever-changing.³⁴ The same filing-system suited both government and natural science.

The great thinkers of the Song period bequeathed a rich store of *Yijing* studies, including philology, philosophy and the history of the text.³⁵ Their thought too was largely based in the Ten Wings rather than the *Zhouyi* oracles. Each expounded *Yijing* according to his own predilections. Shao Yong (1011–1077), heir to the *xiangshu* approach, explored the mathematics of the hexagrams. Ouyang Xiu (1007–1072), critical and rational, distinguished the core text from the Ten Wings and recognized that Confucius could not have written all the latter. Zhou Dunyi (1017–1073), a philosopher, compiled the typical cosmology of the period. Su Shi (1037–1101), better known as the genial poet Su Dongpo, wrote a notable commentary using *Yijing* as a philosopher’s guide. Their contemporary Cheng Yi (1033–1107) wrote his commentary *Yizhuan* in the intellectual tradition of Wang Bi – the *yili* approach. In the next century Zhu Xi (1130–1200) insisted that the book’s purpose was fundamentally divinatory; but the sense that *Yijing* was a book of wisdom became deeply entrenched as a result of his teaching.

These Song writers – most of all Zhu Xi – became the arbiters of Confucian orthodoxy for the Ming dynasty. The Qing dynasty approach was dominated by the Kangxi emperor’s fascination with *Yijing* as a moral and political guide. In other fields scholars of the period made great strides in textual studies, but not in relation to *Zhouyi*. No new work could be done there until the discovery of oracle bones in 1899 opened up new vistas in the study of pre-Han Chinese. These made possible the new direction Chinese *Yijing* studies began to take with the work of Gu Jiegang and his fellows in the 1920s, and ‘contextual criticism’ became the prevailing mode of academic studies.

Contextual criticism still goes back behind the Ten Wings, but some western sinologists are studying the history of *Yijing* philosophy from Han times onward; the beguiling patterns of the hexagrams and their combinatorial ramifications have lost none of their appeal; yarrow-wand divination has had a revival worldwide; and the ‘pigeon-holing’ of scientific discoveries is seen in a new light

as molecular biologists toy with the correspondence between the hexagrams and the sixty-four codons of DNA.³⁶

Yijing and spirituality

There is good reason for regarding *Zhouyi* as a classic religious text, because it was originally used in communication with spirits and in the ordering of royal sacrifices; but this is not to say that either *Zhouyi* or *Yijing* is a work of spirituality. Indeed, when *Yijing* is compared with the Davidic Psalms, some of which are possibly of the same age, or with the Heart Sutra, its lack of spirituality becomes apparent. Yulian Shchutsky made this point succinctly when he said that *Yijing* ‘does not go beyond the borders of this world, and was thus, in the end, accepted by Confucianism’.³⁷

Confucianism is a religion in which the ritual and ethical overwhelms the transcendental. Therefore acceptance into the Confucian canon was unlikely to make *Yijing* spiritual. Confucius himself was ambivalent about worldly success, but any spirituality that may be claimed for him is purely human, firmly of this world. While neither *Zhouyi* nor the Ten Wings ever mention the cardinal Confucian virtues of goodness (*ren*) and filial piety (*xiao*), much less do they mention prayer or meditation.

Buddhist spirituality centres on Nirvana; daoism seeks for transcendent serenity; the object of christian spirituality is union with God. Self-denial is essential to them all. *Yijing*, by contrast, is self-assertive. It says nothing of spiritual humility, self-denial or self-sacrifice. There is nothing in it resembling *yoga*, mystic union or transcendence. If *Yijing* has been used for spiritual purposes, they are extrinsic to the text. Love (*at*), another litmus test for spirituality, is not mentioned in *Zhouyi*. It occurs only three times in the Ten Wings: twice in the Great Treatise,³⁸ as a social faculty; and once in *Xiaoxiang* 37:5, as typical of ideal relationships in the royal household.

Furthermore, spirituality, whether buddhist, daoist or christian, deals positively with failure, while *Yijing* is wholly concerned with success, and essentially pragmatic. Though it is true that in *Wenyan*, the 7th Wing, at the end of the commentary on Hexagram 1 (see page 438) there is a reference to failure, that reference is political and practical rather than spiritual, not far removed from the familiar image of the bamboo bending before the wind. *Zhouyi* itself lacks even this minimal appraisal of failure. Short-term success was the object of the kings

for whom the Book of Changes was composed.

Short-term success is also often the concern of twentieth-century diviners. Christopher Markert, explicitly calling his book *I Ching: the No. 1 success formula* (1986), strays far from the original in the detail of his interpretation, but remains close to the rulers of Zhou in his fundamental grasp of the book's purpose. He implicitly denies spiritual claims, saying that 'it is our own conscious and unconscious minds that interact with the text to produce relevant answers.'³⁹

A genuinely spiritual commentator, John Blofeld (1913–87), whose mystic reverence for the book is unsurpassed by that of any other western writer, tried to find a spirituality in *Zhouyi*. 'If you say that the oracle owes its effectiveness to the subconscious of the one who asks the questions, or to the unconscious (which is probably universal and therefore common to all men), or to the One Mind (in the Zen sense), or to God or a God or the Gods, or to the philosopher's Absolute, I shall be inclined to agree with every one of these suggestions, for I believe that most ... of these terms are imperfect descriptions of a single unknown and unknowable but omnipotent reality.'⁴⁰ Blofeld, too, had to look beyond the text to find a spirituality.

The Great Treatise, unlike *Zhouyi*, touches the fringe of spirituality in all it says of *dao*. Accepting *dao* means taking a transcendental view and accepting insecurity and failure; but this point is neither stated nor developed. Had the writer gone on from his philosophical account of *dao* to a description of how one can live the *dao*, the document might have become genuinely spiritual, with a power of its own. Indeed, the Treatise expressly disclaims any spirituality for *Zhouyi*. It says: 'Yi has no thought, no action. It is inert and motionless.'⁴¹

The only aspect of *Yijing* that can properly be called spiritual is communication with spirits, especially ancestral spirits, in order to discern future events. The Great Treatise claims that sages and diviners are involved in this spirit activity through the analogical continuum of being by which all things are encompassed in the hexagram figures; but it is the yarrow wands that act on the same plane as the spirits, and through which the spirits speak, not the text. The wands can therefore be called spirit tools; but no spiritual power is credited to *Zhouyi* itself. Spirits are reached by the divinatory process, not through the book.

If *Yijing* has, in spite of itself, accrued a quasi-spiritual aura and been used for spiritual purposes, that is because its original meaning was forgotten. The resulting obscurity made it easy for the text to be used by many religions. Just as we have seen Confucians adopting it as a manual of science and ethics, we shall

see that for eighteenth-century Jesuits it was a Christian protevangelium; that Buddhists and Daoists have delighted in it; and that for the twentieth-century New Age movement it has occult powers.⁴² *Yijing* is a deconstructionist's dream: its fascination lies in its availability as a vehicle for its readers' preoccupations.

Zhouyi can even be harmonized with the Bible. Without offering a theological definition of the way in which *Yijing* relates to God, Joseph Murphy, in *Secrets of the I Ching* (1970), adjures his readers to 'climb the Oriental ladder of wisdom and move onward, upward and Godward.'⁴³ For this purpose he matches a Bible verse to each hexagram and line; but the correspondences are not objective; they come from his own faith and experience. He admits this when he says: 'When you use the *I Ching* you are activating your subconscious mind. By being receptive and passive and sincere in your mind, you are actually getting an answer from your deeper mind.'⁴⁴

The mathematician Martin Gardner was plain-spoken: 'Tender-minded believers in the occult, who have not yet consulted the *I-ching* and who long for powerful mysterious magic, are hereby forewarned. This ancient book's advice can be far more shattering psychologically than the advice of any mere astrologer, palmist, crystal-gazer or tea-leaf reader.' Then he added: 'Tough-minded sceptics who test the *I-ching* realize at once why the book seems to work. The text is so ambiguous that, no matter what hexagrams are selected, it is always possible to interpret them so that they seem to apply to the question.'⁴⁵

This explains the appeal of *Yijing* to its twentieth-century Western admirers. They are typically agnostics, though some are Buddhists, and many are sub-Daoists. They have rejected Christian spirituality, or, more likely, they have never known it in depth. They are aware that the hermeticism of *Yijing* produces a sense of mystery. Many of them do not realize – and would not mind if they did realize – that what they regard as the spirituality of the book has never existed outside the minds of its users.

Synchronicity

One distinguished psychologist gave much time and thought to *Yijing*: Karl Jung.⁴⁶ In his foreword to the Wilhelm/Baynes translation he elaborated a principle he called synchronicity or acausal connection. Synchronicity is sometimes taken to be a typically oriental theory contrasting with a supposedly western theory of causality. This misrepresentation must ultimately break down,

because oriental thought, whatever brave leaps it may appear to take in logic, is always reducible to models of causality. Yet some writers seem to believe that when Jung called synchronicity an 'acausal connection', he meant an alternative to causality that was some sort of 'acausal cause'.⁴⁷ Jung avoided that illogicality by explaining that synchronicity is only 'a meaningful coincidence in time'.⁴⁸

Coincidence is more impressive when it involves a random event; and yarrow-wand counting is a random process. It is well known that random sequences of numbers tend to fall into groups that begin to form patterns, and also that coincidences occur frequently. There is no reason to be surprised at such things. Mathematically considered, coincidences would be more surprising if they did not occur. The molecular biologist Johnson Yan, echoing both Lucretius and Teilhard de Chardin's 'directed chance', says 'Coincidence is not a rare event, because life itself may be a coincidence.'⁴⁹

Any coincidence derives meaning, not from events, but from an observer's reaction to them. Jung says synchronicity 'takes the coincidence of events in space and time as meaning something more than mere chance, namely a peculiar interdependence of objective events among themselves as well as with the subjective (psychic) states of the observer or observers.'⁵⁰ He admits that 'inasmuch as situations are unique and cannot be repeated, experimenting with synchronicity seems to be impossible under ordinary conditions';⁵¹ and concludes that 'in *Yijing* the only criterion of the validity of synchronicity is the observer's opinion that the text of the hexagram amounts to a true rendering of his psychic condition.'⁵²

In a paper written in 1950 Jung gave another definition: 'Synchronicity ... means the simultaneous occurrence of a certain psychic state with one or more external events which appear as meaningful parallels to the momentary subjective state.'⁵³ Referring specifically to *Yijing*, he wrote that its 'interpretations formulate the inner unconscious knowledge that corresponds to the state of consciousness at the moment, and this psychological situation coincides with the chance results of ... the odd and even numbers resulting from the fall of the coins or the division of the yarrow stalks.'⁵⁴ He was at pains to distinguish synchronicity from synchronism, affirming that synchronism involves purely objective and non-psychological data.⁵⁵

The relation between synchronicity and causality therefore, though Jung does

not put it this way, is simple. Synchronicity is the conjunction in time of two or more chains of causality. This conjunction obtains meaning from human perception of the coincidence, and may generate, or take its place in, a new nexus of causality. In *Zhouyi* the only synchronicity lies in the conjunction of the fall of the yarrow-wands or coins with one or more chains of causality operating within the questioner. Meaning is created by the questioner's response.

In other words it is never *Yijing* that speaks; one can use *Yijing* only to talk to oneself. The book itself is incapable of speaking. 'Yi has no thought, no action. It is inert and motionless'.⁵⁶ Ernst Lothar Hoffman, the much loved Lama Govinda (1898–1985), made the same point: 'A clearly formulated question generally contains or calls up the answer from our depth-consciousness. The oracle lies in ourselves. The I-ching only helps to evoke it. It is a psychological aid to self-knowledge.'⁵⁷ Intriguingly, this characteristic of *Yijing* communication was recognized thousands of years ago: the Great Treatise says 'when the superior man prepares to act or move, he puts his question [to *Zhouyi*] in words, and the instruction he receives comes like an echo' (I.x.2). As an echo replies to a call, the answer is formed by the questioner.

Jung says explicitly that '*Yijing* insists upon self-knowledge' by the user;⁵⁸ that 'one's own personality is very often implicated in the answer of the oracle':⁵⁹ 'this is the dreamlike atmosphere of *Yijing*, and in it one has nothing to rely upon except one's own so fallible subjective judgment.'⁶⁰ *Yijing* divination is not fundamentally different from any other divination by book. The function of an oracle is to facilitate mental activity, notably the rapid operation of reason that we call intuition. Hence all oracles are either riddles or disguised platitudes, all good oracles ambiguous. Their ambiguity is not simply a hedge against failure; it is a stimulus to the mind, inducing the diviner (or his client) to make choices.

Accounts of successful *Yijing* consultation, even those couched in terms of greatest reverence for the book, show that the interpretative process is essentially a subjective choice or, as Johnson Yan would say, 'weighted with consciousness.'⁶¹ This is noticeable in John Blofeld's introduction to his translation and in what Richard Wilhelm writes. Unwittingly they manipulate the texts to which they are led by the yarrow wands. Jung's own account of how he consulted *Yijing* before writing his foreword is no different. His answer came from himself. He frankly called it 'a psychological procedure'.⁶²

Jung 'asked' *Yijing* about his intention to present the book to the western

mind.⁶³ Coins led him to Hexagram 50 and its *ding* or ceremonial tripod-bowl. There he found the line statements in Wilhelm's translation:

There is food in the *ding*
My comrades are envious,
But they cannot harm me. Good fortune.

This he interpreted as meaning there was spiritual nourishment in the *Yijing* which the envious wanted to destroy. Another interpretation would be that there was indeed substance in the book, but the very friends of the book wanted to destroy it by propagating Wilhelm's mystic interpretations. Jung did not choose to give weight to the word 'comrades'; he was exercising strong psychological control over the oracle.

To go through all Jung's interpretations of the remaining line statements would be to labour the point. All his interpretations are subtly biased. Had he not wanted to write his foreword, or had he known about the work being done on *Zhouyi* by the Chinese scholars of his day, he would have interpreted the oracles quite differently. His 'own so fallible judgment' determined his reading, as he knew it must.

Yijing and self-cultivation

Like Jung, Zhu Xi in the twelfth century saw that personal involvement was crucial to the divination process. Modern writers who use it for divination or self-analysis usually agree. The American Richard Baker (Zentatsu Baker-roshi), for instance, while he can write 'I-ching implies, suggests, guides us,' also says 'I-ching is for communicating with oneself'

These words occur in Baker's preface to *The inner structure of the I ching* (1981),⁶⁴ a book of intellectual and material beauty by Lama Govinda. Govinda's approach was romantic. It did not occur to him that his interpretation was based on a symbology whose validity depended on the intrinsic value of the symbols, not on *Yijing*. He attributed to the spiritual insight of Chinese sages facts which really derive from mathematical symmetries inherent in any series of permutations. He dovetailed ideas of his own into the trigrams, furnishing material for many pages of beautiful diagrams, creating a beguiling example of the fascination *Yijing* offers to those who use it as a vehicle for their convictions. He insisted, however, that *Yijing* 'was not written with the intention to reveal our fate or to deny our free will, but rather to help us to decide our way from the

present into the future on the basis of generally prevailing laws.’ This distinction between fortune-telling and self-cultivation is crucial.

Popular fortune-telling commonly implies that the future is irrevocably fixed – a belief in fate that plays upon a morbid sense of doom and makes divination useless. Ancient Chinese divination was more pragmatic. The bones and shells and yarrow wands were not asked what was going to happen; the spirits were asked through the bones or wands whether what the questioner was proposing to do was likely to be successful. The future was seen as partly in the hands of the questioner. According to a famous passage in the *Hongfan* section of the Book of Documents, dating possibly from the third century BC and purporting to be much older, a verdict obtained in divination needed to be weighed against the advice of others and, above all, the enquirers own conviction.⁶⁵ This means that the psychological element recognized by Jung was involved in the process from early times. The diviner who interpreted the oracles was perforce making decisions. Self-cultivation was only a short step away.

Some psychotherapists find *Yijing* a useful tool for self-analysis and therapy, even though they do not believe it has any independent mysterious power. Casting a hexagram, especially with yarrow wands, is a soothing activity. The hexagram is a given thing, coming from nowhere, and the client receives it as a datum, not of the therapist’s choosing, and at the same time independent of the client’s own choice. It has an aura that is not reproducible, and seems to be specifically for one person at one time in one place. The hexagram statement and line statements have another aura. The words are arcane: they may seem immediately applicable to the client, or they may need much cogitation before anything intelligible can be deduced. This is the Chinese use of the book described by Kwok Manho,⁶⁶ popular also with some westerners as a more or less regular act of self-examination. The cogitation can itself be therapeutic. Nothing spiritual happens; but the experience can even open a mind that has been closed to the concept of God.

Yijing cogitation, often called ‘meditation’, can also lead to self-confidence. Those with a taste for daoism can easily adapt the mysterious text for achieving confidence; but daoism tends to jettison books. In the closing sentence of *The portable dragon*,⁶⁷ Ralph Gun Hou Siu (born 1917) recommends a relaxed programme of random meditation, ended by leafing through the pages, neither analysing nor thinking, before laying the book aside for a day or two. Finally, he says, ‘Pick up the book, feel it, then throw it away’ Zhuangzi, greatest of daoists,

might have given the same advice.

Legge quotes a much anthologized anecdote about divination that makes the same point in another way.⁶⁸ It comes from the fifteenth-century writer Liu Ji, and tells of one Shao Ping, who held rank during the Qin dynasty. When Qin was overturned by Han, he went to the celebrated diviner Sima Jizhu (died c170 BC) to ask about his future. Sima said: ‘Ah! Is it Heaven’s way to cherish anyone in particular? Heaven loves only the virtuous. What intellect have spirits? They have intelligence only when working through men. Divining stalks are only dry herbage, tortoise-shells are only dry bones. They are mere things; and man is more intelligent than things. Why not listen to yourself, instead of consulting lifeless objects?’

A similar sobering story has a startling protagonist: King Wu, the man who established the Zhou dynasty. According to Wang Chong (AD 27–100) in his collection of essays called *Lunheng*, King Wu cast the yarrow wands before his final battle against the Shang ruler and received an omen of disaster. Brushing the wands aside, he said ‘What do they know of good luck?’ and went on to win the victory.⁶⁹

Wang Chong was a sceptic. From him too comes a remark that should both deflate and comfort those who are excessively reverential about *Yijing*: ‘Should somebody divine by the tortoise or milfoil only for fun ... he would obtain good or bad omens all the same. Between heaven and earth there is always good and bad fortune, and ominous things arising must fall in with lucky and unlucky people.’⁷⁰

Returning to the source

Do sinologists and context critics also find what they want in *Zhouyi*? To some degree they must, since all historical writing reflects the historian. But they seek what they want in the core text, not in the Ten Wings, and they work with objective standards. What they find may be fragmentary and less than they hope for. In reconstructing meanings they do well to heed the saw attributed to *Yijing* in the last book of *Shiji* (but not found in today’s *Yijing*): *shi zhi haoli, cha yi qianli* ‘To miss by a hairsbreadth is to err by a thousand leagues;’ for them, however, the centre of concern lies outside themselves in the lives of the people who first made and used *Zhouyi*.

Those people are not so distant as they may seem.

I first learned about the Book of Changes from the old men who taught me to read Chinese in the Korean villages where I lived during the 1950s, elderly men of the last generation of Koreans brought up to read and write only Chinese. They were proud of the four trigrams (Chien, Kun, Kan and Li – see Table 22) in their national flag. They revered *Chuyǒk* (*Zhouyi*), which they read in Ming editions and rarely called *Yǒkkyǒng* (*Yijing*). It suffused their lives. The first Chinese characters they had learnt, as little boys facing a blank wall and chanting the opening words of *Qianziwen*, the ‘Thousand Character Classic’, were *Ch’ǒnji hyǒnhwang*, which was their pronunciation of *Tiandi xuanhuang*, ‘Heaven and earth, the dark and the dun’. *Tian* and *Di* were names for the first two hexagrams; *xuanhuang* a quotation from the top line of Hexagram 2. Quotations from *Yijing* sprinkled their conversation. In many of their families four brothers would be named Wǒn, Hyǒng, Yi and Chǒng, after the ‘four virtues’ of the hexagram statements: *yuan*, *heng*, *li* and *zhen*. *Zhouyi* was the culmination of the school curriculum, nicknamed *ch’adolmaengi*, ‘flintstone’, because the meaning was so hard to crack. They were sure it held inexhaustible secrets. At any time of year, but especially in autumn, an old gentleman at home under the thatch might be found fingering a well-worn copy, for they all looked forward to studying the Changes in the extended leisure of old age – as *Shiji* says Confucius did.

Although their world-view and their moral code came wholly from the Song confucians, their daily way of life was surprisingly similar to that described in *Zhouyi* and their equally beloved Book of Odes. As in Bronze Age China, bricks were rare: most houses were built of wood and rammed earth. The ceremony of tamping the ground for a new house was not much different from what it must have been in Shang (save that no blood was shed), and cloudy rice-beer was drunk in prodigious quantities. The ‘rice-wines’ of the villages were cloudy or decanted ales; wells were normally unlined; it took three men to manage a ploughing-spade; the girls grubbed shepherd’s purse from the paths for a spring vegetable, as they do in the Book of Odes; barley, rice and millet were cooked as they had been in Zhou. Both men and women wore clothes, usually of undyed cloth, that were doubled across the chest, left over right, and fastened before the right shoulder. Shoes were never worn indoors and chairs were unknown in dwelling houses: we sat on mats and cushions. Horses were used for draft only, and all the oxen were sand-coloured. Yellow orioles sang in the trees. Tigers and leopards had stalked in the wooded mountains within living memory. In summer people virtually lived outdoors; in winter they lived indoors, where men twisted straw ropes and wove straw sacks. A woman would casually remark that young

men are restless in autumn, but girls in springtime – unaware she was quoting an ancient gloss on Ode 154.2:

on spring days ... a young girl's heart hurts: perhaps she will be bride to some young lord ...

A group of young men taking a bridegroom to fetch his bride might well be mistaken for marauders, and the rough treatment they got at the girl's village was a dramatized response to abduction. Zhou culture did not seem very far in the past.

Translations into European Languages

In 1927 the great French sinologist, Henri Maspero (1883-1945), wrote in *La Chine antique* that there were several translations of *Yijing*, ‘*toutes très mauvaises*.’⁷¹ In fairness he added, ‘by its very character the work is almost untranslatable.’

Jesuit versions 1: Couplet

The first European translation from *Zhouyi* was included in *Confucius Sinarum philosophus*, a magnificent folio volume dedicated to Louis XIV and published at Paris in 1687. This book was edited by the Flemish Jesuit Philippe Couplet (1623-92), one of the first generation of French-speaking missionaries.⁷² He had worked in China since 1658.

In his day, the Jesuits were deeply involved in what has become known as the Chinese Rites Controversy, or ‘the accommodation question’.⁷³ This lengthy dispute sprang from the initial decisions made in the period 1582-1610 by the founder of the mission, the great Matteo Ricci. He permitted Chinese Christians to continue performing certain Confucian rites and to refer to God by the ancient Chinese titles *Tian* ‘Heaven’, or *Shangdi* ‘the Lord on High’, as well as the missionaries’ neologism *Tianzhu* ‘Lord of Heaven’. When Spanish Franciscan and Dominican missionaries arrived in China from 1632 onwards, they opposed this policy of ‘accommodation’ to Chinese culture.

Partly in order to defend the Jesuit policy, Couplet journeyed to Europe in 1681 as procurator of his Society. He was very successful, especially in France, where he published *Confucius Sinarum philosophus*. His co-editors had been the Sicilian Prospero Intorcetta (1625-96), the Fleming Francois de Rougemont (1624-76) and

the Austrian Christian Herdtrich (1624–84). Their translations were in reality versions that had been worked and reworked in the mission over the hundred years since Ricci arrived. The book has been described as a ‘culmination of Ricci’s formula of accommodation’.⁷⁴

It contained Latin versions of the Confucian Analects, *Zhongyong* ‘the Doctrine of the Mean’ and *Daxue* ‘the Great Learning’, but not the pre-Confucian classics. The Jesuits recognized that *Yijing* was important; but they distrusted it, because they thought it was the key text of the Song neo-Confucianists, whom they regarded as atheists. It had already become known in the west as ‘the oldest book in the world’, because the Jesuit missionary Martino Martini (1614–61) had spoken of it while he was in Europe during 1654–6. In his *Sinicae historiae decas prima* (Munich 1658) a table of the 64 hexagrams had been printed in Europe for the first time.⁷⁵ This may partly explain why Couplet included a somewhat grudging description of *Yijing* in *Confucius Sinarum philosophus*, giving a table of hexagrams (called ‘*figurae*’) and a translation of Hexagram 15. The tag of Hexagram 15 was *qian*, meaning ‘modesty’ or ‘humility’, which appealed to the Jesuits because it was easy to take in a christian sense, as an example of ‘accommodation’.⁷⁶ Scholars today, however, would doubt whether *qian* ever meant what christians mean by humility. As is clearly shown by the Great Treatise, it meant deference and appropriate demeanour rather than interior self-denial. (See page 414.)

The Latin of Couplet and his confreres is laboured. For all the translations in *Confucius Sinarum philosophus* they resorted to commentaries, whose elucidations they dovetailed into the text. This same technique could be justified to some extent because intermingling text and commentary was common Chinese practice – though the Chinese clearly distinguished text from commentary. Couplet’s treatment of the second line statement is typical. The original consists of only six characters, *lu er: ming qian zhen ji*, ‘6,2: cry out, modesty, upright, lucky’, for which the Latin rendering uses forty-four words:

Senarium secundum designat hominem cujus iam patescit ac sermonibus hominum celebrari incipit humilitas; quae si pura et sincera fuerit, ut lucem hanc et famam non sectetur nec expectat, turn quidem praeclare agetur cum illo.

After the book appeared, Couplet was delayed in Europe for another three years. He set off again for China in 1692, but got no further than the Indian Ocean. He was struck and killed on board ship by a crate that fell on him during

a storm off Goa in May 1693.

Jesuit versions 2: Visdelou

Meanwhile the Rites Controversy had flared up again. Priests of the Paris Foreign Missions, organized under bishops called Vicars Apostolic, had arrived in China in 1684. One of their principles was that missionaries should not spend time in literary and cultural studies. In March 1693 their superior, Charles Maigrot (1652–1730), Vicar Apostolic of Fujian, published an instruction to his clergy condemning all Confucian Classics, especially *Yijing*. The emperor angrily banished Maigrot from China; but the incident again drew attention to the importance of *Yijing*. A European translation was much needed.

The Jesuits, now mostly Frenchmen, lived in close contact with the Kangxi emperor. He was deeply interested in the classics and made the Song commentators the officially approved Confucian interpreters. This encouraged the Jesuits to turn to the pre-Confucian classics. Some of them began to take a more positive view of *Yijing*.

Joachim Bouvet had studied Hebrew kabbala and Platonic philosophy before sailing to China, and was aware of the current vogue in Europe for theology that found prefigurations of Christian doctrine in non-Christian religions. He now found prefigurations of Moses, Enoch and other biblical figures, even Christ himself, in *Yijing*. For Bouvet the sages mentioned in the Ten Wings, the ‘prince’ (*junzi*) and the ‘great man’ (*daren*) of *Yijing* all betokened the Messiah. Placing tremendous stress on the hexagram drawings, he accepted their attribution to Fuxi, whom he regarded as the founder and father of all human philosophy; and he adopted the Chinese view that the hexagrams contained the principles of all sciences. He and those who thought like him were known as ‘Figurists’ – from the Jesuits’ use of the word *figura* for ‘hexagram’. Later their critics nicknamed them *Ykingistes*. (Writing *k* in some places where Pinyin writes *q* or *j* represented an older pronunciation that survives in some southern dialects and was not lost in Mandarin Chinese until modern times.)

Bouvet was very learned, but obsessed by his figurist theories. During the last twenty years of his life, he made a prolonged study of *Yijing*, under the personal oversight of the emperor. Joseph Prémare (1666–1736), ‘the father of modern sinology,’ worked with him in Peking for two years 1714–16, and another Jesuit, Jean Francois Foucquet (1655–1741), helped him from 1711 to 1720. They produced a series of reports for the emperor, and Bouvet wrote a brief essay on the *Yijing*

in Latin; but they did not translate the text.⁷⁷

The next piece of *Yijing* translation that survives was done by one of Bouvet's critics: the Breton, Claude de Visdelou (1656–1737). He was the only Jesuit who had doubts about the accommodation policy. When the papal legate Maillard de Tournon (1668–1710) arrived in China in 1705 to promulgate a papal decision condemning accommodation, he found a kindred spirit in Visdelou, whom he nominated to a bishopric as Prefect Apostolic of Guizhou and administrator of Huguang. De Tournon handled his mission tactlessly. The emperor was offended and in 1707 banished him to the Portuguese settlement at Macao. About a year later Visdelou also went to Macao, where his ordination as bishop took place in de Tournon's house on 2 February 1709; but the angry emperor now imposed conditions on the missionaries that Visdelou could not accept. He left China in June.

Forbidden to return to Europe, he went to India, where he stayed with the Paris Foreign Missions, whose side he had taken in China. Seventeen years later, in 1726, he moved in with the Capuchins at the French settlement of Pondicherry. The Capuchins had opposed Jesuit attempts at accommodation with Indian custom.

Meanwhile Jean-Francois Foucquet, Bouvet's erstwhile companion in *Yijing* studies, had returned to Europe, hoping to devote himself to oriental scholarship. He had long since accepted the papal decree condemning the Jesuit accommodation policy, but he remained an enthusiastic Figurist. He claimed, for instance, that Hexagram 13 told of the Fall of Man and the coming of Emmanuel, while Hexagram 59 predicted the fulfilment of the Kingdom of God at the end of time. In 1723 he arrived in Rome, where he was much in favour with the Pope, who in less than eighteen months made him a titular bishop. He was given lodgings at 'Propaganda', the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, which took care of all overseas missions. Propaganda was concerned about Figurism and was well aware of the importance of *Yijing*. Visdelou, as another Jesuit sinologist opposed to Jesuit accommodation, was asked to help.

Visdelou, however, was now old and virtually blind. He had no copy of *Yijing* in Pondicherry, though he may have preserved some notes on the subject, or perhaps had access to a copy of Couplet's book. He would almost certainly have been able to recall the text of Hexagram 15 from memory, because it was a *locus classicus* for accommodationists. At least he could and did dictate a brief 'Notice du livre chinois nommé Y-King ou livre canonique des changements', and

appended a sample translation of Hexagram 15 – the earliest known translation from *Yijing* into a modern European language. It was sent to Propaganda in 1728. Visdelou died in Pondicherry nine years later.

The ‘Notice’ is largely devoted to religious questions of direct interest to Propaganda, and gives only a summary account of *Yijing*. Arthur Waley, knowing Visdelou was a mathematician, but not reading between the lines of the discreet preamble in which the aged bishop carefully distanced himself from Bouvet and Foucquet, was disappointed because the ‘Notice’ said nothing about Bouvet’s binary counting.⁷⁸ Yet the ‘Notice’ gave the first adequate description of *Yijing* published in a European tongue; and the words *trigramme* and *hexagramme* first appeared in it, apparently invented by Visdelou. The translation of Hexagram 15 was a considerable improvement on Couplet’s and included the usual gobbets from *Tuanzhuan*, *Daxiang* and *Xiaoxiang* commentaries. (They are omitted here.)

L’humilité surmonte tout; le sage arrive au but.

La première (ligne) des six (ou des impaires); que l’honnête homme humble, humble, se serve (de l’humilité) pour traverser le grand fleuve. Sort fortuné.

La seconde des six. L’humilité éclatante (devient) justement fortunée.

La troisième des neuf Humilité qui a rendu de grands services. L’honnête homme a une fin fortunée.

La quatrième des six; tout utilement, humilité manifestée.

La cinquième des six (ou celui qu’elle figure) n’a pas assez de richesses pour la multitude; il se servira utilement de la guerre; tout avec utilité.

La plus haute (ligne) des six; humilité reconnue. Elle se servira utilement de l’armée pour châtier une ville, un royaume.

Jesuit versions 3: Régis

By the time Visdelou was writing for the Roman Propaganda, the Kangxi emperor was already dead. He died in 1723, and within a couple of years his son, the Yongzheng emperor, exiled most of the Jesuits from all their other China stations to Canton. In 1732 they were banished to Macao. Only a small group remained in Peking. Perhaps because of this restriction on missionary activity, the Jesuits now initiated the study of sinology without evangelistic *arrière-pensée* and began their best work on pre-Confucian literature. Alexandre Lacharme (1695–1767) finished translating the Book of Odes into Latin by 1733. Joseph de Prémare, Bouvet’s one-time assistant in *Yijing* research, also published eight Odes in Jean-Baptiste du Halde’s *Description ... de la Chine* in 1735. Antoine Gaubil (1689–1759) completed his Latin translation of the Book of Documents by 1739.

The first complete translation of *Yijing*, still in Latin, was drafted before 1731 by Joseph de Mailla (1669-1748), largely from the imperial translation into Manchu. De Mailla was an early critic of Bouvet's figurism. Another Frenchman, Pierre du Tartre (1669–1724), who cheerfully stigmatized Bouvet as 'Yikingiste', worked on historical and explanatory material. The whole was expanded and edited by Jean-Baptiste Régis (1664-1738), who had arrived in Peking in 1698. He made clear in the preface that he too was critical of figurism.

Régis made much use of *Zhouyi zhezong* 'Balanced commentaries on Zhouyi', an imperial publication issued in 1715 expressly to provide a unified standard for *Yijing* studies and based largely on Zhu Xi *Zhouyi benyi*. The Latin version therefore followed the official orthodoxy of the Song commentators. According to a letter by Régis printed in the introductory material, the work was completed by 1736. It was not printed until a century later, when the German orientalist Jules Mohl (1800–76) edited and published it at Tuebingen as *Y-King antiquissimum Sinarum liber*, Volume I in 1834, Volume II in 1839. Mohl had also published Lacharme's Book of Odes in 1830. The long delays may have been partly due to the suppression of the Jesuits by Rome from 1773 to 1814.

Régis and his collaborators must have known Couplet's book, but would not have seen Visselou's 'Notice'. They called a hexagram *figura*. Their work was a plain translation, faithful to the terseness of the Chinese. Its quality is well illustrated by the treatment of Hexagram 15, the 'humility' section. (*Kien* is the seventeenth-century French transliteration of the tag now written as *Qian*.)

Kien est penetrans. Sapiens finem habet.

1 *Humilitati humilitatem addit sapiens. Utitur magni fluvii transitu. Hoc bonum.*

2 *Clamosa seu apparens humilitas, solidum bonum.*

3 *Cum labore sapientis humilitas finem habet. Hoc bonum.*

4 *Nihil est quod non conveniat. In omni motu est humilis.*

5 *Cum non sit dives, utitur vicino. Oportet uti pugna et oppositione. Nihil est quod non conveniat.*

6 *Clamosa humilitas. Utendo actione militare non debet se opponere proprio regno.*

Standards and models of vocabulary had now been set for translators into English and other European languages.

The first English version: Thomas McClatchie

The first English translation⁷⁹ was done by Thomas McClatchie (1814-85), the Irish curate of Midsomer Norton in the Somerset coalfield, who went to Shanghai in 1844 as one of the founders of Church Missionary Society work in China. He

became a canon of Hongkong cathedral and later of Shanghai. His thinking reflected his admiration for the writings of two Englishmen: the Cambridge Platonist, Ralph Cudworth (1617-88), whose philosophical idealism so readily harmonized with the Great Treatise; and Jacob Bryant (1715–1804), whose writings about comparative mythology encouraged the then popular theory that all human culture had roots in the Middle East.

These themes are to the fore in McClatchie's translation of *Yijing* published at Shanghai in 1876. It might have been gratefully received, had he not attracted scorn and loathing by his detection of phallic elements in the *yin/yang* theory, which he discussed in relation to the first two hexagrams. His brief mention of sexual organs was decently veiled in Latin, but he so seriously upset the Presbyterian Legge that the latter cried *Proh pudor!* and claimed McClatchie's work was of no use.⁸⁰ Legge's prudery probably contributed to Wilhelm's lofty dismissal of McClatchie's work as 'grotesque and amateurish'. Shchutsky, an admirer of Wilhelm, wrote of McClatchie's 'pseudo-scientific delirium'. As a result McClatchie's work has been misrepresented and undervalued. William Edward Soothill (1861–1935), Professor of Chinese at Oxford, was one of the few who mentioned McClatchie without disdain.⁸¹

MacClatchie, however, never flinched from controversy. His Shanghai obituarist declared that 'his temperament disguised his success.' In 1874 he had published a book called *Confucian cosmogony* which was reviewed, severely and at length, in *China Review* by the Scottish missionary John Chalmers (1825-1900). Chalmers and McClatchie were on opposite sides in the protracted debate on the 'Term Question' that divided protestant missionaries into fiercely opposing camps arguing whether the Chinese Christian term for God should be *Shen* or *Shangdi*. This inevitable replay of the Roman Catholic Rites Controversy began in the 1830s, soon after protestant missionaries entered China. It peaked about 1850, but hard feelings lingered. In September 1875, Ernst Eitel, the distinguished Lutheran editor of *China Review* (a member of the same mission as Chalmers), rather reluctantly printed McClatchie's riposte to Chalmers's review. In January 1876, with even greater reluctance, Eitel published another essay by McClatchie, entitled 'Phallic worship', with an editorial note stating that the article was printed solely in order that someone might refute it. No one did. McClatchie's *Book of Changes* appeared in Shanghai a few months later.

There is much irony in this story. Clay phalluses have been found in Henan at sites of the Longshan period (third millennium BC),⁸² and primitive forms of

written characters connected with ancestors are generally recognized as phallic graphs (see [Diagram 12 zu](#)). Joseph Needham has even interpreted the first two hexagrams as phallic pictograms, saying ‘Such interpretations are entirely in the style of ancient Chinese thought.’⁸³

McClatchie called the hexagrams ‘diagrams’ and the trigrams ‘lesser diagrams’. This is how he rendered Hexagram 15:

The Kheen diagram implies luxuriance. The Model Man obtains (the advantage of) it throughout his life.

First – Six. (Represents) the extreme humility of the Model Man, is useful in wading through great streams and is lucky

Second – Six. (Represents) humility expressed and brings good luck in completion.

Third – Nine. (Represents) the laborious and humble Model Man, who possesses good luck throughout his life.

Fourth – Six. Is the exhibition of humility and is in every way advantageous.

Fifth – Six. Is employing the neighbours, though not rich; inflicting punishments is now profitable, and every advantage may now be obtained.

Sixth – Six. Is the cry of humility; it is now advantageous to mobilize the army and subdue one’s own state.

McClatchie’s version was soon overshadowed by Legge’s translation, published in London six years later.

Zottoli’s Latin version

Before that happened, however, another Jesuit version in Latin was printed at Shanghai in 1880.⁸⁴ It came in a bulky five-volume course of study for new missionaries prepared by the Italian, Angelo Zottoli (1826–1902). Somewhat surprisingly, *Yijing* was placed in the intermediate section, before the Analects and Mencius. Only Hexagrams 1 to 6, 15 (‘Humility’ again) and 33 were translated, though most of the Ten Wings (*Xici*, *Shuogua*, *Xugua*, and *Zagua* – the parts not interspersed within *Zhouyi*) was included. This is purely a school book.

Zottoli’s workmanlike translation owes little to earlier Latin versions, as is clear from his treatment of Hexagram 15:

Humilitas penetrat et sapiens vir obtinebit exitum.

Primus senarius: humilitate summus sapiens vir, ea tranabit magnum flumen et prospere.

Secundus senarius: resonans humilitas, et solida et prospera.

Tertius nonarius: benemeritus et humilis; sapiens vir obtinebit exitum atque prosperitatem.

Quartus senarius: nil non fructuose, at exerat humilitatem.

Quintus senarius: haud fastuose excipiens suos vicinos, merito adhibebit impetentem oppugnationem, et nihilo non lucrosa.

Sextus senarius: famigeratus humilis, fructuose adhibebit excurrentes legiones punitum oppida regni.

Zottoli used the terms ‘trigramma’ and ‘hexagramma’, probably having learned them from de Guigne’s edition of Visdelou.

James Legge

James Legge (1815–97)⁸⁵ was a Scot, born at Huntly, in the far north of Scotland. He studied at the University of Aberdeen and in London before joining the inter-denominational London Missionary Society and going to Malacca in 1839. He was soon made head of the Anglo-Chinese College, but had hardly begun work when the first ‘treaty ports’ were opened on the China coast. The Anglo-Chinese College moved from Malacca to Hong Kong in 1843 and Legge went with it. He quickly gained the respect of businessmen in the colony, who supported him in a courageous plan to translate and publish all the nine Confucian classics. He published the first volume (containing the Analects, Mencius, Great Learning and Doctrine of the Mean) in 1861, when he had been twenty-two years in the Orient.

In the following year a distinguished Chinese arrived in Hong Kong, exiled from Peking because of a suspected connection with the Taiping rebellion. He was Wang Tao (1828–97), poet, essayist, eclectic scholar, and pioneer journalist. Chiefly by compiling notes from Qing commentaries, he helped Legge prepare his translations of the Book of Documents (1865), and the Book of Odes (1871). In 1873 Legge retired to Britain, and in 1875 became Professor of Chinese at Oxford, where a chair had been created for him by his wealthy merchant friends. There he completed and published translations of the Book of Changes (1882); the Book of Rites (1885); and the Spring and Autumn Annals with the Zuo Commentary (1892). Wang Tao’s notes on *Yijing* are preserved in the New York Public Library.

This was Legge’s second attempt at translating *Yijing*. The first was finished by 1855, but he was dissatisfied, and put it aside, unconvinced that he had understood the book correctly. Fifteen years later, in 1870, the manuscript was ‘soaked for more than a month in the water of the Red Sea’, but he managed to restore it and resumed work on it in 1874, after his arrival in England. At this point he referred to *Zhouyi zhezhong*, the ‘Kangxi edition’ of 1715 that had been used by Régis, and realized for the first time that *Zhouyi* was an independent work, distinct from the Ten Wings. He made much use of *Yuzhi rijiang Zhouyi jieyi* ‘Imperially sponsored daily lectures on the meaning of *Zhouyi*’ (1682), one of an imperial series of ‘daily lecture’ books on the classics ordered by the Kangxi

emperor. Making his own concordances of the words in *Zhouyi* and the Wings led Legge to doubt whether Confucius had written any part of *Yijing*, and to recognize that *Zhouyi* was originally used in divination.

Concluding that his earlier work was useless, he set to work afresh. The result was published in 1882, twenty-seven years after he began his first attempt. He now wrote in a meticulous, faintly didactic style that can sometimes be solemnly quaint, as in: ‘You leave your efficacious tortoise, and look at me till your lower jaw hangs down’ (27.1); and his elucidatory phrases in parentheses can make heavy reading. An extreme case comes with Hexagram 18:

‘Ku indicates great progress and success (to him who deals properly with the condition represented by it). There will be advantage in (efforts like that of) crossing the great stream. (He should weigh well, however, the events of) three days before the turning point and those (to be done) three days after it.’

More often his fundamental respect for the text kept the parentheses to a minimum. Hexagram 15 demonstrates the point:

Khien indicates progress and success. The superior man, (being humble as it implies), will have a (good) issue (to his undertakings).

The first line, divided, shows us the superior man who adds humility to humility. (Even) the great stream may be crossed with this, and there will be good fortune.

The second line, divided, shows us humility that has made itself recognized. With firm correctness there will be good fortune.

The third line, undivided, shows the superior man of (acknowledged) merit. He will maintain his success to the end, and have good fortune.

The fourth line, divided, shows one, whose action would be in every way advantageous, stirring up (the more) his humility.

The fifth line, divided, shows one who, without being rich, is able to employ his neighbours. He may advantageously use the force of arms. His movements will be advantageous.

The sixth line, undivided, shows us humility that has made itself recognised. The subject of it will with advantage put his hosts in motion; but (he will only) punish his own towns and state.

Legge’s work is still useful, though the publisher gave it a handicap: because the book appeared in Max Muellers ‘The Sacred Books of the East’ series, it had to use both an eccentric romanization and the glum Victorian typography of the series. Late twentieth-century reprints in modern typography with standard romanization have done something to reveal the book’s virtues.

It was Legge who established the use of the words ‘trigram’ and ‘hexagram’ in English; but by his refusal to take divination seriously and his consequent dismissal of much of the book’s detail as inconsequential, he strengthened the impression that *Yijing* was fundamentally a book of philosophy.

The neatly produced bilingual Chinese-English version by Z. D. Sung (Shen Chung-t'ao), *The text of the Yi King*, is a rearrangement and adaptation of Legge's work, published in Shanghai in 1935 (reprinted 1975). It is the second of two volumes. The first is called *The symbols of the Yi King*, and expounds a mathematical symbology of the philosophy of change.

French versions

Very shortly after Legge's work appeared, Paul Louis Felix Philastre (1837-1902) published what was to become the standard French translation.⁸⁶ Philastre had gone to Vietnam in 1861 as an administrator and diplomat. Ten years later he was taken ill and had to return to France, where he commanded an artillery regiment defending Paris during the Franco-Prussian War. From 1873 to 1880 he was again in Vietnam, holding naval rank and conducting a colourful diplomatic career, skilfully easing relations between the French and the Vietnamese. Returning to France in 1880, he taught mathematics in Cannes and Nice till he retired to Auxerre in 1894. He died at Beaujeu, centre of the Beaujolais, in 1902.

His two volumes on Annamite law *Le Code Annamite* were published in 1876. Though he said he finished his translation of *Yijing* before he returned to France in 1880, it was not published until the first volume appeared in Paris in 1885, the second in 1893. He included much commentary material from Song dynasty authors, derived, like the work of Régis and Legge, from the 1715 Kangxi edition.

Philastre used Alexander Wylie's book on Chinese literature, from which he undoubtedly learned to call the hexagrams 'hexagrammes' (see page 87). His version is lively. Each oracle is given in Chinese with French translation, but separated from the next oracle by half a page or more of commentary. When reduced to the core text, Hexagram 15 appears as follows:

1 *Modeste! modeste! l'homme doué! l'employer pour traverser un grand cours d'eau. Présage heureux.*

2 *Modestie renommée; présage heureux de la perfection.*

3 *L'homme doué méritant et modeste; il a une fin heureuse.*

4 *Rien sans avantage; montrer la modestie.*

5 *Sans richesse, employer le voisinage; avantage à envahir et à réduire par les armes; rien sans avantage.*

6 *Modestie renommée; avantage à employer l'action des armées; vaincre le district et les royaumes.*

Monseigneur le Chevalier Charles de Harlez de Deulin (1832-99, usually indexed under Harlez) was a well-born Belgian priest who retired from clerical life because of ill health and became professor of Oriental languages at Louvain

University in 1871. At first he concentrated on Iranian languages; but from 1883 he turned to Chinese and Manchu. His French version of *Yijing* appeared in the Belgian *Mémoires de l'Académie Royale* XLVII ('Le Yih-King: texte primitif, rétabli, traduit et commenté', Brussels 1889).⁸⁷ He presented the *Zhouyi* text as a work of 'wisdom' in which each chapter had a theme (the tag and hexagram statement) with examples (the line statements) – a kind of thesaurus, which King Wen had turned into a book of divination. This 'thesaurus' theme was later taken up in an article by the German scholar August Conrady (1864–1925), but Conrady never published his theory in book form.

In 1897 de Harlez published a slightly revised version, taking the Manchu version into account, and responding to the debate fomented in England by Terrien de Lacouperie (see below page 74).

The translation is very free and combines parts of *Xiaoxiang* (see page 388) with the oracles, as in Hexagram 15:

Si cette vertu grandit en lui, le sage aura un heureux sort.

- 1 *Là ou l'on respecte le sage on sortira heureusement des difficultés. On doit se maintenir par l'abaissement de soi-même.*
- 2 *Le respect qui se manifeste au dehors est du plus heureux effect.*
- 3 *Le sage diligent et respectueux sera heureux jusqu'à la fin. Tous se soumettront a lui.*
- 4 *Il est toujours avantageux d'agrandir son respect, sa modestie, et de ne point passer la mesure de la moderation.*
- 5 *Même sans richesse on sera aimé et aide de ses concitoyens, si l'on est respectueux et bienveillant. Mais a l'égard des insoumis il est bon d'user de la contrainte et des armes même.*
- 6 *Si la bonté n'est pas comprise, on doit alors mettre ses troupes en mouvement et châtier les villes et les états. Si la bonté ne réussit pas.*

Terrien de Lacouperie

In 1892 Albert Etienne Jean Baptiste Terrien de Lacouperie (1845-94), the ingenious but indigent Professor of Chinese at University College, London, published a partial version in English: *The oldest book of the Chinese*.⁸⁸

He was born in Normandy (where La Couperie was a place name), and went to Hongkong as a very young recruit to the commercial world. There he found he had the wrong temperament for business life, but Chinese culture and language absorbed him. Soon he was back in Europe, trying to live by his knowledge of numismatics and Chinese. His first published essay in philology appeared in Paris in 1868, when he was still only 23. Later he came to London and worked for the British Museum, eagerly seeking a common source for Chinese and Akkadian.

His last ten years were dominated by study of *Zhouyi*, but he did not live to publish more than the first volume of his intended series on the subject. He died in Fulham at the age of 49.

Terrien resembled McClatchie in striving to prove that *Zhouyi* illustrated culture coming to China from outside, and de Harlez in that he saw the hexagram tags as items in a thesaurus. In *The languages of China before the Chinese* (1887), he had argued that the Chinese word *baixing* ‘hundred surnames’ was originally pronounced **baksing*, ‘bak’ meaning ‘Bactrian’. He opined that *Zhouyi* was written for Bactrian immigrants.

The 1892 book on *Yijing* was a revised version of what he had previously published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 14 (1882) and 15 (1883). Even before those articles were in print, a writer in *The Athenaeum* January 1882 had stated that Terrien thought *Zhouyi* was an Akkadian book or a foreign vocabulary. Terrien was dismayed at this travesty of his ideas, and said so clearly at the beginning of his book; but what he said has been forgotten and the travesty has survived. Shchutsky was notably unfair to him. Today what Terrien wrote looks less eccentric. In 1972 Paul Benedict could write in what is still a standard conspectus of Sino-Tibetan languages, that the Zhou people ‘might be regarded as the bearers of a Sino-Tibetan language, which became fused with, or perhaps immersed in, a non-Sino-Tibetan language spoken by the Shang people.’⁸⁹

Terrien traced differing layers in the composition of *Zhouyi*. He thought the hexagram tags formed a small vocabulary of Chinese words and expressions, perhaps written by Bak leaders to help the settlers; that *Zhouyi* included some ballads and some ethnographical material, such as Hexagram 13, which he believed was a description of troglodytes. Today one might see his ideas as prescient, though wrongly applied. *Zhouyi* is indeed a remarkably early example of the marshalling of ideas under a rudimentary kind of classification system (though Kunst is perhaps overbold in describing it as a ‘proto-dictionary’⁹⁰); its traces of ditties and its affinities with the Book of Odes are universally recognized. Terrien also detected the distinction between the core text of *Zhouyi* and the Ten Wings, the unreliability of the tradition of King Wen’s authorship (Terrien thought the line statements came from much earlier times), the rhyming passages, and the different layers of text. In some of these matters he was ahead of Shchutsky’s work forty years later.

He had a strong sense of historical context, mentioning, for instance, that the verb ‘to ride’ in *Zhouyi* could not possibly mean riding on horseback. He stressed

the divinatory element, and was perhaps the first writer in English to sift out the prognostic expressions as additions to the core text – though he believed *Yijing* was ‘not a mysterious book of fate and prognostics.’ He did not often arrive at fully correct answers, but his insights made him ask the right questions.

Terrien never published a complete translation, only the introductory volume *The oldest book of the Chinese (The Yh sic King) and its authors. Vol, 1: History and method* (1892), which included translations of no more than six hexagrams (7, 13, 15, 20, 30 and 31). His version of Hexagram 15 took the tag-character *qian* as a protograph for seven other characters with different radicals, and he treated the line statements as definitions of these homonyms.

Meanings of K’ien.

Princely (good) issue.

- 1 *To join together as do the princes when passing over the river.*
- 2 *The singing k’ien bird (Platalea major).*
- 3 *Labouring in accord with the princes, good issue.*
- 4 *Rejecting what does not suit. Unassuming.*
- 5 *Not rich by means of his neighbours. Many employ it in cheating and plundering. Rejecting what does not suit.*
- 6 *The singing bird (Platalea major)[:] used to come by troops to the cities and states.*

After Terrien’s book appeared, de Harlez, as already mentioned, revised his own work as *Le Yi-King, traduit d’après les interprètes chinois avec la version mandchoue* (Paris 1897), to clarify the differences between his approach and Terrien’s.

Thomas Kingsmill

Thomas W. Kingsmill (1837-1910), was an English architect and surveyor who had arrived in Shanghai at the end of 1862 and remained there for the rest of his life. His geological surveys gave him unrivalled knowledge of northern China, and he became a competent sinologist. As an enthusiastic member of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (he designed its office building in 1870) and a contributor to the local press, he published a great deal, often in the course of controversy.

Kingsmill knew McClatchie well and wrote an obituary in the *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1883 that gave a fair appraisal of McClatchie’s translation of *Yijing*. Kingsmill himself knew Terrien’s work and

did more in the same direction. His refreshing little study of *Zhouyi*, ‘The construction of the Yih King’⁹¹, appeared at Shanghai in *China Review* Í 894–95. It repudiated the traditional Confucian authorship and identified the core text as a jumble’ of ‘hexagrams, old texts (or “memorial words”) and indications (or “attached cues” for the diviners)’. Benefiting from Terrien’s work, Kingsmill noted the rhyming and divinatory character of the text, mentioned the Zuo Commentary references, and appended translations of five hexagrams: 3, 7, 28, 36 and 37. These versions come nearer to the modern understanding of the text than anything else that was published before Waley’s article of 1933. Yet Kingsmill’s ideas were generally ignored – probably because they were published in the wrong place.

Here is his version of Hexagram 36. He wrote before *mingyi* had been identified as a pheasant, but avoided the literalism of ‘brightness dimmed’ and took *Mingyi* to be the name of a tribe.

The Ming-I are on the wing but their wings will droop. Our prince is on the move: three days he does not eat, in his anxiety to move.

The chiefs mock at him.

The Ming-I are at his left flank, gallantly spurring their horses.

Fortunate.

The Ming-I are at the southern hunting ground. He has captured their leader.

Unsuitable. An unlucky omen.

Entering at the left flank he surprises the main body of the Ming-I and drives them out of their camp.

The Ming-I of Ki-tsze.

Before the day dawned, in the darkness they knew not if they were going to heaven or earth.

Wilhelm/Baynes

No Westerner did further significant work on *Yijing* for another twenty years, when the first German translation was undertaken. Richard Wilhelm’s (1873–1930) German version, published in 1924, has become the most important translation so far made, and has achieved quasi-classic status of its own.⁹²

Theologically trained at Tuebingen, Wilhelm in his mid-twenties went to China in 1899 to be pastor and teacher of the new German settlement at Qingdao, on the south coast of the Shandong peninsula. This concession, also known as Jiaozhou, had been obtained by the sabre-rattling diplomacy of the Kaiser after the murder of two German priests in Shandong less than two years before. It was a fruit of the missionary-military-diplomatic mixture of motives that Wilhelm was later to regret so deeply. His obituarist Paul Pelliot quoted him as saying at

the end of his life he was glad to think he had converted no Chinese to christianity.

He was soon deeply in love with Chinese culture. By 1910 he had published a German translation of the daoist classic, *Daodejing*. Zhou Fu, the Chinese Governor-General of Jinan, capital of Shandong, introduced him to a distinguished old-style scholar, Lao Naixuan (1843-1921). Lao has been described as a sad conservative, threatened by modernization, but this is hardly fair. He was a pioneer in the use of the Roman alphabet by Chinese for their own language.⁹³ He now moved to Qingdao.

Lao possessed and used a set of yarrow stalks gathered from the tomb of Confucius at Qufu, only 75 miles from Jinan. He proposed to Wilhelm that they should translate *Yijing*. They began on 21 March 1913. Lao would expound the text, which Wilhelm would then translate into German. Wilhelm next retranslated his German version into Chinese for criticism by Lao. Having secured the meaning, Wilhelm polished the German style before discussing the passage again with Lao. The process might be repeated with up to four more drafts of a single passage. Obviously intended to ensure accuracy, it was a method that ensured Lao's interpretation of the text would be fully conveyed.

The work was incomplete at the outbreak of the First World War in August 1914. Lao left Qingdao when the German administration capitulated to the British and Japanese early in November. He returned later at his own suggestion to finish the work, but did not live to see it published. He died in 1921 while Wilhelm was in Germany. The book came out in Jena in 1924. Wilhelm returned for a short time to Peking, and then in 1924, having lived twenty-five years in China, left East Asia for good. He became professor of Chinese at the Goethe University of Frankfurt-am-Main, but died in 1930 at the age of 57.

Like Régis, Legge and Philastre before them, Wilhelm and Lao used the Kangxi edition, further entrenching the Song tradition of interpretation as normative for westerners. The German sinological establishment at once criticized Wilhelm's work. An unfriendly review by Erich Hauer (1878-1936)⁹⁴ said that Wilhelm ought to have used *Yuzhi rijiang Zhouyi jieyi*, not because Legge had used it, but because the Manchu version (which Hauer could read) was illuminating. Wilhelm replied, sincerely but somewhat disingenuously, that he was interested in the classic rather than the commentaries; and in due time his work came to be valued by academics, especially after it was translated into English.

The English version of 1950 – it is important to remember that it is a

translation of a translation – was made by Cary Fink Baynes (born 1883). Mrs Baynes was an American pupil of Karl Jung and collaborated with her husband, Helton Godwin Baynes, in translating several of Jung's works during the 1920s and 1930s. In 1931 she also produced *The secret of the golden flower*, a translation of Wilhelm's version of *Taiyi jinhua zongzhi*, a seventeenth-century treatise on Chinese yoga, for which Jung wrote an introduction. The huge influence of Wilhelm's *Yijing* has been largely due to the felicity of Cary Baynes's style. She was responsible too for introducing and popularizing Legge's words 'trigram' and 'hexagram'. In German, Wilhelm had followed the Chinese use of *gua*, and translated both as *zeichen* 'sign'.

She began working on *Yijing*, at Jung's request and with Wilhelm's eager approval, before 1930, but her work was much interrupted. It was completed in 1949 to appear in New York in 1950, and in London in 1951. The British typography was notably elegant, but the complicated arrangement of the text, dismembered into gobbets and rearranged in three parts, with much repetition, heavily interlaced with commentaries from undifferentiated sources, led Joseph Needham to describe the work as 'a sinological maze ... belonging to the Department of Utter Confusion.'

For the third (and most convenient) edition of 1967, Mrs Baynes worked with Wilhelm's son Hellmut (born 1905), who was then working as a sinologist in America, where he became a respected commentator on *Yijing* in his father's tradition. He was aware of ongoing studies in China since his father's work had been finished, and considered changing the bafflingly complex arrangement of the material, but ultimately had no heart to tamper with the book as it had left Richard's hands.

In spite of its great qualities, the translation has unsatisfactory passages, such as 'Deliver yourself from your great toe' (40:4), and 'the danger of repeated return is, in its essential meaning, deliverance from blame' (14:4 *xiang*); and it can be platitudinous. Yet it behoves the critic to be wary. Similar strictures have been applied by distinguished Chinese to the original text.

The editors of *The fortune teller's I Ching*⁹⁵ offer more trenchant criticism. They see Wilhelm as deeply indebted to the politically pro-Manchu editorial policy of the 1715 Kangxi edition, and blame him for reflecting the decadent intellectualism of the imperial court in the late nineteenth century. They characterize his book as 'at times moribund, arcane and antique'; but nothing can belittle the singular collaboration of the old-time Chinese scholar, his German

interpreter and an American psychologist. They provided a universally accessible account of what had become the standard scholarly Chinese understanding of *Yijing* – the Song tradition passed on by Qing.

The German text was translated into Dutch by A Hochbergvan Wallinga as *I Tjing* (1950, 1972); Italian by Bruno Veneziani and A G Ferrara as *I King* (1950); French by Etienne Perrot as *Yi King* (1968, 1971/86); and Spanish by Malke Podlipsky Donatti as *I Ging* (Mexico 1969, 1971).

Yulian Shchutsky

Yulian Konstantinovich Shchutsky (1897-?1938) was working on his Russian translation at the Institute of Oriental Studies in St Petersburg in the 1920s and 30s; but, because he died in a Stalinist prison camp, his doctoral thesis, *Kitaiskaya Klassicheskaya Kniga Peremen*, was not published until 1960, when it appeared in Moscow.⁹⁶ The prefatory material, without the translation, was published in English in 1979. Because Shchutsky was not aware of the work done by Gu Jiegang and his associates, his work on the text is now seriously dated, but the English edition contains editorial material not previously explored in English, and is a useful reference in the wider field of *Yijing* studies. Shchutsky's greatest interest lay in philosophy and religion rather than in Bronze Age history. That interest was one reason for his arrest in 1937.

Translations after World War II

The Wilhelm-Baynes translation became a cult document for the hippy movement of the 1960s, leading to an explosion of popular interest in *Yijing* throughout the English-speaking world, so far removed from knowledge of China that the book was (and is) generally called 'Eye Ching'. The consequent literature is extensive and of varied value.

John Blofeld (1913-87) made an original translation. He was an amiable man, an English buddhist who lived most of his adult life in or near China, practising Chinese religion. His *The Book of Change* (1965) is innocent of rigorous academic discipline, but faithfully presents what the book meant to his older Chinese friends. In his *Gateway to wisdom* (1980), Blofeld wrote a brief essay 'Yogic aspects of I Ching divination', which contains an endearing nineteenth-century tale about a young man who divines before his marriage. The oracle advises against the match, but he goes ahead and the marriage turns out well. Later a daoist sage explains that the reading was wrong, but the decision correct. Blofeld

did not draw the obvious conclusion.

A Dutch edition of Blofeld's translation was published in 1971: *I Ching* by Peter Ten Hopen.

Legge's work has often been re-edited and plagiarized, because it has long been in the public domain; but these reworkings are not all to be despised. Some, like Raymond van Over's *I Ching* (1971) are honestly modernized editions. Neil Powell's *The Book of Change* (1979) contains a 'translation' that is an admitted pastiche of Legge, Wilhelm and Blofeld; but it presents the text of *Zhouyi* with more clarity than many. Faced with the tortuous presentation of sinologists' translations, one can see why such versions have found a market.

Many other translations are in the same tradition as Legge and Wilhelm. Alfred Douglas *The oracle of change: how to consult the I Ching* (1971) is post-Jungian, and in spite of a pleasing format, is marred by mistranslations and anachronisms. Da Liu *I Ching coin prediction* (1975) is in the same tradition, but contains interesting notes from a Chinese-American background.

Another genre of 'translations' contains only condensed, mutilated or deconstructed versions of the hexagram and line statements. Sam Reifler *I Ching: a new interpretation for modern times* (1974) is 'rephrased as poetry with the help of Alan Ravage', a readable mixture of real translation and selective imagination. R L Wing *The illustrated I Ching* (1982) is decorated with Chinese pictures and writing, but the 'translation' is so abstract that all the imagery (including dragons, wild geese, wells and tripod bowls) has been eliminated. Paul Sneddon in *Self-development with the I Ching* (1990) aimed to 'remove entirely the vagueness of the original readings whilst retaining in its entirety the meaning of the text.' To this end he 'carefully removed all the old symbolism and references to battles, princes and foreign animals.' The result is a long way from *Zhouyi*. Brian Browne Walker *The I Ching or Book of Changes* (1992) is of similar kind.

*The fortune teller's I Ching*⁹⁷ by Kwok Manho, Martin Palmer and Joanne O'Brien (1986) is different. These are the authors who so severely criticize both Wilhelm and the Kangxi edition (see page 78). Their rather slapdash translation is highly readable and fluent, presenting *Yijing* as it is used today in Chinese communities all over the world for fortune telling, divination and self-examination. This makes for a book that stands apart from both the Wilhelm tradition and the mass of divinatory material published in the west since 1960.

Martin Palmer has co-authored another translation: *I Ching: the shamanic oracle of change*, with Jay Ramsay and Zhao Xiaomin (1995). It mentions

Mawangdui and refers to Richard Kunst's thesis; but, acting on an intuition about the augury for crossing great rivers, Palmer claims to have discovered that the hexagram statements were oracles given to a shaman seated on 'a cloudy mountain top in Shensi' during twelve months from the planning of King Wu's coup to the establishment of the Zhou kingdom, and that they tell the story of the dynastic change. The appendixes on writing and oracle bones have, as the author says, a large element of fun in them.

Two other recent translations of *Zhouyi* into English stand in a different category, because they make positive use of historical scholarship. *I Ching: a new translation*⁹⁸ by Kerson and Rosemary Huang, which appeared in 1985, with a second edition in 1987, is based on the commentaries of Gao Heng, but explains the *Yijing* divination principles followed by Kerson Huang, a Cantonese professor of particle physics at Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The rendering produces lively poetry, but some interpretations are unusual and unexplained. No philological or textual notes are provided.

The Canadian Greg Whincup's book, *Rediscovering the I Ching*,⁹⁹ also uses Gao's work. It has a more matter-of-fact style and a fuller bibliography (though still brief and curiously without mention of Wen Yiduo). Whincup accepts the theory of constituent trigrams, retains much moral interpretation and argues that the whole book is arranged in the narrative order of the Zhou dynasty foundation legend. He gives some textual notes and makes eclectic use of the Mawangdui text.

The authentic I-ching (1987) is a translation by Henry Wei, a Chinese who graduated from university in Canton before going to Chicago and gaining a doctorate. When 'well advanced in years' he turned his attention to *Yijing* and made a translation of his own because he was dissatisfied with those already in existence. He ignored modern historical scholarship and interspersed the text with his own explanations, which are similar to those given by orthodox commentators since Zhu Xi.

Thomas Cleary, a prolific translator of religious texts, has published several versions of *Yijing*. Between 1986 and 1992 he produced at least four titles, including translations of Buddhist and Daoist commentaries. They are clear and readable in the post-Song tradition, but intended for practical use in divination rather than as studies of the text.¹⁰²

No other translator has been as rigorous as Richard Alan Kunst in *The original*

Yijing,¹⁰⁰ a doctoral thesis of 1985. He modestly calls his translation a free one, and it has not been published, though it is not difficult to obtain in photostat. This is the most thorough scholarly approach to *Zhouyi* translation so far, in a wholly different class from the other post-war translations mentioned here. Kunst consistently gives a plain meaning. He has understandably not annotated the whole of his text; but his is the most convincing translation yet made of the Bronze Age document.

Wu Jing-Nuan, born in Guangdong in 1933, has spent most of his adult life in America and is a practitioner of Chinese medicine. In 1991 he published *Yijing*, a translation in which he attempted to convey meanings that would not be philosophically anachronistic for the time when the classic was originally assembled. While making some use of oracle-bone studies and frequent reference to short forms of written characters, he has *in toto* made restricted use of sinological studies, and his method is not rigorous. His work remains largely in the tradition followed by Wilhelm/Baynes.¹⁰¹

Jung Young Lee (born 1935) is a Korean Methodist scholar whose *Embracing change: a postmodern interpretation of the Yi Ching from a christian perspective* (1994) is practical and psychological – the most recent instance of the Changes being used by a religion unconnected with the book's origins. By 'postmodernism', Lee means post-Einsteinian science rather than postmodern theories of thought and aesthetics. Three parts of his book is an essay establishing the harmony of this 'postmodernism' with the Song view of *Yijing* as illuminated by Jung. The translation is essentially in the Wilhelm tradition.

Rudolph Ritsema and Stephen Karcher's *I Ching: the classic Chinese oracle of change* (1994) is a product of the Eranos Foundation, a Jungian institute in California with which Hellmut Wilhelm was connected. Lavish non-historical annotation swells the translation to 580 pages, plus a 130-page concordance. The authors describe their work as 'an attempt to go behind historical, philological and philosophical analysis'. Chinese word order is strictly preserved, at the expense of English syntax, because the original 'is made up of symbols with no rigid subject-verb, noun-adjective, pronoun or person distinctions ... [that] combine and interact the way dream-images do'. The result is an abstract mosaic of words.

Ritsema and Karcher may have achieved the apogee of the Wilhelm/Jung tradition, for many who value the Book of Changes are ready for new inspiration. Westerners need studies of commentary traditions other than Song. Therefore

Richard John Lynn's *The Classic of Change: a new translation of the I Ching as interpreted by Wang Bi* (New York 1994) was well timed. Lynn is a professor at the University of Alberta and his academic study presents *Yijing* as it was understood in the first five centuries AD, with generous excerpts from commentaries, all clearly attributed to their authors. Though his understanding of *Zhouyi* is not essentially different from that of Legge, this concentration on Han commentary, together with Sister Marie-Ina Bergeron's translation of parts of Wang Bi into French, *Wang Pi: philosophe du non-avoir* (1986), may well indicate one direction of future studies – for there is much more to be done in *Yijing* studies than simply 'seeing *Zhouyi* in the light of its own era.'¹⁰³

The Contents of Zhouyi

THE TITLE

The title *Zhouyi* (see [Diagram 2](#)) is used in the earliest independent references to the book. These are found in *Zuozhuan*, the Zuo Commentary¹ (written probably in the late 4th or the 3rd century BC, though perhaps edited in the first century AD), and in Sima Qian's *Shiji* (Book 130) of the 2nd century BC.

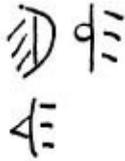
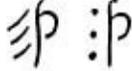
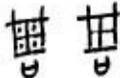
Although the Zuo Commentary mentions *Zhouyi* upwards of a dozen times, it also refers twice to *Yi*² and once to *Yi gua* 'the Yi hexagrams'.³ *Shiji* (Books 47 and 130) also speaks of *Yi*. Possibly the one word *Yi* was the first title or description given to the hexagrams and oracles. It is certainly the substantive element in the title *Zhouyi*.

The written character *yi* was used for four different Old Chinese words, all pronounced *yi* in the modern language: (1) **rig* meaning 'easy' or 'good cultivation (of fields)'; (2) **rik* meaning 'lizard'; (3) **rik* meaning 'change, alter'; and (4) a rare word that is an abridged form of *Youyi*, the name of the place where Wang Hai lost his herds. Although the placename is found twice in *Zhouyi* (34:5 and 56:top), there is no tradition that it provided the title of the book, and no other reason to believe it may have done.

In the Book of Odes the usual meaning of the character is 'easy'. Some writers have suggested that the yarrow-wand process was called **rig* 'easy', because counting yarrow wands was less difficult than scorching tortoiseshells. This is at best no more than a guess and there is good reason for thinking it is not the true explanation of the book title. The difference between **rig* and **rik* left traces in the tones of later Chinese and in Korean. Literary pronunciation of the title, no longer shown in the most modern dictionaries, used a tone (*rusheng* the fifth or

entering tone) that was derived from **rik*,⁴ and the Korean title, *Chuyok*, has never lost its final *k*. So the title is derived from **rik* and means either ‘change’ or ‘lizard’.

Diagram 2 THE TITLE ‘ZHOUYI’

	Modern character	Oracle-bone forms	Shang and Zhou inscription forms
YI change	易		
RI sun	日		
YUE moon	月		
YI lizard	蜴		
ZHOU	周		

Some have thought that the original form of the written character was a drawing of a lizard with a tail and four legs, which was later used as an abstraction for ‘change’ because of the chameleon-like qualities of some northern Chinese house-lizards. This etymology is problematic. The earliest known forms of the character have no tail and at most three legs, and bear no obvious resemblance to a lizard. It is more likely that the words for ‘lizard’ and ‘change’ were homonyms and the same character was used as a protograph for both. The modern character for *yi* ‘lizard’ has a radical at the left-hand side indicating an insect or reptile. (See [Diagram 2](#).) At the time when *Zhouyi* was compiled, the protograph meant ‘change’ and any etymological connection with lizards was

irrelevant.

A favourite explanation of the graph, at least since the writing of the Han glossary *Shuowen*, has been that the character is a combination of the characters for ‘sun’ and ‘moon’, the great exemplars of *yang* and *yin*. This suggestion, however, depends on the modern form of the character. The earliest forms will not bear analysis into graphs for sun and moon. They have no element resembling the sun character; and the part of them that resembles the ancient moon character is the part that now looks like the sun character. A more probable explanation of the primitive forms is that they represent the moon with drops of rain or mist. In oracle-bone inscriptions **rik* occurs frequently in the expression *yiri* (**riknjit*) ‘will change to sunshine’, used of clouds or rain. Perhaps there was an early connection with change of weather or season.

This suggestion accords well with other early literature, notably the Book of Documents, where **rik* means ‘change’ or ‘exchange’ in several senses. In Han times and later, when philosophy had blossomed, students of *Zhouyi* thought **rik* meant transformation or ‘turning into something else’; but the connotation of ‘change’ cannot at first have been a philosophic concept of cosmic change. **Rik* could also mean variation, reordering or altering positions, especially changing places in an unpredictable way. This is what the word clearly means in the Great Treatise I.viii.1, and is a possible meaning for other occurrences in the same document. **Rik* is used in this sense in *Hongfan*, a section of the Book of Documents probably written rather later than *Zhouyi*, to describe an unseasonable shift in the seasons of the year.⁵ ‘Change of order or position’ applies quite naturally to the hexagrams, in which whole and broken lines change their positions to make all the different hexagrams. The English expression ‘ringing the changes’ describes the principle aptly. ‘Ringing the changes’ comes from bell-ringing, in which sets of permutations very like the permutations of the hexagrams are called ‘changes’ (see [Table 3](#)). *Yi* (**rik*) ‘(the lines that) change places’ was possibly the name used for the hexagrams before any texts were added to them or they were even thought of as a book (perhaps before books were invented).

1: la so fa mi re do	17: 9 6 6 9 9 6
2: so la mi fa do re	18: 6 9 9 6 6 9
3: so mi la do fa re	19: 9 9 6 6 6 6
4: mi so do la re fa	20: 6 6 6 6 9 9
5: mi do so re la fa	21: 9 6 6 9 6 9
6: do mi re so fa la	22: 9 6 9 6 6 9

The left-hand column shows the beginning of the bell-ringing course called Bob Minor. Six bells, tuned to the major scale, are rung in succession to make one change. The order of the bells is reversed in twos to make the second of each pair of changes.

The right-hand column shows the changes in Hexagrams 17 to 22. 9 means a whole line, 6 means a broken line. All six numbers are reversed to make the second of each pair of hexagrams.

The other word in the title, *zhou*, does not appear anywhere in the text. It now often means a circle or cyclic movement, as it does in the Book of Odes. Some have suggested that a phrase in the Great Treatise describing *Zhouyi* as *zhou liu liuxu*, ‘cyclical flow through the six places of a hexagram,’⁶ gives a clue to the meaning of the title. This idea lacks conviction, because the title is older than the Treatise. A more convincing explanation is that the written character *zhou*, which is thought to have originated as a rudimentary map of a square city with criss-cross streets, was used for the name of the people who created the Zhou state. Their book of changes was named after them: ‘The Changes of Zhou’.⁷

THE HEXAGRAMS

A hexagram is a group of six horizontal parallel lines. Each line may be whole (in Chinese *gang* ‘strong’ or ‘firm’) or broken in two with a space between the two parts (*rou* ‘yielding’).

In Chinese books hexagrams are usually printed taller than they are wide. A typical fine edition shows hexagrams whose width is about two-thirds of the height, with the spaces between the lines slightly deeper than the lines themselves. Although this style was doubtless influenced by a need to keep the hexagrams within the width of a column of characters, it makes for ease in reading. Hexagram drawings that are square or wider than they are tall, or have interstices that are narrower than the lines, have an optical effect like zebra stripes, dazzling to the eye and hard to discern.

Guahua, the word used to denote the hexagrams in their graphic form, is sometimes translated as ‘hexagram pictures’. This has the unhappy effect of making it appear that the hexagrams are in some sense representational. They are

not; they are better called ‘hexagram drawings’. No discernible pictorial connection exists between any of the hexagrams and the texts that accompany them. Some writers have asserted that Hexagram 50 has visual similarity to a drawing of *ding*, the cooking pot that is the theme of that hexagram’s line statements; but one must very much want to believe in the similarity in order to be convinced about it; and even if the similarity were accepted, a single example would be no more than coincidental. Pictorially, the hexagrams are meaningless. That may be why they were so satisfactory for use in divination: having no obvious meaning made them mysterious.

The words ‘hexagram’ and ‘trigram’ first appeared in English when Alexander Wylie (1815-89) of the London Missionary Society, one of the first British scholar-missionaries in north China, used them on the first page of his famous *Notes on Chinese literature*, published in 1867. He undoubtedly took them from the French forms in Bishop Visdelou’s ‘Notice’ of 1728, for he refers to the book in which the notice appears (see page 64). Visdelou seems to have invented them.⁸ Previous writers spoke of ‘figures’ or even ‘symbols’, and some, like Wilhelm in his German edition, continued to do so until the middle of this century Chinese writers still use *gua* for both hexagrams and trigrams, distinguishing them as *bagua* ‘the 8 figures’ for trigrams and *liushisi gua* ‘the 64 figures’ for hexagrams, though in academic writing *sanhua gua* ‘3-stroke figures’ and *liuhua gua* ‘6-stroke figures’ are sometimes found. (There are older names for the lines: *yao*, a mantic term described below, and *wei* meaning ‘position’ or ‘rank’, but they are less used today.) The word *gua* itself seems originally to have meant yarrow-wand divination, and is written by combining a graph for ‘baton’ (see Translation Note 2:3) with a graph for ‘divining’ that looks like a crack in a tortoiseshell (see [Diagram 11](#).) Perhaps this reflects the bamboo or other slips, shaped like batons, on which the hexagrams were first written.

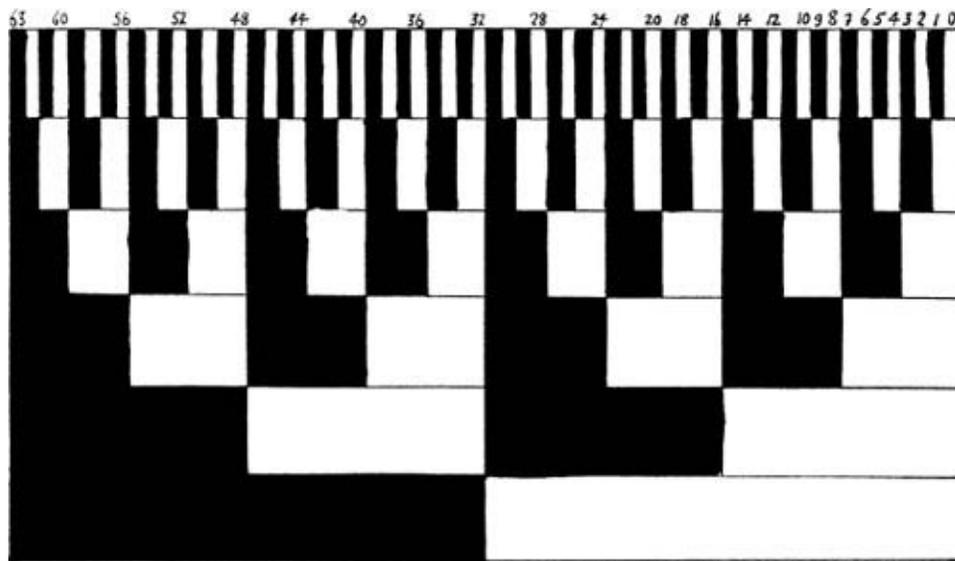
Whatever their name and origin, the hexagrams soon came to be regarded as the core of *Zhouyi*, and are often assumed to have formed the earliest stratum in its composition. Some writers, especially Marcel Granet, have even asserted that the hexagrams are the only true text of *Yijing*, and the attached statements are no more than a commentary on them.⁹ This approach, however, may owe everything to those thinkers of the Han dynasty for whom the hexagrams were key entities in their metaphysics. There is no evidence of such an idea having come from Western Zhou. The hexagrams may have predated the text, but it is equally possible that a collection of oracles came first, and when it was found

desirable to have them written down, the hexagrams were introduced either as a way of indexing, or as a lot-casting device for discovering which oracles applied in particular situations.

The dawn of mathematics

Finding omens in lines is ancient and universal. It was the basis of Chinese bone and tortoiseshell oracles and survives in European palmistry. The Chinese written character for divination (*bu*), consisting of two lines, is based on the hairline cracks made in a bone or shell by the application of intense heat; while the character for the Zhouyi oracles (*yao*), is two Xs, one above the other. (See [Diagram 14](#).) Whether the oracles preceded the hexagrams or not, the use of hexagrams and yarrow wands introduced counting as an element in divination. Yarrow wands may not have had the dramatic power that gave scapulimancy such emotive authority for Bronze Age princes, but their use showed increasing intellectual interest and mathematical skill.

Diagram 3 YIN-YANG SEGREGATION TABLE



Ying-yang segregation table that yields the binary order of the hexagrams. Reading white as whole and black as broken, and taking the six horizontal rows as the lines of hexagrams, each column gives a hexagram in binary order (white reading 0, and black 1). The binary numbers are read from the top down.

Leon Vandermeersch¹⁰ suggested that the origin of Chinese writing lay in divination, and the whole corpus of written characters began to appear when

symbols for the interpretation of oracular cracks were scratched on bones and tortoiseshells. When yarrow wands were used for checking bone and shell auguries, divination also led to the invention of arithmetic and numerical figures. The cracks on a tortoiseshell were made and read in vertical or horizontal rows; classification and recording of the cracks led to the use of counting sticks on a graticulated board. A whole line represented an odd number, a 'broken line' was not one fractured line but two lines, representing an even number. Though they have not yet been widely accepted, Vandermeersch's ideas have a strong appeal. (See page 94 and [Diagram 5](#).)

The hexagrams certainly form an arithmetical series. Each is a combination of six parallel horizontal lines, either whole or broken. Since there are sixty-four possible combinations and permutations of two kinds of lines in groups of six, the book has sixty-four hexagrams ($2^6 = 64$).

Binary numeration

In the eleventh century AD the Song philosopher Shao Yong (1011–1077), apparently using a simple segregation chart (see [Diagram 3](#)), discovered that the hexagrams could be arranged in a natural mathematical sequence. This sequence is often called the Fuxi order, after the mythical ruler traditionally associated with the invention of the hexagrams, the dubious assumption being made that since the sequence is logical it must be the original order. It is also known as the *Xiantian* 'earlier than Heaven' sequence (often translated, less satisfactorily, as 'earlier heaven sequence'). *Xiantian* balances another order called *houtian* 'later than heaven' or 'King Wen sequence'.¹¹ Two similarly named sequences are applied to the trigrams and can be found in the Eighth Wing (see page 440); but the two names are not known before the Song period. They were derived from a verse in the Seventh Wing, almost at the end of the section on Hexagram 1 (see page 438):

(when the sage) precedes Heaven, it does not oppose him;
(when he) follows Heaven, he keeps to Heaven's timing.

Shao Yong believed that the natural sequence existed before Heaven, both historically and logically.

This logical order became well known in eighteenth-century Europe, because of the fascination it held for the German philosopher Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716).¹² Leibniz was passionately concerned to discover and reforge the primal

unity of all religion, and to recover the primal pattern that formed all human thinking. He was thus deeply interested in the information about ancient Chinese thought coming from the Jesuit missionaries in Peking (see pages 62–3).

His particular correspondent was Joachim Bouvet, leader of the Figurists, who had arrived in China in 1688 as one of the men trained in mathematics and astronomy for whom the Kangxi emperor had especially asked. The young Frenchman was quickly appointed to the imperial calendar office. His letters to Leibniz began about 1697-1699, when he was sent to France as an imperial envoy to Louis XIV. The mail took at least seven months between Bouvet in Peking and Leibniz in Hanover, and so the correspondence was not voluminous. It came to an end about 1707.

Leibniz had published his tractate *De progressionē dyadica*, in which he outlined the binary counting system, in 1679. Bouvet, who had written to Leibniz about *Yijing* discussing religious questions during 1700, wrote a famous letter dated 4 November 1701 with which he enclosed a copy of Shao Yong's *Xiantian cixu*, the table that showed the natural or binary order of the sixty-four hexagrams. Bouvet pointed out that this was a version of Leibniz's binary system. Leibniz was delighted.

In the decimal system the places of digits within a number differ from right to left by a multiple of ten. In Leibniz's 'dyadic' system the places of digits within a number differ from right to left by a multiple of two. Only two numerals, 0 and 1, are required in binary notation. Binary 1 = decimal 1, binary 10 = decimal 2, binary 11 = decimal 3, binary 100 = decimal 4, and so on. Hexagrams in the Fuxi order, if written with 0 for the broken lines and 1 for the whole lines, and with the bottom line at the right, gave the binary notation for 0 to 63 (000000, 000001, 000010, 000011 and so on to 111101, 111110, 111111). (See [Table 4](#) and [Diagram 4](#).)

Leibniz concluded that the compilers of *Zhouyi* had knowingly used a binary notation. Immanuel Olsvanger (1888–1961) believed that they not only knew the binary system but also invented a symbol for zero (the space between the two parts of a broken line), and with it a positional numberscript. The arguments are faulty, because the Fuxi order as a binary series is no more than an automatic result of designing a complete series of hexagrams using only two elements. Any two symbols taken together will yield combinations and permutations that are capable of arrangement in binary counting order. Most modern critics do not accept that the 'dyadic progression' has any part in the early history of *Zhouyi*. Olsvanger, however, was writing about the received order of the hexagrams, which may have been devised relatively late. (See pages 108-12.)

Diagram 4 THE BINARY COUNTING SYSTEM or Fuxi Order



Table 4 DECIMAL VALUES OF BINARY NOTATION

0 = 000000	16 = 010000	32 = 100000	48 = 110000
1 = 000001	17 = 010001	33 = 100001	49 = 110001
2 = 000010	18 = 010010	34 = 100010	50 = 110010
3 = 000011	19 = 010011	35 = 100011	51 = 110011
4 = 000100	20 = 010100	36 = 100100	52 = 110100
5 = 000101	21 = 010101	37 = 100101	53 = 110101
6 = 000110	22 = 010110	38 = 100110	54 = 110110
7 = 000111	23 = 010111	39 = 100111	55 = 110111
8 = 001000	24 = 011000	40 = 101000	56 = 111000
9 = 001001	25 = 011001	41 = 101001	57 = 111001
10 = 001010	26 = 011010	42 = 101010	58 = 111010
11 = 001011	27 = 011011	43 = 101011	59 = 111011
12 = 001100	28 = 011100	44 = 101100	60 = 111100
13 = 001101	29 = 011101	45 = 101101	61 = 111101
14 = 001110	30 = 011110	46 = 101110	62 = 111110
15 = 001111	31 = 011111	47 = 101111	63 = 111111

Decimal values and binary notation of the hexagrams, arranged in the natural counting sequence or 'Fuxi order'. The right-hand digit in each binary number represents the bottom line of the hexagram and the left-hand digit the top line. 1 represents a whole line and 0 a broken line.

Early arithmetic

How far was Bronze Age China interested in arithmetic?

Before the invention of the abacus in the early centuries of the christian era, China's normal calculator was the counting-board, and it has been plausibly suggested that the hexagrams were originally generated by primitive arithmeticians making calculations by shuffling rods on a wooden board marked out in squares. The use of counting rods probably dates from Zhou times or earlier. They were certainly used during the Warring States Period, and lasted till late Ming, when they were replaced by the abacus. We know that in early Han some were made of bamboo, 2.5 mm in diameter and 15 cm long, shaped so that 271 of them fitted together in a hexagonal bundle. In a period when pencil and paper were unknown and wax tablets were not used, such rods were an effective device, easily arranged to form figures, easily read and easily erased. There is some similarity between the characters used for 'counting rods' and those used for 'yarrow wands', but not enough to establish a clear connection. Although they were similar in shape, the wands were probably much longer. (See page 151.)

The principle of counting with rods was simple. For numbers from 1 to 5, the 'figure' on the board was a group of 1, 2, 3, 4, or 5 rods, laid vertically and parallel to each other. 6, 7, 8 and 9, however, were recorded by laying a horizontal rod (representing 5) above 1, 2, 3 or 4 vertical rods. These forms for the digits from 1 to 9 were used in the squares for units, hundreds and myriads. For tens and thousands, the first five digits were formed with horizontal lines, and 5 as a component of 6, 7, 8 and 9 was formed with a vertical line. An empty square was zero. In this way a decimal system (using a place value of 10) was evolved, as in Indo-Arabic numerals. (See [Diagram 5](#).)

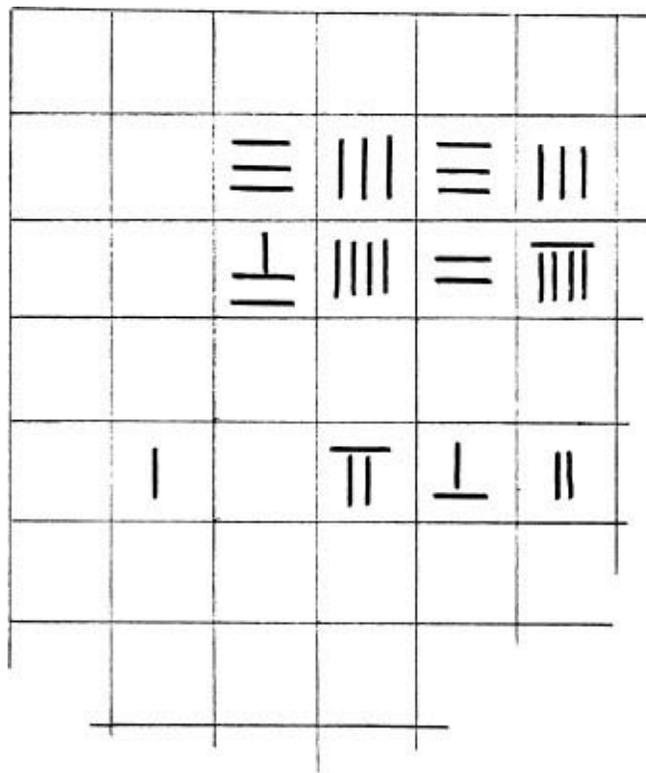
Some, like Vandermeersch, have thought that Chinese arithmetic began with a quinary system, using place value of 5, from which pentagrams and hexagrams could have been derived. Or it is possible that in divination broken lines originally had a value of 1 and unbroken lines 5 – a precursor of the Chinese abacus, in which the sliding beads have the values of 1 and 5. Or whole and broken may simply have stood for odd and even, and eventually led to the development of the *xiang* numbers described in the section below on divination. (See page 162.)

René Barde, using the outline of the yarrow-wand counting method described in the *Dayan* section of the Great Treatise (see page 158), not only found in it a

method of multiplication without the use of tables, but suggested that the genesis of the 64 hexagrams lay in early arithmetic. He took whole lines to stand for odd numbers and broken lines for even numbers. He then described how the positions of the lines carried numerical value; and concluded that this arithmetical system disappeared when the decimal system finally triumphed over the quinary, leaving only sparse relics in *Zhouyi* divination.¹³

The numbers 5 and 6 were both of peculiar interest to the early Chinese. Sarah Allan has developed the evidence for a Greek-cross pattern as the Shang model of the universe, – five squares arranged as a centre and four cardinal directions, admirably symbolized in the carapace and four legs of a tortoise. To this day 5 has remained a central concept in Chinese traditional cosmology, which speaks of *wu fang* ‘the five directions’: south, north, east, west and centre. When the central ground is regarded as ‘below’ and the sky as ‘above’, we get the equally important concept of cubic space with ‘six poles’ *liu he* or *liu mo*. (The dice used in Western lot-casting are also cubes, giving the number 6 its peculiar role in western divination.) The relationship of 5 and 6 in the quinary system could be related to the origin of the hexagrams.¹⁴

Diagram 5 COUNTING-BOARD AND RODS



Rod-numerals as found on Shang oracle bones and Zhou bronze coins, shown as they might appear on a counting board.

Top line: 3,333. Second line: 7,429.

The third line shows how the top line would appear when the second line had been added to it: 10,762

Pentagrams

Some have suggested that the hexagrams may have been developed from earlier pentagrams;¹⁵ but this suggestion does not arise directly from Barde's speculations about quinary arithmetic. The pentagram theory depends on a feature of the line statements of fifteen hexagrams (1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 13, 15, 18, 27, 31, 33, 36, 56, 58 and 59), where a key word or theme occurs in only five of the statements. In Hexagram 36 'Crying pheasant', for instance, the word for 'crying pheasant' occurs in only five lines. The sixth line statement seems to be an intrusion and may be a later addition. When this intrusion is removed from each of the fifteen, the resulting pentagram drawings are all different from each other. In fourteen other hexagrams (8, 10, 19, 20, 22, 24, 39, 47, 48, 50, 51, 52, 53, and 54) a key word appears in all six line statements. These fourteen also may have been expanded from pentagrams, because it would be possible, if a pentagram were changed into a hexagram, for the newly inserted oracle to be composed to harmonize with the five already in place. This gives a total of twenty-nine hexagrams (nearly half the total sixty-four) that may have started as pentagrams; while only seventeen (a quarter of the total) are composed of six line statements on a single theme.

A complete set of pentagrams would number thirty-two ($2^5 = 32$), and when the oracular material grew beyond that capacity, the obvious way of enlarging the system would be to turn the pentagrams into hexagrams by adding a further line to each and increasing their number to sixty-four. There is some support for this theory in the fact, just noted, that nearly half the hexagrams as we now have them look suspiciously like augmented pentagrams. Since there are signs of extensive corruption throughout the text, the arguments are far from conclusive; but the idea of original pentagrams cannot be completely discounted.

'Constituent trigrams'

Each hexagram can be regarded as being composed of two trigrams set one above the other. This has led to a common assumption that the hexagrams were created by combining trigrams in pairs. The upper (*shang*) trigram is often described as

the other for 5; and $1 + 5$ gives 6. (Interestingly, a common form of abacus in Korea and Japan uses this principle for counting in the decimal system. There are 5 beads in the lower rank and 1 in the upper rank; but this is not the older form of abacus.)

Maspero pointed out that the received order treats the hexagrams as fundamental and ignores the constituent trigrams, for the pairs are created by inverting the whole hexagram, not by inverting the two trigrams. Hexagram 31, for example, Dui over Gen, does not invert to become Gen over Dui, but becomes Hexagram 32, comprising quite different trigrams, Zhen over Xun. Perhaps most striking is the observation made by several writers that *Zhouyi* itself shows no consciousness of trigrams, and the six oracles never fall thematically into two sets of three. Yet many writers, fallaciously relying on an *a priori* assumption, still assume that the hexagrams were originally created from the trigrams.

Indeed when we come to consider the so-called *bagua* numerals, we see there are also archaeological indications to the contrary.

Bagua numerals

Bagua numerals are a recent development in *Zhouyi* studies.

Interest has begun to focus on puzzling groups of six-part symbols found in inscriptions on oracle bones, bronzes and ceramics from Shang and early Western Zhou.¹⁸ (See [Diagram 6](#).) While it has been claimed that similar signs are found in neolithic remains, the oldest reliably dated ones are from the reign of Wuding (c1238–1180 BC).¹⁹ They have long been known, but there was no satisfactory explanation of them until a conference on palaeography was held in Zhilin University at the end of 1978, during which Zhang Zhenglang propounded his theory that they are hexagrams. There is a growing consensus in support of this idea and the signs are now referred to as ‘*bagua* numerals’ or ‘hexagram number signs’ (*bagua shuzi fuhao*).

[Diagram 6](#) BAGUA NUMERALS

After Chang Cheng-lang (1980-81) and Zhang Yachu & Liu Yu (1982)

Zhouyi No:	12	46	63	59	53
Provenance:	Shang bone	Zhou bone	Shang tortoiseshell	Zhou bronze	Shang ceramic
Chang transcription*					
Zhang/Liu transcription	⁽³⁾ 757666	⁽⁶⁾ 668116	⁽⁹⁾ 878785	⁽¹⁴⁾ 116816	⁽³¹⁾ 176786

* Odd numbers are transcribed as whole lines, even numbers as broken lines

The six signs usually occur at the end of an inscription, sometimes as two groups of three chevrons placed side by side, most often as a group of six lines, chevrons, or numerals set vertically one above another. When the groups consist of lines, the broken lines may have three parts, rather than two. When the signs are numerals, they are easily recognized Chinese figures from 1 to 9, in groups such as 766718.

Groups of three numerals have also been found, but these tend to be of later date, well into Zhou times. This is the point that may have relevance to the historical relation between hexagrams and trigrams, favouring the thesis that hexagrams are older than trigrams; but with regard to the pentagram theory, the evidence of the *bagua* numerals is inconclusive, because the change from pentagrams to hexagrams – if there was such a change – could have preceded the appearance of the *bagua* numerals.

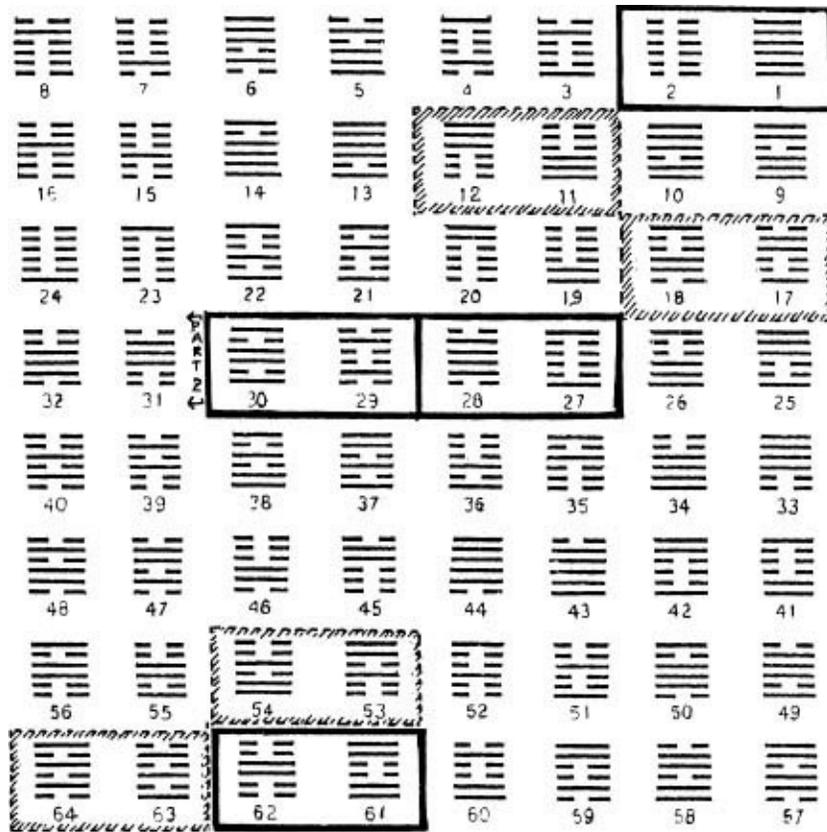
The *bagua* numerals are much older than any hexagram drawings now known. Little detailed information has been gained about them since they have been identified. Many questions remain. For instance, some groups of six figures

cannot be obtained by the divination procedures now known, which give only the four numbers 6, 7, 8 and 9. If they were received by counting yarrow-wands, a method of counting now unknown to us must have been used – possibly a method that lies behind cryptic references to figures other than 6, 7, 8 and 9 in some written sources about *Zhouyi*.²⁰ Further archaeological discoveries, or further study of the examples we already have, may help solve some of these questions.

Calendrical groups

Some scholars have wondered whether the counting of days in cycles of sixty, giving six ten-day ‘weeks’ to a cycle (see [Table 1](#)), underlies the hexagram form. In late Shang times tortoiseshell auguries were taken at the beginning of each ten-day period, on the *gui* day. Hexagram 55:1 may reflect this usage. The results of these regular divinations were inscribed on oracle bones in columns containing six items, often read from bottom to top. This custom may have suggested the hexagram form of *Zhouyi*.²¹

[Diagram 7](#) THE RECEIVED ORDER OF THE HEXAGRAMS



Asymmetrical placing of hexagrams

- Counter-changed, not invertible pairs
- Counter-changed and inverted pairs

All other pairs are inverted and not counter-changed

The mathematical properties of the hexagrams and the hexagram series may have influenced the invention and development of the hexagram figures in various ways, and will doubtless continue to delight mathematical minds for a long time yet; but none of the proposed theories is fully convincing.

THE ORDER OF THE HEXAGRAMS

The received order

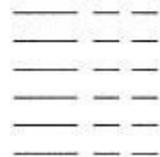
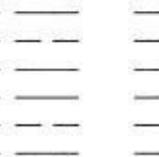
In Chinese the hexagrams have never been numbered. They are simply labelled with the tag characters described below. (See page 118.) Transliterations of the tags in modern Chinese, though used by some translators, are awkward, and it has become customary for translators to refer to the hexagrams by numbers from

1 to 64 according to their places in the received order. This practice is sensible and makes for ease of reference.

We have no record of the received order of the hexagrams, traditionally known as the King Wen order, earlier than the stone tablets of Han, engraved in AD 175. Sources which might have given earlier evidence are unhelpful: the Zuo Commentary, for instance, gives no indication of any order. The Ninth Wing, or Treatise on the Order of the Hexagrams, is no more than an *ex post facto* rationalization of the received order. It gives no indication of any consistent principle and is itself of uncertain date. (See translation, pages 450–3.)

The only obvious sign of deliberate pattern in the received order is that the hexagrams are arranged in pairs of which the second hexagram is the inversion of the first, except for the eight hexagrams where inversion would make no difference (1/2, 27/28, 29/30, 61/62). These eight are disposed as four pairs in each of which the second hexagram is the counterchanged version of the first, changing whole lines for broken and broken lines for whole. No clear principle governs which member of a pair should be on the left and which on the right.

Table 5 THE EIGHT NON-INVERTIBLE HEXAGRAMS

							
1	2	27	28	29	30	61	62

Hexagram pairing

A pair of hexagrams is reminiscent of the paired columns in which divinatory cracks were made in shoulder blades and tortoiseshells; but this is of doubtful significance.

There is no good reason for believing the pairing is of mantic importance. Pairing relates to the hexagrams as visual patterns and is not consistently reflected in the oracles. I have recorded in the notes, so far as I can, all the factors that have been supposed to suggest that the contents of hexagram and line statements show a fundamental principle of thematic pairing. Much of the apparently significant material shared between oracle texts within a pair is either trivial or likely to be coincidental: many themes appear so frequently throughout

the oracles – especially with regard to captures and sacrifices – that it would be strange if coincidences were less frequent.

There are other reasons for doubt. If some paired hexagrams seem to be linked by the use of identical oracles (11:base and 12:base; 41:5 and 42:2; 63:base, top and 64:2, top), they are offset by hexagrams that share oracles but are not paired. (See 10:3 and 54:base and 2.) Again, appropriate thematic pairing can be found between hexagrams that cannot be paired diagrammatically. Hexagrams 45 and 59, for instance, share more of their hexagram statements than some diagrammatic pairs whose claim to thematic pairing depends on similarities in their hexagram statements; and the hexagrams within each of the two pairs with ‘major’ and ‘minor’ tags (9/26, 28/62) are not diagrammatically paired. Thematic pairing, if there is any at all, appears to be haphazard and coincidental.

Yet four instances deserve examination.

(1) Hexagrams 1 and 2 are linked together by later commentators in a way that is largely a product of the commentaries. These two hexagrams must have attracted attention very early, and have become associated in the minds of diviners because they were the two homogeneous figures. This alone might have led to their appended statements being considered together; yet, apart from the calendrical possibilities mentioned in the Translation Notes, there is little correspondence between them, and that little is of uncertain value. Hexagram 1 is almost entirely about dragons, which are also mentioned in 2:top. This fact is sometimes claimed as evidence of thematic pairing; but the oracle mentioning dragons in 2:top is significantly not part of the rhyme system that is such a marked feature of the rest of Hexagram 2’s line statements, whereas the second part of the same line statement does fit that scheme. The sentence about fighting dragons looks like an interpolation and may not have been part of the earliest text. (See relevant Translation Notes, page 296.)

(2) Although Hexagrams 15 and 16, especially if the ‘rat’ and ‘elephant’ readings for the tags are accepted, have a strong formal resemblance, both sets of line statements have a fragmented appearance. Like many other sets of line statements, they lack the internal consistency of hexagrams such as 48 ‘well’, 50 ‘tripod-bowl’, and 53 ‘(wild geese) settling’. 15 and 16 appear to have been corrupted, and probably retouched.

(3) The tags of Hexagrams 41 and 42, ‘diminishing’ and ‘enriching’, make a contrasting pair, but this has little significance. No other pair has comparable contrast; furthermore, the composition of the two sets of line statements is complex, and the contrast is not maintained line by line.

(4) Hexagrams 63 and 64 show considerable thematic sharing. The two tags are undeniably linked; but they are not quoted from the appended statements, and they are unique in that their link is narrative, or at least diachronic. There has been some editorial work here, probably mutilation of the text as well, after the establishment of the received order. This pair looks contrived and is not typical of the rest.

Since the text appears to have reached its present state through the work of several hands over a long period, supposed signs of thematic pairing are likely to be the effect of editing and retouching. Though the Mawangdui manuscript of 168 BC (see page 36) has virtually the same text as the received order, the editors either ignored or deliberately rejected that order. In either case they clearly regarded the pairing of hexagrams as non-essential. Perhaps they missed an important point; perhaps they lived too late for their ideas to be important for our purpose; but their work tends to support the reasonable inference that hexagram-pairing was not fundamental for the compilers and early users of *Zhouyi*.

Symmetry in the received order

The positions of the four counterchanged pairs in the received order are intriguing. If they were to be placed symmetrically, they would appear as 1/2, 31/32, 33/34 and 63/64; that is to say, at the beginning, at the centre and at the end. Since they actually occur as 1/2, 27/28, 29/30, and 61/62, they are placed asymmetrically at the beginning, just before the centre, and just before the end. It looks as though there has been a disturbance of the order as originally planned (see [Diagram 7](#)).

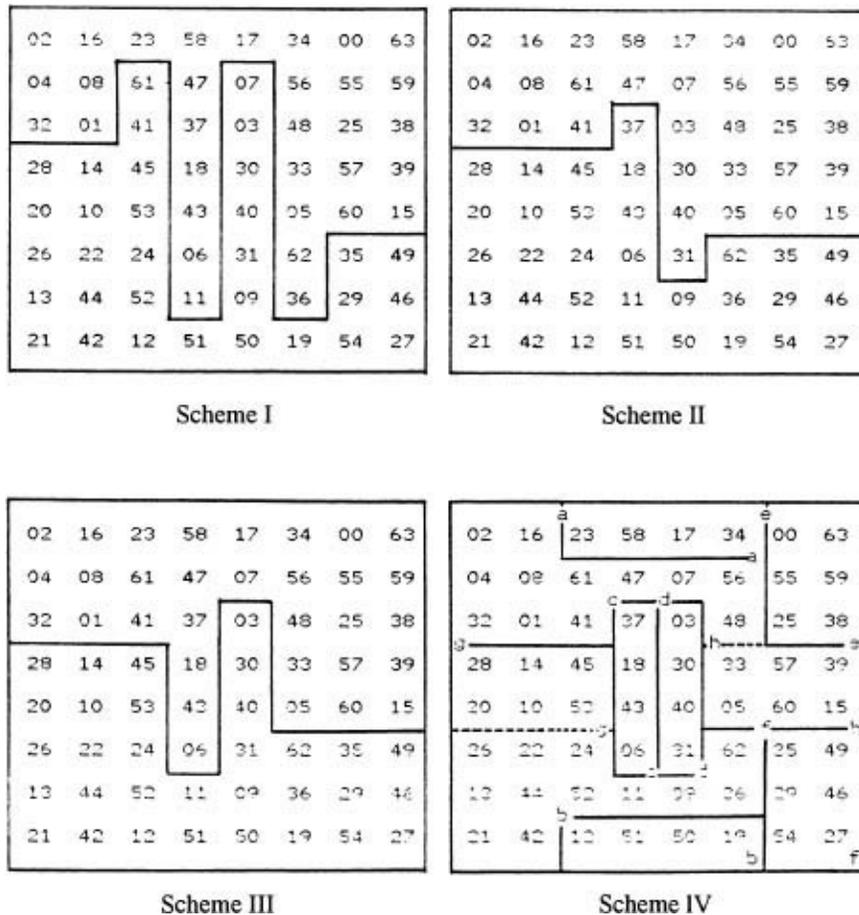
This impression is enhanced by the fact that *Zhouyi* is traditionally divided into two sections of unequal length, the first containing 30 Hexagrams and the second 34. This division is mentioned in *Dayan* and therefore had been made before the Great Treatise reached its present state, probably during the Former Han dynasty.²² (*Dayan* does not appear in the Mawangdui manuscript,²³ and the text of *Zhouyi* in that manuscript is not divided into two sections; but this does not prove that the division had not been made in other copies before 168 BC.)

Division into two parts therefore goes back to the time when the book was inscribed on bamboo slats, each probably carrying one hexagram and its oracles. A number of slats, say half of *Zhouyi*, was joined together by two cords passing alternately over and under consecutive slats and twined where they crossed between slats. Two or three such double cords held the slats firmly together and

in order. The bound slats could be rolled up for storage and unrolled for reading. (*Zhuan*, the Chinese character for ‘a volume’, originally meant a roll of this sort.) Any fraying of the cords might lead to jumbled slats, which could explain both the unequal length of the two parts and the asymmetrical placing of the counterchanged hexagram pairs.

Another explanation is possible for the last pair, 63/64, not being a counterchanged pair, as would be required by the proposed symmetry. We have noted that these two tags look very contrived. The tag of Hexagram 64, ‘Not yet across’, shows that the changes are not completed by the close of the series and must continue into the next cycle. This produces an impressive end to the book when a ‘philosophy of change’ is envisaged; but such a philosophy is not explicit in *Zhouyi*: it is a feature of the Ten Wings. If Hexagrams 63/64 were switched to the end of the book for philosophical reasons, the switch would have been made after the philosophy had evolved.

Diagram 8 (I) OLSVANGER’S SCHEMES



Olsvanger's symmetrical schemes in the received order of the hexagrams. Each number is the binary value of the hexagram in that position.

Diagram 8 (II) Further symmetries, not noticed by Olsvanger

02	16	23	58	17	34	00	63
04	08	61	47	07	56	55	59
32	01	41	37	03	48	25	38
28	14	45	18	30	33	57	39
20	10	53	43	40	05	60	15
26	22	24	06	31	62	35	49
13	44	52	11	09	36	29	46
21	42	12	51	50	19	54	27

02	16	23	58	17	34	00	63
04	08	61	47	07	56	55	59
32	01	41	37	03	48	25	38
28	14	45	18	30	33	57	39
20	10	53	43	40	05	60	15
26	22	24	06	31	62	35	49
13	44	52	11	09	36	29	46
21	42	12	51	50	19	54	27

Scheme V

Scheme VI

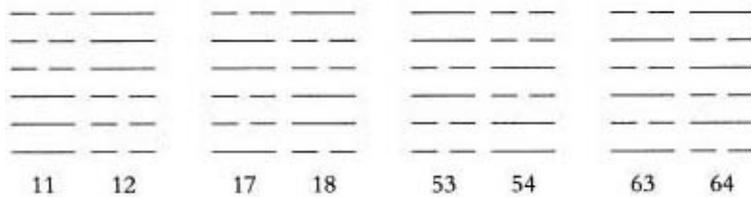
02	16	23	58	17	34	00	63
04	08	61	47	07	56	55	59
32	01	41	37	03	48	25	38
28	14	45	18	30	33	57	39
20	10	53	43	40	05	60	15
26	22	24	06	31	62	35	49
13	44	52	11	09	36	29	46
21	42	12	51	50	19	54	27

02	16	23	58	17	34	00	63
04	08	61	47	07	56	55	59
32	01	41	37	03	48	25	38
28	14	45	18	30	33	57	39
20	10	53	43	40	05	60	15
26	22	24	06	31	62	35	49
13	44	52	11	09	36	29	46
21	42	12	51	50	19	54	27

Scheme VII

Additional symmetries

A further hint of disarrangement comes from the placing of four more pairs, which are arranged by inversion but prove to be counterchanged when they are inverted (11/12, 17/18, 53/54 and 63/64). They could be placed symmetrically at 11/12, 21/22, 43/44 and 53/54. Two of them (11/12 and 53/54) are symmetrically placed; the other two are not. Steve Moore in *The trigrams of Han* (1989) has ventured an explanation of how this may have happened; but is himself not convinced by it. All reconstructions are pure speculation, and even if a convincing reconstruction were possible, the principles would be drawn from Han thought rather than from early Zhou.²⁴



Olsvanger's symmetries

Immanuel Olsvanger (1888–1961)²⁵ was born in the Jewish community of Grajewo in north-eastern Poland, and studied at Königsberg and Berne universities before emigrating to Palestine as a Zionist activist in 1933. A folklorist, an Esperantist and a translator into Hebrew from Sanskrit and Japanese, he also made the first translation of Dante's *Divine Comedy* into Hebrew verse. He believed that the received order of the hexagrams was what he called a 'magic square' – more properly, a square of numbers arranged in symmetrical groups of equal numerical value. His 1948 pamphlet *Fu-Hsi, the sage of ancient China*, published in Jerusalem, adduces evidence that these symmetries can be seen if the binary values of the numbers implicit in each hexagram are computed according to the theory discussed by Bouvet and Leibniz (see page 191–3).

Olsvanger wrote the binary values of the hexagrams on a square grid or [table of 8 x 8](#), following the received order when read from top right horizontally. The sum of all the figures involved (1 to 63) is 2016. There are three different schemes by which the table can be divided into geometrically symmetrical halves, so that the numbers on either side of the dividing line add up to half the total: 1008. The three schemes are shown in [Diagram 8](#), Schemes I, II and III.

In fact all three of these dimidiating schemes are different versions of the same symmetry, fully shown in Scheme IV. Scheme II is a reflection of Scheme III, in which the two central part-columns of equal value are each switched to the other half of the square. Scheme I is an extension of Scheme III in which three further hexagrams have been exchanged between the two halves.

The square also contains three pairs of symmetrically placed rectangles in which the sums of the numbers in each rectangle are equal. The four central hexagrams of the top and bottom rows give two rectangles *aa* and *bb* each with a value of 132; the rectangles *ee* and *ff*, formed of two hexagrams horizontally and three hexagrams vertically in the top and bottom right-hand corners, are each

worth 240; and the four hexagrams in the centre of the 4th and 5th columns (the centre of the table) give two rectangles cc and dd , each worth 104.

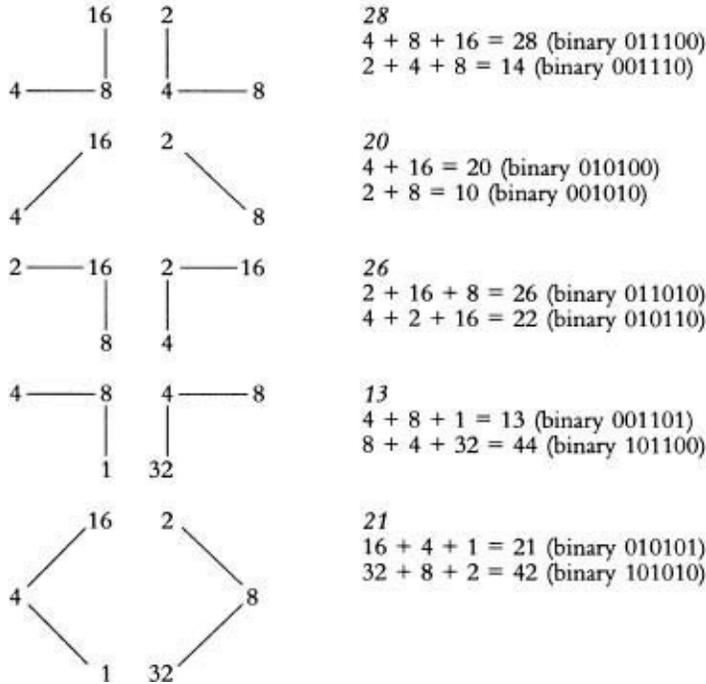
When the six rectangles are discounted, the sum of the remaining numbers is, as would be expected, 1064. This sum is distributed in two areas, each with a total value of 532, whose symmetry is partly lateral (two rectangles of six numbers, gg and hh) and partly vertical (two irregular areas of twelve numbers, including the top and bottom left-hand corners.)

There is no consistent principle in the ordering of the larger and smaller numbers within each pair. 17 pairs have the hexagram with the larger sum on the right and 15 pairs have the larger sum on the left. Each pair is in fact so arranged that the overall symmetry of the whole grid is preserved. Olsvanger suggested a mathematical explanation of the left-hand column and top line of the table.

The six hexagrams in the top left-hand corner of the table contain the first six powers of the binary system: 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, and 32, arranged in the three pairs-by-inversion that include them all. 2 (binary 000010), the core number of the binary series, is paired with 16 (binary 010000); 4 (binary 000100), the first power of 2, is paired with 8 (binary 001000); and 32 (binary 100000), the next power of 2 not already included (8 and 16 having occurred as the pairs of 2 and 4), is paired by 1 (binary 000001).

The other five numbers in the left-hand column are derived from symmetrically chosen groups within these six (see [Table 7](#)):

[Table 7](#) OLSVANGER'S TOP CORNER COMPUTATIONS



How the lower five numbers in the two left-hand columns are formed from the six numbers in the top left-hand corner.

- 28 = 4 + 8 + 16, right lower angle of the top four (paired by 14 = 2 + 4 + 8, the left lower angle of the same four);
- 20 = 4 + 16, diagonal of the top four (paired by 10 = 2 + 8, the other diagonal of the same four);
- 26 = 2 + 16 + 8, right upper angle of the top four (paired by 22 = 16 + 2 + 4, the left upper angle of the same four);
- 13 = 4 + 8 + 1, right upper angle of the lower four of these six hexagrams (paired by 44 = 32 + 4 + 8, the left upper angle of the same four hexagrams);
- 21 = 16 + 4 + 1, criss-crossing the top six numbers (paired by 42 = 2 + 8 + 32, the mirrored form of the criss-crossing).

The top horizontal row of the grid is filled by adding pairs of figures from the left-hand column, beginning with the top and bottom figures, then working in twos toward the centre, and adding to each number thus obtained the appropriate pair number derived from the inverted hexagram (see [Table 8](#)):

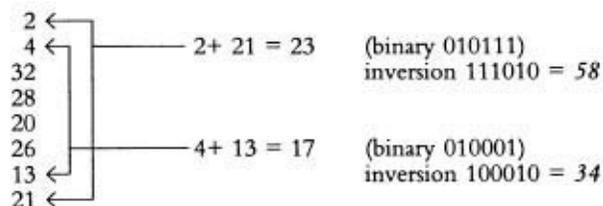
- 2 + 21 = 23 (binary 010111), paired by 58 (binary 111010);
- 4 + 13 = 17 (binary 010001), paired by 34 (binary 100010).

32 + 26 = 58, but 58 and its paired 23 have already been placed by this process. Olsvanger thought this was why 0 and 63, the beginning and end of the series, were placed in the top right hand corner of the square, instead of 58 and 23; but,

as we shall see, 0 and 63 may already have been in place.

Three observations, linking Olsvanger's symmetry to the thought of *Dayan*, can be added to his description.

Table 8 OLSVANGER'S FOUR TOP MIDDLE PAIRS



How the middle four pairs of the top row are formed from the numbers in the left-hand column.

(1) The six numbers in the top left-hand corner of the square consist of 1 and the first 5 powers of 2, which are readily seen to be the six hexagrams that each contain only one whole line. The sum of these six numbers is 63, the largest number in the series, which is also the sum of each of the pairs at the top right-hand corner (63/0) and the bottom left-hand corner (21/42).

Eight pairs give a sum of 63. They are the pairs which are not made by inversion, but by counterchanging the lines (see page 102 and chart of the received order, [Diagram 7](#)). Two more of them are placed symmetrically, 7/56 and 52/11. (See *jj*, *kk*, *mm* and *nn* in the Additional Symmetries of [Diagram 8](#). The remaining four counterchanged pairs, 12/51, 25/38, 45/18, and 30/33, are not symmetrically placed.)

(2) Placing the two homogeneous hexagrams (Hexagrams 1 and 2, the greatest and smallest in numerical value) at the top right-hand corner gives a rational start to the construction of the square. The number placed under zero is 55, which is the sum of the numbers from 1 to 10; and the number beneath 55 is 25, the sum of the odd digits 1 to 9. These numbers are mentioned in the Great Treatise and are known to have been of interest to early Chinese mathematicians. (See page 415.)

(3) Olsvanger's scheme suggests that the last pair of hexagrams has not been displaced. Hexagrams 63 and 64 have a joint value of 63 and so balance the diametrically opposed pair at the top right, which has the same value. None of the other six counterchanged pairs could be used in this corner, because they were required for the symmetrical rectangles *bb*, *cc*, and *dd*.

□

Edward Hacker, professor of philosophy at Northeastern University, Boston, Massachusetts, has noticed further symmetries that were missed by Olsvanger.²⁶ Three of them are further dimidiations. Of these Schemes V and VI are variations of the same dimidiation, but Scheme VII stands by itself.

The Additional Symmetries scheme in [Diagram 8](#) is not a dimidiation, but shows the symmetrical placing of the four pairs mentioned above, each worth 63(*jj*, *kk*, *mm*, *nn*), and *pp*, *qq* each worth 120. No pair of hexagrams has a purely random position that does not relate to the symmetries of the whole grid.

□

Forty years ago, Joseph Needham wrote that Olsvanger's symmetries were so complicated he could not convince himself that they had been deliberately constructed.²⁷ He had not, however, noted the points of congruity with *Dayan*; and he judged Olsvanger's grid together with Barde's very different grids. (Barde's grids had the hexagrams arranged according to their 'constituent trigrams', and had no connection with the received order.)

While there is no doubt that by using the techniques of the counting-board, hexagrams could be added together without conscious application of the binary principle, it is impossible to prove that such a process was ever carried out. The most serious objection to Olsvanger's view is that we cannot be sure that the early Chinese knew about binary notation. Chen Daosheng is among those who have accepted that they did. In an article in *Kongmeng xuebao* 12 (September 1966) he suggested, on the basis of the Great Treatise (II.ii.13, see page 422), that before writing was invented the Chinese used quipu or knotted strings for recording numbers, employing a binary system in which a knot stood for 1 and an unknotted space for 0. The idea is intriguing, but his arguments are unconvincing.

Yet it must now be conceded that Olsvanger discovered a symmetry in the received order, whether or not it was deliberately constructed by the framer of the order, a symmetry that takes no account of 'constituent trigrams'. Since the order is not based on any single logical principle, and has no discernible philosophical meaning, there is something playful about it. It is probably post-Confucian. Though it has some characteristics of Han thought, that it might be earlier than Han is not unthinkable. The arithmetical processes involved would

be easy with counting rods, which were pushed across the counting-board both left-to-right and right-to-left. But we cannot show that it was the ‘original order’.

François Ropars

François Ropars (b 1946), who is not a sinologist but an academic engineer, published *L'ordre de présentation des hexagrammes du Yi King* (Guy Tredaniel, Paris) in 1991. Inspired by Marcel Granet *La pensée chinoise*, he suggests another rationale for the received order. Like Olsvanger – though he had not read Olsvanger’s paper and did not notice Olsvanger’s symmetries – he works with the 8 x 8 grid, of which he presents some thirty variations, utilizing both the binary values of the hexagrams (which he gives in octal – counting on a base of 8) and the serial numbers of the hexagrams in the received order. He makes much of the non-invertible hexagrams and those for which inversion produces the same effect as counterchanging all the lines. His conclusion is that the order is an elaborate creation of the Masters of the Calendar at the Zhou court, reflecting not only their calendrical knowledge, but also the measurements of the ritual area of the Mingtang (the royal ‘Hall of Light’), and the proportions of the lü, twelve bamboo tubes that defined the notes of the musical scale. Counting rods are not mentioned.

Ropars sees the received order as ‘organized in numerical sequences that are distributed geometrically on tables of numbers’.²⁸ If he is right, this order was devised by skilled mathematicians who were devoted to the study of trigrams. His thesis may be compatible with Olsvanger’s, but he goes further than Olsvanger in trying to find keys showing that these sequences have precise significance.²⁹

The Mawangdui order

In the Mawangdui manuscript of 168 BC³⁰ there is an entirely different order, based on principles that cannot be shown to have been understood in the early Zhou centuries. Although nine of the hexagram drawings in the silk manuscript are defective, the order can be described with certainty. There is no pairing of hexagrams, only the application of a principle by which each of the constituent trigrams was identified with one of the eight members of an ideal family: father, mother, three sons and three daughters. (See [Diagram 9](#) and [Tables 9](#) and [10](#).)

The hexagrams are arranged by octets in each of which all eight have the same

upper trigram. The sequence of these upper trigrams takes all the males before all the females, giving the order: father, third son, second son, first son; mother, third daughter, second daughter, first daughter.

For the lower trigrams male and female are taken together at each point of seniority, giving the order: father, mother; third son, third daughter; second son, second daughter; first son, first daughter; except that the first hexagram in each octet has the same trigram at the bottom as at the top.

This could be an attempt at making a finding order, but is more likely a Han attempt to impose a philosophic order in terms of Warring States Period interest in the trigrams. Whether it is older than the received order is impossible to say.

Diagram 9 THE MAWANGDUI ORDER
Showing the form of the broken lines



NOTE: Received order in brackets

Table 9 MAWANGDUI HEXAGRAM ORDER PRINCIPLES

lower trigrams	— — — F	— — — M	— — — S3	— — — D3	— — — S2	— — — D2	— — — S1	— — — D1
	(1)	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	10	11	(9)	12	13	14	15	16
	18	19	20	21	(17)	22	23	24
u P P e r	26	27	28	29	30	31	(25)	32
t r i g r a m s	34	(33)	35	36	37	38	39	40
	42	43	44	(41)	45	46	47	48
	50	51	52	53	54	(49)	55	56
	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	(57)

F Father M Mother Son D Daughter () First of each octet

Table 10 MAWANGDUI AND RECEIVED ORDER OF HEXAGRAMS COMPARED

<i>Mawangdui – Received</i>							
01–01*	09–52*	17–29*	25–51*	33–02*	41–58*	49–30*	57–57*
02–12*	10–26*	18–05*	26–34*	34–11	42–43	50–14	58–09*
03–33*	11–23	19–08	27–16*	35–15*	43–45*	51–35*	59–20
04–10*	12–41	20–39*	28–62*	36–19*	44–31*	52–56	60–53
05–06	13–04	21–60	29–54	37–07	45–47	53–38*	61–61*
06–13	14–22*	22–63	30–40	38–36	46–49*	54–64	62–59
07–25*	15–27	23–03	31–55	39–24	47–17*	55–21*	63–37
08–44*	16–18*	24–48	32–32	40–46*	48–28*	56–50	64–42
<i>Received – Mawangdui</i>							
01–01*	09–58*	17–47*	25–07*	33–03*	41–12	49–46*	57–57*
02–33*	10–04*	18–16*	26–10*	34–26*	42–64	50–56	58–41*
03–23	11–34	19–36*	27–15	35–51*	43–42	51–25*	59–62
04–13	12–02*	20–59	28–48*	36–38	44–08*	52–09*	60–21
05–18*	13–06	21–55*	29–17*	37–63	45–43*	53–60	61–61*
06–05	14–50	22–14*	30–49*	38–53*	46–40*	54–29	62–28*
07–37	15–35*	23–11	31–44*	39–20*	47–45	55–31	63–22
08–19	16–27*	24–39	32–32	40–30	48–24	56–52	64–54

* The tag differs in the two texts.

The 'original' order

The question as to what was the original order is not of primary significance, and is logically dependent on the question as to whether there ever was an original order. We have no hope of answering either question. Even if we knew which was the earliest order, or merely which was first among those which have survived, the information might be of little significance.

Most likely the earliest stages in the composition of *Zhouyi* predated editorial concern about the sequence. The hexagrams may have been used before they were consciously arranged in any order at all. In an age when indexing played no part in life, and time did not press as it does in a mechanized and electronic society, information retrieval gave little trouble. Familiarity with a text would enable memory to act as its own index, especially for such a short book as *Zhouyi*. A random collection of sixty-four sets of oracles on bamboo slats would not be difficult for professional diviners to sort through. Other more or less random pre-Han literary collections have survived, notably in the Analects of Confucius; and the Odes are believed to have been set in chapter-and-verse order long after they were collected. The orders eventually imposed on the *Zhouyi* oracles, including the received order, may have been based on principles of no interest to the original compilers. Fascinating as the question of hexagram order has proved to be, and important though it has become for some philosophers and diviners, it is unlikely to mean much for understanding the original text.

THE HEXAGRAM TAGS

Each hexagram statement begins with one or two detached characters, often called *guaming* 'name of the hexagram'. Rather than 'names', they are better regarded as identifying tags or labels, to be used as we should now use serial numbers (see page 223). The use of numerals as serial numbers in any sort of Chinese listing belongs to modern times.

These tags form a curious medley of words whose possible meanings cannot (at least nowadays) be understood as titles or descriptive names for the hexagrams or their texts. This conclusion is amply supported by the difficulty translators have met in trying to translate some of the tags. Hexagram 58, for example, has been translated as 'Lake' (Wilhelm/Baynes), 'Joy' (Blofeld), 'Stand straight' (Whincup), and 'Opens up' (Titus Yu); Hexagram 16 as 'Enthusiasm'

(Wilhelm/Baynes), ‘Repose’ (Blofeld), ‘Contentment’ (Whincup), ‘Joy’ (Cleary), ‘Weariness’ (Hwang), and ‘Elephant dance’ (Titus Yu) – and the 10th Wing glosses it as ‘Idleness’.³¹ In fact Wilhelm/Baynes gave more than one translation for no less than twenty tags, while Legge, significantly, did not translate them at all. Nor does Richard Kunst.

Translators’ difficulties were not solved by the Ten Wings, which never treat the *guaming* as titles with fixed meanings. The 1st and 10th Wings give different glosses for several of them. *Tuanzhuang* and *Daxiang* clearly treat them simply as identifying tags, despite the reluctance of many translators and commentators to accept the fact. The suggestion that the line statements contain a ‘story’ for which the tag acts as title is considered below, page 136.

The Great Treatise itself suggests that the ‘names’ are vague.³² Yet in fifty-nine hexagrams the tag appears somewhere in the six line statements, sometimes only once, sometimes several times. Only in fifteen of these hexagrams (4, 5, 8, 10, 19, 20, 22, 24, 39, 47, 48, 50, 51, 52, 53) is it the unifying concept of all six line-statements, though in fifteen others, as was noticed in relation to the pentagram theory, it occurs in five of the line statements (see page 96). This means that nearly half the tags have a strong connection with the text. Of these thirty, fifteen are two-character tags. Sometimes only one of the two characters appears in the text, or the two characters are separated from one another by other words (as in Hexagram 14).

Six hexagrams have tags that do not appear in either the hexagram statement or line statements: Hexagram 2; Hexagrams 9 and 26 (one of the two pairs tagged ‘major’ and ‘minor’); Hexagrams 61 and 63; and Hexagram 11, which has a different form of the tag character in the hexagram statement. Remarks on all of these will be found at the appropriate places in the translation notes.

In about half the hexagrams the tag is not obviously dominant in the sentences, and appears to have been chosen arbitrarily. In some cases it is a character that rhymes with the dominant rhyme in the line statements – perhaps it was chosen as tag for that reason. This seems more likely than the reverse possibility, that the rhymes were designed to fit the tag.

Although the tag normally stands at the beginning as an isolated word, in five cases (10, 12, 13, 51 and 52) it forms part of the first sentence of the hexagram statement. Most hexagram statements contain nothing like the line-statement oracles, but every one of these five looks like a misplaced line statement (see page 128). Hexagram Statements 13 and 52 begin with what appear to be oracles in

line-statement style; 10 and 51 each begin with a line oracle that is repeated among the six below; while 12 begins with a variant of its third line oracle. These last three may be instances of inadvertent repetition. None of the five proves that the tag is a title or that it typifies the meaning of the hexagram.

It has been claimed that the tags of Hexagrams 9, 11 and 14 also belong to their hexagram statements. Since this is certainly true of Hexagrams 10, 12 and 13, there may be a cluster here, the series 9–14 having this peculiarity. Kunst also draws attention to the series 48–53, in which the tag occurs in, or is relevant to, all six line statements. These two sequences may be signs of editorial activity.³³

Eight hexagrams have tags that are also the names of the trigrams reduplicated in those hexagrams (see Table 11). The origin of these names is far from clear. They have no relation to the shape of the trigrams, and they do not form a coherent set. The Chinese use them simply as tags. Richard Wilhelm thought they had meanings of their own and translated them as: *Qian* ‘creative’, *Kun* ‘receptive’, *Zhen* ‘arousing’, *Xun* ‘gentle’, *Kan* ‘abysmal’, *Li* ‘clinging’, *Gen* ‘keeping still’, and *Dui* joyous’. He castigated Legge for not translating either hexagram names or trigram names, but Legge knew what he was doing.³⁴

Table 11 THE REDUPLICATED TRIGRAMS

☰	☷	☵	☲	☳	☴	☱	☶
Qian	Kun	Kan	Li	Zhen	Gen	Xun	Dui
strong	compliant	sinking	bright	stopping	moving	entering	pleasing
☰	☷	☵	☲	☳	☴	☱	☶
☰	☷	☵	☲	☳	☴	☱	☶
☰	☷	☵	☲	☳	☴	☱	☶
☰	☷	☵	☲	☳	☴	☱	☶
☰	☷	☵	☲	☳	☴	☱	☶
1	2	29	30	51	52	57	58
Qian	Kun	Kan	Li	Zhen	Gen	Xun	Dui

The eight hexagrams that are reduplicated trigrams

Wilhelm’s own translations are debatable. He did not explain how he arrived at them. They are in fact not names, but an eclectic mixture of terms drawn from various parts of the Ten Wings (see page 363). The learned British consul William Frederick Meyers (1839–78) is on better ground when he keeps the trigram names in Chinese, saying that the trigrams are ‘described’ in the 8th Wing, *Qian* as *jian* ‘strong’, *Kun* as *shun* ‘compliant’, *Zhen* as *dong* ‘mobile’, *Xun* as *ru* ‘penetrating’,

Kan as *xian* ‘sinking’, *Li* as *li* ‘beautiful and bright’, *Gen* as *zhi* ‘stationary’, and *Dui* as *yue* ‘pleasing to the external senses’.³⁵ The eight descriptive terms are not names. They are much used in the first two Wings. (For a fuller account of them see page 441.)

Were the hexagrams named after the trigrams or the trigrams after the hexagrams? There is no simple answer.

Seven of the eight trigram tags come from the hexagram or line statements, and the one that does not, *Kun* for Hexagram 2, is a famous special case (see Translation Note 2:tag).

Qian, in Hexagram 1, comes from Line 3, the one line that does not belong to the dragon theme that is characteristic of this set of oracles.

Kan, in Hexagram 29, occurs in four of the oracles and is the theme of the set.

Li, in Hexagram 30, occurs in only two of the oracles, which are generally about death and destruction. If the tag is taken to mean ‘oriole’, that bird may be a related symbol. (See Translation Note 30:tag).

Zhen, in Hexagram 51, is thunder, subject of all six oracles.

Gen, in Hexagram 52, occurs in all six oracles, and is probably a loan character (see Translation Note 52:tag).

Xun, in Hexagram 57, occurs in three oracles, and is also probably a loan character (See Translation Note 57:tag).

Dui, in Hexagram 58, occurs in five of the oracles.

The oracles could have been composed to fit the tags; but this seems unlikely, since the general principle is that tags are taken from the oracle texts. It seems more reasonable to suppose that these eight hexagram tags were chosen like the others and later, when names were wanted for the trigrams, the hexagram tags were called into service as trigram tags as well.

Mawangdui tags

In the Mawangdui text the tags are essentially the same as in the received text, though thirty-three of them are written with different characters.

The manuscript is defective and lacks twelve tags (Hexagrams 4, 7, 11, 15, 19, 21, 22, 27, 44, 49, 50 and 57 in the received order); but, since the characters for all the missing tags occur in hexagram or line statements, they are recoverable. In seven cases (15, 19, 21, 22, 44, 49 and 57) the recoverable character differs from the character in the received text.

Twenty-seven further tags, including all the eight reduplicated trigram names, differ from those in the received text. In the received order they are Hexagrams

1, 2, 5, 9, 10, 12, 16, 17, 18,
25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 38,
39, 45, 46, 51, 52, 58, 61, 62.

Each variant character is used consistently throughout the hexagram statement and line statements. Most of the variants are elaborate forms of the received text, making the work appear ostentatiously learned and mysterious. (Some are described in the translation notes.)

The remaining twenty-five tags are the same in Mawangdui as in the received text.

The Han stone tablet tags

The Han stone tablets have the received tags, except for

- (a) the same tag as Mawangdui for 2;
- (b) a loan of the same meaning as the received tag for 29;
- (c) a different form for 39 and for the second character of 54.

Of these only (a) is of particular interest. It is dealt with in the notes to the translation.



The tag, then, is no more than a convenient shorthand mnemonic reference, like the file-names used in computers. Having come to this conclusion long ago, I was gratified to discover that Richard Kunst also uses the word 'tag'. The *Zhouyi* text certainly does not justify the great importance given to 'hexagram names' in modern divination practice, and they cannot be used as titles that help resolve problems about the meaning of the text.

In this translation, except where the Translation Notes declare otherwise, the tag has been translated by the same English word or expression wherever it occurs in the statements of the hexagram to which it is attached (though other translations may be used when it occurs in connection with other hexagrams). This rule may sometimes make for stiffness in translation, but should help the reader judge how much or how little significance attaches to the tag words.

THE HEXAGRAM STATEMENTS

The traditional Chinese word for the hexagram statement, *tuan*, is puzzling. The written character has something to do with a pig, and in modern usage means hedgehog or porcupine. Karlgren thought it originally referred to a pig's gait; Wilhelm thought it meant a pig's head offered in sacrifice; Kunst suggests it may be a loan character for a homonym meaning 'engraved text'.³⁶ Perhaps it was adopted as the name of the hexagram statements because its sound resembled that of a word meaning 'decision' (which was one of the translations used by Wilhelm/Baynes). The modern term is *guaci*, 'hexagram statement'.

Hexagram statements, not counting the tags, vary in length from two characters (Hexagrams 14 and 34) to twenty-nine (Hexagram 2). Rather more than half (36/64) contain between five and eleven characters.

The structure of the hexagram statements is quite unlike that of the line statements, though all the elements of the line statements – oracle, indication, prognostic and observation (defined on pages 132–4) – can be found somewhere in the hexagram statements.

Oracles, which are the most distinctive feature of line statements, occur in only eighteen hexagram statements. All of these, except the reference to Marquis Kang in Hexagram 35, are related to a principal theme of the line statements, and usually appear to be misplaced from the line statements. Some apparent oracles, such as 'pig-fish' in Hexagram Statement 61, may be mistakes. Oracles from line statements are quoted or misquoted in Hexagram Statements 10, 13, 25, 28, 51, 52 and 64. In fact, the hexagram statements contain little oracular matter that is not better provided by the line statements – but that little can be of great historical value, as in Hexagram 35, already mentioned.

The main drift of the hexagram statements is therefore sacrifice and divination. With four or five exceptions the omens are positive: 'Favourable for crossing a big river' (7 times); 'Favourable when there is somewhere to go' (6 times); 'Favourable for meeting great men' (4 times); and many others used much less frequently. Most of them recur as 'indications' in line statements – ten or a dozen in the line statements of the same hexagram – but some are not found anywhere in the line statements. There may be several such indications for one hexagram statement, but four hexagram statements (1, 14, 34 and 58) have no indications at all beyond the so-called 'four qualities' described below.

Though its 'indications' are sometimes appropriate to the theme of the lines, the hexagram statement does not summarize the theme of its line statements, and

in most cases has no thematic connection with them. The hexagram statement cannot be said to provide a general summary of the hexagram's meaning, though many writers assume that this is what it does.

Table 12 SYNOPSIS OF HEXAGRAM STATEMENTS

Oracular matter is given in roman; if it is found in or related to line statements of the same hexagram it is given in roman upper case.

Indications, prognostics and observations are given in italic and in abbreviated form. Further details are given in the translation and its notes pages 288–360.

YHLZ means *yuan heng li zhen* (the 'four qualities' see page xx); WSEN are the cardinal points of the compass.

1	YHLZ	
2	YH L	<i>mare Z Lost prince. WSEN friends. Safety. Auspicious.</i>
3	YHLZ	<i>Not for travel. Lordships.</i>
4	H	DODDER ORACLES. <i>Divination instructions. LZ</i>
5		<i>Captives. YH Auspicious. Z Fording.</i>
6		<i>Captives. Auspicious/disastrous. Great men. Not fording.</i>
7	Z	<i>Great men. Not fatal.</i>
8		<i>Auspicious. YH long Z. Not fatal. Rebels. Disastrous.</i>
9	H	CLOUDS AND RAIN
10		TIGER'S TAIL. H
11		<i>Small and great. Auspicious H.</i>
12		<i>Ofenders. Not for princes. Great and small.</i>
13		MUSTERING. H <i>Fording. L prince Z</i>
14	YH	
15	H	<i>Prince's achievement.</i>
16		<i>Lordships. Military advance.</i>
17	YHLZ	<i>Not fatal.</i>
18	YH	<i>Fording. Jia days.</i>
19	YHI Z	

19	<i>Months. Disastrous.</i>
20	<i>Sacnfires. Capture.</i>
21HL	<i>Lawsuit.</i>
22H	<i>Small L. Going.</i>
23	<i>Not going.</i>
24H	<i>Illness. Friend. RETURN ORACLE.</i>
	<i>Going.</i>
25 YHLZ	<i>ORACLE Not going.</i>
26LZ	<i>Auspicious eating out. Fording.</i>
27 Z	<i>Auspicious. EXAMINE TEETH.</i>
28	<i>1ST ORACLE. Travel. H</i>
29	<i>Prisoners. H Travel.</i>
30LZH	<i>Raising cows.</i>
31HLZ	<i>Betrothal.</i>
32H	<i>Notfatal. LZ Travel.</i>
33H	<i>Somewhat LZ</i>
34LZ	
35	<i>Kang's horses.</i>
36L	<i>hardship Z</i>
37L	<i>women Z</i>
38	<i>Small matters auspicious</i>
39 WSEN	<i>Great men. Z Auspicious.</i>
40L	<i>WS Not travel. Auspicious travel and morning.</i>
41	<i>Captives. Y Auspicious. Not fatal Z.</i>
	<i>Travel. ORACLE.</i>
42	<i>Travel. Fording.</i>
43	<i>King at court. Danger. War omens.</i>
	<i>Travel.</i>
44	<i>Betrothal (negative).</i>
45H	<i>King at temple. Great men. HLZ Victims.</i>
	<i>Travel.</i>
46 YH	

	<i>Great men. Fear not. Auspicious for southern attack.</i>
47H Z	<i>Great men. Not fatal. Gossip.</i>
48	WELL ORACLES. <i>Disastrous.</i>
49	<i>Sacrifice. Captives. YHLZ Troubles disappear.</i>
50Y	<i>Auspicious H</i>
51H	1ST ORACLE. <i>Libation instructions. Troubles disappear.</i>
52	CLEAVING ORACLES. <i>Notfatal.</i>
53	<i>Betrothal. LZ</i>
54	<i>Expedition disastrous. Good for nothing.</i>
55Y	<i>King present. Do not worry. MIDDAY.</i>
56	<i>Lesser HZ SOJOURNER. Auspicious.</i>
57	<i>Lesser H Travel. Great men.</i>
58HLZ	
59H	<i>King at temple. Fording. LZ</i>
60	TOP ORACLE. <i>Z not possible.</i>
61	<i>'Pig-fish'. Auspicious. Fording. LZ</i>
62HLZ	<i>Small matters. BIRD ORACLE. Up and down. Auspicious.</i>
63H	<i>somewhat LZ. First good, then bad.</i>
64H	FOX ORACLE. <i>Unfavourable.</i>

Although the hexagram statements contain few oracles, they have the same function as line statements, and are called into use when the hexagram, rather than a single line, is taken to be the reply to the diviner's charge. Unhappily, as we shall see in the next chapter, we do not understand how the earliest diviners knew whether they had to read the hexagram statement or a line statement (see pages 169–72).

Because the hexagram statement stands before the line statements, it has often been taken to be older than they are, and to have a certain superiority to them. There is no objective evidence to support this view. Nor is there any persuasive evidence for the theory that there are two historic layers in the hexagram

statements, an earlier layer of ancient mantic phrases and a later one of omen phrases. We cannot know how the hexagram statements came to be composed. Perhaps they were added sporadically before the line oracles were collected; or they may have been jotted in at a later stage. Their importance in later practice derives neither from their content nor from their history (which is unknown) but simply from their position immediately after the hexagram.

They are possibly the most defective section of *Zhouyi*. Yet they contain four of the most important and most puzzling words in the whole book.

'The four qualities'

The four characters that form the opening words of *Zhouyi*, *Yuan heng li zhen*, are a feature of hexagram statements. One or more of the four occur in fifty of the sixty-four statements. They have become invested with a patina of mystic importance.

At first they referred to sacrifices and auguries, but their meaning changed over the centuries. After Han times they became key words in Confucian thought, carrying great evocative power. Though we cannot precisely date the semantic changes that produced the later meanings, philologists have been able to show how the changes occurred. To this day all four are used as elegant forms of the figures 1 to 4 for numbering a series of four parts or items, such as volumes of a book. Their mystique undoubtedly derives from their place at the head of Hexagram 1, but they also stand together at the head of five other hexagram statements (uninterrupted in 3, 17, 19, and 25; interrupted by another word in 2); in the midst of Hexagram Statement 49; and as fragments in some forty other hexagram statements. They occur singly, but not as a fourfold formula, in line statements. The fourfold group is distinctive of hexagram statements.

By the time the Ten Wings were written (say between 250 BC and AD 100), *yuan*, *heng*, *li* and *zhen* were taken to be the names of four qualities or 'virtues' (*si de*) applicable both to Heaven and to a noble-minded man. The Zuo Commentary gives a moral sense to them in a wry tale about a wicked old lady using them to correct a soothsayer's reading of the yarrow wands. (See page 187.) She quotes a sentence about the four qualities that also appears at the beginning of *Wenyan*, the 7th Wing: 'The superior man acts in accordance with these four qualities.' (See page 435.) These 'four qualities' were understood as sublimity (*yuan*), accomplishment (*heng*), furtherance (*li*) and perseverance (*zhen*).

Later commentators followed *Wenyan* in interpreting the four qualities as

ethical terms. Zhu Xi read them together with the tag of Hexagram 1 to form a sentence: 'Creative heaven *is the great* all-accomplishing and *the proper steadfastness.*' For Wilhelm they meant 'sublime success, *furthering* through perseverance.' For Legge they meant 'great and originating, *penetrating*, advantageous, / correct and firm.' Shchutsky accepted that the words were an ancient mantic formula, but thought their meaning had been lost.³⁷ He proposed the translation 'Great accomplishment. Steadiness is favourable.' In spite of the banality of 'Steadiness is favourable', this is more or less how the phrase has been understood since Han times.

It is now generally accepted that 'four qualities' is anachronistic for *Zhouyi*. Such elevated ethical meanings do not represent what *yuan heng li zhen* originally meant. Taken separately, their earliest meanings are: *yuan* 'head, chief or primal'; *heng* (which has close historical connections with a very similar character *xiang* that appears elsewhere in the received text), 'sacrifice', with overtones of auspiciousness and acceptability; *li* 'suitable, favourable, beneficial'; and *zhen* (which is written with graphs for 'cowrie' and 'divination'), 'divination' or 'augury'. Grammatically, *yuan* and *li* are modifiers, *heng* and *zhen* are substantives or verbs. *Heng*, indeed, can appear alone, and with various qualifiers other than *yuan*. *Yuan* appears without *heng*, though often separated from *heng* by another character. *Li* and *zhen* also appear separately or with modifying characters placed between them. Richard Kunst has provided the most comprehensive analysis of these uses.

The commentators' tradition of taking the four characters as a single entity seems to have carried so much weight that even otherwise rigorous critics may fail to question the assumption. Yet the connection is poorly attested by the text. The concatenation *yuanheng lizhen* occurs only six times. *Yuanheng* occurs by itself half a dozen times – without *lizhen*, which also has independent existence and occurs some dozen times.

All four characters also appear individually in line statements. *Yuan* occurs about a dozen times, always in the expression *yuanji* 'very (or most) auspicious'. (Two of these instances are subject to emendation in my translation. See Translation Notes 38:4 and 45:5.) *Heng* occurs only seven times; four times absolutely, outside the syntax of the rest of the statement (12:base, 2; 26:top; 60:4) and three times within statements, meaning 'offering sacrifice' (14:3, 17:top, 46:4). *Li* and *zhen* 'favourable' and 'augury' occur both together and apart. When they are apart, *li* always has an indirect object and *zhen* a qualifier. With more than

100 occurrences each, they are among the ten commonest words in *Zhouyi*.

The four characters must clearly be understood as two separate items, *yuanheng* and *lizhen*. ‘Grand sacrifice’ and ‘Propitious prognostication’ seem to be what they originally meant; but exactly what they conveyed to the diviners of Zhou is not clear. Since *Zhouyi* was intended for use by rulers, the *heng* passages may have advised the ruler to respond to the oracle by offering sacrifice; but other interpretations have been suggested.

Edward Shaughnessy believes that yarrow-wand divination always involved casting lots more than once, and that the divinatory process took place in stages. The first stage generated or received a hexagram, and if that hexagram statement included *yuanheng lizhen*, this meant that the first augury had been received by the spirits and a further casting of lots was recommended in order to receive an appropriate oracle for the occasion. He translates *yuanheng* as ‘primary receipt’, and *lizhen* as ‘beneficial to divine’. Shaughnessy argues his case plausibly, but admits it is fundamentally speculative.³⁸

Richard Kunst believes that *heng* carries overtones of ‘getting through’, but also of being auspicious. His translation is ‘Grand treat. Favourable determination.’ He admits that his use of ‘treat’ in the sense of ‘providing unexpected enjoyment (for the spirits)’ is less than felicitous. He intends this to indicate that the sacrifice or offering has been accepted, but he may well have caught the spirit of primitive sacrificial meals for ancestors.³⁹

Clearly any translation of *yuanheng* and *lizhen* must be a compromise. If too many questions are not to be begged, the translation must allow for two interpretations of *yuanheng*: that a sacrifice or offering has been made, or that making a sacrifice or offering is now advised. Likewise two views of *lizhen* must be covered: that the auspices are favourable, or that further divination is recommended. I have therefore temporised with the ambiguities of ‘Supreme offering’ (using ‘Offering’ when *heng* stands alone) and ‘Divination favourable’.

THE LINE STATEMENTS

In each hexagram-chapter the third element is a set of line statements. They provide an oracle for each line of the hexagram, beginning at the bottom and finishing at the top. The reasons for starting at the bottom of a hexagram become clear once the system has been used: in divining, a hexagram is built up line by line from the bottom as the numbers are received from the yarrow wand counts; and the meaning of the oracles moves from a beginning or base in the bottom

oracle to an ending and peak at the top.

The length of the line statements for each hexagram varies from twenty-six characters (Hexagram 56) to eighty-four (Hexagram 47), with an average of fifty-four.

Numbering

In the unpunctuated script of early transcriptions, some device was needed to separate the line statements from one another. In the received text each line statement is prefixed by 6 indicating a broken line, or 9 indicating a whole line, together with an indicator of the number of the line: *chu* ‘base’ or ‘beginning’, 2, 3, 4, 5 or *shang* ‘top’. The 6 or 9 meaning ‘broken’ or ‘whole’ comes after *chu* and *shang*, but before the numbers 2, 3, 4 and 5. (Chinese writers refer to lines as *chu liu* ‘base (6)’, *jiu san* ‘(9) 3rd’, *liu wu* ‘(6) 5th’, *shang jiu* ‘top (9)’ and so forth.)

Why whole lines should be denoted by 9 and broken ones by 6 is not entirely clear. Odd numbers would naturally be used for whole lines and even numbers for broken lines, because an unbroken line is single (odd) and a broken line consists of two parts (even); but, given that wand-counting can generate 6, 7, 8 or 9, we can only guess why 9 and 6, which indicate changeable lines, should have been chosen rather than 7 and 8. Possibly the reason was that a line can be used by itself as an oracle only when it is ‘changeable’. (For the explanation of ‘changeable lines’, see page 154.)

The terms ‘whole’ and ‘broken’ are not literally translated from Chinese. Legge used ‘undivided’ for 9 and ‘divided’ for 6, which was an interpretation of the Chinese equivalents, which are *yang/yin* ‘light/dark’ or, more usually, *gang/rou* ‘firm/ yielding’. The use of 9 and 6 may or may not be older than these terms.

Line numbers are generally believed to have been inserted late in the time of the Warring States. They are not mentioned in the Zuo Commentary – but this is not conclusive, for the Zuo Commentary contains only brief quotations, and though line numbers are not quoted there, they may already have existed. In the mid-second century BC, they are apparently not to be found in the Shuanggudui bamboo slips, but they appear in the Mawangdui manuscript. The Han stone tablets have bequeathed them to us.

They add nothing to the modern text, because the form of the line can be seen from the hexagram drawing, and modern typography separates the line statements. In spite of this, I have retained them in the translation because they form a notable feature of the received text and provide the traditional way of

citing line statements.

Supernumerary statements

Hexagrams 1 and 2 are anomalous in that each has a supernumerary line statement appended to the normal set of six.⁴⁰ In this seventh statement the 9 or 6 is preceded not by a line number but by the character *yong* ‘to use’, ‘*Yong* (9)’ standing before the seventh line statement of Hexagram 1, and ‘*Yong* (6)’ before the seventh for Hexagram 2. These extra line statements probably do not belong to the oldest stratum of *Zhouyi*. Their acceptance seems to have been patchy. They are mentioned in the Zuo Commentary and the 3rd Wing (*Xiaoxiang*, see page 391), but in only two of the five documents in the 7th Wing (*Wenyan*, see page 437). They are present in the Mawangdui manuscript.

The connotation of *yong* as used here is not clear. Since Song times it has been interpreted to mean that if all the lines generated for the hexagram are changeable, this extra line statement provides the oracle for use with the ‘changed’ hexagram. If a seventh oracle were not provided for this purpose, then Hexagram 1 occurring with all its lines changeable would have to be interpreted by the oracles of Hexagram 2, and vice versa. Once *yin/yang* doctrine was established, this might be thought intolerable, because it would mean wholly *yang* oracles for the archetypally *yin* hexagram and wholly *yin* oracles for the archetypally *yang* hexagram.

In Hexagram 1 the supernumerary line statement consists of an oracle and a prognostic: ‘See dragons without heads. Auspicious.’ This looks like a line statement from the dragon series to which five of the six lines for this hexagram belong. The present non-thematic oracle of Line Statement 3, about an alert prince, may originally have been an indication in Line Statement 2 (for the meaning of ‘indication’ here, see page 132). If so, that indication could have become an oracle through a copyist’s mistake. This change would upset the order of the following oracles, causing the last line statement to look like a surplus oracle, which was eventually rationalized as a supernumerary statement with the label *yong*.

The supernumerary statement for Hexagram 2 contains no oracle, but is simply an indication, ‘Long-term augury profitable,’ that occurs once elsewhere (52:base). Perhaps it was originally the indication of the top line of Hexagram 2. Since Hexagram 1 was given a seventh line statement, Hexagram 2 was made to match by treating the final indication of the last (top) line as a seventh line

statement.

In the Zuo Commentary (Zhao 29) the extra statement of Hexagram 1 is not referred to with the *yong* designation, but is called *qi Kun* ‘its (i.e. Qian’s) Kun’ – Kun being the tag of Hexagram 2. This reflects the ‘all changeable lines’ interpretation just mentioned, suggesting that its origin was pre-Han. There is some support for this view in the Mawangdui manuscript, a known early Han source, where both extra statements are prefixed not with *yong*, but with an unusual character not found in other Old Chinese sources: *tong* ‘to pass through’ or ‘throughout’, though in the Han-period dictionary *Shuowen* it is defined as ‘repeated’. Both *tong* and *yong* could be loans for a commoner *tong* meaning ‘throughout’ or ‘all’.⁴¹ (See [Diagram 13](#).) This could give the meanings ‘All 9’ in Hexagram 1 and ‘All 6’ in Hexagram 2 and make sense of the theory that *tong* or *yong* means ‘all lines changeable’. In the light of this, the expression *qi Kun* can mean ‘the Hexagram 2 form of Hexagram 1 (i.e. when every line is changed).’ But this use of *tong* could have been adopted only after the theory of changeable lines (see page 154) was accepted. We know nothing of how it arose or was used before it was described in the 11th century by Ouyang Xiu. Perhaps *yong* originally meant ‘when all six lines are indicated for use’; but this raises further questions about early divination procedures, of which we know almost nothing.

The structure of the line statements

Each line statement is composed of up to four elements: oracle, indication, prognostic and observation. Most lines have two or three elements, and some have one element only. Any of the four may be lacking, even the oracle. (Seven lines now have no oracle: 6:5, 25:4, 34:2, 40:base, 45:2, 45:4 and 57:5. In some instances the oracle may have been unintentionally omitted or transferred to another line when being copied.) Chinese names for the first three elements, based on the vocabulary of the Great Treatise, were given by Li Jingchi in *Zhouyi tanyuan* (1978).

(1) *Shici*, the oracle itself. This *oraculum*, or ‘brief utterance’, is the heart of the line statement, a phrase or sentence that encapsulates the divinatory value of each line. Some omen value, expressed poetically or symbolically, can usually be discerned. It is sometimes called the ‘topic’, but ‘topic’ implies a noun-phrase, and some oracles are in other grammatical forms. They may read like proverbs (Waley made much of the proverbs⁴²); or describe weather conditions, accidents, the behaviour of birds or animals, the appearance of stars, the condition of

buildings or natural features (such as a tree or rock), or significant historical events. These oracles may have been diviners' interpretations of the lines by reference to familiar omens. A diviner receiving line 50:base might say 'This line means the same as a sacrificial cooking-pot being knocked over.' Possibly some omens became attached to particular lines because those lines were encountered when the significance of the omens was being divined. Certainly the whole corpus of oracles as we now have it must be the result of extended experience in divination, and parts of it have been subjected to editing as well as corruption.

The oracles, or the principal themes in them (such as the dragon in Hexagram 1, the pheasant in 36 and the well in 48), are sometimes called 'images' in English. I have avoided this because I cannot find justification for it in *Yijing*. 'Image' is a translation of *xiang*, which, following Willard Peterson (see page 407), I have rendered as 'figure'. *Xiang* is applied by the Great Treatise to the hexagrams, the lines and their celestial archetypes, rather than to the literary images used in the oracles. Even if 'image' can be justified here, it is confusing because of its other literary uses.

(2) *Gaoci*, an indication, is printed in italic in this translation. Thomas Kingsmill first used the term 'indication' in an article of 1894.⁴³ 'Injunction' has sometimes been used instead, but an injunction is essentially imperative, whereas the *gaoci* is only occasionally imperative. It is indicative in the predictive sense, and consists of a phrase or group of phrases of the same kind as the indications given in the hexagram statements (see page 123) – indeed phrases used in line indications also occur in hexagram statements. These phrases indicate the effect and value of the oracle, frequently defining the type of problem (choosing a house site, choosing a bride, expecting an attack, planning a military expedition, etc) to which the oracle principally applies.

(3) *Duanci*, a prognostic, is printed in capitals in the translation. This is one of four standard prognostic words: *ji*, auspicious; *li*, dangerous; *jiu*, misfortune; and *xiong*, disastrous. They are syntactically absolute and all four may be translated either as nouns or as adjectives.

Ji 'auspicious', the only word for an unqualifiably good prognostication, occurs 147 times and is the commonest word of independent meaning in *Zhouyi*. (The commonest word of all is the negative particle *wu*.) It is never qualified by a negative particle, as most of the unlucky prognostics can be. It is, however, the only one of the four standard prognostics of *Zhouyi* that is common in oracle-bone inscriptions, where it is often qualified. In *Zhouyi* it is qualified as *yuanji*

‘most auspicious’ (12 times), *zhongji* ‘ultimately auspicious’ (10 times) and by various modifying phrases.

Li ‘dangerous’ (originally ‘scorpion’), a threat of failure or trouble, occurs only 27 times in all the 386 line statements. *Li* does not imply that the final outcome must necessarily be bad. Indeed, if matters are handled with circumspection, the dangers, whether natural or human, may be avoided or overcome.

Jiu ‘misfortune’, the commonest word of ill omen, is a more serious warning than *li*, and means there is trouble ahead, with harm or loss, though ultimate failure is not inevitable. It occurs in 100 places, but in 93 of them it is negated by a prefixed *wu*, giving the meaning ‘no misfortune’. ‘No misfortune’ is an expression implying a limited or temporary misfortune, and is effectively the second most favourable prediction.

Four modifications of *wujiu* occur: (1) *wu dajiu* ‘no great misfortune’ (18:3, 44:3); (2) *feijiu* ‘not misfortune’ (14;base); (3) *he jiu* ‘can there be misfortune?’ (17;4, 38:5); and *he qi jiu* ‘what misfortune here?’ (9;base). These again are all essentially favourable predictions.

Xiong ‘disastrous’, the worst prognostic, occurs 88 times. Like *ji* for good fortune, it is never negated, though it is once qualified as *zhongxiong* ‘ultimately disastrous’ (Hexagram Statement 6). It might be translated by ‘inauspicious’ or ‘ominous’, but ‘inauspicious’ is too vague and ‘ominous’ is ambiguous. ‘Disastrous’ expresses foreboding and is particularly suitable because its etymology lies in ‘malevolent astral influences’.

Another and rarer word for ill fortune, not in the same class as the four major prognostics, is *ta* ‘unexpected calamity’. It occurs in 8;base, 28:4 and 61;base.

(4) *Yanci*, an observation, also printed in italic in this translation, is relatively infrequent and less precisely determined. It was regarded as part of the indication or prognostic until Edward Shaughnessy distinguished it in 1983, taking the Chinese term from oracle-bone studies. He followed oracle-bone scholars in translating *yanci* as ‘verification’; but ‘verification’ suggests that *yanci* always validates the indication or the prognostic, which it does not always in *Zhouyi*.

An observation elaborates or comments on the prognostic, sometimes suggesting a degree of modification, even contradiction. It typically contains the words *hui*, ‘trouble’ (used 34 times, of which 19 are in the negative form *hui wang* ‘troubles disappear’), and *lin*, ‘distress’ (used 20 times and never negated, but twice limited to *xiao lin* ‘little distress’ in 21:3 and 45:3), which are subsidiary prognostics. Both words originally had objective meanings about troublesome

events or circumstances, out of which subjective meanings of regret or distress later developed. Since Bronze Age realpolitik had little room for indulgence in remorse, repentance and regret, the subjective senses do not make suitable translations for the period. Yet the difference between the objective meanings of the two words is not completely clear. Most commentators are agreed that both represent auguries that, though not good, are not as bad as *jiu* and *xiong*.

An observation may modify a prognostic of danger, suggesting that all will fall out well in the end; or it may hint that an auspicious augury will lead to trouble at a later stage. The entry at 17:4, for example, looks like a direct comment on the augury of disaster: ‘Sacrificing captives on the way; in a covenant, could there be misfortune?’ Such observations may have been derived from individual experiences with the oracle.



Indications, prognostics and observations might be described as the earliest commentaries on the oracles, dating from a time before moralizing or philosophizing had entered into the original mantic procedures. Various explanations have been offered for their combination into conglomerate line statements. The most probable is that in the first place only oracles were collected and later, when the sense of the oracles began to be forgotten, or experience mounted up, the indications and prognostics were added as clues to the significance of the oracles. The prognostics probably came last. They are known to have been unstable in Han times, as the Mawangdui text and *Hanshu* bear witness (see page 35). Several commentators have concluded that the line statements in their entirety derive from the experience of a number of diviners. This would explain discrepancies and contradictions within single line-statements; but the tendency to thematic unity within some sets of six line statements suggests the work of organizing minds.

The resemblances of this line statement structure to the structure of oracle-bone inscriptions are interesting. David Keightley describes the inscriptions as containing discrete elements, not all of which are always present: preface (*xuci*) giving the date and diviners name; charge (*minga*); serial number (*xushu*) and notation (corresponding to the *Zhouyi* prognostic, and usually auspicious, since inauspicious notations were not recorded); prognostication (*zhanci*), an elaboration of the notation; verification (*yanci*), recording what actually happened; and occasionally a postface, with characteristics of both preface and

verification. The following is a well-known example. Though it lacks a *xushu* serial number, the four other principal elements are clear:⁴⁴

- (Preface) *Divining on guisi day. Ke gave the charge:*
(Charge) *'That there be no ill fortune this ten-day "week".'*
(Prognostic) *The king prognosticated: 'Disastrous; some troubles.'*
(Verification) *Five days later trouble from the west. Zhiguo reported the Tufang reached the eastern borders and raided two settlements. The Gongfang also entered our western pastures.*

Granted that oracle-bone inscriptions are essentially records, while *Zhouyi* is a text for use in the divination procedure, the resemblances between the two structures are striking. Although the modern Chinese terms for the elements do not correspond precisely, they indicate a similar approach to divination.

Subject matter

The literary content of *Zhouyi* is to be found in the line statements, which are notoriously obscure. The interpretation underlying my translation of them depends heavily on Richard Kunst's suggestions, many of which derive from Chinese scholars. If they are correct, *Zhouyi* is a royal book of oracles mainly related to warfare, especially warfare as a means of obtaining captives to be killed in sacrifices.

This accords with what we should expect of a divinatory manual for princes of the period. Cho-yun Hsu says that in Bronze Age statecraft two things were considered of paramount importance: military affairs and sacrifice, which went together. 'In time of war the expeditionary troops were given their orders in the ancestral temple ... Before joining battle the officers and warriors gathered to make divinations ... After a war was over the victorious army was expected to report the victory and present captives to the temples',⁴⁵ where they were sometimes put to death as sacrificial victims. Sacrifices were regularly preceded, especially among the Shang, by divination.

Gao Heng⁴⁶ draws attention to the inscription on a Western Zhou bronze vessel called Xiaoyu *ding* (probably cast in the first quarter of the 10th century BC, but now known only from rubbings) that eerily confirms the impression of the line statements. It describes the ceremony after a general called Yu returns from a campaign in the Gui territory mentioned in Hexagrams 63 and 64. He has captured 3 chieftains, 5049 severed heads or left ears, 13,081 men, more than 104 horses, more than 130 vehicles, 355 cattle, and 38 sheep – there is some doubt

about the actual numbers, but the scale is clear enough. The effect, wrote Herrlee Creel,⁴⁷ 'is one of great spaces, dimmed light, awe-inspiring and sometimes gruesome pageantry.' The king congratulates Yu, who brings forward the three captive chiefs. The king has them interrogated about their motives in resisting Zhou, and when the interrogation is over they are decapitated. All the ears or heads are offered in a great burnt sacrifice.

Here we recognize the people of *Zhouyi* and their concerns. It is all a long way from the later use of *Yijing* as a book of wisdom, and still further from using it for reflective self-analysis or in seeking advice about the future.

'Hexagram stories'

It is often assumed that the six line statements of every hexagram have a common theme, even that they 'tell a story'; or, more cautiously, that in some earlier recension they told stories, many of which have been lost. Neither contention is capable of proof. Both tend to go with the untenable theory that the tags are thematic titles (see page 118).

In Hexagram 7 there may be sustained reference to a single battle; the wedding in Hexagram 22 may have been a particular wedding; the pit of 32, the well of 48 and the bronze vessel of 50 may all have been specific; equally probably they were not. Gu Jiegang's famous five stories (see page 29), important as their disinterment has been, are not the subjects of any line statement sets, unless the 'sojourner' of Hexagram 56 can be shown to be Wang Hai throughout, or the wedding omens of Hexagram 54 can all be shown to apply to the wedding of Diyi's daughter. More likely all five of Gu's stories were inserted as single-line examples into groups of general omens.

A unifying element can be detected in 38 hexagrams, 30 of which are listed on page 119 as containing a key word five or six times; but a single word gives no more than a tenuous bond, and only about a quarter of all the 64 hexagrams can even remotely be thought to contain a story. In some of these the use of incremental repetition (see page 142) enhances the narrative effect.

One possible reading of this evidence is that the earliest oracles were added to the hexagram collection at random and, as more spaces came to be filled, there was a natural tendency towards the agglomeration of omens with similar themes. Later additions were consciously or subconsciously made to fit these themes; finally, deliberate re-editing may have provided polished unitary compositions such as 22 'The Bridegroom', 50 'The Bronze Vessel', 53 'The Wild Geese' and 56

‘The Sojourner’. I am tempted to guess that 1 ‘The Dragon’, with its poetic evocation of the *yang* principle, was compiled last of all; but all explanations of this kind are, for the time being at least, no more than guesswork.

Reduplicated words

The Book of Odes and *Zhouyi* alike show that reduplication and semi-reduplication were features of Early Old Chinese vocabulary. The *Zhouyi* examples attracted the attention of both Waley and Kunst.⁴⁸ Kunst found upwards of a score of true reduplications and thirteen semi-reduplications, chiefly in line statement oracles, occasionally in oracular parts of hexagram statements, hardly at all in technical prognostics and stock phrases.

English reduplications are almost invariably onomatopoeic, like ‘haha’ for the sound of laughter, or ‘tomtom’ for a drum; and they are often childish or jocular, as in the infant’s ‘puff-puff’ for a railway train. There are two related forms, not usually onomatopoeic: ‘rhyming semi-reduplication’, changing the initial sound, as in ‘higgledy-piggledy’ and ‘niminy-piminy’; and ‘alliterative reduplication’, retaining the initial sound while losing the rhyme, as in ‘flim-flam’ or ‘criss-cross’. The meaning of such forms can move a long way from the first meanings of either the constituent elements or the combinations. The sound of a bell becomes a debate (ding-dong), a chuckle becomes a concealed ditch (haha), the sound of bouncing becomes the name of a game (ping-pong).

Chinese has both true reduplications and semi-reduplicated forms. Though they are not markedly informal, they too may have meanings that bear little or no relation to the meaning of the component elements. Often, indeed, the meaning of the redoubled form is far from clear, and even Chinese commentators have found themselves reduced to guesswork. This was the point that interested Waley. Examples in *Zhouyi* include *qianqian* (**gjian-gjian* ‘active’ 1:3, discussed on page 292); *kan* ‘a pit’, giving *kankan* (**khem-khem*) ‘thudding’ 29:3; *jing* ‘a well’ giving *jingjing* (**tsjing-tsjing*) ‘coming and going’ 48; and *suo* ‘small’, giving *suo-suo* (**sak-sak*) ‘in smithereens’ 56:base.

Semi-reduplications are fewer and harder to define with certainty, because identifying them depends on reconstructing Early Old Chinese pronunciation. Possible examples are the rhyming **ban-gwan* (*panhuan* ‘wheeling around’ 3:base) and the alliterative **mjag-mjang* (*wuwang* ‘unexpected’ 25:base, discussed on page 318).

Our inability to understand many of these elusive nuances is frustrating,

because the whole tone and sense of a sentence may depend on the reduplicated word. We are faced with a typical feature of oral usage, which is elusive in any ancient language; yet the oral qualities of *Zhouyi* probably bring us nearer to the spoken word than any other evidence we have of the language of the times.

Rhyme

Rhyming is a common device in Chinese literature. While it would be absurd to underrate the quality of unrhymed poetry translations by masters like Arthur Waley, oracles are a different matter. They rarely carry the fine nuances of lyric poetry, and their gnomic nature is reinforced by their rhymes.

In *Zhouyi* line statements an indication often rhymes with its oracle so as to parallel the oracle, illuminate it, or apply it to another frame of reference. The rhyme may make the indication appear to be part of the original oracle; but capping verses has been a Chinese habit for thousands of years (Waley found evidence of it in Ode 56⁴⁹), and rhyming four-character verses, which are frequent in *Zhouyi*, are typical of the period.

There is no doubt that capping was done by diviners at work. It is often hard to tell whether a *Zhouyi* rhyme is an original rhymed distich or a single verse that has been capped by a diviner.

Another difficulty concerns our recognition of rhymes. Some apparent rhymes may be fortuitous; others we may miss altogether. Apart from rhymes within oracles, rhymes may depend on the hexagram tag. They may echo the four technical prognostic terms, *ji*, *xiong*, *li*, and *jiu*. Richard Kunst⁵⁰ has indicated many places where such rhymes may occur, but sometimes the rhyming words are so widely separated from each other that there must be some doubt as to whether they were felt as rhymes by the original diviners.

A further element of doubt about the identification of rhymes lies in the uncertainty of our linguistic knowledge. Many Old Chinese rhyme sounds have not survived into modern Chinese, and Pinyin romanization of a passage of Old Chinese is, as Edward Shafer very reasonably says, comparable to writing the Latin word *caesar* as *tsar*.⁵¹ Richard Kunst has been careful to ascertain that the rhymes he identifies are effective in Karlgren's restoration of Old Chinese pronunciation; but Karlgren's system is under reconsideration. Li Fangguei's more recent system is widely regarded as an improvement; but it is still not perfect.

In spite of these problems, a glimpse of the difference between the modern language and Old Chinese can be seen by comparing a passage in Pinyin with the same passage in Li Fang-kuei's system.⁵² The asterisk reminds us that any reconstruction is tentative. In Pinyin, 1:3 reads:

Junzi zhongri qianqian xi tiruo.

Li's version of Old Chinese is very different:

**Kjwentsjeg tjengnjit gjian'gjian rjiak thiknyak.*

While it may never be possible to discern accurately what was or was not an acceptable rhyme or satisfactory assonance in Bronze Age speech, we can at least bear in mind that the language did not sound like today's Chinese, and that there certainly were rhymes in *Zhouyi*.

Inversions

Many of the oracles and indications are presented as contradictory or inverted pairs of sentences.

Contradictions are most obvious in the contrast between indications like 'Favourable when there is somewhere to go' and 'Not for use when there is somewhere to go'; or 'Favourable for nothing' and 'Unfavourable for nothing.' Oracles may be contrasted, like 'being bitten' and 'not being bitten' (Hexagram 10), or 'The ridge-pole sags' and 'The ridge-pole warps' (Hexagram 28). These are simple applications of the principle of alternation or bipolar opposition that so impressed the author of the Great Treatise.

Inverted oracles show a more complex form of word-play, the combination of two polarities in opposition; binding and loosing grown men and little ones (Hexagram 14), old and young bridegroom and bride (28), small and great departing and coming (Hexagram 11). Simpler inversions also occur: enriching and diminishing (Hexagram 42), meeting and passing (62). A theme using the four cardinal points appears in Hexagrams 2, 39 and 40, but is not worked out systematically.

Such balanced pairings are perceptions of the logic of contradiction presenting itself in divination. They also represent an early stage in the development of balanced literary periods that come to flowering in the Ten Wings.

The line statements and the beginnings of poetry

There are striking points of contact between *Zhouyi* and the Book of Odes that encourage us to estimate the place of both books in the beginnings of Chinese writing.⁵³ They have more in common than simply sharing the same time, place and language: both are official compilations of the Zhou state, concerned to record and justify the dynasty; and together they illuminate the development of script into written literature.

In the translation notes I have noted some echoes of the Odes. Most of these references are to the *Ya* sections of the Odes (Odes 161–265), containing odes and epics generally thought to date from the tenth and ninth centuries BC. (For examples see Translation Notes for Hexagrams 53 and 61.) This gives plausible though fragile evidence in support of a similar date for the compilation of *Zhouyi*, especially where there are linguistic or stylistic similarities. The later odes, the *guofeng* or popular songs (Odes 1–160) are more useful as evidence for customs.

One of the commonest patterns of the songs in the Book of Odes is known in Chinese as *xing* ‘elation’. *Xing* is created by an initial image, usually drawn from nature, but sometimes from common human activities. Without any connecting phrase or word, the poem moves directly from this visual image to a reflection on the matter in the poet’s mind or heart, bearing a relation to the image that is by no means always obvious. Waley called this juxtaposition of themes without explanation ‘elliptical ballad’. Sedges and lotus, for instance, in Ode 145 give rise to thoughts of a girl’s hopeless love for a good-looking boy:

*By the bank of the pond,
Grow lotus and sedges.,
There is a certain handsome one – How I suffer,
Whether waking or sleeping ...*

while in Ode 32 a breeze in the jujube trees evokes a lament for an overworked mother:

*Gentle breezes from the south,
waft through the midst of the jujube trees.,
The midst of the jujube trees is refreshed,
While mother toils and worries.*

This pattern may be repeated in each stanza of the song. It is less than allegory, less even than metaphor or simile, though it may come close to simile. The initial image may be as commonplace as the moonlight that makes the poet sing of his

beloved (143); as humdrum as the chopping of trees that prompts a complaint about a bad man (141); as lyrical as a rocking boat that suggests a lover's unfaithfulness (45); or as touching as a dead deer in the woods that provokes a song about a girl seduced by a youth (23).

In *Zhouyi* a similar inconsequential connection is often found in the relation between the oracle and its indications. Line Statement 61:2, for instance, echoes Ode 156. In the hexagram the sound of a crane calling to its young evokes thoughts of a man calling friends to drink wine with him:

*A crane calls on the shaded slope,
Its chicks call in reply.
Here we have a brimming cup.
Together we'll drink it dry.*

In Ode 156 a calling heron evokes the image of a woman sighing indoors:

*A heron calls on an ant-hill.
A woman sighs in her room,
Sprinkles the house and sweeps.*

Diviners respond to oracles in much the same way as poets respond to images. The line between poetic response and omen recognition is a fine one: the souging of wind that rouses sad thoughts can soon become an omen of sad events. Lack of connecting words, too, is typical of *Zhouyi*. When read beside the Odes, this construction, half rational, half emotional, clearly appears as part of the budding of literature, the discovery of images and experimentation with figures of speech.

A second feature typical of both the Odes and *Zhouyi* is 'incremental repetition', which is almost normative in the structure of each set of line sentences. 'Incremental repetition' consists of an image expressed in a formula that is repeated in each stanza with a predication that raises the tension, stanza by stanza. In *Zhouyi* the pattern works, at its simplest, from a man's foot to his head, as in Hexagram 31, chopping toe, shin, thigh, loins and face in rising order. In Ode 11 the song works up from the hoofs to the horns of the legendary beast called *lin*. The dragon in Hexagram 1 rises from beneath the water, above the fields and above the clouds, until in the sixth line it has gone out of sight.

This ascent is often more subtly expressed. Hexagram 53 is strikingly paralleled by Ode 248. Where the oracles in the hexagram tell of geese settling on stream,

rocks, shore, trees, hill and peak, Ode 248 tells of mallards seen on river, shore, shoals, point where rivers meet and in the river gorge. The motif develops similarly in each, though the development of the themes is different. (See the note to Hexagram 53.) Subtler still is the steady incrementation of the line statements of Hexagram 22, where elaboration of adornment rises from footwear to beard, robes, chariot and bridal gifts of silk, until it climaxes in the surpassing perfection of pure white. Incremental repetition is common in folksongs and children's songs all over the world – another sign of literature's first lispings, a fundamental pattern in song-making and a primitive type of oral poetic structure. In *Zhouyi*, it is more likely to have sprung naturally from the oral nature of the material than from any self-conscious formality of composition.

Incrementation is the underlying reason why some diviners claim that the line statements of each hexagram show a consistent pattern of moral ascent: the bottom line speaking of a beginning or basis, something small or lowly; the second of something interior, or women (whose sphere of work lay inside the house); the third of danger, difficulty or misfortune; the fourth of an officer or the resolution of difficulty; the fifth of the ruler, giving the most auspicious augury; and the top line of going beyond a limit, or reaching an end that is a beginning. Although the commentaries profess to discern this pattern frequently, it cannot be called a consistent feature of the original oracles.

The foundations of this interpretation lie in a divinatory analysis given in the Ten Wings.⁵⁴ There the base line of a hexagram is said to be hard to understand, the second line encouraging, the third inauspicious, the fourth warning, the fifth auspicious, and the top line easy to understand. Even this analysis is not true for all hexagrams. It merely approximates to a general pattern in that nearly half the third lines have inauspicious prognostics, while about two thirds of fifth lines are auspicious. Starting from this perception and combining it with ideas about the relative rank or dignity of each of the six positions, later commentators became fascinated with the idea of reality as an unceasing continuum of change and development; but this philosophy is not even implicit in *Zhouyi*. (See pages 44–6 and 406.) Genuinely moral interpretations came last of all.

Other points of correspondence between *Zhouyi* and the Book of Odes are recorded in the notes to the translation. The two works often deal with the same matters in different vocabulary; there is the same veering towards the early history of the Zhou dynasty, with implicit apologia; the same concern about weddings, marriage and family life (subjects that occur in about a third of the

hexagrams), with a surprising freedom and power attributed to women. The same way of life is recognizable in both collections.

There are, however, differences between them. The four seasons (spring, summer, autumn, winter), so important in later Chinese thought as an interrelated series with their own symmetry, are not mentioned at all in *Zhouyi*. In the Odes they are frequently mentioned, as parts of the rural calendar, giving recurrent delight that lays the foundation for the coming role of the seasons in centuries of lyric verse. In *Zhouyi* the calendar is purely numerical, essentially administrative, numbering the moons and counting the days in tens.

This difference typifies the way in which the tone of each book is particular. Where the Odes are convivial, gentle, proud, touching, gay, sad, solemn and admonitory by turns, *Zhouyi* is stark and lordly, always bent on action. The Odes were for singing; *Zhouyi* was for ruling. *Zhouyi* sometimes gives brief glimpses of city life and houses; the Odes are more expansive, including the landscape as well as palaces, descriptions of parties and battles, details of plants and animals, cuisine and clothing. Both speak of royal service, though in the Odes it is seen emotionally, as by a serving soldier or his wife (Odes 121,162), and in *Zhouyi* practically, as by king and ruler. Yet emotion counts in both books. The 'My mind' or 'My heart' formula is shared between them. Ode 14 has *My heart is sad*; Ode 26 *My heart is not a stone*; Ode 65 *My heart grieves*; Ode 147 *My heart is choked*. *Zhouyi* 48:3 has *My mind shrinks*; 52:2 *The mind is not pleased*; 56:4 *My mind rests not*. (As in many cultures, the heart is the seat of thought and will as well as emotions.)

Zhouyi has little concern for agriculture, though some concern for rainfall; it sees the land and the weather as problems in a way rarely found in the Odes. Both books, however, share an interest in the sacrifices a ruler must provide and preside over. In Karlgren's interpretation of Ode 241,⁵⁵ the two come together:

The cut heads were brought solemnly.
The king offered them in sacrifice to God on High,
he offered them in the camping place,
he added them to the other offerings,
to propitiate the gods of the soil.

The odes were composed over a period of perhaps 500 years, then worked over and polished. The oracles show little trace of such careful craftsmanship. Though the hexagram statements and line statements are referred to as *zhou* or *yao*,

words also used for folk rhymes and chants, they are less sophisticated than the odes. They remain close to proverbs and weather saws, to the ditties and chants of children at play that have been regarded as portents in east Asia for centuries. They are records of the spoken word, and their oral quality rings in the ear.

(Further remarks on the content of the hexagram and line statements will be found in the Introduction to the Translation, pages 205–21.)

Divination

Definitions

Since English words referring to divination are used in various ways, it will be well to explain how they are used in this book.

Divination or *augury* means discovering information by extrarational means. In antiquity this was taken to mean communication with gods, literally ‘divine’ communication. Hence the Latin word *divinatio*. In China the information was believed to come from ancestors rather than from gods.

There are many methods of divination, each with its own academic name, but they all use one of two principles: the oblativ (‘self-presenting’) or the impetrative (‘entreating’).¹ Both principles involve identifying and interpreting signs that have no connection with the communication other than that they occur in the time or place of the divination, and happen to, or are seen by, a person concerned in the divination. Such signs are called *omens* or *portents*, and are normally understood as giving communications about the future.

Oblative divination can occur without any planning, or it can be deliberately sought. It means accepting portents of natural or coincidental origin that present themselves, such as dreams (oneiromancy), bird behaviour (ornithomancy), entrails of sacrificial animals (haruspicy), names (onomancy), lines in the hand (cheiromancy), or lie of the land (geomancy).

Impetrative divination is always deliberately performed. It means inducing artificial signs that can be read as portents, such as the contents of dishes or cups (lecanomancy); casts of dice (astragalomancy); cracks made by applying heat to ox shoulderblades (scapulimancy, or omoplastoscopy) or the under-parts of tortoiseshells (plastromancy); and passages selected at random in revered books (bibliomancy). The signs are produced by a diviner who cannot influence their

'readable' qualities. They must therefore always be generated by a random process.

In impetrative divination the omen often comes in the form of a verbal utterance, called an *oracle*, delivered vocally by an inspired medium (who is usually in a state of trance), or by some other type of specialist who interprets the visible or audible signs. Oracles are usually cryptic, and need interpretation, which may require the services of yet another type of specialist. The interpretation of an oracle is a *prognostication*, which is a less cryptic explanation, often couched in general terms, of what is going to happen, what must be done, or what success will attend a proposed course of action.

Further confusion over terms may arise from the fact that the word 'oracle' is also used, as in relation to Tibet or ancient Rome, to mean a specialist, often male and usually a medium, who delivers verbal oracles; or even, as with reference to Chinese 'oracle bones', to both omens and prognostications. Here it is used in its strict sense, meaning a cryptic verbal statement.

Divination by *Zhouyi* is impetrative, using yarrow-wand counting (achillomancy or, less correctly, rhabdomancy) to find an oracle in a book (bibliomancy). An oracle is affixed to every hexagram and line in *Zhouyi* and the diviner has to discover which oracle fits the situation. Six numbers are generated at random by counting yarrow wands and these six numbers indicate six lines that constitute one of sixty-four possible hexagrams. That hexagram's oracles give the prognostication for the occasion.

Although this is impetrative divination, some of the oracles, like that for Hexagram 63 about a fox getting its tail wet when crossing a stream, may originally have referred to oblativ omens.

Shang and Zhou divination

Scapulimancy (scorching shoulderblades) was practised before Shang. In various forms it was widespread in the northern hemisphere from neolithic times onward – surviving in the Highlands of Scotland until at least the end of the nineteenth century.² Plastronomy (scorching tortoiseshells) was used in Shang and Zhou. Though much of the detail remains obscure, and we are a long way from being able to re-enact the procedures, the study of Shang oracle-bones has enormously deepened our understanding of divination in ancient China. Some 176,000 fragments are known, scattered in collections all over the world, bearing inscriptions dated by scholars to c1240 -1040 BC. They were used in a ceremony

that was both political and religious, at a time when politics centred on a monarch whose function was intrinsically religious. Religion involved neither a Creator God nor any theory of salvation or of spirituality based on prayerful contact with the divine, but a multiplicity of ancestors and gods disposed in heavenly hierarchies that mirrored the hierarchies of human society (see page 20f).

There is some doubt about the provenance of the shells used in Shang plastromancy. The majority were from aquatic species and might be better identified zoologically as turtle shells. (Herpetologists distinguish turtles from tortoises, but in common parlance Americans tend to call all chelidonians 'turtles', while the British call them 'tortoises'. Since 'tortoise' is the word used in English proverbs and folk-tales, I have preferred it for this book.) They were probably imported from the Yangzi region or from Southeast Asia. The plastron, or ventral part of the carapace, was used. Both plastron and ox shoulderblade were given a high jade-like polish on one side, and had rows of small lentoid hollows made on the reverse side. Fierce heat was applied to the hollows (we do not know how), making tiny cracks appear behind them on the polished surface. These cracks usually consist of two or three hairlines radiating from a single point, typically one straight line with another joining it at an angle midway. They are not forms of the written character, indeed not writing of any kind.

Professional diviners interpreted these crack-lines (we do not know how) and scratched the written answer on the polished surface beside the crack. After being used until the surface was filled with columns of cracks and inscriptions, the bones and shells were buried.

In Shang times divination with bones or tortoiseshells seems to have been reserved to the king. He was usually present in person and sometimes took part in the ceremony. He put his proposal to the ancestors in the form of a wish or plan of action for which he asked the spirits' approval, a form that sinologists commonly call *ming* 'a charge'. It was virtually a prayer in optative form, asking approval for a proposed course of action, or information about the immediate future, and often expressed in both positive and negative form at the same time, for instance: 'The king would set forth,' and 'The king would not set forth; 'It will rain,' and 'It will not rain.' This was not a simple attempt to learn what the future held in store: it was an enquiry about a proposed policy or decision, intended to help the king decide rightly about what he was going to do. To that extent it was a method of influencing future events, rather than just knowing their outcome. As in other cultures where divination is institutionalized, it gave public

credibility to the ruler's decisions.

David Keightley, the chief western authority on ancient Chinese pyromancy, gives a list of matters for which oracle-bone divination was used by the Shang:³ suitable victims and ritual for sacrifices; military operations; hunting expeditions; journeys; prospects for the ten-day 'week', the coming day or night; weather forecasts; crops and agriculture; sickness; births; various troubles and distresses; dreams; new settlements; choice of officers for duty; tribute payments; and the approval of the ancestral spirits. All these matters are reflected, some more frequently than others, in *Zhouyi*. The most significant matter missing from Keightley's list but mentioned in *Zhouyi* is marriage contracts.

Sarah Allan, emphasizing the connection between Shang divination and sacrifice, groups these subjects under three headings:⁴ (1) ritual (determining what sacrifices should be offered and to which ancestor); (2) intended royal action (checking its rightness and value) and the good will of the spirits (discovering whether they would, for instance, send rain for the harvest); (3) calamity (discovering which ancestor's spirit caused a disaster that had occurred).

Shang divination was highly ritualized. The diviners were professionals. They were often referred to as *shi*, which is translated as 'scribe', 'recorder', 'registrar' or 'annalist'. In later centuries it would come to mean 'historian', but in Shang and early Zhou it was the title of the diviner, whose duties included recording the divination. Another general term for diviners was *wushi* 'shaman scribe'; and there was the specific *shizhe* 'yarrow diviner' for the worker with yarrow wands.

From very early times (we do not know how early) yarrow wands were used alongside bones and shells. One method used animal material (they said the tortoise 'spoke' when the shell was cracked) while the other used plant material, which suggests they were complementary. Some writers aver that bones and shells were used by Shang, yarrow wands by Zhou; or that yarrow wands were devised later and gained popularity because they made a cheap and easy substitute for tortoiseshells.⁵ Both theories are guesses. Certainly the wands would have been cheaper; but the only two reasons for thinking they replaced tortoiseshells are (1) that shells alone have survived from an early period, and (2) that shells did not continue in use so long as yarrow wands. Yarrow wands have not featured as archaeological discoveries of any period, because they could not be used for recording prognostications and would not be durable when buried. So far as we know, the two systems were equally ancient. The fact that they are mentioned together in the *Da Yu mo* and *Hongfan* sections of the Book of

Documents,⁶ which are believed to have been written later than Western Zhou, while it does not prove anything, shows they were thought to have been equally ancient.

Divining with bones and shells was certainly expensive, cumbersome and time-consuming. Shoulderblades of slaughtered animals were relatively easy to obtain, but, like tortoiseshells, were laborious to prepare. The time required for preparing a single tortoiseshell has been estimated as twenty man-hours. The cracking ritual, too, must have been slow. Yarrow wands were indeed easier to prepare, longer wearing and simpler to handle; but their real virtue lay in offering an entirely different technique. A famous sentence in the Zuo Commentary describes the fundamental difference: ‘Tortoiseshell cracks give lines; yarrow wands give numbers.’⁷ Hence they were effective as checks on one another. The heart of the yarrow-wand method is mathematical; and just as there was, so far as we know, no book of oracles for the tortoiseshells, so there would have been no book for the yarrow wands at first. *Zhouyi* may have come into existence as a prompt book of precedents.

Shang bones or tortoiseshells were consulted several times every day and before all important sacrifices. In Zhou times, though regular royal ritual divinations seem to have ceased, bones and tortoiseshells continued in use. The Zuo Commentary anecdotes, purporting to describe practice during the Spring and Autumn Period, often tell of tortoiseshells being consulted before the yarrow wands were counted, as though the yarrow had a back-up function for the tortoiseshells. (In Odes 58.2 and 169.4 both are used in divining before betrothal.) When shell and wands disagreed, the situation could be difficult. In the story of Duke Xian of Jin wanting to marry Liji, the tortoiseshell augury was unfavourable, the yarrow wands were favourable. Using the famous aphorism, ‘The yarrow is short, the tortoise is long,’ the diviner advised caution; but the duke ignored his advice and married the lady, with disastrous results.⁸

A single divination was apparently not always sufficient. Tortoiseshells were usually invoked five times on one charge; sixfold and tenfold divinations with shells were not uncommon. Sometimes yarrow wands too were cast more than once. There is some evidence that not more than three yarrow divinations could be made on one charge.⁹ Multiple divination was perhaps seen as exercising some control over the subjective element in a soothsayer’s interpretations.

Many *Zhouyi* oracles refer specifically to royal decisions and activities such as were the subject of Shang dynasty bone and shell divination. If the evidence of

the Zuo Commentary is to be believed in detail – and many think it is – after the end of the seventh century BC other heads of states, and even other members of the ruling class, resorted to divination with yarrow wands. From about the same date a moralizing element entered into the process, which became personal rather than political; and the book of oracles began to be regarded as a repository of wisdom.

Yarrow-wand counting, though simple, can be impressive. Modern ‘Yijing masters’ base their practice on rules given in Zhu Xi’s *Zhouyi benyi*. The book of oracles is set out on the yellow cloth in which it is normally kept wrapped, and placed upon a table facing south (as a Chinese ruler would have done). An incense burner is set before the table in a quiet atmosphere of recollection. The diviner kowtows to the book three times and kneels to burn incense sticks. He then takes the fifty yarrow wands from their canister on the table, holds them horizontal in the smoke of the incense and rotates them three times clockwise. Splaying the wands fanwise in his hand, he begins the counting. He may stand, or even sit, while consulting the book. There is clearly much latitude in practice and little indication that the details come from ancient usages, but the incense, the silence and the slow movements indicate that spirits are being consulted rather than a book. Some connection with the ancestors seems to be indicated, and that would certainly be ancient.

Yarrow

The wands traditionally used were dried stalks of the northeast Asian yarrow called *Achillea sibirica* or *mongolica*, a common aromatic perennial herb of the Compositae family, related to chamomile, chrysanthemum, tarragon and ladslove. It closely resembles the European yarrow *Achillea millefolium*. (*Achillea ptarmica*, sometimes sold as *sibirica* by nurserymen, has less finely feathered leaves, and cultivated varieties tend to lose the pungent aroma.) The European species is common on roadsides and in lawns in England, where it is also used for traditional divinations (usually by being put under the pillow to induce dreams).¹⁰ The east Asian species is said to grow larger, but *millefolium* can reach a metre in height.

We do not know how long Bronze Age wands were. Length would add solemnity to the procedure, and a metre is not too long for comfortable handling. Anything very short would look trivial. Section 128 of *Shiji*, in one of the passages added by Chu Shaosun (?104-?30 BC) is probably romancing when it

says that in high antiquity wands were 1 *zhang* (2.3 metres) long. It is surely more reliable when it says that at the time of writing stalks of 6 *chi* (1.38 metres) could be found and were adequate for divination purposes. Thus we are led to believe that Blofeld, apparently speaking from experience in China, was not in accord with ancient practice when he recommended wands less than two feet long.¹¹

In China and Korea, as in Europe, yarrow is esteemed as an edible herb with medicinal uses and the source of a bright yellow dye. The elegant plant bears flattish umbels of white flowers that tend to pink, and has many finely divided feathery leaves that give it the alternative Latin-derived name of milfoil, 'thousand-leaved' – an apothecary's name from the Anglo-Saxon leechdoms.

Although Chinese writers sometimes say that yarrow was chosen for divination because, like the tortoise, it was long-living, or because so many stalks grew on one plant, these explanations seem weak. In the Bronze Age, perhaps even earlier, yarrow will have attracted attention because of its mysterious healing properties. The Linnean name derives from the story that Achilles learned from Chiron the Centaur how to use it in curing his soldiers' wounds. Primitive medicine and magic are closely related; but practical qualities may have been equally important. The length, straightness, durability and lightness of the dried stalks, which if necessary can be further straightened in the drying process, make them particularly suitable for aleatory handling, and their fragrance, which can linger a long time in the dried wands, is an added attraction. The colour of dried wands varies from pale gold to a rich purplish bronze, fading with age to pleasant subdued tones. A bunch of fifty can easily be held in one hand. Bamboo splints are rigid and noisy, while yarrow wands have a whippiness that makes them easy and pleasant to handle.

Both Legge and Wilhelm were intrigued to find yarrow growing on the tomb of Confucius at Qufu in Shandong. Their impulse to record this may reflect more than mere romantic fancy, for the young Kangxi emperor looked for yarrow when he visited the tomb in 1684 and was told that a set of fifty stalks from a single clump growing on the grave would ensure the fulfilment of a divination.¹² In England too, yarrow from graves has sometimes been preferred for divination. In northeast Asia the uncut summer grass of well-drained tomb sites provides a typical habitat for yarrow, and to the men of Shang and Zhou a plant growing from graves must have seemed uncannily appropriate as a medium for messages from the ancestors.

THE NATURE OF A HEXAGRAM

The combinatorics and mathematical probabilities of the hexagrams deserve consideration for two reasons: they may shed further light on early mathematics and they may illuminate the processes of divination. Clear understanding of the combinatorics may also help in evaluating the parascientific development of Yijing philosophy.¹³

The forms of the lines

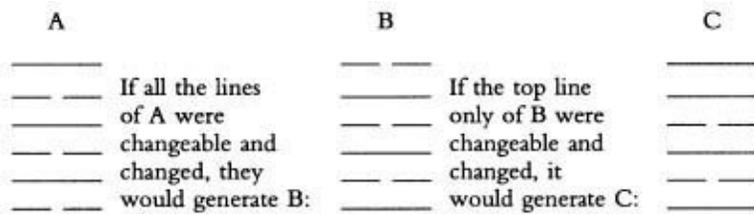
Lines appear in two forms: whole and broken. There are seven possible combinations of two forms in a group of six (AAAAAA, AAAAAB, AAAABB, AAABBB, AABBBB, ABBBBB, BBBBBB); but since the order of the lines is significant, all possible permutations are needed. These number $2^6 = 64$ and can be classified into the following groups of hexagrams:

6 whole lines,	no broken lines:	1 hexagram;
1 whole line,	5 broken lines:	6 hexagrams;
2 whole lines,	4 broken lines:	15 hexagrams;
3 whole lines,	3 broken lines:	20 hexagrams;
4 whole lines,	2 broken lines:	15 hexagrams;
5 whole lines,	1 broken line:	6 hexagrams;
no whole lines,	6 broken lines:	1 hexagram.

The state of the lines

Since the eleventh century AD, perhaps earlier, both forms of line have been regarded as occurring in one of two states: stable or changeable. A changeable line is one that can change into the other form (whole to broken, or broken to whole), generating a different hexagram, as in [Table 13](#). Any number of lines in a hexagram may be changeable, but each can change once only.

[Table 13](#) CHANGEABLE LINES



These two states, like the two forms, also give seven different combinations in a hexagram and can occur in 64 permutations. The two states in seven combinations produce a classification similar to that made by line forms:

6 stable lines,	no changeable lines:	1 hexagram;
1 stable line,	5 changeable lines:	6 hexagrams;
2 stable lines,	4 changeable lines:	15 hexagrams;
3 stable lines,	3 changeable lines:	20 hexagrams;
4 stable lines,	2 changeable lines:	15 hexagrams;
5 stable lines,	1 changeable line:	6 hexagrams;
no stable lines,	6 changeable lines:	1 hexagram.

Changeable lines

There is nothing either explicit or implicit in *Zhouyi* to suggest that ‘changeable lines’ were known in Western Zhou. They are not mentioned in the Ten Wings, nor by the Han writer Wang Bi and his follower Han Kangbo (died c385) in their commentaries on *Yijing*. Kong Yingda, writing during the Tang, does not mention them, but they appear in the writings of Ouyang Xiu in the eleventh century AD (see page 41). The concept is congenial to the philosophy of change as it developed in the Song period, and may have been influenced by the fact that *bian* ‘change’ had come to mean ‘interim result in mathematics’ (see page 159).

In Chinese a ‘changeable line’ is denoted by the word *zhi*, a sign of the genitive or possessive, linking the names of two hexagrams. *Zhi* also has an alternative meaning, ‘to go, to move to’. In the Zuo Commentary, written about the fourth century BC, (see page 34) Hexagram 14 Line 5, for example, is called *Dayou zhi Qian* (see Story 3, page 178), meaning either ‘Hexagram 14’s Hexagram 1’ or ‘Hexagram 14 moving to Hexagram 1’. Since Song times at least, *zhi* has been taken to mean ‘moving to’ (because changing a line turns one hexagram into another), but some modern scholars believe it originally functioned simply as a

genitive particle.¹⁴

The reasons for this opinion can be explained by posing a question: how did early diviners identify or cite a particular line statement? In English we now use numbers, writing 14:5 to mean ‘Line Statement 5 of Hexagram 14’; but this method would have been inconceivable in the Spring and Autumn Period or earlier. The Chinese had to find a method involving no numbers.

This was not hard, because changing one line of any hexagram created another hexagram. Hence any line could be cited as ‘The line of Hexagram A that when changed produces Hexagram B’, concisely expressed in Chinese as *A zhi B*, ‘A’s B’. For example, Line 5 of Hexagram 14 would be called ‘*Dayou zhi Qian*’ ‘Hexagram 14’s Hexagram 1’. Similarly, in Story 6 (page 182), *Dayou zhi Kui* ‘Hexagram 14’s Hexagram 38’ means Hexagram 14 Line 3.

In some Zuo Commentary stories, line statements are identified in this way without explicit mention of divination, and this looks like confirmation of the genitive function of *zhi*. *Shi zhi Lin*, ‘Hexagram 7’s Hexagram 19’ (see page 185) for instance, looks like a simple citation of Hexagram 7 Line 1, with no reference to counting yarrow wands or to a second hexagram. Yet there is some doubt. The Zuo style is famously concise, and in some places where mention of the counting is not made, there is a strong presumption that yarrow wands were in fact counted. Zuo Commentary anecdotes also occasionally tell of diviners giving an interpretation that refers to a second hexagram, without mentioning wand-counting. In these cases, however, the meaning of a single changeable line is not mentioned: the soothsayer makes his prognosis on the basis of the constituent trigrams (see Story 8 page 185).

Another story certainly contains divination, and there can be no question in it about generating a second hexagram.¹⁵ Two savants discuss the care and nurture of dragons, using *Zhouyi* as an authoritative text. They refer to:

<i>Qian zhi Gou</i>	‘Hexagram 1’s Hexagram 44’ (Hexagram 1 Line 1)
<i>qi Tongren</i>	‘its Hexagram 13’ (Hexagram 1 Line 5)
<i>qi Dayou</i>	‘its Hexagram 14’ (Hexagram 1 Line 4)
<i>qi Guai</i>	‘its Hexagram 43’ (Hexagram 1 Top Line)
<i>qi Kun</i>	‘its Hexagram 2’ (Hexagram 1 Line 7)
<i>Kun zhi Bo</i>	‘Hexagram 2’s Hexagram 23’ (Hexagram 2 Top Line)

The use of *qi* 'its' instead of *zhi* in four of these instances reinforces the argument that *zhi* was simply a genitive particle.

A further argument in favour of *zhi* being the genitive particle is that in the Zuo Commentary 'changeable' lines are never changed. In every story where a single line statement is taken as the oracle, a changeable line in the base hexagram, rather than a changed line in the second hexagram, is used for this purpose.¹⁶ This happens in 12 of the 16 divinations described. (In the other four the oracles are found in hexagram statements.) On the other hand, the interpretation of the omen sometimes refers to the constituent trigrams of the second hexagram, showing interest in the changing of the whole hexagram rather than of one line.¹⁷

Completely convincing conclusions cannot be reached. This was frankly acknowledged by Edward Shaughnessy, who firmly believed that *zhi* was a genitive particle.¹⁸

Form and state combined

Two forms (whole and broken) in two states (stable and changeable) produce $2^2 = 4$ kinds of line: stable whole, changeable whole, stable broken and changeable broken.

Shorthand symbols, some centuries old, are used for these four kinds of line:¹⁹

X *jiao* 'crossed' (changeable broken)

— *dan* 'single' (stable whole)

zhe 'broken' (stable broken)

--

O *chong* 'double' (changeable whole).

Some modern writers give simpler symbols, which have been adopted here:²⁰

changeable broken line ___ __x

stable whole line _____

stable broken line ___ ___

changeable whole line _____x

There are 84 combinations for six lines of four kinds, and these combinations can be classified by form into seven classes:

- (1) 6 lines whole: 7 hexagrams;
- (2) 5 lines whole, 1 broken: 12 hexagrams;
- (3) 4 lines whole, 2 broken: 15 hexagrams;
- (4) 3 lines whole, 3 broken: 16 hexagrams;
- (5) 2 lines whole, 4 broken: 15 hexagrams;
- (6) 1 line whole, 5 broken: 12 hexagrams;
- (7) 6 lines broken: 7 hexagrams.

The 84 combinations can also be classified by state into seven similar classes:

- (1) 6 lines changeable: 7 hexagrams;
- (2) 5 lines changeable, 1 stable: 12 hexagrams;
- (3) 4 lines changeable, 2 stable: 15 hexagrams;
- (4) 3 lines changeable, 3 stable: 16 hexagrams;
- (5) 4 lines changeable, 4 stable: 15 hexagrams;
- (6) 1 line changeable, 5 stable: 12 hexagrams;
- (7) 6 lines stable: 7 hexagrams.

The number of classes classified by both form and state is therefore $7 \times 7 = 49$ (see [Table 14](#)).

Having regard to both the two forms and two states, the permutations of all the hexagrams that can be divined number $(2 + 2)^6 = 4,096$. This is the equivalent of 64 permutations of state for each hexagram, giving $64^2 = 4,096$. These 4,096 hexagrams can be classified according to form and state, dividing them into the 49 classes. The chart is expectedly symmetrical.

Table 14 NUMBERS OF HEXAGRAMS IN THE 49 CLASSES

	Number of changeable lines							Total
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	
6 whole lines	1	6	15	20	15	6	1	64
5 whole, 1 broken	6	36	90	120	90	36	6	384
4 whole, 2 broken	15	90	225	300	225	90	15	960
3 whole, 3 broken	20	120	300	400	300	120	20	1280
2 whole, 4 broken	15	90	225	300	225	90	15	960
1 whole, 5 broken	6	36	90	120	90	36	6	384
6 broken lines	1	6	15	20	15	6	1	64
Totals	64	384	960	1280	960	384	64	4096

The number of possible prognostications depends on the total number of line statements, which is $(64 \times 6) + 2$ extra for the first two hexagrams = 386. When the 64 hexagram statements are added to these, the total number of oracles is seen to be 450. In standard practice it is possible for two hexagram statements taken together to form a prognostication. This gives an additional $64 \times 63 = 4,032$ oracles, yielding a theoretical maximum of $450 + 4,032 = 4,482$ possible prognostications.

Taking into account that the hexagram statements and line statements contain a high degree of repetition, it is clear that the prognostications of *Zhouyi* are much less numerous, and therefore less subtly varied, than is sometimes claimed. Yet they have to apply to an infinite number of different situations.

GENERATING HEXAGRAMS

After the question or charge for divination has been put, the hexagram that will provide the oracular answer must be identified. This is done by casting lots. Lots are cast for each of the six lines, starting with the base line and finishing with the top line. There are various methods, of which yarrow-wand counting is the oldest and the only one of interest for study of Bronze Age practice.²¹

THE YARROW-WAND METHOD

The earliest known reference to a procedure for wand-counting appears in the 5th Wing of *Yijing*, the Great Treatise, in a passage usually referred to as *Dayan* 'great expansion' or 'full number', from its opening words.²² *Dayan* possibly dates from the middle of the Former Han dynasty (c100 BC), and is not found in the Mawangdui manuscript of the Great Treatise.²³ Its purpose is to explain the symbolism of the counting, rather than to give a methodical description of the process. The symbolism is unlikely to date from Zhou times; whether the procedure does or not is impossible to say. The text is brief and obscure:

The Full Number is 50, of which 49 are used. Dividing them into two handfuls represents duality (heaven and earth). Setting one aside completes the triad (heaven, earth and man).

Counting by fours represents the four seasons.

Discarding the remainder between the fingers represents leap months. Since there are two leap months in every five years, a second remainder is also discarded between the fingers.

Thus interim counts (*bian*) are obtained.

The wands counted out for Qian (the first hexagram) number 216. The wands counted out for Kun, (the second Hexagram) number 144. The total required for these two hexagrams is 360, which is the number of days in the (ideal lunar) year. The wands counted for the two parts (of *Zhouyi*) number 11,520. This corresponds to the number of the 10,000 entities.

Thus four operations (*ying*) complete one line; and 18 interim calculations produce one hexagram.



Dayan does not explain the reason for choosing 50 as the Full Number. Later writers have made various suggestions. Jing Fang (77–37 BC) pointed out that 50 is the sum of numbers for the 10 heavenly stems (for days of the ‘week’, see page 20), the 12 earthly branches (for months of the year, see page 20), and the 28 lunar mansions (see page 20). Ma Rong (AD 79–166) said 50 was the sum of the Great Ultimate (*taiji*), which produced *yin* and *yang*, which produced sun and moon, which produced the four seasons, which produced the five phases (or elements), which produced the twelve months, which produced the twenty-four solar periods (six subdivisions of each season), giving $1 + 2 + 2 + 4 + 5 + 12 + 24 = 50$. Zheng Xuan (AD 127–200) thought it was the sum total of the numbers 1 to 10 (the numbers of heaven and earth), given in *Dayan* as 55 (see page 415) with the Five Phases subtracted, because they are already contained in heaven and earth. Legge, following Zhu Xi, suggested that fifty was chosen as the product of the ten earthly spots and the five heavenly spots at the centre of the Yellow River Chart (see page 164).²⁴

Fifty may have been chosen through association with the calibration of the clepsydra (water-clock). By Early Han times there was a system of measuring time by dividing the day into 100 ke (marks or notches), each equal to 14.4 minutes. One clock was used for day time and one for night time, each marked with 50 ke. Since divination is essentially a matter of action at a particular point in time, the connection with wand-casting is obvious. *Shi* ‘time’ or ‘occasion’ is a familiar concept in the Great Treatise (II.i.4, v.6 and ix.1).

Symbolic explanations, attractive though they are, tend to obscure mathematical necessities. There is a plain mathematical reason for counting with 49 wands. Counting has to arrive at four possible answers (6, 7, 8 and 9), and the method is division by four in order to discover remainders. The wands are divided into two heaps, because if there were only one, the remainder would always be the same. One heap must contain an even number and the other an odd number, and the total must be divisible by four with one over. The only number that will give the desired results (6, 7, 8 or 9) and no others is 49.

□

What then does *Dayan* tell us about procedural details?

- (1) 50 wands were provided, but only 49 were used.
- (2) They were counted out in fours. (The process of counting random heaps by subtracting items four at a time is irresistibly reminiscent of the notorious Chinese gambling game, fantan. Gambling and divining are closely related.)
- (3) Two remainders were discarded between the fingers. This provided an interim count, for which the word used in *Dayan* is *bian*, 'change'. Ulrich Libbrecht has shown that in later writings *bian* meant the 'interim result' after one operation on the counting-board or one step in the working out of a mathematical problem (fortuitously resembling the English use of 'change' for the balance due from excess money tendered). This meaning was possibly derived from the use of the word in *Dayan*; nevertheless, it makes the best translation for it here.²⁵
- (4) (a) 216 wands had to be counted out in order to generate a hexagram of six whole lines; and 144 for a hexagram of six broken lines. (b) 11,520 wands had to be counted out to generate every hexagram in the book, which includes 192 whole lines and 192 broken lines.
These figures make it clear that $216/6 = 36$ wands were counted out for a whole line and $144/6 = 24$ for a broken line; which means the discards are $49 - 36 = 13$ for a whole line and $49 - 24 = 25$ for a broken line.
- (5) Four operations completed one line. The four operations were: (a) dividing the wands into two piles; (b) setting one wand aside; (c) counting out in fours; and (d) reserving the discards.
- (6) 18 interim calculations produced a whole hexagram. Therefore there must be three interim numbers for each line.

□

Dayan incidentally provides a fairly clear outline of the method, but does not show how the results can be used to identify a hexagram. The details were probably lost in the early centuries AD, for it is generally reckoned that by Tang times the yarrow wands had dropped out of use and been replaced by a method using three coins (see below page 166). An early attempt to describe a yarrow-wand method comes from the twelfth section of *Zhouyi zhengyi* by the Tang writer Kong Yingda.²⁶ His method of counting the wands is not significantly different from the method described in the classic account written in the twelfth

century by Zhu Xi in his 'Primer of Yi study' (*Yixue qimeng* 1186). This became accepted as standard.

Counting the wands

(The process is easier to understand if it is carried out manually. Fifty beans, beads, or other small objects can be used instead of wands, with an open box to hold the discards.)

1 Removing one wand

One of the fifty is put back in the canister.

2 The first interim count

The 49 wands are divided at random and placed on the table in two heaps. One wand, taken from the right-hand heap, is put between the ring finger and little finger of the left hand.

The left-hand heap is then taken in the left hand and counted out by fours into the right hand, until 1, 2, 3 or 4 wands remain in the left hand. These 1, 2, 3 or 4 are discarded by being put between the ring finger and middle finger of the left hand. The wands now held in the right hand are put back on the table by themselves.

The right-hand heap is then taken up in the left hand and counted out by fours, leaving 1, 2, 3 or 4 wands to be discarded between the middle and index fingers of the left hand. The wands now in the right hand are put back on the table with the left-hand heap.

(In practice, it is not necessary to count the second heap. Once the discard from the first heap is known, the discard from the second heap can be predicted. If the discard from the first heap is 4, the total discard must be 9; if it is 1, 2 or 3, the total discard must be 5.)

Either 5 or 9 wands have been discarded between the fingers of the left hand, because they can only have occurred as 1+1+3, 1+2+2, 1+3+1, (each giving a total of 5) or 1+4+4 (a total of 9). These are now set apart. 44 or 40 wands remain on the table.

3 The second interim count

3 THE SECOND HEAP COUNT

The 40 or 44 wands left lying on the table are now gathered together and randomly divided into two heaps, which are laid side by side. One wand is taken from the right-hand heap and discarded between the ring finger and little finger of the left hand; and the rest of the two heaps is counted out by fours in the same manner as the original 49.

(Again it is not necessary to count out the second heap. If the discard from the first heap is 1 or 2, the total discard is bound to be 4; if the first discard is 3 or 4, the total must be 8.)

This time the number discarded between the fingers will be 8 or 4, because they must have occurred as 1+1+2, 1+2+1 (each giving a total of 4), 1+3+4, or 1+4+3 (each giving a total of 8).

There will now be 40, 36, or 32 wands left on the table.

4 *The third count*

The 40, 36 or 32 wands left in use are divided into two heaps and one wand discarded between the ring and little fingers of the left hand. Both heaps are told off by fours until 8 or 4 have been discarded between the fingers. 36, 32, 28 or 24 wands remain on the table.

5 *Converting the count into a line*

The remaining 36, 32, 28 or 24 wands are counted out in fours. There will be no remainder, because 36, 32, 28 and 24 are all divisible by 4. The quotient will be 9, 8, 7 or 6, which is the *xiang* number – called the ritual number by Blofeld, the intrinsic number by the Huangs, and regarded as the *ying* number by Gao Heng and Vandermeersch.²⁷

9 means a changeable whole line (Mature yang);

8 means a stable broken line (Young yin);

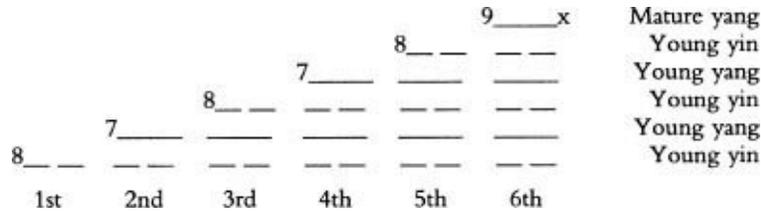
7 means a stable whole line (Young yang); and

6 a changeable broken line (Mature yin).

6 Building the hexagram

The whole process of triple countings (as above 2 to 5) is repeated five times

more, building a hexagram from the bottom upwards. For example, if the first cast of the wands gives the *xiang* number 8, the second gives 7, the third 8, the fourth 7, the fifth 8 and the sixth 9, the hexagram will be built up as follows:



This gives Hexagram 64 with the top line changeable.

The *xiang* numbers

This can hardly have been the system used in Zhou times. The *xiang*, so far as we know, belong to a later date. They are named from the *xiang* ‘figures’ mentioned in the 8th Wing,²⁸ where the eight trigrams correspond to members of an ideal nuclear family. Whole lines are *yang* and male; broken lines are *yin* and female. The *all-yang* and *all-yin* trigrams are the parents, regarded as *lao* ‘mature’. The mixed trigrams are regarded as *yang* if they contain only one whole line and *yin* if they contain only one broken line. They are the three sons and three daughters, regarded as *shao* ‘young’.

Table 15 THE TRIGRAMS AND THE FOUR XIANG

	___ 3		___ 3	___ 2	___ 2
Father	___ 3	Sons	___ 2	___ 3	___ 2
	___ 3		___ 2	___ 2	___ 3
Mature Yang	9	Young Yang	7	7	7
	___ 2		___ 2	___ 3	___ 3
Mother	___ 2	Daughters	___ 3	___ 2	___ 3
	___ 2		___ 3	___ 3	___ 2
Mature Yin	6	Young Yin	8	8	8

In generating hexagrams, mature lines are changeable and young lines are stable. Despite the speculations of commentators, there is nothing essentially youthful about a stable line or adult about a changeable line. ‘Mature’ and ‘young’ are purely formal terms, derived from the correspondence of the trigrams to the *xiang* numbers. This correspondence becomes clear if each line of a trigram

is valued at 2 for a broken line and 3 for a whole line. The father trigram, fully *yang*, has a total of 9; the daughters, with incipient *yin*, 8 each; the sons, with incipient *yang*, 7 each; the mother, fully *yin*, 6. (See Table 15.)

The oldest record of these meanings appears to be in Ouyang Xiu's 11th-century book *Yi tongzi wen* 'child's questions on *Yi* (Shchutsky page 66). Their history can only be surmised; but the numbers 6, 7, 8 and 9 have long held important places in Chinese numerology and mathematics. They stand between 5 and 10, a strategic area in both quinary and decimal systems. Two of them (7 and 9) are odd and two of them (6 and 8) even, which led to them being regarded as two *yang* and two *yin*. They are allotted to the seasons of the year in the Monthly Duties section (*Yueling*) of the Record of Rites (*Liji*, a Han compilation), where 6 belongs to winter, 7 to summer, 8 to spring, and 9 to autumn. We cannot with certainty trace such ideas further back than the Han dynasty.

Table 16 YING NUMBERS AND THE FOUR XIANG

Yarrow discards	Remainder	Interim Xiang counts	Xiang number	Line	Xiang
5+4+4 = 13	36	3+3+3 = 9	9	changeable whole	Mature Yang
5+4+8		3+3+2			
5+8+4 = 17	32	3+2+3 = 8	8	stable broken	Young Yin
9+4+4		2+3+3			
9+8+4	28	2+2+3 = 7	7	stable whole	Young Yang
9+4+8		2+3+2			
5+8+8	24	3+2+2 = 7	7	stable whole	Young Yang
9+8+8 = 25		2+2+2 = 6			

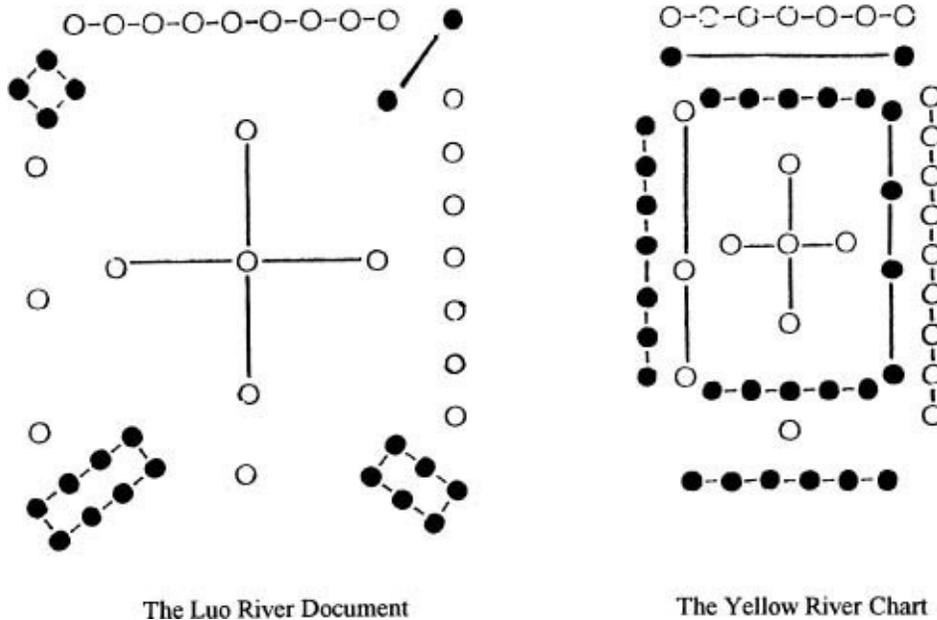
Xiang numbers are also associated with two ancient diagrams, the Yellow River Chart and the Luo River Document (*Hetu Luoshu*). Though neither diagram has any connection with *Zhouyi*, they are both mentioned in the Great Treatise of *Yijing*,²⁹ which implies that they are the sources of the hexagrams. There are separate legends about the origin of each diagram, but they are probably regional variants of a single myth.

The Luo River Document is said to have been found when a turtle with mysterious signs on its shell came out of the Luo River in the days of Yu, founder of the Xia dynasty. The visual element here may be the wrinkled tessellations on a tortoise's carapace. Kwok Manho prefers to connect the story with tortoiseshells bearing divinatory lines, and quotes Ode 237, where there is a story of divination by tortoiseshells being used by the Zhou ancestors when they chose their first house-sites in the neighbourhood of Mount Qi. The historicity of such

divinations in the area was confirmed by archaeologists in 1977.³⁰ This may well be part of the prehistory of *Zhouyi*, but divination was only part of the reason for the mysteriousness of the tortoise.

The Yellow River Chart (*Hetu*) was found on the back of a dragon-horse that emerged from the Huanghe in the time of Fuxi. Stories of ‘dragon-horses’ marked with ‘tiger lines’ emerging from rivers to the west of China date from the 2nd century BC. Could the dragon-horse have been a tortoise? Or were the ‘tiger lines’ the dark cross stripes that can occur on the spine and shoulders of *Equus przewalskii*, the wild horse of Mongolia? Mongolia lies to the west of the Yellow River plain.³¹

Diagram 10 SONG DYNASTY DIAGRAMS OF HETULUOSHI



Either the earliest forms of the diagrams have been lost, or the legend was at first purely oral, with no graphic tradition. In printed Chinese editions of *Yijing* they usually appear as illustrations in the Great Treatise, in forms that date from the Song period, showing odd numbers as rows or groups of white dots and even numbers as black dots. Here they are given in Arabic numerals with even numbers in boldface.

4 9 2
3 5 7
8 1 6

7
2
(5)
8 3 5 4 9
(5)
1
6

The Luo River Document The Yellow River Chart

The Song version of the Luo River Document is a simple magic square of three – perhaps the oldest known – in which the numbers from 1 to 9 are arranged in a square so that the sum of any line, column or diagonal is fifteen.

The Song version of the Yellow River Chart is more clearly related to *xiang* numbers. It is a cruciform arrangement of the numbers from 1 to 10, 10 being shown as two fives (those above and below the central 5, given here in brackets). The external digits (6, 7, 8, and 9) are the *xiang* numbers used in determining the lines of a hexagram as it is generated by counting yarrow-wands.

COIN-TOSSING

Although early Han writers regarded yarrow-wands as normal in *Zhouyi* divination, tradition attributes the invention of coin-tossing to Wang Xu, a daoist recluse of the fourth century BC, better known from the place where he lived as Guiguzi, ‘philosopher of Demon Vale’. The attraction of tossing coins rather than counting wands must have been felt soon after coinage came into common use, and Guiguzi lived about that time. At different times 1, 3, 5, 6, 8 and 10 coins are said to have been used. A six-coin method is attributed to the military strategist Zhuge Liang (AD 181–254); and Zhu Yuanzhang, the first Ming emperor, has been credited with devising a ten-coin method while he was still a young buddhist monk, in the mid-fourteenth century; but all these stories have an air of legend.³²

Of all coin methods the most esteemed, and probably oldest, uses three coins of equal size. When Chinese coins are used, the obverse or inscribed side (the ‘head’) is regarded as *yin* and given the value 2. The reverse or blank side (the ‘tail’) is *yang* and given the value 3. (Some descriptions reverse these two values, giving 3 to the head and 2 to the tail. This does not affect the probabilities.) The coins are shaken and thrown like dice, with results as given in [Table 17](#).

The process has to be repeated five times more, building up the hexagram from the bottom. Far less effort and time are required than is needed for wand-counting.

Table 17 SEQUENCES OF THREE-COIN TOSSING

TTT	3+3+3=9	changeable whole line	_____x
TTH	3+3+2=8	} stable broken line	-- --
THT	3+2+3=8		
HTT	2+3+3=8		
HHT	2+2+3=7	} stable whole line	_____
HTH	2+3+2=7		
THH	3+2+2=7		
HHH	2+2+2=6	changeable broken line	-- --x

T = tail H = head

The numbers in the 2nd column are the same as those in the 3rd and 4th columns of Table 16.

PROBABILITIES

Different methods of counting give different probabilities in the generation of the 4,096 hexagrams. Some modern writers believe that yarrow wands are subtler and more sensitive. Wands, for instance, are twice as likely as coins to generate a hexagram with four changeable lines; and whereas wands are 7.5 times more likely to get Hexagram 2 without changeable lines than they are to get Hexagram 1 in the same state, coins are equally likely to get either. These differences need not be disconcerting for diviners. Belief in synchronicity may lead them to accept that the discrepancies are irrelevant, and whichever method is used the same hexagram will emerge – a doctrine that Jung declares is beyond proof.³³ A coldly rational view is that since the purpose of the hexagram is merely to stimulate the mind of the diviner, it does not matter which hexagram emerges.

The probabilities have an intrinsic interest for mathematicians. Historians and anthropologists find other reasons for studying them: asking whether the method of generating the hexagrams was designed to take advantage of the probabilities, whether the text of *Zhouyi* was in any way adapted to them, or whether historical accounts of divination yield results that accord statistically with the probabilities. In studying the Bronze Age text these questions require no more than a limited consideration of the probabilities of the yarrow-wand method.

These probabilities are heavily biased. The biases all stem from the first interim count, where there is a probability of 1/4 in obtaining a discard of 9, and 3/4 in obtaining a discard of 5. For the second and third interim counts, the probability is 1/2 for a discard of either 8 or 4.

In spite of this, the probability of generating a whole or a broken line is the

same for each (1/2), and therefore the probability of obtaining any of the sixty-four hexagrams is the same for each (1/64); but, when changeable and stable lines are taken into account, the four kinds of line are not all equally likely to occur. Of the 64 possible sequences in casting the yarrow wands, 12 give the *xiang* number 9, 28 give 8, 20 give 7, and 4 give 6. The probabilities are therefore:

changeable whole line	12/64 = 3/16
stable whole line	28/64 = 7/16
stable broken line	20/64 = 5/16
changeable broken line	4/64 = 1/16

The probability of a whole line being stable is 7/10 (70%), of a broken line being stable 5/6 (83%); of a stable line being whole 3/4 (75%), of a changeable line being whole 7/12 (58%).

The probability of receiving hexagrams in the 49 classes (i.e., with a specified combination of whole, broken, stable and changeable lines – see [Table 14](#)) can be calculated by multiplying together the probabilities of the six component lines of the hexagrams (see [Table 18](#)). The probabilities of receiving particular hexagrams in specified states are unwieldy figures, all dividends of $16^6 = 16,777,216$. They are given in detail by Edward Hacker in *The I Ching handbook* (1993) pages 249–64.

There is a probability of roughly 36% for receiving a hexagram that has only one changeable line; 66% for a hexagram with one or two changeable lines; 18% for a hexagram with no changeable lines; and 17% for a hexagram with three or more changeable lines. This means that hexagrams with more than three changeable lines will occur relatively infrequently; four changeable lines with a probability of about 3%; five changeable lines are extremely rare; and six changeable lines will almost never occur.

Hexagrams with two whole or two broken lines have a probability of 47%, and those with three whole and three broken lines 31%; those in which one line differs in form from the other five occur with a 19% probability; but there is only 3% probability for a homogeneous hexagram, irrespective of the number of changeable lines.

Table 18 PROBABILITY OF GENERATING THE 49 HEXAGRAM CLASSES

Numbers are rounded off and give percentage probabilities. A dash means a negligible number, less than 0.01%.³⁴

	Number of changeable lines							Total
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	
6 whole lines	0.09	0.33	0.55	0.40	0.18	0.04	–	1.59
5 whole lines	0.78	2.45	3.15	2.09	0.74	0.13	–	9.34
4 whole lines	2.73	7.35	7.80	4.18	1.15	0.14	–	23.40
3 whole lines	5.10	11.40	9.77	4.04	0.83	0.08	–	31.22
2 whole lines	5.36	9.50	6.26	1.95	0.31	0.02	–	23.40
1 whole line	3.00	3.94	1.90	0.45	0.05	–	–	9.34
6 broken lines	0.70	0.60	0.21	0.04	–	–	–	1.59
Totals	17.76	35.57	29.64	13.15	3.26	0.41	–	100.00

SELECTING THE ORACLE

When a hexagram has been generated by counting out the wands for six lines, the diviner needs to know how much of the text is to be taken as the appropriate oracle for the occasion. Modern western usage is based on a popular form of the Song tradition passed on by Wilhelm and Blofeld, who both learnt it from Chinese friends. Their approach is unsystematic and complex. Perhaps the best simple description of it is in Greg Whincup's book.³⁵ Nobody claims that it was used in the centuries BC.

Nanjing rules for oracle selection

During the 1920s a group of young scholars in Nanjing, inspired by Gao Heng, formed a Yijing research group (Yixue Yanjiuhui).³⁶ This group paid much attention to the methods used for selecting the oracle during the Spring and Autumn Period (5th and 4th centuries BC), basing their conclusions on the stories of divination found in the Zuo Commentary (see pages 176–97). These stories show that the diviner usually took one line statement as applicable to his case, but that he sometimes used a hexagram statement. Could a rationale be discovered?

An ingenious answer was proposed by the Nanjing group. The *xiang* numbers (9, 8, 7 and 6) generated by the yarrow wands for all six lines of a hexagram are added together and the total subtracted from 55, which, as *Dayan* notes, is the sum of the whole numbers from 1 to 10 (see page 415). Since the lowest possible total for six *xiang* numbers is $6 \times 6 = 36$ and the highest is $6 \times 9 = 54$, the remainder from 55 must be a number between 1 and 19 inclusive. This remainder is used as in the accompanying table to indicate one of the six lines, the number in the right-hand column of the table being the number of the hexagram line

indicated by all the ‘remainder-from-55’ figures in the same horizontal row. For example, if the remainder is 3, 10 or 15, the oracle is the third from the bottom of the hexagram. Memorizing the table is not difficult, and the diviner does not need a copy of it in order to calculate quickly and correctly.

Remainder from 55				Line of hexagram
6	7	18	19	6 (top)
5	8	17		5
4	9	16		4
3	10	15		3
2	11	14		2
1	12	13		1 (bottom)

The oracle is then read as follows:

- (1) If the base hexagram is composed entirely of stable lines, its hexagram statement is the oracle. The indicated line is irrelevant. (See Story 4 page 179).
- (2) If the hexagram is composed entirely of changeable lines, it must be converted to the new hexagram and the hexagram statement of the new hexagram is the oracle, saving that in Hexagrams 1 and 2 the 7th line statement is used. (There is no example of this in the Zuo Commentary. The rule is extrapolated from the other rules.)
- (3) If the indicated line is a changeable line, that line statement in the base hexagram is the oracle. No notice is taken of other changeable lines. (See Story 6 page 182).
- (4) If the indicated line is stable (a circumstance which is described as ‘meeting an 8’ and would presumably occur also when meeting a 7 – see Story 22, page 200), a hexagram statement is the oracle, chosen as follows:
 - (a) when the hexagram contains fewer than three changeable lines, the base hexagram statement is the oracle (see Story 9 page 186);
 - (b) when the hexagram contains three changeable lines, they are all changed to make the new hexagram, and both hexagram statements together form the oracle (see Story 22 page 200);
 - (c) when the hexagram contains four or five changeable lines, the new hexagram is formed as in (b) and the new hexagram statement is the oracle (see Story 10 page 187).

These Nanjing rules have been both happily accepted and severely criticized.³⁷

One objection is that the significance of 55 is not attested before the writing of *Dayan*. The force of this argument is weakened when we recall that the Nanjing rules do not claim to describe anything earlier than Spring and Autumn Period practice and we do not know whether or not the ideas in *Dayan* were current in the Spring and Autumn Period.

A second criticism alleges that the Nanjing scholars apportioned numbers to hexagram lines at will, and so were able to manipulate the evidence. There is some truth in this; but 9 and 7 had to be given to whole lines and 6 and 8 to

broken lines. The criticism is inconclusive: while it shows the Nanjing rules may be fallacious, it does not prove that they are wrong.

The third objection to the Nanjing rules is that the Zuo Commentary examples do not provide an appropriate proportion of the possible kinds of oracle. In these stories 114 lines are generated, of which 59 (52%) are stable and 55 (48%) changeable, while the probabilities are 75% and 25%; and of the 18 hexagrams recorded, 12 (67%) give a single line sentence as the oracle, while the probability of receiving a hexagram with one changeable line is only 36%. Yet this argument must be inconclusive, because the probabilities apply only if the sample is truly random, and we shall see that this premiss is in doubt (see page 173).

A more drastic criticism would be that the Nanjing rules depend on the concept of changeable lines, and if that concept did not exist when the Zuo Commentary was written, such rules could not then have been followed. Against this it may be argued that though the stories never speak of a line being changed – it is always read as in the base hexagram – the lines now called ‘changeable’ are indicated as having peculiar significance; and a second hexagram is used when an 8 is met. The early history and meaning of ‘changeability’ is very obscure (see page 154f), and the validity or otherwise of the Nanjing rules remains unresolved.

PROGNOSTICATION

Divining with yarrow wands involved two processes. The first was to ‘work the oracle’ by counting out the wands and discovering the appropriate statement in *Zhouyi*. This was mechanical. The second process was interpreting the oracle and announcing the prognostication. This second process called for professional skill.

The diviner was always at risk. In order to avoid being discredited by making predictions that were not fulfilled in the event, or incurring royal anger for the same reason, his prognostication had to be delivered with circumspection. Efforts were made to give divination a semblance of objectivity, but there was always a subjective element. When interpreting weather omens, he would doubtless use observations of cloud formations, wind direction, and so forth; but in predictions about future careers of individuals and the outcome of battles, some hedging of predictions would be prudent.

To heighten the impact of the prognostication, it was often delivered in extempore gnomic verse. Certain rhyming sentences recorded in the Zuo Commentary have been taken to be quotations from a lost version of *Zhouyi* that

differed from the received text; but it is now clear that they are the words of the diviners. (See Stories 3 and 4, pages 178 and 179.) Similar rhymed prognostications occur in accounts of oracle-bone divination.³⁸

THE ZUO COMMENTARY AND GUOYU EXAMPLES

The Zuo Commentary and *Guoyu*³⁹ have preserved our earliest descriptions of *Zhouyi* prognostication. What they describe may have been different from what was done in earlier centuries, but both works are of particular value, because we have nothing nearer in time to the original practices.

Nineteen stories about the use of *Zhouyi* between 671 BC and 487 BC occur in the Zuo Commentary. Three other references to *Zhouyi* occur in the same book: a famous remark of a diviner to the Marquis Xian of Jin in 656 BC, saying ‘Yarrow wands are short, tortoiseshells are long’, which is usually interpreted to mean that tortoiseshells were more reliable than yarrow wands;⁴⁰ a brief mention that the Marquis of Wei in 478 BC checked the meaning of a strange dream by divining with yarrow wands;⁴¹ and the pleasure experienced by an emissary of Jin when he discovered a copy of *Yi* in the archives of Lu in 540 BC.⁴² None of these three references gives any details of the text or of divination procedure.

The oracles are referred to as *Zhouyi* or *Yi* or *shi* ‘the yarrow wands’. Hexagrams are referred to by tag, and lines as ‘the line of tag X that is changed to make tag Y’. Doubts about ‘changeable lines’ and the method of selecting the oracle have been discussed above.⁴³

Though present-day scholars rate the historical value of the Zuo Commentary more highly than was usual fifty years ago, there is still room for some scepticism about both single stories and story-types, and it would be unsafe to draw strong general conclusions on the basis of this small sample. The stories do not form a truly random collection, but a selection with a moral purpose: to praise virtue and blame wrong attitudes and actions. There is no way of discovering from them anything about unsuccessful divinations.

A curious limitation within the sample is the repeated appearance of certain hexagrams. Thirty-eight hexagrams are quoted, but they include only twenty-six different hexagrams, because three of them (Hexagrams 1, 3 and 8) occur three times; and six (Hexagrams 11, 12, 14, 18, 24, and 38) occur twice. What is more, twenty-eight of the thirty-eight are from the first quarter of *Zhouyi*, and only

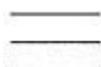
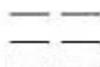
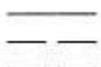
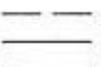
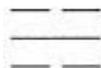
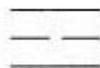
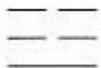
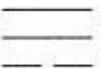
nine come from the second half. Either the divination process or the users' interest concentrated on the earlier part of the book.

Nearly all the accounts tell of the ruling class employing professional soothsayers or diviners, though some stories assigned to later dates speak of non-professionals correcting the professional readings. The questions put to the wands mostly referred to intended action; but some sought predictions that involved no decision by the client, such as the future of a new-born child. The ancient practice of putting the charge in optative form continued.⁴⁴

No set pattern or technique controlled the interpretation of auguries. The diviners showed considerable ingenuity and perceptive knowledge of the histories and personalities of their clients. There was a readiness (at least in the latter part of the period) to moralize and to treat *Zhouyi* as a book of examples and wisdom.

Hexagram tags were not seen as having any oracular significance in themselves, though in two stories (8 and 20) they are taken to illuminate the meaning already determined by a hexagram statement or line statement; and the tag is twice used to provide the rhyme for the diviner's extempore prognostication (Stories 3 and 8).

Table 19 SIGNIFICANCES OF THE EIGHT TRIGRAMS

			
QIAN	KUN	GEN	DUI
Sky	Earth	Mountain	Still water
Father	Mother	3rd son	3rd daughter
			
KAN	LI	ZHEN	XUN
Moving water	Fire	Thunder	Wind
2nd son	2nd daughter	1st son	1st daughter

Constituent trigrams are used to explain the omens in twelve of the twenty-two stories, usually to back up the interpretation of a line oracle. Nearly always the trigrams' correspondence with natural forces (Heaven, Earth, Wind, Thunder, Fire, Mountains, Running Water, and Still Water) is invoked. In only three stories (2, 11 and 20) are the family relationship correspondences mentioned. In Stories 2 and 20 there is reference to some of the miscellaneous correspondences recorded

in the 8th Wing. There may be a reference to ‘nuclear trigrams’ in Story 2 (see page 178).

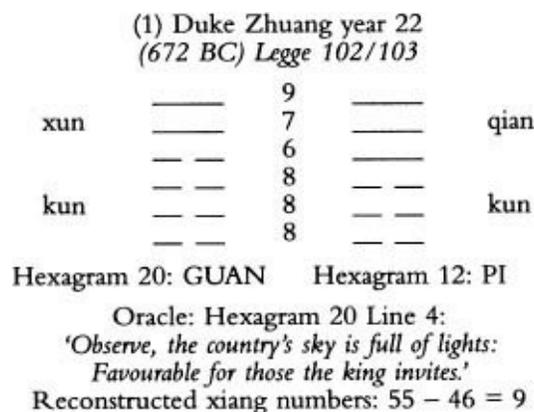
Three stories tell of *Zhouyi* being used reflectively to support a policy or proposal (See Stories 13, 17 and 18). Some modern commentators draw attention to the fact that this practice, which continues to this day among Chinese users, is not recorded as happening before 603 BC, and see that as evidence of *Zhouyi* moving towards the status of a Confucian classic.⁴⁵

Whether or not the general picture given is true for the Spring and Autumn or Warring States Periods, the stories must reflect something of the ways in which diviners used *Zhouyi* while the Zuo Commentary was being compiled – perhaps as early as the 3rd century BC. The values of the trigrams were being invoked in simple fashion, but little else of the doctrines of the Ten Wings yet formed part of divination procedure; there is no use of Five Element or *yin/yang* theories, and no evidence of a ‘philosophy of change’. Moralizing was restricted to gross faults and public behaviour, never approaching deep introspection or fine self-analysis.



All the Zuo Commentary stories are translated here, save Story 18, which is done only in part. Since they are told in the famously succinct and allusive style of the Zuo Commentary, explanatory notes are appended to each story. For some of these notes I have used Yang Bojun’s commentary *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu* (Beijing 1981). The translated sections are indented; matter placed within brackets is editorial. Quotations from *Zhouyi* sometimes differ from those in my translation of the whole text, because by the Spring and Autumn Period the original sense had been displaced by another interpretation. The titles of rulers of states, which in the text are often replaced by the blandly honorific *gong* ‘duke’, have all been given as the true titles – duke, viscount, marquis, earl.

Reconstructed *xiang* numbers are given for each line, with the calculation of the oracle according to the Nanjing rules. References are given to Legge’s edition, which contains a Chinese text. Legge’s dates, however, are eccentric. He declined to number the year of Christ’s birth and inserted it between 1BC and AD1, with the result that his BC year dates are one year less than the commonly used dates given here.⁴⁶



Marquis Li of Chen had a son called Jingzhong. While Jingzhong was a boy, a recorder of Zhou visited the Marquis, bringing *Zhouyi* with him, and the marquis had the recorder consult the yarrow-wands about the boy. On receiving the line of Guan (Hexagram 20) that is changed to make Pi (Hexagram 12), the recorder said: The oracle says:

“Observe, the country’s sky is full of lights:
 Favourable for those the king invites.”

‘Will he rule over the state of Chen? If not, will he get another state? Or if not he himself, will his descendants get it?’

The lights are distant and reflect off something else. Kun, the lower trigram of both hexagrams, means earth; Xun, the upper trigram, means wind in the first hexagram, and becomes Qian, heaven, in the second. Wind becoming heaven over the land suggests mountains. He will have the treasures of the mountains and be lit by the lights of heaven. He will be set over the land. That is why it says:

“Observe, the country’s sky is full of lights:
 Favourable for those the king invites.”

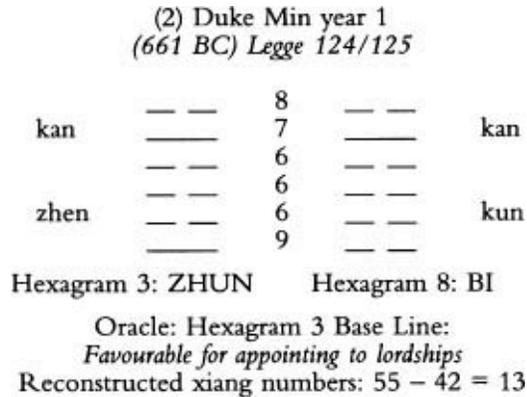
The manifold products of the kingdom, precious jades and silks, the finest in heaven and earth, are set out for a king’s guests. That is why it says:

“Favourable for those the king invites.”

‘Yet there is that word ‘Observe’ (‘wait and see’); so I say that all this will come to pass only after a lapse of time. The wind is seen moving across the land; so I say that it may all happen in another state. If it is to be in another state it must be a state of the Jiang clan, because the Jiang are descended from Taiyu (a minister of You whose name means ‘Great Mountain’). Mountain ranges vie with heaven, but no two things can be equally great. Chen will wane and Jingzhong will prosper.’

An additional paragraph in the Zuo Commentary gives an *ex post facto* justification of the prophecy: ‘When the state of Chen began to decline (in 533 BC), Chen Huanzi (a descendant of Jingzhong) was rising to power in Qi (which was ruled by the Jiang clan). By the time the state of Chen disintegrated (in 478 BC), Chengzi (another descendant of Jingzhong) had control of the government in Qi.’ As the recorder suggested, the descendants of the little boy were destined to rule in a Jiang state.

The diviner invokes the constituent trigrams as they correspond to natural features. Yang Bojun suggests that the idea of mountains in Hexagram 12 refers to the nuclear trigram of lines 3–5; but Gao Heng disagrees.



Biwan was the spearman who stood by the right hand of the Marquis of Jin in his chariot. On one expedition they conquered the states of Geng, Huo and Wei, after which the marquis made Biwan the governor of Wei. Yan the diviner declared that Biwan's descendants would surely become great, because the character *wan* (in Biwan's name) meant 'ten thousand', a huge number, while *wei* (name of his governorship) meant 'great'. If his rewards began with such an important place as Wei, heaven would take him far. And as 'million' was used of the people of the whole kingdom, so 'ten thousand' referred to the population of a lordship. A man with such a great title and 'ten thousand' in his name would surely have a great posterity.

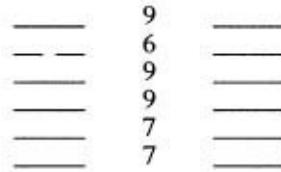
Earlier, before entering the service of Jin, Biwan had consulted the yarrow wands and received the line of Zhun (Hexagram 3) that is changed to make Bi (Hexagram 8). Xinliao read the oracle for him and said: 'It is auspicious. Zhun means stability and Bi means entering. What could be more auspicious? Your family will become numerous and successful.'

'Zhen, the lower trigram of Zhun, means Thunder. In Bi it becomes Kun, Earth. Chariots follow horses; his feet are set firm; his elders back him; his mother protects him; the people flock to him. These six elements will not change. Together they can give stability, at rest they provide dignity. The augury is for establishing a lord. Your family is of ducal descent and will return to its earlier status.'

The interpretation depends first on the indication in the base line of Hexagram 3 'Favourable for appointing to lordships.' The six elements in the last paragraph belong to the constituent trigrams as described in the 8th Wing:: Kun is chariots, mother and people; Zhen is horses, feet and elders (elder son).

This interpretation resembles that of Story 20 (below page 198). The oracle in each of the two stories is taken from Hexagram 2, and the three different trigram forms occurring in both stories are given the same meanings.

(3) Duke Min year 2
(660 BC) Legge 126/129



Hexagram 14: ZHUN Hexagram 1: QIAN

Oracle: Hexagram Statement:

Supreme offering (yuan heng).

Reconstructed xiang numbers: $55 - 43 = 12$, giving the base line, which cannot change. The oracle is therefore the hexagram statement of 14.

The ruling family of Lu was Ji. Duke Huan ruled 710–692 BC. Though this story is entered under 660 BC, when his grandson Min was duke, it refers to the birth, perhaps thirty years earlier, of Huan’s son Chengji.

Shortly before the birth of Chengji, Duke Huan had the diviner Chuqiu’s father consult the tortoiseshell. The diviner said: ‘The child will be a boy.

His name will be You:
At your right hand he’ll go,
and between your two altars,
serve your house from below.
When the Ji die away,
then Lu will decay’

He then consulted the yarrow wands and obtained the line of Dayou (Hexagram 14) that is changed to make Qian (Hexagram 1). He declared:

He will share his father’s grace,
With honour in a prince’s place.

The child was born with lines on his hand forming the character *you* ‘friend’, which was given as his name.

In this story we find the tortoiseshell being consulted with yarrow wands as back-up. The diviner gives his prognostication as a strophe in which three lines rhyme. ‘You’ rhymes with the tag of the hexagram given by the yarrow wands, and also rhymes roughly with English ‘go’. The hexagram statement is of little direct help, but was doubtless taken to be an auspicious reference to the maintenance of ancestral sacrifices. Gao looks for further explanation in the constituent trigrams. They could reinforce the oracles, but seem unnecessary.

In the event, Huan was succeeded as duke by Chengji’s brother Duke Zhuang, and Chengji never became Duke. He served Lu loyally as an envoy to other states until he died in 643 BC. The phrase about the two altars hints at ministerial rank.

(4) Duke Xi year 15
 (645 BC) Legge 164/167



Hexagram 18: GU

Oracle: the hexagram statement: *Favourable for crossing a river.* Reconstructed xiang numbers: 55 – 45 = 10, giving Line 2; but there are no changeable lines. The oracle is therefore the hexagram statement.

The Earl of Qin was invading Jin. The diviner Tufu consulted the yarrow wands for him, and said, ‘It is auspicious. Cross the Yellow River. The marquis’s chariots will be routed.’

When the earl asked for more detail, the diviner said, ‘It is most auspicious. You will defeat them three times and will surely capture the prince of Jin. The hexagram we are given is Gu, “pox” (Hexagram 18).’

Then he said:

‘A thousand cars thrice turn in flocks;
 And when three times they’ve fled your shocks
 Your prize will be a poxy fox.

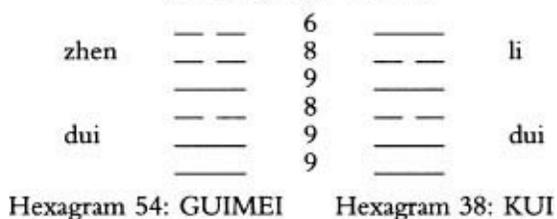
‘That *gu* (fox or pox) is surely the prince of Jin. Xun, the lower trigram of Gu, means wind, and Gen, the upper trigram, means mountain. It is the autumn season now. When the wind blows on the mountain, the fruit will be blown down and the trees stripped. Fruit falling, trees stripped – what can they expect but defeat?’

After inflicting three defeats the Qin army came to Han.

The hexagram received had no obvious reference to military affairs, but the hexagram statement said it was favourable for crossing a river. Since Qin had to cross the Yellow River in order to invade Jin, this was enough for the diviner to declare that the matter was favourable for Qin. The hexagram statement also speaks of three favourable days. This may be why in his rhyming prognostication the diviner promised three victories (presumably won on different days). He rhymed and punned *on gu*, the hexagram tag that means ‘pox’ and ‘fox’. He then backed up his augury by interpreting the constituent trigrams, likening the invading army to an autumn wind. On *gu* see also the notes on Story 13 (page 191) and the translation of Hexagram 18 (page 312).

The earl of Qin was Mu. His wife was a half-sister of Marquis Hui of Jin, against whom he was fighting. See the note to Story 5.

(5) Duke Xi year 15
(645 BC) Legge 165/169



Oracle: Hexagram 54 Top Line:
*The groom stabs a sheep, but no blood will shoot;
The bride bears a skip, but it holds no fruit.*
Reconstructed xiang numbers: 55 – 49 = 6

When Marquis Xian of Jin divined by yarrow wands about marrying his elder daughter to the Earl of Qin (Mu), he received the line of Guimei (Hexagram 54) that turns it into Kui (Hexagram 38). The recorder Su worked the oracle for him and said ‘It is not auspicious. The line statement says:

“The groom stabs a sheep, but no blood will shoot;
The bride bears a skip containing no fruit.”

‘Our western neighbour reproves us for promises we cannot fulfil. Guimei, meaning betrothal, turning to Kui, meaning estrangement, is like getting no help. Estranging a bride means getting no helpmate. Zhen, the upper trigram of Guimei, turning to the trigram Li in the hexagram Kui is like Li turning to Zhen, thunder mixed with fire. This signifies Ying, the ruling house of Qin, troubling Ji, the ruling house of Jin. Chariots break their axle-casings, fire burns their flags; military action will be of no avail.

‘There will be a defeat at Zongqiu (in the plain of Han). The bride will be estranged like an orphan, and the enemy will stretch his bow. A nephew attends his aunt, absconds after six years, running back to his homeland, abandoning wife and family A year later he dies in the wilderness of Gaoliang.’

When Marquis Hui (Xian’s son) was a captive in Qin (many years later) he said, ‘If my father, the last duke, had followed the augury of recorder Su, I should not have come to this!’

The oracle indicated by the yarrow wands is the couplet in the top line of Hexagram 54, describing an infertile marriage. (The form in which the couplet is quoted here differs slightly from the form in the received text of *Zhouyi*. See page 348, note to 54:top.) The augury was therefore clear, but the diviner elaborated his prognostication by describing the constituent trigrams and giving a graphic description of the troubles that would follow the ill-fated betrothal. In the details he referred to other lines in both hexagrams: the uselessness of military action in the hexagram statement of 54; the orphan (or fox): and the archer in the top line of Hexagram 38, the equivalent of the oracle couplet in Hexagram 54.

Qin was Jin’s western neighbour. The marriage that was discouraged by the omens was carried through, with the disastrous long-term results foretold by the recorder Su. Years later, when Jin and Qin were again at war, the woman played a prominent part in bringing the war to an uneasy close. The Jin prince, Yu, who was her nephew, was held hostage in Qin. In 638 BC he escaped home to Jin, where he became Marquis Huai; but he was put to death by his brother at Gaoliang in 636. (See Story 21.)

These events are part of one of the more important sagas in the Zuo Commentary. Although the historical details are not of primary importance in explaining the use of *Zhouyi*, the chart of personalities (on page 183) may make the *Zhouyi* anecdotes easier to comprehend.

The Marquis Xian of Jin, who betrothed his elder daughter to the Earl of Qin (see Story 5), had many children by several wives. One of the wives, Lady Li, machinated to get her son Xiqi appointed as heir to the

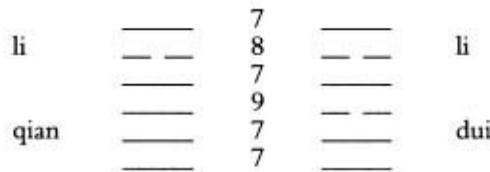
marquisate. In the process she compromised the eldest son, Shensheng, so that he was forced to commit suicide in 656 BC. Two of his younger half-brothers, Chonger and Yiwu, had to flee outside the state.

Marquis Xian died in 651. His son Yiwu, with help from the states of Qi and Qin, succeeded him, and was known as Marquis Hui. His rule was disastrous: relations with Qin were badly managed and war broke out. Qin won the battle of Han in 645 (See Story 40), where Marquis Hui was captured. He was eventually freed, but his son Yu was kept as a hostage.

In 638 Yu escaped and returned to Jin. (See Story 21.) Meanwhile Chonger, second son of Marquis Xian, had been wandering from place to place outside Jin, marrying several wives. When Marquis Hui died in 637 and was succeeded by Yu (Marquis Huai), Chonger saw his chance (See Story 20) and returned to Jin from Qin, where he was then living. A month or so later he had Yu put to death. (See Story 5.)

Chonger, 'Double Ears', was the best ruler of the family. (See Story 6.) The reason for his strange name is not known.

(6) Duke Xi year 25
(635 BC) Legge 194/195



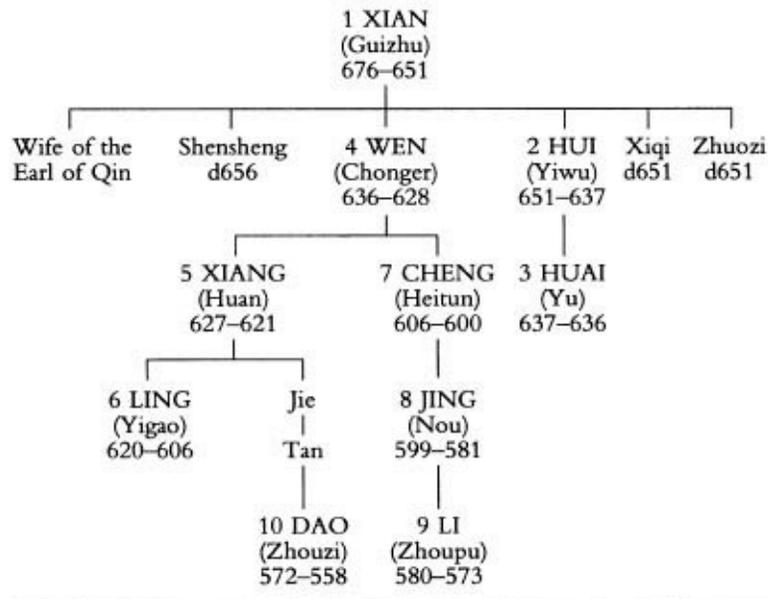
Hexagram 14: DAYOU Hexagram 38: KUI

Oracle: Hexagram 14 Line 3:
Dukes make offerings for the Son of Heaven.
Reconstructed xiang numbers: 55 – 45 = 10

King Xiang had been forced to leave the Zhou capital by his rebellious brother and take refuge in the earldom of Zheng. The king appealed to the Marquis of Jin and the Earl of Qin for help. When the Earl of Qin began moving an army toward the Yellow River, intending to restore the king, the Marquis of Jin was advised that it would be politic for him also to intervene on the king's behalf. The diviner Yan put the question to the tortoiseshells, which encouraged him to approve the course suggested, promising victory; but the marquis was not fully convinced.

RULERS OF JIN: 676–558 BC

Rulers numbered in regnal order; posthumous names in upper case



They tried the yarrow wands and obtained the line of Dayou (Hexagram 14) that changes to make Kui (Hexagram 38). Yan said, ‘We have obtained an auspicious line. It says “The duke offers sacrifice for the king.” This means victory in battle and a royal banquet. It is very auspicious indeed.

‘Also in this hexagram we have Li, the fire trigram, meaning the sun. Beneath it in Dayou is Qian, the trigram of heaven, which in Hexagram Kui becomes Dui, the still water trigram, here lying under the sun. This means the king condescends to meet your Grace. Is not this fortunate too?.

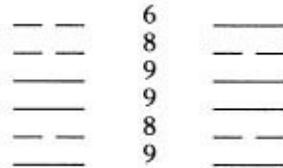
‘Furthermore if we turn back from Kui to Dayou, the same is true there too.’

The Marquis of Jin declined help from the Qin army and went down the river (to help the king).

A month or two later the king was able to return to his capital and the Marquis was liberally rewarded. The oracle on the line obtained by divination was remarkably appropriate to the situation. The argument from the constituent trigrams was used to back it up. The sun shining from heaven in Hexagram 14 was taken as an image of the king, ‘the Son of Heaven’, looking down upon the marquis. The same meaning was derived from the sun shining on still water in Hexagram 38.

The Earl of Qin was Mu and the Marquis of Jin was Wen (Chonger). See note to Story 5.

(7) Duke Xuan year 6
(603 BC) Legge 298/299



Hexagram 55: FENG Hexagram 30: LI

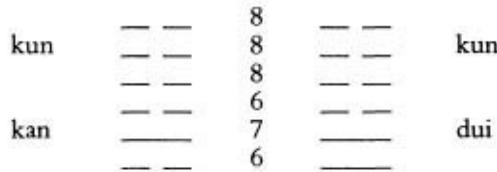
Oracle: Hexagram 55 Top Line:
He is not seen for three years. Disastrous.
Reconstructed xiang numbers; 55 – 49 = 6

Meeting the king’s son Boliao while he was in Zheng, Gongzi Manman spoke of his own ambition to become a minister of state. Afterwards Boliao said to someone else, ‘A worthless character who has high ambitions appears in *Zhouyi* in the line of Feng (Hexagram 55) that makes Li (Hexagram 30). Manman will live no longer than is said there.’

A year later the men of Zheng killed Manman.

Divination is not recorded in this story. *Zhouyi* seems to be quoted purely as a book of wisdom. It has been argued that Boliao assumed that his interlocutor would know the line without it being quoted, and this indicates there was a wide knowledge of the *Zhouyi* text about 600 BC; but the terse style of the Zuo Commentary hardly encourages us to believe that the whole conversation was recorded verbatim.

(8) Duke Xuan year 12
(597 BC) Legge 312/317



Hexagram 7: SHI Hexagram 19: LIN

Oracle: Hexagram 7 Base Line:
The army moves off according to orders.
If they are not properly observed,
disaster ensues.
Reconstructed xiang numbers: 55 – 43 = 12

The earldom of Zheng was a small buffer state between the great states of Jin to the north and Chu to the south, both of which were trying to control it. Chu was again on the move, and Jin sent troops to relieve Zheng. Xian Gu, second-in-command of the centre army of Jin, rashly crossed the Yellow River, contrary to his superiors decision.

Xun Shou, a staff officer of the third army of Jin, said, ‘This army is in danger. Here we have what is described by *Zhouyi* in the line of Shi (Hexagram 7) that changes to make Lin (Hexagram 19), where it says: *An army proceeds according to orders. If they are not properly observed, disaster ensues.* Discipline in action ensures success; otherwise there is failure. A divided army is weakened.

‘When a stream (the lower trigram in Hexagram 7) is blocked, it collects in a pool of still water (the lower trigram in Hexagram 19). There are regulations, but everyone does as he will (i.e. the stream of

concerted action cannot flow). Hence the warning about orders that *are not properly observed*. The orders come to nothing, like a pool that soaks away and dries out. Unless it is repaired, disaster will follow.

‘Lin means “coming to the brink” and is applied to work that is not carried through. The commander’s orders have been disobeyed and we are most emphatically on the brink and in danger of not carrying the matter through. This tells us that an encounter now would mean defeat for us. Xian Gu will be responsible. Even if he escapes and returns home, he will be in dire trouble.’

After further discussion, the rest of the army followed Xian Gu’s section across the river, starting the train of events that led to the battle of Bi, in which Jin was defeated. Xian Gu survived the battle, returned to Jin, and was executed eighteen months later.

Divination is not mentioned: *Zhouyi* is appealed to as a moral authority. The constituent trigrams are used as a parable.

(9) Duke Cheng year 16
(575 BC) Legge 391/397

— —	8
— —	8
— —	8
— —	8
— —	8
— —	7

Hexagram 24: FU

No harm. Favourable where there is somewhere to go.
Reconstructed xiang numbers: no changeable lines.

The forces of the large and powerful southern state of Chu under King Gong – the Viscount of Chu had by now come to be referred to as a king – were marching north towards Jin and the two armies were lined up facing each other.

Miao Fenhuang (a fugitive from Chu) said to the Marquis of Jin, ‘The best of the Chu warriors are in the centre of the army, among the royal clansmen. Divide your own best troops and attack the right and left wings. Then draw all three of your armies together against the king’s soldiers in the centre. He will suffer a severe defeat.

The Marquis divined about the outcome. The diviner said, ‘The augury is favourable. The hexagram is Fu (Hexagram 24).

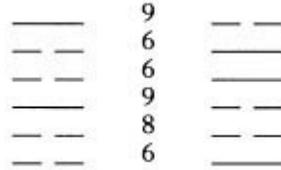
The southern host will fly:
shoot its king in the eye.

With the country in disorder and the king wounded, what can they expect but defeat?

King Gong was killed shortly afterwards by an arrow in his eye at the battle of Yanling, and the Chu army was defeated. The hexagram statement of Fu does not directly apply to a battle; but it is wholly auspicious and explicitly favours setting forth. This would be enough to persuade the diviner to foretell victory, but the content of his prognostication depends on the top line statement, which describes a calamitous defeat, including disaster for a ruler. These omens of defeat were applied to Chu, presumably because the Hexagram statement was favourable for Jin.

The extempore rhyming prediction given by the diviner does not scan, and may be corrupt.

(10) Duke Xiang year 9
(564 BC) Legge 437/439



Hexagram 52: GEN Hexagram 17: SUI

Oracle: Second hexagram statement:
'Supreme offering (*yuan heng*).
Favourable augury (*li zhen*). No trouble.'

Reconstructed xiang numbers: $55 - 44 = 11$, giving Hexagram 52 line 2, which cannot change. This involves the 'rule of 8'.

Mu Jiang (grandmother of Duke Xiang of Lu) died in the eastern palace. When she went there (under house arrest, about ten years earlier), she had cast the yarrow wands and met with an 8 (an unchangeable broken line) in Gen (Hexagram 52).

The diviner said: 'This means that Gen gives Sui (Hexagram 17). Sui means getting out. Your ladyship will get out soon.' Jiang replied, 'No. *Zhouyi* (Hexagram 17) says:

"Sui means *yuan heng li zhen*: no trouble.

Yuan is the source of goodness;

heng is the sum of all excellence,

li is the harmony of all that is right:

zhen is the kingpin of activity.

A prince, embodying goodness, is fit to lead men; summing up excellence, is fit to unite them in propriety; benefiting all beings, is fit to coordinate justice; being constant and firm, is the kingpin of activity.

'I am a woman involved in disorder. Beyond question, I am in poor standing. I am not benevolent, so *yuan* does not apply to me. I have not stabilized the dynasty, so *heng* does not apply to me. I have acted against my own good, so *li* does not apply to me. I have descended to intrigue, so *zhen* does not apply to me.

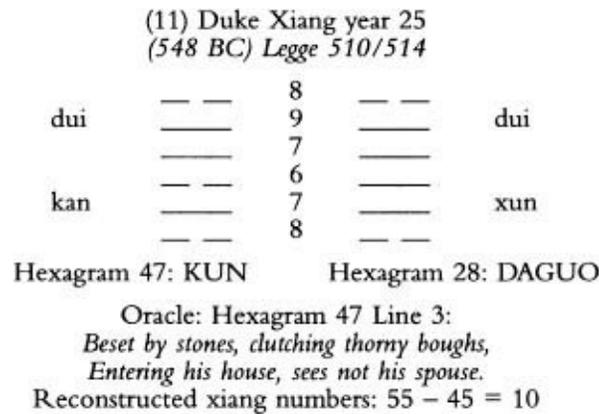
'Sui means no trouble, but only for a person with these four virtues. I have none of them. How can Sui apply to me? Since I have chosen evil, how can there be no trouble for me? I shall surely die here. I shall not get out.'

Mu Jiang was a stormy petrel who was put under house arrest because she had been involved in intrigue about the succession to the dukedom. Her reason for brushing aside the diviners happy augury provides an early example of moralizing on a *Zhouyi* text, showing that *yuanheng lizhen* had already been turned into an ethical proposition. What she says about these 'four qualities' forms the opening words of *Wenyan*, the 7th Wing.⁴⁷ The *Zuo Commentary* may be quoting *Wenyan* or *vice versa*; or both may be quoting a third source. This passage raises questions about the date and historical value of the story.⁴⁸

If the Nanjing rules are accepted, there is little difficulty in explaining the choice of oracle: Hexagram 52 is changed to Hexagram 17 according to the 'rule of 8'. The new hexagram statement is taken as the oracle. The diviner and Mu Jiang could both be talking about the same hexagram statement.

On the other hand Hexagram 52 Line 2 contains the words *bu zheng qi sui*, which the diviner probably

read as ‘Will not stop her getting out’. Mu Jiang insisted on deeper consideration of the hexagram statement.⁴⁹



The wife of the commandant of Tang in the state of Qi was an elder sister of Dongguo Yan, a retainer of Cui Wuzi (a man of ministerial rank in the same state). The commandant died, and Dongguo Yan drove the chariot when Wuzi went to offer condolences to the widow. On seeing the Lady Jiang, Wuzi fell in love with her beauty and asked Dongguo Yan to arrange for him to marry her.

Dongguo Yan said, ‘Husband and wife must be of different clans. You are descended from Duke Ding and we are descended from Duke Huan. (They were both of the Jiang clan.) You cannot marry her.’

Wuzi took the matter to divination with yarrow wands and received the line of Kun (Hexagram 47) that changes to make Daguo (Hexagram 28). The recorders all declared this was auspicious; but when Wuzi told the minister Chen Wenzhi, Chen said, ‘The lower trigram of Kun, meaning a man, is displaced in Daguo by the wind trigram. Wind is destructive. This match is not possible.’

‘Moreover the line given in Kun says:

Beset by stones, clutching thorny boughs,

Entering his house, sees not his spouse. Disaster.

“Beset by stones” means not being able to get forward. “Clutching thorny boughs” means being injured by what ought to be a support. “Entering his house, sees not his spouse” means he has nowhere to turn.’

Cui Wuzi replied, ‘She is a widow. What does all that matter? Her former husband bore all the misfortune.’

He went ahead and married her.

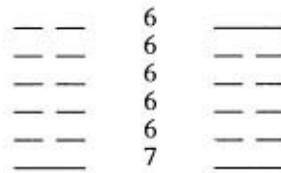
The Duke of Qi soon began an adulterous relationship with the woman, which led to Wuzi having the duke assassinated. Before long his activities ended in the destruction of his whole family. He committed suicide by strangling himself.

It is impossible to see how the recorders could have found a favourable omen in this divination. They must have been telling the cruel Cui Wuzi what he wanted to hear, for the line statement is unequivocally inauspicious.

Chen Wenzhi used the constituent trigrams to support his inauspicious interpretation, employing their correspondence to the members of a nuclear family. The upper trigram in both hexagrams is that of the youngest daughter, that is to say, a woman. The lower trigram of Hexagram 47 is that of the middle son – a man. This alone might be inauspicious, but the displacement of the man trigram by the wind trigram in

Hexagram 28 implied the destruction of the male.

(12) Duke Xiang year 28
(545 BC) Legge 537/541



Hexagram 24: FU Hexagram 27: YI

Oracle: Hexagram 24 Top Line:

A great defeat with disaster for the ruler of a state.

Reconstructed xiang numbers (if divined): $55 - 37 = 18$

The Earl of Zheng sent Youji to Chu (to represent him on a formal visit required by the covenant of Song). When Youji arrived at the Han River (the northern boundary of Chu), men of Chu turned him back, saying ‘According to the covenant of Song, your ruler should himself have come.’

(Youji politely explained that he was not on high government business, just paying a friendly visit to ministers of his own rank; but he went back home.)

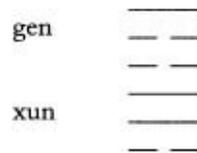
He reported back to the Earl of Zheng, ‘The Viscount of Chu will soon die. He pays no attention to right principles of government, but is obsessed with the idea of dominating other rulers, to gratify his personal ambition. How can he survive long? The matter is as in *Zhouyi* where the line of Fu (Hexagram 24) that changes to make Yi (Hexagram 27) says *Losing the way to return. Disaster.* Does this not fit the Viscount of Chu? Greedy to fulfil his desire, he rejects basic principles, and has lost his way back. This is indeed *losing the way to return*. How can he avoid disaster?’

‘Let our prince (the Earl of Zheng) go. He will be there for the Viscounts funeral, and will return having fulfilled the Viscount’s wish.’

No divination is mentioned, though it is possibly implied. If there was no counting of wands, then *Zhouyi* was appealed to as a book of wisdom. The line indicated contains a further sentence about disaster for a ruler that reinforces Youji’s prediction, but is not mentioned in the Zuo Commentary.

The covenant of Song, which had been agreed the previous year, was of some importance for all China, and was relevant here because Zheng had become part of a group of small states under the hegemony of Chu.

(13) Duke Zhao year 1
(541 BC) Legge 574/581



Hexagram 18: GU

When the Marquis of Jin asked Qin for a physician, the Earl of Qin sent a man called He to examine him. The physician said: ‘This sickness cannot be treated by medicine.’

Men who often women woo

Suffer a disease called *gu*,
 It is not demons, is not gluttony:
 This weakness is brought on by lechery.

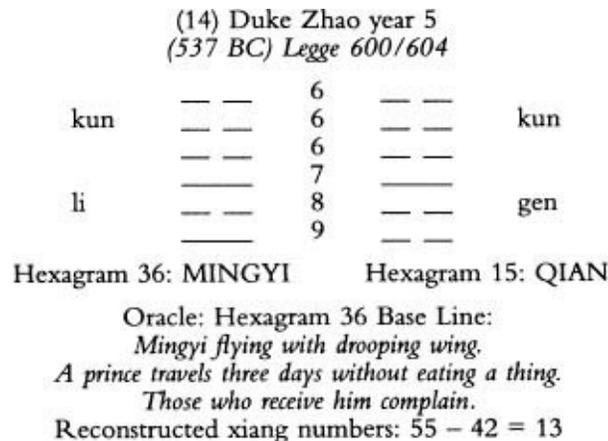
Your good minister too will die. Heaven decrees no grace.'

The marquis asked, 'Must I stay away from women altogether?'

The physician replied, 'You must be restrained.'

(... After he had left the marquis's room) Zhaomeng, a minister, asked what he meant by *gu*, and the physician replied, 'I mean the debility that comes of too much sexual indulgence. The written character shows a dish with insects. The word also means mildewed grain out of which insects fly. In *Zhouyi* a woman misleading a young man and a wind destructively buffeting a mountain are also called *gu*.'

There is no divination in this story, which shows *Zhouyi* being used as a repository of wisdom. A physician, like a diviner, reads signs or symptoms and gives prognoses. Kidder Smith points out that this diagnosis is in rhyme (**nwo, kwo; si, *tsi*), like the extempore prognostics of diviners.⁵⁰ The reference to *Zhouyi* is to the constituent trigrams of Hexagram 18, whose tag is Gu, the 'dish of insects' character (see [Diagram 9](#)): Xun, the lower trigram, means both eldest daughter and wind; Gen, the upper trigram, means youngest son and mountain.



Shusun Muzi belonged to a powerful family in the state of Lu, and became an assistant minister. He once dreamt that the sky was falling on him and he was rescued by an ugly man called Niu 'ox', who held the sky up. When he later met a youth who looked like the man in his dream and was called Niu, Muzi took him home and made him his butler. The young man became overbearing and ambitious. When Muzi came home ill after a hunt, Niu pretended to nurse him, but in fact gradually starved him to death. This story is told in the account of Muzi's funeral, but recalls a divination made at the time of his birth, probably about 600 BC.

Earlier, when Muzi was born, Zhuangshu (his father) had consulted *Zhouyi* through the yarrow wands and obtained the line of Mingyi (Hexagram 36) that changes to make Qian (Hexagram 15). He showed this to the diviner Chu Qiu, who said, 'The child will have to travel, but will return to offer the family sacrifices. A slanderer called Niu 'ox' will appear and your son will starve to death.

'Mingyi refers to the sun. As there are ten suns, so there are ten divisions of the day, corresponding to the ten official ranks. Reckoning from the king downwards, the second rank is duke and the third is minister. The sun reaches its peak at noon; the morning mealtime is the point next before noon; and

dawn is the third point down. Mingyi means dimness, daylight not fully broken. Does this not correspond to dawn? So I say the child will offer the family sacrifices (made at dawn).

‘The base-line statement compares the sun to a bird. Mingyi is said to be in flight; but the brightness has not broken through, so it says “drooping its wings”. The image is of the sun moving across the sky, paralleled by a prince travelling. The number three matches dawn, and he is said not to eat for three days.

‘Li, the lower trigram of Hexagram 36, means fire; Gen, the lower trigram of Hexagram 15, means mountain. Fire scorches a mountain and a mountain submits. In human affairs this is a parable for speech, and destructive speech is slander. So it speaks of travel and says “Those who receive him complain.” “Complain” means slander.

‘The hexagram made of two fire trigrams is Hexagram 30, whose hexagram statement mentions cows. The times are disordered and a slanderer triumphs. Triumphant fits the fire hexagram and trigram. So I say his name will be Niu (“ox” or “cow”, the name of the villain).

‘This line statement, Qian-of-Mingyi, is about deficiency: the flight is not high, droops and is not lofty, the wings are not broad. I say your son will succeed you, sir, as an assistant minister, not rising so high as you.’

This is the most elaborate allegorizing of an oracle in the Zuo Commentary anecdotes, and it is a simple foretelling of the future. The precision of detail is unique in the series, even to the point about starving, which is paralleled by the three days’ fast in the line statement. The whole tale seems inherently improbable because, unless Muzi was ignorant of the divination made at the time of his birth, he ought to have been suspicious of any man called Niu.

The constituent trigrams are used in two different ways. The first, referring to fire on the mountain, is a method frequently employed in other Zuo Commentary stories; but the reference to cows in Hexagram 30 shows unusual strange ingenuity.

For the ten suns see Translation Note 18:4, page 313.

(15) Duke Zhao year 7
(535 BC) Legge 615/619

— —	8	— —
— —	7	— —
— —	6	— —
— —	6	— —
— —	6	— —
— —	9	— —

Hexagram 3: ZHUN Hexagram 8: BI

First oracle: Hexagram 3 hexagram statement:

Supreme offering (yuan heng).

Favourable for appointing to lordships.

(Reconstructed xiang numbers for the 2nd hexagram only.)

Second oracle: Hexagram 3 Base Line:

Favourable for appointing to lordships.

Reconstructed xiang numbers: 55 – 42 = 13

The wife of the Marquis of Wei bore no sons, but Zhouge, his favourite concubine, bore two, Zhi and Yuan. Zhi, the elder, had malformed feet. Kong Chengzi, one of the ministers of Wei, saw Kangshu, the first Marquis, in a dream. He dreamt that Kangshu told him to ensure that Yuan succeeded to the marquise, promising that Kong’s own son, Yu, and Shigou, the son of Kong’s fellow-minister Shizhao, would be made Yuan’s ministers. Shizhao also dreamt of Kangshu telling him the same things.

Kong Chengzi divined with yarrow wands and *Zhouyi*, charging that Yuan should take on the sacrifices of Wei and become lord of its altars. He obtained Zhun (Hexagram 3). Then he said ‘I would have Zhi succeed, and that this be acceptable.’ He received the line of Zhun (Hexagram 3) that changes to make Bi (Hexagram 8), which he showed to Shizhao, who said ‘*Yuan heng* means “Yuan sacrifices.” How can there be any doubt?’

Chengzi said, ‘Does not “Yuan” mean the firstborn?’

Shizhao answered, ‘Kangshu named him. He must have meant Yuan should be treated as the elder. Zhi is not a whole man. He cannot officiate in the ancestral temple, so he cannot fittingly be treated as the elder. The oracle says, “Favourable for appointing to lordships.” If the natural heir were to be fortunate, why would there be a question of appointment? A natural heir does not need appointing. Both hexagrams tell you to do it, and Kangshu commanded it; both hexagrams have the same words. King Wu followed the yarrow wands when they confirmed his dreams. If you do not do the same, what will you do? The man with weak feet must stay at home. A prince has to preside at the altar of earth and grain, attend sacrifices, administer the people, serve the spirits, attend conferences and visit other courts. He cannot stay at home. Each should do what is appropriate for him. Is that not right?’

This divination appears to have been made in two stages, because two oracles are recorded. At first the hexagram statement is used; then a changeable line is used. There is no reference to constituent trigrams, but there is an unusual degree of self-interest on the part of those reading the omens. Yuan was appointed as the next marquis.

(16) Duke Zhao year 12
(530 BC) Legge 637/640

— —	8	— —
— —	6	— —
— —	6	— —
— —	6	— —
— —	6	— —
— —	6	— —

Hexagram 2: KUN Hexagram 8: BI

Oracle: Hexagram 2 line 5:
Yellow skirt. Supremely auspicious.
Reconstructed xiang numbers: 55 – 38 = 17

Nankuai was the disgruntled commandant of Fei in the state of Lu. He was planning to revolt.

Nankuai divined the matter with yarrow wands and received the line of Kun (Hexagram 2) that changes to make Bi (Hexagram 8). The oracle said *Yellow skirt. Supremely auspicious*. He thought this was auspicious and told Zifu Huibo, ‘This relates to an action I am considering. What do you think of it?’

Huibo said, ‘From what I have learned about this sort of thing, if you are considering a loyal act, all will be well. Otherwise you will certainly fail. The strong line in the upper trigram and the yielding line in the lower trigram mean loyalty. Responding obediently to the augury requires fidelity.

‘Thus it says *Yellow skirt, supremely auspicious*. Yellow is the colour that means the centre; a skirt clothes the lower part of the body; “supremely” means wholly good. Without loyalty at the centre, you will not match the colour; without the dutifulness of one in a lower station, you will not match the skirt; without supreme goodness in the action, you will not match this garment omen. Loyalty means interior and exterior harmony; dutifulness means the action is conceived in sincerity; goodness means cultivation of all three virtues (loyalty, dutifulness, sincerity). Without these three the omen will not apply.

‘When using *Zhouyi*, it is not right to divine for a dubious venture. What are you planning that must match this robe omen? If the centre of the plan is admirable, it matches the colour yellow; if the end is admirable, it matches “supremely”; if the basis of the plan is admirable, it matches the skirt (a lower garment). If these three points are as they should be, you can accept the oracle. Should there be a defect, even though the augury seems good, it will not be.

Huibo’s explanation is based on the line statement by a closely, opaquely reasoned argument; but ethical convictions mould his interpretation. These convictions, like the references to the coordination of colours and compass points – yellow matching the centre – belong to thought systems undreamt of when *Zhouyi* was first written down.

(17) Duke Zhao year 29
(513 BC) Legge 729/731



Hexagram 1: QIAN

In autumn a dragon appeared in the suburbs of Jiang (a town in Jin). Wei Xianzi asked Cai Mo, ‘I have heard that dragons are the wiliest of scaled creatures and cannot be taken alive. Is it really so?’

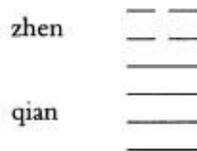
Cai Mo answered, ‘The truth is that people do not know. In fact dragons are not wily. In ancient times dragons were kept and reared, and there were families called Huanlong “dragon-rearer” and Yulong “dragon-driver”.’

(He then gave an account of how the tradition of dragon husbandry survived as late as the Xia dynasty, but was lost when the appropriate officers ceased to be appointed.)

‘The dragon is a water creature, and there is now no Officer for Water. That is why no dragons are caught. Otherwise how could *Zhouyi* in Qian (Hexagram 1) have the line that changes to make Gou (Hexagram 44), “Dragon under water: do not use”; the line that changes to make Dongren (Hexagram 13), “See the dragon on the field”; the line that changes to make Dayou (Hexagram 14), “Flying dragons in the sky;” the line that makes Jue (Hexagram 43), “Ditch dragons are miserable;” the line that changes all six lines to make Kun (Hexagram 2), “See a flock of dragons without a head;” or the line of Kun (Hexagram 2) that changes to make Bo (Hexagram 23), “Dragons fighting in the open country?” If dragons had not been under observation from dawn to dusk, who could have described them like this?’

This passage says nothing about divination. It is a call on *Zhouyi* for testimony regarding little-known facts. The contents of the book are taken as objectively true.

(18) Duke Zhao year 32
(509 BC) Legge 739/741



Hexagram 34: DAZHUANG

There is no narrative here, but a long disquisition centring on a single quotation from *Zhouyi*. Zhao Jianzi asked the recorder Cai Mo how it had happened that when the Ji clan of Lu drove out their prince, who had died in exile from Lu in 510 BC, the other states had simply accepted the *fait accompli*. In his reply, Cai Mo said,

‘In *Zhouyi*, Zhen, the thunder trigram, riding Qian, the heaven trigram, is called Dazhuang, “great strength” (Hexagram 34). This is the way of Heaven!’

This is perhaps the earliest known example of *Zhouyi* being understood as a philosophical text, with a value independent of its use in divination. The constituent trigrams of Hexagram 34, destructive thunder standing over heaven, seem to be the wrong way up, like subjects dominating their ruler; yet the tag, as then understood, means ‘great strength’, and the hexagram statement says ‘Augury favourable.’ Cai Mo implies that this illustrates heaven’s approval of certain reversals.

(19) Duke Ai year 9
(488 BC) Legge 818/819

— —	8	— —
— —	6	— —
— —	8	— —
— —	9	— —
— —	9	— —
— —	7	— —

Hexagram 11: TAI Hexagram 5: XU

Oracle: Hexagram 11 Line 5:
Diyi arranging his cousin's wedding. Happiness follows.
Reconstructed xiang numbers: 55 – 47 = 8

The Duke of Song had invaded the little state of Zheng. The ministers of Jin were in doubt whether they should move to Zheng’s aid. They divined with tortoiseshells and were told by the ancestors that they should not fight with Song. Various diviners gave different reasons for this interpretation of the omens, and the ministers wanted confirmation of the augury.

Yang Hu consulted *Zhouyi* with yarrow wands. He received the line of Tai (Hexagram 11) that changes to make Xu (Hexagram 5). He said ‘This is favourable for Song. We must not engage with that state. Qi, Viscount of Wei (who became the first duke of Song), was the eldest son of Diyi (the King of Shang mentioned in the oracle). He caused Song and Zheng to be interrelated by marriage (by sending one of his young cousins as a bride to the ruling house of Zheng), bringing happiness to both houses. If good fortune and honour followed when the first Duke of Song gave his cousin to us in marriage, and he was the eldest son of Diyi, how can we get good fortune by fighting Song?’

The plan to relieve Zheng was abandoned.

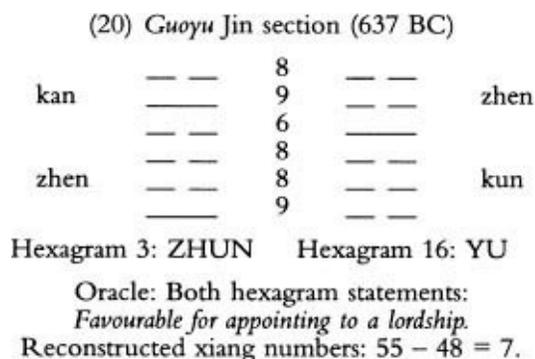
This is straightforward. The descendants of the royal house of Shang were settled in Song. Not only had they intermarried with the ruling family of Zheng, but the oracle spoke clearly of the blessings that come from the Shang king who was an ancestor of the Duke of Song. There was no need to consider the constituent trigrams.

GUOYU EXAMPLES

Guoyu ‘State Speeches’⁵¹ was written in the Warring States Period and compiled in early Western Han. It contains speeches at events in the Spring and Autumn period, arranged in eight sections, one for each of the eight states described. Three stories in the Jin and Zhou sections – all about the affairs of Jin – relate to the use of *Zhouyi*.

These three differ from the Zuo Commentary examples in that the method of selecting the oracles is not clear, presenting an as yet unsolved problem.⁵² According to the Nanjing rules all the oracles are hexagram statements – none are line statements – and all involve the number 8 or 7, in a manner reminiscent of Story 10 above. The interpretation of oracles, however, resembles the methods used in the Zuo Commentary stories.

The following translations are made from Gao Heng’s text and tentatively follow his analyses of them.⁵³



The Marquis of Jin’s son (Chonger, who had been a wanderer in other states for nineteen years) himself divined, saying ‘Would that I might obtain the rule of Jin!’ He received Zhun (Hexagram 3) turning to Yu (Hexagram 16) by an 8. Everybody said, ‘That is inauspicious. Frustrating and impenetrable, the oracle is inapplicable.’

Sikong Jizi (one of Chonger’s loyal followers) said, ‘It is auspicious. In *Zhouyi* both hexagram statements say *Favourable for appointing to a lordship*. If you do not have the rule of Jin, so as to support the royal house, how can any one be appointed to a lordship? We gave the charge, “Would that I might gain the state of Jin.” The wands tell us *Favourable for appointing to a lordship*, which must mean being set up in the state. This is splendid good fortune.

‘The three constituent trigrams are *zhen* meaning chariot, *kan* meaning water and *kun* meaning earth. The two hexagram tags mean “security” (*zhun* Hexagram 3) and “happiness” (*yu* Hexagram 16). According to these meanings, chariots are lined up in one upper and one lower trigram; springs supply water, and the earth is rich and blessed in its fruits. If this is not the state of Jin, what can it be?

‘The *zhen* trigram means thunder as well as chariots, the *kan* trigram means labour and the masses as well as water: so one upper trigram means thunder and chariots, the other means water and people. Chariots that thunder mean warriors, a people who are controllable (like water) means civil order. Civil and military provision is the ultimate in security. Thus the hexagram is called Zhun, “security”.

‘The hexagram statement is *Supreme happiness. Favourable augury. Not for use when going away.*

Favourable for setting up lordships. The trigram *zhen* also means “the eldest”, and hence is called *supreme*. The people submit, which is fortunate; hence comes the *happiness*. The thunder trigram being at the base is that *favourable augury*.

‘Having the chariot trigram above and the earth trigram below means at least the rank of viscount. Small affairs not progressing but being obstructed fits *Not for use when going away* – this is one man’s journey. The people are obedient under military strictness. Hence *favourable for appointing to lordships*.

‘The *kun* trigram means “mother” as well as earth; the *zhen* trigram means “eldest son” as well as thunder. The mother is old and the son is strong; hence comes Yu “happiness” (tag of the second hexagram). The hexagram statement says *favourable for appointing to lordships and sending out the army*. All this implies happiness at home and strength in venturing forth.

‘Both hexagrams mean obtaining the state.’

This divination was made shortly before Chonger returned to Jin as marquis in 636 BC. (See notes to Story 5.) The interpretation has much in common with Story 2. The same three hexagrams occur in both stories.

(21) *Guoyu* Jin section (636 BC)

kun	— —	8
	— —	8
	— —	8
	— —	7
qian	— —	7
	— —	7
	— —	8

Hexagram 11: TAI

Oracle: Hexagram statement:

Happiness: The small depart, the great come.

Reconstructed xiang numbers: an 8 was received.

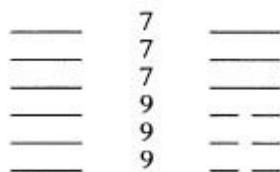
Marquess Hui of Jin died in the 10th moon. In the 12th moon the Viscount of Qin sent Duke Hui’s son and heir (Yu, who had been a hostage in Qin for several years) back to Jin.

Dongyin met the new duke at the Yellow River (which formed the boundary between the two states). The duke asked, ‘Shall we cross over?’

Dongyin replied, ‘I have divined with yarrow wands and received an 8 of Tai (Hexagram 11), which is a combination of Qian, the trigram for heaven, and Kun, the trigram for earth (the sum of all that is good); and the hexagram statement says *Happiness. The small depart, the great come*. Now we have arrived. How can we not cross the river?’

For the background of this story see the note to Story 5. The augury was correct in the short term, for Yu was well received on his return to Jin; but he was killed two years later.

(22) *Guoyu* Zhou section (606 BC)



Hexagram 1: QIAN Hexagram 12: PI

Oracle: both hexagram statements:

Favourable augury.

Augury not favourable for princes.

The great depart, the small come.

Reconstructed xiang numbers: $55 - 48 = 7$.

Viscount Xiang of Shan said, ‘Concerning Marquis Cheng’s return to Jin, I have heard that Jin divined with yarrow wands and got Qian (Hexagram 1) changing to Pi (Hexagram 12). It said “He is worthy and is not the last: three rulers will go out.”

‘One has already gone. I do not know who will come later, but the second is certainly this man.’

This also refers to the rulers of Jin (see genealogical table, page 183). The divination was made when Heitun, son of Marquis Xiang of Jin, was living in Zhou. If the Nanjing rules were followed, the unfavourable augury for princes would apply to the ruling Marquis, Ling, who was the ‘great’ one to depart, while Heitun was the ‘small’ one who was to come. The augury was correct. After the assassination of Marquis Ling in 606 BC, Heitun returned to Jin and became Marquis Cheng. (Legge *Ch’un Ts’ew* pages 289/291). The prophecy about three rulers must have been derived from the three changeable lines of the hexagram.

The story is recalled thirty years later, when Zhouzi, great-grandson of Marquis Xiang, is living in Zhou under the care of the Viscount of Shan. When the Viscount falls ill and thinks he may die, he asks his son to take care of Zhouzi, for he believes Zhouzi, like Heitun, will return home as marquis. The Viscount reflects that the first Marquis of Jin to return from Zhou was Cheng; the second will be Zhouzi. And so it fell out: Zhouzi did indeed return and became Marquis Dao in 572 BC (Legge 407/409).

PART II

Zhouyi *The Translation*

INTRODUCTION TO THE TRANSLATION

Z*houyi* is written in Early Old Chinese.¹ Only relatively recently have studies of oracle bone and bronze inscriptions given us better grammatical understanding of this language. Yet difficulties remain. Many of them are inherent in all ancient Chinese writing. Verbs have no active or passive voice, no person, no tense, no mood; nouns have no singular or plural, and no case. Most words can be used as several parts of speech, and some of those that usually function as grammatical particles can also be used as nouns or adjectives, adverbs or verbs. The subject of a sentence is not always mentioned. There is no punctuation, even when the placing of stops is vital to clarity of meaning.

In *Zhouyi* these problems are aggravated by the fact that it contains no extended arguments, narratives or descriptions. Maspero described it as composed in 'language which is concise to the point of obscurity, crammed with technical terms and with short little phrases having no connection between them'.² The closest ancient parallels are found in the notes scratched on oracle bones and in fragments of popular songs; the nearest equivalent in English would be a blend of fragmentary proverbs and folksong refrains, written in the grammar of telegrams.

Chinese often prefers paratactic to syntactic construction, especially in poetry. The reader is left to infer the syntactic relationship between clauses and sentences. In *Zhouyi* there is, for example, practically no grammatical expression of the conditional. With one possible exception (43:3), words which in later Chinese might perform the function of the English 'if' are used merely to give an

adverbial form to other words, like the English suffixes *-ly* or *-wise*. Conditional or causal clauses are expressed much as they are in English proverbs of the type

*'Ice in November to bear a duck,
the rest of the winter'll be slush and muck.'*

This can sometimes lead to ambiguity, as when 'Feed a cold and starve a fever,' can mean 'If you eat much when you have a cold, you will surely need to starve when you develop a fever,' or 'You ought to eat well when you have a cold and eat nothing when you have a high temperature.' There are however two words in *Zhouyi* that sometimes occur after what may be a conditional clause: *nai* and *ze*. They both function like English 'then' or 'and', as they might be inserted after the comma in the weather proverb just mentioned: 'Ice in November to bear a duck, *then/and* the rest of the winter'll be slush and muck.'

Terms used by Legge and Wilhelm/Baynes

When later Confucian commentators understood the vocabulary and syntax of *Zhouyi* differently from the diviners who compiled the book, sentences that had been written as pithy oracles were taken to be moralizing statements. Where the Bronze Age diviner wrote in 45:5:

*No misfortune. No captives. Very auspicious.
In long term augury, troubles disappear,*

later scholars read:

*A man may be without blame, but not because he is sincere.
If he perseveres in fundamental constancy, his regrets will disappear.*

The process of vocabulary change is best illustrated by examples. The following skeleton etymologies outline the process by which characters changed from their Bronze Age meanings to later meanings that are now familiar to readers of Legge and Wilhelm. The modern pronunciation is given in Pinyin; the first English word in capitals is that used in my translation; the words in lower case are stages in the development of the meaning; the second word in capitals gives the sense perceived in *Yijing* since Han times; the figure shows the number of occurrences in *Zhouyi*.

JIU:	HARM > illness > fault > BLAME	100
LI:	incisive > FAVOURABLE > profitable > FURTHERING	119
LIN:	DISTRESS > regret > shame > HUMILIATION	20
ZHEN:	determine by AUGURY > resolution > PERSEVERANCE	111
HUI:	TROUBLE > misfortune > regret > REMORSE	34
PI:	CAPTIVE/BLAME > sincerity > BLAME > SINCERE	20

FU: CAPTIVE/DOOTY > submissive > reliable > SINCERE	42
YUAN: SUPREME > original > great > very > SUBLIME	27
HENG: sacrifice > OFFERING > make offering > get offering received > penetration > SUCCESS	47

Two other words are of prime importance in the Ten Wings, though each appears only once in *Zhouyi*: *Qian* in 1:3; *Kun* as the tag of Hexagram 2. They are more fully described in the notes to Hexagrams 1 and 2 (pages 288–93).

Not only had the meanings of key characters changed, but causal and other relationships between phrases were assumed. This tradition was eventually passed on in Latin by the Jesuits and in English by Legge and Wilhelm-Baynes. It was of paramount importance in the development of later Chinese thought; but now we seek the earliest sense of the text.

Emendations and readings

‘The earliest sense’, however, is a blurred target, because the various oracles may be of different dates, and we do not know how or when they were collated. If, for instance, Hexagram 4 was originally an omen about *meng* ‘dodder’, was dodder at the time of the first draft already understood as a symbol for a young boy? Or was *meng* a punning word from the beginning? We have no way of answering such questions at present.

Fortunately, though the Mawangdui silk manuscript has interesting peculiarities, there are no significantly differing texts of *Zhouyi*. Like most western students, I have used the text that appears in the Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series Supplement 10 (Peking 1935), and have called it ‘the received text’. Various emendations have been suggested by various commentators, but no one has yet published a fully emended text. The Translation Notes show the emendations I have adopted from various sources.

Written Chinese is largely composed of monosyllabic words; and because the language has a limited sound system, each monosyllabic sound has to express a number of different meanings. A primitive character, sometimes called a protograph, might be used for any or all of the meanings of one sound. Additional groups of strokes were later added to the protograph, creating several new characters to distinguish the different meanings. The additional strokes are usually, if illogically, called in English a ‘radical’. Broadly speaking, the ‘radical’ suggests the general meaning of the word, while the original character gives the sound, though in the course of centuries this sound may have changed and now

no longer be exactly the same for every character which still contains the protograph. For example, the character *huang*, meaning ‘yellow’, is differentiated by adding ‘the water radical’ to make *huang* meaning ‘to flow’, or ‘the jade radical’ to mean a half-moon jade pendant; while other radicals give *guang* ‘broad’ and *kuang* ‘a desert’³. (See [Diagram 14.](#)) **Diagram 11** ILLUSTRATION OF SHORT FORMS



[Diagram 12](#) EXAMPLES OF PRE-QIN FORMS

			
而	天	王	其
ER headshaving	TIAN heaven (38.3)	WANG king	QI this, the
			
子	中	貝	馬
ZI child	ZHONG middle	BEI cowrie	MA horse
			
鼎	祖	貞	車
DING tripod bowl	ZU male ancestor	ZHEN angry	CHE chariot
			
革	東	公	言
GE skin	DONG east	GONG duke	YAN word

NOTE: These forms are not all of the same date

Diagram 13 ILLUSTRATIONS OF LOAN CHARACTERS

Page 131	用 通 通	15	謙 鼠 兼
	YONG TONG TONG		QIAN QIAN
	use pass through throughout		modest hamster
18: base	鹽 鹽 菌	18:4	裕 浴
	GU GU GE		YU YU
	mildew affairs individual		abundant bathe
23	床 牂	26:3	曰 四 駟
	CHUANG ZANG		YUE SI SI
	bed ewe		say four team of four horses
34: base	壯 戕	31	咸 砍
	ZHUANG QIANG		XIAN KAN
	strong injury		feeling chop
38.4	孤 狐	61	豚魚 屯魯
	GU HU		TUN YU TUN LU
	orphan fox		pig fish full simple

Diagram 14 (a) CHARACTERS EASILY MISCOPIED

4:3	夫	矢	38:4	元	兀	光
	FU	SHIH		YUAN	WU	GUANG
	man	arrow		original	cutting off feet	light
7	丈	大	26:1	己	已	祀
	ZHANG	DA		Ji	YI	SI
	elder	great		self	cease	sacrifice
26:3	日	曰	29	心	之	
	RI	YUE		XIN	ZHI	
	day	go so far as		heart	pronoun	
33	遁	豚	36:3	首	道	
	DUN	TUN		SHOU	DAO	
	withdraw	pig		head	road	
43:5	莧	莧	59:2	机	机	
	XIAN	HUAN		Ji	Jiu	
	spinach	goral		table	stable	

(b) ORACLE-BONE CRACK PATTERNS

page 14	卜	爻
	BU	YAO
	divination	line oracle

(c) HUANG/GUANG AND RADICALS

黃	潢	璜	廣	曠
HUANG	HUANG	HUANG	GUANG	KUANG
yellow	flow	jade pendant	broad	a desert

Early Old Chinese was written before this use of radicals was fully developed. Undifferentiated forms were in common use. They are now called ‘short forms’, ‘primary graphs’ or ‘protographs’. Ancient texts have been inconsistently edited by intervening generations (especially when the script was reformed – see [Diagram 12](#)), and sometimes still have primary graphs where modern usage would require forms differentiated by radicals. (See [Diagram 11](#).) Further confusion has been introduced by the practice of sometimes writing the character with a radical that is inappropriate to the meaning intended, or even an entirely different character with a similar sound. Such characters are called ‘loans’. (See [Diagram 13](#).) Few translators of *Yijing* have accepted this principle. Like the

Chinese scholars on whom they depended, they have understood each character as though it had the meaning attached to it after the Qin dynasty. Wilhelm, for example, may appear simply to have been faithful to the text; but now that we have early Han copies of *Zhouyi* from Mawangdui and Fuyang, we know beyond doubt how fluid its orthography was at a crucial point in its history. In fact Legge or Wilhelm chose only one of the possible meanings of each character. Today's translator must consider others.

Careful scholars are naturally hesitant in this matter. Because readings have to be explained in terms of what are now different forms of character, or even different characters (loans), it may look as though the text is being emended when it is not. Emendation means adding, deleting or substituting characters; choice of reading gives no more than a different understanding of the unaltered text. There must, of course, be discipline in choice of reading, but if one stays within the limits of what can be found in other texts of appropriate date, and avoids anachronisms, the choice is not arbitrary; and choice cannot be avoided.

Interpretation

No Chinese scholar has produced a modern translation of *Zhouyi* – it would hardly be worth while. Gao Heng alone has published a commentary on the whole text, drawing on palaeography, philology and ancient literature for glosses on every phrase, to give a consistent interpretation of the whole.

Much of Gao's commentary is concerned with justifying his choices of reading, with copious examples and complex argument. He believes there is much more coherence within a line statement than I have shown in my translation. He constantly tries, for example, to show how the prognostication is causally related to the oracle, in a way that is much nearer to Wilhelm's view of *Yijing* than mine is. Another point makes Gao's work markedly different from mine: he usually translates *fu* as 'punishment' instead of 'captive' or 'booty' (see page 220).

Wen Yiduo (see page 42) produced no complete set of glosses, but his collected notes on *Zhouyi* show extraordinary flair and imagination. Technically comparable to Gao's work, they usually carry conviction.

Richard Kunst drew on Gao, Wen and others in making the translation appended to his 1985 thesis. He did not cite the philological bases of all his interpretations, – that would have been beyond the scope of his work – but most of them are easily understandable. He assigns to each word 'the meaning it had in Early Old Chinese which best fits the context of the line.' The minimal degree

of subjectivity demanded by this is unavoidable.

Kunst's readings have not as yet all gained a consensus of published scholarly approval, but they are increasingly quoted by other writers and they are consonant with what we know of Bronze Age culture. In general I have followed them; and in my notes I have referred liberally to all three writers. When I have not adopted their ideas in my translation, this does not mean I believe my own interpretation is the only possible one. Kunst, Gao and Wen all express a measure of tentativeness, and for much of the text we are bound to accept the possibility of alternative interpretations. Indeed, interpretation will never be complete. Some *Zhouyi* phrases may be cues or mnemonics intended to help the diviner recall more than is written. Of their nature, such meanings are beyond recovery.

Style

Legge and Wilhelm/Baynes both wrote in scriptural style. Kwok, Palmer and O'Brien,⁴ presenting the book as it appears to the eyes of modern Chinese communities, used a colloquial style. In this translation I have aimed at the demotic style of proverbs; I have assumed that omens need not be whole sentences, and, because the original is terse, I have set store by brevity. I have not thought it necessary to make the translation mimic the grammatical construction of the Chinese text, especially in rhyming passages. My positive phrase may translate a double negative or *vice versa*, my passive construction correspond to an original active verb.

Ambiguity

In *Zhouyi*, ambiguity is of the essence. Articles, pronouns, prepositions, and conjunctions, which make for fluent and lucid English, are not even implicit in the Chinese. In translation they limit and sometimes change the meaning of the original. Even a colon can bias a translation, if it implies a connection that may not be essential. A full stop, on the other hand, may give a reader chance to guess a connection, or to accept that there is none.

By the same token, I have rationed my use of that redundant roughage of written English, the definite article, to the extent of rejecting its common but unnecessary use before names of classical books (*Zhouyi*, *Yijing*, and so on). If a translator of Hexagram 48 always gives 'well' a definite article, the translation is coloured by it and the reader may assume that all the line statements refer to the same well, though the text allows otherwise. Since the English definite article is

historically a weak form of demonstrative, it is more useful for rendering the specifying particle *qi*, which is so often too heavily translated as a third person pronoun.

A non-committal style does not deny all possibility of syntactic relation between consecutive sentences. Such relationships are always possible – some would say probable, or even normal. In Hexagram 60, for instance, ‘Bitter juncture. Augury not possible,’ may mean ‘Here is a bitter juncture. Augury is not possible,’ or ‘Augury is not possible at a bitter juncture.’ The difference is considerable, and when the text is not explicit the reader should have freedom of interpretation.

Chinese does not express plural or singular unless it must. English is normally committed to one or the other, and cannot always happily reproduce the indeterminacy of Chinese. The context sometimes makes clear whether singular or plural is implied; in *Zhouyi* it frequently does not. I have tried not to use the singular where the plural might apply, because the English plural can at times come nearer to non-commitment than the singular. A proverb about ‘horses’ is at least as generalizing as one about ‘a horse’.

Tense in verbs can scarcely be avoided in English. I have made free use of the *-ing* form, which can be either verbal noun or present participle, and so is non-finite. In some places, however, the context implies a tense not expressed by the grammar. This is often true of the common verb *you* ‘there is/are’ or ‘having’. In English a diviner might declare what he sees in a crystal ball by saying ‘I see a dark stranger’ or ‘There is a dark stranger’, but his client would understand him to mean ‘There will be a dark stranger.’ It is often better to translate *you* as ‘there will be’.

Reduplicated words

If the effect of reduplicated words (discussed on pages 137–8 above) is to be reflected in translation, finding an appropriate English doubled word may be difficult. Occasionally a word may be repeated, which has an effect of mildly intensifying the meaning, drawing attention to the phrase much as the Chinese originator probably intended. Where I have failed to suggest a reduplication in the translation, I have added a note.

Rhymes

Rhyming verses are aligned at the same indentation to the left. In some places

both verses are set in roman type, suggesting a two-verse oracle, though not always with complete conviction. The reader may judge whether the oracles were originally rhyming couplets or single-verse oracles that have been capped with rhyming indications.

Difficult though it is to make rhymed versions of some *Zhouyi* oracles, rhyme often illuminates the meaning of what looks bland or pointless when turned into neatly accurate prose. Rhyming certainly gives a better impression of the character of the book. If the effect approaches doggerel, a certain rusticity is not inappropriate to rhyming proverbs and omens. I have had in mind the style of traditional English weather rhymes, such as:

*Cloud on the hill
brings water for the mill.*

The passages I have rhymed are from those identified by Richard Kunst as rhyming in Karlgren's reconstruction of Ancient Chinese sounds. I have chosen only those that are close enough together for the rhyme to be effective. Kunst notes some that rhyme with the four major prognostic words, but these I have ignored. It is possible that the original users of the book recognized more rhymes in it than we can.

Colour words

Colour words tend to be more definite in English than in many languages, especially ancient tongues and oriental languages, where colour words carry broad ranges of meaning. Even today *huang* 'yellow' can mean any hue from lemon through orange to chestnut and brown. *Huang* was used for the colour of wind-borne loess, the soil of the Yellow River basin. A 'yellow' ox was a beast of sandy, rusty or chestnut hue, the common colour, – indeed *huangniu* 'yellow ox' became a general word for cattle. Blue and green were denoted by one word, that could also mean 'grey'. The 'blue ox' on which Laozi disappeared through the mountains to the west was a grey buffalo. Red included much that we should call purple and even maroon.

The emotional and symbolic values of colours in pre-Qin China were not what they later became, when the cosmological Five Colour theory was formulated and yellow became an imperial prerogative. The colour vocabulary of *Zhouyi* is severely limited, suggesting an early stage in sensitivity to hues.⁵ The oldest colour-words in any language normally refer to bright/pale/white and dark/black, followed historically by red, then by yellow before green/blue.

In *Zhouyi* only the first four are used. Green/blue is not mentioned. Colours distinguish kinds (white horses, white grass, yellow birds) or indicate rank (red aprons) and therefore carry some omen value in relation to kind or rank, but no omen value attaches to the colours themselves.

Bai 'white' occurs three times: for horses (22:4); clothing (22:top, perhaps undyed); and a species of grass (28:base).

Huang 'yellow/brown' occurs eight times: three times for gleaming bronze (21:5, 43:2, 50:5); twice for oxen (33:2, 49:base); once for birds, (30:2); and twice where it may not be a colour-word (2:5 and top). In the last instance (2:top) it is coupled with *xuan* in *xuanhuang* 'dark and pale' or 'dark and dun'. *Xuan* and *huang* are, as just mentioned, doubtless the oldest colour-words in the language, and are used in oracle-bone inscriptions to classify sacrificial animals.

Two words are used for 'red', *chi* and *zhu*, probably meaning rusty-red and vermilion (see Translation Note 47:2,5).

Numbers

In spite of the mathematical nature of hexagrams and wand-counting, numerals in *Zhouyi* oracles do not always mean precise figures. They are used colloquially and proverbially.

1 occurs five times, and means little more than an indefinite article in English.

2, 8, and 9 occur once each: 2 for counting pots (Hexagram 41); 8 in the name for the eighth lunar month (Hexagram 19); 9 in what may be a proper name (51:2).

3 occurs twenty-three times. It means 'more than two and less than 5', as in English idiomatic use of 'three or four'. I have usually translated it 'several'. The precise figure seems clearly intended only in 29:top. The other instances are: Hexagram 4, where '2 and 3' means 'repetition'; 5:top; 6:2; 6:top; 7:2; 8:5 ('repeated'); 13:3; 18 (twice); 35; 36:base; 40:2; 41:3; 47:base; 49:3; 53:5; 55:top; 57:4 and 5 (twice); 63:3; 64:4.

4, 5, and 6 do not occur at all.

7 occurs three times, always in the expression *qiri*, 'seven days' (Hexagram Statement 24, 51:2 and 63:4). Though *qiri* may have been used to mean a quarter of the lunar cycle, in these instances it means more than three and less than 10.

10 occurs five times: three times in counting years ahead, meaning 'a long time' (3:2, 24:top and 27:3); and once in a repeated phrase about strings of cowries (41:5 and 42:2).

100 appears only twice, and not as a precise figure: in Hexagram 51 '100 leagues' means 'a long way off'; and in 6:2 'three hundred households' indicates a large town.

Fauna and flora

Chinese words for kinds of animal may have overtones that do not coincide with the overtones of similar words in English: a single Chinese word can refer to both oxen and buffaloes, and another not distinguish between rats and other rodent vermin. I have looked for colloquial rather than technical translations, using 'ox' rather than 'bovid', and 'rat' for the Bronze Age rodent vermin, even though it was certainly not today's cosmopolitan rat and was probably a hamster.

The only mythical animal mentioned in *Zhouyi* is the dragon. Shang and Zhou bronzes testify to the dragon being part of the mental furniture of the culture. On the other hand, the phoenix, which later became almost as important as the dragon, was not part of the mythology of the period, and is not mentioned in *Zhouyi*. The few oracle bone inscriptions and one Ode (252.7,8 and 9) that mention it suggest that *feng* 'phoenix' then meant some species of real bird.

With plants I have been even less concerned for academic correctness. For my purposes no plant in *Zhouyi* needs more than a descriptive identification.

Fixed-term equivalents

Since *Zhouyi* is a mosaic of stock phrases, they ought to be as readily recognizable in translation as they are in Chinese. I have made a point of using fixed-term equivalents for words, phrases and sentences that occur often, and of using discrete terms for different Chinese words of similar meaning.

Fixed terms can have disadvantages. A Chinese character can have several meanings, and each meaning may function as more than one part of speech, with the result that English requires a translation with different words for different contexts. When I have broken my rule for this reason, or because it has seemed more important to provide a rhyming verse than to maintain the fixed-term equivalent, I have noted the fact.

Some key terms and indications

Prince: The word *junzi* is often translated 'gentleman'. It originally meant 'son of a ruler', comparable to *gongsun*, 'grandson of a duke'. As 'son' came to mean

merely 'descendant', the number of men who could claim these titles increased vastly. *Gongsun* became a surname and *junzi* an honorific designation for a man who behaved in princely fashion, an ideal gentleman. The change had begun when *Zhouyi* was compiled, but *junzi* seems always to refer to the ruling class. I have used 'prince', but it must be understood as in old Russia, implying no more than a general, rather than a particular, claim to blue blood and high ideals.

Great and small men: Historians are not agreed about the structure of society in 800 BC, and although in 49:5 and top there is a hint of hierarchical meaning in *daren* 'great man' and *xiaoren* 'small man', it is unlikely that 'small man' always means 'peasant'. These terms may mean different things in different contexts, *daren* being men of standing in the situation under consideration and *xiaoren* those in subordinate positions. This does not mean that *daren* are always greater than the person for whom divination is made. If that person was the king, there could be no greater man. *Li jian daren*, which occurs in Hexagrams 1 (twice), 6, 39 (twice), 45, 46 and 57, can mean 'favourable for seeing the great man'; but can equally well mean 'profitable to see great men' or 'profitable to meet the big men', as in taking counsel, preparing for battle, parleying with enemy leaders or consulting high soothsayers. Such interpretation makes sense in divination for or by the king. In 12.2 and 12.5 contrasting auguries refer to great and small men. They are usually taken to mean that the augury is good for a great man to use, bad for a small man to use; but in divination by or on behalf of the king, the meaning may have been that the augury was good for using a great man, bad for using a small man. I have allowed for this in Hexagram 47 by using the ambiguous preposition 'with'. (See Kunst pages 392–6.) *Having somewhere to go:* This is a literal rendering for a phrase that may mean 'going on a journey, travelling'. It occurs 20 times: 14 times in hexagram statements, usually favourably (24, 28, 32, 41, 42, 43, 45, 57), sometimes with modification (2, 22, 40) and three times unfavourably (3, 23, 25); only 6 times in line statements, favourably in 14:2 (modified), 25:2, 26:3, and 41:top, unfavourably in 33:base and 44:base. 'Coming' and 'going' are common in oracle-bone inscriptions referring to the duties of the king, whose life was peripatetic in both Shang and early Zhou. In a period when administration was rudimentary, continual royal progresses served to keep the whole realm under direct royal inspection and took the king to places where he had a duty to offer sacrifice. This may well explain the frequency of a 'going' omen in *Zhouyi*, a book for royal use. (David Keightley has suggested that *wang* 'king' and *wang* 'to go' are etymologically related: the king was 'he who goes about'.)⁶

Fording a big river: An oracle about fording a big river, *she da chuan*, occurs 12 times, and is favourable in all but two instances: Hexagram Statements 5, 6 (unfavourable), 13, 18, 26, 42, 59 and 61; Line Statements 15:base (modified), 27:5 (unfavourable), 27:top and 64:3. The most important reasons for divination about crossing rivers must have been military, but there were other occasions. See the Translation Note to Hexagrams 63 and 64. Crossing any large river would be hazardous, both in the act and in meeting the situation on the other side. There is no reason to suppose that *dachuan* ‘big stream’ refers exclusively to the Yellow River. *He*, as in Huanghe, the Yellow River, occurs in *Zhouyi* in 11:2 only, though it occurs instead of *dachuan* once in the Zuo Commentary (see page 180). The other word for a large river, *jiang*, used of the Yangzi and often taken to be of southern origin, does not occur at all. The word *she* originally meant fording or wading. This was the commonest way of crossing water-courses and much of the Yellow River itself has been fordable throughout history. *She* later came to be used also for crossing by boat. Schuessler (352) gives a Shang bone inscription that implies using a boat, and quotes Ode 34.4 – though this is less clear – to the same effect. I have used ‘fording’ but allow that a boat may have been used. In Hexagrams 63 and 64, *ji*, meaning simply ‘crossing’ is used, but the context indicates that it refers to wading across.

Captives: The rediscovery in this century, largely from oracle bone and bronze inscriptions, of the meaning of *fu* was crucial in regaining the original meaning of *Zhouyi*. Legge and Wilhelm, following centuries of Confucian commentary, translated it as ‘sincerity’. Guo Moruo first asserted the ‘capture/captive/booty’ meaning in an article published in 1928 (reprinted in *Zhongguo gudai shehui yanjiu* ‘Research into ancient Chinese society’ (1931/1954/1978), and the idea was taken up by Arthur Waley. The character is a protograph meaning ‘taken in war’, applied primarily to prisoners-of-war, but also to captured goods and equipment (see [Diagram 11](#)). It often occurs in the combination *you fu* ‘there are captives’, which Edward Shaughnessy and others have claimed means ‘offering captives in sacrifice’. Sacrifice is the only interest *Zhouyi* has in captives and *you* is a protograph for *you* ‘to sacrifice’, which in its full form contains two extra strokes (see [Diagram 11](#)). I have adopted this interpretation.⁷

Offenders: The word *feiren* ‘non-person’ in 8:3 and Hexagram Statement 12 has not been conclusively explained. I follow Wen Yiduo’s suggestion that it means criminals whose crimes are not serious enough to merit execution. (See Translation Note 8:3.) *City/town:* The only word for ‘settlement’ used in *Zhouyi* is

yi. It was first used for the capitals of Shang (as in Ode 304.5) and early Zhou. Later, when other terms came to be used for ‘city’ and ‘capital’, *yi* continued in use for smaller settlements, and is now usually taken to mean ‘town’. In *Zhouyi* it normally means a large town or city, at a time when ‘city’ was practically synonymous with ‘ruler’s settlement’. It occurs nine times: 6:2 (translated within ‘homeward’); 8:5 (translated within ‘citizens’); 11:top; 15:top; 25:3; 35:top; 43; 46:3; and 48. There is no clear use of any word meaning ‘village’ or ‘hamlet’. *Cheng*, often translated ‘city’, refers to fortifications. *Guo*, now taken to mean ‘country’ or ‘state’, occurs five times (7:6; 15:top; 20:4; 24:top and 42:4). The graph has a square outline, perhaps a rampart or city wall. It was used of both state and capital, and so is variously translated here.

Ancestral temple: Miao (45 and 59), and *zong* (13:2; 38:5; and 63:3 – the last in a posthumous royal title) may represent different kinds of ancestral shrine. *Zong* is sometimes called ‘hall’ and *miao* ‘temple’, but the distinction is not clear.

Most auspicious: In twelve places the auspicious prognostic *ji* is preceded by *yuan*, first of the ‘four qualities’ (see page 126). While this *yuan* is certainly a modifier, it may have a meaning that cannot be traced. I have translated it as ‘Most auspicious.’

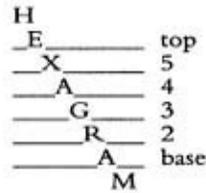
Typographical arrangement

In Chinese the hexagrams have no serial numbers: each tag is placed immediately before the hexagram statement. Here, for easy reference, the hexagrams are numbered and the number is printed with the tag at the top of each page. The hexagram statement is centred beneath the hexagram.

Line statements have oracles in roman, indications in italic, prognostics in capitals and observations in italic. (For explanation of these terms see pages 132–4.) Indications are normally printed on the right-hand side of the page, but some indications, especially those that rhyme with oracles or may have originally been parts of oracles, appear on the left.

The oracle does not always precede the indications and observations. The translation follows the order of the text (see, for example, 34:4).

(hexagram number)tag



Hexagram statement

L

Base (9/6):	Oracle (<i>Indication</i>)	I N	<i>Indication</i> PROGNOSTIC <i>Observation</i>
(9/6) 2:	Oracle (<i>Indication</i>)	E S	<i>Indication</i> PROGNOSTIC <i>Observation</i>
(9/6) 3:	Oracle (<i>Indication</i>)	T A	<i>Indication</i> PROGNOSTIC <i>Observation</i>
(9/6) 4:	Oracle (<i>Indication</i>)	T E	<i>Indication</i> PROGNOSTIC <i>Observation</i>
(9/6) 5:	Oracle (<i>Indication</i>)	M E	<i>Indication</i> PROGNOSTIC <i>Observation</i>
Top (9/6):	Oracle (<i>Indication</i>)	N T S	<i>Indication</i> PROGNOSTIC <i>Observation</i>

Notes: 1. Any line statement may lack oracle, indication, prognostic or observation.
 2. The figures 9/6 are explained on page 129.

List of hexagram tags

- active
- 1 QIAN
- earth
- 2 KUN
- massed
- 3 ZHUN
- dodder

4 MENG

waiting

5 XU

dispute

6 SONG

troops

7 SHI

joining

8 BI

farming: minor

9 XIAOCHU

10 LÜ

stepping
great

11 TAI

bad

12 PI

mustering

13 TONGREN

14 DAYOU

large, there
rat

15 QIAN

16 YU elephant

17 SUI pursuit

18 GU mildew

19 LIN keening

20 GUAN observing

21 SHIKE biting

22 BI bedight
flaying

23 BO

24 FU returning

25 WUWANG unexpected

26 DACHU farming: major

molars

27 YI

passing: major

28 DAGUO

pit

29 KAN

30 LI

orion
chopping

31 XIAN

fixing

32 HENG

Pig

33 DUN

big injury

34 DAZHUANG

advancing

35 JIN

crying pheasant

36 MINGYI

household

37 JIAREN

espy

38 KUI

stumbling

39 JIAN

unloosing

40 JIE

diminishing

41 SUN

enriching

42 YI

skipping

43 JUE

locking

44 GOU

together

45 CUI

going up

46 SHENG

beset

47 KUN

well

48 JING

49 GE	leather
50 DING	tripod bowl
51 ZHEN	thunder
52 GEN	cleaving
53 JIAN	settling marriage
54 GUIMEI	
55 FENG	thick
56 LU	sojourner
57 XUN	food offerings
58 YUE	satisfaction
59 HUAN	gushing

junction

60 JIE

61 ZHONGFU

trying captives

passing: minor

62 XIAOGUO

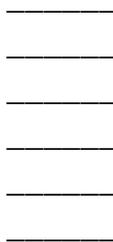
already across

63 JIJI

not yet across

64 WEIJI

1 qian/active



*Supreme offering.
Favourable augury.*

Base (9): A dragon lies beneath the lake.
No action take.

(9) 2: Lo, on the fields a dragon bides.
To meet with great men well betides.

(9) 3: A prince is active all day long and after dark still stays alert.

DANGEROUS.
NO MISFORTUNE.

(9) 4: Sometimes it leaps above the tides.

NO MISFORTUNE.

(9) 5: A dragon through the heavens glides.
To meet with great men well betides.

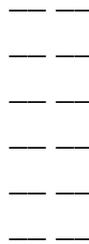
Top (9): A dragon soaring away.

There will be trouble.

All (9): See dragons without heads.

AUSPICIOUS.

kun/earth 2



*Supreme offering.
Favourable augury for mares.
For a prince with somewhere to go.
First straying; later found.
For a ruler, favourable.
Gaining friends west and south,
losing friends east and north.
Augury for safety: AUSPICIOUS.*

Base (6): Frost underfoot again.

Solid ice comes soon.

(6) 2: Surveying the terrain.

*Great winds will blow.
Unfavourable for nothing.*

(6) 3: Jade baton sustain.

*Augury possible.
In royal service lack of success will come to an end.*

(6) 4: Tying sacks of grain.

NO MISFORTUNE, *no honour.*

(6) 5: Robe dyed with yellow stain.

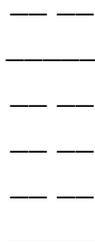
MOST AUSPICIOUS.

Top (6): *Dragons war above the wilds.*

Blood falls as rain.

All (6): *Long-term augury favourable.*

3 zhun/massed



Supreme offering.

Favourable augury.

Not for use when there is somewhere to go.

Favourable for appointing to lordships.

Base (9): Wheeling around.

Favourable augury for a dwelling.

Favourable for appointing to lordships.

(6) 2: Massed together till delayed, cars and horses on parade.

*Not with raiders allied, but fetching a bride
Augury for a woman who has not conceived:
she will conceive in ten years.*

(6) 3: Stalking deer without a woodsman.

*Entering deep in a forest,
a prince considers giving up the chase.
Going on is distressing.*

(6) 4: Cars and horses on parade.

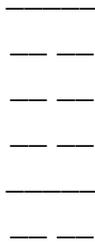
*Fetching a bride.
For travel, AUSPICIOUS.
Unfavourable for nothing.*

(9) 5: Massed rewards of food for soldiers.

*Augury with the small, FAVOURABLE.
Augury with the great, DISASTROUS.*

Top (6): Cars and horses on parade.

*Streaming tears and blood cascade.
meng/dodder 4*



Offering.

‘We do not seek the dodder; the dodder seeks us.’

*When the first divination is auspicious,
repeated divinations are confusing, and are not auspicious.
Favourable augury.*

Base (6): Pulling dodder.

*Favourable for giving punishment,
or for removing shackles and fetters.
Distress in travel.*

(9) 2: Wrapping dodder.

AUSPICIOUS.
*For bringing home a wife, AUSPICIOUS.
A son may be betrothed.
Not for taking a wife.*

(6) 3:

Seeing a bronze arrow, having no bow.

Favourable for nothing.

(6) 4: Dodder in bundles.

Distress.

(6) 5: Dodder.

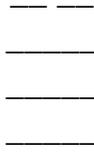
AUSPICIOUS.

Top (9): Knocking down dodder.

*Unfavourable for raiding.
Favourable against raiders.*

5 xu/waiting





*Sacrificing captives.
Supreme offering.
Auspicious augury.
Favourable for fording a big river.*

Base (9): Waiting at the suburban altar.

*Favourable for a heng ceremony.
NO MISFORTUNE.*

(9) 2: Waiting on the sands.

*There will be some complaints.
Ultimately AUSPICIOUS.*

(9) 3: Waiting in mud.

Makes raiders come.

(6) 4: Waiting in blood.

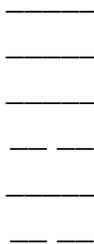
From their holes they scud.

(9) 5: Waiting for wine and food.

Augury: AUSPICIOUS.

Top (6): Entering a pithouse.

*Some uninvited guests arriving;
treat them courteously.
Ultimately AUSPICIOUS.
song/dispute 6*



*Sacrificing captives.
They titter in fear.
In mid-course AUSPICIOUS*

*Ultimately DISASTROUS.
Favourable for seeing great men.
Not favourable for fording a big river.*

Base An assignment not lasting long.
(6):

*There will be some complaints.
Ultimately AUSPICIOUS.*

(9) 2: Failed in dispute, making homeward tracks, where several hundred houses he can tax.

No catastrophe.

(6) 3: Eating stale forage.

*Augury of DANGER.
Ultimately AUSPICIOUS.
Though following royal service,
no achievement.
Augury for a prince, AUSPICIOUS.*

(9) 4: Unable to succeed in dispute.

*Returning for orders.
Matters will get worse.
Augury for safety, AUSPICIOUS.*

(9) 5: ... in dispute:

MOST AUSPICIOUS.

Top Some are awarded a great belt of rank.
(9):

It is withdrawn three times in one audience.

7 shi/troops

— —
— —
— —
— —
— —
— —

Augury auspicious for a great man.

NO MISFORTUNE.

Base (6): The troops move off to battle bound, encouraged by the pitchpipes' sound.

Not good.
DISASTROUS.

(9) 2: Being among the troops.

AUSPICIOUS.
NO MISFORTUNE.
The king gives orders several times.

(6) 3: Some of the troops
will cart the corpse.

DISASTROUS.

(6) 4: Encamped the troops stay to the left hand away.

NO MISFORTUNE.

(6) 5: *There will be game for the hunt.*

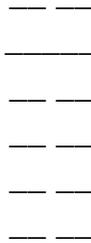
Favourable for interrogating captives.
NO MISFORTUNE.

'An elder son commands the troops,
a younger son will cart the corpse.'

Augury of DISASTER.

Top (6): A great prince has a mandate to found a state and a lineage.

Not for use with small men.
bi/joining 8



AUSPICIOUS.

First divination: supreme [offering].
Long range augury: NO MISFORTUNE.
Coming from unsubjugated lands,
for those who arrive late: DISASTROUS.

Base (6): *Sacrificing captives.*
Joining them.

NO MISFORTUNE.
Booty filling earthenware jars;
for those who come late, unexpected calamity.
AUSPICIOUS.

(6) 2: Joining someone from inside.

Augury: AUSPICIOUS.

(6) 3: Joining offenders.

(DISASTROUS.)

(6) 4: Joining those outside.

Augury: AUSPICIOUS.

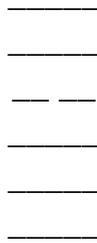
(9) 5: Joining a girth.

The king used this in repeated chases;
he lost the quarry ahead.
The citizens did not frighten it.
AUSPICIOUS.

Top (6): Joining those who have no chief.

DISASTROUS.

9 *xiaochu/farming* minor



Offering.

Thick clouds, no rain, from our western suburbs.

Base (9): Back from the road.

How can this be misfortune?
AUSPICIOUS.

(9) 2: Led back by a cord.

AUSPICIOUS.

(9) 3: Carriage loses wheel-spokes.

Man and wife look at each other.

(6) 4:

Sacrificing captives.

Blood of castration.

*Though leaving sadly:
NO MISFORTUNE.*

(9) 5:

Sacrificing captives bound together.

Rich, because of the neighbour.

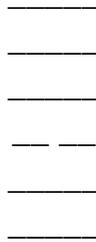
Top (9): It rains; it stops.

Planting can still be finished.

Augury for a wife: DANGEROUS.

At full moon, for a prince to travel: DANGEROUS.

lü/stepping 10



Stepping on a tigers tail, one does not get bitten.

Offering.

Base (9): Stepping out in silken shoes.

In travel: NO MISFORTUNE.

(9) 2: Stepping along a smooth flat road.

Augury for a prisoner: AUSPICIOUS.

(6) 3: Sight returns for eyes that fail, and stepping out for feet that ail.

*Stepping on a tiger's tail, one gets bitten.
DISASTROUS.*

A warrior serves a great prince.

(9) 4: Stepping on a tigers tail.

*Petrified with fear.
Ultimately AUSPICIOUS.*

(9) 5: Stepping out in shoes of bast.

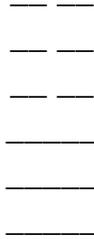
Augury: DANGEROUS.

Top (9): Looking before stepping

top (9): Looking before stepping.

Discerning the omens.
MOST AUSPICIOUS.

11 tai/great



The small depart, the great come.
AUSPICIOUS.
Offering.

Base (9): Pulling up white grasses by the roots.

For military expeditions. AUSPICIOUS.

(9) 2: Dry gourds gird on,
for fording the He,
lest footings lost
and friends are gone.

*Ere the full course is run,
Some reward will be won.*

(9) 3: No plain without a rise.
No progress without setbacks.

Augury of hardship: NO MISFORTUNE.
Be not anxious: there may be captives at the feast.
Good luck.

(6) 4: Flutter, flutter.

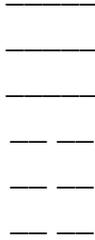
*Not rich, because of the neighbour.
Not watchful about captives.*

(6) 5: Diyi gives his cousin in marriage.

Happiness follows.
MOST AUSPICIOUS.

Top (6): A city wall crumbling into its ditch.

*Do not use an army.
From the capital, a decree proclaimed.
Augury of distress.
pi/bad 12*



*[Bad for offenders.]
Augury not favourable for princes.
The great depart, the small come.*

Base (6): Pulling up white grasses by the roots.

*Augury: AUSPICIOUS.
Offering.*

(6) 2: Wrapping steamed meat.

*With a small man: AUSPICIOUS;
bad with a great man.
Offering.*

(6) 3: Wrapping spiced cooked meat.

(9) 4:

*There will be a decree.
NO MISFORTUNE.*

Paired orioles.

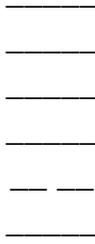
Happiness.

(9) 5: Desisting from what's bad.

*With a great man: AUSPICIOUS.
Will it flee? Will it flee?
Tie to a leafy mulberry tree.*

Top (9): Bad for a while.

*First bad,
then glad.*



Mustering men in the countryside.

Offering.

Favourable for fording a big river.

Augury favourable for a prince.

Base (9): Mustering men at the gate.

NO MISFORTUNE.

(6) 2: Mustering men at the ancestral shrine.

Distress.

(9) 3: War chariots hiding in tall herbage.

Climb to the top of the mound:

*For three years they will go to
ground.*

(9) 4: Build up high the walls of the fort:
No one will make another onslaught.

AUSPICIOUS.

(9) 5: Mustering men.

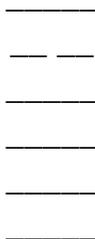
*First they moan in misery,
later on they laugh in glee.*

Great armies can meet.

Top (9): Mustering men at the suburban altar.

No trouble.

dayou/large, there 14



Supreme offering.

Base (9): No crosswise movement.

Disadvantage.
NOT MISFORTUNE.
In hardship, NO MISFORTUNE.

(9) 2: Large wagon for freight.

There will be somewhere to go.
NO MISFORTUNE.

(9) 3: Dukes make banquets for the Son of Heaven

Impossible for small men.

(9) 4: No sacrifice at the ancestral temple gate.

NO MISFORTUNE.

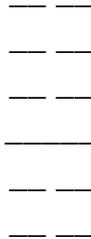
(6) 5: The captives move crosswise, terrified.

AUSPICIOUS.

Top (9): Grace from Heaven for them.

AUSPICIOUS.
Unfavourable for nothing.

15 qian/rat



Offering.

Achievement for a prince.

Base (6): Scrunching rat.

A prince may cross a big river.
AUSPICIOUS.

(6) 2: Squealing rat.

(9) 3: Industrious rat.

For princes,
ultimately AUSPICIOUS.

Unfavourable for nothing.

(6) 4:

Ripping rat.

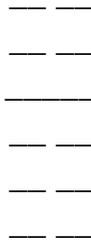
(6) 5: Not rich, because of the neighbours.

*Favourable for a foray.
Unfavourable for nothing.*

Top (6): Squealing rat.

Favourable for mobilizing to attack a capital city.

yu/elephant 16



*Favourable for appointing to lordships.
Advance the army.*

Base (6): Trumpeting elephant.

DISASTROUS.

(6) 2: Pilloried on the stone.

*Not lasting till the end of the day.
Augury AUSPICIOUS.*

(6) 3: Watchful elephant raising its head.

*Trouble.
Slow movement: there will be trouble.*

(9) 4: Wary elephant.

*There will be great gain.
No doubt.
Why not loan cowries?*

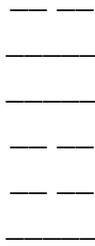
(6) 5: Augury of sickness.

Perform the heng ritual and there will be no death.

Top (6): Elephant in darkness.

*There will be collapse of ramparts.
NO MISFORTUNE.*

17 sui/pursuit



Supreme offering.
Favourable augury.
NO MISFORTUNE.

Base (9): A building collapses.

Augury AUSPICIOUS.

Being crossed on leaving home: there will be success.

(6) 2: Binding little ones, losing grown men.

(6) 3: Binding grown men, losing little ones.

Pursuit ends in catching the quarry.

Augury for a dwelling: favourable.

(9) 4: Pursuit ends in finding.

Augury: DISASTROUS.

*Sacrificing captives on the way;
in a covenant, could there be misfortune?*

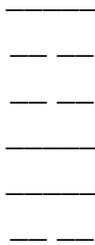
(9) 5: Captives at a triumph.

AUSPICIOUS.

Top (6): Brought in bonds, let them be guarded.

The king offers them at the West Mountain.

gu/mildew 18



Supreme offering.

*Favourable for fording a big river,
three days before a jia day and three days after a jia day.*

Base (6): Mildew for a deceased male ancestor.

*He has a son:
thus, for a dead father, NO MISFORTUNE.
DANGEROUS; but ultimately AUSPICIOUS.*

(9) 2: Mildew for a deceased female ancestor.

No augury possible.

(9) 3: Mildew for a deceased male ancestor.

Some trouble; NO GREAT MISFORTUNE.

(6) 4: Mildew for the bathed forefather.

Distress in going to see.

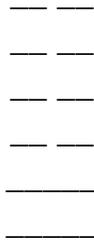
(6) 5: Mildew for a deceased male ancestor.

Use a yu incantation.

Top (9): Serving neither king nor lord.

*High reward for service.
(DISASTROUS)*

19 lin/keening



*Supreme offering.
Favourable augury.
Until the eighth moon, disastrous.*

Base (9): Tearful keening.

Augury AUSPICIOUS.

(9) 2: Tearful keening.

AUSPICIOUS.

Unfavourable fo nothing.

(6) 3: Sufficient keening.

*Favourable for nothing.
Grieving finished.
NO MISFORTUNE.*

(6) 4: Excessive keening.

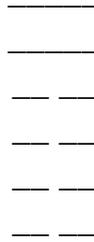
NO MISFORTUNE.

(6) 5: Controlling the keening.

*A great prince's sacrifice to the soil.
AUSPICIOUS.*

Top (6): Unrestrained keening.

AUSPICIOUS.
NO MISFORTUNE.
guan/observing 20



*Pouring libations and not sacrificing.
Sacrificing tall captives.*

Base (6): Observing children.

*With small men: NO MISFORTUNE.
Distress for a prince.*

(6) 2: Observing briefly.

Favourable for an unmarried woman.

(6) 3: Observing our victims moving back and forth.

(6) 4: Observing the country's sky is full of lights:
favourable for those the king himself invites.

(9) 5: Observing our victims.

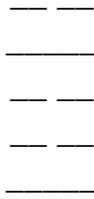
For a prince: NO MISFORTUNE.

Top (9): Observing the victims.

For a prince: NO MISFORTUNE.

21 shike/biting





Sacrifice.
Favourable in disputes.

Base (9): Shackled with leg-fetters:
mutilating the feet.

NO MISFORTUNE.

(6) 2: Biting flesh:
mutilating the nose.

NO MISFORTUNE.

(6) 3: Biting dried meat:
getting poison to eat.

Little distress.
NO MISFORTUNE.

(9) 4: Biting ham in the rind:
a bronze arrow to find.

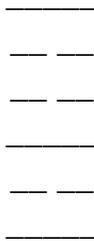
Favourable in hardship augury. AUGURY AUSPICIOUS.

(6) 5: Biting pemmican:
finding golden bronze.

Augury DANGEROUS. NO MISFORTUNE.

Top (9): Shouldering a cangue:
mutilating the ears.

DISASTROUS.
bi/bedight 22



Offering.

Moderately favourable when there is somewhere to go.

Base (9): Bedight his feet.

Leaving the carriage to walk.

(6) 2: Bedight his beard.

(9) 3: Bedight with sheen veneered.

Long-term augury: AUSPICIOUS.

(6) 4: Bedight and bright, plumed horses white.

Not with raiders allied, but fetching a bride.

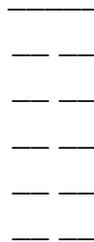
(6) 5: Bedight among the garden knolls, though few and poor, those silken rolls.

Distress, but ultimately AUSPICIOUS.

Top (9): In white bedight.

NO MISFORTUNE.

23 bo/flaying



Not favourable when there is somewhere to go.

Base (6): Flaying a ewe, beginning from the legs.

Exorcism augury DISASTROUS.

(6) 2: Flaying a ewe, beginning from the hocks.

Exorcism augury DISASTROUS.

(6) 3: Flaying it.

NO MISFORTUNE.

(6) 4: Flaying a ewe, beginning from the fleece.

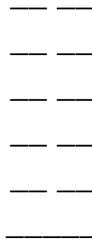
DISASTROUS.

(6) 5: Strings of fish.

Palace concubines will be favoured. Unfavourable for nothing.

Top (9): Fine fruit not eaten.

A prince is awarded a carriage; a small man is stripped of his cottage.



Offering.

Going out or coming in, no illness.

A friend arrives.

NO MISFORTUNE.

*Returning he doubles his track,
and seven days later he's back.*

Favourable when there is somewhere to go.

Base (9): Returning from not far away. *No harm or trouble.*

MOST AUSPICIOUS.

(6) 2: Returning contented.

AUSPICIOUS.

(6) 3: Returning from the waters brink.

DANGEROUS. NO MISFORTUNE.

(6) 4: Returning alone before the journey is done.

(6) 5: Returning urgently.

No trouble.

Top (6): Returning and losing the way.

DISASTROUS. *There will be a catastrophe.*

*For a military expedition, the outcome will be a great defeat,
with disaster for the ruler of a state.*

No expeditions possible for ten years.



—
*Supreme offering.
Augury favourable.*

*If it is not right,
sad is our plight.*

Not favourable when there is somewhere to go.

Base (9): Unexpected journey.

AUSPICIOUS.

(6) 2: 'Reaping without first having ploughed, tilling without first having cleared.'

Thus favourable when there is somewhere to go.

(6) 3: Unexpected, mortified!
Someone tied an ox outside.
A passer-by was gratified,
a citizen was mortified.

(9) 4:

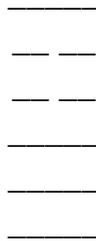
Augury possible. NO MISFORTUNE.

(9) 5: Unexpected sickness.

Give no medicine. The outcome will be happy.

Top (9): Unexpected journey

*Catastrophe will occur. Unfavourable for nothing.
dachu/farming: major 26*



*Favourable augury.
Auspicious for eating away from home.
Favourable for fording a big river.*

Base (9): There is danger.

Favourable to offer sacrifice.

(9) 2: Carriage loses axle-case.

(9) 3: Finest horses for a chase.

*Favourable augury in hardship.
Daily inspection of chariots and guard.
Favourable when there is somewhere to go.*

(6) 4: Hornboard for a growing ox.

MOST AUSPICIOUS.

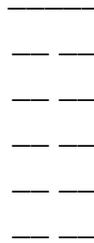
(6) 5: Tusks growing on a gelded boar.

AUSPICIOUS.

Top (9): Receiving Heaven's grace.

Offering.

21 yi/molars



Augury AUSPICIOUS.

Observe the molars.

Read the state of the jaws for yourself.

Base (9): Put your sacred tortoiseshells away: *observe our molars hanging in display.*

DISASTROUS.

(6) 2: Crowns of wisdom molars not worn down.

Expeditions DISASTROUS.

(6) 3: Worn-down molars.

Augury DISASTROUS. *Avoid use for ten years. Nothing favourable.*

(6) 4: Wisdom molars.

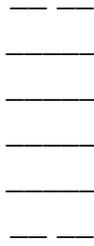
AUSPICIOUS. *A tiger staring, glaring; it wants so much and so much.* NO MISFORTUNE.

(6) 5: Well worn teeth.

Auspicious augury for a dwelling. The big river cannot be forded.

Top (9): Extracted molars.

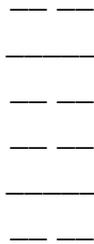
DANGEROUS. AUSPICIOUS. *Favourable for fording a big river.*



The ridge-pole sags.
Favourable when there is somewhere to go.
Offering

- Base (6): For ceremonial mats use white grasses. NO MISFORTUNE.
- (9) 2: A gnarled willow puts forth shoots.
Old man takes young wife. Unfavourable for nothing.
- (9) 3: The ridge-pole sags. DISASTROUS.
- (9) 4: The ridge-pole warps.
AUSPICIOUS. There will be unexpected calamity and distress.
- (9) 5: A gnarled willow puts forth flowers.
Old woman takes young husband. NO MISFORTUNE, no honour.
- Top (6): Passing by wading, head under water. DISASTROUS. NO MISFORTUNE.

29 kan/pit



Sacrificing captives: bind them.
Offering.
Travel brings rewards.

Base (6): Pit within a pit.
Falling into it.

DISASTROUS.

(9) 2: O pit so deep,
with sides so steep ...

Seeking small gain.

(6) 3: Thudding hard, the bottom hit.
Steep and deep is the pit.
Going down into it.

Do not use this.

(6) 4: Flask for wine, food bowl – a pair.
Choose them made in earthenware,
put them through the window there.

Ultimately NO HARM.

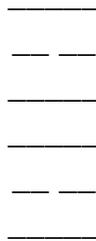
(9) 5: Pit not filled.
Earth's gods are stilled.

NO MISFORTUNE.

Top (6): With triple braid and black cord bound.
Stowed away in thorny ground,
for several years not to be found.

DISASTROUS.

li/oriole 30



Favourable augury.
Offering.
Auspicious for raising cows.

Base (9): Tread with care.

Giving respect. NO MISFORTUNE.

(6) 2: Yellow orioles.

MOST AUSPICIOUS.

(9) 3: Orioles in sunset ray.

No songs or beating drums of clay, and the elders will cry 'Lackaday'.

DISASTROUS.

(9) 4: Suddenly coming out: burning, dying, leaving behind.

(6) 5: Weep away,
cry 'Lackaday!'

AUSPICIOUS.

Top (9):

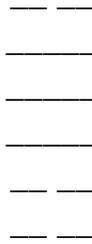
Using this the king goes on campaign.

A triumph with beheading of the foe,

when all the captured chieftains are on show.

NO MISFORTUNE.

31 xian/chopping



Offering.

Favourable augury for taking a wife.

AUSPICIOUS.

Base Chopping off a big toe.

(6):

(6) 2: Chopping off a shin.

DISASTROUS.

Auspicious for a dwelling

Taking the marrow. Distress in travel.

(9) 3: Chopping off a thigh.

Taking the marrow. Distress in travel.

(9) 4:

Augury AUSPICIOUS. Troubles disappear.

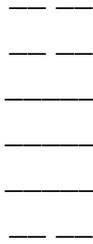
Hither and thither you move, distraught; your friends all follow your every thought.

(9) 5: Chopping out the loins.

No trouble.

Top (6): Chopping out cheeks, jaws and tongue.

heng/fixing 32



Offering. NO MISFORTUNE.

Favourable augury

Favourable when there is somewhere to go.

Base (6): Firm fixing.

AUGURY OF DISASTER.

Favourable for nothing.

(9) 2: *Troubles disappear.*

(9) 3: Not fixing the power of an augury will lead to failure.

Augury of distress.

(9) 4: A hunt with no game birds or animals.

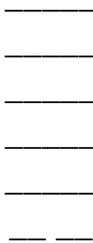
(6) 5: Fixing the power of an augury.

Augury auspicious for a wife, disastrous for a husband.

Top (6): Uncertain fixing.

DISASTROUS.

33 *dun/pig*



*Offering.
Somewhat favourable augury.*

Base (6): Pig's tail.

DANGEROUS.

Not for when there is somewhere to go.

(6) 2: Tether it with hide from a sandy ox.

It cannot get free.

(9) 3: Binding a pig.

In sickness DANGEROUS. AUSPICIOUS for keeping male and female slaves.

(9) 4: A fine pig.

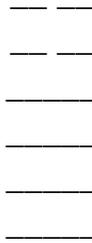
With princes, AUSPICIOUS. With small men, TROUBLE.

(9) 5: Celebration pig.

Augury AUSPICIOUS.

Top (9): Plump pig.

*Unfavourable for nothing.
dazhuang/big injury 34*



Favourable augury.

Base (9): Injured in the foot.

Expeditions disastrous. Sacrificing captives.

(9) 2:

Augury AUSPICIOUS.

(9) 3:

Injurious with the small; with princes not at all. Augury DANGEROUS.

A ram butts a fence and injures his horns.

(9) 4:

Augury AUSPICIOUS. Troubles disappear.

The fence is damaged, the ram unharmed.

Injured by the axle-case of a great carriage.

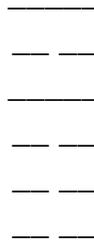
(6) 5: Losing sheep in Yi.

No troubles.

Top (6): A ram butts a fence,
cannot pull out,
cannot push through.

Favourable for nothing. In hardship, AUSPICIOUS.

35 jin/advancing



The Marquis of Kang was given horses. They multiplied. He mated them several times a day.

Base Advancing with brandished weapons.

(6):

Augury AUSPICIOUS.

Troubles disappear. Captives in large numbers. NO MISFORTUNE.

(6) 2: Advancing forcefully.

Augury AUSPICIOUS. Receiving such blessings from his royal mother.

(6) 3: The people are loyal.

Troubles disappear.

(9) 4: Advancing with hands folded like a mouse's paws.

Augury DANGEROUS.

(6) 5:

Troubles disappear.

Missing the quarry.

Do not regret. For travel: AUSPICIOUS. Unfavourable for nothing.

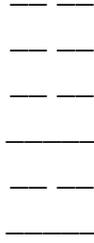
Top Advancing horns.

(9):

Use for attacking a city. DANGEROUS. AUSPICIOUS. NO MISFORTUNE.

Augury of distress.

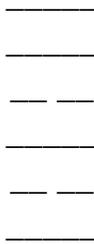
mingyi/crying pheasant 36



Favourable augury in hardship.

- Base (9): A crying pheasant, flying on drooping wing.
A prince travels three days not eating a thing.
There is somewhere to go.
Those in charge grumble.
- (6) 2: A crying pheasant, wounded in the left thigh.
For gelding a horse: healing.
AUSPICIOUS.
- (9) 3: A crying pheasant:
Shot at a hunt in the southern land.
Catching the headman of the band.
Speedy augury not possible.
- (6) 4: Entering the left flank,
finding the crying pheasant's heart.
Leaving gate and courtyard.
- (6) 5: Jizi's crying pheasant.
Favourable augury.
- Top (6): The pheasant stops crying.
Trouble.
Rises first up to the skies, then into the waters flies.

37 jiaren/household



Augury favourable for women.

Base (9): Making a household secure.

Troubles disappear.

(6) 2: Nothing done of worth: *food may be set forth.*

Augury AUSPICIOUS.

(9) 3: A household complaining.

Danger of trouble.
AUSPICIOUS.

*Women and children chuckling and giggling:
ending in distress.*

(6) 4: A wealthy household.

VERY AUSPICIOUS.

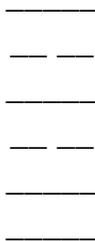
(9) 5: The king is present in his household.

Do not worry.
AUSPICIOUS.

Top (9): Sacrificing captives, terrified.

Ultimately AUSPICIOUS.

kui/esp 38



Auspicious for small matters.

Troubles disappear.

Base

(9):

Losing horses.

*Don't follow their track:
they'll soon come back.*

Seeing a disfigured man.

NO MISFORTUNE.

(9) 2: Meeting the master in an alley.

NO MISFORTUNE.

NO MISFORTUNE.

(6) 3: See: here comes a wagon drawn
by an ox with a crumpled horn.
The branded carter's nose is torn.

No beginning. There will be an end.

(9) 4: The Fox espy;
meet a footless guy.

Crosswise-moving captives. DANGEROUS. NO MISFORTUNE.

Troubles disappear.

(6) 5:
The ancestors are eating meat.

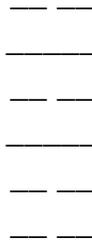
In travelling, what misfortune can there be?

Top The fox espy.

(9): See muddy pigs come nigh, a car of ghosts pass by.
First drawing the bow with eager eye,
he lets it slacken and lays it by.

(Not with raiders allied, but fetching a bride.) Going, meet a rainy sky ... then
AUSPICIOUS.

39 jian/stumbling



Favourable west and south, unfavourable east and north.

Favourable for seeing great men.

Augury AUSPICIOUS.

Base (6): Setting out stumbling, coming back renowned.

(6) 2: Royal servants stumbling and fumbling.

Not because of their bodies.

(9) 3: Setting out stumbling, coming back grumbling.

(6) 4: Setting out stumbling, coming back rumbling.

(9) 5: Severe stumbling.

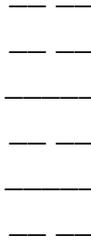
Friends come along.

Top (6): Setting off stumbling, coming back in splendour.

AUSPICIOUS.

Favourable for seeing great men.

jie/unloosing 40



Favourable west and south.

*Having nowhere to go,
auspicious for both coming and going.*

*Having somewhere to go,
auspicious in the early morning.*

Base (6):

NO MISFORTUNE.

(9) 2: In the hunting field,
getting three foxes. Bronze arrows.

Augury AUSPICIOUS.

(6) 3: Shouldering a pack while riding in a carriage

Attracts raiders to attack. Augury of distress.

(9) 4: Unloosing the thumbs.

Friends come to the captive.

(6) 5: Unloosing a prince's tether.

AUSPICIOUS.

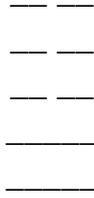
Sacrificing captives from among small men.

Top (6): When a duke shot a hawk from atop a city wall, and got it ...

Unfavourable for nothing.

41 sun/diminishing





Sacrificing captives.
MOST AUSPICIOUS.
NO MISFORTUNE.

Augury possible

Favourable when there is somewhere to go.
What use are two bowls? Use them for an offering.

Base (9): *Sacrificial assignment, performed quickly:*

NO MISFORTUNE.
Diminishing libations.

(9) 2:

Favourable augury.
Expeditions disastrous.

Neither enriching, nor diminishing.

(6) 3: Three travel together
and one is lost;
one who travels alone
finds a friend.

(6) 4: Diminishing the sickness.

The assignment being performed quickly, the outcome will be happy.

NO MISFORTUNE.

(6) 5: Maybe enriching

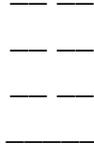
with a tortoiseshell worth ten cowries.
Unable to decline. MOST AUSPICIOUS.

Top (9): Not diminishing, but enriching him.

NO MISFORTUNE.
Augury AUSPICIOUS.
Favourable when there is somewhere to go.
Getting a servant without a family.

yi/enriching 42





*Favourable when there is somewhere to go.
Favourable for fording a big river.*

Base (9): Favourable for use in a great matter.

MOST AUSPICIOUS.
NO MISFORTUNE.

(6) 2: Maybe enriching

with a tortoiseshell worth ten cowries.

Unable to decline.

Long term augury AUSPICIOUS.

Used by the king in an offering to the Lord on High. AUSPICIOUS.

(6) 3: Enriching.

Use in times of disaster.

NO MISFORTUNE.

Sacrificing captives.

Reporting in mid-course to the duke, bearing a jade baton.

(6) 4: Reporting in mid-course.

The duke concurs.

Favourable for moving the capital city.

(9) 5: Sacrificing captives.

Graciously do not put them to the question.

MOST AUSPICIOUS.

Sacrificing captives. We receive favour.

Top (9): Not enriching him, maybe striking him.

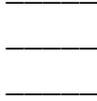
Stand firm.

Do not perform a fixing rite.

DISASTROUS.

43 jue/skipping





Shown at the royal court, the captives cry out.

DANGEROUS.

Report from a city:

not favourable for espousing violence.

Favourable when there is somewhere to go.

Base (9): Injured in the foreleg.

Not able to walk. This means MISFORTUNE.

(9) 2: Alarmed, crying out.

Fighting in the dark hours. Not to worry.

(9) 3: Injured in the face.

DISASTROUS.

A prince hustles and bustles along alone.

*Meeting rain and getting wet
provokes indignation.*

NO MISFORTUNE.

(9) 4: No plumpness on the haunches.

It staggers.

*If a sheep is brought,
the ill is unwrought.*

Hearing complaints: not to be believed.

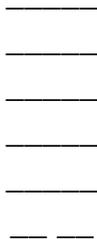
(9) 5: A wild goat tripping,
bucking and skipping
in the middle of the way.

NO MISFORTUNE.

Top (6): There is no cry.

Ultimately DISASTROUS.

gou/locking 44



Though she be healthy, do not take her to wife.

Base (6): Impeded by a metal wheel-brake.

Augury AUSPICIOUS.

If there is somewhere to go: augury DISASTROUS.

Scrawny pig for sacrifice jibs and will not budge.

(9) 2: Having fish in the cookhouse.

NO MISFORTUNE. *Unfavourable with guests.*

(9) 3: No plumpness on the haunches.

The gait is limping.

DANGEROUS.

NO GREAT MISFORTUNE.

(9) 4: No fish in the cookhouse.

Disastrous for starting to act.

(9) 5: Bitter gourd bound with willow withies.

Jade baton sustain. Something will drop from the sky.

Top (9): Locking their horns.

Distress. NO MISFORTUNE.

45 cui/together

— —
———
———
— —
— —
— —

Offering.

The king is present in the ancestral temple.

Favourable for seeing great men.

Offering.

Favourable augury.

Use of a large sacrificial victim is auspicious.

Favourable when there is somewhere to go.

Base (6): Sacrificing captives,
not bound – thus unruly and disorderly.

They cry, and then laugh.

Do not worry.

When travelling: NO MISFORTUNE.

(6) 2:

VERY AUSPICIOUS. NO MISFORTUNE.

Favourable for using captives at the summer sacrifice.

(6) 3: Together wailing.

Nothing favourable. When travelling, NO MISFORTUNE.

Little distress.

(9) 4:

VERY AUSPICIOUS.

NO MISFORTUNE.

(9) 5: Taking together those of rank.

NO MISFORTUNE.

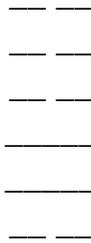
No captives. VERY AUSPICIOUS.

In long-term augury, troubles disappear.

Top (6): Sobbing, sighing, weeping, crying.

NO MISFORTUNE.

sheng/going up 46



Supreme offering.

Favourable for seeing great men.

Do not worry.

Auspicious for marching south.

Base (6): Indeed going up.

VERY AUSPICIOUS.

(9) 2: Sacrificing captives.

Favourable for use in the summer sacrifice.

NO MISFORTUNE.

(9) 3: Going up to a hill city.

(6) 4: The king making an offering at Mount Qi.

AUSPICIOUS.

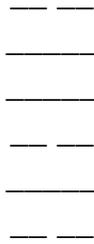
NO MISFORTUNE.
Augury AUSPICIOUS.

(6) 5: Going up steps.

Top (6): Going up in the dark.

Augury favourable for not pausing.

41 *kun/beset*



Offering.

Auspicious augury with great men.

NO MISFORTUNE.

There will be complaints, not to be heeded.

Base (6): Buttocks beset by a wooden mace.
Retiring to a hidden place.

For several years not glimpsed.

(9) 2: Beset while taking food and beer, *when scarlet-girded men appear.*

Favourable for offering sacrifice.

For military expeditions DISASTROUS.

NO MISFORTUNE.

(6) 3: Beset by stones, clutching thorny boughs.
Entering his house,
sees not his spouse.

DISASTROUS.

(9) 4: Slowly, slowly, from afar.
Beset by a great and burnished car.

Distress has an end.

(9) 5: They mutilate his feet and nose.
Beset: red-girt men round him close.

Slowly set free.

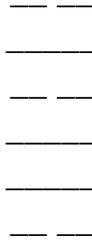
Favourable for offering sacrifice.

Top (6): Beset by creeping plants and vines.

Tripping on tree stumps, till progress is arduous.

There will be troubles. For an expedition: AUSPICIOUS.

jing/well 48



A city moves, a well does not.

No loss, no gain.

There is constant coming and going.

If the rope is too short to draw from the well,

or the dipping jar damaged:

DISASTROUS.

Base A well that is muddy.

(6):

No one drinks.

An abandoned pitfall holds no animals.

(9) 2: The fish in the well are shot and killed, the dipping jar broken, the water spilled.

(9) 3: A well flowing free,
but no one drinks.

My heart shrinks.

Water can be drawn.

The king makes a solemn covenant.

All receive his blessings.

(6) 4: A well tiled.

NO MISFORTUNE.

(9) 5: A well flowing clear.

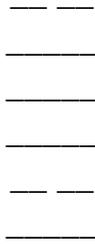
An icy spring. Drink.

Top (6): A well drawn dry.

Do not cover it. Sacrificing captives.

MOST AUSPICIOUS

49 ge/leather



*On a sacrifice day, use the captives.
Supreme offering.
Favourable augury.
Troubles disappear.*

Base (9): Binding with sandy-brown ox leather.

(6) 2: On a sacrifice day, bind it with leather.

For an expedition: AUSPICIOUS. NO MISFORTUNE.

(9) 3:

For an expedition: DISASTROUS. Augury: DANGEROUS.

Leather harness with triple tassels.

Sacrificing captives.

(9) 4:

Troubles disappear.

Sacrificing captives.

For changing one's orders: AUSPICIOUS.

(9) 5: Great men use tiger fur.

Sacrificing captives before the augury is completed.

Top (6): Princes use leopard fur,
small men use raw leather.

For an expedition: DISASTROUS. Augury for a dwelling: AUSPICIOUS.

ding/tripod-bowl 50



— —

VERY AUSPICIOUS.

Sacrifice.

Base (6): Tripod-bowl with up-turned feet:
good for turning out bad meat.
A slave-girl with a child to greet.

NO MISFORTUNE.

(9) 2: Tripod-bowl full to the top.
Illness makes my comrades drop;
before it hits me, it will stop.

AUSPICIOUS.

(9) 3: Tripod-bowl with lugs awry.
Its proper use is blocked thereby,
plump pheasant flesh left there to dry.

Rain imminent.

Trouble.

Ultimately AUSPICIOUS.

(9) 4: Tripod-bowl with legs askew,
spilling out the duke's fine stew.
Penalty of death is due.

DISASTROUS.

(6) 5: Tripod-bowl with golden lugs and rod of bronze.

Favourable augury.

Top (9): Tripod-bowl with rod of jade.

VERY AUSPICIOUS.

Unfavourable for nothing.

51 zhen/thunder

— —

— —

— — — —

— —

— —

— — — —

Offering.

When thunder comes, crack-crack,
there's laughing chat, yack-yack.
Though thunder frightens all the land,
no drop of wine falls from the hand.

Base (9): After thunder comes, crack-crack,
there's laughing chat, yack-yack.

AUSPICIOUS.

(6) 2: Risk and danger, thunder brings.
Perhaps one loses cowrie-strings.

Climbing the Nine Mounds, do not pursue. There'll be restoration in seven days.

(6) 3: Thunder booms and rumbles.

Thunder when travelling: no catastrophe.

(9) 4: After thunder, mud.

(6) 5: Thunder goes and comes.

DANGEROUS.

There may be no loss.

There is service.

Top (6): When thunder splits the ear, folk look around in fear.

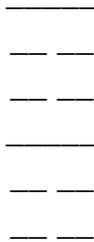
For an expedition: DISASTROUS.

*Thunder does not hit him,
it hits his neighbours.*

NO MISFORTUNE.

A wife's kin are grumbling.

gen/cleaving 52



Cleaving the back to find nothing inside;
crossing the court, where no one is spied.
NO MISFORTUNE.

Base (6): Cleaving the feet.

NO MISFORTUNE.

Long-term augury favourable.

(6) 2: Cleaving the shins.

Not removing the marrow. The heart is not pleased.

(9) 3: Cleaving the loin.

Tearing the groin.

DANGEROUS.

Smoking heart.

(6) 4: Cleaving the trunk.

NO MISFORTUNE.

(6) 5: Cleaving the jaw.

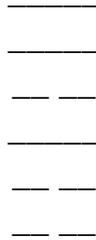
Grumbling within the law.

Troubles disappear.

Top (9): Reaving, cleaving.

AUSPICIOUS.

53 jian/settling



Auspicious for a girl's wedding Favourable augury.

Base (6): Wild geese settling on the stream. *Now a small one's troubles teem.*

There are complaints.

NO MISFORTUNE.

(6) 2: Wild geese settling on the rocks; *feed and drink in honking flocks.*

AUSPICIOUS.

(9) 3: Wild geese settling on the shore.

Her man is not yet back from war.

She will bear no children more.

DISASTROUS.

Favourable against raiders.

(6) 4: Wild geese settling on the trees.

They will roost there at their ease.

NO MISFORTUNE.

(9) 5: Wild geese settling on the hill.

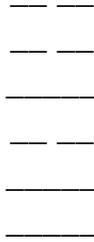
The three-years' bride, though barren still, will not be overcome by ill.

AUSPICIOUS.

Top (9): Wild geese settling on the peak.
Their plumes for dancers' use we'll seek.

AUSPICIOUS.

guimei/marriage 54



For an expedition: DISASTROUS.
Nothing favourable.

Base (9): A cousin given in marriage with companion-brides. Stepping out for feet that ail.

For expeditions: AUSPICIOUS.

(9) 2: Sight returns for eyes that fail.

Favourable augury for a prisoner.

(6) 3: A cousin given in marriage with her elder sister.

Yet she marries with companion-brides.

(9) 4: A cousin given in marriage overruns her time:

time for a delayed marriage.

(6) 5: Diyi gives his cousin in marriage.

The sleeves of the bride are not so fine as the splendid sleeves of the concubine.

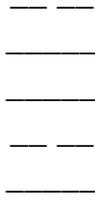
The moon waxes full. AUSPICIOUS.

Top (6): The bride bears a skip,
but it holds no fruit.
The groom stabs a sheep,
but no blood will shoot.

Nothing favourable.

55 feng/thick





Sacrifice.
The king is present.
Do not grieve.
Appropriate for the middle of the day.

- Base (9): Meeting the mistress of the house.
For a ten-day week, NO MISFORTUNE.
Leaving means receiving.
- (6) 2: Thick is the screen.
Seeing the Plough at noon.
Departing brings risk of illness.
Sacrificing captives who plead submission.
AUSPICIOUS.
- (9) 3: Thick are the pennons.
At noon faint light is made.
Breaking the right arm,
NO MISFORTUNE.
- (9) 4: Thick is the screen.
Seeing the Plough at noon.
Meeting the master now.
- (6) 5: Though hindrance come, *None will be glum.*
Praise. AUSPICIOUS.
- Top (6): Thick is the roof
screening the house.
Peep through the door:
no one is there.
Not seen for several years. DISASTROUS.
lu"/sojourner 56





Lesser offering.
Augury for sojourners: AUSPICIOUS.

Base (6): A sojourner smashes the place to smithereens.

Bringing catastrophe.

(6) 2: A sojourner comes to rest, his goods enfolded to his breast.

Getting servant boys. Augury: AUSPICIOUS.

(9) 3: A sojourner burns the lodging place.

Losing his servant boys. Augury DANGEROUS.

(9) 4: A sojourner finds a place to stay, *and stows his travelling-axe.*

My heart rests not.

(6) 5: A pheasant is got with a single shot.

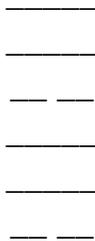
Disappearing. Ultimately with a decree of honour.

Top (9): A bird destroys its nursery;

A sojourner first laughs with glee, then weeps and moans in misery.

Loss of oxen in Yi. DISASTROUS.

57 xun/food offerings



Lesser offering.
Favourable when there is somewhere to go.
Favourable for seeing great men.

Base (6): Advancing and retreating.

Augury favourable for military men.

(9) 2: Food offerings set out before an altar.

Use large numbers of diviners and shamans. AUSPICIOUS.

NO MISFORTUNE.

(9) 3: Setting out food offerings side by side.

Distress.

(6) 4:

Troubles disappear.

Three kinds of game caught in one hunt.

(9) 5:

Augury AUSPICIOUS.

Troubles disappear.

Unfavourable for nothing.

No beginning, but there will be an end.

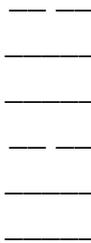
Three days before a geng day and three days after:

AUSPICIOUS.

Top (9): Food offerings set out before an altar.

Losing a travelling-axe. Augury DISASTROUS.

dui/satisfaction 58



Offering.

Favourable augury.

Base (9): Satisfaction in peacemaking.

AUSPICIOUS.

(9) 2: Satisfaction in taking captives.

AUSPICIOUS.

Troubles disappear.

(6) 3: Satisfaction to come.

DISASTROUS.

(9) 4: Satisfaction in rewards.

No peace yet. Disease confined, the outcome will be happy.

(9) 5: Captives go for flaying.

It will be DANGEROUS.

Ton (6): Lasting satisfaction.

59 huan/gushing



*Offering.
The king is present in the ancestral temple.
Favourable for fording a big river.
Favourable augury.*

Base (6): For gelding a horse: healing.

AUSPICIOUS.

(9) 2: Gushing over the stable.

Troubles disappear.

(6) 3: Gushing on the body.

No trouble.

(6) 4: Gushing over the bystanders.

MOST AUSPICIOUS.

Gushing on to their mound. Can such things be found?

(9) 5: Gushing, flushing the liver.

A great scream.

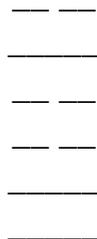
Gushing in the king's dwelling.

NO MISFORTUNE.

Top (9): Gushing, this blood of castration.

In going far, NO MISFORTUNE.

jie/juncture 60



Offering.
Bitter juncture.
Augury not possible.

Base (9): Not going out of the door to the courtyard.

NO MISFORTUNE.

(9) 2: Not going out of the gate of the courtyard.

DISASTER.

(6) 3: Not gauging the juncture.

Sighing. NO MISFORTUNE.

(6) 4: Secure juncture.

Offering.

(9) 5: Satisfactory juncture.

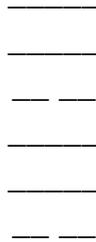
AUSPICIOUS.

Leaving means receiving.

Top (6): Bitter juncture.

Augury: DISASTROUS. Troubles disappear.

61 zhongfu/trying captives



Good fortune.

AUSPICIOUS.

Favourable for fording a big river.

Favourable augury.

Base Requiem sacrifice.

(9):

AUSPICIOUS.

There will be unexpected calamity.

No feast.

(9) 2: A crane calls on a shaded slope, its chicks call in reply. Here we have a brimming

cup: together we'll drink it dry.

(6) 3: Taking the foe.

Great drums thud, tabor-beats surge; Some fall to weeping, some start a dirge.

(6) 4: The moon will soon be fully round. *One horse's yoke-mate can't be found.*

NO MISFORTUNE.

(9) 5: Sacrificing captives, bound together.

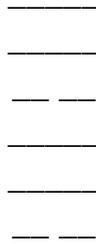
NO MISFORTUNE.

Top A sound of pinions rising to the sky.

(9):

Augury DISASTROUS.

xiaoguo/passing:minor 62



Offering.

Favourable augury.

Right for small matters, not right for large matters.

A flying bird leaves a sound.

Not appropriate to go up; appropriate to go down.

VERY AUSPICIOUS.

Base (6): Flying bird.

Therefore: DISASTER.

(6) 2: Passing a forefather, coming to a foremother;

*Not reaching the prince,
meeting the minister.*

NO MISFORTUNE.

(9) 3: Not passing.

Beware one passing on the track, Lest he stab you in the back.

DISASTER.

(9) 4:

NO MISFORTUNE.

Not passing, meeting.

Going is dangerous.

Need to keep alert.

Not for use in long-term augury.

(6) 5: Thick clouds, no rain, from our western suburbs.

The duke harpoons a bird, retrieving it from a cave.

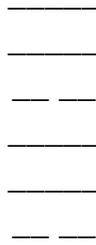
Top (6): Not meeting, passing.

A flying bird is netted.

DISASTER.

This means catastrophic calamity.

63 jiji/already across



Offering.

Somewhat favourable augury.

Auspicious at the beginning, confused at the end;

Base Trailing a cord.

(9):

Soaking the tail.

NO MISFORTUNE.

(6) 2: A lady loses an ornamental hairpin.

Not seeking it,

getting it in seven days.

(9) 3: Gaozong quelled Guifang, overcoming it in three years.

Not for use with small men.

(6) 4: A tunic padded with silk wadding.

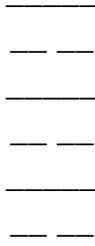
Stay alert all day long.

(9) 5: Eastern neighbours slay an ox; not like the western neighbours' surrlmef sacrifice.

Truly receiving their blessings.

Top (6): Getting the head wet.

DANGEROUS.
weiji/not yet across 64



Offering.
Not quite across the water yet,
the young fox gets its tail-tip wet.
Favourable for nothing.

Base (6): Getting the tail wet.

Distress.

(9) 2: Trailing a cord.

AUSPICIOUS.

(6) 3: Not yet across.

Disastrous for expeditions.
Favourable for fording a big river.

(9) 4:

Augury AUSPICIOUS.
Troubles disappear.

This is how Zhen quelled Guifang, and in three years won gifts from Shang.

(6) 5:

Augury AUSPICIOUS.
No troubles.

Glory for princes.

Sacrificing captives.
AUSPICIOUS.

Top (9):

Sacrificing captives at a wine-drinking.
NO MISFORTUNE.

Getting the head wet.

Sacrificing captives.
Losing a spoon.

ABBREVIATIONS

Arthur Waley 'The Book of Changes': p 463 n25.

A

Wilhelm/Baynes *The Book of Changes* 1967: page 76.

B

Cihai (encyclopaedic dictionary) Taipei 1956

C

A Schuessler *A dictionary of Early Zhou Chinese* 1987: p 474 nl.

D

Gao Heng *Zhouyi gujing jinzhu* Peking 1984: page 42.

G

David Hawkes *Ch'u Tz'u: the songs of the south* 1959.

H

Bernhard Karlgren *Grammata serica recensa* 1957: p 474 n1.

K

Richard Kunst *The original Yijing* 1985: p 469 n100.

R

E Shaughnessy *The composition of the Yijing* 1983: p 463 n24.

S

Wen Yiduo quanji Vol II 1948: page 42.

W

Zhonghua dazidian (dictionary of characters) 1916

Z

These notes merely explain the translation. Full glosses and philological details may be sought in other works, for which page numbers are cited, except in K, where entry numbers are given. Bibliographical particulars can be found elsewhere in this book, as indicated in the list of abbreviations.

Karlgren's translation of the Book of Odes is complete. Waley's translation lacks five poems, parts of which are relevant to *Zhouyi*. Waley's renumbering of the Odes means that reference must be made to his finding list for the Mao numbers (the consecutive numbering used by Karlgren and given here). G gives further material of philological interest from the Odes.

Hexagrams 1 and 2

These are the two homogeneous hexagrams: Hexagram 1 consists of six whole lines, Hexagram 2 of six broken lines. Each has a seventh line-oracle, deriving from homogeneity (see page 130); and each has a noteworthy degree of rhyming in its oracles.

[Diagram 15](#) THE TAGS OF HEXAGRAMS 1 and 2

1

乾

鍵

健

QIAN
sundried

JIAN
door bolt

JIAN
strong

2

《《《

≡≡≡

≡≡

horizontal form
of *bagua* symbol

bagua symbol

standard hexagram

《《《

坤

protograph of KUN
(K422)

KUN
earth

《《《

川

順

CHUAN
variant form

CHUAN
stream

SHUN
compliant

Simply because they were homogeneous, they exerted a fascination on diviners, and more has been written about them than about any of the other hexagrams. They became fundamental to the philosophical interpretation of *Yijing* that developed from the Warring States period onwards. Translations of all the material on them in the Ten Wings will be found on pages 372–3 (*Tuanzhuan*), 384 (*Daxiang*), 391 (*Xiaoxiang*), 408–31 (*Dazhuan passim*), 435–9 (*Wenyan*) and 445–8 (*Shuogua passim*).

Hexagram 1, tagged as QIAN, was taken to represent heaven and *yang*, the active principle, which is effective in odd numbers, and therefore to be found in a single stroke – an unbroken line. Hexagram 2, tagged as KUN, was taken to represent earth and *yin*, the receptive principle, which is effective in even numbers, and therefore to be found in the two strokes of a broken line. These philosophical interpretations came from the hexagram drawings and have no connection with the meaning of the oracles.

Qian, the tag character of Hexagram 1, comes from Line 3 of its hexagram. It was possibly chosen as tag before it was interpreted as a character with *yang* meaning. The other five line statements are about dragons, which were later seen as symbolic of *yang*; but these lines may have been rewritten after *yin-yang* theory had been developed, when an editor was deliberately creating a strong *yang* colouring for Hexagram 1. *Kun*, on the other hand, is not taken from the oracles of Hexagram 2, and they do not bear a markedly *yin* character.

All *Zhouyi*'s references to dragons are in these two hexagrams, and the two share a common interest if they are correctly interpreted as calendrical, Hexagram 1 referring to spring and early summer, Hexagram 2 to late summer and autumn. Their fundamental concern is agricultural, referring to rain and harvest. Each has a reference to rulers in line 3. Indeed, if there is a motto in the whole work, it must be 1:3, relating divination to the role of a prince.

(1) active

Six of the seven line statements mention *long* 'dragons', which were powerful sky and water spirits, emblematic of *yang* power. They fertilized the earth with rain.

Though they are a common element in the decoration of Shang and Zhou bronzes, *long* are rare in early writings. They do not occur in the Odes in their own right, only as decorations (on shields in 128.2; on banners in 283.1, 300.3 and 303.30) and in the name of a waterweed, 'floating dragon' (Ode 84.2). Nor are dragons mentioned in any part of the Book of Documents that is believed to be of Western Zhou date or earlier. This tends to justify the idea, mentioned above, that the dragon motif in Hexagram 1 may be a late entry into *Zhouyi*.

Wen Yiduo (W 48) first suggested a connection between these line statements and the asterism known to the Chinese as *Canglong* 'Green Dragon'. *Canglong* is not the western astronomist's constellation called Draco, but a long series of star groups that does not coincide with any Western constellation. They spread in an undulating line from two stars in Virgo, known in Chinese as *Jiao* 'horns', through Libra to Scorpio, including star-groups called *Kang* 'neck', *Xin* 'heart' and *Wei* 'tail'. The seasonal progress of the crops was marked by this Dragon's progress across the sky.

Though there is no clear evidence of the name of the Dragon asterism from the time *Zhouyi* was written, it probably was already in use. The oracles may have been written with the stars in mind or a connection may have been developed later. Wen Yiduo's perception was refined and developed by Edward

Shaughnessy (S269–85), whose thesis underlies the following notes.

(Tag) The tag character is discussed below, in the note on Line 3, from which it is taken.

(Hexagram statement) For the ‘four qualities’ see page 126. The same expressions occur in the same way in Hexagram Statements 3, 17, 19, 25 and 49.

(Base) Around 800 BC in midwinter at dusk the Dragon stars were all invisible below the horizon, supposedly under water. (See Translation Note 36:Top.)

(2) In early spring the Horn stars were visible above the horizon. The head of the Dragon might look as though it were in the far fields. The character *tian* ‘cultivated fields’ appears elsewhere in *Yi* with another meaning, referring to hunting (7:5, 32:4, 40:2, 57:4).

The second part of the couplet, translated as it is for the sake of rhyme, is simply the standard formula: ‘Favourable for seeing great men.’ (See page 219.)

(3) The key word in this line is *qian* (**gjian*). It is not found with this pronunciation anywhere else in pre-Confucian writings, though the same character appears, pronounced *gan* (**kan*) and meaning ‘sundried’. In Hexagram 21:4 and 5 it refers to meat; in Ode 69.1 to plants; and in Ode 165.5 to dried provisions. Hellmut Wilhelm used this meaning when he translated the oracle as ‘At the end of the day, oh dry, oh dry!’ He thought the dragon had been out of the water, in the sunshine of the fields (*Journal of the American Oriental Society* 7.4 (1958) page 275 n2). This is a pleasing fancy, but no more than a guess, backed up by a further guess that *junzi* and the clause about alertness after dark were post-Confucian additions. There is in fact no reason to suppose that the oracle as we have it could not have been composed in the 9th century BC, and no argument from the rhyming would support Hellmut’s theory.

Qian is the name of the trigram (three whole lines) that is doubled to make Hexagram 1. The moral glosses on the trigrams in the 8th Wing (Section 7, see page 441) characterize the *Qian* trigram as *jian* (**kjan*) ‘strong, constant’, written in a form that contains the ‘man’ radical. In the *Daxiang* commentary on Hexagram 1 (see page 384) this same *jian* character occurs in the place regularly occupied by the tag character in entries for other hexagrams. This means that by the time the Ten Wings were written *qian* was understood to mean ‘strong, constant’.

In the Mawangdui manuscript yet another character is used both for the tag and in Line 3: *jian*, ‘door-bolt’. *Jian* resembles the ‘strong/constant’ character except that it has the metal radical instead of the man radical. It is an example of

the Mawangdui editor's delight in elaborate variant forms. (See [Diagram 15](#).) Grammatically, *qianqian* must be a verb or adjectival verb. Some have thought it means 'sad and fearful' – a sombre meaning derived by implication from the second part of the oracle (about anxiety at night) and the prognostic of danger; but this is mere supposition. Since Wang Bi's commentary, it has usually been taken to mean 'diligent' or 'vigorous'.

Kunst points out that reduplicated adjectival verbs occur *after junzi* 'prince' in 43:3 (*junziguaiguai* 'prince hustles and bustles') and in Ode 67, where both stanzas begin with a similar formula (*junzi yangyang* 'prince is happy' and *junzi yaoyao* 'prince is merry'). Possibly the reduplication represents a descriptive verb for a sustained manner or continued activity. (For reduplicated forms see page 137–8.) Most English translations for *qianqian* risk imposing inappropriate nuances – a work ethic or paternalism in 'diligent' or 'busy', fear in 'anxious', physicality in 'vigorous'. The best translation is probably the least highly charged. I have used the colourless 'active', entrusting the nuance of continuousness to the adverbial expression 'all day long'. This takes account of the 8th Wing's *jian*, and, by happy chance, matches later philosophical understanding too.

(4) In late spring the stars of the neck and the top of the Dragon's body appeared over the horizon. By early summer the Heart was visible.

'Tides' (used for its rhyme) is literally 'deep water', and does not imply either sea or tidal movement.

(5) At midsummer the whole asterism of the Dragon would arch across the sky with the tail well above the horizon.

For the rhyming indication see the Translation Note to Line 2.

(Top) With the coming of autumn the head of the Dragon began to disappear below the horizon. The dragon would disappear in a manner that would equally well fit other possible translations of this line: 'Dragon in a ditch'; or 'Headless dragon'.

(All (9)) See page 130 on the supernumerary line statements.

(2) earth

Edward Shaughnessy (S286–7), following some Chinese commentators, sees this hexagram as completing the calendrical theme of the first and referring to the harvest.

(Tag) This is the most difficult and puzzling of all the tags (see [Diagram 15](#)).

The Han tablets form is the same as that in the Mawangdui manuscript, and consists of three vertical lines making the character now called *chuan*, meaning ‘a stream or river’. This is the character that occurs frequently in *Zhouyi* as part of the prognostic sentence ‘Favourable for fording a big river;’ but that sentence does not occur in the statements of Hexagram 2. If, like the majority of the other tags, *chuan* ‘stream’ was originally taken from the statements, then the statements have been changed.

The Mawangdui use of *chuan* for Hexagram 2 can be compared to the use of *jian*, the Mawangdui character for the tag of Hexagram 1. *Jian*, as has been noted, resembles a character assigned to the three-whole-line trigram by the 8th Wing (see page 292). *Chuan* ‘stream’ forms the left-hand part of *shun*, the character assigned by the 8th Wing to the three-broken-line trigram (which is reduplicated to form Hexagram 2). *Shun* means ‘receptive, compliant’ and expresses the *yin* interpretation of Hexagram 2, which was popular by Han times. It is a key word in the interpretation of Hexagram 2 in the 1st and 7th Wings (see pages 373 and 438); and it occurs in the Great Treatise (I.xii.1 twice; and II.xii.1).

There is another way of explaining the Mawangdui tag, which relates it to the *Kun* of the received text. *Kun* has an involved history, but refers primarily to the earth, and has elements in it that suggest partitioning land, appropriate to Line 2 as translated here. An archaic form of *kun*, however, written with three parallel chevrons pointing to the left, resembles early forms of *chuan* ‘stream’ (K422a-d), and is also a variant graph for three broken lines as they appear in the *bagua* symbols on bronzes. What looks like *chuan* or the left-hand part of *shun* may in fact be the all-broken-line trigram taken to be a primitive graph meaning ‘earth’, a graph which later received the full form of the character *kun*. Diviners inherited a preoccupation with the earth from the Shang cult of earth gods.

(Hexagram statement) With 29 characters, this is by far the longest of the hexagram statements.

Mares may have been a sacrifice (possibly to the earth), or auspices may have been taken from the behaviour of mares.

‘For a prince ... For a ruler, favourable’ is capable of different punctuation, giving ‘A prince has somewhere to go; first strays, later finds a master. Favourable.’ My translation helps solve the curious problem of a prince finding a master, but is not entirely satisfactory. I wonder whether the reference to a prince’s journey is either interpolated or displaced. It may have been the mare or mares mentioned above that strayed and were found.

Gao Heng notes that the word translated ‘friend’ might equally well be

translated ‘string of cowries’. See 41:5 and 51:2. (G166)

For the compass points mentioned see Hexagrams 39 and 40.

(Base) The first two characters mean literally ‘frost underfoot’. Jeffrey Riegel refers this oracle to ceremonial walking on hoarfrost at the time of the autumnal sacrifices. (‘A textual note on the *I Ching*’ *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 103.3 (1983) pages 601–5. See also the note to Line 2.) Others have seen it as a sign of impending marriage. (Compare the note to line 5.) It occurs in a marriage song at Ode 107:

Finely twined, the fibre shoes,
fit for walking on hoarfrost.

The same two lines recur in Ode 203.2, as part of a picture of young men who are attractive to young women, though the setting is economic distress.

(2) Literally and apparently ‘Straight and square.’ The suggestion that this means surveying the fields at harvest time depends partly on comparison with characters used in Shang tortoiseshell inscriptions. Wen Yiduo gives justification for understanding it to mean a great survey. (W41, 587).

Gao Heng (G167) suggests that the whole of this line sentence means ‘Controlling a raft; without much practice’ – an omen of relative safety because a raft does not easily capsize.

Post-Han commentators divided this oracle after the first three characters, translated as ‘Straight, square and big;’ and took the last two characters as an indication: ‘No repetition.’ Jeffrey Riegel (see note to line 1), insisting that each of the six oracles in Hexagram 2 is of two characters only and all six have the same rhyme, punctuates this oracle after ‘square’. In the indication he reads what in the present text appears to be the simple negative *bu* as an old form of the character now read as *feng* ‘phoenix’, here taken to represent *feng* ‘wind’. Violent winds were expected in autumn. His translation of the oracle itself, however, is tentatively given as ‘Directed toward the (proper) quarter.’

(3) An obscure line. *Han zhang* recurs in Hexagram 44:5. *Han* means ‘hold in the mouth’ or ‘conceal’. *Zhang* means ‘splendour’, ‘distinction’, or ‘pattern’; or it can be a short form of the same character with the jade radical (see [Diagram 11](#)), meaning ‘jade baton’. Among suggested translations have been ‘Eclipsed brilliance’, ‘Containing patterns’ and ‘Hold a jade talisman/baton in the mouth’.

The most satisfactory translation of the oracle seems to be ‘holding a jade baton up before (or to conceal) the mouth’ – ‘sustain’ being used here to mean ‘hold up’ – which was the etiquette for audience with a ruler. (It is not clear

whether the baton was at this date regarded as protecting the ruler from the suppliant's breath. That explanation became normal; but the custom was also a means for preventing swift recourse to a concealed weapon.) The same protocol is invoked in Hexagram 42:3, where the baton is called *gui*, often translated as 'tablet' or 'sceptre'. Both English words are misleading, because *gui* were about 9 inches long, pointed at the top and made of jade (see Hsu and Linduff *Western Zhou civilization* 182–4). They were insignia of rank, given by the king at investitures.

Zhang may be a generic word for such batons. In the Odes the expression *ru gui ru zhang* 'like *gui*, like *zhang*' occurs twice as a simile of nobility and elegance (Odes 252.6 and 254.6), while the high destiny of a nobleman's son is foreshadowed when the child is given a *zhang* as a plaything (Ode 189.8). The oracle appears to be connected with 'seeing great men'.

Gao Heng gives reasons for translating the whole oracle as 'Overcoming Shang,' referring to Wu Wang's victory and the establishment of Zhou. (G167)

Wangshi 'royal service' is several times mentioned in the Book of Odes, where it usually means military service, building defensive earthworks and defending the borders. (Odes 40.2,3; 121.1,2,3; 162.1,2,3,4; 167.3; 169.1,2,3; 205.1,3.) These are songs of loneliness and exile.

(4) Literally 'Tying sacks'. This makes sense as a reference to the autumn harvest of grain.

(5) Literally 'yellow nether garment' or 'yellow skirt'. This was a man's robe. There is a reference to making skirted robes, including yellow one's, for the young men at harvest time in Ode 154.3.

In the eighth moon we spin,
we spin black, we spin yellow;
the red is brilliant:
we make skirts for nobles' sons.

In Ode 27.2 the same yellow garment for a man is mentioned in a love song.

Oh the green coat!
Green coat and yellow skirt ...

Although Gao Heng (G167) insists that in *Zhouyi* yellow is always propitious, its exact significance eludes us. Yellow was not, as some later commentators have believed, an imperial colour. Imperial yellow was a Han idea. Autumn was the season for weddings, perhaps because pregnancies begun at the spring festivals

were verifiable by autumn, but also because autumn brought the end of the heavy work season and an abundance of food for feasting.

(Top) Reading *xuanhuang* ‘dark and pale’ (‘dark and dun’ or ‘black and yellow’) as protographs for homonyms meaning ‘flow’ (see [Diagram 10](#)). Rains were expected in autumn. Dragons struggling in the sky produced rain. Some commentators regard the struggle as sexual coupling and the rain as fertilizing. See also the comment in *Wenyan* on page 439. Wen Yiduo argued, less persuasively, that *xuanhuang* meant ‘dark yellow’ which was a way of indicating red, the colour of blood. (W 44). Gao Heng (G169) suggested that a black dragon was fighting a yellow one and, since both bled, the omen was indeterminate.

Xuanhuang can also mean ‘dark and dun (or yellow)’, signifying Heaven (at night) and (the yellow soil of) Earth. This has been the commonly accepted connotation since the sixth-century *Qianziwen* ‘the Thousand Character Classic’, where *xuanhuang* occurs in the first line, became popular as a reading primer, possibly in Tang times. (See also pages 18 and 439.) If Riegel’s theory that each oracle originally consisted of two characters only (in this oracle *xuan* and *huang*) is right, the fighting dragons may be an interpolation inspired by Hexagram 1. Or they may have been inserted as an explanation of the original oracle ‘Blood falls as rain’, which belongs to the rhyme scheme of the other five line statements.

(All (6)) See page 130 on the supernumerary line statements.

Hexagrams 3 and 4

There is no clear thematic connection between these two hexagrams.

(3) **massed**

Five of the oracles apply to the deployment of chariots and soldiers.

A rhyme is taken from the tag.

(Hexagram statement) For the ‘four qualities’ see page xx.

(Base) *Panluan* ‘wheeling around’ follows Kunst’s reading of loan characters (R244). Gao (G169) takes the same characters to mean ‘a wall of big stones’, suggestive of the indication about an augury for a dwelling.

(2) *Zhunru-zhanru* is translated by Kunst as ‘bunching and turning’. *Zhunzhan* now means ‘impeded in progress’ and probably originated here in *Zhouyi*.

The bride-fetching verse occurs also in 22:4 and 38:top. See Note 22:4.

(5) ‘Reward of food for soldiers’ comes from reading *gao* with the hand radical

(K1129.1). Otherwise *gao* means fat meat.

(Top) The last phrase closely resembles one in Ode 58.2 ‘shedding tears continuously’; but the context there is a broken love affair.

(4) **dodder**

(Tag) Waley (A130) explained *meng* as ‘dodder’, a parasitic flowering plant with no roots or leaves. Like other parasites, it attracts superstitious respect. Ode 48 tells of gathering dodder, apparently as a charm, though with another name: *tang*. Gao Heng (G173) understood *meng* as a short form for ‘blindness’, punning with the later Confucian interpretation: ‘a youth’.

(Hexagram statement) The quotation may be a spell to avert misfortune after accidentally harming dodder.

The received text says ‘The first divination gives a reply; further divinations are confusing (or impertinent), which means no reply’ In the Mawangdui text and the Han stone tablets *gao* ‘reply’ lacks one small stroke, and becomes *ji* ‘auspicious’; *du* ‘confusing’ has a different radical, and becomes a rare character (not in Karlgren) meaning ‘to draw out/extract’; and the connective *ze* ‘then’ is replaced by the closely similar particle *ji*. To accept *ji* for *gao* gives the best sense, but the correctness of the reading cannot be proved. For repeated divination see pages 128 and 150.

(Base) *Shuo* ‘explain’ is taken as a loan for *tuo* ‘remove’ (G174), here as also in 9:3, 26:2, 33:2, 38:top and 47:5.)

(2) Wrapping suggests preparation of a present or sacrifice. Wen Yiduo explains the indication as ‘a son may be betrothed’, rather than ‘a son may assume control of the household’ (W27).

(3) The words literally mean ‘see-bronze-man-not-have-body’. Though they may refer to dodder being of shining reddish bronze colour and appearing to have no substance among its tangled-wirelike twisting stems, Wen Yiduo suggests (W588) that *fu* ‘man’ is a simple error for *shi* ‘arrow’ (see [Diagram 14](#)), while *gong* ‘body’ is an elaborated form for *gong* ‘a bow’ (see [Diagram 11](#)).

(4) *Kun* ‘beset’ is read as a short form; with the ‘hand’ radical it means ‘to bind’.

(Top) Cutting is sometimes avoided in gathering weird parasitic plants. They are beaten or knocked from the host plant. A variant reading gives ‘Binding dodder.’

Hexagrams 5 and 6

Both these hexagrams deal with captives.

(5) waiting

(Tag) Some scholars prefer an alternative reading of the tag: *ru* ‘getting wet’ (see [Diagram 11](#)). Waley (A127) believes that it means ‘ant’ or ‘weevil’ or some similar insect. Both readings can be maintained throughout the chapter instead of ‘waiting’, and both make sense. Reading it to mean weevils suggests a set of omens. Reading it to mean ‘waiting’ must be understood as referring to the prisoners, who may be destined for use as sacrificial victims.

(Hexagram statement) The word here translated as ‘supreme’ appears in the text as *guang* ‘glory’, which makes for fractured grammar unless *guang* is a sentence in itself. There is no sentence of that kind elsewhere in *Zhouyi*. Wen Yiduo suggests that it is a miscopying of the visually similar character *yuan* (see [Diagram 13](#)), part of the standard expression *yuanheng* ‘supreme offering’ (W588). Gao (G176), however, accepts *guang* as meaning ‘glory’ and the whole sentence as ‘There will be the glory of taking captives.’

(Base) *Jiao* ‘the suburban altar’ was a mound outside the city, where very large crowds could attend rituals. Compare 13:top. See also Hexagram Statement 9 and 62:5.

Waley (A136) suggested that a *heng* ceremony was a rite for fixing an omen as a mordant fixes dye. It may have been as simple as burying an oracle bone or drawing a circle round a place. See also 32:3. Gao (G176) takes *heng* to mean ‘patience’.

(2) The same phrase about complaints occurs in 6:base.

(4 and Top) *Xue*, translated ‘hole’ or ‘pit’, occurs in both these line statements. In Line 4 it may mean a prison-pit (suggesting that ‘scud’ means ‘escape’), and in the top line a pit-dwelling.

(4) The blood is presumably the blood of sacrifice. The meaning may be ‘(victims) waiting for bloodshed’.

Gao Heng (G177) suggests that escaping from a hole or pit refers to a story recorded in the Zuo Commentary (Duke Ai year 1: Legge 792/794) about a queen of the Xia dynasty who was pregnant when her husband was killed during an insurrection. She escaped from imprisonment in a pit, or ‘through a hole’, and her son restored the family’s power.

(5) Perhaps ‘waiting *with* wine and food’. There may be a hint of reprieve from execution.

(Top) Pit-houses, houses with floors lower than the ground outside, were the dwellings of the common people.

(6) **dispute**

(Tag) The dispute is a matter for arbitration or judgement by a superior.

(Hexagram statement) Kunst (R251) takes *zhi* ‘obstruct’ as a loan character in a binome, *zhiti*, meaning ‘fear’. Waley, taking *zhi* as a loan for *xi* ‘laugh’, and reading the prognostic as part of the sentence, suggests: ‘If *fu* (captive) laughs, this means good luck in the midst of fear.’ In east Asia, nervous laughter or tittering is an expression of fear, and perhaps ‘If captives laugh in the midst of fear, this means good luck (for the divining captor)’ would be a more convincing interpretation. Waley (A126) thought the dispute was likely to be about war-booty and possibly captives too. See also W590.

(Base) For complaints, see also 5:2.

(2) The man who has lost in the dispute is presumed to have to pay a fine or commute some fiercer penalty by payment, and can now exact the value of the fine from his fief (literally ‘a city of three hundred houses’). *Bu* is taken to mean ‘levy’ or ‘tax’ rather than ‘lose’, which would mean he loses the fief.

Gao Heng (G178) thought the dispute was between the local ruler and the people of his fief-city, that the quarrel was taken before the king, and that the ruler lost the case.

For ‘royal service’ see Note 2:3.

(5) This line may have lost a character at the beginning, and may originally have had an oracle meaning ‘Success in dispute’ – contrasting with Line 4. Gao Heng (G179), following his usual approach to syntax, suggests that it means ‘Extremely auspicious in disputes’.

(Top) Great belts were emblems of rank and authority that remained in use until the twentieth century. The character translated ‘audience’ originally meant ‘morning’, but early came to mean audience because the king held court at dawn and transacted state business early in the morning. The fickleness of the ruler and the transitoriness of honour provide a discouraging omen.

Hexagrams 7 and 8

The carrying of the corpse in Lines 3 and 5 and the dynasty-founding of the top line identify Hexagram 7 as telling of the battle in the wilderness of Mu, at which King Wu defeated the Shang army before setting up the Zhou dynasty. Yet there are three auguries of disaster among the oracles. One is tempted to read Wang Chong's story about King Wu divining before the battle of Mu and refusing to accept an inauspicious oracle (see page 57) as a comment on this hexagram.

Hexagram 8 might be seen as dealing with some of the immediate policies of the new dynasty.

(7) troops

(Hexagram statement) *Zhangren* as written in the text means 'elder', rather than the expected 'great man'. Several commentators have thought *zhang* was a mistake for *da* 'great'. The two characters are almost the same. See [Diagram 14](#).

(Base) *Yi lü*, in this oracle, may mean 'in ordered ranks', or it may mean 'with pitchpipes'. Wen Yiduo favoured the pitchpipes, which were used to convey signals and to encourage the soldiers, much as trumpets were in western warfare, though we do not know much about their use at the time of the battle described here. The indication seems to imply that if there is anything wrong with the music of the pitchpipes when an army sets out, that is a bad omen for the battle. (W39) Gao (G180) takes the whole sentence to mean 'An army must set off in good order, or, even if it is strong, there will be a disaster.'

(2) Gao says the orders were rewards and promotions.

(3 and 5) Carting or carrying corpses could mean clearing the field at the end of a battle, but the expression used here also appears in *Chuci* (poems probably written in the 4th century BC) where it is said that at the battle of Mu, where the Zhou army finally defeated Shang, King Wu had the corpse of King Wen (his father and the forefather of the Zhou dynasty; see page 6) borne into the battle. Some commentators have thought that it was not the corpse, but the spirit tablet that was carried (W584; H55).

(4) The left hand may mean the east, or the left bank of a river.

(5) There was a custom of conducting a hunt after victory in battle. Otherwise there may be reference here to collecting prisoners and cutting off ears. W16 and 590 are relevant.

Prisoners due to be executed were first interrogated in a semblance of judicial procedure or 'war trial' before they were sentenced. This is mentioned in Ode 168.6:

1 . . . 1 . . . 1 6

we have brought prisoners for questioning,
caught the chieftain's.

Also Ode 178.4:

Fangshu was in command.
He brought many prisoners for questioning.

Tian meaning 'hunt' is also used in 32:4, 40:2 and 57:4. Ode 180 gives a lively description of hunting on auspicious days for deer, boar and rhinoceros, with a subsequent banquet for guests. See also page 13 and the Note on Hexagram Statement 13 (page 307).

(Top) No doubt this oracle is a reference to the establishment of the Zhou dynasty after victory at the field of Mu.

(8) joining

(Tag) This is an example of word-play. *Bi* means 'assemble with, match, put together' and can be used transitively. 'Joining' covers all its uses in this hexagram. It could also be translated as 'assisting' or 'supporting', except in Line 5 when that line is understood as it is here.

(Hexagram statement) The word for 'offering' (one of the 'four qualities', see page 126) is not in the text. Gao suggests it is implicit or was dropped by mistake in copying. He believed that the last two sentences referred to a story, recorded in *Guoyu* (Luyu section: see page 198) and the Bamboo Annals, telling how the Great Yu, the mythical founder of the Xia dynasty, killed the chieftain Fangfeng because he arrived late when Yu summoned the chieftain's to a conclave (G183; Legge *Shoo King* page 118).

(*Zhushu jinian* 'The Bamboo Annals, also known as *Jizhong jinian* 'Annals from a tomb in Jixian', is a very short chronicle believed to have been written before 299 BC and discovered in a royal Wei tomb in AD 281. See M Loewe *Early Chinese texts* pages 39–47 and translation in Legges *Shoo King*.) Gao explains *ta* as 'unexpected calamity', as too at 28:4 and 61:base. See also page 133.

(Base) *You fu* occurs twice in this complex statement, which has possibly been muddled in transmission. The first occurrence has been translated 'sacrificing captives'; the second 'booty'. See page 220. For the late-comer see the note on the Hexagram Statement.

(2 and 4) Contrasting oracles. Gao (G184) thought that 'inside' meant 'at court' and 'outside' meant 'in the countryside'.

(3) Translation of *feiren* as ‘offenders’ was suggested by Wen Yiduo (W33). See also page 220 and Hexagram Statement 12.

The prognostic is a variant reading, absent from some editions.

(5) *Xian* ‘to appear’ is taken as loan for *xian* ‘girth (meaning a strap round a horse’s belly)’ (R254). Kunst takes *hi* ‘to join’ in this instance to mean ‘paired (girth straps)’.

Gao (G185) recalls an old story about a king making three (that is, several) attempts to shoot a bird while hunting, but not getting it. The king purposed to execute a man of the district (literally *yi* ‘city’) for scaring the bird away; but a royal counsellor pleaded for the man and saved him.

(Top) Gao (G185) understands as ‘Giving counsel to the king and losing one’s head for it.’

Hexagrams 9 and 10

All that can be said of these two as a pair is that they share one element in the hexagram statement: ‘Offering’.

(9) farming: minor

(Tag) Compare Hexagram 26, the other ‘Farming’ hexagram. The tag character, traditionally read as *chu*, and usually taken to mean ‘domestic animals’, does not appear in the line sentences. It is also read as *xu* ‘to raise livestock’. Several points favour interpreting it as a reference to animals: ‘Led by a halter’ in Line 2; and the castration of horses in Line 4. Hexagram 26 mentions several domesticated animals; and the two hexagrams contain similar references to horsedrawn carriages (9:3 and 26:2). Wen Yiduo, however, says *chu*, whose earliest form contains the graph for a cultivated field, meant ‘raising’, and included crops as well as animals (see the top line and W21). Li Jingchi *Zhouyi tanyuan* (1978) thought the meaning was ‘agriculture’ (see R34). This would also account for the interest in rain shown in this hexagram.

(Hexagram statement) The same rain oracle appears in 62:5 (in another ‘minor’ tag hexagram). Gao (G185) says clouds in the west precede rain. Rain recurs in the top line.

For *jiao* see also 5:base and 13:top, though here and in 62:5 the altar seems less significant than the westerly direction.

(2) See note on the tag above.

(3) See 26:2, in the other 'Farming' hexagram. Gao (G185) argues that the two oracles are the same, the final character appearing in two different forms, and that the split in the chariot-chassis parallels a rift in a marriage mentioned in the indication. For other wheel and axle omens see 26:2, 34:4 and 44:top.

Fanmu, the action of a man and his wife, can be understood as turning their eyes either towards or away from one another. The implication seems to be that relations are difficult, whether glaring or turning the back.

(4) For the castration theme see 59:top, which has similar construction and vocabulary. (R357, G186).

(5) For prisoners of war see page 220. The same oracle appears in 61:5.

'Not rich, because of the neighbour' occurs in 11:4 and 15:5. Possibly the positive form of the same oracle found here is a mistake and the negative particle has been lost. The neighbours intended here are probably unfriendly neighbouring states (see 63:5).

(Top) 'Planting can still be finished' reads *de* as 'achieve' rather than 'power' or 'virtue' and *zai* as 'to plant' rather than 'to convey'.

'At (or About) full moon' is the same phrase as in 61:4, though it is there translated in rhyme.

(10) **stepping**

Two of the line statements recur in Hexagram 54.

(Hexagram statement) The tag occurs as the first word of the hexagram statement, in a sentence that is almost the same as the indication in Line 3, though the verb there is positive. Perhaps the hexagram statement contains a mistake in copying, whereby the third oracle has accidentally been repeated and placed here, with a negative particle inserted later; or there were originally two oracles, one positive and the other negative, and the one with the negative verb has got misplaced (W10).

(Base) The adjective modifying 'shoes' means simple and unadorned, but Wen Yiduo gives reasons for thinking that the meaning here is shoes of white silk, perhaps raw silk, in contrast to the rougher footwear of line 5. (W585) (2) The omen for a prisoner also occurs in 54:2.

(3) The rhyming oracle couplet appears again in Hexagram 54, divided between the Base Line and Line 2.

(5) The character here translated as 'bast' is *jue* (**kwait*), usually taken as a short form for the similar character with the water radical, meaning 'to cut' or a

homonym meaning ‘split’. Wen Yiduo says it stands for a near homonym *ge* (**kat*), meaning a creeping plant from which bast was made for plaiting or twining shoes for the poorer people. *Gelii*, the phrase used here, is a stock phrase for bast shoes. See also note on the Base Line above (W10). In Ode 101.2 bast shoes are part of a wedding trousseau taken by a bride going off from Qi to Lu:

Bast shoes, five pairs;

cap pendants, one pair ...

Paired objects had obvious relevance to a couple being married.

In Ode 107 the bast shoes are an accessory to courtship and associated with hoarfrost, as they are in Hexagram 2:base (see note at 2:base):

Finely plaited shoes of bast,

fit for walking on hoar frost ...

Hexagrams 11 and 12

These two hexagrams are linked by a formula in their hexagram statements, for which 12 has the reversal of 11. They share the same opening line-oracle, while 11:2, 12:2 and 12:3 are all composed in the same two-character formula and all begin with the same character. This character is translated as ‘gourd’ in 11:2 and ‘wrapping’ in 12.2 and 3, which may indicate deliberate word-play; or some of these similarities may be due to corruption of the text.

(11) **great**

(Tag) Most translators, following Legge and striving to make sense of the tag as a title, translate *tai* as ‘peace’. Although this would be possible in later Chinese, there is nothing about peace in the statements or in the Ten Wings, and neither Legge nor Wilhelm made the translation carry conviction. In Zhou times the character was most often used as a long form for *da* or another *tai*, both meaning ‘great’ (see [Diagram 11](#)), and the character *da* occurs in the hexagram statement. This doubtless provided the tag, but the whole set of statements for Hexagram 11 looks much corrupted.

(Hexagram statement) This could also mean ‘Going small, coming great’ and mirrors Hexagram Statement 12.

(Base) White grass (*mao*) was used for wrapping offerings, both as gifts for others and in sacrifices, including state sacrifices. It does not necessarily imply a poor gift. See note to Hexagram 28:base. In Ode 229 the same grass is connected

with sadness at a man and woman being separated:

Oh white-flower hanks!

Oh white-grass bundles!

This man goes far,

He leaves me alone.

For translating *hui* ‘class’ as ‘roots’ or ‘stems’, see G192. Gao suggests ‘Pulling white grass for fodder, using the stems.’

(2) Crossing the He is mentioned with similar feeling in Ode 195.6:

No one dare grapple with a tiger,

no one would trust himself to the He.

This is the only place in the received text of *Zhouyi* where the character *he* ‘river’ occurs. It was used for the Yellow River, but, in the Odes at least, it sometimes seems to have meant any wide river. The dried gourds were used as floats or life-jacket substitutes when crossing deep water. ‘Are gone’, serving the rhyme, implies death.

Ode 34 also sadly associates gourds and fords. It is a song of a woman waiting for her bridegroom to come and fetch her:

Gourds have bitter leaves:

the ford is deep at the crossing ...

(3) ‘No plain without a rise’ may mean ‘There would be no level places if there were no slopes,’ and looks like a proverb. ‘Good luck about food’ may mean ‘There will be wine and food’ (G193) Compare note to 5:5.

(4) *Pian-pian* ‘flutter, flutter’ is onomatopoeic reduplication. Fluttering, of birds, leaves or flags, has lyrical importance, if not omen value, in the Odes:

**Phjian-phjian*, the turtle-doves!

They soar, they dive,

they settle on the bushy oaks.

The king’s service never lets up,

I’ve no time to care for my father.

(162.3,4)

□

**Phjian-phjian*, the turtle doves!

They come in thick flocks:

The prince has wine, and happy guests feast with him.(171.4)

□

**Phjian-phjian*, the owls
are roosting in the Pan woods,
devouring our mulberries ... (299,8)

□

The four stallions race,
the two banners flutter (**phjian*).
Disorder swells and is not quelled.
No state is not distressed:
populations are decreased,
disasters have destroyed them.
Alas, alack!
The state is rushing to ruin. (257.2)

Birds are favourite sources of omens, and a fluttering sound seems to bring a message. The oracle of Dodona in Epirus, claimed as the most ancient oracle in Greece, was an oaktree sacred to Zeus, where whispering leaves and murmuring doves gave omens from the god.

For the oracle on being rich compare 9:5 and 15:5. The neighbours are presumably greedy or powerful.

The second part of the indication may mean ‘not watchful about losing men as captives.’

(5) See notes on Hexagram 54, especially line 5, which has the same oracle.

(Top) The city wall (*cheng*) and the capital (*yi*) may or may not refer to the same place.

The word *ming* (‘decree’, ‘order’ or ‘mandate’) can mean an oracular pronouncement (D425), or it may be a loan for *meng* ‘covenant’ (compare Note 17:4).

(12) **bad**

(Hexagram statement) The bracketed phrase at the beginning is abnormal in a hexagram statement (see page 119). It consists of four words that also appear in oracle 8:3, except that the first word here is the tag *pi* ‘bad’ and in 8:3 it is *bi* ‘joining’, a possible homonym in Old Chinese (see Note 8:3). As early as the twelfth century, Zhu Xi suggested in *Zhouyi benyi* that there had been a copying error, and the insertion of the four characters here was a mistake. Kunst, however, says ‘Bad are the foreign slaves.’

‘The great depart, the small come’ can also mean ‘Going great, coming small.’ It is a mirror version of Hexagram Statement 11.

(Base) For the white grass see notes to 11:base and 28:base.

(Base and 2) Shaughnessy (S316 n34) argued that the character translated ‘offering’ in the observation to these oracles has got displaced from the hexagram statement. Taken together with Zhu Xi’s suggestion mentioned above, this could lead to a reconstruction removing some anomalies and making a hexagram statement more like that of Hexagram 11.

(2 and 3) The meat is either food prepared as a present for a superior or is a sacrificial offering.

(4) For the decree see Note 11:top.

Chouli means literally ‘ploughed fields and orioles’, but is here translated as ‘paired orioles’. For *chou* meaning a pair or group see D84. Gao Heng reads *chouli* as loan characters for ‘long life and prosperity’.

(5) Gao (G198) reads the oracle as ‘Fearing what is bad.’ The same words *bao sang* for a mulberry tree are used in Ode 121, a song which contains some of the same formulaic phrases as Ode 162 (quoted above in the note on 11:4):

Beating their wings, **sjek-sjek*,
come the bustards.

They settle on the bushy mulberries.

The king’s service does not let up,

I cannot plant my rice and millet –

how can father and mother be fed? (123.3)

The rhyme here in Hexagram 12 appears to hope that some danger will disappear; and may advise tying a talisman on a tree – an ancient prophylactic still used in Siberia and Korea.

(Top) This reading follows Gao Heng’s suggestion that *qing* should be read without the ‘man’ radical and taken to mean ‘a short while’. The character as it appears in the received text means ‘to collapse’.

Hexagrams 13 and 14

Both these hexagrams mention celebrations at the end of a war.

(13) **mustering**

The oracles may refer to enlisting troops (base and 2), fighting (3 and 4) and

victory celebrations (5 and top); or the whole sestet may refer to a victory celebration.

(Hexagram statement) This is one of the five hexagram statements in which the tag is grammatically the first word of the first sentence (see page 119). The sentence, 'Mustering men in the countryside', is constructed on the same formula as the oracles for lines base, 2, 5 and top. Possibly it is a line oracle that has at some stage become dislodged and put in the hexagram statement. Compare Hexagram 52.

(Hexagram statement) Compare 'mustering men in the countryside' with the great hunting meet (*dong*) for military training mentioned in Ode 154:4:

On a day of the second moon we have the great hunt
to maintain our military skills.
The young boars we keep for ourselves,
the big ones we give to the Duke.

(Base) Men were summoned to the palace or town gate to hear proclamations.

(2) According to Karlgren's version of Ode 174, the ancestral hall was the scene of certain ceremonial banquets, as well as sacrifices. Ode 174.2 reads:

Sopping wet is the dew
lying on the thick grass:
at peace we drink through the night,
feasting in the ancestral hall.

(3) Several interpretations of this thumbnail story are possible. The most likely is that the army in the long grass is detected from a lookout point on the mound, and thus defeated.

(4) Reasons why this means making the city wall higher rather than men mounting to the top of the walls (which is the more obvious sense) are given by Wen Yiduo (W38). Gao (G201) prefers a story in which the walls of a besieged city are scaled, but the city is not taken.

(5) The first theme of the indication occurs with different words at 45:base; the opposite is found in 56:top. In the last part of the indication, Gao (G204) sees a defeated army again meeting its foe, this time to gain the victory. See also page 394, *Xiaoxiang*.

(Top) Sacrifices were offered to the Lord on High at the suburban altar (outside the city) at the solstices, and also for martial victories. Compare 5:base.

(14) large ... there ...

(Tag) The tag characters, *da* ‘large’ and *you* ‘there is/are’, occur in Line Statement 2, though not side by side. The interpretation of *dayou* as one word meaning ‘harvest’, favoured by some commentators, is fully rebutted by Edward Shaughnessy (S254).

(Base) *Jiao* ‘crosswise’, used also in 17:base and 38:4, probably refers to the flight of birds, but may refer to other animals. This is observed as a source of omens worldwide. Even today people in East Asia are sensitive to omens in people or animals crossing in front of them, especially in the early morning. English people read similar omens in the flight of crows, ravens and magpies, and in rodents and cats crossing one’s path. *Jiao* is so used in Ode 215.1 and 2: [Diagram 16](#)

THE SACRIFICE BY THE ANCESTRAL TEMPLE GATE



Short Form	Full Form	Substitute	Loan
(a) PENG	(b) BENG	(c) BENG	(d) PANG

Crosswise fly the mulberry birds ...
his Lordship will be blessed by heaven.

Crosswise fly the mulberry birds....
protection for every state.

Waley, however, *taking jiao* as onomatopoeic, thought the birds in the Ode were chirruping rather than flying.

Jiao could also refer to captives, as it does in line 5: it may be a short form for a homonym meaning wooden fetters or a cangue.

(3) This oracle is quoted in the Zuo Commentary (Duke Xi year 25: Legge 194/195), where it is applied to victory in battle. Compare Hexagram 42:2 for the same grammatical structure, though what means a sacrifice in 42:2 must mean an honorific banquet here. Evidence from other sources points to the use of ‘Son of Heaven’ as a royal title becoming normal in Western Zhou from the reign of Mu Wang (956–18 BC: see page 32). ‘Heaven’ used in a religious sense also occurs in the Top Line of this hexagram and 26:top.

(4) *Fei qi peng* is an obscure oracle. *Fei* normally means ‘not being’, though Gao gives reasons for taking it here to mean ‘putting forth’. *Peng* means ‘overbearing’ but has variant readings, *pang* ‘on all sides’ and *wang* a ‘cripple or emaciated person’. Gao (G205) takes the oracle to mean ‘Exposing a cripple (or emaciated person or shaman)’ to the sun in order to make rain come during drought. Edward Shafer has written about this practice at length in ‘Ritual exposure in ancient China’ *The Harvard Journal of Asian Studies* 14 (1951) pp 130–84.

Kunst takes *peng* to mean the same as *beng* (Z wuji 187), a sacrifice offered beside the gate of the ancestral temple – according to *Liji* on the day after the sacrifice inside the temple. Compare Ode 209.2:

Stately gestures, solemn order,
ritually pure the oxen and sheep,
taken for use at seasonal sacrifices.

Some flay, some boil meat,
some set out and present it.

The liturgist offers at the temple gate,
the sacrificial ceremonies are splendid ...

Peng as it appears in the text of *Zhouyi* is a short form for *bang* or *pang*, which is a loan form for *beng*. See [Diagram 15](#).

(5) See note on *jiao* in Line 2 above. Because of an added ‘adverbial particle’, Kunst understands ‘crosswise’ here to refer to the binding of the captives. See also 38:4.

(Top) For other examples of a religious idea of Heaven in *Zhouyi* see note to Oracle 3 above and Hexagram 26:top. This oracle in 14:top is important in the Great Treatise. See pages 410, 419 and 421.

The phrase *zi tian you zhi* ‘from heaven grace for them’ has a striking resemblance to *shou tian zhi you* ‘he receives heaven’s grace’, a blessing on the Zhou king in Ode 243.5.

Hexagrams 15 and 16

If the interpretations given here are right, this pair of hexagrams is bonded by two animals, one small and the other a giant. Oracles 15:2 and 16:base are constructed on the same formula, and begin with the same word (*ming* ‘to cry’, translated here by words appropriate to each animal), which is repeated in 15:top, possibly by mistake.

Oracle 5 in each set is out of tune with the rest.

Both hexagrams seem to be full of obscure word-play.

(15) **rat**

(Tag) This is the tag known to Confucian commentators and most translators as ‘Modesty’. (For the meaning of ‘modesty’, see page 61.) Kunst reads it as a loan for the homonym meaning some kind of rodent (R268), which makes better sense of the line sentences. In later usage *qian* means a hamster. This would not be the tiny Golden Hamster, popular pet of the West, but *Cricetulus triton*, the Great Grey Hamster, also known as the Korean Grey Rat. The body length of this species may reach 20 cm and its tail 10.5 cm. It has a wide range in north China, Manchuria, Ussuriland and Korea, usually in association with man – whole populations have been known to migrate with farmers, living off their crops. It is colloquially referred to as a rat (see page 218).

Partly because of their infestation of dwellings and foodstores, rodents are a rich source of omen material. The behaviour of the Great Grey Hamster may appear particularly ominous, for it is a solitary, untameable animal that adopts a humanoid stance, standing on its hind legs with forepaws folded. It attacks other rodents and will even kill and eat others of its own species. For a detailed account of it see Anatole’s Loukashkin in ‘The Giant Rat-headed Hamster *Cricetulus triton nestor* Thomas, of Manchuria’ *Journal of Mammalogy* 1944 Vol 24 pages 170–7. There is a further note on rodents at 35:4.

(Base) The tag character is reduplicated to make this oracle. The text may well be corrupt. The translation takes the word as a punning loan for two others: first the same character with the ‘mouth radical’ (see [Diagram 13](#)), and the second with the rodent radical. See also the Note to Line 3, below.

(2) The Great Grey Hamster under stress screams loudly.

(3) The tag character with the ‘mouth’ radical means ‘cheeks’ or ‘to put food in the mouth’. Hamsters fill their cheek pouches with food which they then store in burrows. Chinese peasants have been known to dig up these caches, which may weigh several kilograms, to find food for themselves.

(4) Ripping, of course, with its teeth.

(5) On being rich, see 9:5 and 11:4.

(Top) *Yiguo* may mean ‘city or state’. Some texts omit ‘city’; but both capital and state can be meant by either word.

(16) elephant

(Tag) The meaning, taken in the later tradition to mean ‘enthusiasm’, ‘joy’, ‘anticipation’ or ‘idleness’, makes best sense if taken to mean ‘elephant’, following the Han dictionary *Shuowen* (W25). Remains of Asian elephants have been found at Shang sites, some of them buried sacrificially. It is believed that they were more widespread in China at that time, because they appear to have been hunted by kings, though they may have been brought to the Shang capital from south of the Yangzi. Today about 200 wild elephants survive on Chinese soil in the Xishuangbanna nature reserve in southern Yunnan, near the Laotian border. (Zhao Ji *The natural history of China* (1990) pages 74, 76, 197 and 206.) (2) Wen Yiduo took the stone to be a pillory, such as is mentioned in *Zhouli* (a compilation, probably of Han date, giving idealized details of Zhou government practice) xiii and xxxv. Disturbers of the peace are there described as being humiliated by exposure on the stone (a variant of exposure in stocks) before doing forced labour. Pillorying lasted no longer than a fortnight at most, so ‘not till the end of the day’ suggests a light sentence – hence the auspicious augury. Wen Yiduo read the word *jie* ‘border’ as a short form for the same graph with the heart radical, meaning ‘to be made miserable, to shame’ – hence ‘pilloried’ (W33). Kunst says ‘bound by rocks’.

(4) The first character of this two-character oracle has a variant form: *you* meaning ‘monkey’. *Youyu*, ‘monkey-elephant’ is an ancient expression, probably going back as far as Zhou times, meaning a very timid wild animal. *You* may, however, simply be a loan meaning ‘wary’.

‘Great gain’ may refer to a hunt.

‘Why not loan cowries?’: *dai* ‘loan’ appears in some editions instead of *zan* ‘pierce (for threading on a string)’. ‘Cowries’ could also mean ‘friends’. See also Notes 41:5 and 51:2.

Gao (G208) understands the last two sentences as one, meaning ‘Do not be doubtful if friends sing your praises.’

(5) The appended prognostication is Waley’s suggested translation. See Note 32:3.

(Top) *Cheng* ‘fulfil’ is read as a short form for *cheng* ‘ramparts’, following Gao (G210). (See [Diagram 11](#)) *Hexagrams 17 and 18*

These two hexagrams refer to sacrifices: 17 to royal sacrifices after war, 18 to ancestral (probably also royal) offerings.

(17) **pursuit**

There may be a theme of runaway slaves, servants or followers here, but the more important concern seems to be with warfare.

(Hexagram statement) For the ‘four qualities’ see page 126.

(Base) The building is either a government establishment or a guesthouse. The crosswise passing is probably a reference to omens in birds’ flight, for which see the note to 14:base.

(4) The covenant may have been a sacrificial matter, involving the captives referred to in lines 5 and top. Not much is known about the early history of pacts between states. They are frequent in the Zuo Commentary and are mentioned, for instance, in Ode 198.3:

The prince often makes covenants
and disorder increases.

They were instruments of diplomacy and war, essentially what we should now call pacts. The character in the received text here is *ming* ‘bright’, which was possibly the same word as the modern *meng* ‘oath’ or ‘covenant’, both being pronounced **mjiang* in Old Chinese (D411, 423). See also Notes 11:top and 48:3.

The word ‘finding’ implies capture in war or a quarry in hunting.

(5) The word for triumph *jia* means a celebration and was originally a graph meaning drums.

(Top) Gao Heng (G213) connects this oracle with the return of King Wen, founder of the Zhou dynasty, while he was still Earl of the West (Xibo), to his home in the western mountains, after getting away from imprisonment by the last Shang king.

(18) **mildew**

The translation is based on Waley’s perceptions. In some respects Schuessler’s are more compelling. See the notes on the tag, base line and Line 4.

(Tag) Some writers take the tag to mean sickness, even ‘pestilence’, though pestilence in the sense of ‘epidemic’ seems inappropriate here. Waley prefers ‘maggots’, implying maggots found in the offerings made to the ancestors. Bodde suggested that the word meant ‘decay’, of which mildew is an early sign. Something of the range of meanings which accrued to this word can be seen in the two Zuo Commentary anecdotes on pages 180 and 191. Here it is understood to mean mildew appearing either on the wooden tablets that represented the

ancestors in the clan temple, or on the sacrificial food set before them. Such mildew would be regarded as ominous.

(Hexagram statement) The quotation of this hexagram in the Zuo Commentary (Duke Xi year 15, see page 179) has the word *he* (as in Huanghe, the Yellow River) instead of *dachuan* ‘big river’.

Jia refers to the denary counting system used for counting and numbering days. (See [Table 1](#).) *Jia* is the first of the ten stem characters. Sacrifices to a given ancestor were made on his stem day. Partly for this reason, oracles referring to stem days are a recurrent feature of tortoiseshell and oracle bone inscriptions. Compare 57:5.

(Base) Waley (A132) first explained the meaning of *gan*, here translated as ‘deceased’ in oracles base, 2, 3 and 5. The character as now written means ‘trunk (of a tree or body)’; but the short form means ‘stem’ (see [Diagram 11](#)) and was used in the denary series that served, among other things, as numbers for the days of the ten-day week (see [Table 1](#)). In Shang times a dead ancestor’s name was tabu (unless the ancestor was from a very remote period), and one of the stems was used as an identifier.

The details of this sacrificial system are not completely understood, though K-C Chang discusses them in *Shang civilization* pp 165–88. Shang sovereigns were given two-syllable names. The first syllable was a generic such as *zu* ‘ancestor’, *da* ‘great one’ or *wu* ‘warrior’; and the second was one of the ten stems. The penultimate Shang king was known posthumously as Diyi (see 11:5 and 54:5), *di* meaning ‘ruler’ and *yi* meaning ‘stem 2’. His son, however, referred to him as Fuyi, ‘my father of stem 2’. *Ganfu* ‘stem father’, used here in Lines Base, 3 and 5, means ‘forefather of such-and-such stem’.

It is not clear how the stem character for each king was chosen. Waley thought, as others did when he wrote in 1933, that the stem character indicated the day of the week on which the ancestor was born, but it is now thought that stems were allotted according to a ritual system reflecting the stem days of sacrificial routines.

Axel Schuessler suggests a different understanding of *gan* (D188). He takes it as a verb meaning ‘to straighten out like a post’. He further suggests that *gu* is a loan character for *gu* (Z1602) meaning ‘to handle, carry out’ or ‘affairs’ (D204; see [Diagram 12](#)) – partly because the character used for it in the Mawangdui manuscript is yet another loan, *ge* ‘individual’ or ‘one object’ with the bamboo radical. He has not found *gan* or its partner *zhi* ‘branch’ (see page 20) used as calendrical terms elsewhere in Early Zhou writings. This leads him to translate

the first oracle as ‘straightening out the way his father handles affairs’, with similar alterations in lines 2, 3 and 5. See also the note to Line 4 below.

(3) Women ancestors seem to be as important as male ancestors.

(4) Kunst (R275) takes the second character in this oracle, *yu* ‘abundant’ or ‘indulgent’, as a loan character for *yu* ‘to bathe’ (see [Diagram 13](#)), bringing the oracle into harmony with the rest of the ‘mildew’ quintet by connecting it with ancestor worship and a day of the ten-day week.

A myth declared that there were originally ten suns, identified with ten ravens living in the branches of a 100-mile-high mulberry tree (Fusang) that grew in the Warm Water Valley (Tanggu or Wenyuangu) in the East. On each day of the ten-day week one of these suns rose in order to cross the sky, having first been bathed in the warm water pool by their mother, Xihe.

There may be a legacy from Shang in this oracle. Shang had a typical north-east Asian myth telling that the royal family was descended from a mysterious avian progenitor: Dijun, the raven father of the ten suns, and therefore of the one sun that eventually survived. The name of Wang Hai (see page 29 and Translation Note 56:top) was often written with a drawing of a bird above it. The oracle may refer to this high ancestor. Or it may refer to the bathed sun of a particular day (probably the day when divination took place), meaning the ancestor whose cult was connected with a day bearing the same denary title. See also Granet *Danses et légendes* 435ff.

More information on Shang and the sun myth can be found in Sarah Allan ‘Sons of the sun: myth and totemism in early China’ *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 44 (London 1981) pp 290–326. The same article is reprinted in *The shape of the turtle* (1991 see Note II.1), as is also Sarah Allan’s paper ‘Art and meaning’ in Roderick Whitfield ed. *The problem of meaning in early Chinese ritual bronzes* (1993) pages 9–32. See also Anne Birrell *Chinese mythology* (1993) page 234.

Schuessler’s translation of this oracle is ‘be indulgent with the way your father handles affairs.’

(5) *Yu* means laudatory speech.

(Top) The Mawangdui manuscript adds the prognostic DISASTROUS.

Hexagrams 19 and 20

Hexagrams 19 and 20 have an incremental structure in the line statements, and both deal with sacrifice.

(19) **keening**

Wen Yiduo (W22–24) suggests that these are rain omens. This is attractive, especially in view of the calendar hint in the hexagram statement. Yet Richard Kunst's reading of *lin* in the well attested meaning of 'ceremonial wailing' or 'funeral keening' makes good sense. Chinese keening has always been dramatically noisy.

(Hexagram statement) For the 'four qualities' see page xx.

(Base and 2) Literally 'salty keening', reading the first character as the protograph of *xian*, 'briny'.

(3) *Gan* 'sweet' also means 'enough', as in Ode 62:

Oh for rain! Oh for rain!
The sun scorches and burns.
I think longingly of my lord:
My heart has had enough; my head aches.

(5) *Zhi* 'know' also means 'administer' in the Zuo Commentary (Xiang 26:3, Legge 519 col15/524b). The *yi* sacrifice was made to the god of the soil when an army set out on a campaign, and was possibly the occasion when the drums were smeared with sacrificial blood. (Maspero *China in antiquity* p 100) (20) **observing** (Hexagram statement) The first word, *guan*, apparently means 'washing the hands', but Gao (G219) gives reasons for thinking that here it means 'libation'. Sacrificial libation is a well attested practice.

Tall prisoners would make worthy sacrifices.

(Base) Observing the behaviour of children for omens may simply mean noting their games and songs, which in East Asia were often thought to have been mysteriously inspired. Waley (A133–4) thought the reference might be to the behaviour and cries of boys during puberty rites, but he adduced no evidence from the Chinese cultural sphere to support this suggestion.

(2) Observing by peeping may be a reference to brief sighting of a proposed spouse during the procedures of an arranged marriage – perhaps by the woman through a screen.

(4) *Guang* may be translated either 'glory' or 'light'. Waley (A133) suggests that here it refers to comets, shooting stars, eclipses and the like. Gao (G220) thinks 'light' was a sobriquet for the presence of a ruler at an audience.

The line translated 'Favourable for those the king himself invites' might mean simply 'Favourable for having audience with the king,' but perhaps means

‘Favourable for sacrifice for the king.’ The word *bin* ‘guest’ is also the name of a sacrifice mentioned in oracle bones. See Kidder Smith ‘*Zhouyi* interpretation from accounts in the *Zuozhuan*’ *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 49:2 (1989) page 431 n23; and Sarah Allan *The shape of the turtle*(1991) page 56.

Hexagrams 21 and 22

Do the mutilations in Hexagram 21 and the adornments in Hexagram 22 make this a contrasting pair? Each has a clearly incremental pattern.

(21) **biting**

Most of the eating involved would have been in sacrificial, especially ancestral, rites. Three different kinds of preserved meat are mentioned. The translations given are derived from Waley (A129) and Gao (G221–3).

(4) Ham means meat cured on the bone. The arrowhead suggests that the meat came from a beast killed during a hunt.

(5) Gao thinks that golden bronze was considered especially dangerous to swallow. Finding a piece in one’s food would be equivalent to being saved from death (G223).

(Top) ‘Shouldering’ (*he*) means receiving a load. The same word is used of receiving blessings in 26:top. The *cangue* was a heavy plank of wood with a hole near one end, through which the neck of a criminal could be inserted. He could walk only if he could bear the weight of the plank in his hands.

(22) **bedight**

A bridegroom comes to fetch his betrothed bride. There are several accounts of marriage cavalcades in the Odes, including:

The bride goes to her new home,
escorted by a hundred carriages. 12.1, 2 and 3

□

You consulted tortoise and yarrow,
and found no omens of risk.
Then you came with carriages
to take away me and my dowry. 58.2

Driving horses **pak-pak*,

bamboo screens and red leather –
the road to Lu is easy:
the bride from Qi leaves at dusk.

Four black horses, well groomed,
harness tossing many tassels –
the road to Lu is easy:
the bride from Qi goes happily.

The river Wen is swollen,
the escort completely surrounds her –
the road to Lu is easy:
the bride from Qi goes like a bird.

The River Wen flows full,
the escort is a great band –
the road to Lu is easy:
the bride from Qi goes to pleasure.

105

A further example from the Odes will be found in the notes to Hexagram 54.

□

In Hexagram 22 a single rhyme is used in Chinese throughout the rhymed parts of Lines 2 and 3 and the bride-fetching couplet of Line 4.

(Tag) Alternative translations might be ‘dressed’ or ‘adorned’.

(3) Gao thinks the subject of Line 3 is that of Line 2, the beard. He points out that topics are carried over in this way for other hexagrams, instancing the dragon of 1:base as the topic of 1:2 and 1:4; and the pig of 33:base as the topic of 33:2. He takes the glossy or moist sheen to be due to raindrops or getting wet with rain (G225). Rain is a good omen in 38:top, 43:3 and 50:3.

(4) ‘Plumed’ may refer either to feather ornaments on the harness, or to the horses’ fetlocks and, more likely, their manes. Wen Yiduo would have it that the plumes invoked the colour of the ‘White Pheasant’ (W19), the Silver Pheasant *Lophura nycthemera*, whose remains have been found on Shang sites.

The verse about fetching (or abducting) a bride occurs also in 3:2 and 38:top. For the custom, see the introductory note to this hexagram.

(5) The garden (a park or park-like area that might well contain knolls) sets the scene in a high social stratum. This poses questions about the paucity of the betrothal gifts. Bolts of silk were used as gifts or as currency. The practice has

survived, as in the wedding ceremonies of the last Emperor, Puyi, in 1922. (See Reginald F Johnston *Twilight in the Forbidden City* 1934 pages 305–7.) (Top) This is usually taken to mean that plain white is the perfection of beauty – an idea that certainly accorded with later ideals. Gao (G227), however, refers it to Analects 3:8, where Confucius speaks of a plain white ground as a foundation for decoration, making this oracle mean ‘White for the addition of ornament’. This may be in tune with Zhou culture, but none of the characters used here appears in the Analects passage. There is, of course, no hint of the bridal white of western weddings, which is of nineteenth-century origin and has no symbolic meaning. Nor is the later Chinese use of white as a colour of mourning relevant here, for it derives from the undyed garments required by the ritual classics.

Hexagrams 23 and 24

Incremental repetition features in both these hexagrams.

(23) **flaying**

A highly inauspicious hexagram.

(Tag) *Bo* ‘flaying’ or ‘stripping’. Some translators have been deterred by this tag, because it appears to take *chuang* ‘a bed’ as direct object. Kunst proposes taking the tag literally and looking for a loan character in the grammatical object (see note to the base line). A reference to sacrificial procedures such as are mentioned in Ode 209:2 (see above, note to Hexagram 14.4) then becomes clear.

(Base) Kunst proposes that the character *chuang* ‘bed’ is a loan for *zang* ‘ewe’ (R284: see [Diagram 13](#)).

Gao (G227) thinks the oracles refer to a man in bed with a bad foot (Base), knee (Line 2), unnamed joint (Line 3) or shoulder joint (Line 4); and to dreams as bad omens (Base and Line 2).

(5) Dried fish are strung together one beside the other, belly to back, and heads all to one side, using straw twists to hold them; or they are pierced through the gills and threaded on a string. Gao says this symbolizes the organizing of palace women, who were called to the king in prescribed order.

Kunst emends *yi* ‘employ’ to *shi* ‘eat’ and renders as ‘strung-together fish are eaten’.

(Top) *Shuoguo* ‘splendid fruit’ survives colloquially as meaning ‘great achievements’; and as a literary reference for one outstanding man among many who are inferior. The original oracle probably means fruit left on a tree.

The word translated ‘stripped’ in the indication is the tag, otherwise translated as ‘flaying’.

(24) **returning**

(Hexagram statement) ‘Seven’ here means ‘between five and ten’, as in 63:2 (G230; and see page xx). The time of return might be divined before or during a journey.

(Base) Following Kunst’s emendation, reading *qi* ‘harm’ (D473 No 18) for the closely similar *qi* ‘earth spirit’ (D473 No 17) or *zhi* ‘only’ (D832 No 6; K867g, i).

(3) Gao Heng (G230) argued that the root meaning of this oracle was ‘returning from the brink of water’; but it also implied the frown of consternation that comes on the face of one startled to find himself on such a brink. The meaning is the converse of the contentment in Line 2.

(5) Kunst (R287) translates this oracle as ‘Return from a raid to take captives.’

Hexagrams 25 and 26

Both sets of statements contain references to domestic animals and farming.

(25) **unexpected**

(Tag) *Wu* is a negator and *wang* means ‘reckless’ or ‘disorderly’, hence Gao takes *wuwang* to mean ‘not out of order’ or ‘fitting, appropriate’; but this is somewhat strained. Waley, from his interpretation of Line 3, thought *Wuwang* was the name of a disease demon. I have followed Kunst and others in taking *wang* as a loan character for *wang* ‘expect’.

(Hexagram statement) For the ‘four qualities’ see page 126.

(2) The balanced jingle about farming the fields may be an ancient rhyme and is probably proverbial, indicating either good results for little effort or success because of good luck.

(3) The oracle in prose reads: ‘Unexpected disaster! Someone tethered an ox. A passer-by’s gain, a resident’s disaster.’ The rhyming is unsophisticated. *Zai* ‘disaster’ has the fire radical, but does not refer only to fires.

Waley (A131) thought this oracle dealt with a ritual in which an ox was used as a scapegoat, because he found evidence of such a practice in the ‘Yueling’ section of *Liji*. The demon was tied to an ox that took the disease from the settlement and gave it to passers-by. According to Gao’s interpretation (G232),

the disaster is a house fire. The tied ox naturally (*wuwang*) runs away, to the benefit of its finder, while the villager who owns it suffers loss.

(5) Waley took this oracle to mean no medicine could be applied to the disease caused by the *wuwang* demon.

(26) farming: major

(Tag) See note to Hexagram 9, the other ‘farming’ tag. In Hexagram 26 three of the six lines (3, 4 and 5) refer to domestic animals. The traditional ‘Six Domestic Animals’ of China are horse, ox, pig, dog, sheep (or goat) and fowl. They were the species used in sacrifices; but dogs and fowls are not mentioned in *Zhouyi*.

(Base) Wen Yiduo suggests the reading ‘offer sacrifice’ (W51) in the indication. The word in question is *ji* ‘self’ which makes little sense. It is a very simple character, closely resembling two others: *yi* ‘to stop, desist’ (favoured by most translators) and *si* ‘to offer sacrifice’. (See [Diagram 14](#).) (2) Compare 9:3.

(3) Literally, ‘Fine horse (or horses) pursue(s).’ This oracle rhymes with that of Line 2, and each oracle consists of three characters.

The second line of the indication can be read to mean ‘Going so far as to make a laager with chariots.’ Wen Yiduo (W39) takes the first character *yue* ‘saying’ to be a mistaken copying of the remarkably similar *ri* ‘daily’ (see [Diagram 14](#)) – indeed *ri* occurs as a textual variant here: both characters are composed of the same strokes and shape, drawn with different proportions – but in Old Chinese *yue* is believed by some to be a verbal prefix meaning ‘go so far as to’. R107 annotates the discussion.

Gao Heng (G234) says *yue* is miswritten for the very similar *si* ‘four’, itself a short form for *si* meaning ‘a team of four horses’. (See [Diagram 13](#).) The sentence about chariots then means ‘The horses are well-trained, the chariot superb.’

(4) A hornboard or thwart was bound across an ox’s budding horns to show it was intended as a sacrificial victim, perhaps also to protect the horns and restrain the animal. Ode 300.4 refers to the practice – though with a different word – when describing the preparations for the autumn harvest sacrifice called *chang*:

In summer we tie horn-thwarts

On white bulls and on red ...

Kunst identifies a rhyme with Lines 2 and 3; but Line 4 has four characters and different subject matter. I suspect the rhyme is fortuitous.

(5) Tusks: a variant reading of *ya* ‘tusk’ is *hu* ‘overlap’, also meaning ‘to pen in’, using piles of spiny plants (caltrops), to contain the boar. (G235) (Top) One of

three mentions in *Zhouyi* of Heaven as a religious concept. The other two are in Hexagram 14. See Notes 14:3 and 14:top. The oracle also occurs twice as a formula in Ode 304.4 and 5, though with two different words for 'grace', where divine blessings on Tang, founder of the Shang dynasty, are recorded. The word translated 'grace' in 26:top is *qu* (**gwjag*). It means 'course' or 'way' and is taken as a loan for *hu* (**gag*) meaning 'blessings'. Kunst identifies a rhyme with Line 5.

Hexagrams 27 and 28

(27) **molars**

(Tag) This seems to refer to jawbones of sacrificed animals hung in a temple and examined for divination in preference to tortoiseshells. Kunst (R94) points to some evidence for this practice in primitive China. Waley (A134) translated the word as 'pendulous jaw' and explained it as meaning 'dewlap' – presumably of a live sacrificial bull under observation before being slaughtered. Wen Yiduo makes best sense by letting the text concentrate on the condition of the teeth (W60). Molars are conspicuous in old jawbones and their condition may have had mantic significance.

(2) If the crowns ('hillocks') of the wisdom teeth are not worn down, the individual is young.

(4) For 'wants so much and so much' Schuessler gives 'its desire is persistent' (D787).

(28) **passing: major**

(Tag) *Guo* 'passing' occurs in the Top Line of this hexagram. Compare Hexagram 62.

(Base) Mats were used in ceremonies and sacrifices to wrap offerings, sometimes, but not always, by the under-privileged. The earth used to induct local lords of fiefdoms was wrapped in white grass matting. See also Note 11:base. White grass also occurs in 11:base and 12:base.

Ode 23, a poem about a wronged girl, begins with a dead deer wrapped in white grass. Both girl and deer are regarded as precious:

A dead doe lies in the wilds,
wrapped in white grasses.
The girl responded to springtime,
some lucky lad seduced her.

There are shrubby oaks in the woods;
a dead doe lies in the wilds
bound in white grass.
There is a girl like jade.

Be slow! Be gentle!
Do not touch my handkerchief!
Do not make the dogs bark!

(4) A striking case of ambivalent omens. The upward movement of the warped beam seems auspicious; but if it goes too far, the roof collapses.

For *ta* meaning 'unexpected calamity' see Note 8:base.
(Top) Compare 63:Top and 64:Top.

Hexagrams 29 and 30

In spite of the auspicious lines in Hexagram 30 this is a sombre pair. If 29 is seen as being about a grave, the oriole in 30 recalls Ode 131 about sacrificing the living in Duke Mu of Qin's grave at his funeral in 621 BC, while orioles were singing:

Crosswise fly the orioles,
settling in the jujube trees.
Who follows Duke Mu?
The man is Ziju Yanxi,
the best in a hundred.
As he nears the grave,
he trembles with fear.
Bright Heaven destroys our best men.
Could he be redeemed,
he is worth a hundred others.

(29) **pit**

One of the most consistently inauspicious hexagrams.

(Tag) The single-character tag, *kan*, is generally used; but the 1st and 3rd Wings use a two-character tag: *xikan*, which is simply the first oracle of the hexagram, 'double pit' or 'pit within a pit'. Elsewhere in the Ten Wings the single-character tag is used. On the Han stone tablets the single-character appears in the form of a loan *kan* 'discontented', while the Mawangdui manuscript has,

as so often, an elaborate substitute *xigan*.

Kan, the received tag character, has become the name of the trigram reduplicated to form the hexagram.

Waley (A135) saw Hexagram 29 as referring to religious rites, such as Shang and Zhou sacrifices to the moon, performed in a pit or hollow, and described in the 'Jiyi' section of *Liji*. Wen Yiduo saw the pit as a dungeon for prisoners, which certainly makes an intelligible reading. (W36) The pit could even be a grave, originally referring to sacrifices of the living for the dead at royal funerals. Kunst sees it as a pitfall or trap.

The translation 'bind them' follows Gao Heng's reading. He takes *xin* 'heart' as a mistake for *zhi* 'them' (see [Diagram 14](#)), meaning that the tied captives will be used as sacrificial victims (G242). Kunst takes the received text at face value and says 'Let the hearts be what we offer ...' See also 42:5 and note.

(Base) Double pits were used for royal graves. For prisons too, they would be more effective than single pits.

(2) The translation serves the rhyme. The text says, literally: 'Pit has sheer sides.'

(3) The oracle has a single rhyme-character and a reduplicated word, *kan-kan*, which is perhaps purely onomatopoeic, 'thudding'. More literally the oracle reads: 'Coming *kan-kan*; steep and deep; into the pit.'

(4) Things made of clay or earthenware appear also in 8:base and 30:3. In 8:base the same word occurs in relation to captives who are likely to be sacrificial victims.

Gao Heng (G243) relates the oracle to Ode 15, in which a dutiful bride sets offerings of boiled water-plants outside the window of the ancestral shrine.

(5) 'Stilled'; literally, 'placated'. The translation follows Kunst. Gao Heng gives, in the Huangs' version: 'The pit you cannot fill, even by levelling a hill.'

(Top) There may be some omen quality about the triple braid and the black cord. Omens in plying strands are known in other parts of the world.

Wen Yiduo sees thorns as a metaphor for imprisonment (W36). Gao Heng also takes this oracle as referring to imprisonment (G242).

The final verb 'be found' literally means 'to receive'. What is received depends on the understanding of the rest of the oracle. It may be a blessing, or it may be release from prison. The prognostic envisages a sorry plight of some duration.

(30) **oriole**

(Tag) *Li*, which has become the name of the trigram reduplicated in this hexagram, is a character for 'oriole'. Gao Heng says it means a yellow bird, which suggests an oriole. This is not the familiar Golden Oriole *Oriolus oriolus*, but the more strikingly marked, and no less beautiful, north-east-Asian species, the Black-naped Oriole *Oriolus chinensis*.

The oriole is a commonplace image in the Book of Odes, though it is there called by two other names, of which *li* is an equivalent (*Z youji* 159). These names are discussed in detail in C H Wang *The bell and the drum* (1974) pp 114–18. In the Odes the oriole's mellow song is often associated with tragedy, sadness, and sorrow. This suggests that orioles, for all the charm of their bright yellow plumage, with which no other bird in China can compare, could be birds of sad omen as well as of springtime joy. Sometimes the contrast seems to emphasize the sadness, as in Ode 131, quoted above at Hexagrams 29 and 30.

The spring days are lengthening,
plants and trees burgeoning.
Orioles sing together,
people are gathering mountain herbs.
We have many prisoners for the question,
and we are returning home ...

(The question was put before ritual beheading.) 168.6

□

Orioles, orioles,
do not congregate in the oaks,
do not eat our millet.
Oh! the people here,
I cannot stay among them!
I must go back, go home,
to see the elders of my clan.

187.3

□

And complaint about military service:

Pretty are the orioles
that settle on the hillside.
The road is so long –
we cannot go on.
Give us drink, give us food,

urge us, encourage us –
order those bag wagons:
tell them to carry us.

230



In the Mawangdui manuscript the tag of Hexagram 30 is given as *luo* ‘net’, which is a loan for *li*. The Great Treatise, in its brief essay on the history of civilization, somewhat fancifully explains the lines of Hexagram 30 as resembling a net or basket (see page 421), and the Old Chinese pronunciation of the two words was closely similar (*li* was **lja*, *luo* was **la*).

(Hexagram statement) Gao Heng (G246) makes the point that cows were used for breeding sacrificial bulls and other oxen.

(Base) Wen Yiduo thought that ‘on a tiger’s tail’ had got dropped from this oracle. See Hexagram 10.

(3) The old folk want or require drumming and singing. An earthenware drum (that is, a resounding ceramic object) figures in Ode 136. See Note 53:top. Percussion instruments of clay remain in Confucian temple orchestras to this day.

(Top) See Note 17:5. A triumph means a victory celebration. The vocabulary echoes Ode 168.6, where orioles sing while war captives are being brought for questioning and execution (see the note on the tag of this hexagram), and Ode 178.4, where a great military triumph is described.

Fei is understood as ‘putting forth’ (see Note 14:4). Kunst takes it as a negative and says ‘The catch was not the enemy.’

Hexagrams 31 and 32

(31) **chopping**

(Tag) Waley (A123) took *xian* ‘all’ as a short form of *gan* meaning ‘feeling’ as in ‘feeling in my bones’. He translated line 4 as ‘If you fidget and can’t keep still, it means a friend is following your thoughts.’ He was perhaps over-enthusiastic about finding proverbs in *Zhouyi*. Kunst takes *xian* as a loan character for *kan* meaning ‘chopping’ (see [Diagram 13](#)). The two words were near homonyms in Old Chinese. Gao Heng (G249) gives a another explanation, but he also gives a sacrificial sense. The reference must be to sacrificial victims, presumably human. See Translation Note 52:tag.

The rising pattern of the theme resembles that of Hexagram 52, except for different placing of the non-thematic oracle (Notes 31:4 and 52:top).

(3) The character read *sui* ‘marrow’, at Gao Heng’s suggestion, appears in the received text as *sui* ‘to follow’. Compare 52:2.

(32) **fixing**

(Tag) Waley (A136–7) suggested that the character *heng* refers to a rite, possibly very simple, for fixing potential good luck learned from an omen (see Note 5:base). The idea of fixing your luck is found in the superstitions of many countries, including Britain. In the 1890s a wise woman told a Cornish bridegroom that to marry a girl called Margaret was lucky, but that to fix the luck he should draw a daisy three times through the ring, saying each time: ‘Saint Margareta or her knobs (*ora pro nobis*).’ (Arthur Norway *Highways and byways in Devon and Cornwall* 1897 page 331.) Sometimes a circle was drawn on the ground about the omen-object or the lucky place or person.

Gao Heng (G252) and Kunst (R302–3) agree that the meaning includes some sense of perpetuation, but do not accept Waley’s ritual content. There is possibly some punning or deliberate ambiguity involving fixity of purpose or constancy as a personal characteristic as well as fixing of luck in divination. See the Note to Line 3.

(Base) This obscure oracle consists of two words; *jun heng*. *Jun* means ‘deep’, ‘profound’ or ‘ladling out’, and *heng* is the tag character. The sense of ‘firm (or profound) fixing’ may be applicable to the prognostic ‘Augury of disaster’. Kunst reads it as *Xun*, a place famous for deep water. His translation suggests that the place-name had oracular force because of its danger. (*Xun* is also a place in Ode 53 where an important guest or suitor is awaited.) A further possibility is that the character is a loan for *jun* ‘the three-legged crow that was father of the sunbirds’ (See Note 18:4). This *Jun* or *Dijun* was husband of *Xihe* and totemic progenitor of the Shang kings. His name, if it is intended here, would have a ritual significance that is not clear.

Later tradition, post-Han, understands *jun* to mean ‘deeply’, implying desire for perpetuation.

(3) The word *de* ‘power’ is commonly translated ‘virtue’. It means virtue in the sense of potential or power. Cf Hexagram 16:5.

This oracle occurs in *Analects* xiii 22. The meaning accepted by Waley (*Analects* 1937 page 177 and A 136–7) – though not all scholars agree with him – is:

Men of the South have a saying: ‘A man without fixity will not succeed as a

shaman-healer.’ How right! ‘*Not fixing the power of an augury will lead to failure.*’ The Master commented on this by saying ‘Simply reading omens is not enough.’

A parallel passage in *Liji* (Section Ziyi, last paragraph) says:

The Master said: ‘A man without fixity will not succeed as a yarrow-wand diviner,’

and continues with a discussion of the principle, finishing with a direct quotation of this oracle, cited as coming from *Zhouyi*.

Although the point is not made explicitly in the *Analects* passage, it is likely that the two sayings, one about the man without fixity and the other about not fixing the luck, were both commonplaces. The variant ‘yarrow-wand diviner’ in *Liji* was perhaps induced by the connection with *Zhouyi*.

The appearance of the oracle in both places proves nothing about the relation between *Zhouyi* and the *Analects*. It could have been a popular saying known both to Confucius and to the compiler of the oracles; or it could have been added to one or both books in the process of editing, either as a direct quotation from the other book or from the store of common sayings.

Raymond Dawson in *Confucius: the Analects* page 98 accepts that *Zhouyi* is the source of this saying. Like other translators of the *Analects*, he takes the saying to mean ‘Lack of constancy in virtue may lead to shame.’ On Confucius, see also pages 33–4 in [Chapter 2](#).

For this oracle Kunst (R303) gives ‘They have a constant catch. In some cases present an offering of prepared delicacies.’

(4) The hunt may be a military metaphor. See Note 7:5.

(5) Instead of ‘fixing the power of an augury’, Kunst has ‘They do not have a constant catch’. See Note 32:3 above.

Hexagrams 33 and 34

Hexagram 33 is about pigs; Hexagram 34 is chiefly concerned with sheep or goats.

(33) pig

(Tag) In the received text the tag character is *dun* ‘withdraw’. This is taken to be a loan for *tun* ‘young pig’ (G254; see [Diagram 14](#)). The precise meaning of *tun* is hard to discover. It probably means a pig in its prime, rather than a piglet.

The movements of pigs, whether wild or domesticated, but more probably the latter, seem to have provided common omens. In view of their continuous activity and their herd instinct, this is not surprising. Ode 232.3 gives an example of the activity of pigs being taken to predict heavy rainfall:

There are pigs with white hoofs,
A whole herd wading through water;
The moon is held in the Hyades:
There will be heavy rain.

(1) The tail is here the beginning of what might be an incremental repetition formula; but the development through the six lines is not anatomical. It seems to be in the main qualitative.

(2) The pig is tethered by one foot and the tether is very strong.

(4) Gao (G255) says ‘a gift of ham’.

(5) Possibly a pig for sacrifice at a triumph. See Note 17:5. It is hard to resist the impression that pigs, though on the small side, were important for high-grade sacrifices because they tasted good.

(Top) Gao (G256) comments that such a pig was good for sacrifice or for preparing gifts of meat for superiors.

(34) **big injury**

The core of these oracles relates to a ram or goat forcing its way through a fence, possibly a barrier of piled thorn branches.

(Tag) *Da qiang*. The received text has *da zhuang* ‘big, strong’. Gao (G256), with lengthy philological argument, and Kunst (R306) take it as a loan for ‘injury’, though they apply it differently (see [Diagram 13](#)).

(2) This line has no oracle.

(3) ‘For princes not at all’ is Kunst’s understanding; Gao (257) prefers ‘For princes, worry.’ Gao thinks the oracles of 3 and 4 belong together. Wen Yiduo sees them as complementary. Another possibility is: ‘The little man uses his strength, the prince uses his wits.’ (D629) (4) Wen Yiduo comments on the grammar of this oracle. (W20)

Reference to rams in fences may reflect a reading of omens by those who kept sheep in an agricultural society; but the images are more likely to relate to sheep chosen for sacrifices.

Carriage and chariot wheel and axle omens occur also in 9:3, 26:2 and 44:base. Disorder or damage in a valuable vehicle, especially when preparing for war,

would naturally be read as ominous.

(5) This refers to one of the five historical anecdotes identified by Gu Jiegang in his seminal *Gushibian* article (see page 29 and Translation Note 56:top). Wang Hai is a misty figure, a supposed ancestor of the royal house of Shang, who took his herds to pasture in Youyi (otherwise Yi). He was murdered there, either because he committed adultery with the local chieftain's wife, or because of a dispute over grazing grounds. He was later treated as a culture hero, the originator of cattle-breeding. See *Chuci* 'Tianwen' 109–20 (H52); Sarah Allan *The shape of the turtle* pages 53–5; and Anne Birrell *Chinese mythology* pages 105–8. In this line statement the herds are described as sheep instead of the more usual cattle, perhaps to harmonize with the other oracles.

Hexagrams 35 and 36

(35) advancing

(Tag) Waley (A137–8) suggests that *jin*, which is usually translated 'advancing', might mean 'penetrating' or 'inserting' and be concerned with mating horses (see the Hexagram Statement).

Wen Yiduo thinks *jin* refers to demeanour at ancestral rites.

(Hexagram statement) The Marquis of Kang (Kanghou) was Feng, younger brother of King Wu, the first Zhou ruler. No record of this title for him was known until the discovery of it from a bronze inscription on the Kanghou *ding* by Gu Jiegang in the 1920s (see page 30). Several Kanghou bronzes are known.

There was great interest in horse-breeding in Zhou times (see page 11) and mating them as frequently as suggested is quite possible.

(Base) The word *hui* 'troubles' is not in the received text, but occurs in the Mawangdui manuscript. *Hui wang* 'troubles disappear' occurs in 19 other places (such as 31:4, 49:4, 57:5 and 64:4).

(2) In the oracle, Gao Heng reads *chou* 'grieving' as a loan for *qiu* 'forcefully'.

Waley (A138) pointed out that the word *jie* in the observation was interpreted by later commentators as 'great', like many other ritual words they could not understand. He believed the word meant 'bordered' or 'contained'. This would have been a word from magic practice, possibly related to the idea of 'fixing' a good augury, as in Hexagram 16.5, where the word *heng* (for which see note 32:3) is applied to an illness. *Jie* also occurs, applied to an illness, in Hexagram 58:4.

If the mother of the Marquis of Kang is the lady intended, she may have been

the Shang princess mentioned in Hexagram 54:5; and she may have persuaded his brother, King Wu, to give the horses to the Marquis.

(3) *Yun*, translated here as ‘loyal’, commonly occurs in oracle-bone inscriptions recording predictions that have been fulfilled (see Keightley *Sources of Shang history* 118 n122). See also 46:base.

Zhong ‘the people’ probably means the common folk who served as labourers and soldiers (D847). Kunst (R309) therefore takes the oracle to mean ‘For the corps, as predicted, troubles went away.’

(4) Nothing illustrates the imprecision of Old Chinese words for animals (see page xx) better than *shishu*, the animal mentioned here. It has been identified as marmot (Legge), squirrel (Blofeld), vole (Kunst), hamster (Da Liu, Kwok Manho, Wilhelm/Baynes), mouse (Huang), big rat (Whincup) and flying squirrel (Lynn, following Kong Yingda). In some modern Chinese dictionaries the first character (*shi*) is indeed used for the flying squirrels of the subtropical south. ‘Marmot’, an animal of the open steppe, and ‘squirrel’ are almost certainly wrong. Wen Yiduo suggests that *shi* is miswritten for *shuo*, meaning ‘large’, making the expression the same as that in Ode 113, which is addressed to rodents that spoiled the grain harvest:

Rats, rats,

Do not eat our millet.

Since *shuo* and *shi* may well have been homonyms in Old Chinese, and the characters resemble each other fairly closely, this is a reasonable suggestion; yet Waley’s translation of Ode 113, ‘big rats’, may be misleading. The large rats of modern Eurasia did not live in China during the Bronze Age. Karlgren (*The Book of Odes* 1950 page 76 note C) merely says ‘some kind of rodent’. I choose ‘mouse’ as being an acceptable generic term, different from the animal in Hexagram 15. Wen Yiduo goes on to suggest that the character for ‘advancing’ here implies that the rodent stood on its hind legs with its forepaws crossed, a stance that would be disrespectful in a man coming before a senior or an ancestor, and therefore ominous. (W52) Gao Heng (G262) sees this, like the previous oracles, as a simile for military advance. Danger lies in timidity and indecision.

(Top) The image is of attack, from fighting rams or bulls. The word used for ‘city’ is *yi*, not *cheng* meaning ‘walled place’.

(36) crying pheasant

(Tag) *Mingyi* has traditionally been taken to mean ‘brightness dimmed’, but the

emendation to *mingzhi* ‘crying pheasant’ is now generally accepted by scholars. Li Jingchi in his famous article in *Gushibian* 1931 showed that the word meant a bird. Gao Heng later showed that the bird must be a pheasant (G263). For the development of the ‘brightness dimmed’ idea see the Note on the Top Line and the *Tuanzhuan* entry on page 378.

(Base) The image or omen of a pheasant slowly flapping its wings and crying occurs in Ode 33.1 and 2, where the singer is a brokenhearted lover:

The cock pheasant in flight
Slowly flaps his wings ...

The cock pheasant in flight
Lifts and lowers his voice ...

Other ominous pheasant cries occur in Ode 197.5:

A pheasant calls at dawn
Still seeking its mate ...

More pertinently, in the Book of Documents (section ‘*Gaozong rongri*’), a pheasant appearing and calling at a royal sacrifice is taken as an indication that the sacrifice has been incorrectly performed. See also 61: top.

The Mawangdui text has the character for ‘left side’ inserted before ‘wing’. This has either been carried over from the wounded left thigh in the following oracle (see note on Line 2), or affected by a line in Ode 216.2, where the mandarin duck ‘folds (or, perhaps, stretches) its left wing’ in a verbally similar sentence.

‘Those in charge’: *zhuren* literally ‘the host(s)’.

(2) There is a legend that when a black bird alighted on the yoke of his chariot, King Mu of Zhou’s driver struck it with the whip, the chariot overturned, and the king was wounded in the left thigh. (S225) The same gelding omen appears in 59:base.

(3) In the Mawangdui manuscript the *yi* in *mingyi* at the beginning of this oracle is repeated. The translation follows the Mawangdui text, taking the second *yi* as meaning ‘wounded (shot)’.

The southern hunt may have been a ceremonial hunt after a battle, or a sobriquet for the battle itself. Edward Shaughnessy suggests it may refer to a disastrous expedition southward in which King Zhao of Zhou was killed, probably in 948 BC. (S227). The ‘headman of the band’ would then be the king. This story is mentioned in *Chuci* (H 53, where, however, the word for pheasant is

replaced by one meaning ox or buffalo).

Gao Heng (G265) suggests different emendations, in some ways more attractive. He believes that *fei* 'to fly' has dropped out after the particle *yu*, and that *shou* 'head' is a short form for *dao* 'road' (see [Diagram 14](#)); rhyme is of no significance, and the oracle means 'The crying pheasant takes flight. The southern hunt (gets lost in chasing it but) finds the high road. Augury of no progress in sickness.'

(5) 'Jizi', Viscount Ji, was a minister of the last Shang king. Though he suffered for remonstrating against the king's wickedness, he survived till the dynasty fell. Unable as a loyal subject of Shang to do homage to the Zhou king, he went with his followers to settle at P'yōngyang, in northwest Korea (capital of the twentieth-century communist republic). Koreans pronounce his name as Kija. His admonition of the Shang king is likened to the warning cry of a pheasant. His story is known from various sources, including later parts of the Book of Documents (*Wucheng* 9; *Hongfan* 1–3) and *Shiji* (Books 3 and 4).

(Top) Where the present text literally means 'No light in the gloom,' Gao Heng (G266) understands this oracle to mean: 'It stops crying. Trouble.' He emends *ming* 'light' to read *ming* 'crying', as in the other lines; and *hui* 'gloom' to *hui* 'trouble', the frequently used prognostic (see page 134).

The last word in the present text is *di* 'earth'. Gao believes this is an error for *yuan* 'deep water' and cites evidence in *Liji* and *Yi Zhoushu* showing that this emendation gives a stock rhyming couplet referring to the legend that the pheasant dives into water at midwinter and becomes a mollusc. In Hexagram 1:base there is reason to believe that stars hidden below the horizon were thought to be hidden under the water. This may explain the use of *di* here.

Hexagrams 37 and 38

The theme of Hexagram 37 is peaceful and domestic. There is no obvious link or contrast with the oracles of Hexagram 38, which are singular in their descriptions of omens derived from (a) stars and lunar mansions (28 divisions of the celestial equator or zodiac, which were known by late Shang times); and (b) chance meetings or sightings.

(37) household

(Hexagram statement) This hexagram is almost entirely auspicious. The auguries are favourable for the life and work of women, indeed any matter that concerns

women.

(5) The king's presence is expressed by *jia* a verb meaning 'proceeding to'. The same phrase is used in hexagram statements 45, 55 and 59. The royal presence, in effect a royal ceremonial occasion, seems to be the point of the sentence. Similar phrases occur in later Western Zhou bronze inscriptions (S40).

(Top) Compare 14:5. Gao (G269), reading the loan characters differently, writes 'Be decisive in punishment.' This line is non-thematic, not conforming with the domestic theme of the tag.

(38) **espy**

Edward Shaughnessy, acting on a suggestion from Wen Yiduo, suggests, plausibly, that the line statements are about astronomical omens in the stars of the lunar mansion Yugui, which was thought to preside over executions and other dire fates. (S211–20; W48–50.) See the notes on Lines base, 3 and top. Ode 203.5–6 has a similar catalogue of constellations, including the Ox mentioned in Line 3.

The first four oracles describe chance meetings or sightings treated as omens.

The verb 'meeting' also occurs in the top line, where the constellations may be linked in as another kind of sighting omens. Five of the six are sighting omens. It is likely that juridically maimed men, mentioned in these oracles, were not uncommon in Western Zhou.

(Tag) Waley (A138) points out that the tag *kui* (**gwjed*), which is a rough pun on *gui* (**kwjed*), the 'ghosts' in the top line, means observation of omens, in this case specifically omens for *gui* (**kwjed*), the last day of the ten-day week. In Shang at least, divinations were regularly performed on that day. *Gui* was also the name of the enemies of Shang and Zhou mentioned in 63:3. Waley's whole treatment of the hexagram seems over-ingenious, perhaps because he did not identify the constellation names in the top line; but he may be right about the last day of the ten-day week.

(Base) The lost horse may refer to Tianma 'Heavenly Horse', a constellation north of the Heavenly Swine mansion that rose at the same time as Yugui, the Ghost Cart. (For these asterisms, see the note for the top line.) The 'Heavenly Horse' was invisible at regular intervals, and so might be described as lost and found again.

Lost horses also figure in Ode 31.3, a song of a soldier who had been long delayed by the loss of horses, and came home to find his wife had given up hope

of his return and remarried. Lost horses were probably a common image of distress:

There we lived, there we stayed,
there we lost the horses,
and found them again
in the woods below.

The disfigured man may have been mutilated as a punishment: the implication is that there is no bad luck in seeing such a man.

(2) The omen appears to lie in meeting an important person in an unlikely place.

(3) Niu ‘The Ox’ or Qianniu ‘Man Leading an Ox’ or ‘Led Ox’ is the lunar mansion diametrically opposite Yugui (see the top line). This Ox sets just as a star in Yugui called the ‘Cart’ is rising, so that the Ox might said to be pulling the Cart. Yugui was also called Tiansong ‘Heavenly Punisher’ and presided over punishments and executions.

Tian ‘branded’ may mean black-branded or tattooed, but may be a copyist’s error for the similar character *er* ‘shaven-headed’ (*Z yinji* 21: see [Diagram 12](#)). Wen Yiduo thought it could be an error for *wu* ‘cutting off the feet’. (See [Diagram 14](#).) All three interpretations suggest the man has been juridically punished. Since there is no evidence about a legal code in early Zhou, the matter cannot be confirmed.

(4) The received text has *yu yuan fu* ‘meet the original husband’. Wen Yiduo believed *yuan* ‘original’ was an error for *wu* ‘cutting off the feet’ (W38). This too would imply a punishment. The phrase rhymes with ‘The Fox espy’, which recurs in the top line, where it rhymes with other oracles. ‘The Fox espy’ may have been repeated by mistake. The text has *gu* ‘orphan’, which is taken as a miscopying for *hu* ‘fox’ (see [Diagram 13](#)). The Fox may mean Sirius, the Dog Star.

Gao Heng (G271), taking ‘orphan’ at face value and *yuan* as ‘great’, relates this to the Xia story mentioned in note 5:4. Shaokang, the posthumously born prince in that tale, was an orphan.

For ‘crosswise’ see note 14:base.

(Top) In this line statement, omens about constellations are mingled with indications. All six verses have the same rhyme, but the couplet about an archer may be a later insertion.

Yugui ‘Carting Ghosts’ is a lunar mansion containing the constellation western astronomy calls Cancer. South of this, in Canis Major and Puppis, is a bow and

arrow, pointed at the star Sirius, which may be what is meant by the Fox. Tianshi 'Heavenly Swine' (otherwise known as Kui) is another lunar mansion, connected with rain. The Heavenly Swine constellation appeared in early autumn, when pigs were let loose in the muddy stubble, after the harvest. This may explain the oracle about pigs in mud. (For the connection of pigs with rain omens see also the notes for Hexagram 33.) A mythical archer, the Great Yi, was described in *Chuci* as shooting at both swine and fox. (H 50 and 27) 'Meet a rainy sky' should probably be understood as 'If rain is met on the way': an omen for the auspicious prognostication.

The couplet about bride-snatching has its own rhyme, different from the other rhyme in this statement, and seems out of place here, unless bride-snatching was an autumn activity, seasonally related to the constellations mentioned. The same formula appears in 3:2 and 22:4, where its relevance is easier to recognize. See Note 22:4.

Hexagrams 39 and 40

Like the hexagram statement of Hexagram 2, these two hexagram statements both mention compass directions, though in Hexagram 40 the countering of south-west and north-east is incomplete, whether by design or accident. Nothing else in the statements links these two hexagrams as a pair. These directional omens may reflect the fact that the original home city of Zhou was to the west and south of the Shang capital; but Waley (A123–4) thought the reference was to the movement of animals, especially sacrificial victims. With regard to the order in which the cardinal points are named, it should be noted that the Chinese put South at the top of a chart.

(39) stumbling

This hexagram is singularly short of prognostications.

(Tag) Most translators render the tag as 'obstruction' or 'trouble'. Legge pointed out that it meant 'incompetency in the feet and legs, involving difficulty in walking'. Waley (A123) notes that stumbling is widely thought of as an omen, either good or bad. This is still true in East Asia. Gao (G273), however, interpreted it as 'admonishing', so that the five oracles containing it had a regular pattern, admonishing and receiving: Base 'praise'; 3 'objections'; 4 'excuses'; 5 'a gift of cowries – or a friend'; and Top 'trust'. The second oracle then becomes non-thematic.

(Base) The return is described with *yu*, a character that now usually means ‘honour’. Wen Yiduo gives reasons for regarding it as a loan for *yu* meaning ‘slowly’ or ‘at ease’. (W26) (2) ‘Royal servants’: alternatively, ‘King and servants’.

(3) Gao gives reasons from the Book of Documents (Section Dagao 7) for his translation as ‘grumbling’ or ‘objections’. Kunst says ‘coming back wobbling.’

(4) ‘Rumbling’: literally ‘in a wheeled vehicle’.

(5) The friends may be presumed to help the stumbling man.

(40) **severing**

(Tag) *Jie* means loosing, dividing, or cutting (as in butchering). Different actions are implied in the two instances occurring in the line statements (4 and 5). No linking theme is detectable in the lines.

(Hexagram Statement) By analogy with Hexagram Statements 2 and 39, it is reasonable to suppose ‘unfavourable east and north’ has been omitted or is implicit.

(Base) There is no oracle for this line.

(2) The grammar is obscure. Literally, the oracle is ‘Hunting-catching-three-fox-bronze-arrow(s).’ The bronze arrow may have been found in the hunt or used for shooting the foxes. Bronze arrows also appear in 21:4 and (probably) 4:2. Their significance in *Zhouyi* is no longer understood.

On the hunt see Note 7:5.

(4) *Er*, a grammatical particle and the second character, is read as *qi* ‘his’ or ‘the’, as in the Mawangdui manuscript. *Mu*, which can mean thumb or big toe, is taken by Gao Heng (G275) to mean a ‘net’, which is opened or loosened. Waley, reviewing Hellmut Wilhelm *Change: eight lectures on the I Ching* (1906) in *The Listener* (March 1961, page 580) suggested translating this oracle as ‘Relax your thumb (on the bowstring). A friend (not an enemy) is coming.’ But in 1933 Waley (A126) had suggested a connection with ‘the well-known practice of removing the thumbs of prisoners of war.’

(5) Gao Heng (G276) reads ‘tether’ as ‘netting’.

(Top) Kunst (R319) says ‘The duke used this oracle in shooting a hawk ...’, which presumably means ‘This line was obtained when the duke shot a hawk.’

Hexagrams 41 and 42

This pair appears to contrast diminishing with enriching, and is linked by the

oracle about royal favour in 41:5 and 42:2; but see page 104 on the significance of the apparent pairing. Enrichment here means royal favour.

(41) **diminishing**

(Hexagram statement) The grammatical structure of the last part is debatable. The translation follows Wen Yiduo (W52). Another reading gives ‘What should be used? Use two bowls in the offering.’ The bowls are ritual vessels, presumably of bronze. Shaughnessy *Sources of Western Zhou history* (1991) 129–32 gives descriptions and pictures of *gui* ‘tureens’. Compare the two earthenware vessels in 29:4.

(Base) Here and in Oracle 4 the translation is prompted by Wen Yiduo (W50). Unless I have analysed the statement incorrectly, there is no oracle to this line.

(2) For ‘nor’, Kunst (R321) gives ‘but’.

(3) Compare the hexagram statement of Hexagram 2.

(5) Tortoiseshells and cowries would be gifts from the king. The same oracle occurs in 42:2. See also Note 51:2. Awards of cowries occur in bronze inscriptions (see Shaughnessy *Sources of Western Zhou history* pages 82, 90 etc). Ode 176.3 is part of a fulsome song of praise for a ruler:

When I saw the prince,
he gave me a hundred cowries.

(42) **enriching**

The last four oracles deal with war and capture.

(Base) The great matter would most naturally mean a building project or bronze-casting.

(2) See the same oracle in 41:5.

The indication contains the only mention in *Zhouyi* of Di, the High God of Shang, who was also revered by Zhou.

(3) For the ‘jade baton’ *gui* see Note 2:3. Some would interpret the statement to mean that the report is made by the duke to the king.

(4) In ‘Favourable (to depend on) for moving the capital city (or royal household)’, Gao Heng (G381) emends *yi* ‘to depend on’ to read *Yin* ‘the Shang nation’. This may make little difference to the fundamental meaning of the oracle. Taking (3) and (4) together, Gao reconstructs the story of a Shang king who found himself in trouble, perhaps from floods, and asked help from the Duke

of Zhou, who gave it. There is such a story in the *Bamboo annals* (Wuyi year 3: see Legge *Shoo King* page 157). The Shang capital was relocated several times.

(5) On the grammar of the observation see W30. Gao (G381) reads *xin* ‘heart’ as *zhi* ‘them’. See [Diagram 13](#).

(Top) For the fixing rite see Note to 32: Tag.

Hexagrams 43 and 44

These two hexagrams refer to sheep or goats at sacrifices and are also concerned with captives. The same oracle about haunches occurs in 43:4 and 44:3.

(43) **skipping**

All the lines refer to sacrificial animals.

(Hexagram statement) Gao (G282) imagines the king is interrogating and executing prisoners when news of a raid comes from one of his dependent cities; but *yi* ‘city’ could mean the capital.

(Tag) The modern reading of the tag is *guai* ‘to fork’, though there was a former reading, *jue* in the fifth tone (see Mathews *Dictionary* 3535). The character is taken from Lines 3 and 5, where it occurs in reduplicated form (compare *qian* in Hexagram 1), and the modern meaning is not helpful. Gao Heng (G284) takes it as a short form of *jue* ‘to gallop (like a horse)’, which is the same graph with the foot radical added. Since I could not find a translation that fitted both lines idiomatically, I have rendered the binome as ‘hustles and bustles’ in Line 3 and ‘tripping and skipping’ in Line 5.

(2) The night-time incident is perhaps a raid by robbers.

(3) The second sentence of the indication contains the character *ruo* which looks like a conditional particle meaning ‘if’. The sentence may mean ‘If he gets wet, he will be irritable.’

(4) The same oracle appears as 44:3.

For the observation about a sheep, Gao Heng (G284) draws attention to a story in the Zuo Commentary (Xuan year 12: Legge 311/316) in which the capital of Zheng fell to its enemy after a long siege. When the conqueror entered the city he was met by the Earl of Zheng, stripped to the waist like a labourer and leading a sheep – the same idiom is used as in this oracle – as a sign that he would pledge fealty in return for mercy. This suggests that leading a sheep symbolized a submissive petition.

‘The ill is unwrought’, using an English archaism for ‘undone’, is translated in this way for the sake of the rhyme. Elsewhere the same phrase *huiwang* is rendered ‘Troubles disappear’. See Note 35:base.

(5) The wild goral or goat-antelope *Nemorhaedus goral*, which closely resembles a domestic animal, may be contrasted with the domesticated sheep of the previous oracle, making an ominous interruption of sacrificial procedure. The obvious inference is that a wild animal has somehow got among the domesticated beasts. The character in the received text is *xian* (K241h), meaning an edible plant resembling spinach or Good King Henry, but it has long been taken as a variant graph or error for *huan* (K165a) ‘goral’. See [Diagram 14](#) and G284.

(Top) The oracle is *Wu hao*, apparently meaning ‘No cry.’ This would balance oracle (2); but Gao (G284) suggests that *wu* is a mistake for *quan* ‘dog’ (see [Diagram 13](#)). The mournful sound of a howling dog is generally regarded as an ill omen.

(44) locking

(Tag) In the received text, the tag character *gou* (**ku*) ‘to meet’, occurs only in the top line, where it stands for a homonym meaning interlocking of horns by two animals fighting one another. (W 38). This may be an omen from the behaviour of sacrificial animals. Gao Heng (G287) suggests the character refers to a hornboard. (See 26:4.) (Base) The translation of the oracle follows Wen Yiduo’s gloss (W15) and Yu Haoliang’s comment in *Wenwu* (1984.3) on the variant reading in the Mawangdui manuscript. (See also D439.) Gao prefers ‘Tied to a bronze spindle.’ For other vehicle omens in *Zhouyi* see Note 34:4.

The behaviour of the scrawny pig is presumably an omen at a sacrifice. In the indication, the received-text character *jian* ‘to see’ is taken as a miscopying of *zhen* ‘augury’.

(2) *Bao* or *pao* could have several meanings, including ‘slaughterhouse’ and ‘bag’ as well as ‘cookhouse’.

(3) Compare the oracle with 43:4. The limping is another omen from sacrificial victim behaviour.

The prognostic is a modified version of the frequently used *wujiu* ‘no misfortune’ (see page xx).

(5) The gourd is bound near the stalk while it is growing, in order to ensure that, when it is dried for use as a flask, it will have a good shape with with two bulbous parts, or at least a narrow neck. Compare the reference to drying a gourd

in Analects 17.7: ‘Am I a bitter gourd, fit only for hanging up (to dry and use as a bottle) not for eating?’. (W6).

The last two characters about using a *zhang* ‘baton’ are the same as an oracle in Hexagram 2 and resemble 42:3. See Note 2:3. Gao Heng (G287) reads *zhang* not as ‘sceptre’, but as ‘Shang’ (See note 2:3.) He therefore understands the indication as ‘Destruction of Shang, toppled by Heaven.’ This would be a further use of ‘heaven’ in a religious sense. See Note 14:top.

Hexagrams 45 and 46

These two hexagrams are both concerned with sacrificial procedure, and both refer to the summer sacrifice *yue*.

(45) together

Captives are being used in sacrifice.

(Tag) Gao Heng (G290) takes it to mean a kind of illness – which completely changes the meaning of the oracles in which it appears.

(Hexagram statement) Compare 37:5 and Hexagram Statement 59. The repetition of ‘Offering’ looks like a fault in the text, but speculation would be fruitless.

On the king’s presence, see the note to 37:5.

(Base) The indication is comparable with that of 13:5.

(2) I have translated as though there were no oracle in this line. Instead of treating *yin* ‘to stretch’ as a simple intensive ‘very’ in the prognostic, some would prefer to translate as ‘auspicious for a long time’ or take the character to be the oracle and to mean ‘prolonging the time.’ (W62) *Yue*: a summer sacrifice of vegetable offerings to all the ancestors entitled to special sacrifices, the number of offerings depending on the rank of the sacrificer. (Maspero 148; mentioned also in 46:2 and 63:5).

(5) The character for ‘Auspicious’ is inserted by Gao Heng as a reasonable emendation. The text has *yuan yong* ‘very long time’, and Gao emends the second character to *ji*, giving the meaning ‘very auspicious’.

‘No captives’ may be the condition under which ‘Very auspicious’ applies; or the right reading may be not ‘captives’ but ‘booty’.

(Top) This pathetic weeping naturally applies to the captives; but Gao, who makes little of captives anywhere in *Zhouyi*, attributes it to a funeral.

(46) **going up**

(Hexagram statement) In some texts, including the Mawangdui silk manuscript, the second line begins with ‘Favourable ...’, as this indication does in other hexagrams; but the received text has *yong* ‘use’ instead of *li* ‘favourable’. This would mean ‘Use for seeing great men’ (G291 and Harvard-Yenching 1935 edition p28 n9).

(Base) ‘Indeed’ translates *yun*, with overtones of ‘as predicted’. See Note 35:3.

(2) For the summer sacrifice see Note 45:2. Captives would be sacrificed apart from the sacrifice of vegetable offerings.

(3) It is not certain that *yi* means a capital, since a hill setting is specified. Possibly the old Zhou centre is intended, in connection with Line 4.

(4) Mount Qi (‘Twin Peaks’) stood near the capital of the original home of the Zhou people in the Wei valley. Inscribed tortoiseshell oracles have been found in the area (see page 164).

Hexagrams 47 and 48

(47) **beset**

This is the longest set of appended statements: 95 characters.

(Tag) English synonyms might be ‘hindered’, ‘impeded’, ‘hampered’, ‘thwarted’, ‘bothered’. ‘Beset’ fits the circumstances of all the lines.

(Base) Gao (G293) takes the mace as a paddle used to beat a prisoner, and the ‘hidden place’ as a prison.

The Mawangdui text adds the prognostic ‘Disastrous’.

(2) ‘Beer’ answers the rhyme, and is also a more technically accurate designation than the usual translation, ‘wine’, for the alcoholic drinks in question were grain-based. Gao (G294) compares the vocabulary with that of Analects 9.17. He concludes that the meaning here is ‘befuddled by food and drink’, and that a messenger arrives to bestow the honorific red insignia on the subject.

(2) and (5) For the word *fu* see [Diagram 16](#). Early texts contain six characters that are treated by Chinese glossarists as interchangeable. Four of them are pronounced *fu* (**pjwet*):

(a) with the grass radical (K501a-c, D176);

(b) with the silk radical (K276k; in *Zhouyi* Hexagram 47);

(c) with the dressed-leather radical (K2761);

(d) also meaning ‘emblematically decorated’ (K276m, D176). The remaining two

both have the dressed-leather radical:

(e) *ge* or *jia* (K675j, D286) and

(f) *bi* (K407m, D31).

Chinese dictionaries explain them all as ‘ceremonial garments that cover the knees’. Translators use ‘apron’ (Legge and Waley), ‘knee-covers’ (Karlgren), ‘greaves’ or ‘demi-jambes’ (Waley) even ‘kneecaps’ (though that is strictly an anatomical term), all of which ‘cover the knees’.

Schuessler defines *fu* as ‘ceremonial apron’. In the Zuo Commentary (Duke Huan 2, Legge 38/40), *fu*(d) appears as a garment proper for a ruler, as it does at sacrifices in Analects 8.21. The Han ritual text *Liji* (section Yuzao 21, Legge’s version II p13) describes *fu*(c) and later editors add drawings of aprons. Zhou Xibao *Zhongguo gudai fushishi* ‘history of ancient Chinese costume’ (Beijing 1984; 34, 35, 44) takes *fu* to mean an apron worn by an emperor. In Ode 213 *ge*(e) is worn by a ruler.

In the Odes *fu*(a) is worn by leaders, often military, and is always red (Odes 151.1; 178.2; 189.8; 222.3). Western Zhou bronze inscriptions mention worthy men being invested with *fu*, using three words for red. (See Edward Shaughnessy *Sources of western Zhou history* 82, 85.) Two of these words are mentioned here in Hexagram 47. Gao (G294) thought the scarlet apron in Line 2 was an award from the king, while the red one in Line 5 betokened danger of punishment. Perhaps vermilion *fu* were for royalty, a duller red for commoners. It is probable that *chi*, used to describe furs, was a rusty or brownish red and *zhu* was vermilion or bright scarlet (see Ode 154.3).

In Ode 222 *fu* covers the thighs – perhaps as breeches or breech-cloth – while the shins are wrapped in puttees. Ode 147.2 and the description of the capping ceremony at the beginning of *Yili* use *bi*(f) for leggings or puttees, undyed, perhaps intended for mourning wear. The same passage mentions red leather *bi*. Schuessler defines *bi* (**pjit*) as ‘leggings’ (K407m, D31).

Diagram 17 APRON/LEGGINGS



Serial numbers are from Karlgren *Grammata Serica Recensa*

Chinese lexicographers note that *fu*(b) with the silk radical, used in this hexagram, means a cord or ribbon by which a seal or jade ornament hangs from the belt – an apron-string?. Seals are not known to have come into wide use before the Warring States Period, but Shang examples have been found, possibly used for marking ceramics or bronze-casting moulds. See Allan *The shape of the turtle* (1991) pages 89 and 91.

In sum, *fu* suggests rank and authority. My translation is biased against legwear; and I have implied several wearers, but the Chinese may equally mean that only one apron-wearer appears.

Kunst (R333) thinks that in line 2 *fu* is ‘Vermilion Kneeshields’, the name of a border state (*fang*) which will provide sacrificial victims. *Fang*, however, can be taken with the following verb to mean ‘just then’.

(3) The obvious sense is of a rocky and overgrown path, as in the Top Line of the same hexagram. Wen Yiduo, however, takes the stone to be singular and mean a pillory (See 16:2), while the thorny boughs are a metaphor for imprisonment (See 29:top). (W33) He also suggests that in this instance the thorns were arranged on top of the compound wall, like modern barbed wire. (W586) (4) Chariots (more than one may be intended in this oracle) were indeed splendid, even awe-inspiring, but could move well only on level dry surfaces. The burnished bronze was decorative, perhaps leaving little wood showing, but the chariot was made of wood.

(5) For ‘red-girt’, see (2) above. The number of red-girt men is not clear: there may be only one.

Gao (G295) suggests a different story, in which a man wearing the red insignia is ill at ease and in danger. The indication then means that he can tactfully leave off the insignia, relinquishing power and getting out of danger.

(Top) ‘Till’ translates *yue*. See note to 26:3.

(48) **well**

(Hexagram statement) On the reduplicated *jing-jing* (‘well-well’) for ‘coming and going’, see W27. The well character is used as a rhyme four times in this statement, which ends with another word of the same rhyme. The jingling effect is not reproduced in the translation.

(Base) The ‘well’ character is here taken as a short form for ‘pitfall’. (G299).

(2) Arrows with cords attached were used for various purposes. (See note to 62:5.) There was a kind of small-mouthed clay jar, of an inverted-pear shape with

two ring-lugs on the shoulder and a third near the narrow base. Such a jar could have been suspended on three cords to make a dipper for drawing well-water.

The fish character *fu* now means silver carp. They could hardly have been as big as the giant carp that were later so highly esteemed.

(3) The 'my heart' formula occurs also in 52:2 (a variant) and 56:4, as well as in the Book of Odes (see page 144). In ancient China, as in the Old Testament and Elizabethan English, (for instance, 'God be in my heart and in my thinking') the heart is the seat of will and thought, not of the affections alone.

For covenants, see note to 17:4, where the same character *ming* 'bright' is used as a loan.

(4) The character used for the lining *zhou* suggests that the well was lined with tiles. This is a rare word, not occurring in other pre-Confucian literature. Roof-tiles were not made in quantity until the end of Eastern Zhou, but a few have been discovered at Western Zhou sites (See page 14).

Hexagrams 49 and 50

(49) **leather**

(Tag) The character meaning 'rawhide' or 'leather' also means 'change', and both meanings may appear in this hexagram (see Note 49:2).

(Hexagram statement) For the 'four qualities' see page 126. Here they do not come at the head of the statement, but are preceded by an indication about sacrifices.

(Base) See Note 33:2.

(2) 'Bind it with leather' depends on reading the tag character as a verb: literally 'leather it (i.e. a victim)'. Another possible meaning is 'change it (i.e. the day).'

(3) For the tassels (*sanjiu*) see K1093a. Cf W10. Gao Heng (G303) quotes one of the later additions to the Book of Documents (Shundian section) and *Guoyu* (Luyu section), where *sanjiu* means the three places of punishment: outside the city, in the royal court and in the market place.

(5 and Top) The last character in each oracle, *bian*, apparently means 'transformation', and might suggest a ritual in which animals were impersonated, but Wen Yiduo prefers to read it as a loan for *kuo* meaning 'a pelt'. He goes on to argue that the leather *mian* 'face' in the top line, usually taken to mean a mask, is to be understood in the sense of 'dressing', that pelts were used in furnishing

chariots, and that the order tiger, leopard, ox-leather is a ritual or processional order (W11; see D635 for some bronze inscription support; and Shaughnessy *Sources of Western Zhou history* page 81 for a royal gift of tiger-skin chariot-canopies). In the Zuo Commentary (Zhao 12: Legge 637 col16/640b) a king wears leopard-skin shoes. Wen notes that in *Analects* 12.8 there is what may be a proverb: ‘A tiger or leopard skin stripped of its fur is the same as a dog or goat skin stripped of its hair.’

In the original the three oracle lines rhyme.

(50) tripod-bowl

(Tag) Shang and Zhou bronze ritual vessels come in many forms. The word *ding* may mean no more than a typical bronze pot, but it also means a particular shape that went back to neolithic times. Originally made of clay, it consisted of a round bowl in which food could be cooked over a fire. It had three solid legs, but was closely allied to the *li*, in which the three legs were hollow cones whose cavities formed part of the bowl. This form brought the cooking food into closer contact with the heat of the fire, and may have been the predecessor of the *ding*. There were one or two handles at the sides. When this form of vessel was cast in bronze, the handles were moved to the rim, usually as rigid rings through which a carrying-rod could be inserted.

There were also rectangular box-shaped *ding* bowls with four solid legs – usually called *fangding* ‘square *ding*’.

A legend found in the Zuo Commentary (Duke Xuan year 3: Legge pages 292–3) tells how Yu, founder of the Xia dynasty, had bronze sent in from the nine provinces and fashioned into nine highly ornamented *ding*. The ownership of these great vessels became a symbol of the monarchy, and they were passed from dynasty to dynasty until they were lost, it is said, at the end of Eastern Zhou.

The *ding* of Hexagram 50 is therefore a typical bronze vessel, used for banquets and sacrifices, a sign of legitimate royal power. Early translators, including Legge in the Zuo Commentary, translated *ding* as ‘tripod’; but in translating *Yijing* changed this to ‘cauldron’. Mrs Baynes followed suit. Unhappily the overtones of ‘cauldron’ conjure up the image of a huge rough cast-iron pot in which unlovely ingredients are boiled for unspeakable purposes. No single English word suggests an opulent vessel of high-relief bronze that is an emblem of power and at the time a pot for cooking rich stews. ‘Tripod-bowl’ merely describes the shape of this noble and ancient object.

(Base) The third line may have either of two meanings: getting a slave-girl and her child, or getting a slave-girl for the sake of the child she will bear, perhaps by her master. An alternative translation would be ‘A slave-girl for child-bearing meet.’

(3) *Gao*, usually translated ‘fat meat’, is here rendered as ‘plump’, because pheasant is famously free of fat. The word refers to appearance rather than to tissue. In the Odes it refers to sleek lambskins (146.3) and to swelling grainshoots (227.1).

(4) On this oracle see W37. Another possibility for the last line is ‘The punishment should be branding.’ (D645)

(5) The lugs were like fixed rings on the top edge of the *ding*. A carrying-rod could be slipped through them. Two different metals, perhaps different kinds of bronze, are implied. It is unlikely that gold was used. ‘Golden’ probably means yellowish bronze, strikingly distinctive to the contemporary eye.

(Top) A jade rod could not be very thin without being brittle, but a thick one for carrying the pot as in (5) would be feasible.

Hexagrams 51 and 52

There is no clear reason for pairing these two sets of oracles, save that they alone have rhyming hexagram statements, and each has all six line oracles dealing with a single subject.

(51) **thunder**

The line oracles have no pattern of ascending tension.

(Tag) Zhen has become the name of the trigram reduplicated to form this hexagram.

Thunder has a double meaning. In the oracles the usual western attitude, seeing thunder as frightening and in itself dangerous, is expressed: yet the opening words of both hexagram and line statements suggest thunder is auspicious. This is because thunder was thought to assist women in childbirth, by making parturition easier. Hence it became an augury of fertility.

(Hexagram statement) ‘All the land’: literally ‘for a hundred *li*’, the *li* being the unit of long distance, equal to about a third of a mile. ‘A hundred *li*’ means ‘all over the country’.

The second half of the statement is clearly about sacrificial libations, implying

there is no unlucky spillage. All six line statements can be interpreted as relating to libations.

(Base) The translation of this oracle has one word different from that of the first phrase of the hexagram statement, reflecting a similar difference in the original. It may have originated in a copyist's error.

(2) The mysterious appeal of the cowrie is attributed to its resemblance to the vulva. Hence cowries, like thunder, were symbols of fertility. See Karlgren 'Some fertility symbols in ancient China' in *BMFEA* II (1930). For cowries, see also Note 41:5.

'Nine Mounds' may be a lost place-name, Jiuling; possibly it is a sobriquet for 'the whole land'. 'Nine Swamps' in Ode 184 may be comparable. Similar expressions, in which 'nine' has a geographical sense of 'all' occur in the Book of Documents and perhaps in *jiuqiu* in the Zuo Commentary (Duke Zhao year 12: Legge 638 col10/641b). See Granet *La pensée chinoise* page 175.

The indication is a striking example of Chinese not providing pronouns. What is to be pursued and will be restored might be 'he', 'she', 'it' or 'them'.

(52) cleaving

(Tag) The tag character appears at the beginning of the hexagram statement, as well as in all six line oracles. As written in the received text it is pronounced *gen*, and has become the name of the trigram reduplicated to form this hexagram. It is famously obscure, and the Confucian meaning, 'keeping still' is used to describe the trigram. This cannot be what the word originally meant. Gao suggested 'look at'; Kunst treats it as a protograph for *ken* 'cleave'; Waley (A134) said it meant the 'gnawing' of rats at sacrificial victims and offerings. (See [Diagram 11](#).) 'Gnawing' is less satisfactory to use in the parallelism of the couplet in the hexagram statement.

When translated in any of these three ways the result suggests cutting up a sacrificial victim, probably for haruspicy. This practice is mentioned, for example, in Ode 210.5:

He presents clear wine,
Followed by a red bull
Offered to the ancestors.
Holding the belled knife,
He lays open the pelt
And takes the blood and the fat.

(A ‘belled knife’ had small bells, like bridle-bells, on the handle.)

The line oracles rise through the body – apparently a human body – from foot to head, making Lines Base to 5 form a clear pattern. Archaeological remains of sacrificial victims sometimes show that they were dismembered before burial, though the method and purpose are not clear. The top line may be an intentional climax. The first line of the hexagram statement is probably not a displaced line oracle, for though it has the form of a line oracle, there is no obvious place for it to fit into the ascending pattern.

(2) For *sui* ‘marrow’ see translation Note 31:3.

For the heart/mind formula see Note 48:3.

(3) *Xun xin* ‘smoke, heart’ could mean several things. It may refer to curing offal in smoke; or it may be connected with the observation in Line 2: ‘The heart/mind is not pleased’ (see Note 48:3). This formula is found in the Odes (see page 144) and a poem about drought has *you xin ru xun* ‘our grieving hearts are as though smoked’, an expression of extreme distress (Ode 258.5).

(5) ‘Talk within the law’ means complaints that are not seditious.

(Top) The first character, *dun*, means ‘thick’, but also has the ancient senses of ‘break’ or ‘carve’. It appears to mean ‘cut into lumps’; or else it is a reinforcing duplication: ‘cleaving and rending (or reaving)’.

Hexagrams 53 and 54

Both these hexagrams deal with marriage. In 53 the marriage connection is made clear by the hexagram statement and some of the line statements; 54 tells of a dynastic marriage, though it does not apply the oracles to marriage in general.

(53) **settling**

The species of bird intended here may have been a pelican or some other large water bird. (Wen Yiduo thought the character *hong* originally meant a toad (see Kai-yu Hsu *Wen I-to* (1980) pp 130–1). It came to be identified with the wild goose, whose autumn migrations became a poetic commonplace for melancholy. The verb translated as ‘settling’ is imprecise. It has also been translated as ‘skimming’ or ‘nearing’. Omens from bird flight are universally recognized.

Ode 248 is a poem of incremental repetition using almost the same image. Here the waterbirds are of a smaller kind, and the omen value is auspicious. The stanzas begin:

Mallard on the River Jing ...

Mallard on the sandy shore ...

Mallard on the shoals ...

Mallard where the rivers meet ...

Mallard in the river-gorge ...

The second part of each stanza speaks of happy ceremonies for the ancestors, at which the impersonators enjoy food and wine on behalf of the dead. The River Jing joins another river to form the Wei, in the homeland of the Zhou people.

Ode 159 is also about wild geese and contains two stanzas that seem to be drawn from a poem of incremental repetition, strongly resembling the oracles of Hexagram 53:

Wild geese fly along the island:
When the lord goes,
 we'll have no chance to meet.
I will stay with you now.

Wild geese fly along the land:
When the lord goes,
 I'll not come back.
I will stay with you tonight.

(3) The wild goose was already an image for a man gone to the wars or away from home for a long time. This is the theme in Ode 159, just quoted, and also in Ode 181:

The wild geese fly away,
beating their wings **sjek-sjek*.
These boys go on campaign,
hard service in the wilds.
Alas, poor chaps, they're lonely,
like their wives left at home.

The wild geese fly away,
flocking in the swamps.
These boys work hard at building;
a hundred yards of wall are up.
Although they labour hard,

they have a safe stronghold.

The wild geese fly away,
mournfully honking *ngag-ngag.
They were wise who said,
'Just toil away.'
They were silly who said,
'Resist and mutiny.'

(Top) The dancers were the men and boys who performed in the ritual dances before the ancestral shrines. Ode 38.2,3 says:

Splendid, splendid are the tall men
dancing the *wan* in the ducal courtyard,
strong as tigers.
they hold reins like silken threads;
in their left hands they hold flutes,
in their right hands pheasant plumes.

Waley has long note on the *wan* dance (Waley 1937, 338–40), noting that in Odes 300 and 301 it is described as a sacrificial ceremony. Similar dances are performed to this day in honour of Confucius in Seoul and Taipei.

In Ode 136.2, 3 the dancer carries an egret plume:

Kan! he beats the leather drum
in front of the banqueting hill,
winter and summer,
waving an egret feather.

Kan! he beats the ceramic drum
on the way to the banqueting hill,
winter and summer,
waving an egret feather.

(54) marriage

Gu Jiegang and Li Jingchi, referring to Ode 236.4–6, argued that Diyi, king of Shang, gave one of his own younger cousins to be King Wen's principal wife while Wen was still Earl of Zhou. When that marriage produced no son, Wen raised the rank of one of the 'sororal' brides, the Lady Shen, who became his principal wife and the mother of King Wu. As one of the sororal brides, the Lady

Shen too would have been a cousin of Diyi. This story accounts for obscurities in the line statements, including the excellence of the inferior lady's dress and the infertility images in the top line. (See G194 and S240-4, where Edward Shaughnessy makes his own detailed application of the story to the hexagram.) The Ode is not absolutely clear, but the relevant parts can be understood in this way:

He (Wen) had a bride from Shang,
a young cousin of Heaven.
Wen chose a lucky day
and met her at the River Wei,
building a bridge of boats –
it was a splendid sight.

Again a command from heaven,
orders for King Wen:
in Zhou, in the capital,
to make Lady Shen his next queen.
This eldest daughter played her part
and boldly bore King Wu.

'Cousin of Heaven' would mean 'cousin of the monarch' in Zhou usage, even though it here refers to a member of the Shang royal family.

(Tag) *Guimei* 'A younger female cousin given in marriage'. The word for marriage from the bride's point of view is *gui* 'to come back', because the bridegroom went to fetch her and bring her back to his own home. The word *mei*, often translated as 'younger sister', can also mean cousin, since it is applied to younger female cousins of the same generation.

(Base) According to the practice of sororal polygyny by Zhou kings, two or three younger sisters or cousins of the same generation would accompany the bride to her new home as secondary wives or concubines. There is a description of this in Ode 261.4:

A hundred carriages rumbled,
the eight bridle-bells jingled.
Incomparable was the splendour.
All her younger cousins accompanied her,
thick as clouds.

The Zuo Commentary contains a number of references to the practice, including: Yin year 1 (Legge p3); Zhuang year 19 (p99); Cheng year 8 (p368); Cheng year 10

(p374); and Ai year 12 (p826). See also Marcel Granet ‘La polygyny sororale et le sororat dans la Chine féodale’ (1920), reprinted in *Etudes sociologiques sur la Chine* (1953).

The sentence about the lame one who steps out is probably out of place and has nothing to do with the wedding story.

(2) The oracle belongs with the second part of the Base Line oracle: the two together are the same as 10:3.

The omen for a prisoner also occurs in Hexagram 10 (10:2).

(3) This line can be variously understood, largely because of doubt about the meaning of *xu*, here translated as ‘elder sister’ implying ‘senior wife’. This meaning is allowed by Karlgren’s ‘elder sister’ (including elder female cousin; K133e), and gives agreement with Gu Jiegang’s preferred story, mentioned above. The word can also be understood to mean ‘lady-in-waiting’ (D694), which perhaps means ‘secondary (or sororal) wife’. Kunst, invoking a loan character *ru*, says the bride went with her bondmaids (R 347).

‘Yet she marries ...’ may mean ‘she made a visit to her mother’s house after the wedding.’

(4) ‘Missing her time’ most obviously means failing to bear a son, which would explain the promotion of the secondary bride by King Wen; but Gao (G316) interprets this as ‘postponing the wedding’.

(5) The finer sleeves represent the lady of Shen’s eventual advantage. Gao (G319) claims that the sentence means the second wife was more beautiful.

(Top) The two ritual offerings turned into bad omens. They are also dramatic symbols of an infertile union, referring to the first wife. This couplet has an internal rhyme, or is an alternately rhymed quatrain. Either way it is the only one found in *Zhouyi*.

In the Zuo Commentary (Duke Xi year 15, see also page 180), this couplet has a variant reading, giving the same meaning, but with different order of verses and different rhymes. The differences, which by their slightness bear witness to the integrity of the textual tradition, are illustrated by the following romanization and literal translation. The rhymes are repeated in Old Chinese transcription. The connective *yi* in B¹ and D¹ is possibly not to be regarded as part of the quoted text.

Received Text

Zuo Commentary

A *nu cheng kuang* (**khjwang*) woman

C *shi hui yang* (**jiang*) man stabbing

	<i>bearing basket</i>		sheep
B	<i>wu shi (*dzjet) no fruit/content</i>	D ¹	<i>(yi) wu huang (*xwang) no blood</i>
C	<i>shi hui yang (*jiang) man stabbing sheep</i>	A	<i>nu cheng kuang (*khjwang) woman bearing basket</i>
D	<i>wu xue (*xwet) no blood</i>	B ¹	<i>(yi) wu kuang (*xjwang) no gift</i>

Hexagrams 55 and 56

(55) **thick**

The general picture of an empty house at noon is mingled with obscure astronomical references. An eclipse of the sun at the end of a Callipic cycle (see below, Note 2, 4, 5 and Top) might occasion such oracles. The whole set may be intended to convey two levels of meaning, and the following notes merely show something of the complexity of the subject. An empty house may be ominous and stars are always so. Double meanings appeal to soothsayers.

(Tag) *Feng* means ‘abundant’ or ‘plenteous’. Since it is applied to a screen and a roof providing shade, ‘thick’ is used here as a synonym. *Feng* also occurs in bronze inscriptions as the name of a Zhou royal city (Shaughnessy *Sources of Early Zhou history* pages 78, 142, 323); and is the name of a sacrifice (D144).

(Hexagram statement) For the king’s presence see Note 37:5.

(Hexagram statement, 2, 3 and 4) The word translated as ‘middle of the day’ may mean ‘during the day’ or even ‘equinox’.

(Base) *Pei zhu* ‘consort master’ has been translated as ‘one of equal rank with the master’. Gao sees it as meaning the master’s consort or wife.

An augury for the ensuing ten-day ‘week’ (see [Diagram 2](#)) was routinely recorded in Shang plastromancy.

The rhyming observation occurs also at 60:5. ‘Leaving’ means ‘departing’ and the whole oracle means ‘Setting forth will bring rewards.’

(2 and 4) The Plough is the English name for the seven stars near the Pole Star. The north American name, Dipper, is closer to the meaning of its Chinese name, but this makes no difference to its use in these oracles.

(2, 4, 5 and Top) Two words for ‘screen’ occur here, and both have astronomical secondary meanings.

Zhang ‘screen’ or ‘barrier’ (translated as ‘hindrance’ in Line 5) is also used for

the recurring 19-year period (called an epact), when the phases of the moon recur on the same day of the month. For western astronomy the epact was reckoned in the fifth century BC by Meton of Athens, as the cycle of agreement between the lunar and solar cycles. The numbers 1 to 19 assigned to years within the epact are the Golden Numbers of western calendarists.

About a hundred years later, because the Metonic cycle was not exact, Kallippos of Kyzikos devised the 76-year cycle, four times as long, to correct it. The Callippic cycle was also known to the Chinese, who called it *bu* (lines 2, 4 and Top), which, like *zhang*, means 'screen' or 'barrier'. Though the age of the Chinese terms is not known, it is thought that the Chinese were aware of the 19 and 76-year cycles as early as Shang times. Both words are probably used here as puns.

(3) Gao Heng's interpretation (G324) further shows the obscurity of these omens. He gives the meaning as: 'A big thatched house. Seeing a spirit at noon. Breaking one's right arm.' My translation takes *pei* 'darkened' (K501f) as a loan character for *pei* 'streamers' or pennons (K501d), which might be flown for many reasons, chiefly celebratory. This interpretation has the support of commentators; but Legge renders it with a single banner.

(5) Gao (G324) says: 'Coming to Shang, receiving gifts and praise.' Kunst (R349) says the oracle means that in the coming 19-year period (*zhang*, here translated as 'hindrance') there will be rejoicing and honour.

(Top) The thick roof is possibly thatched, but tiled roofs can have a very heavy bed of mud under the tiles.

(56) sojourner

The significance of the fire oracles in this hexagram has not been satisfactorily discussed by historian commentators. More fire omens might have been expected in *Zhouyi*, but there is only one other occurrence of *zai* 'to burn', the exclamation of 30:4.

(Tag) The familiar translation for this tag is 'traveller', but the original meaning of the tag word emphasizes temporary lodging rather than the movement of travelling. The literal translation, 'sojourner', fits the text better, because the oracles tell of a visiting stranger, rather than a journey. Their significance may apply either to the sojourner or to the community in which he lodges.

Little is known about who travelled in Shang and Western Zhou, or why they

travelled, except for royal progresses and embassies. Constant warfare must have made many people homeless wanderers. Trading involved travel and Ode 50, reminiscing about a marriage, seems to imply peddling:

You were a jolly countryman,
carrying cloth to barter for silk yarn.
You did not really come for silk yarn,
only to try to get me.

Some believe this sojourner is a man of Shang displaced after Zhou took over the kingdom; others that he is Wang Hai, whose story is explicitly referred to in the top line. There is wide variety in interpretation of the details.

(Base) *Suosuo* ‘to smithereens’ is a reduplicated adverb, resembling the English nursery rhyme’s ‘chip-chop’.

(2) The auspicious prognostic is not in the received text. Its restoration is proposed by Gao Heng. The Mawangdui text adds the prognostic ‘Troubles disappear.’

(3) Gao (G327) relates this line to the story of Wang Hai.

(4) Axe-shaped ingots were used as currency, at least from the 7th century BC, for perhaps 300–400 years. See also 57:top. It is possible that money is intended here, though we do not know of axe-shaped money as early as the ninth century BC, which we take to be the date of the text. *Zifu* (the phrase used here) could mean ‘money-axes’ and later passed into literary use meaning ‘travelling expenses’ – probably from this passage. For the commentary tradition see Lynn (1994) page 500 n99. See also 57:top.

Axes would be carried by travellers, who might need to clear their way through scrub or undergrowth, and the phrase here may mean the sojourner carried, or obtained, a traveller’s axe.

The axe was also a symbol of power. For the heart/mind formula see Note 48:3.

(5) The pheasant (or shooting a pheasant) may symbolize achieving official rank (with feathered head-dress?); but the symbolism of pheasants is manifold. Gao Heng (G329) punctuates the first line differently: ‘A pheasant is shot, an arrow lost.’

(Top) ‘A bird destroys its nursery’: literally ‘A bird sets fire to its nest.’

For weeping and moaning see 13:5 and 45:base.

The final oracle refers to Wang Hai. See Notes 18:4 and 34:5. In oracle-bone inscriptions Wang Hai is associated with bird-related characters, and the bird is likely to refer to the mythological progenitor of the Shang kings, who was

hatched from an egg laid by an enormous bird. There are other examples of this royal myth in East Asia, as in the foundation myths of the Korean kingdoms of Silla and Paekche.

The Mawangdui text adds the prognostic ‘No misfortune.’

Hexagrams 57 and 58

(57) food offerings

(Tag) This is read as *xun* ‘gentle’ in the received text and is the name of the trigram reduplicated to form this hexagram.. Kunst treats it as a short form of *zhuan* ‘food’, which makes good sense (see [Diagram 11](#)). Gao Heng (G329) uses another loan-reading and interprets it as ‘bowing down’.

(2 and Top) ‘Before’: literally ‘below’ meaning ‘reverently standing (or placing) before’. *Chuang* ‘bed’ means a platform on which other things rest, such as offerings before a spirit tablet.

(2) Gao Heng (G330) says the indication means ‘smearing with blood’. At certain sacrifices, people or things were so smeared, in this instance, apparently by shamans.

(3) *Pin* ‘side by side’ also means ‘repeatedly’ (K390).

(4) For the hunt see Note 7:5.

(5) The *geng* day is the seventh of the ten-day ‘week’. (Top) See (2) above. For travellers’ axes see note to 56:4.

(58) satisfaction

This is the shortest set of statements for any hexagram; 30 characters.

(Tag) *Dui* ‘weigh’ is a common loan for *yue* ‘pleasure’ (K3240), here rendered as ‘satisfaction’. *Dui* has become the name of the trigram reduplicated to form this hexagram. Gao Heng (G332) understands it as ‘talk’, which carries less conviction.

(4) *Shang* (name of the state) is taken as a loan for *shang* ‘rewards’.

See also note to 35:2. *Jie* ‘bordered’ implies that the illness is contained or isolated.

(5) *Fu* (see page 220), normally translated ‘captives’, can also mean ‘booty’, including animals and material objects. It is not known that captives were flayed. Sacrificed animals sometimes were. For a further note on flaying, see Hexagram 23:Tag.

Hexagrams 59 and 60

(59) gushing

The subject here is not sacrifice, but the gelding of a horse, which must have been important, fairly frequent, and very risky. Gao says it was an occasion for divination (G334). See also 9:5 and 36:2.

(Tag) The gushing may refer to blood, or it may refer to water.

(Hexagram statement) See Note 37:5 about the presence of the king.

(Base) Gao suggests *zheng* means castration.

(2) Gao believes *ji* ‘low table’ is a copyist’s error for the very similar character *jiu* ‘a stable’ or ‘animal’s stall’ (G334). See [Diagram 14](#).

(4) ‘Can such things be found?’, translated more literally and without rhyme, means ‘Not what is normally expected.’

(5) Kunst (R356) emends the first sentence, changing *han qi* ‘sweats it’ to *qi gan* ‘the liver’ (as in the Mawangdui manuscript), so as to read ‘Gushing is the liver.’ Gao (G335), agreeing that two characters have been copied in reverse order, but not changing either of them, reads the meaning as ‘sweating.’ The real significance of neither translation is clear.

(60) juncture

(Tag) The original meaning of *jie* is ‘joint’ as in a stalk of bamboo. Kunst retains this meaning. By 500BC, if not earlier, it also meant ‘degree/rank’ and ‘juncture/circumstance’ (K399e). Gao (G336) understood it as ‘moderation/frugality’. ‘Juncture’ is used here in the sense of ‘point in time’ or ‘conjunction of events’, so as to retain something of a metaphor.

(5) See the note on the rhyming observation at 55:base.

(Top) The oracle also occurs in the hexagram statement.

Hexagrams 61 and 62

Both these hexagrams contain flying bird omens.

(61) trying captives

(Tag) The second character of the two-character tag *zhongfu* means ‘captive’ or ‘booty’. It occurs in line 5 and also relates to Line 3. *Zhong*, the first character, does not appear in the oracles. Wen Yiduo is credited (S118) with the suggestion

that it is not to be taken in its commonest meaning of ‘middle’, but in the sense of ‘hitting with an arrow’. But were captives shot with arrows for any purpose? Or does the tag refer to Line 3? The sense seems forced. Perhaps *zhong* is better understood in the sense of ‘trial’ (D843–4) – the line statements may originally have belonged to ceremonies after a battle.

(Hexagram statement) ‘Good fortune’ represents two characters (*tunyu*) that apparently mean ‘young pigs and fish’. No other hexagram statement has a comparable entry. According to the 2nd Wing (see page xx), *zhongfu tunyu* means ‘trustworthiness (the later understanding of the tag) will influence even pigs and fish’. This cannot have been the original meaning. Wilhelm (B 700 n1) discards a Qing commentator’s suggestion that ‘pig-fish’ means ‘dolphin’, on the grounds that Zhou knew nothing of the ocean. Fresh-water dolphins are in fact endemic to the Yangzi; but dolphins make no better sense here than ‘piglets and fish’.

Gao (G338) says that pigs and fish made appropriate sacrifices for men of modest rank; but Wen Yidou suggests reading *tun* as a homonym meaning ‘full’ and *yu* as a short form for what is now pronounced *lu* ‘simple’ (see [Diagram 13](#)). This gives a two-character formula, found on Zhou bronzes, that predicts good fortune (W62).

(Base) The sacrifice intended is *yu*, the ‘sacrifice of repose’ (Legge’s term as used in translating *Liji*, the Record of Rites in *Sacred Books of the East: Texts of Confucianism* Volume IV (1885) page 48), here rendered as ‘requiem’, offered on the day when the mourners went home.

For ‘unexpected calamity’ see Note 8:base.

Bu yan ‘not feasting’ or ‘not at peace’.

(2) The shady slope is the north side of a mountain, which happens to be the character *yin* used in *yin-yang*. The four verses may form a quoted stanza, possibly a folksong. The theme is found in Ode 165.1, where birds calling in a dark valley initiate a song giving an invitation to a clan party with wine-drinking:

... the birds cry **ring-ring*,
as they come from the shaded valley.
Going up to the tall tree tops,
**Ring* they sing,
following their companions’ calls.
If birds thus search for one another,
following their voices,

how much more should men seek
for their friends?

... we have strained wines in abundance
with bowls and trays laid out.

Another calling crane opens Ode 184:

A crane cries from the Nine Marshes,
its voice rings out to the hills ...

(3) Wen Yiduo suggests the reference is to ritualization of the captives' terror. He reads *ba* 'resting' as *bi* 'hand-held drum' (W41). Four two-syllable phrases are used, each beginning with *huo* ('perhaps/or/some/sometimes'). In plain prose this gives 'Or big drums, or tabors, or tears, or song.'

(4) It is the time of the full moon; one of a matched pair of chariot horses has run away. See 9:top for the same full moon statement.

(5) The same oracle occurs in 9:5.

(Top) The sound of pinions could refer to a story in the Book of Documents (*Gaozong rongri* section) about a pheasant appearing at a royal sacrifice – a bad omen. Gao Heng uses another interpretation: that *hanyin* means not 'sound of wings' but 'domestic fowl'.

(62) **passing minor**

(Tag) Compare Hexagram 28. Both are named from the character *guo*, 'passing (by)'; here the hexagram statement favours minor matters.

(Hexagram statement) See 61:top, 62:5 and 62:top about the bird.

Gao Heng (G341) reads the section about the bird as an omen: 'Flying bird gives a message; "High (when the bird is hard to see and hear) is not appropriate; low (when the bird is easy to see and hear) is appropriate."'

(Base) The translation follows the text unamended. Gao (G341) believes a word meaning 'arrow' has dropped out and that the oracle means 'Bird flying with an arrow in it'.

(2) The ancestors will have been represented by young impersonators of the dead during ancestral rites, or by wooden 'spirit tablets'.

The sacrificer appears to make an ominous mistake.

(3) The rhyming jingle may be translated literally as 'Not passing; prevent him. Following, may injure him.'

(5) Compare Hexagram Statement 9.

For the hunted bird, see the Hexagram Statement and the Top Line. The bird is shot with a harpoon, an arrow with a cord attached to it for retrieval of the prey. The same missile is implied in 48:2 and mentioned for shooting duck in Ode 82, where a girl at dawn tells her lover to get up:

‘You must get out and about
to shoot waterfowl with your harpoon.’

See also *Analects* 7.27 (7.26 in Legge and Waley), where Raymond Dawson (*The Analects* 1993) translates ‘corded arrow’. This occurs in a statement that Confucius angled for fish, but did not use a net, and shot birds with corded arrows, but not when they were perching as sitting targets.

(Top) The theme of the hunted bird is continued from the Hexagram Statement and Line 5.

Hexagrams 63 and 64

These two hexagrams are clearly related to one another and they have been edited on this understanding.

Both have ‘offering’ in the hexagram statement; the bottom line of 63 has the same text as the two bottom lines of 64 put together; the top line of both contains ‘wetting the head’; the third line of 63 and the fourth line of 64 both mention war with Guifang.

The hexagram tags are also related. The second character in each is *ji*, ‘fording a stream’. It is taken from 64:3 and does not occur in the text of Hexagram 63, where it is an exception to the general rule that a tag comes from the statements.

The traditional explanation of the placing of these two hexagrams at the end of the book is that the last, meaning ‘not yet across’, indicates that no series of changes can be completed: another cycle must begin immediately. Whether the original compilers or Western Zhou users of *Zhouyi* thought in this fashion cannot be proved. A cyclical theory is expounded in the Ten Wings and fits well with Late Zhou and Han thinking; but the the received order still presents many unresolved problems. (See pages 102–14.) The texts of both hexagrams mingle two themes: crossing water and a military victory.

The crossing theme may refer to a bride travelling at the time of her marriage, an occasion when omens were important. A similar story, without the carriage, but with the bride fording the stream, occurs in Ode 34:

The ford is deep at the crossing,

1 1 1

deep and dangerous.

Where it is deep we lift our skirts
... the hen pheasant seeks her mate.

In this ode the question of getting the clothes wet is to the fore, as it is in both these hexagrams. The mating theme is also present, applying perhaps to the custom of mating couples wading through the stream as a lustratory rite in the spring ceremonies of the common people; but getting wet when crossing streams must have been an everyday mishap.

That there was an amatory connotation to crossing a stream, lifting the skirts and making love, is made clear in Ode 87:

Do you love me, long for me?
I will lift my skirt and ford the Zhen.
If you do not love me,
are there no other men?
Stupidest of boys!

Do you love me, long for me?
I will lift my skirt and ford the Wei.
If you do not love me,
Are there no other fellows?
Stupidest of boys!

Ode 61, too, is about crossing a river, though not about getting skirts wet, and is probably a courtship song:

Who says the river is wide?
A slip of a boat will cross it.
Who says Song is far away?
I can see it if I stand on tiptoe.

Who says the river is wide?
It's too small for a dinghy.
Who says Song is far away?
I can get there in a morning.

There is no explanation of the blending of the water-crossing and military themes, for there is nothing in the oracles about an expedition crossing a river. One possibility is that two sets of omens about a bride crossing a ford, each perhaps originally of only five lines, have been expanded and edited to give a

political twist.

(63) already across

See note on Hexagrams 63 and 64 above.

(Tag) ‘Already across’ may imply that the glory of Shang had reached its apogee with Wuding, as described in Line 3. Then ‘not yet across’ in Hexagram 64 may anticipate future glory in the rise of Zhou.

(Base) Compare Hexagram 64 (Hexagram Statement, Base Line and Line 2). What is here translated, following Gao Heng’s interpretation (G344–5), as a loan character for ‘cord’, can also be translated to mean ‘wheel’, suggesting a carriage having trouble crossing a ford. Gao suggests that the cord end of a girdle could trail in the water, and notes also that animals’ tails were worn as dress ornaments. The parallel with the omen of a fox getting his tail wet in Hexagram Statement 64 is obvious.

(2) For the word *fu*, here translated ‘ornamental hairpin’, Legge, Wilhelm and others prefer ‘carriage-blind’. (‘Carriage-blind’ would not imply that women were kept in purdah. They were merely protected against sunshine and prying eyes.) Waley (*Book of Songs* 1937, page 97 nl) thought that getting a bride’s carriage-blinds wet when crossing a stream would be a good omen, as when Ode 58.4 says:

The waters of the Qi are in spate
and reach my carriage-blinds.

Zhouyi does not explicitly say that the *fu* gets wet, though the general context of this oracle implies that it may. The *fu*, whether it is a carriage-blind or a hair ornament, it gets lost; then seven days later something – either a new *fu* or the old one – is obtained, perhaps recovered from the stream. More than one story can be reconstructed from the disjointed phrases of the oracle.

Gao discusses *fu* at length and inclines to think it means ‘hairpiece’ or ‘wig’, though he is certain only that *fu* means some dressing of the head. Karlgren says ‘head ornament’ (K500k); ‘hair ornaments’ is Mathews’s translation of this example (*Dictionary* 1989c); and an ornamental hairpin fits the losing and finding story very well. Zhou women wore large amounts of additional hair, at least on certain formal occasions, and the custom survived into the twentieth century. The Odes give plenty of illustration for the Zhou period, though they do not use the word *fu*.

A wife wearing a great hairpiece when visiting her husband’s ancestors’ shrine

is described in Ode 13.3:

Her hairpiece is huge,
morn and night before the ancestors.
her hairpiece is high,
and now she withdraws.

Ode 47, which praises a great married lady, describes her as wearing hairpins:

a hairpiece with six ornamented pins,
so graceful, so stately,
like a mountain, like a river ...

The attendants on another great lady as she approaches a city have similar hair styles in Ode 57.4:

The reeds and rushes rise high.
Her ladies have huge hairpieces,
her marshals are imposing.

The circumstances of the oracle fit a wedding procession, but do not necessarily imply it.

(3) The military theme here and in Hexagram 64:4 refers to the subduing of Guifang by the Shang king Wuding, (referred to by his temple name, Gaozong, meaning 'high ancestor').

Guifang, often translated as 'demon territory', is mentioned in the inscription on the Xiaoyu *ding* (quoted on page 136) and also in Ode 255.6, where King Wen upbraids the ruler of Shang:

... small and great are nearing ruin,
yet men still go on as before.
You rule wildly in the central state,
but it borders the lands of Guifang.

Gui may have been the name of a tribe, or a collective name for people who troubled both Shang and Zhou. They probably lived to the northwest, but have not been identified.

'Three years' may mean 'several years'.

Wuding reigned about 1200–1181 BC. This story, the last of the five historical anecdotes identified by Gu Jiegang, is borne out by oracle bone inscriptions and by *Zhushu jinian*, the Bamboo Annals (see Note to Hexagram Statement 8), though the latter account may be derived from this *Zhouyi* passage (see Legge's

Shoo King pages 136 and 266 concluding note).

(4) Understood by Gao (G346) as ‘Padded coat gets soaked.’

(5) For the *yue* sacrifice see 45:2. The eastern neighbour appears to mean Shang while the western means Zhou. The full significance of the sacrifice is not certainly known, but it is thought to have been an agricultural celebration. Lines 45:5 and 46:2 seem to imply that captives might be offered at *yue*, and the contrast implied by the line statement may be that between a human sacrifice and an ox sacrifice, the human sacrifice being the more acceptable to the divine recipient. The root meaning is, of course, praise and vindication of the Zhou dynasty. The Mawangdui text adds the prognostic *ji* ‘auspicious’.

(Top) The same oracle occurs at 64:top. The circumstance resembles 28:top, though the wording differs. It is an omen drawn from the danger of fording a deep river or, more probably, a river in flood. Coincidence with the fox omen, discussed with Hexagram Statement 64 below, is obvious: the fox gets his tail wet, the man his head.

(64) **not yet across**

See Note on Hexagrams 63 and 64.

(Hexagram statement) The fox seems to be the subject of Hexagram 63:base, as well as of this hexagram statement. Auspices may have been taken by watching animals cross streams. Similar fox sightings occur in the Odes. Three are courtship or marriage songs mentioning water, two of them ominous. All three suggest a picture similar to that given in this hexagram.

There is a fox walking slowly
beside the River Qi ... (63.1)

In Ode 101 Karlgren identifies a fox as a successful suitor:

Through the craggy southern hills
a dog fox slowly stalks ...
The road to Lu is wide and smooth
for a bride from Qi going to her new home.
Since she has gone to be married,
Why do you long for her still? (101.1)

In Ode 41, a love song, the fox again appears to represent a potential bridegroom:

Nothing is red, if a fox is not;
nothing black, if a crow is not.
Love me and cherish me,
take my hand in the carriage. (41.3)

The symbolism is not perfectly clear, but if the fox, male or implicitly male, appears in courtship and marriage songs, perhaps it has a similar meaning here too.

The earliest identified quotation from *Zhouyi* in a Han document is this fox oracle, explicitly from *Zhouyi*, in the biography of Prince Chunshen in *Shiji* 78, where it is explained as meaning ‘Easy to begin with, hard at the end.’

(2) See 63:base, which has the same text.

(3) The indication is military, but, surprisingly, inauspicious.

(4) See Note 63:3. Zhen is often taken to be King Wuding; but Zhen may be another name for Ji Li, Duke of Zhou, the first Zhou leader who is recorded as a successful leader of soldiers. He defeated Guifang on behalf of the Shang king Wuyi, who reigned from about 1120 to 1106 BC. The Bamboo Annals account is in Legge *Shoo King* 137–8 (where Ji Li is spelt Ke-leih) and the argument is given fully at S262–4. Shaughnessy points out the suitability of a reference to emergent Zhou in Hexagram 64 ‘Not yet across’, after the record of Shang dominance in Hexagram 63 ‘Already across’ (see Note on Hexagram 63:tag).

An alternative theory identifies Zhen with Wang Hai, the wandering herdsman also mentioned in 34:5 and 56:top. A summary of the somewhat involved argument is given by Edward Shaughnessy (S261–2).

The placing and repetition of the indication and prognostic in this and the following line statement look as though the text has become confused. Perhaps they have been copied twice in error. A tidy reordering would be to omit ‘Augury... disappear’ in (4) and to move ‘Augury... troubles’ up from (5) to (4).

(5) Captives in the indications of Lines 5 and Top reflect the military theme, with ‘glory for a prince’ perhaps hinting at the victory of Mu (see Note 7:5).

(Top) See 63:top for getting the head wet.

The last two characters, *shi shi*, are usually understood to mean ‘losing, in truth,’ or ‘losing what is right.’ Kunst (R367) gives them as ‘He will lose the spoon,’ which depends on reading *shi* ‘this is’ as a short form for *chi* ‘spoon’. The spoon was important at feasts and ancestral sacrifices. Losing it might be ominous. Zhang Zhenglang 93 (see p 471 n18) mentions the discovery of bone and horn spoons with *bagua* symbols incised on them.

PART III

Appendix: The Ten Wings

The book called *Yijing* consists of *Zhouyi* bound up with a collection of essays and commentaries known since Later Han (AD 25–220) as the Ten Wings. Although the Ten Wings give very little help in understanding *Zhouyi* as a Bronze Age document, there are three reasons why they should be treated at some length here: first, because they illustrate, as nothing else can, the climactic changes in the Chinese approach to *Zhouyi* after the Bronze Age, changes that need to be understood if the Bronze Age document is to be rediscovered; secondly because they have been cited earlier in this book and are important to many of my arguments; and thirdly, because a description of them may assist readers who, when they approach *Yijing* for the first time, have difficulty in distinguishing the text from the mass of commentary in which it is usually embedded.

In fact the ‘Ten’ Wings consist of eight documents:

- (1) *Tuanzhuan*, on the hexagrams;
- (2) *Daxiang*, also on the hexagrams;
- (3) *Xiaoxiang*, on the line oracles;
- (4) *Dazhuan*, the Great Treatise, also called *Xicizhuan*;
- (5) *Wenyan*, on the first two hexagrams;
- (6) *Shuogua*, mostly about trigrams;
- (7) *Xugua*, on the order of the hexagrams, and
- (8) *Zagua*, a second list of hexagrams.

Tuanzhuan and *Dazhuan* are each divided into two sections, making ten wings all told. (See [Table 21](#).) *Daxiang* and *Xiaoxiang* are amalgamated into one, *Xiangzhuan*, which is then divided into two sections. *Wenyan* is sometimes placed before *Dazhuan*.

These documents are crucial for the later history of the Book of Changes. Some of them clearly show the problems that were encountered by official teachers in

understanding *Zhouyi* at a time when its original purpose was no more than half-remembered. The commentators grappled with questions about the original purpose of the oracles – why some were favourable and others were inauspicious – and *Tuanzhuan* and *Xiaoxiang* set out to explain the relationships between the lines and their oracles, relationships which have in fact no rationale. Another concern, for which the Great Treatise is the core document, was to construct a cosmology that provided a philosophical basis for these explanations (see page 44ff). The study of trigrams developed. Sundry lesser teaching aids were added to the Wings. Philosophy and pedagogy naturally turned to moralizing.

The earliest listing of the Wings is in *Shiji* 47, where Confucius is said to have known *Xu*, *Tuan*, *Xiang*, *Xi*, *Shuogua*, and *Wenyan* in that order. *Zagua* is not mentioned. *Xu*, however, which looks most clearly out of order, is more likely a verb, making the sentence mean that Confucius ‘arranged’ the wings – in which case neither *Xugua* nor *Zagua* are mentioned. Indeed, the last two wings are almost certainly later additions. It is now generally accepted that the wings were not composed as a whole, and that they reached their present form during the Han era. They contain Late Warring States thought, but, strikingly, no reference to the theory of Five Phases or Elements (fire, water, wood, metal and earth) in constant interchange. Parts of Wings 5, 6 and 8 were found in the Mawangdui burial of 168 BC. Probably none of the Wings was written much before 200 BC, while the last two may have been written as late as the early second century AD. Further notes on dating will be found in the introductions to each wing.

Table 21 CHART OF THE TEN WINGS

Wing	Title		Contents
1	Tuanzhuan	I	Hexagrams and hexagram statements 1–30
2		II	Hexagrams and hexagram statements 31–64
3	Xiangzhuan	I	Daxiang I: Constituent trigrams 1–30 Xiaoxiang I: Lines of Hexagrams 1–30
4		II	Daximang II: Constituent trigrams 31–64 Xiaoximang II: Lines of Hexagrams 31–64
5	Dazhun (Xicizhuan)	I	Theory including <i>Dayan</i> (wand-counting symbolism); & comments on 8 line statements
6		II	Theory, including <i>Guzhe</i> (civilization myths); & comments on 11 line statements

7	Wenyan	Four fragments on Hexagrams 1 and 2
8	Shuogua	Hexagram origins; symbolism of trigrams
9	Xugua	Mnemonic for the hexagrams in order
10	Zagua	Rhymed glosses on the hexagram tags

The literary style of the wings varies from elevated poetic prose to bare jottings. In spite of this obvious lack of unity, and without good historical or textual cause, all ten came to be attributed to Confucius – which helped to establish *Zhouyi* in the Confucian canon and curriculum of Han. Though they are called *zhuan*, commentaries, only Wings 1–4 and 7 are textual commentaries. Even these five show little interest in glossing the hexagram tags and almost none in explaining difficulties in the oracles. They explain only the broad principles governing why particular hexagrams and lines indicate certain prognoses. This mantic material, together with the lists of symbols and discussions of a few individual oracles, is biased toward cosmology and political philosophy with a modicum of ethical concern. It is not surprising that such writings entrenched the Chinese view that *Zhouyi* was a book of wisdom.

In some editions the Ten Wings are printed entire as a group of appendixes to *Zhouyi*. This was probably the older arrangement. It was suggested by Zhu Xi and revived by the Kangxi editors. Most editions, however, adopt another arrangement, which possibly derives from the tradition of the Han commentator Fei Zhi (50 BC-AD 10). In this arrangement Wings 1–4 and 7 (the commentaries on the text) are divided into gobbets, each gobbet printed immediately after the passage in *Zhouyi* to which it refers. The result is a complex mixture of fragmented material from several documents. An example of this arrangement is given on page 366.

Complexity of arrangement has thus dogged *Yijing* from very early times. A further complication comes in the first three wings. The 1st and 3rd Wings (*Tuanzhuan* and *Xiaoxiang*) have much in common; the 2nd Wing (*Daxiang*) is fundamentally different from them, but has been inserted between them.

All the Wings have been translated by Legge, Wilhelm, Wu Jing-Nuan and Richard John Lynn. Legge follows the Kangxi arrangement, treating each document as a separate entity. Wu does the same, with differences of detail. Wilhelm and Lynn follow Fei Zhi, dividing some of the wings into gobbets interspersed throughout *Zhouyi*, so that all matter referring to any statement in

Zhouyi is easily accessible alongside that statement, but the characteristics of each wing are obscured. I have presented all the wings here as separate and entire documents in order to clarify their literary structure and content.

Although some of the hexagram tags have been emended in my translation of *Zhouyi*, in my translations of the Ten Wings I have given the tags as they appear in the received text. Whenever I thought amending quotations from my translation of *Zhouyi* would make the Wings easier to understand, I have done so; but this practice is bound to be unsatisfactory, because little work has yet been done on the understanding of *Zhouyi* prevailing when the Wings were written, and I am not competent to undertake it. (For more details, see the Translation Notes *passim* and page 39–40.) AN EXAMPLE OF TRADITIONAL YIJING PRESENTATION

The Zhouyi text of Hexagram 22 is shown here as interspersed with the appropriate sections of Wings 1–4 in the ‘Fei Zhu arrangement. Further snippets by later commentators may also be inserted after each Tuan and Xiang entry.

--

--

--

--

--

--

BI. Success. Moderately favourable, when there is somewhere to go. *Tuan* says: BI. ‘Success’: a broken line conies down to make a pattern with whole lines in the lower trigram, hence ‘success’. A whole line rises to make a pattern with broken ones in the upper trigram, hence ‘moderately favourable when there is somewhere to go’ (*lacuna*) the patterns of heaven; patterns that are ‘bright’ (lower trigram) and ‘stopping’ (upper trigram) are the patterns of man. By observing the patterns of heaven, the course of time is calculated; by observing the patterns of man, society can be transformed.

Xiang says: Mountain with Fire beneath: BI. A prince thus understands administration and does not presume in criminal judgments.

Base line, 9: Bedight, his feet. Leaving the carriage to walk. *Xiang says:* ‘Leaving the carriage to walk’ because a base line has no line to ride.

Second line, 6: Bedight, his beard.

Xiang says: ‘Bedight his beard’ this line bears the line above. *Third line, 9:* Bedight with sheen veneered. Long term constancy: auspicious.

Xiang says: ‘Auspicious: long-term consistency’ means not finally disappointed.

Fourth line, 6: Bedight and bright, plumed horses white: not with robbers allied, but fetching a bride.

Xiang says: A broken line in the fourth place matches, but leaves doubt, ‘not with robbers allied, but fetching a bride’ means there will ultimately be no calamity.

Fifth line, 6: Bedight among the garden knolls, though few and poor those silken rolls. Distress, but ultimately auspicious. *Xiang says:* ‘Auspicious’ even in a broken fifth means happiness. *Top line, 9:* Bedight in white. No misfortune.

Xiang says: ‘Bedight in white. No misfortune,’ at the top means gaining the intention.

I have translated the word *de* (traditionally translated as ‘virtue’) as ‘powers’, and *heng*, originally meaning ‘offering’, as ‘success’.

Superscript numbers at the beginning of paragraphs are ‘chapter-and-verse’ numbers, common in modern Chinese editions, and useful for reference purposes. They are not ancient. Matter in square brackets is not found in the original. I have adopted this device from Legge, in order to avoid cumbersome annotation.

Wings 1 and 2

COMMENTARY ON THE HEXAGRAM STATEMENTS

Tuanzhuan

The 1st and 2nd wings form *Tuanzhuan*, the Commentary on the Hexagram Statements, divided into two sections corresponding to the two sections of *Zhouyi*: entries for Hexagrams 1–30 forming the 1st Wing and those for Hexagrams 31–64 forming the 2nd.¹ *Tuanzhuan* is usually regarded as the oldest of the Ten Wings, but the only reason for this seems to be that it stands before the others in *Yijing*.

Shchutsky characterized *Tuanzhuan* as regarding ‘political events from the

point of view of cosmic forces.’² If ‘political’ is understood as referring to the arts of ruling, his summary is apt enough, but the major concern of the text is with explanation of mantic values. Following Chinese traditions, Wilhelm (who transmits an understanding of late Qing) and Lynn (whose aim is to convey the Han commentary tradition), treat the ‘descriptive’ names of both trigrams and hexagrams as moral vocabulary, referring to the ideal gentleman. This makes the document appear as a book of moral advice. Whether the original author intended this is more than doubtful. On the other hand, there are signs in *Tuanzhuan* of developing metaphysical thought that harmonizes with the Great Treatise. There are also echoes of the ancient cultural setting of *Zhouyi*: references to sacrificial practices in 50 and 51; and repeated references to *zhi* ‘the intention’ of the divination, the wish expressed by the diviner in the optative charge to the yarrow-wands (see page 147f).

The length of commentary on one hexagram varies from 27 characters for Hexagram 17 to 91 characters for Hexagram 32. The average is 45 characters, with three quarters of the entries having between 30 and 55 characters each. There is some use of rhyme.³

The structure of each entry is disconnected and not rigidly uniform, but most entries follow an underlying threefold pattern, dealing with tag, drawing and statements in that order.

(a) The tag is given first, acting merely as a ‘serial number’ to identify the hexagram under discussion. Usually the tag receives no comment, but it is sometimes invoked in commenting on the constituent trigrams or lines. For a few the meaning of the tag may be implied by the commentary (as for Hexagram 40), but for twenty-one hexagrams (5, 7, 8, 20, 23, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 39, 43, 44, 45, 49, 52, 55, 58) a definition is given, sometimes tautological (23, 28, 31, 34 and 62), often cryptic (23, 34, 36), occasionally punning (35, 58) and at least once a guess (55). The fact that any explanations were needed at all indicates that by the time *Tuanzhuan* was written the meaning of the tags was no longer self-evident – if it ever had been.

(b) Comments on the hexagram drawing may follow, usually with reference to the constituent trigrams and to the placing of whole and broken lines. There is no clear mention of nuclear trigrams (see page 97) in *Tuanzhuan*. *Yin/yang* theory may be invoked.

Analysing hexagrams into trigrams has no intrinsic meaning. Apart from the fundamental *yin-yang* meanings of Qian and Kun, only the *xiang* or ‘family’

correspondences have any mathematical or other basis in the trigram drawings: the other correspondences are arbitrary. Since there are several correspondences for each trigram, interpretation depends on an imaginative choice. It cannot prove or explain any cosmic significance for a hexagram, other than coincidentally.

Very often there is no explicit indication of which trigram stands above the other. The ‘descriptions’ of two trigrams are linked by a conjunctive particle meaning ‘and’: *er* 26 times, *yi* 11 times and the combination *eryi* once. The trigram first mentioned is always the lower one. *Shun er zhi* ‘compliant and stopping’ means ‘Kun beneath Gen’. Sometimes, however, one of four sets of complementary terms for indicating the positions is invoked:

	<i>Lower</i>		<i>Upper</i>
XIA	below	SHANG	above
NEI	inner	WAI	outer
LA1	coming	WANG	going
HOU	behind	QIAN	before

Xia/shang, the most straightforward of these sets, is used only eight times. *Nei/wai* is typical of entries 11 and 12. It is found also in 25, 36 and 56. (In 58 and 59 *wai* refers to the upper lines of trigrams.) *Lai/wang* also is typical of entries 11 and 12, where it derives from the hexagram statement. (*Lai* also occurs in entries 6, 22, 25 and 59, where it means ‘coming down to the lower trigram’.) *Hou/qian* is used only in entries 5 and 39, each time in the same phrase: *xian zai qian ye* ‘dangerous is in front’. (*Hou* for the lower trigram does not occur at all.) It is possible that these four sets, all adopted by later writers, originated in these occurrences in *Tuanzhuan*.

Trigrams are used purely for identifying hexagrams by describing them. Some hexagrams are described twice, using different names for the constituent trigrams. The entry for Hexagram 4, for example, states: ‘The Mountain trigram under the Danger trigram, or the Danger trigram and the Stopping trigram, makes Meng.’ This method opens the way for commentators to find significance in the combination of trigrams, and some, not least Wilhelm, suggest that the hexagram tag or hexagram statement arises from the constituent trigrams. This is not evident from *Tuanzhuan*. Nor is there any sign that the trigram names have any philosophic meaning. Some entries do not mention trigrams at all (e.g. 1, 2, 51, 62, 63, 64).

More often than not, trigrams are identified by their ‘descriptions’ (the *xingqing*: strong, compliant, moving, entering, sinking, bright, stopping and pleasing, see page 441) rather than by their tags (Qian, Kun, Zhen, Xun, Kan, Li, Gen, Dui), except that Xun is never called *ru* ‘entering’ – it is always Xun – and Kan is not referred to as *xian* ‘sinking’, but by another *xian* meaning ‘dangerous’. Li is often called *ming* ‘bright’. Twice the family relationships system is invoked. Correspondences such as wood or wind for Xun, fire or lightning for Li, lake for Kan, earth for Kun and heaven for Qian are limited to three or fewer in each case.

A ‘strong (*gang*) trigram’ (as distinct from Qian, the *jian* ‘strong’ trigram) is the same thing as a *yang* trigram (see page 163): it has either three or one whole lines. A ‘yielding’ or *yin* trigram has three or one broken lines. (See the entries for Hexagrams 31, 32, 35, 42 and 44.) ‘Strong’ and ‘compliant’ are also used to describe whole and broken lines (as in entry 13). A single line that determines the *yin* or *yang* character of a trigram is said to rule it (see entry 25).

When one of the constituent trigrams is Qian and the other trigram contains only one whole line, that line is said to have ‘moved’ into its trigram. The same is said of a single broken line in a trigram combined with Kun.

When a hexagram contains three whole and three broken lines and either two whole or two broken lines occur contiguously in one of the constituent trigrams, that trigram is taken to have been originally Qian or Kun and the third line of the same form is said to have ‘moved’ to the other trigram (see Hexagrams 17 and 22). Lines are also said to have ‘moved’ in less well defined circumstances, especially when a whole line is flanked by broken lines or *vice versa*.

(c) Comments on the hexagram statement are added, except for Hexagram 37. In 37 there is no quotation from the hexagram statement. Otherwise, virtually the whole text of the statement is quoted, except for seven hexagrams (3, 7, 25, 26, 29, 40, 48) which have significant omissions. Clearly the intention was to comment exhaustively.



The first two entries in *Tuanzhuan* differ from the other sixty-two in that they have a special structure and were clearly designed as a pair. Both are written in four-character verse, using distichs that have the same final rhyme throughout the strophe. The distichs for Qian are interrupted by a line without rhyme or metre that appears to be an explanatory insertion from *Wenyan* I.v.6; and the

antepenultimate verse has only three characters. The rhymes for Kun are notably unsophisticated: four of the eight are the same word, *jiang* ‘limit’ or ‘bound’. Both entries contain references to the ‘four qualities’ *yuanheng lizhen* (see page 126), although the character *heng* does not itself appear in the second distich for Qian; and the final distich of each item refers to the supernumerary line.

Item 42 is a single strophe in four-character verses arranged as seven distichs on a single rhyme.

Two other entries form a striking pair structurally: the commentaries on Hexagrams 11 and 12 are written in sentences that correspond in every detail, save that they mirror each other, being differentiated by inversions and contradictions. No other pair receives this treatment, which was probably given because the hexagram statements of 11 and 12 mirror each other. Item 37 is a passage of balanced prose that refers only obliquely to the structure of the hexagram and does not quote the hexagram statement.

The word *xiang* ‘figure’ appears three times in *Tuanzhuàn* (23, 50, 62). Elsewhere in the Wings it appears only in the Great Treatise and the titles of the 3rd and 4th Wings. Its meaning (‘figure’, see page 132) is the same in all three documents.

Several repeated formulas occur, especially at the end of items: (a) [tag] + *zhi shi yi da yi zai* ‘occasions of [tag] are great indeed’ (16, 17, 27, 28, 29, 38, 39, 40, 44, 49, 56); (b) *yu shi xie xing* ‘forward in harmony with the occasion’ (the last line of both 41 and 42); (c) [*guan qi suo* (tag)] *er tiandi wanwu zhi qing kejian yi* ‘by observing this [tag] the nature of all things in heaven and earth can be seen’ (31, 32, 34, 45).

There is some cross reference between *Tuanzhuàn* and *Zagua*, the 10th Wing. The final couplets of *Tuanzhuàn* 11 and 12 are variants of the final sentence of *Zagua*, which also contains some of *Tuanzhuàn*’s definitions of tag characters (see page xx).

In editions of *Yijing* where the Hexagram Statement Commentary is divided into fragments printed throughout *Zhouyi*, each fragment is introduced with the words *Tuan yue* ‘The Hexagram Statement Commentary says ...’ (See page 366.) No numbers are given to the entries in the Chinese text: the hexagram tags are used instead. Superscript numbers are added here for convenience. Quotations from hexagram statements are given in italic.

Tuanzhuàn and xiaoxiang zhuàn

Tuanzhuan and *Xiaoxiang* have significant similarities. Both are works of descriptive theory, and both have the characteristics of teachers' notebooks. They could have been conceived together as a pair; or, since *Tuanzhuan* has the richer thought content, *Xiaoxiang* may have been devised later to complement *Tuanzhuan*. Both address the same questions: (1) Why are the prognoses good, bad or vague for each hexagram and line? (2) Why do some hexagrams and lines look good but have poor prognoses, or *vice versa*? Both documents frame their answers in the same terms: the nature of the trigrams and the positions of the lines. The oracles give rise to the questions, and the drawings provide the answers.

There is also a general resemblance of content and style. Several phrases occur in *Tuanzhuan* and *Xiaoxiang* that occur nowhere else in *Yijing*: (1) *qi dao qiong ye* 'this *dao* is running out (or is exhausted)' (*Tuan* 8, 39, 60 and 63; *Xiaoxiang* 2:top and 60:top). This seems to be related to the idea in *Tuan* 32 that an end is always a beginning, and to the principle of the Great Treatise that alternation of *yang* and *yin* is unrelenting. When the *dao* of one course of life or action is exhausted, another *dao*, probably diametrically opposed to it, will take over; (2) *dang wei* 'matches the position of the line' (*Tuan* 21, 33, 39, 60 and 64; *Xiaoxiang* 5:top, 39:4, 40:4 and 47:4). Related formulas include *wei bu dang* 'position does not match', *bu dang wei*, 'not matching the position', and *wei zheng dang* 'correctly matching the position'; (3) *wang you gong* 'proceeding will bring good results' (*Tuan* 5, 29, 39, 40 and 53); *and gong* in similar constructions (*Tuanzhuan* 5 and 48; *Xiaoxiang* 7:3 and top, 17:base and 4, 29:3, 32:top and 57:4); (4) the first two lines of the entry for Hexagram 51 are the same in both documents;

(5) *Shun yi Xun* appears in *Tuanzhuan* as the description of the constituent trigrams of Hexagram 20, 'compliant and docile'. The same phrase occurs three times in *Xiaoxiang* (4:5, 37:2 and 53:4), where it seems to be a literal description of broken lines, and to have no reference to the trigrams, unless as an intimation of nuclear trigram theory in 53:4. (See page 97.) Both documents make much use of several technical terms that refer to the positions of lines within the hexagrams and are found elsewhere only in *Wenyan*. These terms relate to *yin/yang* theory, to the analysis of hexagrams into trigrams, and to four properties of hexagram lines that are found in germ in the Great Treatise.

(1) Odd numbers being taken as *yang* and even numbers as *yin*, whole lines (single strokes) are *yang* and broken lines (two strokes each) are *yin*. For the same reason, the first, third and fifth lines are *yang* positions and the second, fourth and sixth lines are *yin* positions. When a *yang* (whole) line is in a *yang* position

(bottom, third or fifth), or a *yin* (broken) line is in a *yin* position (second, fourth or top), that line is said to be *zheng* ‘correct’.

(2) The second and fifth lines are also said to be *zhong* ‘central’ to the constituent trigrams. Hence a broken second line or a whole fifth line is said to be *zhongzheng* or *zhengzhong* ‘central and correct’, and is peculiarly auspicious.

(3) Lines in analogous positions in the two constituent trigrams (bottom and fourth, second and fifth, third and top) are said to *ying* ‘correspond’ or ‘answer’ each other if one is whole and the other broken. This too is an auspicious circumstance, especially in the thirty-two hexagrams where the second and fifth lines correspond in this way. Fourteen cases are mentioned in *Tuanzhuan*.

(4) When a whole line stands above a broken one, the upper is said to *cheng* ‘ride’ the lower, and the lower to *cheng* ‘receive’ or ‘support’ the upper. (Though the characters are different, both terms are pronounced *cheng* in modern Chinese.) This too is auspicious.

Nothing in the text of the *Zhouyi* oracles suggests that these four principles were part of Bronze Age practice. Nor are they mentioned in the Zuo Commentary.

Tuanzhuan and *Xiaoxiang* resemble the Great Treatise (especially II.ix) in the matter of line positions and in containing repeated references to *dao*. They resemble the Zuo Commentary in using *yin/yang* theory and trigram symbolism – although they are not entirely alike in these matters (see page 175). This suggests the later Warring States Period, after the composition of the Zuo Commentary, as a likely date for *Tuanzhuan*, and possibly for *Xiaoxiang* too.

They differ in that *Tuanzhuan* gives an exhaustive treatment of the hexagram statements, while the laconic *Xiaoxiang* is eclectic in its choice of parts of the line statements.

Wings 1 and 2
HEXAGRAM STATEMENTS COMMENTARY
Tuanzhuan

PART I

Hexagrams 1–30

¹QIAN

Great is the primacy (*yuan*) of Qian, giving origin to all the myriad things, and pervading heaven.

As clouds move on and rain showers down,
so all things are with shape impressed (*heng*).
So clear and bright from start to end,
occasions are with six lines blest.
(The occasion drives six dragons through the heavens.)
The *dao* of Qian, transformed by change,
makes all correct at fate's behest:
all things in one great harmony,
the *lucky omen* (*lizhen*) manifest,
raising its head above the crowd –
ten thousand states in peace may rest.

²KUN

Complete is the primacy (*yuan*) of Kun, giving birth to all the myriad things, and obeying heaven.

As Kun is rich and bears all things,
its power for union knows no bound.
All things are set in its great light
and thus are with completion (*heng*) crowned.
Mares and the earth are of one kind,
they range abroad and have no bound.
The broken lines *portend good luck* (*lizhen*).
A prince is on a journey bound:
at first he wanders from the way;
then quietly finds the proper ground.
By west and south one's friends are gained,
among ones kith and kindred found;

*by east and north one's friends are lost,
until good luck at last is sound;
and safety omens turn out well,
because earth's confines have no bound.*

³ZHUN. Whole and broken lines begin to interact [after the homogeneity of the first two hexagrams] and bring to birth with difficulty. The lower trigram is 'moving' and the upper is 'dangerous'. *Augury of great success*. The stimulus of Thunder and Rainwater makes things grow luxuriantly, but heaven's creation may be mysterious and confused. *Suitable for appointing to lordships*, but not peaceful.

⁴MENG. Mountain under 'dangerous': 'dangerous' and 'stopping' make Meng. *Meng. Success: going forward to success, in the course of the occasion. It is not I who seek the immature; the immature seek me: the intention corresponds* [in Lines 2 and 5]. *One divination receives a reply* because of the whole central [2nd] line. *Repetition is irreverent; repetition receives no reply: because irreverence is immaturity. Immaturity can be corrected by nurture. A sage has success.*

⁵XU: 'waiting'. The front is 'dangerous', but the whole lines of 'strong' prevent any falling into danger. This means no weakening or coming to an end. *Xu. Reliable; great success; auspicious augury: the position of the heavenly (whole 5th) line is central and correct. Favourable for crossing a big river: proceeding will bring good results.*

⁶SONG. The upper trigram is strong, the lower is 'dangerous': 'dangerous' and 'strong' makes Song. *Song. Reliable; auspicious in the midst of obstruction and alarm, because a whole line comes down to hold the central (2nd) position. Ultimately disastrous: the dispute (song) cannot succeed. Favourable for meeting great men: respecting what is central and correct. Not favourable for crossing a big river: entering deep waters.*

⁷SHI: 'the masses' (or 'army'). *Zhen 'augury' also means 'correctness'. The masses can be corrected – perhaps by a king. The whole (2nd) line is central and corresponds (with Line 5). 'Dangerous' and 'compliant'. Hence, though there be trouble under heaven, the people will obey This being auspicious, how can there be misfortune?*

⁸BI. *Auspicious: bi means 'helping' and the lower trigram is 'compliant' and is subordinate. First divination; long-range augury; no misfortune: because the*

whole (5th) line is central. *Men coming from unsubjected lands*: the upper (5th) and lower (2nd) lines correspond. The end is *disastrous*: this *dao* is running out.

⁹XIAOCHU. A broken line holding (the 4th) position, corresponding [to the whole 5th and 3rd lines] above and below. This is called Xiaochu: ‘strong’ and Xun. Since strong lines are central, the intention will go forward. *Success; thick clouds, no rain*: there will be progress. *Starting from our western town-fields*; but not yet effective.

¹⁰LU”. A broken (3rd) line steps on the whole (2nd), but ‘pleasing’ corresponds to Qian. This means that *stepping on a tiger’s tail, one does not get bitten; success*. The whole (5th) line is central and correct, in the divine (5th) position of Lü”, with no distress, luminous and clear.

¹¹TAI. *The small depart* (Earth trigram, ‘going’ or upper), *the great come* (Heaven trigram, ‘coming’ or lower); *auspicious; success*.

When Heaven and Earth interact,
the myriad entities are activated;
when upper and lower interact,
their intentions are united.

The lower (trigram) is *yang*, the upper is *yin*,
the lower ‘strong’, the upper ‘compliant’,
the lower a prince, the upper a small man.

A prince’s *dao* will wax;
a small man’s *dao* will wane.

¹²PI. *For offenders; augury not favourable for princes; the great depart* (Heaven trigram, ‘going’ or upper), *the small come* (Earth trigram, ‘coming’ or lower).

When Heaven and Earth do not interact,
the myriad entities are not activated.
When upper and lower do not interact,
under heaven there is no good government.

The lower is *yin*, the upper is *yang*;
the lower is broken, the upper is whole;
the lower a small man, the upper a prince.

Hence: a small man’s *dao* will wax;
a prince’s *dao* will wane.

¹³DONGREN. A broken line is in a central position (in Line 2), and corresponds to (a whole line in) Qian. This is called Dongren. Dongren says *Mustering men in the countryside; success; favourable for crossing a big river*. Qian is in action. The pattern is 'bright' and 'strong', correct and corresponding (in the 2nd and 5th). *A prince corrects*. Only a prince can penetrate all intentions under heaven.

¹⁴DAYOU. A broken line holds the position of honour right in the great centre (5th position). Above and below correspond (2nd whole and 5th broken). This is *Dayou*. The power [of the lower trigram] is 'strong' and the pattern [of the upper trigram] 'bright', answering to heaven as occasions develop; hence *supreme success*.

¹⁵QIAN. *Success*.

The *dao* of heaven sends down help and light;
the *dao* of earth is low and moves upward.
Heaven's *dao* deflates haughtiness and enriches modesty;
Earth's *dao* changes haughtiness and replenishes modesty.
Spirits and gods afflict haughtiness and bless modesty;
man's *dao* rejects haughtiness and favours modesty.

In high rank modesty shines; in low rank it does not overstep the mark. It is *the achievement of a prince*.

¹⁶YU. One whole line corresponds [to all the others] and the intention will go forward. 'Compliant' and 'moving' make Yu. Yu is 'compliant' and 'moving', like heaven and earth. Even more *appointing to lordships and advancing the armies* is like heaven and earth being compliant in movement. The sun and moon do not deviate and the four seasons do not get out of course: by such movement and compliance the sages ordained just punishments and the people submitted. Occasions of Yu are great indeed.

¹⁷SUI. A whole line comes down below the broken lines, 'moving' and 'pleasing' trigrams. *Sui*. *Great success; favourable augury; no misfortune*: all under heaven *sui* ('accords with') the occasion. Occasions of *sui* are great indeed.

¹⁸GU. Whole lines above and broken ones below, Xun and 'stopping' make Gu. *Gu*. *Great success*: controlling the country. *Favourable for crossing a big river*; proceeding will be effective. *Three days before a jia day and three days*

after a jia day: an end must mean a new beginning. This is heaven's way.

¹⁹LIN. Whole lines encroach and grow: 'pleasing' and 'compliant'. A whole (2nd) line is central and corresponds (to Line 5). *Great success* because of this correctness: this is the *dao* of heaven. *Until the eighth moon, disastrous*: decline will not last long.

²⁰GUAN. Great *guan* 'observation' is above in 'compliant' and Xun. (The 5th line is) central and correct and observes the whole world. *Guan. Pouring libations and not yet sacrificing, with reliability and dignity*: those below observe and are changed. Observing heaven's spirit *dao*, the four seasons never vary; by the spirit *dao* the sages set forth their teachings and all under heaven submit.

²¹SHIKE. Something between the jaws is called Shike. *Shike: success*. Whole and broken lines are [equally] divided in 'moving' and 'bright', Thunder and Lightning (Fire) uniting in one pattern. A broken line gets the central place as it rises in the upper trigram. Though the lines do not match their positions, this is *favourable in disputes*.

²²BI. *Success*: a broken line comes down to make a pattern with whole lines, hence *success*; and a whole line rises to make a pattern with broken ones: hence *moderately favourable when there is somewhere to go*. (*lacuna*) the patterns of heaven; patterns that are 'bright' (lower trigram) and 'stopping' (upper trigram) are the patterns of man. By observing the patterns of heaven, the course of time is calculated; by observing the patterns of man, society can be transformed.

²³BO. *Bo* ('stripping') means *bo* ('stripping'). The broken lines change to a whole line (at the top). *Not favourable when there is somewhere to go*: small men (broken lines) are increasing. 'Compliant' and 'stopping' mean observing the archetypal figures. Princes observe the ebbing and flowing, waxing and waning in the heavens.

²⁴FU. *Success*. The whole line returns [from its position in 23] to the bottom: 'moving' and 'compliant'. *Going out and coming in, no illness; a friend arrives; no misfortune; returning he doubles his track, and seven days later he's back*. This is the course of heavenly bodies. *Favourable when there is somewhere to go*: the whole line is long-lasting. Does not *Fu* show the core of heaven and earth?

²⁵WUWANG. A whole line comes down from the outer trigram to rule in the inner trigram: 'moving' and 'strong'. The whole central 5th line has a corresponding broken 2nd line. *Great success* because of this correctness: heaven

so ordains. *If it is not right, sad is our plight; not favourable when there is somewhere to go.* How can one proceed when the unexpected arrives? How can one go forward without heaven's blessing?

²⁶DACHU. [The trigrams are] whole and 'strong', solid and true, shining and bright, with daily renewal of powers. The whole line at the top honours men of worth. 'Stopping' what is 'strong' means firmly correcting. *Auspicious for eating away from home* means nurturing men of worth. *Favourable for crossing a big river*, (the 5th line) corresponds to (the 2nd line in) the Heaven trigram.

²⁷YI. *Auspicious augury*: nurturing what is correct is auspicious. *Observe the molars*: observe what they nurture. *Read the state of the jaws for yourself*: observe what they are nurtured on. Heaven and earth nurture the myriad beings; the sages nurtured men of worth, and through them the ten thousand people. Occasions of Yi are great indeed.

²⁸DAGUO: *da* ('great') *guo* ('surpassing'). *The ridgepole sags*: the top and base lines are weak (broken), but there is surpassing strength in the middle [four whole lines – two of them whole and central]. Xun and 'pleasing' are active. *Favourable when there is somewhere to go; success.* Occasions of *Daguo* are great indeed.

²⁹KAN. *A pit within a pit* is the redoubled 'dangerous' trigram. Water [symbolized by this trigram] flows in but does not overflow: action is 'dangerous', but without loss of trustworthiness. *Success at heart* because a whole line is central [to the trigram]. *Travel brings rewards*: proceeding will bring good results. The dangerous places of heaven cannot be scaled; the dangerous places of earth are mountains, streams, hills and mounds. Kings and dukes treat such dangerous places as bulwarks for their countries. Occasions to use the 'dangerous' hexagram are great indeed.

³⁰LI: 'attached'. Sun and moon are attached to heaven; the hundred grains, plants and trees are attached to earth. Redoubled brightness [two Fire trigrams] is attached to what is correct, transforming and perfecting all under heaven. A broken line is attached to the centre and correct [in the 2nd line]. Therefore *success*, and *auspicious for raising cows*.

PART II

Hexagrams 31–64

³¹XIAN: *xian* [‘influence’]. A yielding trigram above and a strong trigram below, the two energies correspond to one another and interact. [These are] ‘stopping’ and ‘pleasing’. A male (eldest son) trigram below a female (eldest daughter) trigram means *Success; favourable augury for taking a wife: auspicious*. Heaven and earth influence one another and the myriad creatures change and give birth. Sages influence men’s minds and all is peace under heaven. Observe what is Xian and the nature of all things in heaven and earth can be seen.

³²HENG: ‘long-lasting’. A strong trigram above and a yielding trigram below, Thunder and Wind working together, Xun and ‘moving’, with broken and whole lines corresponding [throughout], make *heng*. *Heng. Long-lasting success; no misfortune; favourable augury*. Long-lasting in its *dao*, the *dao* of heaven and earth, *heng* is long-lasting and never stops. *Favourable when there is somewhere to go*: an end must be followed by a new beginning.

Sun and moon are set in heaven
and can shine on for ever;
the four seasons change in sequence
and can go on for ever.
Sages are long-lasting in their *dao*,
so that all under heaven can be realized.

Observe what is *heng*, and the nature of all things in heaven and earth can be seen.

³³DUN. *Success: dun* ‘retreating’ that implies ‘success’. The strong (5th) line matches its position and corresponds (with Line 2), moving forward with the occasion. *Somewhat favourable augury*: [broken lines] encroach and grow [from the bottom]. Occasions of *dun* are great indeed.

³⁴DAZHUANG: *da* (‘great’) is *zhuang* (‘strong’), a whole line ‘moving’ [upper trigram] and becoming strong. *Dazhuang. Favourable augury*. What is ‘great’ is ‘correct’. Being correct and great means the nature of heaven and earth can be

seen.

³⁵JIN: ‘advancement’. The Light trigram comes out above the Earth trigram. ‘Compliant’ below ‘bright’ gives great Light. A broken line advances and moves to the upper trigram. This is the meaning of *The Marquis of Kang was given horses; they multiplied; he was received in audience three times a day*.

³⁶MINGYI. The Light trigram going under the Earth trigram is *mingyi* ‘brightness obscured’. The inner trigram is ‘bright’, the outer, all broken lines, is ‘compliant’, as when suffering great troubles. This happened to King Wen. *Favourable augury in difficulty*: there is light in the darkness. Intentions can be correct amidst internal difficulties, as Jizi showed.

³⁷JIAREN

Woman’s proper position is inside [the house],
[a *yin* line is central in the lower trigram]
man’s proper position is outside [the house]
[a *yang* line is central in the upper trigram].

Man and woman correctly placed
show the great will of heaven and earth.

A household (*jiaren*) has strict rulers,
meaning father and mother [the 2nd and 5th lines].

Let a father act as a father,
a son as a son,
an elder brother as an elder brother,
a younger brother as a younger brother,
a husband as a husband,
and a wife as a wife:
then the *dao* of the household will be right;
and a right household means a world at rights.

³⁸KUI. Fire moving upward, Still Water moving below, like two sisters (2nd daughter and 3rd daughter) who live together, but their intentions are not the same. ‘Pleasing’ and ‘bright’ give light. [In the 5th position] a broken line moves, advancing upwards, takes the central place and corresponds to the whole [2nd] line. This means *auspiciousness for small matters*. Heaven and earth are contraries, but have united functions; man and woman are contraries, but share

their intentions; the ten thousand entities include contraries, but have the same kinds of functions. Occasions of *Kui* are hugely useful.

³⁹JIAN: ‘trouble’. The upper trigram is ‘dangerous’; seeing danger and being able to ‘stop’ [lower trigram] is wisdom. *Jian*. *Favourable to west and south*, because the central line of the upper trigram is correct. *Unfavourable to east and north*: this *dao* is running out. *Favourable for seeing great men*: proceeding will bring good results. The matching positions [of the 2nd to 6th lines] give an *auspicious augury* for correcting a state. Occasions of *Jian* are great indeed.

⁴⁰JIE. ‘Dangerous’ and ‘moving’: ‘moving’ to escape from ‘dangerous’ makes *Jie*. *Jie*. *Favourable to west and south*, proceeding to win the people. *Auspicious for coming and going*: because of holding the central positions [which correspond]. *Having somewhere to go, auspicious in the early morning*: proceeding will bring good results. Heaven and earth *jie* ‘are unloosed’ to give thunder and rain. Thunder and rain make the seeds of fruits, plants and trees burst open and germinate. Occasions of *Jie* are great indeed.

⁴¹ SUN. Decreasing the lower trigram [by removing a *yang* line] and increasing the upper trigram [by adding a *yang* line] – this *dao* is rising. *Sun*. *Reliable; most auspicious; no misfortune; augury possible; favourable when there is somewhere to go; what use are two bowls? use them for an offering*: two bowls correspond to the occasion. Losing a whole line or gaining a broken line fits the occasion. Decrease and increase, overflow or emptying ‘*will each occasion’s needs requite*’.

⁴²YI. The high is robbed to help the low:
the people feel uncurbed delight.
Down from above, downward descends
the glorious *dao*, immense and bright.
Success will favour every plan,
good luck is central, wholly right.
The broadest *stream may now be crossed*
by use of wood’s superior might,
As *Yi* moves smoothly on its way,
in daily progress infinite.
Heaven gives; earth too gives in response,
increase crowns every depth and height.
The universal *dao* of *Yi*

will each occasion's needs require.

Notes: This is a reworking of Legge's translation. Lines 1 and 2: The upper or 'high' trigram is notionally Heaven, consisting of three whole lines, from which the bottom one has been moved to the bottom of the 'low' trigram, notionally Earth. Line 5: 'Success favouring every plan' means: *favourable when there is somewhere to go*. Line 6: The central lines of both constituent trigrams are *wholly right* 'correctly placed'. Line 8: Wood signifies the upper trigram, suggesting a boat. Line 9: *Yi* is the name of the hexagram. 'Moves' is the lower 'Moving' trigram, and 'smoothly' is Xun, the upper trigram. Line 11: The Heaven trigram and the Earth trigram notionally 'give in response' their bottom lines to each other.

⁴³GUAI: 'displacing'. Whole lines displace broken ones [to form] 'strong' and 'pleasing', giving displacement, yet harmony. *Shown at the royal court:* the broken line rides on five whole ones. *Captives cry out; dangerous.* This crisis brings glory. *Report from a city; not favourable for espousing violence:* what was esteemed is running out. *Favourable when there is somewhere to go:* whole lines are growing in number [from the bottom] and there will be a conclusion.

⁴⁴GOU: 'meeting'. A weak trigram meets a strong one. *Do not use to take a wife:* because [the couple, like the trigrams] cannot last long together. When heaven and earth meet together: 'all things are with completion crowned' [see *Tuan 2*, verse line 4]. Whole lines meet, central and correct: for doing great things under heaven. Occasions of *Gou* are great indeed.

⁴⁵CUI: 'grouping'. 'Compliant' and 'pleasing', the whole 5th line being central and answered by the broken 2nd line. Hence 'grouping'. *The king is present in the ancestral temple:* service of the utmost filial piety. *Favourable for meeting great men; success:* grouped correctly. *The use of a large sacrificial victim is auspicious; favourable when there is somewhere to go:* compliant with heaven's commands. By observing these groupings, the natures of all things in heaven and earth can be seen.

⁴⁶SHENG. Broken lines for *sheng* ('rising') occasions: Xun and 'compliant'. The whole (2nd) line is central and corresponds (with the 5th), which means *great success*. *Favourable for meeting great men; do not worry:* there will be good luck. *Auspicious for marching south:* the intention will go forward.

⁴⁷KUN. Whole lines are surrounded [by broken ones]. 'Dangerous' and

‘pleasing’ make Kun, not lacking *success*, though it is only for princes. *Auspicious augury with great men*: because the whole lines are central. *There is grumbling, not to be heeded*; because mouthing will come to an end.

⁴⁸JING. Xun (Wood) under Flowing Water means ‘bringing up water’ —*jing* (‘a well’). A well nourishes and does not fail. *A city moves but a well does not*: the whole lines are central. *If the rope is too short to draw from the well*, there will be no successful result. *If the dipping jar is damaged*, there will be *disaster*.

⁴⁹GE. Water and Fire strive together, like two sisters (2nd Daughter and 3rd Daughter) living together, though their intentions do not concur. This makes Ge (‘ousting’). *On a certain day there is reliability*: ousting produces confidence. The pattern is brightened by the ‘pleasing’ trigram. *Great success* because [the 5th line is] correct. Ge matches. *Troubles disappear*. Heaven and earth use ousting to fulfil the round of the seasons. Tang (first king of Shang) and Wu (first king of Zhou) had mandates for ousting, compliant to heaven and answering to men. Occasions of Ge are great indeed.

⁵⁰DING. An archetypal figure (a ‘ceremonial cooking-pot’). Xun (Wood) above Fire – for sacrificial (*heng*) cooking. The sages cooked offerings for the Lord on High and fed men of worth at great sacrifices. Xun means perception, clear eyes and quick ears. A broken line advances and moves up, gaining the central position [in the upper trigram], corresponding to the whole (2nd) line. This is *great success*.

⁵¹ZHEN (‘thunder’). *Success; when thunder comes crack-crack*: fear leads to good luck. *There’s laughing chat, yack-yack*: good order afterwards. *Though thunder frightens all the land*, frightening those far away and startling those who are near. [*No drop of wine falls from his hand*]: he who comes forth to protect the ancestral shrine and the altar of the spirits of soil and grain becomes the president of the sacrifices.

⁵²KEN: ‘stopping’. Stopping when it is time to stop, moving when it is time to move: movement and rest do not miss their occasions. This *dao* is glorious. Stopping to rest, rest in the proper place. The upper and lower trigrams are exactly the same and do not interact. Hence *losing consciousness of self crossing the court, where no one is spied*: no misfortune.

⁵³JIAN (‘progressive settling’). *Auspicious for a girl’s wedding*. Progressive taking of line positions means proceeding will bring good results. Correct progression can correct the nation. In (the 5th) position a whole line gains the

centre. ‘Stopping’ and Xun (‘entering’): movement is inexhaustible.

⁵⁴GUIMEI [‘giving in marriage’], the great meaning of heaven and earth. If heaven and earth do not interrelate, the myriad entities do not flourish. Marriage is man’s end and beginning. ‘Pleasing’ and ‘moving’ make *guimei*. *For an expedition, disastrous*: because the lines do not match their positions. *Nothing favourable*: because the broken lines ride whole lines.

⁵⁵FENG: ‘great’. ‘Bright’ and ‘moving’ make Feng. *The king is present*: the honour is great. *Do not grieve: appropriate for the middle of the day* [or *solstice*]: appropriately shining over all under heaven. At noon [or the solstice] the sun starts to set [or the days start to decline]; when the moon is full it begins to wane. Heaven and earth wax and wane, growing and fading with the seasons. The more so does man. The more so again do spirits.

⁵⁶LU”. *Some success*. The broken line in the centre of the outer trigram is compliant to whole lines. ‘Stopping’ and ‘bright’ make for *some success*. *Augury for sojourners auspicious*. Occasions of Lü” are great indeed.

⁵⁷XUN: doubling the trigram means reiterated commands. The whole line of Xun is central and correct (in the 5th position), hence the intention will go forward. The broken lines are compliant to the whole lines [that stand above them], giving *Minor success; favourable when there is somewhere to go; favourable for meeting great men*.

⁵⁸DUI: ‘pleasing’. There is a central whole line and a broken upper line in each trigram. ‘Pleasing’ because of *Favourable augury*. This is compliant to heaven and answers to men. If the people are first of all pleased, they forget about their toil; if difficulties are confronted with pleasure, the people forget about death. Dui is great, and encourages the people.

⁵⁹HUAN. *Success*: because the whole line comes down to the lower trigram and is not extinguished, while the broken line gets a position in the upper trigram and works together with the [whole] line above it. *The king is present in the temple* means the king is in the centre [a *yang* line in the 5th position]. *Favourable for crossing a big river* derives from riding the power of wood [the upper trigram, floating on Moving Water].

⁶⁰JIE. *Success*: whole and broken lines are equal in number, and whole lines have the central positions. *Bitter juncture: augury not possible*: this *dao* is running out. ‘Pleasing’ together with ‘dangerous’ gives matching positions in Jie,

moving towards the central and correct (5th line). The junctures of heaven and earth fulfil the four seasons of the year. When junctures are duly controlled [by good government], no harm is done, no injury to the people.

⁶¹ZHONGFU [‘inner reliability’]. The broken lines are in the inmost part of the hexagram, with whole lines in the central positions (2nd and 5th lines): the ‘pleasing’ trigram and Xun. *Reliability* changes the country. *Pig and fish: auspicious*: reliability affects even pigs and fish. *Favourable for crossing a big river*: riding Wood [a boat] that is hollow [because of spaces in the centre of the hexagram]. Zhongfu gives a *favourable augury* that corresponds to heaven.

⁶²XIAOGUO: *xiao* (‘small’ [lines]) *guo* (‘surpass’ [whole lines] in number), giving *success*, and passing on to *favourable augury* as the occasion develops. Broken lines having central positions are *auspicious for small matters*, whole lines losing their positions [base or 5] or not being central mean *not right for large matters*. Here is the archetypal figure of a flying bird: *a flying bird leaves a sound. Not appropriate to go up; appropriate to go down; very auspicious*: the upper trigram is inverted, the lower is compliant.

⁶³JJI. *Success*: but the success is *limited*. *Favourable augury*: because whole and broken lines are central and match their positions. *Auspicious at the beginning* because the (2nd] broken line is central. *Stopping at the end* means *confusion*: this *dao* is running out.

⁶⁴WEIJI. *Success*: broken line in the centre (Line 5]. *The young fox, not yet across*; not yet out of the middle [of problems]. *Gets its tail-tip wet*. *Favourable for nothing*: because not continuing to the end. Although the lines do not match their positions, the whole and broken lines correspond [in the two trigrams].

Wings 3 and 4
COMMENTARIES ON THE FIGURES
Xiangzhuan

The word *xiang* here refers to ‘figures’ as interpreted in Wings 5 and 6, that is to say, the hexagrams as expressions of heavenly archetypes. *Daxiang* ‘greater figures’ are the hexagrams and *Xiaoxiang* ‘lesser figures’ are the individual lines. One hexagram commentary and six or seven line commentaries are provided for each hexagram. Undoubtedly the two sets of commentary were of separate origin, for they are of quite different character. In both content and language, *Xiaoxiang* has more in common with *Tuanzhuan* than with *Daxiang*.

Nevertheless, when the wings are printed as documents complete in themselves, the *Daxiang* commentaries are interspersed, hexagram by hexagram, with the sets of *Xiaoxiang* commentaries, so that all the *Xiang* commentaries for one hexagram form a unit. The whole text is divided after Hexagram 30 to make two wings, like the first two wings. The translation given here, however, separates the two *Xiang* commentaries in order to emphasize their different characteristics.

In editions where Wings 3 and 4 are dismembered like Wings 1 and 2, and the pieces inserted throughout the text, the appropriate section of the Greater Figures Commentary is inserted after the fragment of the Hexagram Statements Commentary (the 1st and 2nd Wings) and the appropriate section of the Lesser Figures Commentary after each line statement of *Zhouyi*. Each of the seven or eight pieces of commentary (Greater and Lesser Figures alike) is introduced by the words *Xiang yue* ‘The Figures Commentary says ...’ See the example on page 366.

(a) THE GREATER FIGURES COMMENTARY

Daxiang

This is not a commentary on the hexagram statements, indeed not a commentary on the text at all. The ‘Greater Figures’ are the hexagrams or, rather, their constituent trigrams. Each commentary is brief. Though it sometimes makes reference to the *Zhouyi* text, *Daxiang* does not mention *yin/yang* theory. It resembles the Zuo Commentary in that its thought is moralistic and it identifies the trigrams by their correspondence to natural forces. In spite of its present title and place in *Yijing*, it has nothing in common with *Xiaoxiang*, the Lesser Figures Commentary. The structure of the entry for every hexagram is the same: (1) The two constituent trigrams are identified by their correspondence to natural forces – Heaven, Earth, Mountain, Wind, Moving Water, Still Water, Thunder and Fire, though in five places Wind is replaced by Wood or Trees (Hexagrams 28, 46, 48, 50 and 53). A variety of formulas is used to explain which trigram is above or below, and reduplication of a trigram is expressed in eight different ways (see 1, 2, 29, 30, 51, 52, 57 and 58).

(2) The tag is named, but not explained.

(3) A politico-moral reflection for a ruler is added, always with the same broad grammatical structure. It usually begins with the word *junzi* ‘prince’; but in seven cases (8, 16, 20, 21, 24, 25, and 59) it begins with *xianwang* ‘ancient kings’, in two

(11 and 44) with *hou* ‘lord’, in one (30) with *daren* ‘great man’, and in one with *sang* Superior’ (23). Whichever of these words is used, it is always followed by the particle *yi* ‘thereby’, here translated as ‘thus’. These moral reflections occasionally advert to the text and even to the meaning of the tag character, but have no clear relation to the trigrams. They are the most Confucian part of *Yijing*, described by Wilhelm (page 257) as being close to *Daxue* ‘Great Learning’, but by Doeringer as being close to the Book of Documents.

Wing 3 – Daxiang I

¹ Heaven proceeds: *Jian*.

A prince thus strives without ceasing.

² Earth is strong: *Kun*.

A prince thus with abundant powers sustains all things.

³ Cloud over Thunder: *Zhun*.

A prince thus maintains order.

⁴ Water springs under Mountain: *Meng*.

A prince thus fosters his powers by right dealing.

⁵ Cloud rises above Heaven: *Xu*.

A prince thus eats, drinks, feasts and takes pleasure.

⁶ Heaven and Water part company: *Song*.

A prince thus manages matters by first taking counsel.

⁷ Water under Earth: *Shi*.

A prince thus is kind to the people and cares for the masses.

⁸ Water above Earth: *Bi*.

Former kings thus established fiefdoms
and maintained good relations with underlords.

⁹ Wind moves over Earth: *Xiao chu*.

A prince thus cultivates his civilizing powers.

¹⁰ Heaven above, Still Water below: *Lü*”.

A prince thus distinguishes high and low, fixing his people’s aims.

¹¹ Heaven and earth together: *Tax*.

A lord thus fulfils the *dao* of heaven and earth, assisting the course of heaven and earth and thereby helping the people.

¹²Heaven and Earth do not act together: *Pi*.

A prince thus restrains his powers and avoids trouble. Honours are not to be given in return for gifts.

¹³Heaven and Fire: *Tongren*.

A prince thus distinguishes kinds among people and things.

¹⁴Fire over Heaven: *Dayou*.

A prince thus suppresses evil and exalts good, obeying Heaven's beneficent decrees.

¹⁵Mountain under Earth: *Qian*.

A prince reduces the excessive and augments the deficient, balancing matters and levelling them out.

¹⁶Thunder roars out of Earth: *Yu*.

Former kings thus made music, honoured virtue, solemnly worshipped the Lord on High and revered the ancestors.

¹⁷Still Water with Thunder below: *Sui*.

A prince thus, when evening comes, goes inside to rest and relax.

¹⁸Mountain with Wind beneath: *Gu*.

A prince thus stimulates the people and fosters powers.

¹⁹Earth over Still Water: *Lin*.

A prince thus teaches and cares without end, generously protects the people without limit.

²⁰Wind moves over Earth: *Guan*.

Former kings thus inspected the regions appraised the people and issued instructions.

²¹Thunder and Lightning: *Shike*.

Former kings thus defined punishments and promulgated laws.

²²Mountain with Fire beneath: *Bi*.

A prince thus understands administration and does not presume in criminal judgments.

²³Mountain fixed on Earth: *Bo*.

A superior thus by generosity to those below maintains peace where they live.

²⁴Thunder under Earth: *Fu*. Former kings closed the borders at the winter solstice; merchants and strangers did not travel, lords did not visit their

territories.

²⁵Thunder rolls under Heaven everywhere: *Wuwang*.

Former kings thus prosperously fostered all things in accordance with the seasons.

²⁶Heaven under Mountain: *Dachu*.

A prince thus remembers what has been said and done, in order to nurture his powers.

²⁷Mountain with Thunder beneath: *Yi*.

A prince thus is prudent in speaking and talking, moderate in eating and drinking.

²⁸Still Water submerges Trees: *Daguo*.

A prince thus stands alone unafraid, withdraws from the world without regret.

²⁹Water flows continuously: *Kan*.

A prince thus constantly exercises his powers, and perseveres with his instructions.

³⁰Double Light produces: *Li*.

A great man thus continues spreading light to the four quarters.

Wing 4 – Daxiang II

³¹Mountain with Still Water above: *Xian*.

A prince gives his full attention to men he receives.

³²Thunder and Wind: *Heng*.

A prince thus stands still without changing direction.

³³Heaven with Mountain beneath: *Dun*.

A prince thus distances himself from small men, not with hatred, but with dignity.

³⁴Thunder over Heaven: *Dazhuang*.

A prince thus will not speak a word or take a step without propriety.

³⁵Light above Earth: *Jin*.

A prince thus himself shines with bright powers.

³⁶Light goes under Earth: *Mingyi*.

A prince thus supervises the masses, using the darkness to shine in.

³⁷Wind comes from Fire: *Jiaren*.

A prince thus sees that his words have substance and his deeds endure

A prince thus sees that his words have substance and his deeds endure.

³⁸Fire above, Still Water below: *Kui*.

A prince thus recognizes differences, despite similarities.

³⁹Mountain with Water above: *Jian*.

A prince thus turns to himself to cultivate his powers.

⁴⁰Thunder and Rain occur: *Jie*.

A prince thus forgives trespasses and pardons crimes.

⁴¹Mountain with Still Water beneath: *Sun*.

A prince thus checks anger and restrains desires.

⁴²Wind and Thunder: *Yi*.

A prince thus sees good and follows it, has faults and corrects them.

⁴³Still Water over Heaven: *Guai*.

A prince thus bestows stipends on those below; restraining his powers displeases him.

⁴⁴Heaven with Wind beneath: *Gou*.

A lord thus issues orders and announces them to the four quarters.

⁴⁵Still Water over Earth: *Cui*.

A prince thus arranges his weapons, to guard against emergency.

⁴⁶Trees grow from Earth: *Sheng*.

A prince thus complies with his powers, accumulating the small to grow great and high.

⁴⁷Still Water drained by Running Water: *Kun*.

A prince thus gives up his life to follow his aim.

⁴⁸Trees below, Water above: *Jing*.

A prince thus encourages the people to help one another.

⁴⁹Fire under Still Water: *Ge*.

A prince thus works out the calendar and announces the seasons.

⁵⁰Fire over Trees: *Ding*.

A prince thus keeps his stance correct, making his orders hold.

⁵¹Thunder reverberates: *Zhen*.

A prince thus is fearful and takes care to examine himself.

⁵²Mountains together: *Gen*.

A prince thus does not let his thoughts exceed his station.

⁵³Trees on Mountain: *Jian*.

A prince thus maintains his worth and powers, improving the customs.

⁵⁴Thunder above Still Water: *Guimei*.

A prince thus for the sake of a distant conclusion will accept the unsatisfactory.

⁵⁵Thunder and lightning come together: *Feng*.

A prince thus decides cases of law and carries out punishments.

⁵⁶Fire on Mountain: *Lü*’.

A prince thus gives sentence with wisdom and care and does not prolong legal procedures.

⁵⁷Wind after Wind: *Xun*.

A prince thus reasserts his orders and gets works carried out.

⁵⁸Still Waters are linked: *Dui*.

A prince thus discusses his practice with friends.

⁵⁹Wind moves over Water: *Huan*.

Former kings thus offered sacrifices to the Lord on High and built ancestral temples.

⁶⁰Water over Still Water: *Jie*

A prince thus sets standards of measurement and discusses the exercise of his powers.

⁶¹ Wind over Still Water: *Zhongfu*.

A prince thus takes counsel on law cases and defers executions.

⁶²Thunder over Mountain: *Xiaoguo*.

A prince’s conduct excels in respect, his mourning excels in grief, his expenditure excels in frugality.

⁶³Water over Fire: *Jiji*.

A prince thus thinks of disaster and plans to fend it off.

⁶⁴Fire over Water: *Weiji*.

A prince thus distinguishes things and puts them in their places.

(b) THE LESSER FIGURES COMMENTARY

Xiaoxiang

Xiaoxiang ‘lesser figures’ means the whole and broken lines, and this

commentary is as much concerned with the shapes and positions of the lines as with the statements appended to them. It is the least interesting of the Wings, and rarely adds anything that cannot be readily deduced from the text; yet it is embedded in the heart of *Yijing* and has been honoured by Chinese scholars for centuries.

The date of composition may have been as early as the middle of the Warring States Period, but was probably later. Since the 6s and 9s before the oracles are several times mentioned, the present recension was clearly made after they were inserted. It has more in common with *Tuanzhuan* and the Great Treatise than with *Daxiang* or the Zuo Commentary (see page 371). Its primary purpose is to justify and clarify the prognoses, usually aiming (a) to solve some apparent contradiction between the prognostication and the sense of the oracle, or between the prognostication and the apparently 'incorrect' placing of the line; or (b) to explain the information a line gives about hopes for *zhi* 'the intention' (the proposed action about which divination is made). Occasionally, as in 13:5, the comment clarifies the meaning of the oracle, but the accent is more often on the role and place of the whole or broken line within the structure of the hexagram.

The trigrams are scarcely mentioned, and only Xun is perhaps mentioned by name. There must be doubt about this, for though there are two places where there may be reference to Xun as a nuclear trigram (45:3 and 53:4), this is far from certain. When Xun occurs elsewhere in *Xiaoxiang*, it usually has no connection with the Xun trigram (but see 37:2). When the juncture of constituent trigrams is mentioned in 11:3 (but not in the entry for Hexagram 12), they are called simply Heaven and Earth, which suggests that the two forms of line (whole and broken), rather than the two hexagrams, are the point of the comment.

All 386 lines of *Zhouyi* are included. The length of an entry varies from 5 characters in 3:4 to a unique 35 characters in 10:3 (no other has more than 18); but more than 300 entries have 7 to 9 characters. Almost half the text is composed of quotations from line statements. This means that in rather more than two thirds of the entries comment is limited to 4 or fewer characters, though very rarely, as in 25:3, is no comment offered at all. The comments are heterogeneous and eclectic, with no attempt to be either systematic or exhaustive, and most entries deal with part of the text only, leaving much of the *Zhouyi* text untreated. Possibly an occasional and incomplete collection of random annotations has at some time been expanded to make a set of perfunctory glosses for every line. The core of the commentary is theoretical, mantic and rational, rather than practical,

mystical or moral.⁴ Its lack of moralizing is strikingly confirmed in that the commentary does not mention the 'superior man' or 'prince'. The word *junzi* is used only in direct quotations from *Zhouyi* (a mere twelve times); the word *zhong* 'centre' hardly occurs except in commentaries on second and fifth lines; and *zheng* means correct placing, rather than righteous behaviour. Fully developed moral interpretations of *Xiaoxiang*, such as were given by commentators from Han times onwards, were read into the text, or imposed upon it, rather than derived from its original intention.

The whole document looks like the jottings of a teacher of divination who did not intend to support any particular philosophy. Certainly it is hard to find anything recognizably Confucian in *Xiaoxiang*. Nor is *yin/yang* theory invoked: the word *yang* occurs only once (in the comment on Hexagram 1:base) and the word *yin* only once (in the comment on Hexagram 2:base). Even these instances may be later alterations, since *yin* and *yang* are used in them to describe the nature of the lines, replacing *gang* 'firm' and *rou* 'yielding', which are always used for that purpose elsewhere in *Xiaoxiang*. There is no trace of Five Phase theory. Commentators and translators often link each quotation syntactically with its following comment, even building the words from *Zhouyi* into the comment so that the quotation loses its independent existence. This is sometimes reasonable, but better sense is more often obtained by treating the quotation from the oracle as the basis on which grammatically independent comment is made. It is equally reasonable to take the word *yi*, often translated 'righteousness', as always carrying the sense of 'meaning', even though commentators have, not unnaturally, found greater depth in a moralizing translation. The opening section of the Great Treatise (see page 408) fully justifies their exploration of analogies, including moral analogy, but there are no signs of moral theory in the *Xiaoxiang* author's original intentions.

The language is terse, the vocabulary restricted. There is a repertory of stock phrases, largely shared with *Tuanzhuan* (see page 371). Every entry save two concludes with the particle *ye*, which is little more than a full stop indicator. The two exceptions have similar final particles: *yi* in 8:3 and *hu* in 49:3. This feature makes for prosiness, but if the final particles are ignored, the comments within each hexagram group sometimes show signs of rhyming, rather like the entries in the 10th Wing (see page 454), though less effectively. The *Xiaoxiang* entries rhyme in pairs; or a series of pairs may be rhymed alternately, as in Hexagram 9. Other rhyming patterns are apparent in 3:2, 17:4 and the first three lines of Hexagram 2; but there is no consistent rhyming pattern throughout the

document; and much of what there is may be fortuitous. I have not thought it worth while to attempt a rhyming translation.

Previous English translations have leant heavily on later Chinese commentary, usually of Song date. In the version printed below, I have sought for the original writer's own meaning, though I have inevitably been influenced by the commentatorial tradition when dealing with the most intractably gnomic elements. Some passages remain very obscure. No comprehensive work has been done on the possibility of errors in the text; and so little historical scholarship has been devoted to *Xiaoxiang* that we do not even know what the original writer thought his *Zhouyi* quotations meant. We are no more certain about some of his terms and formulaic phrases. At times Han commentators, and even the author himself, seem unsure. Close study of pre-Song commentators, which is only now being undertaken, is needed for better comprehension of this issue.

Tentatively, I have taken *wang* 'proceeding' to refer to the development of the action proposed for divination, which itself is referred to as *zhi* 'the intention'. For some other locutions I am less certain. I have translated *zhi zai wai/nei ye* as 'the intention is in the outer/inner (that is, upper/lower) trigram', which is literal but not immediately intelligible. In most, but not all, occurrences, the line referred to by this comment has a 'corresponding' or 'answering' line in the other trigram, like the corresponding lines often pointed out for fifth and second lines. The implication seems to be that the 'corresponding' line carries the applicable prognostic. Lines 39:3 and 39:6 appear to confirm this understanding. (For further notes on recurrent phrases, see page 371.) Despite misgivings about presenting a translation at this juncture, I believe this interim version may be of some use. Besides showing what *Xiaoxiang* is not, it can demonstrate the structure and general character of the document. If parts of the translation are unrevealing or redundant, I beg to recall that distinguished Chinese have said as much of the original. In Chinese editions the entries are not numbered. This causes no difficulty when each *Xiaoxiang* entry is printed immediately after the *Daxiang* for the same hexagram. In this translation, however, hexagram numbers have been inserted for reference purposes, and each line entry is introduced with a superscript number from 1 to 7. Quotations from *Zhouyi* line statements are given in italic.

Wing 3 – Xiaoxiang I
Hexagrams 1–30

- 1 *A dragon submerged; do not act:* a yang line at the bottom.
- 2 *Lo on the fields a dragon hides:* powers spreading abroad.
- 3 *Active all day long:* to and fro in the *dao*.
- 4 *Or it leaps above the tides:* advancing with *no misfortune*.
- 5 *A dragon through the heavens glides:* great men achieving.
- 6 *A dragon soaring away; trouble:* a climax cannot last long.
- 7 *Nines throughout:* Heavenly powers cannot presume headship.

2

- 1 *Frost underfoot again: solid ice comes soon:* yin begins to congeal; realizing its *dao*, it turns to solid ice.
- 2 The development of a broken 2nd is *straight and square; great winds will blow; unfavourable for nothing:* the glory of the *dao* of earth.
- 3 *Jade baton sustain; augury possible:* as the occasion will prove; *if in royal service:* the glory of wisdom is great.
- 4 *Tying sacks of grain; no misfortune:* carefulness means no injury.
- 5 *Yellow skirt, most auspicious:* the pattern is central (5th line).
- 6 *Dragons war above the wilds:* this *dao* is running out.
- 7 *Sixes throughout. Long term augury:* a great conclusion.

3

- 1 *Wheeling about:* but the intention is correct; because the noble [whole] line goes down to the lowest position, there is great gaining of the people.
- 2 *Trouble:* a broken line in the 2nd place rides a whole line. *Conceiving a child in ten years* means returning to normal.
- 3 *Stalking a deer without a woodsman:* when hunting game; *the prince gives up; distress in going on* is finished.
- 4 *Fetching and travel* are in the clear.
- 5 *Rewards for soldiers:* giving them is not yet renowned.
- 6 *Streaming tears and blood cascade:* how can this last long?

4

¹ *Favourable for giving punishment*: according to corrective law.

² *A son may be betrothed*: the broken 5th line corresponds.

³ *Not for taking a wife*: proceeding is not compliant (like a broken line).

⁴ *Distress of the immature under restraint*: alone and far from stability [which is found in Lines 2 and 6].

⁵ *Auspiciousness of an immature lad*: (a broken line) compliant and docile.

⁶ *Favourable against raiders*; above and below complying.

5

¹ *Waiting at the suburban altar*: without hurry or commotion. *Favourable for a heng ceremony*: not departing from the norm.

² *Waiting on the sands*: spaciousness in the centre; though *there will be some grumbling, ultimately auspicious*.

³ *Waiting in the mud*: trouble lies in the outer trigram; *oneself makes raiders come*: careful precautions avoid defeat.

⁴ *Waiting in blood*: [a broken line] compliant and attentive.

⁵ *Wine and food*: *augury auspicious* because central and correct.

⁶ *Uninvited guests arrive; treat them courteously; ultimately auspicious*. The line does not match, but little is lost.

6

¹ *Service not lasting long*: the dispute cannot go on for long. Though *there is some grumbling*, the judgment is clear.

² *Failed in dispute, making homeward tracks, skulking*: for the humble to challenge the high is asking for trouble.

³ *Eating stale forage*: bearing the line above is auspicious.

⁴ *Returning for orders; matters get worse; augury for safety*: but no failure.

⁵ *In dispute, most auspicious*; because central and correct.

⁶ *Receiving investiture through dispute*: not truly honoured.

7

¹ *Troops move off in formation*: lack of order means disaster.

² *Among the troops; auspicious*: receiving heaven's grace; *the king gives orders*

several times, thinking of many states.

³*Troops will cart the corpse:* great lack of success.

⁴*To the left hand, no misfortune:* the norms are not abandoned.

⁵*An elder son commands the troops:* moving forward, because of being a central line; *a younger son will carry the corpse:* because the line does not match the position.

⁶*A great prince has a mandate,* getting results because the line is correctly placed. *Not for use with small men:* turmoil in the states would be inevitable.

8

¹*joining them:* the broken base line, is *auspicious* [despite] *unexpected calamity.*

²*Joining some inside:* not failing one's own.

³*Joining offenders:* will this not be injurious?

⁴*Joining those outside,* men of worth: obeying the [5th] above.

⁵The *auspiciousness* of *joining a girth* comes from the position of the line being central and correct. Releasing the refractory and seizing the compliant is what is meant by *losing the quarry ahead.* *The citizens did not frighten it* uses the central line of the upper trigram.

⁶*Joining those who have no chief:* lacking a conclusion.

9

¹*Back from the road:* the meaning is auspicious.

²*Led back by a cord* is central; also not failing one's own.

³*Man and wife glare at each other:* cannot govern the household.

⁴*Having reliability; blood flows:* one in intention with Line 5.

⁵*Having reliability, cooperating:* not alone in being rich.

⁶*It rains; it stops; planting can still be finished; dangerous for a prince to travel:* there is room for doubt.

10

¹*Stepping out with silken shoes:* wanting to proceed alone.

²*Augury for a prisoner, auspicious:* central; no trouble for oneself.

³*Sight returns for eyes that fail:* not sufficient for clarity. *Stepping out for feet*

that ail: not sufficient for travelling with others. *Disaster of getting bitten*: the line does not match the position. *A warrior serves a great prince*: the intention is sound.

⁴*Petrified with fear, ultimately auspicious*: the intention moves forward.

⁵*Stepping out in shoes of bast; augury dangerous*: though the position is correct and matches [a whole line].

⁶*Most auspicious at the top*: great good luck.

11

¹*Pulling up white grasses; auspicious for military expeditions*: the intention is in the outer trigram.

²*Dried gourds; ere the full course is run, some reward will be won with great glory*.

³*No progress without setbacks*: the boundary between heaven [whole lines] and earth [broken lines].

⁴*Flutter, flutter; not rich*: all have lost what is solid. *Not watchful, but reliable*: wishes of the inmost heart.

⁵*Happiness follows; most auspicious*: since the line is central, the wishes are carried forward.

⁶*A city wall crumbling into its ditch*: the orders are confused.

12

¹*Pulling up white grasses, augury auspicious*: the intention is a prince's.

²*Bad with great men; success*: no troublesome groupings.

³*Wrapping spiced cooked meat*: this does not match its position.

⁴*There will be a decree; no misfortune*: the intention moves forward.

⁵*With great men, auspicious*: correct and matching.

⁶*Badness is ultimately overcome. How can this last long?*

13

¹*Coming out of the gate to muster men*: where is the misfortune?

²*Mustering men at the ancestral shrine, distress*: it is the dao of distress.

³*War chariots hiding in tall herbage*: the enemy is strong; *for three years they*

will go to ground: how to move forward?

⁴*Raising the height of the walls of the fort* means not conquered; *auspicious: in difficulty, reverting to law.*

⁵*Mustering men first* because the line is central and straight; *great armies can meet* means opposing one another.

⁶*Mustering men at the suburban sacrifice: the intention is not yet attained.*

14

¹*Dayou* has a whole base line: *no relationship for disadvantage.*

²*Large wagon for freight: [whole] loaded and central, not lost.*

³*The duke gives feasts for the Son of Heaven: small men suffer.* ⁴*No temple-gate sacrifices, no misfortune: clear wise decision.*

⁵*Reliability is reciprocated: trustworthiness shows in the intention.*
Auspiciousness of awe: at ease though unprepared.

⁶*Dayou* is *auspicious* in the top line: *Grace from heaven.*

15

¹*Modest, modest prince* is humble through self-control.

²*Expressing modesty, auspicious augury: central, gains the heart.*

³*Diligent, modest prince: all the people submit.*

⁴*Unfavourable for nothing, patent modesty: not against the rules.*

⁵*Favourable for forays: against those who do not obey.*

⁶*Expressing modesty: the intention is not yet fulfilled; but mobilizing to attack a capital city is possible.*

16

¹Broken base line, *Crying elephant: the intention is running out: disaster.*

²*Not lasting till the end of the day: the augury is auspicious* because the line is central and correct.

³*Watchful elephant has trouble: the position does not match.*

⁴*Wary elephant: success with the great: the situation moves greatly forward.*

⁵Broken 5th; *augury of sickness: because riding on a whole line, but perform the heng ritual and there will be no death: no one will die in a central line position.*

⁶*Elephant in darkness* is the top line. How can this last long?

17

¹*Changing objectives*: [the base line, being whole] follows correctness and is *auspicious*, *being crossed on leaving home means success*: no loss.

²*Binding little ones*; they cannot be together.

³*Binding grown men*: the intention cancels what is below.

⁴*Pursuit ends in finding* means disaster. *There is reliability in the dao*: brilliant result.

⁵*Reliability in excellence, auspicious*: the position is correct and central.

⁶*Bound and held*: the top line is the utmost.

18

¹*Mildew for a deceased male ancestor* carrying on his duties.

²*Mildew for a deceased female ancestor*: the central *dao*.

³*Mildew for a deceased male ancestor*: ultimately no misfortune.

⁴*Mildew for a bathed ancestor*, proceeding will mean trouble.

⁵*Mildew for a deceased male ancestor*, a line that supports [the line above].

⁶*Serving neither king nor lord*: the intention is right and proper.

19

¹*All arriving: auspicious augury*: the intention moves correctly [a whole line in the 1st position].

²*All arriving; auspicious, unfavourable for nothing*: but not compliant with orders [not a broken line in 2nd place].

³*Happy arrival*: the line does not match the position; *grieving finished*: misfortune will not last long.

⁴*Arriving at the goal, no misfortune*: the position matches.

⁵*Appropriate for a prince*: said of the central position as matters move forward.

⁶*Auspiciousness of generosity on arrival*: the intention is in the inner trigram.

20

¹broken base line, *Observing children*: the *dao* of small men.

²*Observing by peeping*: this too can be shameful.

³*Observing one's own life moving to and fro*: not losing *dao*.

⁴*Observing the country's glory*: honouring guests.

⁵*Observing one's own life*: observing the people.

⁶*Observing one's life*: the intention is not proceeding smoothly.

21

¹*Shackled with leg fetters, mutilating the feet*: [the intention] does not move forward.

²*Biting flesh, mutilating the nose*: this line rides a whole line.

³*Getting poison*: the position does not match a broken line.

⁴*Favourable in hardship; augury auspicious*; but not glorious.

⁵*Augury dangerous; no misfortune*: [not] matching the position.

⁶*Shouldering a cangue, mutilating the ears*: not hearing clearly.

22

¹*Leaving the carriage to walk*: a base line has no line to ride.

²*Bedight his beard*: this line bears the line above.

³*Auspicious: long term consistency* not finally disappointed.

⁴A broken 4th matches but leaves doubt; *not with robbers allied, but fetching a bride* means ultimately no calamity.

⁵*Auspicious* in a broken fifth line means happiness.

⁶*Bedight in white, no misfortune* at the top gains the intention.

23

¹*Flaying a ewe from the legs*: destroying from the bottom.

²*Flaying a ewe from the hocks*: having no associates.

³*Flaying, no misfortune*: lacking [a relationship with lines] above or below.

⁴*Flaying a ewe from the fleece*: disaster impending.

⁵*Palace concubines will be favoured*: ultimately no calamity.

⁶A *prince is awarded a carriage*: which the people bear; *a small man is stripped of his cottage*: ultimately cannot be used.

24

¹*Returning from not far away*: by cultivating one's own person.

²*Auspiciousness of returning contented*: through the goodness [in the line] below

³*Danger in returning from the river's brink*: meaning there is *no misfortune*.

⁴*Returning home before the journey is done*: by following *dao*.

⁵*Returning urgently, no trouble*: central; examining one's self.

⁶*Disaster, returning and losing the way*: against princely *dao*.

25

¹*Unexpected journey*: gaining the intention.

²*Reaping without first having ploughed*: not rich.

³*Passers-by take the oxen; disaster for the citizens*.

⁴*Augury possible; no misfortune*: holding firm.

⁵*Unexpected medicine*: not to be tested out.

⁶*Unexpectedness of a journey*: disaster of coming to an end.

26

¹*Danger; favourable for sacrificing*: not courting disaster.

²*A carriage loses its axle-box*: central, hence no calamity.

³*Favourable when there is somewhere to go*: united with the [line] above for the intention.

⁴Broken 4th, *most auspicious*: this is happiness.

⁵The *auspiciousness* of a broken 5th [bearing a broken 6th] brings good luck.

⁶*Receiving heaven's grace*: the *dao* moves greatly forward.

27

¹*Observe our molars hanging in display*: so not worthy enough.

²The broken 2nd is *disastrous for expeditions*: moving forward without associates.

³*Avoid use for ten years*: the *dao* is extremely perverse.

⁴*Auspiciousness of wisdom molars*: the lines above shed light.

⁵*Auspicious augury for a dwelling*: compliant line attendant on the line above.

⁶*Extracted molars; dangerous, but auspicious*: great good luck.

28

¹*For ceremonial mats use white grasses*: a broken (humble) line at the bottom.

²*Old man, young wife*: mutually unsuited [whole 2nd].

³*The ridgepole sagging is inauspicious*: it will not hold up.

⁴*A ridgepole warping is auspicious*: it does not bend down.

⁵*A gnarled willow puts forth flowers*: how can this last long? *Old woman, young husband* also can be shameful.

⁶*Passing by wading is inauspicious*, but there may be *no misfortune*.

29

¹*Pit within a pit; filling in*: losing the *dao* is disastrous.

²*Seeking small gain*: not yet out of the centre.

³*Falling hard, the bottom hit*: ultimately no positive result.

⁴*Flask for wine, food bowl – a pair*, the borderline between whole and broken lines.

⁵*Pit not filled*: central but not great.

⁶The broken top line loses the *dao*: *Disaster for three years*.

30

¹*Respect for treading with care*: by fleeing from misfortune.

²*Yellow orioles; most auspicious*: gaining the central *dao*.

³*Orioles in sunset ray*: how can this last long?

⁴*Suddenly coming out*: not bearable.

⁵*Auspicious though a broken 5th*: because attached to the position of king and duke.

⁶*Using this the king goes out on campaign*: in order to correct the states.

Wing 4 – Xiaoxiang II Hexagrams 31–64

31

¹*Moving a big toe*: the intention is in the outer trigram.

²*Disastrous, auspicious for a dwelling*: compliant, not harmful.

³*Moving the thighs*: also unsettled; the intention is in the *follower* [broken line] taken below.

⁴*Augury auspicious; troubles disappear*: no injury in moving; *hither and thither you move, distraught*: no great glory yet.

⁵*Moving the loins*: the end of the intention, central and correct.

⁶*Moving cheeks, jaws and tongue*: words of a babbler.

32

¹*Disastrousness of firm fixing*: seeking too much at the start.

²Broken 2nd line, *troubles disappear*, long-lasting in the central position.

³*Not fixing the power*, not to be borne.

⁴Long out of position [*yang* line in *yin* position]: how could game be taken?

⁵*Auspicious augury for a wife*: to follow one man to the end; the *husband* should make the decisions: following his wife would be *disastrous*.

⁶*Uncertain fixing* at the top: great failure to achieve.

33

¹*Danger in a pig's tail*: how can not going anywhere be dangerous?

²*Tether it with yellow oxhide*: affirming the intention.

³*Danger in binding a pig; there is danger and fatigue; auspicious for keeping male and female slaves*: not suitable for great affairs.

⁴*For a prince, a fine pig*: with small men, trouble.

⁵*Celebration pig, auspicious augury*: because of the correct [position] for the intention.

⁶*Plump pig; unfavourable for nothing*: no room for doubt.

34

¹*Injured in the foot*: his reliability is at an end.

²Whole 2nd line; *auspicious augury*: because it is central.

³*Injurious with the small; with princes not at all*.

⁴*The fence is damaged, the ram unharmed*: still proceeding.

⁵*Losing sheep in Yi*: [the position] does not match [the line].

⁶*Cannot pull out, cannot push through*: not a good omen; *in hardship auspicious*: misfortune will not last long.

35

¹*Advancing with brandished weapons*: moving alone, correctly; *abundance, no misfortune*: having received no orders.

²*Receiving such blessings*: central and correct.

³The intention of *loyal people*: moving upwards. ⁴*Hands folded like a mouse's paws*: [the line] does not match [the position].

⁵*Missing quarry, no regret*: proceeding with great good luck.

⁶*Use for attacking a city*: the *dao* is not yet glorious.

36

¹*A prince travelling* means not eating.

²*Auspicious*: broken 2nd shows compliance with the rules.

³The intention of the *southern hunt* is to *catch the great* one.

⁴*Entering the left flank* means *finding the heart* and will.

⁵*Jizi's augury*: the light cannot be put out.

⁶*Rising first to the skies*: shining on the surrounding states; *then into the earth flies*: losing his role.

37

¹*Making a household secure*: the intention is unchanged.

²*Auspiciousness* of a broken second: compliant to [5th line in] Xun (the upper trigram).

³*A household complaining*: not failed yet; *women and children giggling*: losing family standards.

⁴*A wealthy household, very auspicious*: compliant [4th line] in [correct] position.

⁵*The king present in his household*: relationship of mutual love.

⁶*Auspiciousness* of being *terrified*: speaking of another's plight.

38

38

- ¹*Seeing a disfigured man*: fleeing misfortune.
- ²*Meeting the master in an alley*: not having lost the *dao*.
- ³*See, here comes a wagon*: [line] does not match the position; *no beginning; there will be an end*: meeting the whole [4th].
- ⁴*Relating with reliability*: the intention moves forward.
- ⁵*The ancestors are eating meat*: proceeding will gain good luck.
- ⁶*Auspiciousness of meeting rain*: accumulated doubts disappear.

39

- ¹*Setting out stumbling, coming back strongly*: waiting is appropriate.
- ²*Royal servants stumbling and fumbling*: ultimately no calamity.
- ³*Setting out stumbling, coming back grumbling*: the inner trigram brings happiness.
- ⁴*Setting out stumbling, coming back rumbling*: matching and firm.
- ⁵*Severe stumbling; friends come along*: alleviated by being central.
- ⁶*Setting off stumbling, coming back in splendour*, the intention is in the inner trigram; *favourable for seeing great men* and following the nobler.

40

- ¹Whole [1st] corresponding to broken [4th] means *no misfortune*.
- ²*Auspicious augury* in a whole 2nd: gaining the central *dao*.
- ³*Shouldering a pack while riding in a carriage*: this also may be shameful. It is oneself that tempts [thieves]. Who will have the misfortune?
- ⁴*Freeing the thumbs*: does not match [the position].
- ⁵*Freeing a prince*: small men flee.
- ⁶*A duke shoots a hawk*: freeing [himself] of a troubler.

41

- ¹*Sacrificial duty done quickly*: ascending with the intention.
- ²Whole 2nd. *Favourable augury*: central to the intention.
- ³*One man travels*; three make dissension.
- ⁴*Diminishing the sickness*: so duly happy.

⁵Broken 5th, but *most auspicious*: grace from the line above.

⁶*Not diminishing, but enriching*: greatly gaining the intention.

42

¹*Most auspicious, no misfortune*: at the bottom there are no great enterprises.

²*Maybe enriching*: coming from the outer trigram.

³*Enriching; use in times of disaster*: this is affirmative.

⁴*Reporting to the duke; he concurs*: by *enriching* the intention.

⁵*Reliability and graciousness; do not ask; we receive favour*: greatly gaining the intention.

⁶*Not enriching him*: half the statement; *maybe striking him*: coming from the outer trigram.

43

¹*Walking though not able; misfortune*.

²*Fighting, but not to worry*: getting a central position.

³*A prince hustles and bustles*: ultimately *no misfortune*.

⁴*It staggers*: [a whole line] does not match the [4th] position.

⁵*In the middle of the way*: central but not glorious.

⁶*Disaster of no cry*: ultimately cannot last long.

44

¹*Impeded by a metal brake*: the *dao* of a broken line is being under control.

²*Fish in the cookhouse*: means not suitable for guests.

³*It staggers*: moving out of control.

⁴*Disaster of having no fish*: aloof from the people.

⁵A whole 5th; *jade baton held*: central and correct; *something will drop from the sky*: the intention will not disregard [heaven s] decree.

⁶*Locking their horns*: the top line runs out; *distress*.

45

¹*Unruly and disorderly*: the intention is confused.

²*Very auspicious, no misfortune*: central and unchanging.

³*When travelling, no misfortune: above is docile (Xun).*

⁴*Very auspicious, no misfortune: the position does not match.*

⁵*Taking together those of rank: the intention is not glorious.*

⁶*Sobbing, sighing, weeping, crying: no peace at the top.*

46

¹*Indeed going up, very auspicious: rising fits the intention.*

²*Reliability in a whole [2nd] line brings happiness.*

³*Going up to a hill city: there is no room for doubt.*

⁴*The king making an offering at Mount Qi: [a broken line for] compliance in carrying out responsibilities.*

⁵*Augury auspicious; going up steps: wholly gaining the intention.*

⁶*Going up in the dark: impoverishment, not prosperity.*

47

¹*Retiring to a hidden place; hidden: not clear.*

²*Beset while taking food and wine: central, with good luck.*

³*Clutching thorny boughs: because of riding a whole line. Entering his house, sees not his spouse: not a good omen.*

⁴*Slowly slowly coming: the intention is in the lower trigram; the line does not match the position, but there is cooperation.*

⁵*They mutilate his feet and nose: the intention is not gained. Slowly set free: because the line is central and straight. Favourable for offering sacrifice: good luck will be received.*

⁶*Beset by creeping plants and vines: not matching the position; having troubles: troubled, but auspicious for advance.*

48

¹*The well is muddy, no one drinks: this is the bottom; an old pitfall holds no animals: the occasion has been missed.*

²*Fish in the well are shot and killed: no cooperation.*

³*A well flows freely, but no one drinks: moving forward sadly; the king seeks a covenant: good luck will be received.*

⁴*A well tiled; no misfortune:* repairing a well. ⁵ *Drinking an icy spring:* central and correct. ⁶*Most auspicious at the top:* great achievement.

49

¹*Binding with ox-leather:* not right for action.

²*On a certain day make changes:* moving forward is excellent.

³*Change is mentioned three times:* what to do next?

⁴*Auspiciousness of changed orders:* trusting the intention.

⁵*Great men use tiger fur:* the markings are brilliant.

⁶*Princes use leopard fur:* the markings are opulent; *small men use raw leather,* compliant line, obeying the ruler.

50

¹*Tripod-bowl with upturned feet:* nothing wrong as yet; *good for turning out bad meat:* to follow what is better.

²*Tripod-bowl full to the top:* something to be careful about; *illness makes my comrades drop:* ultimately no calamity.

³*Tripod-bowl with lugs awry:* losing its purpose.

⁴*Spilling out the duke's fine stew:* what trustworthiness here?

⁵*Tripod-bowl with golden lugs:* the central line is sure.

⁶*Rod of jade at the top:* whole [line] riding on a broken line.

51

¹*When thunder comes, crack-crack:* fear leads to good luck; *there's laughing chat, yack-yack:* good order afterwards.

²*Danger comes with thunder:* [a broken line] riding a whole line.

³*Thunder booms:* [the line] does not match the position.

⁴*After thunder, mud:* not glorious yet.

⁵*Thunder goes and comes; danger:* moving forward is risky; but business is central – no great loss.

⁶*Thunder splits the ear:* the centre is not gained; *disastrous,* but *no misfortune:* fearful neighbours give warning.

52

52

- ¹*Resting the feet*: [base whole line] not losing correctness.
- ²*Not removing the marrow*: not withdrawing and listening.
- ³*Resting the loins*: danger burns the heart.
- ⁴*Resting the trunk*: calming the whole body.
- ⁵*Resting the jaws*: correct and central.
- ⁶*Auspiciousness of deservedly resting*: because ultimately generous [whole line?].

53

- ¹*Small men's troubles*: means no misfortune.
- ²*Eat and drink in convivial parties*: not merely feeding.
- ³*Her man is not yet back from war*: separation from one's own. *She will bear no children more*: losing the *dao*. *Favourable against raiders*: compliant with mutual protection.
- ⁴*They will rest there at their ease*: compliant and docile.
- ⁵*Ultimately not defeated; auspicious*: gaining what is desired.
- ⁶*Their plumes for dancers' use we'll seek*: no disorder.

54

- ¹*A cousin married off with younger cousins*: normal practice; *stepping out for feet that ail; auspicious*: [two whole lines] support each other.
- ²*Favourable augury for a recluse*: no change from normal.
- ³*A cousin married off as senior wife*: not matching [the position].
- ⁴*The intention overruns its term*: moving forward after delay.
- ⁵*Diyi gives his cousin in marriage; the sleeves of the bride yields are not so fine as the splendid sleeves of the concubine*: a central position for noble behaviour.
- ⁶ A broken top line *holds no fruit: bearing an empty basket*.

55

- ¹*For ten days, no misfortune*: beyond ten days, disastrous.
- ²*Reliably set forth*: reliably setting forth the intention.
- ³*Thick are the streamers*: not right for great affairs; *breaking the right arm*: ultimately cannot be of use.

⁴*Thick the screen*: does not match; *seeing the Plough at noon*: darkness, not light; *meeting the master now*: proceeding auspiciously.

⁵*Auspicious* despite a broken 5th: there will be good luck.

⁶*Thick is the roof*: rising to heaven's bounds; *peering through the door*; *no one is there*: hiding away.

56

¹*A sojourner smashes the place to smithereens*: the intention ends in catastrophe.

²*Augury for getting a servant boy*: ultimately no calamity.

³*A sojourner burns the lodging place*: there is damage; and the sojourner described below suffers loss.

⁴*A sojourner finds a place to stay*: but [the yang line is in a yin situation] has not got the right position. *Stows his travelling-axe*: *the heart rests not*.

⁵*Ultimately a decree of honour*: coming towards the top.

⁶The sojourner is at the top, which means all is *burnt up*; *loss of oxen in Yi*: ultimately nothing is heard.

57

¹*Advancing and retreating*: the intention is in doubt; *augury favourable for soldiers*: the intention is in control.

²*Auspiciousness of large numbers*: getting the central position.

³*Distress in setting out offerings*: the intention has run out.

⁴*Three kinds of game caught in a hunt*: results will be good.

⁵*Auspiciousness* in a whole 5th, central and correct.

⁶*Offerings set out before an altar*: the top is running out; *losing a travelling-axe*: correct position, but *disastrous*.

58

¹*Auspiciousness of satisfaction in peacemaking*: moving on is not in doubt.

²*Auspicious; reliable and satisfying*: a trustworthy intention.

³*Disaster in satisfaction to come*: line does not match.

⁴*Happy*, though a whole 4th: there will be good luck.

⁵*Reliability in decay*: the position is correct and matching.

⁶ A broken top gives *lasting satisfaction*, but no glory.

59

¹*Auspiciousness* of a broken base line: compliance.

²*Gushing over the stable*: gaining wishes.

³*Gushing over the body*: the intention is in the outer trigram.

⁴*Gushing over the bystanders, most auspicious*: great the glory.

⁵*The king's dwelling, no misfortune*: the position is correct.

⁶*Gushing, this blood*: far from injury.

60

¹*Not going out of the courtyard door*: knowing when movement is obstructed.

²*Not going out of the courtyard gate; disaster*: missing the occasion conclusively.

³*Not gauging the juncture, sighing*: whose is the misfortune?

⁴*Success, secure juncture*: supporting *dao* [whole line] above.

⁵*Auspicious at a satisfactory juncture*: getting central position.

⁶*Augury disastrous, bitter juncture*: this *dao* is running out.

61

¹Whole base; *requiem, auspicious*: the intention is unchanged.

²*Its chicks call in reply*: central line – the heart's desire.

³*Great drums thud, tabor-beats surge*: not matching position.

⁴*One yoke-mate can't be found*: cut off from the kind above.

⁵*Reliable, being bound together*: correct, matching position.

⁶*Sound of pinions rising in the sky*: how can this last long?

62

¹*Flying bird, therefore disaster*: nothing can be done.

²*Not reaching the prince*: ministers cannot get through.

³*Lest he stab you in the back*: how disastrous?

⁴*Not passing, meeting*: the line does not match the position; *going is dangerous, need to keep alert*: ultimately cannot last.

⁵*Thick clouds, no rain: too high.*

⁶*Not meeting, passing: has overreached.*

63

¹*Trailing a cord means No misfortune.*

²*Getting it in seven days: because of its central dao.*

³*Overcoming it in three years: fatiguing [for small men].*

⁴*Staying alert all day long: there is room for doubt.*

⁵*Eastern neighbours slay an ox; not like the western yields neighbours is the occasion; truly receiving their blessings: great auspiciousness coming.*

⁶*Getting the head wet: how can this last long?*

64

¹*Getting the tail wet; not knowing the limits.*

²*Whole 2nd; augury auspicious; moving correctly in the centre.*

³*Not yet across; disaster for expeditions: not matching position.*

⁴*Augury auspicious, trouble disappears: the intention will go through.*

⁵*Glory for princes: this radiance [yang line in yang place] is auspicious.*

⁶*Drinking wine, getting the head wet: not knowing moderation.*

Wings 5 and 6
THE GREAT TREATISE
Dazhuan or *Xicizhuan*

The 5th and 6th Wings form *Dazhuan* The Great Treatise, which is divided into roughly equal halves to make two wings. The Treatise is a compilation from various sources, rather awkwardly cobbled together. Most of it was found at Mawangdui in copies made about 195 BC of manuscripts known as *Xici*, *Yao* and *Yi zhi yi* – the most significant omission being I.ix *Dayan* (see page 36).

The earliest external references we have to it are in Sima Qian *Shiji* written about 100 BC. In Book 130 it is called *Dazhuan*, Great Treatise; but in Book 47 it is called *Xici*, Commentary on the Appended Statements. The title *Xicizhuan* must refer to two groups of comments on hexagram and line statements (known collectively as ‘the appended statements’) that have been clumsily incorporated

into the Great Treatise at I.viii. 5–11 and xii.1, II.v. 1 and 5–14. They appear to be fragments of a longer commentary or commentaries, more discursive and more interesting than *Xiaoxiang*, that has otherwise been lost. One of the fragments (I.viii.9) is found as part of a longer passage in *Wenyan* (I.ii.6: see page 436). A separate single phrase (II.viii.1) is also found in *Wenyan* (I.ii.4: see page 436). The Great Treatise itself is a collection of short essays that provide a rationale of the connection between the hexagrams and the events they predict. Since the essays contain many repetitions and some inconsistencies, have abrupt changes of tone and subject, and are not arranged in any logical order, the whole treatise is clearly an amalgam of separate compositions.

The overall structure of the work has not yet been satisfactorily analysed. Since Zhu Xi the two main parts have been divided into sections and paragraphs, the latter varying slightly in different editions. Though the sections correspond to the literary structure, they do not mark stages in a continued exposition. The paragraphs or ‘verses’ are merely for reference. Only Wilhelm has attempted to provide titles for the sections, and he is not markedly successful. The principal reasons for his failure lie in the signs of displacement and disruption within some of the sections, and in a few sections that are composed of disparate elements.

There is nevertheless a discernible broad symmetry in the arrangement of the two parts, as the following brief (and therefore necessarily less than fully accurate) headings indicate. Each part contains twelve sections, beginning with a section on cosmic analogy and ending with a miscellany of short pieces on topics already treated. Each part also contains a group of selected line commentaries, the presumed original *Xicizhuan* mentioned above.

PART I

- 1 Cosmic analogy
- 2 Omens
- 3 The statements
- 4 Yi and *dao*
- 5 *Dao* and *yin/yang*
- 6 Yi embraces heaven and earth
- 7 Yi is supreme
- 8 Line commentaries 1
- 9 Wand-counting symbolism
- 10 The fourfold *dao* of Yi
- 11 The sages and spirits
- 12 Miscellany: Part I topics

PART II

- 1 Cosmic analogy
 - 2 The sages' inventions
 - 3 The figures and statements
 - 4 The trigrams
 - 5 Line commentaries 2
 - 6 The statements
 - 7 Uses of nine hexagrams
 - 8 Alternation
 - 9 Line positions
 - 10 Yi contains all *dao*
 - 11 Caution
 - 12 Miscellany: Part II topics
-

Two sections are of particular interest, and were perhaps originally independent compositions: *Dayan*, an explanation of the symbolism of yarrow-wand counting, which incidentally provides the earliest known account of the method (Great Treatise I.ix.1–8, see page 160); and *Guzhe*, a section relating the hexagrams to the prehistoric development of Chinese culture (Great Treatise II.ii).

In spite of this patchwork structure, the Great Treatise became the fundamental text for *Yijing* philosophy, a document whose principles came to permeate every field of Chinese thought for two millennia, from the Han dynasty to the twentieth century. It was written several centuries after *Zhouyi*, and does not illuminate the Bronze Age text in terms of Bronze Age thought; but it shows how the process began that eventually produced the understanding of the classic found in most Chinese commentaries. That understanding ultimately received classic expression in the neo-Confucian synthesis of the Song thinkers. Yet the Great Treatise is not essentially a Confucian document: it contains no typically Confucian vocabulary or thought (though I.v.3 and some other sentences come very close); and it is not a moralizing document. The two sections of Commentary on the Appended Statements (I.viii and II.v) mention Confucius,

while they and half a dozen other sections refer to the sayings of a 'Master' who has usually been taken to be Confucius; but these elements are no more than superficially Confucian. Equally, though it presents a *yin-yang* theory and mentions *dao*, it neither assumes nor refers to the Five Phases (or Five Elements, see page 365). Although the eight trigrams are mentioned, the author displays no interest in them.

The fundamental principle employed by the Treatise is analogy, seen not as a mere device in logic or exposition, but as a metaphysical principle. Again and again the relationship between heaven, earth, man and the hexagrams is described as a continuum of macrocosmic-microcosmic parallels, intimately and essentially interrelated, so that knowing a model in one plane enables a sage to know the corresponding model in the other planes.

Underlying this principle is another: that of eternal flux. Becoming is the sole explanation of being. *Yi* means 'change' both as the title of the book and as the principle of all being. Change, constant, ineluctable and omnipresent, is broadly sketched; no interest is evinced in problems of essence and existence. A summary of the Great Treatise cosmology is given on page 45.

Gerald Swanson claims that the Treatise consistently uses a technical vocabulary of five words meaning 'change'. Full justification of his ideas is given on pages 63–79 of his thesis. I have preserved his vocabulary in my translation, using his terms: (1) *Bian* 'alternation' means bipolar change from positive to negative and *vice versa*: the change between *yang* and *yin*, or whole (firm) and broken (yielding) lines in the hexagrams. The Treatise defines *bian* in I.xi.14, 'Closing a door is called *kun*, opening a door is called *qian*; closing and opening is called *bian*;' in II.ii.2, 'When whole and broken lines change places, *bian* is there within them;' and II.viii.1, 'Whole and broken lines change places, ... *bian* is all that happens.'

(2) *Tong* 'development' means an expanded series of bipolar alternations (*bian*, just described) and is especially applied when one hexagram changes into another. 'Toing and froing without limit is called *tong*' (I.xi.4) and 'Stimulating and moving things is called *tong*' (I.xii.4).

(4) *Hua* 'transformation', means change that is not obviously bipolar but appears to be a change into something of quite different nature, as when a larva becomes a butterfly. In principle, *hua* is reducible to *tong*, but infinite and infinitesimal complexities may be involved, requiring an understanding so subtle and deep

that it is regarded as characteristic of spirits. *Hua* occurs in I.iv.4; I.xii.4 and 7; II.ii.5; II.v.4 and 13(twice).

(4) *Bianhua* ‘alternation and transformation’ is a general term covering both types of change.

(5) *Yi* is the most generalized term. It may mean the same as *tong* ‘development’, as in the changing of the seasons, but can mean the same as *bianhua* ‘alternation and transformation’. *Yi* may also mean the book itself, and the reader should bear in mind that there are times when a sentence refers both to the book and to cosmic change.

Five complete English translations have been published: by Legge and by Wilhelm/Baynes, who based their work on Song commentaries; by Gerald Swanson, and by Richard John Lynn, who both used Han commentaries; and by Wu Jing-Nuan, who translated intuitively⁵ Willard Peterson in his paper ‘Making connections’ gave stimulating translations of sections amounting to rather less than half the text.⁶ All but Wu presented the work as continuous prose, intermingled with copious explanatory matter – a method that has advantages for discussion of the content, but makes it hard for the reader to gain an impression of the overall shape of the work.

The translation offered here aims to present the meaning of the text before it was subjected to comment. I have tried to show both the overall shape of the treatise, with its repetitions and insertions, and the internal shapes of paragraph and sentence. The form often helps make the argument clear.

One element in forming *Dazhuan* is the consequential link *shigu* ‘for this reason’ that stands at the beginning of some two dozen paragraphs. It does not always signal a strong logical connection with what goes before. I was tempted to leave it out of the translation, but because it is a characteristic feature and hints at dislocation of the text, I have retained it in minimal form as ‘Thus’.

Some frequently used terms deserve comment:

Shen ‘spirit’, means a supernatural being or the qualities of such a being. It covers ancestral spirits, ghosts and nature spirits. Some western scholars, academics as well as missionaries, have thought the text implies that men can share in the nature of spirits, but this seems to impose Christian ideas on the very different thought of ancient China.

Shenming, ‘spirit-bright’, can mean ‘(spiritual) intelligence’; but the meaning ‘gods’, found in the Zuo Commentary⁷, fits better. (I.xi.3; II.ii.1; II.vi.1) *Xiang* ‘figure’ (or ‘image’: see page 132) is close to the Platonic ‘idea’ or ‘form’ and applies to an archetype, pattern or form in any of its manifestations.

Shi ‘time’ means the point in time and space to which a hexagram refers when it is obtained in divination. It is translated as ‘occasion’.

Wu ‘entity’ includes abstract as well as concrete entities, sometimes embracing social and political matters. ‘Ten thousand’ or ‘a hundred’ entities means all possible entities.

Qi means vessel, instrument, implement or tool. It usually means all these things at once and is translated as ‘object’, except in II.v.6, where it clearly means ‘instrument’.

Ji ‘subtle, hidden’, often translated in *Dazhuan* as ‘first stirrings’ is here given as ‘first signs of a development’, except in I.viii.10, where it is rendered as ‘delicate affairs’.

Da ye ‘the great task’ is aptly defined by Willard Peterson as ‘politically consequential conduct’ (I.v.4, I.v.5 and I.xi.6).

De, traditionally translated as ‘virtue’, is translated as ‘power’ or ‘powers’, which is the older sense of ‘virtue’.

Qian and *Kun*, tags of the first two hexagrams, often called ‘active’ and ‘receptive’, are here left untranslated. *Dao*, *yang* and *yin* are also left untranslated, as Chinese concepts which are widely understood by readers of English.

Superscript letters refer to the notes printed at the end of the translation.

Wing 5 – Dazhuan I PART I

I

¹As Heaven is above and earth below,
so Qian and Kun are one above the other;
as high and low places are spread about,
so higher and lower lines are set out;
as movement and repose are normative,
so whole and broken lines are distinguished;
as events are of different kinds
and things can be classed in groups

and things can be classed in groups,
so good and ill auspices are generated;
as figures are formed in heaven
and shapes are formed on earth,
so alternation and transformation appear.

²Thus:

whole and broken lines replace one another,
the eight trigrams combine with one another –

³as thunder and lightning stimulate,
wind and rain fertilize,
sun and moon move in their courses,
and after cold comes heat.

□

⁴The *dao* of Qian forms maleness,
the *dao* of Kun forms femaleness.

⁵Qian conceives the Great Beginning,
Kun brings things to completion.

⁶Qian conceives with spontaneity,
Kun is empowered with simplicity.

⁷Spontaneity is readily recognized,
simplicity readily followed.

What is readily recognized is accepted;
what is readily followed brings success.

What is accepted can endure;
what brings success can grow great.

Endurance is the wise man's power;
greatness is the wise man's task.

⁸Being spontaneous and simple
means grasping the principles of all under heaven;
grasping the principles of all under heaven,
means finding one's proper place in their midst.

II

¹Sages made the hexagrams, having observed the figures;
then added statements to indicate good and ill omens.

²Whole and broken lines replace one another,
bringing alternation and transformation.

³Thus:
omens *Auspicious* and *Disastrous*
are figures of failure and success;
Trouble and *Distress*
are figures of worry and anxiety.

⁴ Alternation and transformation
are figures of ebb and flow;
whole and broken lines
are figures of day and night.
The movements of the six lines
show the *dao* of the Great Triad.^a

⁵Thus: a superior man,
has a place in life
resting content
in the succession of changes;
finds his satisfaction
taking delight
in the words of the statements.

Thus: a superior man
when in repose,
observes the figures
and takes delight in the words;
when he acts
observes the alternations
and takes delight in the omens.

⁶Thus:
There is *Grace from heaven for him.*
Auspicious. Nothing unfavourable. (Hexagram 14:top)

III

¹Hexagram statements refer to figures,
line statements refer to alternations.

²*Auspicious* and *Disastrous* mean failure and success;

Trouble and *Distress* refer to minor mistakes:
No misfortune means mistakes can be mended.

³Thus:

ranking noble and base
depends on position;
sorting out great and small
depends on the hexagram;
discerning *Auspicious* and *Disastrous*
depends on the statement;

⁴Worrying at *Trouble* and *Distress*
depends on the risk;
quaking at *No misfortune*
depends on distress.

⁵Thus:

the hexagrams deal with small and great,
the statements deal with danger and comfort,
the statements show the way things are going.

IV

¹Yi, being aligned with heaven and earth,
can wholly set forth the *dao* of heaven and earth.

²Yi looks up to observe the patterns of heaven,
and looks down to examine the veins of earth.

Thus:

it knows the causes of darkness and light,
origins and ends;
it comprehends the meaning of birth and death,
how form and essence fuse in an entity,
lasting till the soul departs in alternation.

Thus:

it knows the condition of spirits and souls.

³Being in accord with heaven and earth,
it does not go contrary to them;
its knowledge embraces all things,
and its *dao* assists all under heaven.

Thus it does not err.

Moving in all directions,
it never drains away;
but rejoices in heaven,
knowing heaven's decrees.
Thus it gives no anxiety.
One who is at peace in the land,
generous in good will,
is thereby able to love.

⁴Yi, modelled on heaven and earth's transformations,
never goes beyond them,
follows the intricate courses of things,
without exception,
fathoms the *dao* of day and night,
with perfect understanding.

Thus:

as spirits have no bounds,
Yi has no embodiment.

V

¹Now Yin, now Yang, is called *dao*.

²Its continuation is goodness,
its achievement is nature.

³Good men see it and call it good will;
wise men see it and call it wisdom;
ordinary people use it daily, not knowing what it is.
Hence the *dao* of a superior man is exceptional.

⁴It shows itself in good will,
but conceals itself in action.
It stimulates all things,
and does not share the sage's anxiety.
Its overflowing power for the Great Task,
is indeed sublime.

⁵To be richly provided with it
is called 'the Great Task';
its daily renewal
is called 'overflowing power'.

⁶Products-producing-products is called Yi.

⁷ The making of figures is Qian;
imitating their patterns is Kun.

⁸Telling numbers, to learn the future, is called divination;
developing alternations are called events.

⁹ All that *yin* and *yang* do not define is called spirit.

VI

¹Yi is vast, is great;
as to distance, it has no limit;
as to proximity, it is quiet and true;
as to what is between heaven and earth, it orders all.

²As for *Qian*:
in repose it is concentrated,
in action it moves straight forward,
and so its products are great.

As for *Kun*:
in repose it is folded together,
in action it opens out,
and so its products are vast.

³ This vastness and greatness
compare with heaven and earth;
alternation and development
compare with the four seasons.

In meaning, *yin* and *yang*
compare with the sun and moon;
in worth, spontaneity and simplicity
compare with transcendent power.

VII

¹The Master said: 'Is not Yi supreme?'
By Yi sages exalt their powers
and widen their activities.
Wisdom ennobles, courtesy humbles:
ennoblement matches heaven,
humility imitates earth.

² Heaven and earth both stand in place
and change operates between them.
Perfected nature is maintained
as a gate for the Tightness of *dao*.

VIII

¹ Sages could see all the mysteries under heaven,
and, following their form and appearance,
made appropriate representations of them,
which are therefore called 'figures'.

² Sages could see all activities under heaven,
and, observing their interaction,
worked out laws and rites.
They added statements on good and ill fortune,
which are therefore called 'oracles'.

³ Though they speak
of all mysteries under heaven,
they do nothing wrong;
though they speak
of all activities under heaven,
they cause no confusion.

⁴ Calculate, then speak;
consider, then act.
By calculation and consideration
all alternation and transformation can be managed.



⁵ *A crane calls on a shaded slope,
its chicks call in reply.*

*Here we have a brimming cup:
together we'll drink it dry. (61:2)*

The Master said:

If a superior man stays indoors and utters good words,
they are accepted more than a thousand leagues away.

How much more easily nearby!

If he stays indoors and utters bad words,

if he stays indoors and utters Dao words,
they are rejected more than a thousand leagues away
How much more easily nearby!
Words issue from oneself and influence people;
deeds start where one is and are seen from afar.
Word and deed are a superior man's hinge and trigger.
Releasing hinge or trigger decides glory and shame,
for by word and deed a superior man moves heaven and earth.
How can he not be cautious?

⁶*Mustering men. First they moan in misery, later on they
laugh in glee. (13:5)*

The Master said of the *dao* of a superior man:

*Indoors or out,
with words or without,
two minds in one mould
are finer than gold:
in converse blent,
rare as orchid scent.*

⁷ 'The bottom line, broken, says: *For ceremonial mats use white grasses.*
No blame! (28:1)

The Master said: Spreading offerings on the ground is acceptable, so how could using grass mats bring blame? This is the height of punctiliousness. Grass in itself has no significance: what matters is how it is used. There can be no blame for acting with such elaborate care.

⁸*Diligence and modesty: the achievement of a superior man. Auspicious.*
(Hexagram 15:3)

The Master said: To be diligent without boasting, to have merit without displaying it: this is the ultimate in magnanimity. To speak of his own merit belittles a man. If as one's ability grows greater, one's behaviour shows more respect, this is modesty. Perfecting respect for others preserves one's own standing.

⁹*A dragon soaring away. There will be trouble. (1:top)*

The Master said:

Noble, without position;
high, with no followers;
there are wise men below him,
but none who helps.

In this situation, any action gives cause for concern.

¹⁰*Not going out of the door to the courtyard (60:base)*
The Master said:

When disorder occurs,
speech has provoked the first stages.
If the ruler is not reticent,
he loses his ministers;
if ministers are not reticent,
they lose their lives;
if delicate affairs are not treated with reticence,
they end in damage.

Therefore

a superior man takes care to keep secrets
and lets nothing out.

¹¹ The Master said: 'Did not the author of Yi understand thieves?' Yi says:
Shouldering a pack while riding in a carriage attracts raiders to attack (40:3).

Carrying a pack is common folk's work;
chariots are noblemen's vehicles.
If a common man takes over a nobleman's vehicle,
thieves will be tempted to steal from him.
If superiors are slack and inferiors unruly,
thieves will plan to attack.
Careless opulence tempts thieves,
as artful make-up excites lust.

Yi, saying *Shouldering a pack while riding a chariot attracts raiders to attack,*

means inciting thieves.

IX

¹Heaven has 1, 3, 5, 7 and 9.

Earth has 2, 4, 6, 8, and 10.^b

²Thus heaven has five numbers
and earth has five numbers.

The two series are interlocked in order;
each number in one series has its partner in the other.

The sum of heaven's numbers is 25;
the sum of earth's numbers is 30;
the sum of the numbers of heaven and earth is 55.

This is what stimulates alternation and transformation
and animates spirits.

³The Full Number is 50, of which 49 are used.

Dividing into two lots represents duality.^c

Setting one aside completes the triad.^d

Counting by fours represents the four seasons.

Reserving the remainder between the fingers represents the leap month.

Since there are two leap months in every five years, the second remainder is
also put between the fingers.

Thus an interim calculation is obtained.

⁴The wands counted out for Qian number 216.^e

The wands counted out for Kun number 144^f

The total required for the two hexagrams, 360, is the number of days in the
lunar year.

⁵The wands counted out for both parts (of Yi) number 11,520.

This corresponds to the number of the 10,000 entities.⁸

⁶Thus a fourfold operation fulfils Yi;^h

and 18 interim calculations produce one hexagram.¹

⁷ The eight trigrams are small products.^j

⁸By carrying on and extending the process by extrapolation,
every matter under heaven can be covered,⁹ *dao* made
manifest and spirit powers activated. Thus we can
communicate with spirits and receive their help.

¹⁰The Master said: ‘To know the *dao* of alternation and transformation, is not
that to know how spirits act?’

X

¹Yi holds the fourfold *dao* of the sages, who:
spoke in the light of its statements;
acted in the light of its alternations;
invented objects in the light of its figures;
divined by yarrow in the light of its omens.

²Thus when a superior man prepares to act or move,
he puts his question in words,
and receives instruction like an echo.

Nothing is too far or near, hidden or obscure:
he is able to know what will happen.

If Yi did not reach the inmost core
of everything under heaven,
what else could do so?

³Alternations are wrought by shuffling and grouping,^k
combining numbers,
developing alternations
till the patterns of heaven and earth are fulfilled.

When the numbers have all been worked through,
all figures under heaven have been defined.

If Yi did not reach every alternation under heaven, what else could do so?

⁴Yi has no thought, no action.
It is inert and motionless;
but when activated it penetrates
every cause under heaven.

If Yi did not reach every spirit under heaven,
what else could do so?

⁵Yi enabled sages to investigate depths
and explore the first signs of development.

⁶Only its own depth
can penetrate all intentions under heaven;
only its perception of the first signs of development
can cover all affairs under heaven;
only the spirits
can speed without haste, arrive without travel.

⁷When the Master said 'Yi holds the fourfold *dao* of the
sages,' this is what he meant.

XI

¹The Master said: 'How does Yi act?'
Yi opens matters up and brings affairs to completion.
It embraces the *dao* of all under heaven.
This and this only.
Thus the sages
penetrated all intentions under heaven,
defined all tasks under heaven,
resolved all problems under heaven.

²Thus:
by nature yarrow wands are round, spirit-related;¹
by nature hexagrams are rectangular, intelligent;
the meaning of the six lines changes to fit situations.
With them the sages cleansed their minds,
retiring to dwell in seclusion.
Good and ill fortune troubled them
and they suffered like other men,
but through the spirits they learned the future
and with wisdom they remembered the past.
Who could do such things?
Only the ancients with their insight and knowledge,
engaging the spirits without blood sacrifices."¹

³Thus:
understanding the *dao* of heaven,
and discerning the needs of the people

and discerning the needs of the people,
they devised these spirit tools
that provide for the people's benefit.
Using them, the sages disciplined themselves
to refine their power with the spirits.

□

⁴Thus:

closing a door is called *Kun*,
and opening a door is called *Qian*.
Closing and opening is called alternation,
endless toing and froing is called development.
What is then perceived is called a figure;
given shape it is called an object;
putting it to use is called method.
Using this coming and going to advantage
for all the people's sake is called spirit power.

□

⁵Thus:

Yi holds the Ultimate Limit,ⁿ
whence spring the Two Primal Forces, *yang* and *yin*.
The Two Forces generate four digrams,^o
and the four digrams generate eight trigrams.

⁶The eight trigrams define good and ill fortune;
good and ill fortune determine the Great Task.

□

⁷Thus:

no pattern or figure is greater than heaven and earth;
no alternation or development
greater than the four seasons;
no bright figure in the sky
greater than sun and moon;
no honour or rank

greater than wealth and nobility;
no preparing or using of things,
no making objects of benefit for all under heaven,
greater than the work of the sages;
no exploring the mysterious,
no seeking the hidden,
no dredging the depths,
no reaching the utmost limits
to discern all good and ill fortune under heaven,
and bring success to all efforts under heaven,
is greater than yarrow and tortoise-shell.

□

⁸Thus:

heaven generated these spirit tools:

sages took them as norms.

All in heaven and earth alternates and transforms:

sages followed suit.

Heaven gave celestial figures

to declare what is *Auspicious* and *Disastrous*;

sages made hexagrams from them.

The Yellow River yielded a chart,

the Luo River yielded a document:

sages took them as norms.

⁹Yi has the four figures for revelation,^P

appended texts for explanation,

Auspicious and *Disastrous* for decisions.

XII

¹Yi says: *Grace from heaven for him. Auspicious. Nothing unfavourable.* (14:top)

The Master said: Blessing means helping. Heaven helps those who are compliant; man helps those who are reliable. This means one should tread the path of reliability, be compliant and honour those who are worthy of respect.

Thus there will be *Grace from heaven for him. Auspicious. Nothing unfavourable.*

□

² The Master said:

‘Writing does not fully convey speech.

Speech does not fully convey meaning.’

Can we then not fully know the sages’ meaning?

The Master said:

‘The sages arranged figures to convey all meanings;

invented hexagrams to convey truth and deviance;

and added oracles to convey all in words.’

(Alternation and development convey all benefits; Drumming and dancing convey all spirit matters.)⁹

³ Are not *Qian* and *Kun* the core of *Yi*?

Qian and *Kun* set the bounds:

yi stands between them.

Were *Qian* and *Kun* abolished,

change would not be seen.

Were change not seen,

Qian and *Kun* might all but come to rest.

⁴ Thus:

what precedes form is called *dao*,

what exists under form is called objects.

(Transforming and shaping things is called alternation;

stimulating and moving them is called development;

taking and applying them to all people under heaven is called the Task.)⁹

⁵ Thus: as for figures ...^r

⁶ Probing all mysteries under heaven

belongs to the hexagrams,

stimulating all activities under heaven

belongs to the oracles.

⁷ (Transforming and shaping

belongs to alternation;

stimulating and moving

belongs to development;

understanding spirits

belongs to the man himself;)⁴
succeeding in silence, communicating without speech,
belongs to the use of these powers.⁵

Wing 6 – Dazhuan II
PART II

I

- ¹The eight trigrams form a complete series;
the figures are there within them;
when they are doubled,
the oracles are there within them.
- ²When whole and broken lines change places,
alternation is there within them;
statements are added in explanation
and action is there within them.
- ³ Good and bad auspices, *Trouble* and *Distress*
arise through this action:
- ⁴whole and broken lines form its basis,
alternation and development fit each occasion.
- ⁵Good and evil fortune constantly overcome one another;
the *dao* of heaven and earth is constantly revealed;
the *dao* of sun and moon constantly gives light;
all movements under heaven constantly work as one.
- ⁶*Qian* is decisive and shows men spontaneity;
Kun is docile and shows men simplicity.
- ⁷The lines are there to verify this;
the figures are there to portray this.
- ⁸The lines and figures move first,
good and bad auspices appear subsequently.
Accomplishments and tasks appear as alternations;
the sages' intuitions appear in the statements.
The great power of heaven and earth is regeneration;
the great asset of a sage is his standing.
How is that standing maintained?

By men.
How can men be held together?
By resources.
Regulating resources, correcting language,
keeping men from doing wrong – this is called justice.

II

¹In high antiquity, when Fuxi ruled the world, he looked up and observed the figures in heaven, looked down and saw the model forms under heaven. He noted the appearances of birds and beasts and how they were adapted to their habitats, examined things in his own person near at hand, and things in general at a distance. Hence he devised the eight trigrams with power to communicate with spirits and classify the natures of the myriad beings.^t

²He twined cords to make nets for hunting and fishing. This may have come from LI (Hexagram 30).^u

³After Fuxi died, Shennong arose. Shaping wood to make ploughshares and bending wood to make plough-handles, he taught all under heaven the benefits of ploughing and tilling. This may have come from YI (Hexagram 42).

⁴He had markets held at midday, bringing all people under heaven together and assembling all commodities under heaven. They bartered and returned home, every one having got what he wanted. This may have come from SHIKE (Hexagram 21).

⁵After Shennong died, Huangdi was active, then Yao and Shun. They developed the alternations, so that the people were not wearied: with spirit power they transformed the people and satisfied them. When change was effected, there was alternation; alternation gave development; development gave lasting progress. Thus there was *Grace from heaven for them. Auspicious. Nothing unfavourable* (14:top). Huangdi, Yao and Shun wore draped upper and nether garments, and all under heaven was well ordered. This may have come from QIAN and KUN (Hexagrams 1 and 2).

⁶They hollowed out tree-trunks to make boats and shaved wood to make oars. The benefit of boats and oars was ability to reach distant places by crossing unfordable waters, which was profitable for all under heaven. This may have come from HUAN (Hexagram 59).

⁷They tamed oxen and yoked horses to transport heavy goods over great distances, benefiting all under heaven. This may have come from SUI (Hexagram 17).

⁸They made defensive double gates and watchmen's clappers to keep off marauders. This may have come from YU (Hexagram 16).

⁹They cut wood to make pestles and dug hollows in the ground to make mortars. Pestle and mortar were beneficial to all people. This may have come from XIAOGUO (Hexagram 62).

¹⁰They strung wood to make bows, and sharpened wood to make arrows. The benefit of bows and arrows is keeping all under heaven in awe. This may have come from KUI (Hexagram 38).

¹¹ In earliest times men lived in caves or dwelt in open country. Later sages changed this, building houses large and small. A ridgepole at the top and spreading eaves below warded off wind and rain. This may have come from DAZHUANG (Hexagram 34).

¹²In earliest times burial was performed by covering the corpse thickly with brushwood and laying it in open country with neither mound nor grove; nor were there fixed times for mourning. Later sages changed this, introducing double coffins. This may have come from DAGUO (Hexagram 28).

¹³In earliest times, knotted cords were used in administration. Later sages changed this, introducing written documents and bonds for regulating the various officials and supervising the people. This may have come from JUE (Hexagram 43).

III

¹Thus:

Yi is all figures (hexagrams).

A figure is a representation;

²hexagram statements give meanings;

³line statements follow all the action under heaven.

⁴Thus:

good and bad auspices appear,

Trouble and *Distress* are seen.

IV

¹A *yang* trigram contains more *yin* lines,
a *yin* trigram contains more *yang* lines.

² Why is this?

A *yang* trigram has an odd number of strokes,
a *yin* trigram has an even number of strokes.^v

³What are their powers and actions?

Yang has one prince to two commoners:
this is the *dao* of princes.

Yin has two princes to one commoner:
this is the *dao* of small men.

v

¹Yi says:

*Hither and thither you move distraught:
Your friends are following your every thought.*

(31:4)

The Master said:

Under heaven, why are there thoughts and cares?

Under heaven all comes back to one point, though in different ways:
one resolution for a hundred cares.

Under heaven, why are there thoughts and cares?

□

²The sun goes, then the moon comes;
the moon goes, then the sun comes.
As sun and moon change places,
light goes on being produced.

Cold goes, then heat comes;
heat goes, then cold comes.
as cold and heat change places,
the round of the year is fulfilled.

The past contracts,
the future extends.

Contraction and extension induce one another
to produce advantages.

³A caterpillar contracts
in order to extend;^W
dragons and snakes hibernate
in order to wake again.

This vital rule extends to spirit matters,
where it comes to its ultimate use.
Favourable use for personal security,
leads to ennoblement of human powers.

⁴Over and beyond this,
perhaps nothing can be known.
Probing spirits and understanding transformations
is the highest of powers.



⁵Yi says:

*Beset by stones, clutching thorny boughs.
Entering his house,
Sees not his spouse.
Disastrous. (47:3)*

The Master said:

Being oppressed by something that is not oppressive
will surely bring shame on one's name;
clutching at what should not be clutched
will surely run one into danger.
Disgrace and danger mean death is nigh.
So how could he see his wife?

⁶Yi says:

A duke shoots a hawk from atop a city wall.

He gets it. Unfavourable for nothing.

The Master said: The hawk is a bird, the bow and arrows are instruments, the one that shoots is a man. A superior man keeps instruments at hand, and acts when occasion arises. How can this be other than advantageous? He acts without hindrance; thus he sets out and succeeds. This tells of having instruments ready for action.

⁷The Master said:

A small man is not ashamed of not being benevolent,
not abashed by not being righteous.

If he sees no advantage to be gained,
he will take no action;

if he faces no threat,
he will not correct himself.

If he is corrected in small matters
and commanded in great matters –
this will make a small man happy.^x

Yi says:

Shackled with leg fetters; mutilating the feet. No harm.

(21:base)

⁸If goodness does not mount up,
it will not be enough to earn a good name.

If evil does not mount up,
it will not be enough to destroy a man.

A small man sees no advantage in a little goodness,
and does not cultivate it.

He sees small evils as harmless
and does not expunge them.

Thus evil accumulates and cannot be hidden,
crimes increase and cannot be absolved.

Yi says:

Shouldering a cangue: mutilating the ears. Disastrous.

(21:top)

⁹The Master said:

A man in danger looks to his safety;
in ruin, looks to his life;
in disturbance, looks to control.

Therefore a superior man
when in safety does not forget danger,
when life is good does not forget ruin,
when in control does not forget disturbance.

Thus he stays safe
and can protect both state and household.

Yi says:

Will it flee? Will it flee? Tie to a mulberry tree. (12:5)

¹⁰The Master said:

When abilities are small and office high,
wisdom small and plans large,
strength small and burdens heavy:
then trouble is seldom avoidable.

Yi says:

*Tripod-bowl with legs askew,
spilling out the duke's fine stew:
Penalty of death is due.* (50:4)

This is said of one not capable of his duties.

¹¹The Master said: Discerning the first signs of a process, is that not spirit work?

A superior man does not flatter those above him;
and is not overbearing with those below him.

Is not this awareness of first signs?

The first sign means the slightest movement,
the first tiny glimpse of changing fortune.

A superior man notices the first sign and acts,
without waiting all day

11 says:

*Pilloried on the stone. Not lasting till the end of the day. Augury
auspicious.* (16:2)

Pilloried on the stone, why wait all day? The judgment is made known.

A superior man
knows the subtle, knows the sheer,
knows the cloudy, knows the clear:
him ten thousand shall revere.

¹²The Master said: That scion of the Yan clan^Y – did he attain to discernment of first signs? If he had a fault, he never failed to recognize it; and having recognized it, never committed it again.

Yi says:

Returning from not far away. No harm or trouble. Most auspicious.

(24:base)

¹³ Heaven and earth unite,
the myriad beings are transformed and activated.
Male and female blend their essences,
the myriad beings are transformed and produced.

Yi says:

*Three travel together,
one is lost;
one who travels alone
finds a friend.*

(41:3)

This means the outcome is the same either way^Z

¹⁴The Master said:

A superior man
sees to his safety before he acts,
composes his mind before he speaks,
confirms his relationships before making a request.
A superior man gives attention to these three things,
and therefore is safe.
If he acts riskily

if he does nothing,
people will not support him;
if he speaks without confidence,
people will not respond;
if he makes demands
without first confirming relationships,
people will not stand by him.

If no one stands by him,
ill-wishers will draw near.

Yi says:

Not enriching him, maybe striking him. Stand firm.

Do not perform a fixing rite – disastrous.

(42:6)

VI

¹The Master said: ‘Qian and Kun, are they not the double door of Yi?’

Qian is the entity of *yang* and Kun is the entity of *yin*. When *Yin* and *yang* unite their powers, whole and broken lines are formed, embodying the elements of heaven and earth, and bringing power to communicate with spirits.

²The names of the hexagrams are varied but not unduly so. On examining their contents, does one not discover the thoughts of an era in decay?

³For Yi illuminates the past but looks into the future, so that minute indications can be detected and obscurities made clear. It is well constructed, with appropriate terms, discrete entities, correct diction and decisive judgments.

⁴The terms are limited, but their applications are broad, their meanings far-reaching. The style is sophisticated and the words indirect, but they make their points. Matters are plainly set out, though the sense is profound. When a choice is to be made, Yi guides people’s conduct, making clear whether a plan will fail or succeed.

VII

¹The origin of Yi was in middle antiquity. Those who composed Yi knew suffering and sorrow.^{aa}

²Thus:

Hexagram 10 Lü is the basis of powers;

Hexagram 15 Qian is the handling of powers;

Hexagram 24 Fu is the root of powers;
Hexagram 32 Heng is the cohesion of powers;
Hexagram 41 Sun is the cultivation of powers:
Hexagram 42 Yi is the maturity of powers;
Hexagram 47 Kun is the discernment of powers;
Hexagram 48 Jing is the field of powers:
Hexagram 57 Xun is the control of powers.

³Hexagram 10 Lü is harmonious and effective;
Hexagram 15 Qian is honourable and renowned;
Hexagram 24 Fu is small and distinguishes subtleties;
Hexagram 32 Heng is varied and not wearisome;
Hexagram 41 Sun is at first difficult, later easy;
Hexagram 42 Yi is maturity without artifice;
Hexagram 47 Kun is perplexing yet penetrating;
Hexagram 48 Jing is stationary, yet moving upward;
Hexagram 57 Xun is premeditative and hidden.

⁴Hexagram 10 Lii harmonizes conduct;
Hexagram 15 Qian regulates manners;
Hexagram 24 Fu knows itself;
Hexagram 32 Heng unifies its powers;
Hexagram 41 Sun fends off harm;
Hexagram 42 Yi furthers advantage;
Hexagram 47 Kun lessens resentment;
Hexagram 48 Jing discerns righteousness;
Hexagram 57 Xun acts appropriately.

VIII

¹Yi is a document that should not be set at a distance.
Its *dao* is ever-changing,
alternating and moving without rest,
flowing through the six vacant places,^{ab}
moving up and down without rule.
Whole and broken lines change places,
with no consistent principle:
alternation is all that happens.

- ²Going and coming within limits
gives warning without and within,
- ³shedding light on trouble and its causes,
not as a guide or teacher,
but like a parent at one's side.
- ⁴First study the statements,
and ponder their purport;
then principles will emerge;
but if one is not the person intended,
the *dao* will not apply automatically.

IX

¹Yi is a document that starts with beginnings and moves towards ends: that is its nature. The six lines intermingle to match each occasion and event.

²The bottom line is hard to understand,
the top line is easy to understand:
they are root and tip.

The bottom line makes a suggestion,
the top line comes to a conclusion;

³but distinguishing details, determining powers,
and dividing true from false,
would not be possible
without the intervening lines.

⁴But yes, questions of life and death, good and ill
can be known for sure.
A wise man by looking at the hexagram statement
can discern more than half.

⁵The second and fourth lines have the same force,
but different positions.

Their values are not the same.

The second is generally commendatory,
the fourth is generally minatory.

The *dao* of the broken line is not advantageous
if it is far from the centre:

No misfortune is the omen needed
for a broken central line.

⁶The third and fifth lines have the same force,
but different positions.

The third is generally ominous,
the fifth is generally propitious.
These are levels of rank and lowliness.
If broken, they are dangerous;
if whole, they mean triumphing.

X

¹Yi is a document that is wide, covering all matters.

It contains the *dao* of heaven,
it contains the *dao* of man,
it contains the *dao* of earth.

It contains all three
and doubles them.

Thus there are six –
six: naught but the *dao* of the three.

²*Dao* has alternation and movement,
realized as lines.

Lines have positions,
realized as events.

Events have mutual relationships,
realized as patterns.

When patterns do not match,
good and bad auspices occur.

XI

¹Did not Yi arise at the end of Shang,
when Zhou was at the peak of its powers,
when King Wen strove with Zhouxin?^{ac}
Thus, the statements speak of danger.

Danger encourages peace,
complacency provokes downfall.

This *dao* is very great:
no possibility is omitted.

Caution from beginning to end
looks for *No misfortune*.

This is the *dao* of Yi.

XII

¹ Qian is the ultimate firmness under heaven.
Applying its power is always spontaneous
and alerts to danger.

Kun is the ultimate compliance under heaven.
Applying its power is always simple
and warns of obstruction.

²Yi can rejoice the heart,
or examine [a lord's] anxieties;^{ad}
discern all good and ill fortune under heaven,
and accomplish all heavy tasks under heaven.

³Thus:
alternation and transformation mean action,
auspicious events have favourable omens,
the figures explain man-made objects,
divining events shows the future.

⁴Heaven and earth being fixed in their places,
sages perfected their skills,
with human counsel and spirit counsel
the common people can share.

⁵The eight trigrams declare the figures;
hexagram and line statements speak to circumstances;
broken and whole lines are rningled – hence good and bad auspices appear.

⁶Alternation and movement speak of advantage,
good and bad auspices vary with circumstances.

Thus:

when love and hate vie with each other,
good and bad auspices are born;
when far and near react on each other,
Trouble and *Distress* are born;
when true and false influence each other,

advantage and loss are born.

The circumstances of Yi,

when they converge without mutual profit, give *disaster*,
or sometimes harm: *Trouble* and *Distress*.



- ⁷ Words of the rebellious are shameful;
words of the shifty are diffuse;
words of the fortunate are few;
words of the agitated are many;
words of the slanderous are evasive;
words of the faithless are twisted.^{ae}

Notes

a (i.ii.4). The Great Triad is heaven, earth and man (see II.x.1).

b (I.ix.1). Paragraphs 1 and 2 are in the place that since Song times has generally been conceded as right for them. In Tang editions and others that follow them, Paragraph 1 is placed before xi.1 (at the beginning of Section XI); and Paragraph 2 is placed after ix.3 (at the beginning of Section IX).

c (I.ix.3). Duality means heaven and earth or *yang* and *yin*.

d (I.ix.3). The triad is heaven, earth and man, as in ii.4.

e (I.ix.4). 216 = 36 for each of six stable whole lines.

f (I.ix.4). 144 = 24 for each of six stable broken lines.

g (I.ix.5). 11,520 = 36 for each of 192 whole lines and 24 for each of 192 broken lines. The correspondence with 10,000 is approximate, another of the many numerical expressions for 'everything' or 'an uncountable large number'.

h (I.ix.6). The fourfold operation is: (1) dividing the wands into two heaps; (2) removing one from the computation; (3) counting out the rest by fours; (4) reserving the discards.

i (I.ix.6). The eighteen interim calculations are made up of three for each line of a hexagram.

j (I.ix.7). Trigrams are small products because only nine interim calculations are required to generate them.

k (I.x.3). The expression *canwu*, translated as 'shuffling and grouping', literally means 'arranging in threes and fives' and because of this passage later came to be

used for ‘sorting out complications’ (as in *Shiji* 88). Wilhelm (p315) and Legge (p371) note that Zhu Xi seemed to think the original meaning of *canwu* was no longer intelligible. Wilhelm’s attempt to explain it by reference to I.ix.3 and 7 as three lots (two heaps and a single wand) making five when two counts of the heaps are added does not really solve the issue.

l (I.xi.2). Roundness signifies heavenly, squareness earthly The altar of heaven was (and is) round, the altar of earth square. A circle suggests ever-extending infinity, a square is limited by the four cardinal points.

m (I.xi.2). ‘Without blood sacrifices’. Peterson suggests this for the obscure *busha* ‘not killing’. The literal meaning, ‘fighting and not killing’, is abstruse.

n (I.xi.5). The Ultimate Limit. This is *taiji*, the combination of the primal *yin* and *yang*, later symbolized as a circle composed of two commas. The two commas are variously explained as one red for *yang* and one blue or black for *yin*, or one azure blue for *yang* and one orange-red for *yin*.

o (I.xi.5). The four digrams are



p (I.xi.9). ‘Four figures’ is probably a mistake carried over from Paragraph 5. Otherwise it must refer to the four digrams mentioned there. ‘Figures’ alone makes better sense.

q (I.xii.2,4). The passages in parentheses may be a parallel composition which has been amalgamated with the rest.

r (I.xii.5). Here, apparently in error, the passage I.viii.1–2 is repeated, preceded by the words ‘⁵Thus: as for figures: ...’

s (I.xii.7). The last paragraph, echoing part of paragraphs 2 and 4, may be an afterthought.

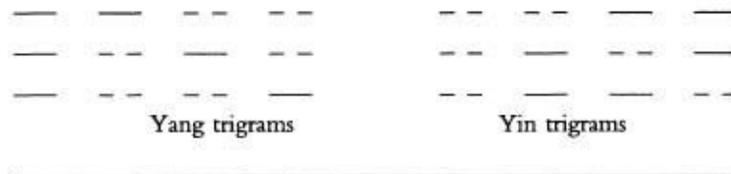
t (II.ii.1). For Fuxi see page xx. A variant form of his name, Baoxi, is used here.

u (II.ii.2). The traditional explanations of the hexagrams mentioned in paragraphs 2–13 depend largely on the constituent trigrams. Clues from the 8th Wing (see pages 445–9) are spelt out by Wilhelm/Baynes (1967) pages 330–6. They are mostly far-fetched. The knotted cords mentioned at the end of the passage are also mentioned in *Daodejing* 80.

v (II.iv.2). A trigram is *yang* if the total number of strokes used in it is an odd (*yang*) number. A trigram with only one *yang* (whole) line is *yang*, because it must have two broken lines, and therefore has a total of 5 strokes, which is an

odd (*yang*) number. It follows that a trigram with two whole lines is *yin*. Three whole lines, of course, make a *yang* trigram, and three broken lines are *yin*. (See

Table 15, page 163.)



w (II.v.3). Specifically, the caterpillar of a geometer moth, known as a measuring worm, looper or inchworm. It has few legs, set in two groups at the front and back ends of the body, which is arched or looped when travelling.

x (II.v.7). The division of these paragraphs does not follow the logic of the text – though that logic is hard to discern. The Master’s comments do not apply to the adjacent *Zhouyi* quotations, though ingenious commentators have done their best to prove otherwise. The text is doubtless defective.

y (II.v.12). Yan Hui, the favourite disciple of Confucius, is often mentioned in the Analects and in the satires on Confucius in *Zhuangzi*.

z (II.v.13). An alternative meaning for ‘the outcome is the same either way’ is ‘achieving unity’.

aa (II.vii.2). The two opening sentences appear to belong to the beginning of Chapter xi. Paragraphs 2–4 may be a later insertion. Their meaning has given the commentators much work.

ab (II.viii.1). ‘The six vacant places’. This presumably refers to the six positions in a hexagram, perhaps seen as the six boundaries of space. (See page 96.) ac (II.xi.1). Zhouxin was the last ruler of Shang.

ad (II.xii.2). ‘A lords’ is found in some copies. It is omitted by ZhuXi.

ae (II.xii.7). The last paragraph has no obvious connection with *Zhouyi*.

Wing 7 THE WORDS OF THE TEXT

Wenyan

Wenyan ‘words of the text’ has also been translated as ‘Glosses’ and may mean ‘Elegant Words’. The short document called by this name deals with the first two hexagrams only, developing post-Confucian ideas in a form that is not matched anywhere else in the Ten Wings. There is a strong moralizing element, and some use of technical terms about line positions (described on page 187–8). The treatment given to the four characters *yuan heng li zhen* forms an important part of their history (see page 435).

The contents of *Wenyan* come from four sources, each of which provides a discrete section of the document. The four sections appear to be remnants of larger commentaries, possibly dating from the 2nd or 1st century BC. The opening sentences are also found in the Zuo Commentary (see page 187), which may suggest an earlier date, though either document may have quoted the other, or both may have used a third document. Since two of the sources (2 and 3) make no mention of correctly placed, central, corresponding or riding and supporting lines, these sources may be earlier than the Wings that include those things. Only two of the four sources mention the supernumerary line statements (see page 130).

Source 1 contains one phrase – ‘moving up and down without rule’ – (I.ii.4) and one whole paragraph (I.ii.6) that occur in the Great Treatise (II.viii.1, see I.viii.9, see pages 428 and 414). The Great Treatise is more likely to be quoting *Wenyan* than the other way round, because the *Wenyan* passage is part of a longer piece. This argues for an earlier date for Source 1 than for the Treatise. Sources 1 and 4 contain phrases that also occur in *Tuanzhuan*, Wings 1 and 2, but it is not clear which is the earlier of these two compositions (see pages 370 and 371). Possibly *Wenyan* contains the oldest writing in all the Ten Wings.

The first three sources deal with Hexagram 1. Source 1 gives moralizing comments on the hexagram statement and six line statements; Sources 2 and 3 each give laconic glosses on seven line statements, including the supernumerary one.

Source 4 deals with both Hexagram 1 and Hexagram 2, treating the hexagram statement and six line statements of both. There is some resemblance to the style of Source 1, including one identical passage in I.ii.3 and I.vi.3. The supernumerary lines are not mentioned.

In editions where *Wenyan* is dismembered and the pieces printed under the appropriate parts of the *Zhouyi* text, the treatment of Hexagrams 1 and 2 is unique. The arrangement is as follows.

- (1) The whole of the *Zhouyi* text for Hexagram 1 is printed without any interspersed quotations from the Wings.
- (2) *Tuan yue* follows, introducing the relevant part of *Tuanzhuan*, the Hexagram Statement Commentary (Wing 1); (3) then *Xiang yue* introduces the appropriate part of the Greater Figures Commentary (Wing 3) and all seven parts of the Lesser Figures Commentary (Wing 3), continuously, without division.

- (4) After this the words *Wenyan yue* introduce all the 7th Wing says about Hexagram 1.
- (5) Hexagram 2 is treated like the remaining 62 hexagrams, except that the appropriate *Wenyan* section is added at the end.

The identification and numbering of the sources given here in square brackets are not found in the original text. The other numbers are traditional, like those used in the Great Treatise.

PART I
[Source 1]
[Hexagram 1]

I

¹Yuan is the leader of goodness,
Heng is the sum of all excellence,
Li is the harmony of all that is right,
Zhen is the kingpin of activity.

²A prince, embodying goodwill, is fit to lead men;
summing up excellence, is fit to unite them in propriety;
benefiting all beings, is fit to co-ordinate justice;
being constant and firm, is the kingpin of action.

³A prince should exercise these four powers.
Hence the words: *Yuan heng li zhen*.

II

¹Base line, whole: *A dragon lies beneath the lake. No action take.* What does this mean? The Master said: ‘The power of the dragon lies hidden.’

Not changing to suit the world,
nor seeking fame;
leaving the world without regret,
being unnoticed too without regret;
in happiness, carrying on;
in sadness, retiring.

Indeed, he cannot be shaken, this submerged dragon.

²Line 2, whole: *Lo, on the fields a dragon bides. To meet with great men well*

betides. What does this mean? The Master said ‘The power of the dragon is in this line, correct and central’ (see page xx).

His talk is habitually reliable,
his deeds are habitually careful.
Warding off wickedness,
he keeps his sincerity.
He works good in the world without boasting;
his powers spread abroad and effect change.

When *Yi* says ‘Lo, on the fields a dragon bides. To meet with great men well betides,’ it speaks of these princely powers.

³Line 3, whole: *A prince is active all day and after dark still stays alert. Dangerous. No misfortune.* What does this mean? The Master said: ‘The prince develops his powers, tends his task.’

Loyalty and trustworthiness advance his powers;
Careful words and manifest probity maintain his task.
Knowing how to tackle a problem,
he tackles the root of the matter;
knowing how to finish,
he finishes with justice.
Thus he holds high rank without boasting
and low rank without distress.

Hence he *is active* as the occasion requires, and *stays alert*, though things are *dangerous*; yet he suffers *no misfortune*.

⁴Line 4, whole: *Sometimes it leaps above the tides. No misfortune.* What does this mean? The Master said:

Moving up and down without rule,
yet without swerving,
advance and retreat are not permanent
and need not distance one from others.
A prince develops his powers, works at his task, looks for opportunity.

Therefore the situation is ‘No misfortune.’

⁵Line 5, whole: *A dragon through the heavens glides. To meet with great men well betides.* What does this mean? The Master said:

Similar sounds respond to one another,
 similar natures seek one another;
water flows to the damp,
 fire comes to the dry;
clouds follow the dragon,
 winds follow the tiger.
When a sage stirs,
 all beings look towards him.
What comes from Heaven seeks to rise above,
 what comes from Earth seeks to go below.
Thus each follows its kind.

⁶Top line, whole: *A dragon soaring away. There will be trouble.* What does this mean? The Master said:

 Noble without position,
 high with no followers;
 there are wise men below him,
 but none who helps.

In this situation, any action gives cause for concern.

[Source 2]

III

¹[Base line] *A dragon lies beneath the lake. No action take.*
 – because of being underneath.

² [Line 2] *Lo, on the fields a dragon bides.*
 – time to linger.

³[Line 3] *Active all day long.*
 – carrying out affairs.

⁴[Line 4] *Sometimes it leaps above the tides.*
 – testing itself.

⁵[Line 5] *A dragon through the heavens glides.*
 – controlling from above.

⁶[Top line] *A dragon soaring away. There will be trouble.*
 – disaster from exhaustion.

⁷[Source of *Qian*] *All nines*
 – controlling all under heaven

CONTROLLING ALL UNDER HEAVEN.

[Source 3]

IV

¹[Base line] *A dragon lies beneath the lake. No action take.*
– the *yang* influence is hidden.

² [Line 2] *Lo, on the fields a dragon bides.*
– all under heaven is civilized.

³[Line 3] *Active all day long.*
– acting as occasion requires.

⁴[Line 4] *Sometimes it leaps above the tides.*
– Qian's *dao* is changeable.

⁵[Line 5] *A dragon through the heavens glides.*
– position of heavenly power.

⁶ [Top line] *A dragon soaring away*
– the occasion is overshot.

⁷[Source of *Qian*] *All nines*
– heaven's law made manifest.

[Source 4]

[Hexagram 1]

V

¹[Hexagram Statement] Qian begins everything as *yuan*, the source, and develops by *heng*;

²*li* and *zhen* give nature and essence.

³From the beginning, Qian gives wonderful *li*, benefiting all under Heaven. There is no word for such beneficence but 'great'.

⁴How great is Qian: firm, strong, central and correct, pure and quintessential.

⁵The hexagrams open up and parabolically explain the heart of all matters.

⁶On occasion, when these six-dragon-chariots are driven through the heavens, clouds move, rain falls, peace comes to all under heaven.

VI

¹[Base Line] A prince fulfils his powers in action, action that should daily be seen. *Beneath the lake* means action that is hidden and unfinished: this is the action the prince is *not to take*.

²[Line 2] A prince learns to collect information, enquires in order to sort out his ideas, is generous in attitude and benevolent in action. *Yi* says: *Lo, on the fields a dragon bides. To meet with great men well betides*. This means princely powers.

³Line 3 whole: This is doubly firm: but neither in heaven above [Line 5], nor in the fields below [Line 2]. Therefore he *is active* as the occasion requires, and *stays alert*, though things are *dangerous*; yet he suffers *no misfortune*.

⁴Line 4, whole: This is doubly firm: but neither in heaven above [Line 5], nor in the fields below [Line 2], nor with man between them [Line 3]. *Sometimes* implies uncertainty, but there is *no misfortune*.

⁵[Line 5] The great man is at one with *heaven* and earth in powers, with sun and moon in brilliance, with the four seasons in regularity, and with the spirits in divining good and ill auspices. When he precedes heaven, heaven does not oppose him; when he follows heaven, he keeps to heavens timing. If heaven does not resist him, how can man or spirits do so?.

⁶[Top line] *Soaring away* is knowing how to go forward, but not how to go back; how to live, but not how to perish; how to win and not how to fail. Only a sage knows how to go forward and to go back, to live and to perish, and not lose his integrity. Only a sage ...

PART II

[Hexagram 2]

I

¹Hexagram Statement] Kun is wholly yielding, yet moves.

Firm, wholly calm: strong powers it forms;

²Hence *finds a master*, thus gains norms;

³Enfolds all things: like light, transforms.

⁴The *dao* of Kun is compliance indeed. Responding to heaven, its action is timely.

II

¹[Base line] A household that accumulates the good must abound in blessings; a household that accumulates what is not good must abound in misfortune. The murder of a prince by his subject, the murder of a father by his son – these affairs are not wrought between dawn and evening. They have festered for some time and not been dealt with at an early stage. *Yi* says *Frost underfoot again, solid ice comes soon*. Is this not speaking of acquiescence with circumstances?

²[Line 2] In *straight, square, great* ‘straight’ means upright and ‘square’ means just. A prince is concerned for straightness within himself and squareness with others outside himself. Concern and justice give him standing, but his powers are not for himself alone. *Straight, square, great, without repetition: unfavourable for nothing*.

³[Line 3] Although a broken line has beauty, it is hidden. *In royal service, lack of success will come to an end*. The *dao* of earth is the *dao* of a wife, the *dao* of a minister. The *dao* of earth is not to claim success, but to bring things to a conclusion on behalf of another. He has no doubt how to proceed.

⁴ [Line 4] Heaven and earth transform plants and trees with luxuriant growth. If heaven and earth shut down, worthy men hide. *Yi* says: *Sacks tied up. No misfortune. No honour*. This is a warning.

⁵[Line 5] The prince here in *yellow* is central. He understands principles. In the correct position, he dwells secure. Excellence is in him and suffuses his four

limbs, appearing in his deeds; he is the pinnacle of excellence.

⁶[Top Line] *Dragons war above the wilds; blood falls dark and dun.* When *yin* vies with *yang*, struggle will surely ensue. Lest it should seem that *yang* has disappeared, dragons [*yang* symbols] are mentioned; and to show that neither kind (*yang* nor *yin*) is missing, blood [a *yin* symbol] is mentioned. ‘Dark and dun’ means mingling heaven [*yang*] and earth [*yin*], for heaven is dark and earth is pale.

Wing 8

EXPLANATION OF THE HEXAGRAMS AND TRIGRAMS

Shuogua

The 8th Wing is composed of two documents combined into one. The first document (Part I) deals with the origin of the hexagrams. It is similar in tone and style to the Great Treatise, with which it was found associated in the Mawangdui manuscript (see page 36), though the account it gives of the origin of the hexagrams is different from that given in the Great Treatise (see page 409). The second document (Part II) is apparently an amalgam of several sources and may have originated as much as 200 years later, though it includes ideas that are known to have been in existence earlier, for they appear in the Zuo Commentary.

The first three paragraphs of Part I form the section found at Mawangdui in the document known as *Yi zhi yi* (see page 36). This suggests that Wilhelm was wrong in dividing the text before the third paragraph. He doubtless took the third paragraph to be the point from which the treatise began to deal with the trigrams; but in fact the third paragraph has little similarity to the second part of *Shuogua*, either in style or in the order in which the trigrams are treated. I have therefore suggested that the division should come after the third paragraph.

From the fourth paragraph onwards, *Shuogua* succinctly glosses all eight trigrams with their correspondences to natural forces, symbolic animals, parts of the human body, and members of a model family (father, mother, three sons and three daughters). The last part lists miscellaneous groups of symbols associated with each trigram. This section contains some repetition of what has gone before, but the structure of the list is different. In the whole treatise there is one mention of *yin-yang* theory; and though *wu xing* ‘the five phases (or elements)’ are each found buried separately in the third part, there is no reference to a philosophical theory about their mutual relationships. Because the second and third parts are proportionately so much longer than the first part and deal only with trigrams, it

has become customary to refer to *Shuogua* in English as ‘The treatise on the trigrams’. The word *gua*, however, is used for hexagrams as well as trigrams, and the opening section deals expressly with the hexagrams. I have therefore used a title that, though clumsier, covers both meanings of *gua*.

The sequences of the trigrams (See [Table 22](#), page 442) have attracted much attention.⁹ Three sequences are in common use.

(1) The *houtian* ‘later than heaven’ or King Wen order has an early identification with the points of the compass, given in *Shuogua* 5.2. It has no mathematical pattern, save that if the circular arrangement is divided by a line running ESE-WNW, the *yin* trigrams will be on the south-west side of it and the *yang* trigrams on the north-east side. Nothing is known of its origin, but it is probably not much older than the Ten Wings. It is used in Paragraph 5 of *Shuogua*; and, with the omission of Qian and Kun, in Paragraph 6.

(2) The *xiantian* ‘earlier than heaven’ or Fuxi order is a logical sequence derived from the lower three lines of Shao Yong’s binary segregation chart (Diagram 3, page 92). Read from top to bottom they give binary notation for the numbers 0 to 7. This order is probably a creation of the Song period, and does not appear in *Shuogua*.

(3) The ‘family’ order or order of the four *xiang*, which is based on counterchanged pairs (See [Table 15](#) page 163 and [Table 19](#) page 174), is used in Paragraphs 4 and 7–11 of *Shuogua*. The circular arrangement of this order, opposing males to females, used for the sequence of lower trigrams in the Mawangdui manuscript of *Zhouyi* (see [Table 9](#), page 116), is widely used in popular Chinese magic and good-luck charms.

(4) Another sequence of counterchanged pairs, with a different order of pairs, is used in Paragraph 3; while in Paragraph 6b this order is reversed and Qian and Kun are omitted. No rationale has been discovered for this sequence.

No certain meanings can be given for the trigram names. The definitions given for them in character dictionaries are believed to be modern. They are most probably derived from the tags of the hexagrams that reduplicate each trigram (see page 120). The hexagram tags themselves are exceedingly obscure.

Xingqing

Paragraph 7 of *Shuogua* gives terms for the trigrams that are not names, but descriptions of characteristics. In Chinese they are referred to as *xingqing* ‘temperaments’. Although they are given in pairs, there is no pattern of paired

meanings:

strong/compliant, moving/entering,
sinking/connecting, stopping/pleasing.

Nor is any consistent pairing revealed by the six descriptions that appear in *Xugua* (Wing 9):

sinking/connecting (29/30)
stopping/moving (51/54)
entering/rejoicing (57/58)

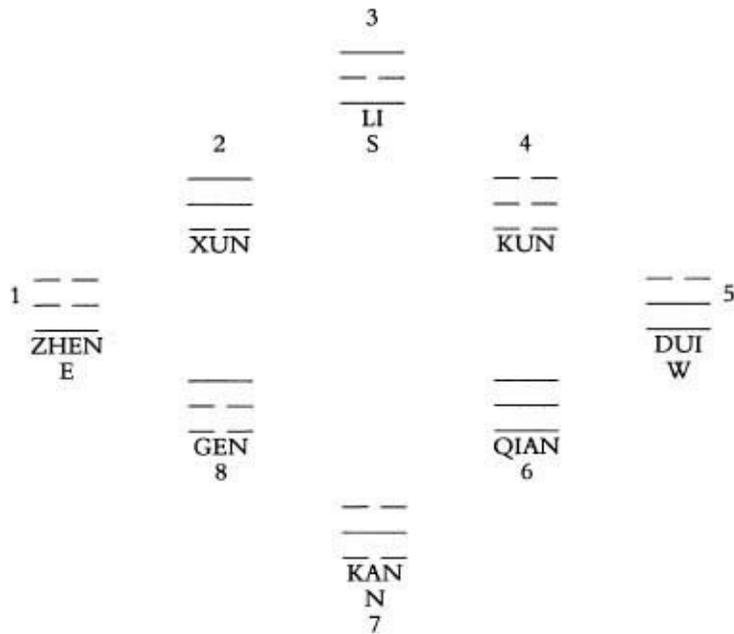
(Wilhelm used this list to give Western names to the trigrams, adding ‘creative/receptive’, which he deduced from the Great Treatise, for *Qian* and *Kun*.) The earliest occurrences of the *xingqing* seem to be as follows:

QIAN	(Heaven)	<i>jian</i>	‘strong’	<i>Wenyan</i> I.v.1
KUN	(Earth)	<i>shun</i>	‘compliant’	<i>Wenyan</i> II.i.1
ZHEN	(Thunder)	<i>dong</i>	‘moving’	<i>Tuanzhuan</i> 52
XUN	(Wind)	<i>nr</i>	‘entering’	(<i>Xugua</i> 58)
KAN	(Moving water)	<i>xian</i>	‘sinking’	(<i>Xugua</i> 29)
LI	(Fire)	<i>li</i>	‘connecting’	<i>Tuanzhuan</i> 30
GEN	(Mountain)	<i>zhi</i>	‘stopping’	<i>Tuanzhuan</i> 51
DUI	(Still water)	<i>yue</i>	‘pleasing’	<i>Tuanzhuan</i> 57

(*Dong* means both transitive and intransitive senses of ‘moving’. *Kan* ‘moving water’ includes rain as well as streams; *Dui* ‘still water’ includes mist and clouds as well as pools, lakes and marshes.) **Table 22** THE EIGHT TRIGRAMS

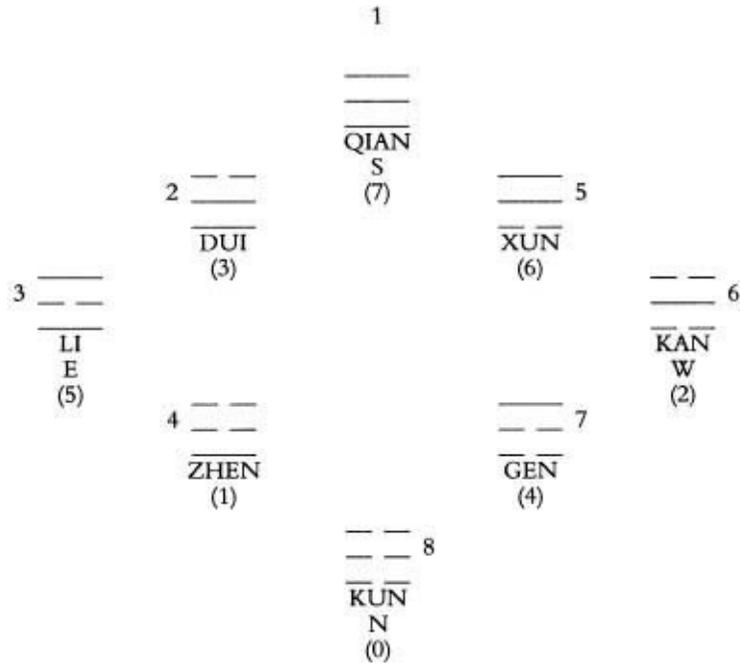
(1) The *Houtian* ‘later than heaven’ or King Wen order, used for the two listings given in Paragraph 5 of *Shuogua*. Its origin is unknown and it follows no mathematical logic.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
ZHEN	XUN	LI	KUN	DUI	QIAN	KAN	GEN
thunder	wind	fire	earth	still	heaven	moving	mountain
				water		water	
E	SE	S	SW	W	NW	N	NE



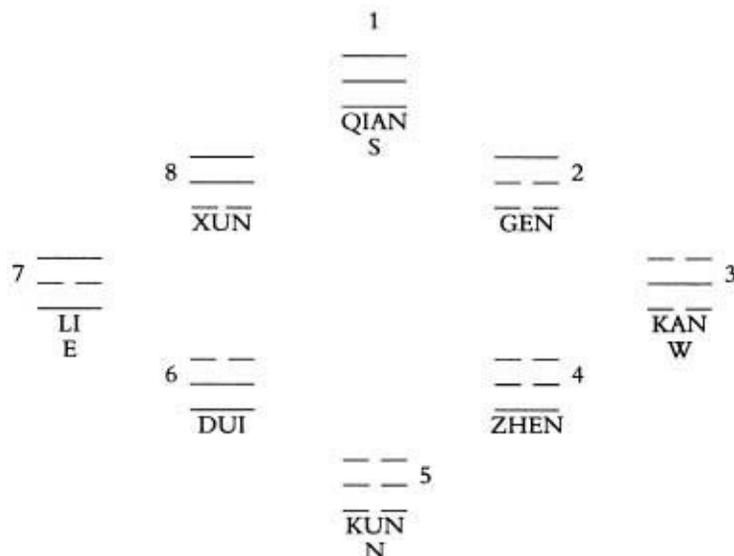
(2) The *Xiantian* ‘earlier than heaven’ or Fuxi order, which is not used in *Shuogua*. It is a rational mathematical sequence, based on the bottom three lines of Shao Yong’s binary segregation chart (see [Diagram 3](#)). The figures given here in parentheses show the binary values in decimal form. In circular arrangement (which is not used in *Yijing*) the order of the second half of the series is reversed, making each trigram stand diametrically opposite its counterchanged form. As a result, the sum of any two diametrically opposed hexagram values is 7.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
☰	☱	☲	☳	☴	☵	☶	☷
QIAN	DUI	LI	ZHEN	XUN	KAN	GEN	KUN
strong	pleasing	bright	moving	entering	sinking	stopped	compliant
S	SE	E	NE	SW	W	NW	N
(7)	(3)	(5)	(1)	(6)	(2)	(4)	(0)



(3) The *xiang* or ‘family’ order, based on counterchanged pairs. This order is used in *Shuogua* Paragraphs 4 and 7–11.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
☰	☷	☱	☲	☵	☶	☴	☳
QIAN	KUN	ZHEN	XUN	KAN	LI	GEN	DUI
father	mother	boy 1	girl 1	boy 2	girl 2	boy 3	girl 3



The circular arrangement of this sequence is not used in *Yijing*. It depends on a different arrangement of the family, in which all the males precede all the

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
☰	☴	☷	☱	☲	☳	☴	☱
QIAN	GEN	KAN	ZHEN	KUN	DUI	LI	XUN
father	boy 3	boy 2	boy 1	mother	girl 3	girl 2	girl 1

females:

The two *xiang* sequences are used in the Mawangdui manuscript (see Table 9).

Ru for Xun and *xian* for Kan are not mentioned in *Tuanzhuan* and *Xiaoxiang*. It is also not always clear whether *li* means ‘connecting’ or ‘shining’: *Tuanzhuan* uses *ming* ‘bright’ rather than *li*. All in all, the multiple origins and haphazard meanings of the *xingqing* make it difficult to give them such primacy as is implied by Wilhelm’s choice of them as trigram names.

The other correspondences of the trigrams given in Parts II and III of *Shuogua*, despite elements of consistency here and there, appear also to be arbitrary.

PART I

¹When sages made Yi in ancient times,
they were inspired by spirits
to invent yarrow divination.

²From three for Heaven and two for Earth
they went on to other numbers;

³observing the alternations of *yin* and *yang*,
they made the hexagrams;
developing the firm and the yielding,
they created the lines;

⁴according with the power of *dao*
they understood right behaviour;
fully comprehending the nature of things,
they came to understand fate.

2 When sages made Yi in ancient times
they planned it according to nature and fate,
they set forth the *dao* of heaven,
calling it *yin* and *yang*;
they set forth the *dao* of earth,
calling it yielding and firm;
they set forth the *dao* of man,
calling it goodwill and duty.

They combined and doubled these three principles,
so that six strokes form each figure of *Yi*,
in which *yin* and *yang* are distinguished,
broken and whole are alternated.

Thus in Yi six positions make one unit.

3¹Heaven and Earth have fixed positions,
Mountain and Still Water exchange influences;
Thunder and Wind excite each other,
Water and Fire do not vie with one another.

2²Thus the eight trigrams combine with each other.

Reckoning the past is to follow time's passing,
knowing the future is to move against time.
Thus Yi reckons time in its coming and going.

PART II

4 Thunder (Zhen) for moving;
wind (Xun) for dispersing;
rain (Kan) for moistening;
the sun (Li) for warming;
Gen for stopping;
Dui for gladdening;
Qian for ruling;
Kun for keeping.

5 ¹Thus the Lord God
comes forth in Zhen,
arranges in Xun,
manifests in Li,
is served in Kun,
gladdens in Dui,
strives in Qian,
labours in Kan,
completes in Gen.

²All things come forth in Zhen. Zhen is the East. All things are arranged in Xun. Xun is the South-east. Arranging means all things are duly regulated. Li means brightness, making all things mutually manifest. This is the trigram of the South. Sages face south when they give audience to the world, facing the light to rule – probably because of this trigram. Kun is the earth. All things are nourished by it. Hence the best service is said to be from Kun. Dui is mid-autumn, when all things rejoice. Therefore it says ‘Gladdens in Dui.’ Striving goes with Qian. Qian is the trigram of the North-west. Yin and yang are said to interact. Kan is water, which is the trigram for due North. It is the trigram of labour, to which all things are committed. Hence it says ‘Labours in Kan.’ Gen is the trigram of the North-east. All things find their end and their beginning there. Therefore it says ‘Completes in Gen.’

6 Spirits are mysteriously active in all things.

In all moving,
 nothing is swifter than Thunder;
in all bending,
 nothing is stronger than Wind;
in all warming,
 nothing is hotter than Fire;
in all gladdening,
 nothing is pleasanter than Still Water;
in all moistening,
 nothing is wetter than Moving Water;
in all completing and starting,
 nothing is grander than Gen.

So

Moving Water and Fire complement each other;
Thunder and Wind do not hinder each other;
Mountains and Still Water exchange influences.
Thus
alternation and transformation can occur
and all things come to perfection.

PART III

- 7 Qian means strong, Kun means compliant;
Zhen means moving, Xun means entering;
Kan means sinking, Li means connecting;
Gen means stopping, Dui means pleasing.
- 8 Qian is a horse, Kun is an ox;
Zhen is a dragon, Xun is a cock;
Kan is a pig, Li is a pheasant;
Gen is a dog, Dui is a sheep.
- 9 Qian is the head, Kun is the stomach;
Zhen is the foot, Xun is the thigh;
Kan is the ear, Li is the eye;
Gen is the hand, Dui is the mouth.
- 10 Qian is heaven, so means father;
Kun is earth, so means mother.
Zhen gets the first (bottom) line male,
so is called eldest son;
Xun gets the first (bottom) line female,
so is called eldest daughter.
Kan gets the second (middle) line male,
so is called middle son;
Li gets the second (middle) line female,
so is called middle daughter.
Gen gets the third (top) line male,
so is called youngest son;
Dui gets the third (top) line female,
so is called youngest daughter.
- 11 ¹Qian is heaven and is round;
a prince, a father;
jade, bronze;
cold, ice;
deep red;
a good horse, an old horse, a slim horse, a skewbald horse;
fruit from trees.

²Kun is earth, and mother;
cloth, cauldron;
frugality, evenness;
cow and calf;
stripes;
a big chariot;
crowds;
a handle-shaft;
earth that is black.

³Zhen is thunder, and dragons,
dark and pale;
diffusion;
a highroad;
an eldest son;
vehement decisions;
green bamboo shoots, reeds and rushes;
horses that neigh well, have white hind legs, are sprightly, or have a
white star on the forehead;
crops that are legumes.
In sum, the strong and luxuriant.

⁴Xun is trees and wind;
an eldest daughter;
a plumbline, work;
ebbing and flowing;
bearing no fruit, strong-scented;
men that are balding, have broad foreheads, or show much white of the
eye;
those who get nearly threefold in profit.
In sum, a forceful trigram.

⁵Kan is water, flowing channels and ditches,
lying hidden or concealed;
bending and straightening;
bow and wheel;
men that are anxious, sick at heart, with earache;
the trigram of blood, bright red;

horses that have beautiful backs, or strong hearts, that hang their heads,
have tiny hoofs, or shamle; chariots that are much damaged;
movement, the moon;
thieves;
trees that are strong and sound-hearted.

⁶Li is fire, sun, lightning;
a middle daughter;
coat of armour and helmet;
spear and weapons;
men with big bellies;
the trigram of parching;
turtles, crabs, snails, mussels, tortoises;
trees that are hollow and dead at the top.

⁷Gen is mountain, byways and small stones;
doorways;
fruits and seeds;
gatekeepers, eunuchs;
fingers;
dogs, rodents and panthers;
trees that are strong, with many joints.

⁸Dui is still water;
younger daughters;
shamanesses;
mouth and tongue;
smashing and breaking;
dropping and bursting;
soil that is hard and saline;
concubines;
sheep.

Wing 9
ORDERED HEXAGRAMS
Xugua

Xugua describes the order of the hexagrams. It is generally thought to be a late

composition, even if it is mentioned in *Shiji* 47 (see page 364).

The reasons given for the place of each hexagram in the order employ no consistent principle, but show evidence of linguistic change since *Zhouyi* was compiled. The real meaning of some tags has been forgotten – three of them are defined as meaning ‘great’, which is what Waley said the glossarists usually said for a word they could not understand. No attempt is made to explain ‘major’ and ‘minor’ where they occur. The interpretations of some tags are at odds with those in the 10th Wing (e.g. Hexagram 55), and seem to have been chosen with the sole object of contriving some sort of logical sequence, however strained. (Words that are given definitions in parentheses in the translation are not provided with explanations by the text. Their meaning was clearly expected to be obvious.) The whole appears to be an elaborate mnemonic – not a way to explain the order of the hexagrams, but a way to remember it. The grammatical structure is ponderous and monotonous. There is a great deal of agreement with *Tuanzhuan* (Hexagrams 3, 4, 7, 27, 30, 33, 34, 35, 55, 56) and a little quotation from *Daxiang* (e.g. Hexagram 5).

The text names only 61 hexagrams. Qian and Kun are treated, without being named, in the opening paragraph of Part I. Xian, which should occur at the beginning of Part II, has perhaps been lost in copying, but the commentators say its meaning is contained in the introductory paragraph to Part II. They may be right, if there is an analogy with the treatment of Hexagrams 1 and 2.

I

¹Heaven and earth exist; then the myriad entities are produced.

²The space between heaven and earth is filled with these myriad entities: therefore

³ZHUN comes next. *Zhun* means ‘filling up’. *Zhun* is the start of things being produced, and newly produced things are bound to be immature: therefore

⁴MENG comes next. *Meng* is the immaturity of things newly born or formed.

Things newly born need to be fostered: therefore ⁵XU comes next. *Xu* is the *dao* of eating and drinking. Eating and drinking are bound to produce disputes: therefore ⁶SONG (‘dispute’) comes next. Disputes are bound to cause the masses to rise: therefore

⁷SHI comes next. *Shi* is the masses. The masses are bound to form groupings: therefore

⁸BI comes next. *Bi* is alliance. Alliances are bound to have controls: therefore

⁹XIAOCHU (‘minor control’) comes next. When things are under control, conventions in behaviour appear: therefore ¹⁰LÜ (‘stepping carefully’) comes next. *Lü* goes with *tax* (‘peace’) and security results: therefore ¹¹TAI comes next. *Tai* is free-flowing. Things cannot flow on freely for ever: therefore

¹²PI (‘obstruction’) comes next. Things cannot be obstructed for ever: therefore

¹³TONGREN (‘gathering men’) comes next. Gathering men is bound to lead to possessions: therefore

¹⁴DAYOU (‘great possessions’) comes next. A man who has great possessions must not be overwhelmed with them; therefore ¹⁵QIAN (‘modesty’) comes next. A man with great possessions who can be modest is bound to have leisure; therefore ¹⁶YU (‘leisure’) comes next. Leisure is bound to bring followers: therefore

¹⁷SUI (‘follow’) comes next. Contented followers are bound to give service: therefore

¹⁸GU comes next. *Gu* is rendering service. Where there is service, there may be greatness: therefore

¹⁹LIN comes next. *Lin* is greatness. A great man can be seen: therefore

²⁰GUAN (‘seeing’) comes next. One who is seen may unite with others: therefore

²¹SHIKE comes next. *Shike* means coming together. Things cannot be merely united: therefore

²²BI comes next. *Bi* is adornment. If adornment is excessive, its value is exhausted: therefore

²³BO comes next. *Bo* means decay. Nothing can go on being for ever further exhausted. Decay destroys the top, and the bottom renews itself: therefore ²⁴FU (‘return’) comes next. Return means no loss: therefore

²⁵WUWANG (‘no loss’) comes next. When there is no loss, control is possible: therefore

²⁶DACHU (‘major control’) comes next. Things that are under control must be

nurtured: therefore

²⁷YI comes next. *Yi* is nurturing. What is not nurtured cannot move: therefore

²⁸DAGUO ('major surpassing') comes next. Things cannot for ever continue to surpass: therefore

²⁹KAN comes next. *Kan* is a pit. In a pit there is bound to be a ledge for holding on to: therefore

³⁰LI comes next. *Li* is 'attached'.

II

³¹ Heaven and earth exist.

Then the myriad entities are produced.

There are the myriad entities; then there are man and woman.

There are man and woman; then there are husband and wife.

There are husband and wife; then there are father and son.

There are father and son; then there are prince and retainer.

There are prince and retainer; then there are high and low.

There are high and low; then property and rights can be arranged.

The *dao* of husband and wife must be strong to the end: therefore

³²HENG comes next. *Heng* means perpetual. Things cannot stay perpetually in one place: therefore

³³DUN comes next. *Dun* is withdrawal. Things cannot for ever withdraw further: therefore ³⁴DAZHUANG ('great strength') comes next. Things cannot remain strong for ever: therefore

³⁵JIN comes next. *Jin* is moving forward. Moving forward is bound to lead to injury: therefore

³⁶MINGYI comes next. *Yi* is wounding. Any one wounded away from home is bound to return home: therefore

³⁷JIAREN comes next. When the *dao* of a family weakens, there is bound to be cunning: therefore

³⁸KUI comes next. *Kui* is cunning. Cunning produces trouble: therefore

³⁹JIAN comes next. *Jian* is trouble. Trouble cannot continue for ever: therefore

⁴⁰JIE comes next. *Jie* is losing. Losing is bound to involve loss: therefore

⁴¹SUN ('diminution') comes next. Diminution cannot be completed: therefore

⁴²YI ('enrichment') comes next. Enrichment can go only so far; then it is bound to be dispersed: therefore

⁴³GUAI comes next. *Guai* is dispersal. In dispersal there is bound to be meeting: therefore

⁴⁴GOU comes next. *Gou* is meeting. Things meet together and form a group: therefore

⁴⁵CUI comes next. *Cui* is grouping. Grouping together and rising is called *sheng*: therefore

⁴⁶SHENG comes next. Rising is bound to lead to suppression: therefore

⁴⁷KUN ('suppression') comes next. Suppression is bound to force the top downwards: therefore

⁴⁸JING ('a well') comes next. The *dao* of a well needs emptying: therefore

⁴⁹GE ('emptying') comes next. For emptying, nothing matches a tripod-bowl: therefore

⁵⁰DING ('tripod-bowl') comes next. No one is fitter to care for a tripod-bowl than the eldest son: therefore

⁵¹ZHEN (reduplicated trigram of the eldest son) comes next. Zhen means movement. Nothing can go on moving for ever. It has to pause: therefore ⁵²GEN comes next. *Gen* is stopping. Nothing can stand still for ever: therefore

⁵³JIAN comes next. *Jian* is progress. Progress should get somewhere: therefore

⁵⁴GUIMEI ('marriage', literally 'a girl arriving at the bridal home') comes next. Arriving at the proper place is bound to confer greatness: therefore ⁵⁵FENG comes next. *Feng* is greatness. When greatness declines, it is bound to lose its place: therefore ⁵⁶LÜ ('wandering') comes next. Eventually a wanderer has nowhere to go: therefore

⁵⁷SUN comes next. *Sun* is entering. Having entered, one rejoices: therefore

⁵⁸DUI follows. *Dui* is to be pleasing. Pleasure dissolves and disperses: therefore

⁵⁹HUAN comes next. *Huan* is dispersal. Things cannot go on dispersing for ever: therefore

⁶⁰JIE comes next. *Jie* is trustworthiness: therefore

⁶¹ZHONGFU ('complete loyalty') comes next. Those who know loyalty are sure to practise it: therefore

⁶²XIAOGUO ('minor surpassing') comes next. One who surpasses others is bound to arrive on the other side (of a river): therefore ⁶³JJI ('already across') comes next. But nothing ever comes to an end: therefore

⁶⁴WEIJI ('not yet across') comes next. *Finis*.

Wing 10 MINGLED HEXAGRAMS

Zagua

Zagua is not mentioned in the list of Wing titles in *Shiji* 47 (see page xx) and was perhaps written as late as the second century AD. Western writers have generally found it banal, if not embarrassing. Legge concluded that it was a mere *jeu d'esprit*. Joseph de Prémare, however, 'the father of sinology', writing in August 1731 while he and most of the other China Jesuits were confined to Canton, said the last Wing was 'the most profound of all the commentaries included in *Yijing*!¹⁰

If it is indeed profound, the depths are obscure. *Zagua* consists of laconic glosses on twenty-eight pairs of hexagrams, taken in apparently random sequence. Some pairs are presented as contrasts, some as pairings of like themes. Eleven of the twenty-eight are reversed internally (8/7, 12/11, 14/13, 26/25, 30/29, 34/33, 38/37, 40/39, 48/47, 58/57, 62/61). The remaining eight hexagrams (27/28, 43/44, 53/54 and 63/64) are not presented as pairs, but as eight jumbled tags at the end of the composition. There is no obvious logical reason for this arrangement. It is not a mnemonic for the received order, though it may be a mnemonic for hexagram contents.

The glosses are not definitions of the tags, but refer to the general drift of the oracles for each hexagram, and are not always the same as in *Xugua* (see 7, 8, 19, 20, 60). Of the eight trigram/hexagram names, for instance, *Qian* and *Kun* are glossed according to the lines that compose them as 'firm' and 'yielding'; *Kan*, *Li*, *Dui* and *Xun* have descriptions not found elsewhere in the Ten Wings; while *Zhen* and *Gen* are given their 'descriptions' from *Shuogua* 7. Most of the glosses have no verbal reference to the *Zhouyi* text, but a few, such as those for Hexagrams 22 and 25, refer to line statements, while those for Hexagrams 11 and

12 refer to hexagram statements.

Tuanzhuan (Wings 1 and 2) is quoted several times (as in Hexagrams 27, 32, 37, 43, 44, 45 and 52). The final couplet is taken from *Tuanzhuan* 11 (see page 374), with the last character changed in order to use the same two characters as are used for the rhyme at the beginning of *Zagua*.

All but six of the sentences end with the final particle *ye*. When these particles are disregarded, rhyme patterns appear, but they are very irregular. Some nineteen rhymes break the list into groups or strophes each containing two, three, four or six verses. Verse length varies from 2 to 7 syllables. The following English version attempts to convey the effect of the varying verse lengths, without imitating them carefully; and by rhyme and assonance to show the effect of the rhymes, without reproducing the rhyme schemes precisely Hexagram numbers have been inserted for easy reference.

□

- ¹Qian(1) is firm,
Kun(2) can be displaced;
- ²Bi(8) is happy,
Shi(7) is longfaced.
- ³Lin(19) and Guan(20)
mean give and trace.
- ⁴Zhun(3) comes into view,
without losing its place.
Meng(4) is muddled,
but grows in grace.
- ⁵Zhen(51) is to rise,
Gen(52) to restrain.
Sun(41) and Yi(42)
start to wax and wane.
- ⁶Dachu(26) is timely,
Wuwang(25) threatens doom.
- ⁷Cui(45) makes groupings,
Sheng(46) does not come.

- ⁸Qian(15) takes itself lightly,
Yu(16) lazes at home.
- ⁹Shike(21) will chew,
Bi(22) has no hue.
- ¹⁰Dui(58) can be seen,
Sun(57) stays out of view;
- ¹¹Sui(17) has no causes,
Gu(18) tells what to do.
- ¹²Bo(23) implies decay,
Fu(24) the homeward way.
- ¹³Jin(35) is the daylight,
Mingyi(36) suffers bale.
- ¹⁴Jing(48) keeps on going,
Kun (47) will meet and hail.
- ¹⁵Xian(31) is gone quickly,
Heng(32) will never fail.
- ¹⁶Huan(59) will disperse,
Jie(60) will reverse.
- ¹⁷Jie(40) uncoils,
Jian(39) embroils.
- ¹⁸Kui(38) looks outward,
Jiaren(37) stays indoors.
- ¹⁹Pi(12) and Tai(11)
follow opposite laws;
- ²⁰Dazhuang(34) halts,
Dun(33) withdraws.
- ²¹Dayou(14) is the masses,
Tongren(13) one's own few.
- ²²Ge leaves (49) the past,
Ding takes(50) to the new.

- ²³Xiaoguo(62) passes on,
Zhongfu(61) remains true.
- ²⁴Feng(55) is much hindered;
Lu (56) wants for kindred.
- ²⁵Li(30) goes up,
Kan(29) goes down.
- ²⁶Xiaochu(9) has no backing,
Lu(10) no place of its own.
- ²⁷Xu(5) cannot progress;
Song(6) receives no caress;
- ²⁸Daguo(28) runs to excess.
- ²⁹Gou(44) is encounter – when soft meets firm;
Jian(53) is a bride who waits for her groom.
- ³⁰Yi(27) nurtures the right;
³¹Jiji(63) will sit tight.
- ³²Guimei(54) is the way that a woman's life flowers;
³³Weiji(64) is the draining of masculine powers.
- ³⁴Guai(43) involves displacement
– soft by firm displaced.
A prince's *dao* is waxing,
A small man's *dao* longfaced.

Notes: References and further reading

Books and articles often cited

References to these sources are given by author's name, with abbreviated title or date. Bibliographical details will be found in the notes or elsewhere as indicated.

- Allan *The shape of the turtle* page 459 n.1
Barde 'Origines arithmetiques du Yi King' p 470 n.13
Blofeld *The Book of Change* page 79
Chang Chenglang 'Divinatory inscriptions' p 471 n.18
Chang Kwang-chih *The archaeology of ancient China* page 459
Fung Yulan 1931 *A history of Chinese philosophy* p 464 n.32
— 1948 *A short history of Chinese philosophy* p 464 n.32
Granet *La pensée chinoise* page 458
Hacker *The I Ching handbook* p 471 n.26
Hsu and Linduff *Western Zhou civilization* page 459
Jung and Pauli *Interpretation of nature and psyche* p 465 n.46
Karlgrén *The Book of Odes* p 461 n.27
— *Grammata Serica recensa* p 471 n.1
Keightley *Sources of Shang history* page 459
Kunst *The original Yijing* p 469 n.100
Kwok Manho *The fortune teller's I Ching* p 466 n.66
Legge *Ch'un Ts'ew* p 470 n.1 *She King* p 461 n.27
— *Shoo king* p 461 n.26 *Yi King* p 467 n.85
Loewe *Early Chinese texts* p 461 n.25
Lynn *The Book of Changes* page 82
Maspero *China in antiquity* page 458
Moore *The trigrams of Han* p 464 n.30
Mungello *Curious Land* p 466 n.73
Needham *Science and civilization in China* page 462
Rule *Kung-tzu or Confucius* p 466 n.73
Shaughnessy 1983 *The composition of I Zhouyi* page 463 n.24; p 463 n.24
— 1991 *Sources of Western Zhou history* p 463 n.10
Schuessler *A dictionary of Early Zhou Chinese* p 474 n. 1
Shchutsky *Researches in the I Ching* p 469 n.96
Smith J K 1989 'Zhouyi ... in the Zuozhuan' p 473 n.39
— 1990 *Sung dynasty uses of the I Ching* p 464 n.35
Smith R J *Fortune-tellers and philosophers* p 472 n.1

Swanson *The Great Treatise* p 464 n.30
Waley 1933 *The Book of Changes* p 463 n.25
— 1937 *The Book of Songs* p 461 n.27
Whincup *Rediscovering the I Ching* page 81 and note
Wilhelm *The Book of Changes* p 468 n.92

Preface

1 Wilhelm xlix

1. *The background: Bronze Age China*

There is no standard history of Bronze Age China. Archaeological discovery is proceeding so fast and takes so long to be published, that any synthesis must be provisional. The editors of the *Cambridge history of China* understandably decided to begin with the establishment of the empire in 221 BC. As a general history of the whole East Asian region, Gina L Barnes *China, Korea and Japan: the rise of civilization in East Asia* (1993) synthesizes modern research and gives a fresh perspective for reference when reading older books.

If there is a classic western account of pre-imperial China, it is Henri Maspero *China in antiquity* (originally published in 1927 as *La Chine antique*; English translation 1978), a great book by a great sinologist, but largely based on ritual texts that would be approached more critically today, and the section on *Zhouyi* is outdated.

Another distinguished Frenchman, Marcel Granet (1880–1940), was a pupil of the French sociologist Emile Durkheim. Granet had flair and imagination, as much sociologist as sinologist. He wrote *Chinese civilization* (1930), *Festivals and songs of ancient China* (1932, see page 461 n.27) and *The religion of the Chinese people* (1975), which contains a bibliography of his work and a critico-biographical sketch. *Danses et légendes de la Chine ancienne* (1926 and 1959) and *La pensée chinoise* (1934; new edition with changed pagination 1988) have not been translated. The latter still retains power to stimulate – although today's students would take a more rigorous view of Granet's sources, and he sees *Zhouyi* through the eyes of Han and Song thinkers.

Jacques Gernet *Ancient China from the beginnings to the Empire* (1968) is a short summary of the *Zhouyi* era, using archaeological information available up to 1964. William Watson *Early civilization in China* (1966) deals with art and culture in the same period, short, but useful for its illustrations of ceramics, bronzes, weapons and chariots. Jessica Rawson *Ancient China: art and archaeology* (1980) is more substantial, a clear and well illustrated review of cultural development from the Neolithic period to the Han, centred on the British Museum collections. Wang Fong ed. *The great Bronze Age of China* (1980) is the sumptuous catalogue of an exhibition of Chinese national treasures in New York 1980–1, a connoisseur's description of bronzes, jades and terracotta. It applies directly to *Zhouyi* only in its pictures of *ding*.

Kwang-chih Chang *Shang Civilization* (1980) is the classic treatment. The same author's *The archaeology of Ancient China* (fourth edition 1986), is a standard work lavishly illustrated; while his *Art, myth and ritual: the path to political authority in Ancient China* (1983) is more broadly informative than its title suggests. These three works have superseded Li Chi *Anyang* (1970), which is briefly appraised in Chang's 1986 book (16–18). Three parts of it is an urbane history of the discovery of oracle bones and other archaeological activity in the twentieth century, written by a leading participant. The illustrations have a particular charm.

David N Keightley *Sources of Shang history: the oracle-bone inscriptions of Bronze Age China* (1978) is the standard work on that subject. Edward L Shaughnessy *Sources of Western Zhou history: inscribed bronze vessels* (1991) deals with the following period. *The problem of meaning in early Chinese ritual bronzes* edited

by Roderick Whitfield (1992) is a symposium on the meaning of the motifs used to decorate Shang and Zhou bronzes.

A modern account of relations between Zhou and Shang is contained in Cho-yun Hsu and Katheryn M. Linduff *Western Chou civilization* (1988), which gives detailed descriptions of Zhou culture and politics. Li Xueqin *Eastern Zhou and Qin civilizations* (1985) describes material culture in the later Bronze Age, much of it relevant to *Zhouyi*.

Herrlee G Creel *The origins of statecraft in China: Volume 1 The Western Chou Empire* (1970) sums up many years of study. It is particularly illuminating with regard to military matters and contains helpful introductory notes on ancient sources. Cho-yun Hsu *Ancient China in transition* (1965) is a famous study, mainly concerned with the later Zhou period, but full of material helpful to the student of *Zhouyi*.

David N Keightley *The origins of Chinese civilization* (1983) is a collection of papers designed for an conference of experts in 1978. Highly technical in style, it deals with areas of research in pre-history where knowledge was then advancing rapidly; but K C Chang 'Sandai archaeology and the formation of states in ancient China' (pages 495–521) and David Keightley's own 'The late Shang state: when, where and what?' (pages 523–564) deal with the Bronze Age. Several other papers from the collection that are relevant to *Zhouyi* studies are mentioned in these notes at appropriate places.

1 The best introduction to Chinese mythology is Derk Bodde 'Myths of ancient China' in *Mythologies of the ancient world* (1961). K-C Chang's book *Art, myth and ritual* (1983) is also authoritative. Yuan Ke *Dragons and dynasties: an introduction to Chinese mythology* (Penguin 1993) is a modern retelling of myths and dynastic legends, translated from writings by the doyen of Chinese mythologists. Much of the material comes from *Shanhaijing* (a ?Han period universal geography) and *Huainanzi* (a symposium on government c140 BC). Yuan's lack of both analytical assessments and references to sources is more than supplied by Anne Birrell *Chinese mythology: an introduction* (Johns Hopkins University Press 1993), which is a collection of some 300 translated extracts from source material, liberally annotated, and preceded by a summary history of mythology studies. Michael Loewe's *Ways to Paradise* (1979) and *Chinese ideas of life and death* (1982) contain scholarly work on Han material. Sarah Allan *The shape of the turtle: myth, art and cosmos in early China* (New York 1991) is an investigation of Shang myth (see Translation Note 18:4, page 313).

2 Zhou chronology is fully discussed in Shaughnessy 1991, 217–87. Hsu and Linduff 387–9 come to different conclusions.

3 Arthur Waley 1937 page 293. A recent description of the mind and religion of the Bronze Age is David N Keightley 'Early civilization in China: reflections on how it became Chinese' in Paul Rops ed. *Heritage of China* (University of California 1990).

4 For natural history and physical geography, *The natural history of China* by Zhao Ji, Zheng Guangmei, Wang Huadong and Xu Jialin (1990) is attractive and useful. There is much about natural history in Edward Shafer's *The golden peaches of Samarkand* (1963) and *The vermilion bird* (1967), though both books are primarily about Tang poetic imagery. Glover M Allen *The mammals of China and Mongolia* (Natural History of Central Asia Vol XI Pt 1; New York 1938) is incomplete. Rodolphe Mayer de Schauensee *The birds of China* (Washington DC 1984) is a comprehensive handbook. Kwang-chih Chang *Shang civilization* (1980), 142–9, has notes of animal and plant remains in archaeology. H Epstein *Domestic animals of China* (Commonwealth Agricultural Bureaux, Farnham Royal 1969) has only one or two pages on history. W Ross Cockerill *The buffaloes of China* (UNFAO Rome 1976) is informative but of little relevance to *Yijing*.

D N Keightley *The origins of Chinese civilization* (1983) contains three essays on the domestication of plants, providing a specialist background to Bronze Age agriculture (pages 21–94).

Otherwise information on flora and fauna must be sought in scientific journals and in general works on China.

5 Hsu and Linduff page 147.

6 See also page 218.

- 7 For a fuller account of these titles see Schuessler 44.
- 8 See Translation Note 54:base (page 347–8), where Granet’s work on sororal marriage is mentioned.
- 9 Arthur Waley 1937, 66.
- 10 Derk Bodde *Festivals in classical China* (1975) pages 228–41 discusses the story of ploughing in China.
- 11 The only monograph on horses and chariots is Magdalene von Dewall *Pferd und Wagen in Alten China* (Bonn 1964).
- 12 For roof-tiles see Chang K-c (1986) 353 and 357 plate 305.
- 13 Séraphin Couvreur *Cheu King* (1896/1934) Ode 189.4.
- 14 For food and cooking see Hsu and Linduff 355–60.
- 15 Textiles are rarely well discussed. Hsu and Linduff describes dress and clothing, 360–9. Li Xueqin *Eastern Zhou and Qin civilizations* (1985) contains much of interest. Shiu Pang Almberg’s pamphlet *Sericulture and silk weaves of the Yin dynasty* (Stockholm 1974) contains a translation of an article by Hu Houxuan in *Wenwu* 1972.11, 2–7 and 36. It deals with literary and archaeological evidence, including oracle-bones. William Willetts *Chinese Art* (Pelican 1958) 207–92 is noteworthy. H. Zhong and M.A.Hann ‘Textile manufacture in China during the Period of the Warring States’ in *Journal of the Textile Institute*, (Manchester) 1989, 80 No 3, 403–13, tells of recent archaeological surprises.
- 16 See also Translation Note 47:2 (page 338).
- 17 Primitive apprehension of colour was examined by Brent Berlin and Paul Kay in *Basic colour terms* (1969).
- 18 Robert Temple *The genius of China: 3,000 years of science, discovery and invention* (1991), a popularization of parts of Needham, deals with some points of technology.
- 19 For a brief paragraph and map of early coin types, see Jacques Gernet *A history of Chinese civilization* (1987) 72–3 and 78. For more detail see Li Xueqin (1985, see above) 371–98.
- 20 See also p 470 n.13 and p 473 n.25.
- 21 Derk Bodde *Festivals in classical China* (1975) 26–47 gives a succinct account of the Chinese calendar.
- 22 See Hsu and Linduff 389 and Shaughnessy 1991 136–43.
- 23 For more on divination see Chapter IV.
- 24 See Keightley 46–7.
- 25 Burton Watson *Early Chinese literature* (1962) is the best general introduction to the subject. Michael Loewe *Early Chinese texts: a bibliographical guide* (1993) deals with all writings that reached their present form before the end of Han, giving working bibliographies for advanced students, with notes on the contents and history of each text.
- 26 Legge published two translations of the Book of Documents: *The Shoo King* in *The Chinese Classics*, Volume III (1865) and *The Shu King* in *The Sacred Books of the East*, Volume 3 (1879). The two were conflated and re-edited with Wade-Giles romanization by Clae Waltham in *Shu Ching* (1971). Bernhard Karlgren’s version of the parts he regarded as authentic, *The Book of Documents* (1950), includes the Chinese text. Séraphin Couvreur SJ (born 1835) published French and Latin translations in *Chou King* (Hokien-fu [Hejianfu] 1897, Sien-hien [Xianxian] 1927, reprinted Paris 1950 and 1971). For the authenticity of the various sections of *Shujing* see Herrlee G Creel *The origins of statecraft in China* (1970) 447–63. For bibliography see Loewe 376–89.
- 27 See also p 472 n.53. The most readable English version of the Book of Odes is Arthur Waley *The Book of Songs* (1937). Bernhard Karlgren *The Book of Odes* (1950), a prose crib with Chinese text, is the best prose rendering, sometimes differing from Waley in detail. Ezra Pound *The Confucian odes* (1954) ranks high as modern English poetry, and William Jennings *The Shi King* (1891/1969) can still give pleasure to those who enjoy both rhyme and metre; but neither Pound nor Jennings is historically satisfactory. James Legge *The She King*, in *The Chinese Classics Volume IV* (1872), gives the Chinese text and its Confucian allegorical interpretation. Not surprisingly, it is now seriously outdated. Séraphin Couvreur’s French translation *Le Cheu King*, was printed in Ho-kien-fu 1896, Sien-hien 1926 and Paris 1934.

The first odes done into Latin were the parts of 6, 55 and 191 that are quoted in *Daxue* and therefore appeared in Inácio da Costa and Prospero Intorcetta's delightful *Sapientia Sinica* (Kiemcham [Jianchang] 1662), and again in *Confucius Sinarum philosophus* (1687 – see page 60f). They were done into English (from Portuguese) by Bishop Thomas Percy as an appendix to *Hau Kiou Chooan* (1761), IV 233–7, and reworked by Sir William Jones: 'On the second classical book of the Chinese' in *Asiatick researches* 2 (Calcutta 1789) 204ff.

Helen Waddell *Poems from the Chinese* (1913, reprinted 1990) contains thirty-one translations of fragments and short odes, worked up from Legge's versions. Though they are charming and deft lyrics, they do not always catch the spirit of the originals and on occasion distort the meaning.

C.H. Wang (Wang Jingxian) *The bell and the drum: Shih ching as formulaic poetry in an oral tradition* (1974), contains much material for considering the Odes and *Zhouyi* as aspects of the same literary culture. Shih-Hsiang Chen 'The *Shih-ching*: its generic significance in Chinese literary history and poetics', a seminal essay on *xing* and 'incremental repetition' (see pages 142–3), was first published in *Bulletin of history and philology* XXXIX. 1 (Academia Sinica 1969), but may be easier to find in Cyril Birch ed. *Studies in Chinese literary genres* (1974).

Marcel Granet *Festivals and songs of ancient China* (1932, originally published in French as *Fêtes et chansons anciennes de la Chine* in 1919 (reprinted 1929 and 1982), includes translations of 68 odes and parts of odes. This famous book suggests that the love-songs originated in song-and-dance contests between groups of nubile men and women, leading to mating rites – contests that still persist among southern ethnic minorities such as the Hakka, Yi (Lolo) and Miao.

Loewe (1993) 415–23 gives a bibliography.

28 A sceptical account of *Yi Zhoushu* will be found in H G Creel *The origins of statecraft in China* (1970) 480–2. For the *Shifu* chapter as an early Zhou document see Edward Shaughnessy "New" evidence of the Zhou conquest' *Early China* (1980–1) 57–79, which gives the Chinese text, translation, notes and bibliography. See also Shaughnessy 1991, especially 228–30; and Shaughnessy's contribution to Loewe *Early Chinese texts* 229–33.

2. The history of a book

Most books on Chinese philosophy treat *Yijing* from the viewpoint of the Ten Wings. This is true of Benjamin Isadore Schwartz *The world of thought in ancient China* (1985), whose section on *Yijing* (390–400) is now outdated with regard to the history of the text.

Joseph Needham's *Science and Civilization in China* II (1956) 304–51 covers *Yijing* history and contents, relying on Waley 1933 for dealing with *Zhouyi*.

BIBLIOGRAPHIES. The best recent bibliography of western books and articles on *Yijing* is Cheng Chungying and Elton Johnston 'A bibliography of the I Ching in western languages' in *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* Hawaii March 1987, 73–90. There is a briefer but more up-to-date list, containing English-language works only, in Hacker. Hellmut Wilhelm *The Book of Changes in the western tradition: a selected bibliography* (*Parerga* 2, University of Washington 1975) is strong on Richard Wilhelm and twentieth-century articles before 1975. For Chinese-language works see Kunst. J K Smith 1990 has a bibliography that includes both eastern and western sources. Edward Shaughnessy contributes the section on *Yijing* in Loewe, giving a history of the text, and a basic sinological bibliography of all languages.

1 The three systems are discussed by Legge *Yi King* 4; Needham 307; and Shchutsky 95–8. See also Chang Chenglang 86–8 and 95 n11. Granet 189–90 accepts something of Maspero's view, but neither gives supporting evidence. Zheng Xuan is quoted by Kong Yingda at the beginning of *Zhouyi zhengyi*.

2 *China in antiquity* (1978) 447 n37.

3 The Great Treatise II.ii.1. See page 421.

- 4 For more on this tradition see Shchutsky 74–5, 92–5. For *Xijing* see *Cihai* weiji 144.
- 5 The Great Treatise II.xi.1. See page 429.
- 6 Fung Yu-lan 1948, 379 n4.
- 7 Duke Zhao year 2. Legge *Ch'un Ts'ew* 582–3.
- 8 Whincup 5–6 and 211–15.
- 9 Kunst 12; Ray Huang *China: a macro history* (1988) 7.
- 10 For some details see Shaughnessy 1983, 38–42; and the same author's *Sources of Western Zhou history* (1991), which is the major introduction to bronze inscriptions. It gives the Chinese text and a more careful translation than mine of the Qiu Wei *gui* on pages 85–7.
- 11 Shaughnessy 1983 page 47–9.
- 12 Shaughnessy 1983 pages 33–49.
- 13 Analects VII.20/21.
- 14 Analects VII.16/17.
- 15 See also Translation Note 32:3; Dawson *Analects* (1993) 52 and 98; Waley *Analects* 177; and D C Lau *Analects* (1979) 122.
- 16 See Homer Dubs 'Did Confucius study the Book of Changes?' *T'oungpao* 24 (1927) 82–90; Arthur Waley *The Analects of Confucius* (1938) 126 n3 and 256 nVII.16; D C Lau's *Analects* 88; Dawson's *Analects* 28 (on VII. 17); H G Creel *Confucius and the Chinese way* 1948/1960, 105–6 and 198–201; Needham I 307.
- 17 See Translation Notes to Hexagram Statement 18 and Hexagram 54:top. For the Zuo Commentary see page 173 and p 470 n.1.
- 18 For a definition of 'observation' see page 133.
- 19 For the literary finds at Mawangdui see *The Indiana Companion to traditional Chinese literature* (1986) pp 614–17.
- 20 The Fuyang finds are described in Chinese in the official archaeological journal *Wenwu* 1978.8 and 1983.2.
- 21 *Bagua* numerals are described on page 98 and in p 471 n.18.
- 22 The best description of the Han stone classics, though brief, is in Tsien Tsuen-hsuei *Written on bamboo and silk* (1962; pp 74ff). Part of a rubbing from Hexagrams 39–42 on the Han stone tablets is shown on the dust-jacket of Michael Loewe *Chinese ideas of life and death* (1982). The Chinese publication of the fragments is in Qu Wanli *Han shijing Zhouyi canzi jizheng* (1961).
- 23 See accounts of Kingsmill and Terrien on pages 74 and 72.
- 24 The work of Gu Jiegang is described in Laurence A. Schneider *Ku Chieh-kang and China's new history* (1971). E L Shaughnessy's doctoral thesis *The composition of the 'Zhouyi'* (1983) summarizes twentieth-century *Zhouyi* studies in China. (For obtaining theses see p 469 n.100.)
- 25 Arthur Waley 'The Book of Changes' in *The Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* V 121–42 (Stockholm 1933). The translation of *Zhuangzi* in *Three ways of thought in ancient China* (1939) has the remark about horses on pages 253–5.
- 26 Maspero's review is in *Asia Major* (1935) 170–3. See also Needham II 308–9 and 320–1.
- 27 See Shaughnessy (1983) 9–10.
- 28 For a biography see Hsu Kai-yu *Wen I-to* Boston (1980); for attractive sketches of Wen's life see Jonathan D Spence *The Gate of Heavenly Peace* (1981) passim.
- 29 'Loan characters in Pre-Han texts' *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 35 (Stockholm 1963) 120 with reference to Character 474, *huei/wei* (*hui* 'roots') in Hexagram 11:base.

3. The fascination of *Zhouyi*

- 30 F M Doeringer 'Oracle and symbol in the redaction of the *I Ching*', in *Philosophy East and West* 30 No 2 (Hawaii April 1980) 195–209, summarizes the philosophy of change and describes the history and

composition of the Ten Wings. Based on a conservative post-Han reading of the texts, it differs from what I have said in the Appendix. Steve Moore *The trigrams of Han* (1989) is an extended investigation of the theory of the trigrams. Gerald Swanson *The Great Treatise: commentary tradition to the 'Book of Changes'*: (1974) is a doctoral thesis (obtainable as indicated p 469 n.100) containing a translation and critique. See also the following note, that on Chapter 2 (page 462), and the [Appendix](#), page 363.

31 Willard J Peterson 'Making connections: the "Commentary on the attached verbalizations" of the Book of Change' *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 42 (1982) 67–116 is an illuminating exposition and history of the text.

For Wang Bi see Howard Lazar Goodman *Exegetes and exegeses of the Book of Changes in the third century AD: historical and scholastic contexts for Wang Pi* (1989) a doctoral thesis at Princeton University; Richard John Lynn *The Classic of Changes: a new translation of the I Ching as interpreted by Wang Pi* (1994); and Marie-Ina Bergeron *Wang Pi: philosophe du non-avoir* (1986), which contains a text and translation of Wang's *Zhouyi lueli*.

Michael Nylan *The canon of supreme mystery* (1993), with an abridged edition *The elemental changes* (1994), discusses and translates *Taixuanjing* by Yang Xiong (53BC – AD18), a revision of *Yijing* as a system of 81 tetragrams, each composed of three kinds of line: whole, broken and twice-broken. There is a translated sample of Yang Xiong in Shchutsky *Researches on the I Ching* (1980) pages 215–20.

For yarrow-wand divination as described and discussed in the Han period, see Michael Loewe *Divination, mythology and monarchy in Han China* (1994) 160–90. There is a summary of Han dynasty work on *Yijing* in R J Smith 27–30 and 33–4.

32 Needham II 336. Fung Yulan *A short history of Chinese philosophy* (1948/1958) contains a simple introduction to the way in which the hexagrams were made to refer to all departments of knowledge: 139–42 and 272–8 for cosmology, 166–72 and 283–5 for metaphysics and ethics. Fung's standard work, *A history of Chinese philosophy* (Volume I 1931/1948, Volume II 1934/1953 and reprints) deals with *Yijing* in Volume I 379–95, but is outdated with regard to origins. Volume II shows how deep and wide was the influence of *Yijing* on later philosophers.

33 H A Giles *History of Chinese literature* (1901) 23.

34 Needham II 338.

35 *Sung Dynasty uses of the I Ching* (1990), by Kidder Smith and others, covers some material outside the Song period and contains specimen commentaries. Timothy Stephen Phelan *The neo-Confucian cosmology of Chu Hsi's 'I-hsueh ch'i-meng'* (1982), a doctoral thesis at Washington University, contains a translation of *Yixue qimeng*. Shchutsky 65–71 summarizes Ouyang Xiu *Yi tongzi wen*.

36 Johnson A Yan *DNA and the I Ching* (Berkeley, California 1991) gives a Chinese biologist's view, couched in molecular science vocabulary. The historical parts are uncritical.

Martin Schoenberger *Verborgener Schluessel zum Leben* (1973), translated by D Q Stephenson as *The I Ching and the genetic code* (1992) is an earlier essay, also stronger in science than in sinology. The introduction by Lama Govinda (see p 465 n.57) contains a 'definition from *Yijing*' (page 23) that has actually been translated from Wilhelm's commentary material on Hexagram 32 (Wilhelm 126–7). It is probably based on a Song commentator.

Miki Shima *The medical I Ching* (1992) shows how Chinese medical practitioners use *Yijing* in the diagnosis and treatment of patients. It is largely dependent on imperfectly identified Chinese sources. Two or three of the hexagram casting methods described are not included in Hacker's list (see p 471 n.26).

37 Shchutsky 220.

38 Great Treatise I.iv.3 and II.xii.6. See pages 411 and 430.

39 Christopher Markert *op cit* (1986) 52.

40 Blofeld 26.

41 Great Treatise I x.4 and I.xi.1. See pages 417 and 417. On *Yi* and the spirits see pages 20f and 408.

42 For examples of modern buddhist, daoist and christian use, see also page 81f (end of [chapter 4](#)).

- 43 Joseph Murphy *op cit* (1970) 21.
- 44 *Op cit* 39.
- 45 Martin Gardner 'The combinatorial basis of the I Ching' in *Scientific American* January 1974 pp 108–113 relates the subject to syllogisms and hypercubes. Further details can be found in A G Clarke 'Probability theory applied to the *I Ching*' *Journal of Chinese philosophy* 14 (1987) 65–72.
- 46 Jung's 'Synchronicity; an acausal connecting principle' was published in Carl Gustav Jung and Wolfgang Ernst Pauli *The interpretation of nature and psyche* (1955) – a translation of *Naturerklahrung und Psyche* (Zurich 1952). (W E Pauli 1900–58 was the distinguished Austrian-Swiss nuclear physicist.) Jung's memorial address for Richard Wilhelm, given at Munich in 1930, is printed in R. Wilhelm and C.G. Jung *The secret of the golden flower* (1931/1962). Arthur Koestler *The roots of coincidence* (1972), though written before 'chaos theory' entered common parlance, gives a readable introduction to science and synchronicity.
- 47 See Jung's preface, Wilhelm xxii and xxiii.
- 48 Jung and Pauli 144.
- 49 Johnson F Yan *DNA and the I Ching* (1991) page 146.
- 50 Wilhelm xxiv.
- 51 Wilhelm page xxv.
- 52 *ibid.*
- 53 Jung and Pauli 36.
- 54 *op cit* 51.
- 55 *op cit* 36, 144.
- 56 Great Treatise I.x.4. See page 417.
- 57 *The inner structure of the I Ching* (San Francisco 1981) 168–9. For Govinda's biography see Ken Winkler *A thousand journeys* 1990.
- 58 Wilhelm xxxiii.
- 59 Wilhelm xxxv.
- 60 Wilhelm xxxv.
- 61 *op cit* page 71.
- 62 Wilhelm xxvi.
- 63 Wilhelm xxvi-xxxi.
- 64 Page v.
- 65 *Hongfan* sec 7: Karlgren *The Book of Documents* 33 section 25; Legge *Shoo King* 337 sections 25–30. Karlgren's text, Legge's text and Legge's translation is reprinted in Michael Nylan *The drifting centre* Monumenta Serica Monograph XXIV (1992), a discussion of *Hongfan*. The author dates *Hongfan* to the late Warring States Period.
- 66 Kwok Man Ho, Martin Palmer and Joanne O'Brien *The Fortune Teller's I Ching* (1986).
- 67 R G H Siu *The portable dragon* (1971; originally *The man of many qualities, the legacy of the I Ching* 1968), 406. The book is a wide-ranging anthology loosely based on the hexagrams.
- 68 Legge *Yi King* 41 nl.
- 69 Wang Chong *Lunheng* 24: Bushipian. In Alfred Forke's translation *Lunheng* (1907) 11.314. For these and further Chinese comments, see Michael Loewe *Divination, mythology and monarchy in Han China* (1994) 162–75.
- 70 *Lunheng* 17: Zhirui. In Forke's translation (see Note 69 above) 1.187.

4. European translations

- 71 Maspero 447 n36.
- 72 For Jesuits who worked on *Yijing* see Louis Pfister *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jesuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine, 1552–1773: Varietes Sinologiques* Nos 59 and 60 (Shanghai 1933,

1934). Also in Joseph Dehergne *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine 1552–1800* (Rome 1973). Andrew C Ross *A vision betrayed: the Jesuits in China and Japan 1542–1742* (1994) tells the whole Jesuit story and analyses the issues.

A symposium of essays on Couplet was edited by Jerome Hendrickx: *Philippe Couplet SJ (1627–1693)* Monumenta Serica Monograph XXII (1990).

73 A recent bibliography of the Rites Controversy will be found in David E Mungello *Curious land: Jesuit accommodation and the origins of sinology* (Stuttgart, Honolulu 1985), which includes a compelling account of the jesuits and *Yijing*. Paul Rule *K'ung-tzu or Confucius: the Jesuit interpretation of Confucianism* (1986), the work of a sinologist and theologian, tells the story in detail, largely from unpublished manuscripts, with a rich bibliography.

A symposium held in San Francisco in 1992 has been published as David G Mungello ed. *The Chinese Rites controversy: its history and meaning* Monumenta Serica Monograph XXXIII (1994).

Jacques Gernet *China and the christian impact; a conflict of cultures* (1985) is based on sources in French and Chinese only and should be read alongside Mungello and Rule.

74 Mungello 257–99. Rule 116–23 gives a sinological description of *Confucius Sinarum philosophus*.

75 Mungello 322 prints Martini's depiction of the hexagrams.

76 Great Treatise I.viii.8. See page 414.

77 Mungello 312–28 devotes a section to Bouvet and *Yijing*, and notes the present whereabouts of the Chinese and Latin essays (326 nn 83 and 84). Antoine Gaubil *Le Chou King* was published in Paris in 1770; Lacharme *Confucii She-king sive Liber Carminum* at Stuttgart and Tuebingen 1830; Jean-Baptiste du Halde *Description géographique ... de l'Empire de la Chine ...* Paris 1735.

Rule 150–82 on figurism dates the word 'figurism' to 1733 (page 155) but does not mention that the hexagrams were called *figurae*. Knud Lundbaek *Joseph de Prémare* (Acta Jutlandica LXVI:2, Aarhus 1991) 109–40 gives a history of the word.

Some details of Foucquet's figurism are given in Jonathan D Spence *The question of Hu* (1988) 14–15 and 138–9. (Hu was a Chinese who travelled to Europe with Foucquet.) For a biography of Foucquet see John W Witek *Controversial ideas in China and in Europe: a biography of Jean-Francois Foucquet* (Rome 1982).

78 The panegyric at Bishop Visdelou's funeral was given by the Capuchin Fr Norbert (alias P. Parisot), in whose arms he died. It is printed in Père Norbert *Mémoires historiques* Tome II (1744). K F Neumann 'Claude Visdelou und das Verzeichniss seiner Werke' in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlaendische Gesellschaft* 2 (1850) 225–42 gives a list of Visdelou's writings.

The *Notice*, with the translation of Hexagram 15, was printed by the Parisian orientalist Joseph de Guignes (1721–1800) as an appendix to Antoine Gaubil *Le Chou King* (1770) 399–436.

Waley's article 'Leibniz and Fu Hsi' is in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 2.1 (1921) 165–7, reprinted in Ivan Morris ed. *Madly singing in the mountains* (1970) 306–8.

De Tournon's mission is described in Rule 137–43. The emperor's own records of talks with de Tournon and Maigrot are translated in Jonathan D Spence *Emperor of China* (1974) 72–84.

79 Thomas McClatchie's work is *A translation of the Confucian Yih-king* (Shanghai 1876, reprinted Taipei 1973). Information about McClatchie, including an obituary, and articles by him are to be found in *China Review*. His career is recorded in the Church Missionary Society *Register of Missionaries*.

80 Legge *Yi King* xvii, 224n and 396.

81 W E Soothill *The Hall of Light* (1951).

82 K C Chang *Art, myth and ritual* (1983) pages 116,118.

83 Needham II 310.

84 Angelo Zottoli's version is in *Cursus litteraturae sinicae neo-missionariis accommodatus* Volume 3 520–619 (Shanghai 1880).

85 James Legge's translation is Volume XVI of Max Mueller's 'The Sacred Books of the East' series: *The Yi King* (Oxford 1882 and 1899). The many reprints include Ch'u and Winberg Chai *I Ching* (1964); Clae

Waltham *I Ching, the Chinese Book of Changes arranged from the work of James Legge* (New York, 1969); and Raymond van Over *I Ching* (1971), which romanizes all the Chinese words in Wade-Giles orthography.

The dictionary of national biography (Supplement iii 87) has a brief biography of Legge. His daughter Helen Edith Legge wrote *James Legge, missionary and scholar* (1905). An account and bibliography of Wang Tao can be found in William H Nienhauser *The Indiana companion to traditional Chinese literature* (1986) 877–9.

86 Paul-Louis-Felix Philastre's translation *Le Yi:king, ou Livre des changements de la dynastie des Tsheou ... (avec commentaires traditionnels complets de T'sheng Tse et de Tshou-hi et des extraits des principaux commentateurs)* appeared in *Annales du Musée Guimet* VIII (1885) and XXIII (1893; both parts reprinted 1982). For Philastre's career see *Encyclopedia Britannica* 15th edition (1990 – not in some later printings) 9.365–6. Paul Pelliot in *Bulletin d'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient* 3 (1903) 470–3 corrects the obituary by Lieutenant Nel in *Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Indochinoises de Saigon* 44 No 2 (1902) 7–27.

87 For a biography of de Harlez, see *Biographie nationale* (Académie Royale de Belgique) Supplement IV: Tome XXXII (1964) columns 279–81; a fuller 'Notice' in the *Annuaire of the Académie Royale de Belgique* 119 (1953) 415–40; a review of his achievement in *Toung-pao* 7 (1897) 197–222; and bibliography in *Bibliographie de l'Université catholique de Louvain 1834–1900* (1900) 230–7.

Having published his original translation in 1889, De Harlez issued a revised version, *Le Yih-king: traduit d'après les interprètes chinois, avec la version Mandchoue*, in 1897. The *Yih-king: a new translation from the original Chinese*, an English translation of de Harlez by J.P. Val d'Eremao, appeared in 1896. An edition of de Harlez expanded with material from Wilhelm and Yuan Guang appeared as *Le livre des mutations* edited by Raymond de Becker 1959/1970.

Yuan Guang was Maître Yuan-Kuang, whose *Méthode pratique de divination Chinoise par le Yi-King* (Paris 1950, translated into German by Fritz Werle as *I Ging: Praxis chinesischer Weissagung* Munich 1951), is often inaccurately listed as a translation.

88 Albert Terrien de Lacouperie *The oldest book of the Chinese (The Yih King) and its authors* (London 1892) is hard to find. Terrien's life is in *Dictionary of national biography* LVI 79. Bibliography of the Lacouperie/de Harlez treatment of *Zhouyi* as a thesaurus or vocabulary, and the follow-up by August Conrady and others can be found in Shchutsky and in Maspero 448. Conrady's article *Yih-King-Studien* appeared in *Asia Major* 7 (1931) 409–68.

Terrien earns a mention in Keightley *The origins of Chinese civilization* (1983) page xix, and a 1978 view of the origins of the Chinese can be found in the same book pages 297–319 in W W Howells 'Origins of the Chinese people: interpretations of the recent evidence.'

89 Paul K Benedict *Sino-Tibetan: a conspectus* 1972 page 197. A more recent essay on early languages in China is E G Pulleyblank *The Chinese and their neighbours in prehistoric and early historic times*, in D N Keightley *The origins of Chinese civilization* (1983) 411–66.

90 Kunst 221 n32.

91 'The construction of the Yih King' *China Review* 21 (1894–95) 272–5. Information on Kingsmill is scattered through *China Review*, together with his articles and an obituary; an entry in *Who's who in the Far East 1906–07*; and *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1910) 116–18.

92 Richard Wilhelm's version was *I Ging: das Buch der Wandlungen* (Jena 1924). The English translation by Cary F. Baynes *I Ching: the Book of Changes* (New York 1950, London 1951) was in two volumes. The third (single-volume) edition (1967), used in giving references here, contains a useful preface by Wilhelm's son, Hellmut, and has a brief but useful index.

Wilhelm's *The soul of China* (1924) is a readable compound of memoirs and comment. It includes an account of his work on *Yijing* with Lao Naixuan and illuminating expressions of his own religious views. *Confucius and Confucianism* translated by George and Annina Danton (London 1972) gives a further impression of Wilhelm's scholarship and personality. His German translation of Laozi *Tao te Ching*,

published in 1910, was issued in 1981 as an English translation that includes Wilhelm's 1925 commentary on 'The teaching of Lao tzu'. Four lectures he gave in Germany between 1926 and 1929 were published in English translation as *Lectures on the I Ching; constancy and change* (1979).

More about Wilhelm can be learned from his wife Salome Wilhelm's *Der geistige Mittler zwischen China und Europa* (1956). Basic bibliographical information is in Hellmut Wilhelm *The Book of Changes in the western tradition* (1975, see bibliographical note above, page 462) 8–11 and 17–18; in *Sinica* (Frankfurt-am-Main 1930) 100–111; and by Paul Pelliot in *T'oungpao* 27, 237–9. Hellmut Wilhelm also wrote *Change: eight lectures on the I Ching* (translated by Cary F Baynes, New York 1960).

93 Richard Wilhelm *The soul of China* (1924) 180. For the negative view of Lao see Kwok Manho 33; for Lao's ideas on the Latin alphabet see Jerry Norman *Chinese* (1988) 258, 261.

94 Erich Hauer's review is in *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* 1925 242–7. The rejoinder is in the same journal 1926 102–5.

95 See p 466 n.66.

96 Shchutsky's book, translated as *Researches on the I Ching*, was published in London 1980, with the author's name romanized as Shchutskii. It contains an account by Gerald Swanson of later Chinese writings on *Zhouyi*.

97 See p 466 n.66.

98 First published as Kerson Huang *I Ching, the oracle* (1984).

99 Greg Whincup *Rediscovering the I Ching* (New York 1986, Wellingborough 1987). Two translations of the previous decade, Alfred Douglas *The Oracle of Change* (1971) and Da Liu *I Ching coin prediction* (1975) are designed for believers in the occult value of the book. Da Liu's work is the more interesting.

100 Richard Alan Kunst *The original 'Yijing': a text, phonetic transcription, translation, and indexes, with sample glosses* (1985), a doctoral thesis, including a rich bibliography, especially of work in Chinese. These are obtainable in photocopy from University Microfilms International, 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106 USA; or in Britain from Information Publications International Ltd, White Swan House GODSTONE Surrey RH9 8LW (01883–744123).

101 Wu Jing-Nuan translator: *Yi Jing* (1991) ISBN 0–8248–1362–6.

102 Thomas Cleary's more important *Yijing* titles are: *The taoist I Ching* (1986), a translation of a commentary by Liu Yiming AD 1796; *The buddhist I Ching* (1987), a translation of Jixu Ouyi (1599–1655) *Zhouyi chanjie*; and *I Ching: the Book of Changes* (1992), a translation in the Shambala Pocket Classics series.

103 For Wang Bi see also page 45 and p 464 n.31.

5. The contents of *Zhouyi*

CONCORDANCES. The standard concordance of the Chinese text of *Yijing* is in the Harvard-Yenching edition of 1935 (reprinted 1966 Taiwan; see page 40), but Kunst gives better treatment of *Zhouyi*. I have also made use of Yi Chōnghǒ *Chuyōk chagu saegin* (Ch'ōngju 1963). Hacker 307–63 gives a useful, though not exhaustive, concordance of Wilhelm/Baynes.

1 The Zuo Commentary *Zuozhuan* is a record of the period 722–464 BC, which early came to be treated as an expansion of *Chunqiu* 'the springs and autumns classic', jejune annals of the state of Lu. The two books are usually printed as a combined work.

Cho-yun Hsu *Ancient China in transition* (1965, see page 459) gives an account of the history and authenticity of the Zuo Commentary. See also J K Smith 1989, 455–9. Important essays are Bernhard Karlgren 'On the authenticity and nature of the Tso Chuan' in *Gotesborgs Hogskolas Aorsskrift* Band XXXII:3 (1926) 3–65; and Barry B. Blakeley 'Notes on the reliability and objectivity of the Tu Yu Commentary on the Tso Chuan' in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 101.2 (1981) 207.

For a complete English translation of the Zuo Commentary we have only Legge's *The Ch'un Ts'ew with the Tso Chuen* in The Chinese Classics Volume V (1872). Legge's index is to *Chunqiu* only; for *Zuozhuan* one

must turn to E D H Fraser and J H S Lockhart *Index to the Tso Chuan* (1930, reprinted 1966). There is a Chinese concordance in Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Series No 17 *Chunqiu jing zhuan yinde* 1937.

Burton Watson *The Tso Chuan: selections from China's oldest narrative history* (1989) contains six of the stories that refer to *Zhouyi* and forms an attractive introduction to the Zuo Commentary. In French there is Couvreur's *Tch'ouen Ts'iou et Tso Tchouan*, published in China in 1914, reprinted as *La chronique de la principauté de Lou* (Paris 1951).

For articles on the Zuo Commentary quotations from Zhouyi see p 473 n.39.

2 Duke Zhao years 2 and 12: Legge *Ch'un Ts'ew* 582/3 and 637/640.

3 Duke Zhao year 32: Legge *Ch'un Ts'ew* 739/741.

4 Mathews' *Chinese-English dictionary* (1943) pages xv and 441 character No 2952(c).

5 Karlgren *Book of Documents* (1950) 31 para 31 and 33 para 31.

6 Great Treatise II.viii.1. See page 428.

7 Shaughnessy 1983 104–7 arrives at much the same conclusion.

8 *Notes on Chinese literature* (1867) 1; also W F Mayers *The Chinese reader's manual* (1874) 336. For Visdelou see Antoine Gaubil *Le Chou King* (Paris 1770) 406, 407. See also 467 n.78.

9 Granet 174; Blofeld 67; K and R Huang *I Ching* (1985/7) 70.

10 Leon Vandermeersch 'De la tortue a l'achillée' in J.P. Vernant ed. *Divination et rationalité* (1974) 37–51.

11 For Xiantian/Hutian see Moore 61–109 and Needham 1.341; and Kidder Smith *Song Dynasty uses of the I Ching* (1990) 112–20.

12 Needham II 340–2; David E Mungello *Leibniz and Confucianism: the search for accord* (1977) is comprehensive. Julia Ching and William G Oxtoby *Moral enlightenment – Leibniz and Wolff on China Monumenta Serica Monograph XXVI* (1992) contains a translation of Leibniz on binary arithmetic. For the jesuits see p 466 n.72; for Bouvet see page 62f.

13 Rene Barde 'Recherches sur les origines arithmétiques du Yi-King' in *Archives Internationales d'Histoire des Sciences* 5 (July-December 1952) 234–81. Accounts of Chinese mathematics and counting rods can be found in John McLeish *Number* (1991); and Needham III, 1–17 and 68–72.

14 Allan 102. The Great Treatise II.viii.1 (see page 428).

15 Shchutsky 145–7; Moore 34–5.

16 Lynn 43–44 n39; Hacker 75 nl.

17 Barde 265–8; Maspero 447 n38 (strongly, but unconvincingly, criticized by Granet 185 nl); Needham II 343; Moore 32.

18 There are notes on *bagua* in Kunst 219 n4 and Shaughnessy 1983, 28–30 and 314 nl5. Zhang Zhenglang 'An interpretation of the divinatory inscriptions on early Chou bronzes' in *Early China* 6 (1980–81) 80–96 was followed by Zhang Yachu and Liu Yu 'Some observations about milfoil divinations based on Shang and Zhou *bagua* numeral symbols' in *Early China* 7 (1982) 46–55, which comments on the relation of yarrow-wands to tortoise-shell divination.

19 Zhang and Liu (see Note 18) 49.

20 See, for instance, the Great Treatise I.x.3 (see page 416).

21 Kunst 23–5; Shaughnessy 1983 109f.

22 Great Treatise I.ix.5. See page 416.

23 Chang Chenglang 84 section 3.

24 Moore 188–98.

25 Entries for Olsvanger can be found in *Palestine personalia* (1947) and in *Personalities in Eretz-Israel 1799–1948*.

26 Edward Hacker *The I Ching handbook* (Brookline, Massachusetts 1993) describes itself as a guide to 'logical and personal perspectives'. It is a compendium on the structure and use of *Yijing*, containing mathematical tables, annotated bibliographies of recent work in English, and descriptions of many divination methods. The author is a teacher of philosophy, not a sinologist.

- 27 Needham II 343.
- 28 Ropars *op cit* page 13
- 29 Ropars *op cit* page 42
- 30 See above page 36.
- 31 For lists of translated 'hexagram names' see Hacker 43–63.
- 32 II.vi.4 (see page 427).
- 33 Kunst 33.
- 34 Wilhelm 257 n2. See also page 441.
- 35 W F Meyers *The Chinese reader's manual* (1874) 335–6.
- 36 Karlgren *Grammata* graph 171a; Kunst xvii; Wilhelm 256.
- 37 Shchutsky 143.
- 38 Shaughnessy 1983 123–33.
- 39 Kunst 181.
- 40 See Kunst 417.
- 41 Karlgren *Grammata serica recensa* graphs 1185r-s.
- 42 Waley 1931, 129.
- 43 See page 75.
- 44 See K C Chang *Shang civilization* (1980) 256–7; and (with an authoritative translation) Keightley 44 and plate 14.
- 45 *Ancient China in transition* (1965) 19.
- 46 *Zhouyi gujing jinzhū* 176.
- 47 *The origins of statecraft in China* (1970) 233.
- 48 Kunst 147–50 gives full lists of reduplicated words. Gerhard Schmitt *Sprüche der Wandlungen auf ihrem geistesgeschichtlichen Hintergrund* 1970 deals with puns and wordplay Waley's brief comment is (1933) 139–40.
- 49 Waley 1937 29.
- 50 Kunst's principles are explained in his thesis 51–6.
- 51 Shafer *The golden peaches of Samarkand* (1963) 3.
- 52 Li Fang-kuei has described his system in 'Shanggu yin yanjiu' *Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies* New Series IX September 1971, Nos 1 and 2, 1–61, the last page being an English summary. Another article by Fang Kuei Li 'Archaic Chinese' – which means Old Chinese – is in D N Keightley *The origins of Chinese civilization* (1983) pages 393–408, but this is a descriptive account that does not give details of the romanization system.
- 53 Kunst 62–81 discusses the Odes and *Zhouyi*. For the Odes themselves see p 461 n.27. See W A C H Dobson 'Linguistic evidence and the dating of the Book of Songs' *T'oungpao* 51 (1964) 322–34.
- 54 Great Treatise II ix. See page 428.
- 55 Karlgren *The Book of Odes* 196.

6. Divination

1 Michael Loewe and Carmen Blacker *Divination and oracles* (1981) deals with ancient civilizations and includes a short essay on *Zhouyi*. Richard J Smith *Fortune-tellers and philosophers: divination in traditional Chinese society* (Westview Press 1991) has a chapter on 'The Yijing and Qing society' pages 93–129. It includes the best concise description of post-Han interpretation technique and a clear account of *Yijing* itself.

2 There is much about shell and bone divination in K C Chang *Shang civilization* (1980). Kenneth J Dewoskin *Doctors, diviners and magicians of ancient China* (1983) does not refer to *Zhouyi*. Michael Loewe's *Chinese ideas of life and death* (1982) contains matter relevant to *Zhouyi*, as does his 'Divination by shells, bones and stalks during the Han period' *T'oungpao* LXXIV (1988) 81–118. For divination in Britain see below

n.10.

3 Keightley is essential for serious study of the subject.

4 Allan 117–23.

5 See Fung Yulan *A history of Chinese philosophy* (2nd edition 1952) 380, which follows the ideas of Yu Yonghang in *Gushibian* III.i (1930).

6 Legge's *Shoo King* 63 and 337. Zhang and Liu 49 (see Note III.18) are confident that both systems were being used together by the reign of the Shang king Wuding (c1200 BC). For later examples see Note 8 below.

7 Duke Xi year 15. Legge *Ch'un Ts'ew* 165/169.

8 Duke Xi year 4: Legge *Ch'un Ts'ew* 139/141. For concurrent use of shells and wands see also Duke Ai year 9: Legge 818/19 (Story 19 in this book, page 197).

9 Zhang and Liu 52 (see p 471 n.18).

10 Iona Opie and Moira Tatem *A dictionary of superstitions* (1989) gives chapter and verse on divination in Britain with both bladebones (30–1) and yarrow (543–4).

11 Blofeld 60.

12 Legge *Yi King* 40; Wilhelm *The soul of China* (1924) 106; Jonathan Spence *Emperor of China* (1974/1992) 71.

13 John Allen Paulos *Innumeracy* (1988) illuminates in lay language the mathematics of probability and random series.

14 Shaughnessy 1983 89–95.

15 See Story 17, page 195.

16 See page 170, the Nanjing rules.

17 See page 177 Story 2; and page 185 Story 8.

18 Shaughnessy 1983 97.

19 In modern books the first and fourth of these symbols are each usually superimposed on a line. (See Wilhelm 722–3.) They are given without the line in editions of Zhu Xi.

20 E. g. Da Liu *I Ching coin prediction* (1975) 11; and Christopher Markert *I Ching; the No 1 success formula* (1986) 29.

21 The best collection of methods is in Hacker 135–47. Miki Shima *The medical I Ching* (1992) describes two or three methods not included in Hacker. Wallace Andrew Sherrill and Wen-kuan Chu *An anthology of I Ching* (1977/1989) is a compendium of post-Song divination methods and occult theory. Sources are rarely given and even more rarely given with precision. Rear-admiral Sherrill of the US Navy retired to Taiwan and lived there for many years.

22 I.ix.3–9. See page 415f.

23 Zhang Zhenglang 84.

24 See Legge *Yi King* 368; Lynn 72 n36; and Barde 243ff.

25 Ulrich Libbrecht *Chinese mathematics in the thirteenth century* (1973) is a detailed study of its subject that throws some light on earlier periods. *Bian* is discussed on page 485.

26 See Barde 248 n33.

27 Blofeld 63; Gao Heng *Zhouyi gujing tongshuo* 116; Vandermeersch page 48.

28 *Shuogua* 10. See page 447.

29 I.xi.8. Needham III discusses the *Hetu Luoshu* diagrams. See also Moore 50, 67–71 and 99–105. Michael Nylan has a note on Hetuluoshu in her *The shifting centre* (see p 466 n.65) 58n49.

30 Kwok Manho 13; K C Chang *Shang civilization* (1980) 31–2.

31 See Arthur Waley 'The heavenly horses of Ferghana' *History today* Volume 2 (February 1955) 95–103; Waley *Analects* (1938) 48.

32 For traditions about coin-tossing, see Da Liu *I Ching coin prediction* (1975) 6–8; for Han see R J Smith 311 n86.

33 See page xx.

34 See A G Clarke 'Probability theory applied to the *I Ching*' *Journal of Chinese philosophy* 14 (1987) 65–72. (See p 465 n.45.)

35 See Note 36 immediately below.

36 *Rediscovering the I Ching* (1986) 226–31 gives an account of the Nanjing rules, based on 'How to form a hexagram and consult the *I Ching*' in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 92.2 (1972) 237–49, written by Shih-chuan Chen, otherwise Cheng Shiquan (born 1917), a member of the Nanjing group. The group's conclusions were published in *Yixue taolunji* Shanghai (1937). The material is now easily found in Gao Heng *Zhouyi gujing tongshuo* (Peking 1958 and later) 112–30. Shaughnessy 1983 (page 308 n53) describes Cheng's paper as 'a plagiarism of Gao's thesis'. Further work on the subject is included in Chang Chenglang.

37 Shaughnessy 1983, 88–97.

38 See the Zuo Commentary, Duke Xiang year 10 (Legge 443/447) and Duke Ai year 12 (Legge 849/850).

39 Scholarly interest in these references is shown in Hellmut Wilhelm 'I-ching oracles in the *Tso-chuan* and the *Kuo-yu*' in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 79.4 (October-December 1959) 275–80; and Kidder Smith 'Zhouyi interpretation from accounts in the *Zuozhuan*' in *The Harvard Journal of Asian Studies* 49.2 (1989) 421–63. For the Zuo Commentary see p 470 n.1; for *Guoyu* see page 198 and Note 51 below.

40 Duke Xi year 4 (Legge *Ch'un Ts'ew* 139/141 para 7). See also page 148ff.

41 Duke Ai year 17 (Legge *Ch'un Ts'ew* 849/850.5.)

42 Duke Zhao year 2 (Legge *Ch'un Ts'ew* 582/583). See also page 28.

43 See pages 154 and 169.

44 See Story 20 from *Guoyu* (page 198), where the charge is quoted, and Story 15 (page 193) where two charges are given.

45 J K Smith 1989, 441.

46 See Legge *Shoo King* 167.

47 See page 435.

48 See, for example, J K Smith 1989, 435–8.

49 Barde 255–7.

50 *Op cit* page 444.

51 Burton Watson *Early Chinese literature* (1962) 66–74 outlines *Guoyu*; Wolfgang Bauer *A concordance to the Kou-yu* (1973) contains the text; Loewe *Early Chinese texts* 263–8 has a bibliography. There is no complete English version. James Pinckney Hart 'The philosophy of the Guo-yu' (PhD thesis Washington 1973) translates the first three chapters. Howard W Sargent 'A preliminary study of the *Kuo yu*' (PhD thesis Chicago 1975) includes the last three chapters, but is not available for purchase. De Harlez made a French translation *Koue-Yu: Discours des royaumes* (Louvain 1895: *Journal Asiatique* 1893 pp373–419; and 1894 pp5–91). André d'Hormon and Rémie Matthieu *Guoyu: propos sur les principautés I* (1985) contains a French translation of the Zhouyu section.

52 On these problems see Shaughnessy 1983 307–8 nn52 and 54.

53 Pages 122, 126 and 127.

Introduction to the translation

1 For anyone beginning to study Old Chinese, Bernhard Karlgren *Sound and symbol in Chinese* (1923) is still useful and still in print. It should be read with Jerry Norman *Chinese* (1988) in the Cambridge Language Survey series, a descriptive and critical survey that describes the early language. Karlgren's *Grammata Serica recensa* (1940) gives his reconstruction of Old Chinese sounds. *The index of characters to Bernhard Karlgren's 'Grammata Serica recensa'* compiled by Avishai Gil (Cambridge 1974) makes the book much

easier to use. A full list of Karlgren's linguistic and other work, compiled by Else Glahn, appears in *The Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 28 (Stockholm 1956) 45–9. Karlgren's career is described in Robert S Ramsey *The languages of China* (1987) 126–33. Ramsey also gives a description of Old Chinese (134–9). For Li Fang-kuei's reconstruction see p 472 n.52.

Axel Schuessler *A dictionary of early Zhou Chinese* (Honolulu 1987) uses the reconstruction of sounds by Li Fang-kuei. It includes quotations from *Zhouyi*, but sometimes interprets them according to late glosses. Since it is concerned with words rather than with characters, it does not contain all the characters that occur in *Zhouyi*. Schuessler also wrote 'On word order in Early Zhou Chinese' *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* 10 (1982) 1–50.

W A C H Dobson's work on Old Chinese has been severely criticized by some, but his *The language of the Book of Songs* (Toronto 1968) stands alone in its field. His *Early Archaic Chinese* (1962) does not refer to *Zhouyi*.

2 Maspero 281.

3 *Grammata Serica recensa* 186, graphs 707a, e, c-d, h-k, n.

4 See also page 80.

5 See p 460 n.17.

6 D N Keightley ed *The origins of Chinese civilization* (1983) 553.

7 Shaughnessy 1983 337 n80; Schuessler 774; Allan 117.

Appendix

Complete translations of the Ten Wings are to be found in the appendixes to Legge *The I Ching* (1899); in Wilhelm/Baynes *I Ching* (1967), Book II pages 255–444 for the Great Treatise and *Shuogua*, Book III pages 369–724 for the remaining wings divided into gobbets and interspersed throughout the hexagrams; in Richard John Lynn *The Classic of Change* (1994), pages 47–126 for the Great Treatise and Wings 8–10, pages 127–551 for the other wings distributed among the hexagrams; and in Wu Jing-Nuan *Yi Jing* (1991) pages 219–289.

1 On *Tuanzhuan* see J K Smith 1990 14–16.

2 Shchutsky 163.

3 For rhymes in *Tuanzhuan* see Legge *Yi King* 248; and the translations in this book on pages 372–3 and 379.

4 Shchutsky 163.

5 For Lynn see page 82; for Swanson's thesis p 464 n.30; for Wu Jing-Nuan page 81 and p 469 n.101.

6 For Peterson's article see p 464 n.31.

7 Duke Xiang year 14 (Legge *Ch'un Ts'ew* 462col6/466para2d.

8 On the 8th Wing see J K Smith 1990, 16–18.

9 For further discussion of this subject see Steve Moore *The trigrams of Han* (1989).

10 Lundbaek (see p 467 n.77) 138.

Glossary of Chinese Characters

I PROPER NAMES

Ai, Duke of Lu 哀

An, Battle 夔

Baoxi 包犧

Bi, battle 比

Biwan 畢萬

Boliao 伯廖

Bushipian 卜筮篇

Cai Mo 蔡墨

Canglong 蒼龍

Chang (King Wen) 昌

Changsha 長沙

Chen, state 陳

Chen Daosheng 陳道生

Chen Huanzi 陳桓子

Chen Wenzhi 陳文子

Cheng, Duke of Lu; King of Zhou; Marquis of Jin 成

Cheng Yi 程頤

Chengji 成季

Chengzi 成子

Chin'am (Korean) 進菴

Chonger 重耳

Chu, state 楚

Chu Qiu 楚丘

Chu Shaosun 褚少孫

Chuci 楚辭

Chunqiu 春秋

Chunqiu jing zhuan yinde 春秋經傳引得

Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu 春秋左傳注

Chunshen 春申

Chuyǒk chagu saegin (Korean) 周易字句索引

Cui Wuzi 崔武子

Da yu mo 大禹謨

Dagao 大誥

Dai, Marquis of 戴侯

Dan, Duke of Zhou 旦

Dao, Marquis of Jin 悼

Daodejing 道德經

Daxiang 大象

Daxue 大學

Dayan 大衍

Dayu 大猷

Dazhuan 大傳

Di, High God 帝

Dijun 帝俊
Ding, Duke of Qi 丁
Ding Kuan 丁寬
Diyi 帝乙
Dong Zhuo 董卓
Dongguo Yan 東郭偃
Dongyin 董因

Erlitou 二里頭
Ersanzi wen 二子問

Fa (King Wu) 發
Fangfeng 防風
Fangshu 方叔
Fei, place in Lu 費
FeiZhi 費直
Feng, Marquis of 封
Feng, place in Zhou 豐
Fusang, mythic mulberry 扶桑
Fuxi 伏羲
Fuyang 阜陽
Fuyi 父乙

Ganfu 幹父
Gao Heng 高亨
Gaoliang 高粱
Gaozong 高宗
Gaozong rongri 高宗彤日
Geng, state 耿
Gong, King of Chu 共
Gongfang 古方
Gongzi Manman 公子曼滿
Gui, border people 鬼
Guicang 歸藏
Guifang 鬼方
Guiguzi 鬼谷子
Guizhu 鬼諸
Guo Moruo 郭沫若
Guoyu 國語
Gushibian 古史辨
Guzhe 古者

Hai (Wang Hai) 亥
Han, battle 韓
Han, dynasty, river 漢
Han Kangbo 韓康伯
Hanshu 漢書
Hao 鎬
Haoqiu zhuan (Hau Kiou Chooan) 好逑傳
He, physician 和

Heitun 黑臀
Hejianfu (Hokienfu) 河間府
Hetu luoshu 河圖洛書
Hongfan 洪範
Houtian 後天
Hu Guang 胡廣
Huai, Marquis of Jin 懷
Huan, Duke of Lu 桓
Huan (Xiang of Jin) 渙
Huangdi 黃帝
Huanghe, Yellow River 黃河
Huanlong 秦紀
Hui, Marquis of Jin 惠
Huo, state 霍

Ji, ducal house of Lu 季
Ji, ducal house of Qin 姬
Ji Li, Duke of Zhou 季歷
Jianchang (Kiemcham) 建昌
Jiang, clan 姜
Jiang, town in Jin 絳
Jiaozhou 膠州
Jie, prince of Jin 捷
Jin 晉
Jinan 濟南
Jing Fang 京房
Jing, Marquis of Jin 景
Jing, river 涇
Jingzhong 敬仲
Jiuling 九陵
Jixian 汲縣
Jiyi 祭義
Jizhong jinian 汲冢紀年
Jizi, Viscount of Ji 箕子
Jun, three-legged crow 踰

Kang Hou 康侯
Kangshu 康叔
Kangxi emperor 康熙
Ke 榿
Kong Chengzi 孔成子
Kong Yingda 孔穎達
Kongmeng xuebao 孔孟學報
Kui (Swine) 奎

Lao Naixuan 老乃玄
Laozi 老子
Li, Lady of Jin 驪
Li, Marquis of Chen; Marquis of Jin 厲
Li Cang 利蒼

Li Fang-kuei 李方桂
Li Guangdi 李光地
Li Jingchi 李鏡池
Liangqiu He 梁丘賀
Lianshan 連山
Liji 禮記
Liji, Lady 驪季
Ling, Marquis of Jin 蜚
Liu Ji 劉基
Liu Xiang 劉向
Longshan 龍山
Lu, state 魯
Lunheng 論衡
Luoyang 洛陽
Luoyi 洛邑
Luyu 魯語

Ma Rong 馬融
Mawangdui 馬王堆
Meng Xi 孟喜
Miao Fenhuan 苗賁皇
Min, Duke of Lu 閔
Mingtang 明堂
Mu, Earl of Qin; King of Zhou 穆
Mu Jiang 穆姜
Mu He 穆和
Mu Ye, battle, wilderness 牧野

Nan, elder 南
Nankuai 南蒯
Niu, bull, ox 牛
Nou, Marquis Jing of Jin 騫

Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修

Putang zashi 璞堂雜識

Puyi 溥儀

P'yŏngyang (Korean) 平壤

Qi, Mount 岐

Qi, river 淇

Qi, state 齊

Qi, Viscount of Wei 啓

Qian, Tag 1 and trigram 乾

Qian Hon shu 前漢書

Qianniu 牽牛

Qianziwen 千字文

Qin 秦

Qingdao 青島

Qinghua xuebao 清華學報

Qiu Wei gui 裘衛簋
Qu Wanli 屈萬里
Qufu 曲阜

Ruan Yuan 阮元
Rulinzhuan 儒林傳

Shan, Viscount Xiang 單襄子
Shang 商
Shangdi 上帝
Shanggu yin yanjiu 上古音研究

Shangshu 尚書

Shanxi 陝西

Shao Ping 邵平

Shao Yong 邵雍

Shaokang 少康

Shen, Lady 莘

Shennong 神農

Shensheng 申生

Shi Chou 施雠

Shifu 世俘

Shigou 史苟

Shiji 史記

Shi(jing) 詩經

Shisanjing zhushu 十三經注疏

Shiyi 十翼

Shizhao 史朝

Shujing 書經

Shuanggudui 雙古堆

Shundian 舜典

Shuogua 說卦

Shuowen 說文

Shusun Muzi 叔孫穆子

Sikong Jizi 司空季子

Sima Jizhu 司馬季主

Sima Qian 司馬遷

Song, state 宋

Su, recorder of Jin 蘇

Su Dongpo 蘇東坡

Su Shi 蘇軾

Taixuanjing 太玄經

Taiyi jinhua zongzhi 太乙金華宗旨

Tan, prince of Jin 談

Tang, place of Qi 棠

Tang of Shang 湯

Tanggu 湯谷

Tian He 天何

Tian Wangsun 田王孫

Tiandi 天帝
Tianma 天馬
Tianshi 天冢
Tiansong 天訟
Tianwen 天問
Tianzhu, Lord of Heaven 天主
Tianzi 天子
Tuanzhu 篆傳
Tufang 卜方
Tufu 徒父

Wang Bi 王弼
Wang Chong 王充
Wang Hai 王亥
Wang Tao 王稻
Wang Xu 王翺
Wei, river, valley 渭
Wei, state (Story 2) 魏
Wei, state (Story 15; tomb opened AD 281) 衛
Wei, state (Story 19) 微
Wei Xianzi 魏獻子
Wen, King of Zhou 文王
Wen, Marquis of Jin 文
Wen, river 汶
Wen Yiduo quanji 聞一多全集
Wenwu 聞一多全集
Wenyan 文言
Wenyuangu 溫源谷
Wu, King of Zhou 武
Wucheng 武成
Wudi 武帝
Wuding 武丁
Wuyi 武乙
Wuyingdian 武英殿

Xi, Duke of Lu 僖
Xia, dynasty 夏
Xian, Marquis of Jin 獻
Xian Gu 先穀
Xiang, Kings of Wei and Zhou; Duke of Lu; Marquis of Jin; Viscount of Shan 襄
Xiangzhu 象傳
Xiantian 先天
Xiantian cixu 先天次序
Xianxian (Sien-hien) 獻縣
Xiaoxiang 小象
Xiaoyu ding 小玉鼎
Xibo (king Wen) 西伯
Xicizhu 繫辭傳
Xihe 羲和

Xijing 義經
Xinliao 辛廖
Xiqi 系齊
Xishuangbanna 西雙版納
Xuan, Duke of Lu; King of Zhou 宣
Xuandi 玄帝
Xugua 序卦
Xun, deep waters 浚
Xun Shou 荀首

Yan, diviner 偃
Yan Hui 顏回
Yang Bojun 楊伯峻
Yang Hu 陽虎
Yang Xiong 楊雄
Yanling 耶陵
Yao, mythical ruler 堯
Yao, document 要
Yi the Archer 羿
Yi Chōngho (Korean) 李正浩
Yigua (*Zhouyi*) 易卦
Yi tongzi wen 易童子問
Yi Yongjik (Korean) 李容植
Yi zhi yi 易之義
Yi Zhoushu 逸周書
Yichuan Yizhuan 伊川易傳
Yigao 夷皋
Yijing 易經
Yili 儀禮
Yin (Shang) 殷
Yin, Duke of Lu 隱
Ying, ducal house of Qin 嬴
Yiwu 夷吾
yixue qimeng 易學啓蒙
Yixue taolunji 易學討論集
Yixue yanjiuhui 易學研究會
Yongzheng emperor 雍正
You (Chengji) 友
Youji 游吉
Youli 美里
Youyi, placename 有易
Yu, commander 孟
Yu, mythic founder of Xia 禹
Yu (Huaiofjin) 圍
Yu Fan 虞翻
Yu Haoliang 于豪亮
Yuan 元
Yuandi 元帝
Yueling 月令

Yugui 御龍
Yulong 御龍
Yuzao 玉藻
Yuzhi rijiang Zhouyi jieyi 御製日講周易解義
Yuzuan Zhouyi zhezong 御纂周易折中

Zagua 雜卦
Zhangguoce 戰國策
Zhang Zhenglang 張政烺
Zhao, Duke of Lu; King of Zhou 昭
Zhao Jianzi 趙簡子
Zhao Li 昭力
Zhaomeng 趙孟
Zhen, king or general 震
Zhen river 漆
Zheng, state 鄭
Zheng Xuan 鄭玄
Zhi 紫
Zhiguo 止穢
Zhirui 指瑞
Zhongguo gudai fushishi 中國古代服飾史
Zhongguo gudai shehui yanjiu 中國古代社會研究
Zhonghua da zidian 中華大字典
Zhongyong 中庸
Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤
Zhou Xibao 周錫保
Zhouge 媯始
Zhougong 周公
Zhouli 周禮
Zhoupu 州蒲
Zhoushu 周書
Zhouxin 紂辛
Zhouyi 周易
Zhouyi benyi 周易本義
Zhouyi gujing jinzhu 周易古經今注
Zhouyi gujing tongshuo 周易古經通說
Zhouyi lueli 周易略例
Zhouyi tanyuan 周易探源
Zhouyi yinde 周易引得
Zhouyi yizheng leizuan 周易義證類纂
Zhouyi zhengyi 周易正義
Zhouyi zhezong 周易折中
Zhouyi zhuanyi daquan 周易傳義大全
Zhouyu 周語
Zhouzi, Marquis of Jin 周子
Zhu Xi 朱熹
Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋
Zhuang, Duke of Lu 莊

Zhuangshu 莊叔
Zhuangzi 莊子
Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮
Zhuozi 卓子
Zhushu *jinian* 竹書記年
Zifu Huibo 子服惠伯
Ziju Yanxi 子車奄息
Ziyi 蠟衣
Zongqiu 宗丘
Zuozhuan 左傳

II OTHER LOCUTIONS

ai love 愛

ba eight 八

resting 罷

bagua trigrams 八卦

bagua shuzi fuhao, *bagua* numerals 八卦數字符號

bai white 白

baixing hundred surnames 百姓

bang country 邦

bang loan for *beng* 旁

bao slaugliter-house 包

bao sang mulberry tree 芭桑

bei cowrie 貝

beng sacrifice by gate 祭(坊)

bi bedight, Tag 22 賁

join, assemble, Tag 8 比

bian change, alternation, interim count 變

bianhua alternation and transformation 變化

bin guest 賓

bing 3rd stem 丙

bo earl 伯

flay, Tag 23 剝

bu barrier, screen 蔽

divination 卜

levy 逋

negative 不

bu yan not at peace 不燕

bu zheng qui sui 不拯其隨

busha not killing 不殺

canwu threes and fives 參伍

chang autumn sacrifice 嘗

che chariot 車

chen 5th branch 辰

cheng fulfil 成

ramparts, city wall 城
ride 乘
receive 承
chi linear measurement 尺
red 赤
spoon 匙
chong double 重
chou grieving 愁
pair or group 畴
2nd branch 丑
chouli paired orioles 啣離
chu base line, beginning 初
farming 畜
chu liu bottom six 初六
chuan stream 川
chuang bed 莊
chuji beginning of luck 初吉
cui together, Tag 45 萃

da great 大
da qiang big injury 大戕
da ye great task 大業
da zhuang big...strong, Tag 34 大壯
dachu farming:major, Tag 26 大畜
dachuan big stream 大川
daguo passing:major, Tag 28 大過
dai loan 貸
dan single 單
dang wei matching position 當位
dao road, way 道
daren great man 大人
daya odes 261-234 大雅
dayou large...there, tag 14 大有
de power, virtue 德
de achieve 得
di earth 地
ruler 帝
ding tripod bowl, Tag 50 鼎
4th stem 丁
dong east 東
hunt 同
moving 動
du confusing 清
draw out 積
read 讀
duanci prognostic 斷辭
dui weigh, Tag 58, Trigram 兌
dun thick 敦

withdraw, Tag 33 遯

er grammatical particle, shaven-headed 而

er tiandi wanwu zhi qing ke jian yi the nature of all things in heaven and earth can be seen

而天地萬物之情可見矣

eryi and 而以

fang border-state, just then 方

fangding square bronze vessel 方鼎

fangshi shaman 方士

fanmu glaring 反目

fei to fly 飛

not being 匪

fei qi peng 匪其彭

feijiu not misfortune 匪咎

feiren offenders, non-persons 匪人

feng phoenix 鳳

thick, city name, Tag 55 豐

wind 風

fu captive, booty, punishment 孚(俘)

hairpin 笄

man 夫

returning, Tag 24 復

silver carp 鮒

gan feeling 感

stem 干

straighten out 幹

sundried 乾

sweet 甘

trunk 幹

gang strong, firm 剛

gao fat meat 膏

reward for soldiers 犒

reply, report 告

gaoci indication 告辭

ge creeping plant 葛

individual 箇

leather, skin, Tag 49 革

gelü bast shoes 葛屨

gen hard, Tag 52 and trigram 艮

geng 7th stem 庚

gong body 躬

bow 弓

duke 公

gongsun duke's grandson 公孫

gou interlocking 構

locking, meet, Tag 44 媾

gu affairs 鬻

orphan 孤
pox, mildew, Tag 18 蠱
gua hexagram, trigram 卦
guaci hexagram statement 卦辭
guahua hexagram drawing 卦畫
guai to fork, tag 43 夬
guai-guai hustles and bustles 夬夬
guaming hexagram name 卦名
guan observing, Tag 20 觀
 washing hands 盥
guan qi suo by observing this 觀其所
guang broad 廣
 glory 光
gui baton 圭
 ghost, border people 鬼
 10th stem, last day of week 癸
 tureen 簋
guimei marriage, tag 54 歸妹
guo passing 過
guofeng odes 1–160 國風
guwen old script 古文

hai 12th branch 亥
han hold in the mouth 含
han qi sweats it 汗其
hang loan for heng 享
hanyin domestic fowl 翰音
he river 河
 shouldering 荷
he jiu can there be misfortune? 何咎
he qi jiu what misfortune here? 何其咎
heng fixing, long-term, Tag 32 恆
 sacrifice, success 亨
hong wild goose 鴻
hou behind 後
 marquis, lord 侯
houtian later than heaven 後天
hu blessings, grace 祐
 final particle 乎
 fox 狐
 overlap 互
hua picture 畫
 transformation 化
huan goral 芻
 gushing, Tag 59 洩
huang flow 潢
 semicircular jade pendant 璜
 yellow 黃

huangniu oxen 黄牛
hugua interlocking trigrams 互卦
hui gloom 晦
 roots 蒙
 trouble 悔
hui wang troubles disappear 悔亡
huo perhaps 或
huti overlapping system 互體

ji auspicious 吉
 connective particle 即
 crossing, fording 濟
 self 己
 6th stem 己
 subtle 幾
 table 机

jia 1st stem 甲
 proceeding 假
 triumph 嘉
jian door-bolt 鍵
 to see 见
 settling, Tag 53 漸
 strong, constant 健
 stumbling, Tag 39 蹇

jiang river 江
 limit 疆

jiao crossed 交
 fetters 校
 horn 角
 suburban altar 郊

jiaren household, Tag37 家人

jie bordered, great 介
 juncture, Tag 60 節
 miserable 拮
 unloosing, Tag 40 解

jiji already across, Tag 63 既濟

jin advancing, Tag 35 既死霸
 penetrating 摶

jing a well, Tag 48 井

jing-jing coming and going 井井

jinwen new script 今文

jishengpo already waxing 既生霸

jisipo already waning 既死霸

jiu harm 咎
 stable 机

jiuqiu 九丘

jiusan 9 in 3rd place 九三

jiuwu 9 in 5th place 九五

jiwang already full 既望

jue bast 决(决)

cut 决

gallop 趺

skip, Tag 43 决(趺)

jun deep 浚

junheng 浚恒

junzi prince 君子

junzi chongri qian-qian xi tiruo 君子终日乾乾夕惕若

kan chopping 砍

discontented 坎

pit, Tag 29, Trigram 坎

kang neck 亢

kankan (reduplication) 坎坎

ke mark, notch 刻

ken cleave, split 堊

kuang a desert 曠

kui espy, Tag 38 睽

kuo pelt 鞞

kun beset, Tag 47 困

bind 捆

earth, Tag 2, Trigram 坤

lai coming 來

lao mature 老

li bright, connecting, oriole, Tag 30, Trigram 離

dangerous 厲

favourable 利

three-legged bronze vessel 鬲

unit of distance 里

li jian daren 利見大人

lin distress 吝

keening, Tag 19 臨

lishu clerk's script 隸書

liu er ming qian zhen ji 六二鳴謙貞吉

liu he six poles 六合

liu mo six poles 六誤

liu wu 6 in 5th place 六五

liuhua gua hexagrams 六劃卦

liushisi gua 64 figures 六十四卦

long dragon 龍

lu simple, blunt 魯

lü stepping, Tag 10 履

sojourner, Tag 56 旅

bamboo tubes 律

luo net 羅

ma horse 馬
mao 4th branch 卯
white grass 茅
mei younger female cousin 妹
meng dodder, Tag 4 蒙
oath, covenant 盟
mian face 面
miao ancestral temple 廟
ming bright, light 明
cry 鳴
charge, decree, mandate 命
mingci charge 命辭
mingyi light darkened, Tag 36 明夷
mingzhi crying pheasant 鳴雉
mu thumb 拇

nan baron 男
nei inner 內
nu cheng kuang woman bearing basket 女承筐
**nwo, kwo, si, tsi* 女盛食志

pai hand-struck drum 柝
pang on all sides 旁
panhuan wheeling around 磐桓
pao slaughter-house 庖
pei darkened 沛
pennon 旛
pei zhu consort master 配主
peng overbearing 彭
pi bad, Tag 12 否
pian-pian flutter 翩翩
pin side by side 頻

qi earth spirit 祗
harm 疢
its, his, the, specifying particle 其
vessel, object, instrument 器
qi dao qiong ye this dao is running out 其道窮也
qi gan the liver 329 其肝
qian front 前
modesty, Tag 謙
rat, hamster 讎
Tag 1 and trigram 乾
qiang injury 戕
qian qian 1st Tag 乾乾
qing collapse 傾
short while 頃
qiri seven days 七日

qiu forcefully 送
qu course, way 衢
quan dog 犬

ren goodness 仁
9th stem 壬
rou yielding 柔
ru entering 入
getting wet 濡
wife 孀
ru gui ru zhang 如圭如璋
ruo conditional particle, if, 若
rusheng 5th tone 入聲

sanhua gua 3-stroke figures 三劃卦
sanjiu three tassels 三就
shang upper, top 上
rewards 賞
shang jiu 9 at the top 上九
shao young 少
she fording 涉
shen god, spirit 神
9th branch 申
sheng going up, Tag 46 升
shenming gods 神明
shi arrow 失
eat 食
scribe, recorder, diviner 史
this is 是
time, occasion 時
troops, Tag 7 師
yarrow wands 著
shi hui yang man stabbing sheep 士刳羊
shi shi losing in truth 失是
shici oracle 示辭
yarrow texts 筮辭
shigu for this reason 是故
shike biting, Tag 21 噬嗑
shishu a rodent 鼯鼠
shizhi haoli, cha yi qianli 失之毫厘差以千里
shou head 首
shou tian zhi you 受天之祐
shun compliant 順
shun er zhi compliant and stopping 順而止
shun yi xun compliant and docile 順以巽
shuo explain 說
large 碩
shuoguo splendid fruit 碩果

si four 四

offer sacrifice 祀

6th branch 巳

team of four horses 駟

si de four qualities 四德

song dispute, Tag 6 訟

odes 266–305 頌

sui marrow 髓

follow, pursuit, Tag 17 隨

sun diminishing, Tag 損

suo-suo in smithereens 頽頽

ta unexpected calamity 它

tai great, peace, Tag 11 泰

great (alternative character) 太

taiji roundel, Great Ultimate 太極

tang dodder 唐

tian branded, heaven 天

cultivated fields, hunt 田

tiandi xuanhuang heaven and earth, dark and dun 天地玄黃

tong development, throughout, all (commoner) 通

pass through, throughout (Mawangdui) 迺

tongren mustering, Tag 13 同人

tuan hexagram statement 爻

tun full 屯

young pig 豚

tunyu pigs and fish 豚魚

tuo remove 脫

wai outer 外

wan dance 萬

wang cripple 尪

expect 望

reckless 妄

going, proceeding 往

king 王

wangyou gong proceeding will bring good results 往有功

wangshi royal service 王事

wei 8th branch 未

position 位

tail 尾

wei bu dang position does not match 位不當

wei zheng dang correctly matching 位正當

weiji not yet across, Tag 64 未濟

wu cutting off the feet 兀

entity 物

5th stem 戊

negative particle 午

7th branch 午
shaman 巫
warrior 武
wu da jiu no great misfortune 无大咎
wu fang five directions 五方
wu hao no cry 无咎
wu huang no blood 无咎
wu jiu no misfortune 无咎
wu kuang no gift 无咎
wu shi no fruit 无实
wu xing five phases 五行
wu xue no blood 无血
wushi shaman-scribe 巫史
wuwang unexpected, Tag 25 无妄

xi laugh 哂
xia lower 下
xian all, Tag 31 咸
 appear 颀
 briny 鹹
 dangerous 險
 girth 鞵
 sinking 陷
 spinach 苋
xian zai qianye dangerous is in front 險在前也
xiang figure 象
 sacrifice 享
xiangshu form-number 象數
xiantian earlier than heaven 先天
xianwang ancient kings 先王
xiao filial piety 孝
xiaochu farming:minor, Tag 9 小畜
xiaoguo passing:minor, Tag 62 小過
xiaohui little distress 小悔
xiaoren small man 小人
xiaoya odes 235-265 小牙
xiaozhuan small seal script 小篆
xici appended sayings 繫辭
xigan Mawangdui Tag29 習績
xikan double pit 習坎
xin 8th stem 辛
 heart 心
xing elation 興
xingqing temperament, descriptions of trigrams 性情
xiong disastrous 凶
xiu lunar mansions 宿
xixi (reduplication) 嘻嘻
xu elder sister 須

11th branch 戌
 pliant, waiting, Tag 5 需
 raise livestock 畜
xuan dark 玄
xuanhuang dark and dun 玄黄
xuci preface 序辭
xue hole 穴
xun food offerings 饌
 gentle, mild, Tag 57, Trigram 巽
xun xin smoke heart 熏心
xushu serial number 序數

ya odes 雅
 tusk 牙
yan word 言
yanci observation, verification 驗辭
yang positive principle 陽
yong-yang happy 陽陽
yao line, oracle 爻
yao-yao merry 陶陶
ye final particle 也
yi cease, stop 已
 connective particle 亦
 conjunctive particle 以
 depend on 依
 easy, change 易
 employ, thereby, thus 以
 enriching, Tag 42 益
 final particle 矣
 lizard 蜴
 meaning, righteousness, 義
 molars, Tag 27 頤
 sacrifice 宜
 2nd stem 乙
 settlement, city, capital 邑
yi wu huang no blood 亦無益
yi wu kuang no gift 亦無既
yjguo city/state 邑國
yili meaning-principle 義理
yilü ordered ranks 以律
yin negative principle 陰
 stretch 引
 3rd branch 寅
ying answer, correspond 應
 operation 營
yin-yang polarity 陰陽
yiri change to sunshine 易日
yong to use 用

you friend 友
10th branch 酉
there is 有
you fu sacrificing captives 有孚
you xin ru xun 憂心如熏
youyu monkey-elephant 猶豫
yu abundant 裕
bathe 浴
elephant, Tag 16 豫
fish 魚
honour, laudatory speech 譽
particle 于
requiem 虞
slow moving 趨
yu shi xie xing forward in harmony with the occasion 與時偕行
yu yuan fu meet the original husband 遇元夫
yuan deep water 淵
supreme, original 元
yuanheng lizhen 元亨利貞
yuanji most auspicious 元吉
yuanyong very long time 元永
yue pleasing, satisfaction 悅
saying, till 曰
summer sacrifice 禴
yun loyal 允

zai burn, disaster 災
convey 載
to plant 栽
zan pierce 簪
zang ewe 羴
ze connective: then 則
zhanci prognostication 占辭
zhang baton 璋
elder 丈
linear measurement 丈
pattern, screen, splendour 章
zhangren elder 丈人
zhe broken 折
zhe shou decapitate 折首
zhen augury 貞
thunder, Tag 51, Trigram 震
zheng castration 撻
correct 正
zhengzhong correct and central 正中
zhi branch 支
go, possessive particle, pronoun 之
intention 志

know 知

obstruct 窒

only 祇

stop 止

zhi shi yi da yi zai occasions are great indeed 之時義大矣哉

zhi yan interrogation 執言

zhi zai wai/nei ye the intention is in the outer/inner 志在外(內)也

zhiti fear 怵惕

zhong the people 衆

zhongfu trying captives, Tag 61 中孚

zhongxiong ultimately disastrous 終凶

zhongzheng central and correct 中正

zhongji ultimately auspicious 終吉

zhou sayings 繇

tiles 甃

zhou liu liuxu 周流六虛

zhu ritualists 祝

scarlet 朱

zhuan food 飧

volume, roll 卷

zhun massed, Tag 3 屯

zhunru-zhanru 屯如遭如

zhunzhan impeded 屯遭

zhuren hosts 主人

zi child, 1st branch, viscount 子

zifu money axe 資斧

zi tian you zhi 自天祐之

zong ancestral temple 宗

zu ancestor 祖

Index

The translations of *Zuozhan* and the Ten Wings are not indexed. Comprehensive headings are used for ANIMALS, ASTRONOMY, BIRDS, COLOURS, DIVINATION, DRESS, HEXAGRAMS, MATHEMATICS, MUSIC, LINES, ODES, PLANTS, TRIGRAMS and WRITING.

abacus 94

agriculture 9, 11, 14, 290, 301–2, 318, 327; ploughing 11

Allan, Sarah 96, 148, 313, 327, 340

ancestral cult 10, 20–1, 30, 285, 300, 307, 312, 354–5

ANIMALS: ants 297; domestic 11, 301; in *Zhouyi* 31, 217–18; in sacrifices 136; wild 13; cat 11; dog 11, 13; deer 226; dolphin 353; elephant 13, 239, 310, 319; fox 180, 181, 163, 287, 358–9; goat/goral 266, 336; hamster 309; horse 11, 19, 41, 74, 226, 245, 249, 258, 261, 284, 293; leopard 272; monkey/monkey-elephant 311; oxen 248, 256, 279, 323; pig 249, 256, 261, 267, 326, 332; ‘pig-fish’ 353; rat 309, 328; rhinoceros 13; rodents 258, 328; sheep 246, 257, 266, 277, 327, 332, 335; tiger 233, 250, 272; weevils 297, 298

Appended Texts 26

archery 13

ASTRONOMY 20; Callippic cycle 349–50; constellations and stars 291–2, 331–2; Golden Numbers 349; lunar mansions 20, 331–2; Metonic cycle 349; measurement of time 20, 159; Pole Star 349; Plough constellation 278, 349; quarters of the moon 20

axes 12, 279, 351

bagua numerals 38, 98–100, 360

Baker, Richard (Zentatsu Baker-roshi) 55

Bamboo Annals 301, 335, 358, 359

banners 12, 290, 305

Barde, René 94, 98

batons 88, 225, 267, 294–5

Baynes, Carey Fink 77–8

Bergeron, Marie-Ina 82

Bible 51

BIRDS 279, 285, 308, 351, 354, 355; crane 284; dove 304, 305; hawk 263; mallard 345; mandarin duck 329; oriole 235, 253, 306, 321, 322–3; owl 305; pelican 345; pheasant 17, 259, 279, 316, 329, 351, 354; phoenix 218; raven(crow) 313, 325, 359; wild goose 276

Blofeld, John 50, 54, 79, 151

blood 228, 351

Book of Documents 24; *dao* 22; multiple divination 56; *yi* change 85; tortoise-shell with yarrow 149; dragons not mentioned 290; Jizi 330; Gao Heng quotes 333, 341; Nine Mounds 343; translations 461n26; *see also* Gaozong, Hongfan

Book of Odes; date and structure 24; *day a* and *xiaoya* 24, 140–1; archery 13; *dao* 22; language 31, 140–4; in

Korea 58; *yi* easy 83; *zhou* cyclic 86; translations 65, 461n27; *see also* Odes books, Bronze Age 23, 31, 105
Bouvet, Joachim 62–4, 91
brightness dimmed 328–9
bronzes, bronze-casting 14, 18, 31–2, 315, 342
Bronze Age, definition 6
Bryant, Jacob 66
buildings 14; roofs 14, 278; pit-dwellings 15, 228
burning of the books 35

calendar 20
cangue 244
captives 234, 266, 360; *fu/you fu* 220; sacrificing 30, 229, 231, 224–287 *passim*; flaying 281, 352; ritualized
 terror 354; interrogation 32, 136, 265, 300, 321, 335
castration (gelding) 232, 259, 282, 352
caterpillar 433
ceramics 15; earthenware 231, 252, 322
cereals 11, 15
Chalmers, John 76
change, theory of 45–6, 85–6, 105–8, 143, 154; cosmology 15, 228
chariots 12, 232, 270, 302, 340: axlecase 12, 181, 249, 257, 327
Chen Daosheng 113
Cheng, King of Zhou 7
Cheng Yi 40, 49
children's songs 144, 314
China Review 67
Chinese Rites question 60–4
Chonger 182, 183, 184, 198–9
chopsticks 15
Chu Shaoshun 151
Chuci 300, 327, 329
Church Missionary Society 66
cities, capital 13–14, 31, 221
Cleary, Thomas 81
COLOURS 17–18, 216–17; clothing 17; five-colour theory 216; red 14, 339; sandy 216, 272; white 317; yellow
 18, 295; *see also* *xuanhuang*
compass points 21, 294; in *Zhouyi* 332–3; in trigrams 442–4
concubines 246
Confucianism 40, 44, 49, 49–50, 61, 126, 406; Song thought 48–9, 61, 62, 65, 77, 78
Confucius 7, 29, 41, 44; and *Zhouyi* 33–4; Analects 33, 34, 44–5, 325, 337, 338, 339, 341, 355; 'Master' 406; tomb
 76, 152
Confucius Sinarum philosophus 60–1
Conrady, August 72
corpse 230, 300
Couplet, Philippe 60–2
cousins 234, 277, 347
covenants 13, 271, 311
cowries 19, 30, 264, 265, 274, 311, 334, 343
Creel, Herrlee 136
cripples 303

crosswise movement 307, 321
Cudworth, Ralph 66
currency 19, 351

Da Liu 79
dances 22, 346; *wan* dance 346
dao 45, 46, 51; meaning 22
Daxiang 383–4; translation 384–8
Daxue Great Learning 61, 384, 461n27
Dayan 36, 105, 158–63, 170; meaning 158–9
Dazhuan see Great Commentary
de power 302, 325, 408
deconstructionism 51, 80
digrams 432
ding tripod bowl 87, 273, 342
Ding Kuan 39
DIVINATION 22–3: definitions 145–6; British 146, 152; charge 147, 174; coins 166–7; diviners 148, 172, 174, 176–201 *passim*; early Chinese 156–50; multiple 150; probabilities 167–9; prognostications 172–3; see also tortoise-shells, yarrow
Diyi, king of Shang 29, 30, 197, 277, 347–9
DNA codons 49
Dodona 305
Doeringer, FM 384, 464n30
Dong Zhuo 38
Douglas, Alfred 79
dragons 17, 195–6, 218, 224, 225, 290–1, 296
DRESS 16–17; military 12; aprons 16, 270, 338–9; belts 17, 229, 299; fibres 16, 233; hair 17, 357; hairpin 286, 357; headgear 17; kneecaps 338–9; robe 225; silk 16; shoes 16, 17, 233, 303, 341; skirt 16; sleeves 16, 277; textiles 16–17; tunic 286
drought 9, 21, 308
drums 253, 323, 346, 354

Eitel, Ernst 67
emendations 207
Erlitou 5
Ersanzi wen 36

failure 50
family: and *xiang* 163; and trigrams 444, 447
fantan 159
feathers 17, 276, 346, 354
Fei Zhi 39, 40, 97, 365
feiren non-person 9, 220, 301
feudalism 9; fiefdoms 9, 30; feudal titles 9, 175 see also *junzi*
figures see hexagrams, *xiang*
Figurism 62
fire omens 279, 350
fish 15, 246, 267, 271, 317, 340
five elements/phases: not in ZY 175; in Han times 40, 158; in Ten Wings 389, 406, 440

fixing auguries 255, 298, 324
fluttering 304–5
fording rivers 219–20, 234, 286–7, 293, 355–6
Fortune teller's I Ching, The 78, 80
Foucquet, Jean Francois 63–4
four qualities 126–8, 188
furniture 15
Fuxi 5, 27, 28, 62; as Baoxi 432
Fuyang bamboo slips 37–8, 129

Gao Heng 42, 80, 136, 162, 170, 179, 198, 213, 288–360 *passim*
Gaozong, *Gaozong rongri* 329, 354, 358
Gardner, Martin 52
gardens 14, 245, 316
Gaubil, Antoine 65
Giles, Herbert Allen 48
Govinda, Lama 54, 55
Granet, Marcel 88, 113, 343, 343, 462n27, 471n17
great men 219
Great Treatise 27, 36, 51, 86, 118, 404–8; cosmology 45–6; translation 408–33; mentions love 50; vocabulary 407; *see also* [Dayan](#)
Gu Jiegang 25, 41, 49; five stories 29–30, 137, 327, 347, 348, 358
Guicang 26–7
Guifang 29, 136, 286, 287, 331, 358, 359
Guiguzi *see* [Wang Xu](#)
Guo Muoro 42, 220
Guoyu 173, 198–201, 301, 341
Gushibian 41, 327
Guzhe 406, 421–2
guwen old script 35–6, 39

Hacker, Edward 112, 169
Hai *see* [Wang Hai](#)
Halde, Jean-Baptiste du 65
Han dynasty 18, 25, 45
Han Kangbo 154
Han stone tablets 38–9, 102, 122, 129, 297
Hanshu 39, 135
Harlez, Charles de 72
harpoon 285, 355
Harvard-Yenching edition 40, 207
Hauer, Erich 77
Heart Sutra 49
hearts 144, 271, 275, 341, 344
Heaven 319; Son of Heaven 32, 33, 237
Hegemons, Period of 7
Herdtrich, Christian 61
Hetu luoshu 164–6
HEXAGRAMS 87–102, 152–7; calendrical groups 100–1; definition 87; drawings 37, 38, 87; Europe, first

printing in 61; called figures 61, 62; and government 48, 49; Hexagrams 1 and 2: 104, 130–1, 142, 155, 289–96; hexagram statements 122–8, 367–8; homogeneous hexagrams 104, 112, 290; legendary origins 28, 45–6, 165, 445; line positions 371–2; ‘names’ *see tags*; origin of term 64, 70, 87; and lunar months 47; and science 47–8, 499; shape xx; stories 136–7; translations of Hexagram 15: 61, 64, 66, 67, 68, 70, 71, 72, 74 *see also xiang*

Hexagram order 102–118; Mawangdui 114–17; original 107–8, 117; pairing 102–5; received (‘King Wen’) order 90, 102–14; Fuxi order 90, 91; *see also Olsvanger*

Hongfan 56, 86, 149

hornboard 319, 336

houtian 90, 440, 442

Hsu Cho-yun 136, 459, 470n1

Hu Guang 40

Huang, Kerson and Rosemary 80–1, 162, 322

Huangdi 5, 27

hunting 13, 230, 231, 240, 255, 280, 291, 300

huti overlapping system 97

inscriptions, bronze 31, 330, 353

Intorcetta, Prospero 61

Iron Age 12, 25

jade 17, 225, 273, 343

jawbones 320

Jesuits 51, 60–6, 68

jewellery 17, 18

jia celebration 311

Jing Fang 39, 97, 158

jinwen new script 35–6, 39

Jizi, Viscount of Ji 30, 259, 330

Jung, Karl 45, 77; on *Yijing* 52ff; on the *ding* Hexagram 54–5; on synchronicity 52–3

junzi 9, 62, 218–19

Kang Hou, Marquis of Kang 30, 258

Kangxi emperor 40, 49, 62, 63, 91, 152

Karlgren, Bernhard 43, 122, 139, 144, 216, 288, 461n26

keening 242, 314

Keightley, David 135, 148

king 9, 148, 230, 231, 253, 260, 269, 271, 330; ‘he who goes’ 219

Kingsmill, Thomas 74–5, 132

Kong Yingda 27, 28, 40, 154, 160

Korea 98, 151, 306, 351; language 85, 330; 1950s village life 57–8

Kunst, Richard, xi, 81, 122, 127, 128, 135, 137, 139, 213, 216, 288–360 *passim*

Kwok Manho 56, 164, 214 *see also Fortune Teller’s I Ching*

Lacharme, Alexandre 65

LANGUAGE: (Early) Old Chinese 39, 83, 137, 205, 214–15, 324; bronze inscriptions 31–3; Book of Odes; Middle Chinese 39, 40; reduplications 137–8, 215–16; rhymes 138–40, 215–16; romanization 139; Sino-Tibetan 73; *see also Li Fang-kuei*

Lao Naixuan 76–7

laughter 274, 298
leather 12, 17, 272, 341
Lee Jung Young *Embracing change* 82
Legge, James; life and translation of ZY 68–70; reprints 79; view of McClatchie 66; Confucius in ZY 33; tomb of Confucius 152; story of Shao Ping 56; hexagram and trigram names 120; Dayan number 159; choice of readings 127, 206, 212, 220, 288–360 *passim*; reckoning of BC dates 176; Ten Wings 365; *Tuanzhu* verse 379–80; Great Treatise 379–80; *Zagua* 453
Leibniz, Wilhelm 91
Li Fang-kuei xiv, 139
Li Guangdi 40
Li jingchi 43, 131, 328, 347
Liangqiu He 39
Lianshan 26
libations 314, 343
Libbrecht, Ulrich 159
lights 243
Liji 34, 163, 309, 325, 330, 339, 353
LINES 88; changeable 153, 154–5; combinatorics 152–7; Fuyang slips 38; line statements 128–44; Mawangdui manuscript 37; numbering 129–30; oracles, indications, prognostics, observations 131–3; supernumerary 130–1; symbols for kinds 156; *yao* 88; incremental repetition 142–3, 342–5
Liu Ji 57
Liu Xiang 39
liu he, liu mo six poles 96
Louis XIV of France 60, 91
Lu, state 178, 194, 196, 359, 470; copy of *Yi* in archives 28, 173
Lucretius 53
Luo River Document *see* Hetuluoshu
Luoyi (Luoyang) 7
Lynn Richard John 82, 351, 365, 367, 407
Ma Rong 28, 39, 158
Maigrot, Charles 62
Mailla, Joseph de 65
Markert, Christopher 50
marriage 10, 227, 225, 232, 251, 254, 260, 276, 277, 278, 286, 315–16, 345–9, 355; by abduction 30, 59, 245, 296, 332, 345; Diyi's cousin 29; rolls of cloth 245; sororal 10, 30, 277, 347
Martini, Martino 61
Maspero, Henri 27, 41, 60, 98
MATHEMATICS 20, 88–96: *bian*/interim count 154, 159, 341, 407; binary counting 64, 90–3; combinations and permutations 152–7; counting rods 93–4; decimal system 20, 94; magic squares 108, 166; probability 167–9; quinary counting 94; zero 91, 94
Mawangdui manuscript 36, 37; discovery 36; hexagram order 104, 114–17, 441; tags 121–2, 292, 323; prognostic variants 314, 327, 338, 351, 358; other variant readings 43, 207, 212, 297, 313, 329, 333, 336, 352; Ten Wings 365; *Shuogua* 439–40
McClatchie, Thomas 66–8, 75
meat 15, 235, 261, 273, 315, 342
Meng Xi 39
mildew 241
Mingtang 114
mirrors 18–19

Mohl, Jules 65
Moore, Steve 108
morals 8, 61, 127, 150, 175, 188, 206; modesty 61; *ren* 50; filial piety 8, 50
Mu, King of Zhou 82, 308, 329
Mu He 36
Mu Jiang 126, 187–8
Mu (Muye), battle 6, 299, 300, 360
Murphy, Joseph 51
MUSIC 22; bells 12, 22, 344; pitchpipes 230, 249; *see also* drums
mutilation 244, 261, 270, 331–2
mythology 458

Nan, elder 32
Nanjing group 170, 188: rules 170–2, 198, 202
Needham, Joseph 41, 46, 48, 77, 113
neighbours 302
Nine Mounds 274, 343
Nirvana 50
numbers 217

Odes, Book of, *see* Book of Odes
ODES (11)142, (12)315, (13)357, (14)141, (15)322, (23)141, 320, (26)141, (27)295, (31)331, (32)141, (33)329, (34)220, 304, 355, (38)346, (40)295, (41)359, (45)141, (47)357, (48)297, (50)350, (53)325, (56)139, (57)358, (58)149, 296, 315, 357, (61)356, (62)314, (63)359, (65)141, (67)292, (69)291, (82)355, (84)290, (87)356, (101)303, 359, (105)316, (106)13, (107)294, 303, (113)328, (121)141, 295, 306, (123)306, (128)290, (131)321, 322, (136)323, 346, (141)141, (143)141, 295, 306, (145)141, (146)342, (147)141, 339, (151)339, (154) 59, 295, 307, 339, (156)141, (159)345, 346, (162)141, 295, 304, 306, (165)291, 353, (167)295, (168)300, 323, (169)149, 295, (174)307, (176)334, (178)300, 324, 339, (180)300, (181)346, (184)343, 346, 354, (187)323, (189)295, 339, 460 (195)304, (197)329, (198)311, (203)294, 331, (205)295, (209)309, 317, (210)344, (213)339, (215)308, (216)329, (222)339, (227)342, (229)304, (230)323, (232)326, (236)347, (237)164, (241)144, (243)309, (248)142, 345, (252)218, 295, (254)295, (255)358, (257)305, (258)344, (261)347, (283)290, (299)305, (300)319, 346, (301)290, 346, (303)290, (304)221, 319

Olsvanger, Immanuel 91, 108–13
oracles; oracle-bones 23, 49; in *Zhouyi* 88; inverted pairs 140; selection 165–72; *see also* tortoise-shells Ouyang Xiu 41, 48, 131, 163

paired objects 10, 303
Palmer, Michael 80 *see also* Kwok Manho
Paris Foreign Missions 62
pastoral culture 31
pennants 12, 278
pentagrams 96–7
Peterson, Willard 132, 407, 408, 432
Philastre, Paul Louis Felix 71
pillory 310, 340
pit 252; pit-dwellings 15, 228
PLANTS dodder 227, 297; fruit 16, 246, 317; gourds 15, 234, 267, 304, 337; Good King Henry 336; grass 304, 306, 320; melons 16; mulberry 305, 306; *fusang* 313; spinach 336; vines 270, 303; willow 251, 267; *see also* yarrow
Powell, Neil 79

Prémare, Joseph 63, 296
Psalms of David 49
Puyi, emperor 317
P'yongyang 330

Qi, Mount 30, 269; tortoise-shells 164
Qi, Viscount of Wei 316, 359
Qian Han shu 35
Qianziwen 58, 296
Qin: state and dynasty 14, 25, 35, 37, 180, 181
quipu 113
Qiu Wei *gui* 32
Qu Wanli 43

raiders 227, 245, 263, 276
rain 225, 232, 261, 302, 314, 316, 326, 332
Régis, Jean-Baptiste 65–6
Reifler, Sam 80
RELIGION 20–21; altars 21, 280; suburban altars 228, 236, 298; Buddhism 46, 50, 51, 52, 81; Christianity 50, 51, 52, 61, 82; Daoism 50, 51, 12, 81; gods 21, 147, 252; High God 21, 60, 265, 307, 335; phallic worship 66–7; prayer 21; ritualists 21; shamans 21, 280, 351; spirits 20; spirituality 49–52; temples 21, 221, 268, 308, 309; yoga 50, 77; *see also* ancestors, Buddhism, Christianity, Daoism, sacrifices, tablets

Ricci, Matteo 60
ridge-pole 251
Riegel, Jeffrey 294
Rites controversy 60–4
Ritesma, Rudolph, and Karcher, Stephen *I Ching* 82
Ropars, Francois 113–14
Royal Asiatic Society 73, 75
Rougemont, Francois de 61
Ruan Yuan 40

sacrifices 14, 20–1, 314, 321, 324, 344, 336; *bin* 315; human 8, 12, 30, 136, 144, 263; libations 314, 343; requiem 284; to the soil 242, 314; summer 268, 269, 286, 337, 338, 358; *see also* captives

sculpture 18
seals 23, 340
seasons, four 8, 44, 143, 164
self-cultivation 56
servants/slaves 262, 273, 279, 311
shackles 244
Shafer, Edward 139
Shang 6, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, 23, 73, 96, 197, 287, 310, 313, 327
Shao Ping 57
Shao Yong 48, 90, 91
Shaughnessy, Edward xi, 32, 37, 128, 134, 288–360 *passim*, 458
Shchutsky, Yulian 49, 78–9, 127
Shennong 5, 27
Shi Chou 39
shi zhi haoli, cha yi qianli 57

Shiji King Wen stories 28; burning of books 35; Confucius 34, 58; title of ZY 83; yarrow wands 151; Jizi 330; fox oracle quoted 359; apocryphal quotation 57; mentions Ten Wings 364; mentions Great Treatise 404
Shi(jing) see *Book of Odes*
Shisanjing zhushu 40
Shu(jing) see *Book of Documents*
Shuanggudui see *Fuyang*
Shuogua 36, 439–445; translation 445–9
Shuowen 85, 131, 310
sickness 190, 239, 248, 256, 264, 273, 312
Sima jizhu 57
Sima Qian 28, 34; see also *Shiji*
Siu, RGH, *The portable dragon* 56
six: vacant places 96, 433; see also *liu he*
sixty-day cycle 19, 20, 312, 352
Smith, Kidder 191
Sneddon, Paul 80
sojourner 279, 350
soldiers 12, 226, 230, 295, 296, 345–6
Song, dynasty 38, 40, 48, 61; state 27, 190, 356
Soothill, William Edward 66
spoons 15, 287, 360
Spring and Autumn: period 7, 149, 154; Annals 7
spring festivals 10, 23, 351
Su Shi (Su Dongpo) 49
Sung, Z D 71
suns, myth of ten 193, 313, 325
Swanson, Gerald 406, 407
synchronicity see *Jung*

tablets, covenant 13;
spirit 21, 300, 312, 354
tags 46, 118–22, 368; list 223; Mawangdui 121–2; Han stone tablets 122; major and minor 103, 449; in *Zuozhuan* 174
taiji emblem: see *yin-yang*
tail 326
Tang of Shang 319
Tanggu 313
Tartre, Pierre du 65
tassels 272, 341
teeth 250, 320; tusks 319
Teilhard de Chardin 53
ten day week 19, 20, 102
Ten Wings 27, 39, 44, 45, 48, 363–7; mention love 50
Term Question 67
Terrien de Lacouperie, Albert 72–4
'threes and fives' 431
thunder 274, 343
Tian He 39
Tian Wangsun 39

tortoise-shells 18, 22, 88, 250, 264, 265, 334; cracks and inscriptions 90, 102, 135; divination method 147–50; speaking 148; tortoise gives lines, yarrow gives numbers 149; tortoise/turtle 147; *see also* divination

Tournon, Maillard de 63

TRIGRAMS 28, 97, 175, 180; constituent 81, 175, 368–9; synonyms for upper and lower 97, 368; correspondence to family relationships 114, 163; and Fuxi 27; *houtian* order 440, 442; names; nuclear or overlapping 97; natural forces 174, 175; origin of word 64, 70, 87; reduplicated to form hexagrams 120; in *Shuogua* 440–5; temperaments 441; *xiantian* order 440, 443; *xiang* order 440, 444; *yang* and *yin* 432

tuan 122

Tuanzhuan 118, 367–72; translation 372–83

Vandermeersch, Leon 90, 94, 162

Visdelou, Claude 63–4, 87

Waley, Arthur 8, 41, 64, 132, 137, 138, 141, 220, 288–360 *passim*, 449

Wang Bi 28, 40, 45, 82, 154, 292

Wang Chong 57, 299

Wang Hai 29, 30, 83, 313, 327, 350, 351, 359

Wang Tao 69

Wang Xu (Guiguzi) 166

warfare 11, 136

Warm Water Valley 313

Warring States Period 7, 20, 34, 97

water-clock 159

weapons 12: arrows 13, 19, 227, 263, 333; bows 12, 13; shields 12; swords 12; *see also* axes

Wei River 6, 347

Wei, Henry 81

well 271, 340

Wen, King of Zhou 6, 28, 41, 312, 347, 358

Wen Yiduo 42, 213, 288–360 *passim*

Wenyan 126, 188; translation 535–9; failure 50

Wenyuangu 313

West Mountain 240

wheel 12, 357; wheel-brake 267

Whincup, Greg 30, 81, 170

Wilhelm, Hellmut 73, 291, 334

Wilhelm, Richard: key quotation x, 43; life and translation 76–8; tomb of Confucius 152; mystic interpretation 55; calls hexagrams ‘symbols’ 87; hexagram names 367; trigrams 97, 119–20; choice of readings 212, 220; *tuan* 122; translation notes 288–360 *passim*; Ten Wings 365; *Daxiang* 384; Great Treatise 407; Great Treatise subheadings 385

Wilhelm/Baynes translation 54, 76–8, 206; in other languages 78

Wing, RL 80

women 10, 330 *see also* marriage

WRITING 23; calligraphic styles 36, 38; short-forms 208, 212; loans 37, 209, 212; *see also* books, tablets

Wu, King of Zhou 7, 25, 57, 194, 299, 300, 327, 328

Wu Jing-Nuan 81, 365, 407

Wudi, Emperor of Han 39

Wuding, King of Shang 29, 30, 100, 357, 358

Wuyi, Emperor of Han 359

Wuyingdian edition 40

Wylie, Alexander 87

Xenophon 13

Xia 6, 24; queen's escape with Shaokang 298, 332

Xi'an 7

Xiang: King of Wei 25

xiang figures 45; numbers 162–5; *see also* family

xiangshu school 45

Xiangzhuan 383

xiantian 90, 440, 443; *Xiantian cixu* 91

Xiaoxiang, 388–91; translation 391–404

Xiaoyu ding 136, 358

Xicizhuan *see* Great Treatise Xihe 313

Xijing 28

Xishuangbanna 310

Xuan, King of Zhou 32, 33

Xuandi of Han 39

xuanhuang 18, 58, 296, 439

Xugua 36; translation 450–3

Xun, deep waters 324–5

Yan Hui 433

Yan, Johnson 53, 54

Yang Bojun 175, 177

Yangzi 8, 22, 147, 353

Yao document 36

yarrow 151–2; reasons for use 151, 152; wands 22, 51, 151; method of counting wands 157–62; yarrow short, tortoise long 150, 173; *see also* tortoise-shells

Yellow Emperor *see* Huangdi

Yellow River 5, 6, 8, 164, 180, 182, 185, 200, 220, 304, 312:

Yellow River Chart *see* Hetuluoshu

yellow skirt 194–5, 225, 295

Yi the Archer 332

Yi (Youyi) 29, 30, 257, 327

Yi tongzi wen 163

Yi zhi yi 36

Yi Zhoushu 24, 25, 330

Yijing 26, 363; canonized as a classic 36, 38, 39, 45; Manchu version 65, 77; received text 207; *see also* *Shiji*

Ykingistes 62

Yili 339

yili school 45

Yin, the Shang nation 6

ying number *see* *xiang*

yin-yang polarity: origins 10, 353; *xuanhuang* 18; unknown in ZY 22, 175; later history 40, 290; in doctrine of change 45, 46; phallic 66; incorrect analysis of *yi* 85; applied to hexagrams and line positions 130, 372; in

Shuogua 406; in Great Treatise 440; *taiji* emblem 22, 158, 432

Yixue qimeng 160

Yongzheng emperor 65

Youli 28

Yu: commander 136; founder of Xia 164, 301, 342

Yuan 193

Yuandi of Han 39

Yuzhi rijiang Zhouyi jieyi 69, 77

Zagua 453–4; not in *Shiji* xxx; translation 454–6

Zhanguoce 7

Zhang Zhenglang 37, 100, 360

Zhao, King of Zhou 329

Zhao Li 36

Zhen, king or general 30, 287, 359

Zheng Xuan 27, 39, 40, 45, 159

Zhongguo gudai fushishi 339

Zhou 6, 73, 198, 200: Eastern 7; Western 7, 11; chronology 6

Zhou, Duke of 9, 28

Zhou Dunyi 48

Zhouli 26, 310

Zhouxin, King of Shang 429

Zhouyi 24: analysis 26; date of compilation 7, 33; earliest quotation 359; false quotation 57; language 31, 19; origin 149; as proto-dictionary 73; title 83–7; *and see* *Yijing* 26

Zhouyi benyi 28, 4, 150

Zhouyi zhezhong 40, 65, 69, 77

Zhouyi zhengyi 28, 40, 160

Zhu Xi 28, 40, 49, 55, 126, 150, 159, 160

Zhu Yuanzhang 167

Zhuangzi 34, 41, 56

Zhuge Liang 167

Zottoli, Angelo 68

ZUO COMMENTARY 470n1; changeable lines 154; covenants 311; Earl of Zheng leads sheep 336; earliest mention of ZY 34; *fu* apron 339; and *Guoyu* 198; hexagram order not given 102; leopard-skin shoes 341; line numbers not given 127; line position theory absent 372; Lu archives 28, 173; Marquis of Wei's dream 173; moralizing 44, 150; Mujiang 126, 187–8; Nanjing rules 170–2; nine bronzes of Xia 342; nine mounds 343; non-professional divining 150, 174; queen of Xia and Shaokang 298, 332; quotes 14:3 308; *shenming* 408; sororal marriage 348; title of ZY 83, 173; 'tortoise gives lines, yarrow numbers' 149; 'tortoise short, yarrow long' 149, 150, 173; variant wedding oracle 348–9; Yang Bojun 175; Yellow River 180, 182, 185, 220; *yin-yang* theory 372; *Zhouyi* anecdotes 173–6; translations of *Zhouyi* anecdotes 176–97