

The Five "Confucian" Classics, by Michael Nylan

Endnotes

- Page ¶ **Chapter 5 — The Changes**
- 204 1 " ...and the Ten Wings"—The main traditions, exemplified by Sima Qian, Ban Gu, Yang Xiong, and Wang Chong in the Han, for example, and later by Zhu Xi in the Song, made King Wen author of the Hexagram Statements and the Duke of Zhou author of the Line Texts. Still, some influential traditions (e.g., that of Zheng Xuan) made Shen Nong, the Divine [First] Farmer, inventor of the Hexagrams; King Wen, author of both the Hexagram Statements and Line Texts; and Confucius, author of the Ten Wings. Originally, the Ten Wings were not integral to the Changes text, as can be seen from the Mawangdui finds, in which six such commentaries, including a version of the "Xici" commentary, were found separate from the Zhouyi main text. From at least Eastern Han, however, some of the Ten Wings were interspliced with the relevant hexagrams to which they refer.
- 204 1 "...that fixed fate"—See the Mawangdui ms. version that corresponds to a passage in "Xici" (A11). See Edward Shaughnessy (1994), p. 64; Shaughnessy (1996), pp. 14ff.
- 204 2 "...from that proscription"—For both points, see Yang Xiong, quoted in TXJ2 pp. 33; cf. HS 36:1968. Cf. "Yao," sect. 7: "While the Documents is mostly blocked from view, the Zhou Changes has not been lost" (trans. modified from Donald Harper [1997], p. 3). However, Iulian Shchutskii (1960), p. 66, insists, "In general, lacunae are not rare in the Book of Changes."
- 204 2 "...were honestly performed"—The Ten Wings commentaries to the Changes vary significantly with respect to their own claims regarding the relative age of the Changes, with the "Xici" placing the date of composition in middle antiquity (i.e., Zhou) and the "Shuogua" placing it earlier. See ZYYD 48/Xi B/6; 49/Shuo/1. Classicists in imperial China were apt to prove Confucius's authorship of the Ten Wings by citing a statement by Sima Qian [ca. 100 BC]: "Late in life, Confucius enjoyed the Changes, and he put in order the Tuan, Xici, Xiang, Shuo kua and Wenyan [i.e., the Ten Wings minus the Xugua and Zagua]." See SJ 47:1937; Gao Heng (1947), pp. 3ff. But Ouyang Xiu (1007-72) supplied three proofs that Confucius could not be the author of the Ten Wings: (1) they contain divergent, even contradictory statements; (2) they often give rather uninspired glosses for the core Changes; and (3) they refer to Confucius by the term Master, a designation Confucius would not have used of himself. Regarding the ineptitude or dishonesty of certain Changes interpreters, see HS 88:3599-3601, which admits that several state-sponsored interpretive traditions for the Changes were the work of forgers and frauds.
- 204 2 "...of Heaven and Earth"—Tong, sect. 30. Presumably, the source refers to the fact that the Archaic Script puts the Changes at the head of its list of Five Classics.
- 206 1 "...for their ideas"—In the mainstream Chinese press it is not unusual to find such statements as, "From the pre-Qin era divinations ... down to the scientific techniques of the present time, each and every single thing can be elucidated by reference to the Changes." Gao Ming (1982), p. 2.
- 206 1 "...Joseph Needham (1900-1995)"—On Leibniz, see David Mungello (1971). From Jesuit missionaries Leibniz got Shao Yung's (1011-73) diagram for the Changes, which visually traced the origin of each of the sixty-four hexagrams to four two-line complexes. Leibniz recognized in this diagram a binary numerical system.

- 206 1 "...in the natural world"—In America today, students of Chinese history, in company with seekers after "Eastern spirituality," have made the *Changes* in its multiple English translations (with twenty-three English "translations" currently in print, though only four are based on the original Chinese) a consistent best seller in recent publishing history. I thank Eric Rohmann (Princeton University Press) for this information. See also William McGuire (1982), esp. pp. 57, 181, which recounts the phenomenal sales figures of the single Wilhelm translation prepared for Princeton University Press. Published in 1950, the book had passed the half-million mark by 1982 (and this for a book that Yale had declined to publish because it was "so specialized that it would find few readers").
- 206 1 "...the original Chinese)"—Not to mention related books like *The I ching for Gardening*, *I ching for Working Women*, and *I ching for Group Dynamics*).
- 206 1 "...insane or heretical"—Hellmut Wilhelm (1960), p. 3.
- 206 1 "...campaigns against 'superstition'"—As recently as the fall of 1991, the Chinese government announced a crackdown on ownership and publication of the divination manual; propaganda issued in December 1995 in connection with new teaching regulations deplored the wide impact that the "feudal (i.e., outmoded) superstition" purveyed by this book had on grade school and junior high school students. So far, though, neither official disapproval nor outright restrictions have diminished the influence of the *Changes*. See FBIS for 9 Oct. 1991; 22 Dec. 1995. Chinese Communist antipathy to feudal superstition has been ferocious, as in the 1999 campaigns against the Falun gong adherents. Several campaigns in the 1950s and 1960s attacked the *Changes*, including the Socialist Education Movement. For the general resurgence of interest in feudal superstition, see Richard Madsen (1979); Peter Barry (1980); and Stephen Feuchtwang (1989). For the continuing fascination with the *Changes*, see Geremie Barmé (1992), pp. 376ff. Note that governmental pressure has not prevented publication on the *Changes*: at least two scholarly journals are devoted to it in the PRC.
- 206 2 "...the state or patriline"—There is a vast and proliferating literature on religious aspects of daily life in China. On the *Changes* and related divination traditions, see Michael Loewe (1994); Li Ling (1993); Donald Harper, in CHAC vol. 0; Kidder Smith (1989). Scholars do not agree, however, on the degree to which religious attitudes colored life for elites under the late imperial dynasties. Hence the debate between Mou Zongsan and Xu Fuguan (in Taiwan), for instance, and Roger Ames and Rodney Taylor (in America). Pang Pu (1997), I, 435ff; Roger Ames (1992); Guy Alitto (1976), esp. 213-14; Ebrey (1991); Kidder Smith (1990) testify to the continuing concern in China with the practice and theory of divination.
- 206 2 "...out of office"—In AD 754, Tang Xuanzang ordered that the *Changes* replace the Laozi in the Daoist set of examinations. See also Donald Harper (1997).
- 206 2 "... "keep spirits at a distance"—*Analects* 6/22 (Waley, 120 [renum.]).
- 207 2 "...to a Bactrian-Chinese dictionary"—See Iulian Shchutskii (1960), p. 55, for these and sixteen other proposed readings for the text.
- 207 2 "...understood the text"—Cheng Shiquan (1976), p. 239.
- 207 3 "...to the nonspecialist"—The Qing scholar Ji Yun (1724-1805) records a story that reflects the gap that some perceived between the diviners' and the classicists' readings of the *Changes*: A ghost appears to two scholars to complain loudly that the canonical teachings, originally designed by the sages to guide ordinary people in their decision-making processes, "were distorted and rendered esoteric" during the Warring States and Han period. See Chi Yün (1999), p. 47.

- 207 4 "...must be lived"—Analects 20/3 (Waley, 233).
- 208 1 "...human being's moral nature"—According to Shao Yung, the Changes shows us that each cosmogonic level has its own characteristic logic and form of organization. Accordingly, each expresses the ultimate coherence of Heaven-and-Earth in its own particular way. For a review of premodern Chinese ideas on moral coherence and the development of the will, see Jon Saari (1990).
- 208 2 "...abandon their deceit"—"Yao," sect. 7, trans. in Harper (1997), p. 3; cf. the discussion on Yan Junping, the Changes master.
- 209 1 "...of the Eight Trigrams"—In the received text of the Changes and in the recently excavated Mawangdui ms. (terminus ad quem ca. 190 BC), the Hexagram Statement and Line Texts attached to each hexagram correspond closely. However, the sequence of Hexagrams in the Mawangdui ms. differs radically from that in the received text, with no paired hexagrams in the Mawangdui sequence; the Mawangdui sequence orders Hexagrams according to their Trigram structure, so that all hexagrams with Qian as their lower Trigram come first. As both Hexagram Statements and Line Texts seem occasionally to presuppose a certain amount of pairing, the received text probably represents the earlier (and in that sense, more authentic) order, according to Edward Shaughnessy (1983), ch. 3; Shaughnessy (1994). Many debates over the origin and nature of the received text of the "Xici" in relation to the Mawangdui ms. have been argued in terms of a Daoist or Confucian origin for the commentary, though there were no opposing Daoist and Confucian camps in the pre-Han and early Han periods. See Nylan (1999).
- 209 1 "...the "Great Commentary"—Ten may represent the number seven rounded off or it may refer to the fact that three of the commentaries exist in two parts. We know from the Han Stone Classics that the Tuan, Xiang, and Wenyan originally circulated as separate commentaries, but the Changes guwen master Bi Zhi (c. 50 BC-AD 10) supposedly interspliced the Tuan, Xiang, and Wenyan commentaries, attaching them to the Hexagram or Line statement to which they correspond, leaving the four other commentaries (the Xici, Shuogua, Xugua, and Zagua) at the end. Zheng Xuan in his commentary followed Bi Zhi's arrangement, as did Wang Bi (226-249). See SGZ 4:136. Some classicists (e.g., Zhu Xi, Zhao Yuezhi, and Zhang Huiyan) objected to this rearrangement, but most have followed it.
- 209 2 "...later Ten Wings"—Ouyang Xiu (1107-72) and Lü Zuqian (1137-81) were the first scholars to demonstrate the heterogeneous nature of the Changes (specifically that the Hexagram Statements and Line Texts differed from the Ten Wings). Edward Shaughnessy (1983), p. 140, demonstrates that the Hexagram Statements and Line Texts were not written by a single hand at a single time. Iulian Shchutskii (1960), p. 67, suggests the same for the Tuan and Xiang commentaries.
- 209 3 "...the single Hexagram Statement"—In many commentaries, the Hexagram Statements (*guaci*) are associated with the Eight Trigrams, in contrast to the Line Texts, which are associated with the Hexagrams.
- 210 3 "...somewhere to go"—These examples have been borrowed directly from Arthur Waley (1933). Richard Kunst (1985), p. 62, makes the observation that Americans know that "if the old man is snoring," rain will "soon be pouring," but a native of France would not have the same expectation. "In reading the Changes, we are in the position of a person from France" hearing the phrase "the old man is snoring."

- 210 3 "...prognostication more memorable"—Li Jingchi was the first to analyze the division of the Line Texts into three separate parts: topic, injunction, and final determination. Judging from the earliest narratives of the Changes, the semifictionalized accounts of the Zuozhuan purporting to date from the seventh century BC, the act of milfoil divination was also divided into three discrete steps: the announcement of the charge, the manipulation of milfoil stalks to get a single answer expressed as the relation between two Zhouyi hexagrams, and a prognostication based on a single Changes Line Text. This tripartite arrangement may mimic the three-part inscriptions on late Shang oracle bones, which present, at least in their fullest form, the announcement of a charge to the turtle giving the topic of the divination, the king's prognostication, and a follow-up verification reporting what actually happened.
- 211 1 "...or some combination there of"—Gu Yanwu (1613-82) was the first to suggest that there are rhymes in the prognosticatory formulae of the Changes. Gu also noted that these prognosticatory formulae were often inserted in the text where it would rhyme. See Richard Kunst (1985), p. 54.
- 211 2 "...aural and visual puns"—In modern times people tend to forget the main principle of word magic: that words that are similar in sound or sight signify phenomena which are also related.
- 212 2 "... (Hexagram 51)"—The ellipses in the Yi passages are my own.
- 212 2 "...predynastic Shang people"—Curiously, Kidder Smith (1993), p. 3, takes this very Line Text as an example of the Changes' lack of historical narrative.<
- 212 2 "...bad for the gander"—GSB, III, 160. This line, obviously, suggests a Zhou rather than Shang date for the Changes. Kidder Smith (1993) notes that "the Yi discourages readers from viewing it as history in the manner of the Shu or the Chunqiu" since individual lines contain "only scraps of story-line and never an identifiable speaking voice" or audience.
- 212 3 "...predicts future infertility"—For the terms "bloody basket" and "no fruits," see Donald Harper (1987), p. 570, and TXJ 19/4.
- 213 1 "...the western horizon"—Leopold de Saussure (1911), p. 378, suggested that the imagery in Hexagram 1 might have to do with the Dragon Constellation, but he failed to develop the idea. Wen Yiduo (1941) was one of the first to fully interpret the dragon imagery in Hexagram 1 as relating to the Dragon constellation, rather than to moral ascendance, though he perceived each line as a separate omen. Cf. Edward Shaughnessy (1983).
- 213 2 "...attends the welcome pregnancy"—I give my own reading of the Hexagram Statements and Line Texts, but the inspiration for this reinterpretation of Hexagram 444 came from Margaret Pearson (Skidmore College), who gave a text reading on this hexagram at the Needham Research Institute, Cambridge University (1 May 1998), where she presented the idea that the hexagram concerns a queen. Pearson intends to write up her own analysis of the hexagram in a forthcoming article, which may well differ from mine. For now, my reading rests on the following: that *bao* means either "seeds ready to burst (in Ode 245/5) or "melons," which like "gourds" are associated with the womb, as attested in Norman Girardot (1983), pp. 169-256; that fish symbolize fertility, as in Wen Yiduo (1941), I, 27-137; that the binding was usual for pregnant women in ancient times; and that *jiao* (horn) can refer either to any protuberance of the flesh (hence, the extension of *jiaoluo* to refer to animals giving birth, given in Morohashi 35003) or to toasting with wine in a ceremonial fashion.

- 214 2 "...by later commentators"—Three good translations, each based on a different hermeneutic tradition, are available to readers today. The Shaughnessy 19996 translation is based on the Mawangdui manuscript; the Lynn 1994 translation, on Wang Bi's version; and the Wilhelm translation on Sung commentaries. Wilhelm did not have the newest archaeological evidence; he also followed the interpretations espoused by the scholars of late imperial China, rather than the Han expositions of the Classic. A comparison of the translations of Richard Wilhelm (for this passage, pp. 63-67) and Edward Shaughnessy (1996) (for this, pp. 66-67) is quite illuminating.
- 215 2 "...in wider, moralizing context"—The gradual disappearance of two rival traditions for milfoil divination, the *Lianshan* and *Guizang*, may correspond to the increasing use of the Changes in moralizing contexts. Extant fragments suggest that the Lianshan and Guizang traditions made more frequent reference to historical exemplars than the Changes.
- 215 2 "...the resolution of doubts"—CQYD 37/Huan 11/fu i (Legge, 55), for divination as that which "resolves doubts."
- 216 1 "...Shang or in Zhou"—SJ 3:100 ascribes the invention of divination of milfoil to Wu Xian, a legendary minister of the late Shang. (In other legends, Wu Xian is said to be official under the Yellow Emperor or Yao.) In 1899, the noted antiquarian and paleographer Wang Yirong (1845-1900) recognized that the carved and fired "dragon bones," a traditional medical panacea, must be a vestige of one of China's earliest religious institutions, turtle divination. It was this discovery that led to the next find, a cache of well over 100,000 inscribed oracle bones in the vicinity of Anyang (present-day Henan). Work on the oracle bone inscriptions, in turn, gave hope that the earliest meaning of the Changes might be recovered, for as recently as twenty years ago, most scholars assumed that all pre-Zhou sage-rulers relied for divination exclusively on fired oracle bones (turtle plastrons and cow scapulae), like those discovered at the turn of the century in Anyang, the site of the last Shang-Yin capital. A mere thirty years after 1899, therefore, pathbreaking studies by the great scholar Gu Jiegang (1895-1980) discussed the historical background to several Hexagram Statements and Line texts. Li Jingchi and Guo Moruo quickly followed with other scholarly studies that questioned the myth of the Changes' sagely authorship and situated the Changes text within the context of early Chinese society. However, some recent scholars have seemingly regressed, inappropriately assigning Fu Xi's "reign" to the Neolithic era.
- 216 1 "...on manipulating milfoil"—Zhang and Liu (1981). Edward Shaughnessy (1994), pp. 59-60, shows that milfoil divination may have been performed in Shang as early as King Wuding, fourth of the Anyang kings, though usually in conjunction with turtle divination. Inscribed on the oracle bones themselves are references to "cracks and bamboo-stalks sayings" and to milfoil. See Yan Yiping (1980), pp. 158-85. At present, the Zhou rulers' use of turtle divination is attested for the predynastic period and as late after the Zhou conquest as the reign of the second king of Zhou, King Cheng.
- 216 1 "...with the milfoil stalks"—Ode 5, which is cited in LJ 30. Cf. the "Hongfan" (4th c. BC?), which talks of consulting with turtle and milfoil.
- 216 1 "...favoring turtle over milfoil"—CQYD 93/Xi 4/fu, though Kidder Smith (1989), p. 453, and Takezoe Shin'ichirô (1912), V, 20-21, downplay the differences between the two methods. David Keightley (1991), Appendix, has argued that milfoil divination was quite common, though originally subordinate to pyromancy, being possibly used merely to determine which in a series of cracks should provide the basis for prognostication. Cf. Zhao Fulin (1997). That might explain why the two continued to be used for so long in tandem. From the tomb of one Zuoyin Tuo comes evidence of divination using first a turtleshell and second milfoil to produce a pair of hexagrams. See Baoshan, p. 34, strips 216-17; also Li Ling (1993).

- 216 2 "...function in testing"—For the special properties of the yarrow stalk, considered a special plant born of the confluence of numinous qi from Heavenn and Earth, see CIS 1A, 85. SW 1B/11a defines it as "growing ten years produces a hundred stalks" (cf. the Latin name, milfoil). For the special association between yarrow and old age, see SW Duanzhu 1A/19a; CIS, IA, 85.
- 217 1 "...by supreme utility"—Coin tossing was unknown before Zhu Xi's (1130-1200) time; worse, the process is too quick to encourage a reflective state oof mind. So, even though the early Chinese celebrated coinage as one of the sage-kings' divine inventions, facilitating the circulation of goods and information, divination by yarrow is preferable.
- 217 2 "...to King Wen of Zhou"—See Zhang Zhenglang (1980); Li Ling (1997). Twenty years earlier, Li Xueqin (1956) had guessed that certain marks on the Wesstern Zhou oracle bones might be connected with the number system of the Changes. The cache of inscribed oracle bones located in 1976 came from the remains of a temple or palace in the Zhou ancestral homeland (modern Shaanxi province). However, Li Ling (1997), esp. p. 26, suggests that the number sets are more closely related to other early divination manuals, such as the *Lianshan* and *Guizang* (now known only from fragments), than to the Changes. Fragments of the Lianshan and Guizang manuals can be found in MGH, I, 8-15, 16-28 respectively; and YKJ 15/1a-6a. Even if these number sets are related to the Changes, we do not know the method by which the milfoil stalks were originally manipulated so as to produce the possible numbers. Perhaps all that can be said is this: numbers from 1 to 10 were obtained, and then (perhaps on the basis of whether they were even or odd) matched with broken and unbroken lines in the hexagram, so that a six-line graph was formed. In that case, a subsequent procedure would then have been used to determine which one of the Line Texts should be used. Only a few sites so far include divination slips with the number 9 on them (e.g., Fufeng county, Shaanxi, dated to the Warring States; also, at Tianxingguan, Jiangling, Hubei, also Warring States). To date no sites have yielded sets that include the numbers 2-4. Donald Harper suggests (private communication) that the numbers 2, 3, and 4 will never be found "for the simple reason that each of those numbers was written as a stack of single bars" so that (a) it would ultimately be indistinguishable from the number 1; and (b) it would mess up the neat set of six horizontal places in a hexagram. For further information, see Zhang Zhenglang (1980), esp. p. 94. Zhang's article in no way responds to the theory advanced by Naito Kōnan and Kaizuka Shigeki, which says that the number 9 referred to the second-to-last day of the ten-day Shang cycle (with the last day often reserved for sacrifice), while the number 6 referred to second-to-last day of the seven-day cycle used by Zhou. Failure to present offerings to powerful ancestors in sufficient quantity on a regular schedule is still taken as one of the prime causes of infertility and loss. See Charles Stafford (1995), chap. 2, esp. p. 44; also, "Blood, Bones, and Spirit," a film by Gary Seaman.
- 217 3 "...reference to the Trigrams?"—And why also the remarkable persistence of both sorts of number sets into the Western Han period, long after the Changes camme into general use? Oracle bone divinations were often clustered in groups of six, since six ten-day "weeks" constituted one complete ritual cycle of sixty days, the period over which the prediction ruled. Assuming that the sets of six numbers relate to the six weeks of a ritual/divination cycle, what function do mantic number sets of three (e.g., 5-5-5, 10-6-5, or 6-6-10) have? Are they a corruption or an abbreviation of the standard mantic formula?
- 217 3 "...in Heaven-and-Earth"—Zhu Bokun (1995) and Liao Mingchun (1991) both represent good explanations of these complex schemes.

- 218 2 "...as the fourth century BC"—Edward Shaughnessy (1996), pp. 2-3, tends to assign a date early in Western Zhou for the core Changes. Richard Wilhelm, who translated the Changes, firmly believed it to be "as much as 3,000 years old." By contrast, Richard Kunst (1985), posits a long, slow consolidation of the text, as does Anne Cheng (1997), p. 256. Cf. William McGuire (1982), p. 82. Certain expressions used in the core Changes text certainly postdate the Shang dynasty, among them "Son of Heaven" (Tianzi §—§l).
- 219 1 "...of state-sanctioned versions"—Gu Jiegang(1933), p. 10, argues also that some of the Line Texts refer to legends about Cao Mo (fl. 681 BC) and Guan Zhong (d. 645 BC). Recent finds have confirmed Gu's belief that the Changes traditions make frequent reference to historical events. The Wangjiatai ms. (mid-third century BC?), whose hexagram titles mostly correspond with those found in the received Changes, includes references to famous divinations in early history (e.g., "The 'Gathering Men' [hexagram] ... is the hexagram obtained by Huangdi when he battled Yandi.") that appear to be fragments of the lost Guizang, one of the three pre-Han recensions of the Changes' hexagrams.
- 220 1 "...was sought in divination"—For a discussion of fu, see Arthur Waley (1933).
- 220 2 "...diviner or compiler"—Some scholars add that the transition to the system of milfoil manipulation used in the Changes (as explained in the standarrd Wilhelm translation) most likely occurred relatively late in divination history, for it yields only four possible answers (6-9), while the oldest milfoil divination methods in theory yield up to ten possible answers (1-10), with numbers 1, 5, 6, 7, 8 predominating.
- 220 2 "...early Western Han"—Most of the Ten Wings, including the famous "Xici," probably date to the Warring States period, as Gerald Swanson (1974) hass shown. But LH 12:36:258-59; 28:81:55 makes reference to the finding (forging?) of a "lost Yi" in one pian in Western Han. Gu Jiegang (1933), esp. p. 9, shows that the "Xici" was compiled so long after the Line texts that the former doesn't recognize the origin of the stories and puns alluded to in the latter. To cite one example of linguistic change, the final particle *ye* does not appear in the core Changes, only in the Ten Wings.
- 220 3 "...than eighty-four passages"—In the Changes core text, the term *yi* appears only twice, both times as the name of a place.
- 221 1 "...and Trigrams together"—The "Yi zhi yi" essay found at Mawangdui, for example, opens with lines: "The Master said, 'The propriety of the Changes liees only in yin and yang.'" The final quarter or more of this text corresponds to the received text of the "Xici" (sections B6-B11).
- 221 1 "...the first century BC"—Modern scholars have tended to assume that the Ten Wings were all more or less in received form the mid-second century BC. TThe recent excavation at Mawangdui of six separate commentaries on the Changes, including a variant text of the "Xici," suggests that the final editing of the received version may be earlier than previously thought. From Mawangdui, in addition to the "Xici," there have come the "Ersanzi wen" (Two or Three Disciples' Questions), "Yi zhi yi" (Propriety of the Changes), "Yao" (Essentials), "Muhe," and "Zhaoli" commentaries. See Edward Shaughnessy (1994), pp. 49ff.; Shaughnessy (1997), pp. 167-281; Donald Harper (1997). Note that in AD 279, an early ms. of the Changes was discovered in the tomb of King Xiang of Wei (d. 296 BC). According to reports in the Jinshu, this text was identical to the then-known text of the Changes (though it is not known how close recensions were if they were considered identical). Thus one cannot say with absolute assurance whether the then-known text included the Ten Wings commentaries or not. See Jin 51:1432.

- 221 2 "...several levels simultaneously"—On the other hand, Zhu Xi believed that the underlying significance of the graphic forms had been lost over time. Cf. Lai Zhhide (1525-1604), who wrote that "the Changes had perished after Confucius died," "because [an explanation of] its images had been lost in transmission."
- 221 2 "...in relative obscurity"—The dragon as symbol for the noble man appears in the Tuan, Xiang, Wenyan, and Xici commentaries. Also, the "Ersanzi wen" essay found at Mawangdui opens in the first section with a lengthy explication of the peculiar virtue of dragons, which makes them part of nature, yet somehow also distinct from it.
- 221 2 "...no absolute ruler"—Xiong Shili (1976), pp. 419-22; Edward Shaughnessy (1997), p. 213.
- 221 2 "...pretext for their observations"—See Kidder Smith (1989), which, however, assumes that all these two dozen references refer to milfoil divination by the Changes (p. 421). Li Ling (1997), p. 26, perhaps building upon Gu Yanwu's famous essay in juan 1 of the Rizhilu, suggests more plausibly that many of these Zuo references recount milfoil divination using two other traditions, the Lianshan and Guizang. For more on the Zuo entries on milfoil divination, see Li Jingchi (1930); Qu Wanli (1942); and Hellmut Wilhelm (1959). Edward Shaughnessy (1983), pp. 31ff., notes three changes ca. 604 BC: (1) In the Zuo, nine out of eleven passages after 604 BC refer to it by the title of Zhouyi, in contrast to only one passage that does so before then; (2) the earlier passages use bagua (Eight Trigrams) symbolism to interpret the Changes, while only two out of seven predictions after 604 BC refer to bagua symbolism; and (3) prior to 604 BC, divination by the Changes seems to have been the exclusive prerogative of the ruler, while gradually the idea took hold that "it was one's morality, and not one's political position, that qualified an individual to perform divination" (ibid., p. 32). However many questions these observations raise about the dating of speeches in the Zuo, the data appear too limited to use as basis for drawing sweeping conclusions, for (a) they may arise accidentally from the use of different source texts, and (b) they fit poorly with current notions of evolving interpretive practices, which expect more appeals to Trigram symbolism in later texts.
- 225 2 "...[Annals, 12th year of Duke Xuan]"—Translation modified from Burton Watson (1989), p. 88.
- 227 2 "...the divine milfoil stalks"—Cf. the Zuo statement in CQYD 96/Xi 5/9 Zuo, to the effect that the gods only attended to sacrifices offered by the virtuous, irrespective of the officiants' relation to them; or the statement in CQYD 266/Xiang 9/1 Zuo that says, a "country in disorder has no [helpful] signs, so that the [will of Heaven] cannot be known."
- 227 2 "...and the divine spirits]?"—SJ 128:3224.
- 227 3 "...to the current situation"—The first quote is attributed to Confucius in ZYYD 48/Xi A/7 (Wilhelm 349 [renum.]); the second, to Cheng Yi, commentary on Hexagram 36, line 5, in Yizhuan, 160.9. Cheng Yi, in Yizhuan (intro) said, "And to find ideas based on these texts depends more on the person himself."
- 227 3 "...Contention is born of man"—CQYD 110/Xi 15/14 Zuo, citing Ode 193/7.
- 227 4 "...of the August Ancestor"—Yili 15/1b, which says "August Ancestor X."

- 227 4 "...of a specific endeavor"—According to Shaughnessy (1983), pp. 72, 75-78, "divination was still predictive, but its prediction could not alter the course of events made inevitable by one's own moral disposition." Also, divination was "prescriptive and optative" rather than descriptive (meaning, a divination about weather was not a weather report but rather an attempt to influence future weather). In the Zuo and GY accounts of milfoil divination (and also on one bronze), that prayer is indicated by the verb *shang*, meaning "to wish that," and more literally, to elevate [the prayer to the gods].
- 228 1 "...dangerous acts"—ZYYD 48/Xi B/7 says: "If you are not the right man, the Way will not proceed to the empty positions [meaning the six graphic lines of the Hexagram]." The second citation comes from the Zuo, where it is a continuation of Zifu Huibo's speech cited just above.
- 228 1 "...surely be inauspicious"—Citing for Hexagram 4 the variant *ji* for *gao*, as attested in both the Mawangdui ms. of the Zhouyi and the Han Stone Classics (erected AD 183) version of the Changes, as reported in Xu Qinting (n.d.).
- 228 1 "...restoring to divination"—Citing Zheng Xuan, after Shaughnessy (1983), p. 72, n. 35.
- 228 1 "...through the result"—See Nylan (1993), pp. 59-60, citing Yang Xiong.
- 228 1 "...of his prognostications"—"Yao" ms. from Mawangdui (col. 16-18; sect. 7), explicated in Donald Harper (1997), p. 4.
- 228 1 "...oneself and the universe"—XZYD 99/27/87. Cf. Guan Lu, who in a conversation with He Yan in AD 249 reportedly insisted, "The fact is, those who are thoroughly versed in the Changes do not [need to] discuss the Changes." See SGZ 29:821, citing "Lu Bie zhuan"; Kenneth DeWoskin (1983), p. 112.
- 228 2 "...by the winds or physiognomy)"—Many historians of early China seem to attribute any deep concern with what lies outside human society to the "Daoist school," but this is a misreading of Ru belief perpetrated by the Jesuits, by Voltaire, and also by some later Chinese thinkers. Certainly some classicists (e.g., Gu Yanwu) thought that Confucius had entirely ignored the numerological and divinatory aspects of the Changes so as to focus on its implications for everyday speech and conduct. See Gu's "Kongzi lun Yi," in RZL 1/24b.
- 229 1 "...or Zhou Changes"—When this title was not used in Han and pre-Han texts, the Classic was usually called simply the Yi. HS 30:1704 calls the text the Yi or the Yijing (Classic of Changes). Analects 5/13 attests to Confucius's admiration of the early Zhou leaders.
- 229 1 "...and equal access"—See TXJ2, esp. pp. 29-32; and ch.ap 2.
- 229 1 "...Way of the Changes"—Zheng 2 1/64b.
- 229 1 "...grasses, and trees"—Cheng Yi, cited in Er, juan 7, p. 394 ("Wai shu").
- 229 1 "...its proper place"—TXJ2, p. 429 (before the ellipsis), p. 430 (after).
- 230 1 "...in their decisions?"—See the Shuowen, the first dictionary in China to analyze the structure and meaning of graphs (compiled ca. AD 100), GSR 8500f, 850n; also Bent Nielsen (1995), which remarks that *yi* in the oracle bones and in bronzes means "to give" or "to bestow" (the character now pronounced *xi* or *ci*, with the metal or cowry shell to the side of *yi* as determinative). Note that the graph *yi* used in the title has not been found in the oracle bones.

- 230 2 "...and (3) no change"—The "Xici" then defines "change" as *shengsheng*, which means something like "unceasing generation."
- 231 1 "...of the principal] constans"—Zhouyi qianzuodu, cited in Zhang 1/1a. My translation follows Hellmut Wilhelm (1960), with minor modifications.
- 231 2 "...to the Changes"—Hellmut Wilhelm assumes that the "Xici" predates the Analects. It is almost certainly the other way around. The best introduction to the Great Commentary is Willard Peterson (1982), on which this summary is based.
- 231 2 "...the sacred divining"—Zhu Xi's understanding of the Changes therefore focuses on the Fu Xi myth, which says the form of the graphic symbols was derived from patterns in nature. Zhu Xi believed that the entire Changes' text evolved from successive attempts to clarify the implications of this one mythic discovery. See Kidder Smith (1990), ch. 6. Similarly, Pi Xirui (1954), pp. 1-4, argues that human society is meant to be differentiated and ordered (contra Zhuangzi), and that Fu Xi's discovery of the Trigrams (on the symbolic level) and his rulership over human society (on the political) demonstrates this.
- 232 1 "...and equal partner"—The Changes has in it the Way of Heaven; it has in it the Way of Humans; it has in it the Way of Earth.... Its broadness and greatness match Heaven and Earth. ZYYD 49/Xi B/8 before the ellipsis; ZYYD 41/Xi A/5 after it.
- 232 1 "...vestige of things.)"—In the words of the Great Commentary, "the Changes is on a level with Heaven and Earth, and so it is able to encompass the way of Heaven and Earth." The word here is *zhun* (on a level [with Heaven-and-Earth]). See ZYYD 40/Xi A/3. Another similar claim made in the Changes' Ten Wings is that the Changes text can *pei*, meaning "to match" or "to be co-adjutor with" phenomenal change in Heaven-and-Earth. See ZYYD 41/Xi A/5.
- 233 1 "...In godlike fashion"—For it is through the Changes, as direct analogue to the triadic realms of Heaven-Earth-Man, that readers can ultimately come to know and predict the course of all relations and processes. See Willard Peterson (1982), p. 98, for this. Since it is an agent of change, if the Changes text were somehow to be destroyed, the very nature of phenomenal change would itself be altered. This last argument is emphasized by Su Shi, discussed in Kidder Smith (1990), chap. 3.
- 233 1 "...and...his mind"—Gao Zhongxian (also known as Gao Banlong, 1561-1626), cited in Diao Bao (1602-99), introduction.
- 233 2 "...for a declining state"—See Jin 94:2457.
- 234 2 "...top of lines 3-5."— Note the overlap of the two nuclear Trigrams (hugua), with lines 3 and 4 appearing in both.

- 235 1 "...to future circumstances"—Julian Shchutskii (1960), p. 66, agrees with many Chinese thinkers who have argued that "the vague phrases at the end of Hexagrams 1 and 2 can be explained" in terms of moving lines. But in the Zuozhuan accounts, a first divination determines the Hexagram to be read. If there is any need or desire to further refine the divination, a second divination is conducted, so as to determine which specific Line Text in the hexagram is to be read. That explains why in all the Zuo accounts, the two hexagrams differ by only one graphic line. Therefore, when the Zuozhuan accounts each mention two different hexagrams, it may be simply a shorthand method used to indicate which of the six Line Texts is to be read in any single divination. See Gu Jiegang (1931), 65ff.; and Gao Huaimin (1983), 162-7, all of whom agree that huti and biangua are the work of Han scholastics, probably Jing Fang. David Schaberg (private communication, Aug. 1999), disagrees, arguing that if the Zuo refers to two hexagrams merely to indicate the relevant line of the first hexagram to be read, the interpreters of the results would not cite lines from both hexagrams, as they sometimes do.
- 235 2 "...of Hexagrams 1 and 2"—Correspondence (which implies resonance) is important not only in the Wenyan section, but also in Xun Shuang's "rising and falling" method. See Howard Goodman (1985), p. 185. Cf. similar theories in Renaissance Europe, as outlined in Gary Tomlinson (1993). Both the calendar and music "properly structured to reflect celestial numbers could seize heavenly benefits" (p. 63).
- 236 2 "...of the solar year"—For Jing Fang's theories, see Gao Huaimin (1983); also, Fung Yu-lan (1937), II, 110, which cites the Buddhist monk Yixing's (673-727) description of Meng Xi (ca. 90-40 BC) and Jing Fang, who supposedly were the first to systematically relate the Changes lines to evolving qi.
- 236 2 "...of the calendar year"—To cite one example of Five Phases correlations, the "Shuogua" appendix associates Hexagram 1 ("pure yang") not only with Heaven, with the emperor, with gold, and with jade, but also with an old horse, apparently because "the sages selected some images from far away and some from nearby. Those nearby were selected from among [ordinary] things and those from far away were patterned after Heaven and Earth."
- 236 2 "...an event or relation"—See Larry Schulz (1982), pp. 23-25. Cf. Michael Loewe (1988) on the Shuihudi almanacs.
- 237 1 "...of the Ten wings"—For example, Hexagram 41, Decrease, is composed of the Dui trigram below and the Gen above. Yet Zheng Xuan explains the imagery of line 4 with reference to the Li and Sun Trigrams. See Zheng 1/42b-43a.
- 237 1 "...probabilities, and clustering"—The entire issue of *Extrême-Orient, Extrême-Occident* 16 is devoted to numbers. As M.M. Bakhtin (1986), p. 159, once observed, "Converting an image to a symbol gives it semantic depth and semantic perspective."
- 237 1 "...nor too little"—Note that the early classicists thought it pointless to inquire into the whys of creation or the full range of its particulars, as these were not fully comprehensible to the human mind. The precision of formulae (and the consequent avoidance of the kinds of misunderstanding that arise when texts say too much or too little) is what defines a Classic in the minds of many classical masters. See, e.g. TXJ2, p. 55-57, citing the classical master Yang Xiong.

- 237 2 "...level of understanding"—Kidder Smith (1993), p. 11, applauds, therefore, the actuality that "the line configuration [of the Hexagram graph] and the Chinese language texts [e.g., the Line Texts and the Ten Wings] do not always suggest the same meaning... and there is no hierarchy among the ... structural relationships," thinking that "they offer four independent measures to apply to any line," which "encourage[s] rational inquiry." Piaget (1948) argued persuasively that symbols make possible the developing human's full "grasp of consciousness," as the possession of symbols opens up powerful forms of judgment, logic, and abstract thinking. Cognitive experts would add that "it is only when lower level functions of decoding have been automated (by dint of much repetition) that the working memory space necessary for processing meaning can become available." See John Kirby (1988).
- 237 2 "...a narrow container"—Here the Chinese way of thinking seems to find an echo in the work of Boris Pasternak, writing "Aerial Paths" in the 1920s. According to Roman Jakobsen (1985), p. 17, Pasternak rejected "the sterile schema of causal ties into which some would like to force all the phenomena of life... In the place of a causal chain of determined states, the poet [Nylan: or in China, the seer] advances the rule of coincidence of circumstances and makes the historical and psychological principles in their function."
- 237 2 "...through [mere] things!"—Before the ellipsis, ZYYD 40/Xi A/4; after it, Wang Bi's Essay on the Great Extension. The Chinese original is to be found in Han Kangbo's commentary in Zhouyi Han Wang zhu 7/6b; cf. Fung Yu-lan (1937), II, 182. Note, however, that the early Chinese thought it salutary for sages to fashion representations of the fearful aspects of life (wild beasts, vengeful spirits, etc.), so that ordinary men might confront them and thereafter "enjoy ... a respite" from fear. See CQYD 182/Xuan 3/5 Zuo.
- 238 1 "...one tangible thing)"—The distinction between *xing er shang* ("what is above form" and so intangible and ineffable) and *xing er xia* ("what is below form" and so tangible), which was to become so important to theoretical arguments in late imperial China, is, I suspect, a rather simple distinction in the "Xici." The "Xici" says that the virtue (basic characteristic) of milfoil divination is itself "round" (i.e., infinite, open to mystery), while the graphic forms of the Hexagrams are "square" (bounded and so open to logic). See ZYYD 43/Xi A/10.
- 238 2 "...the Changes' text"—For that reason, the Changes master Bi Zhi (ca. 50 BC-AD 10) refused to create a new explanatory system, as Meng Xi, Jing Faang, and Jiao Gan had done before him. Bi Zhi focused on only three of the Ten Wings, the Tuan, the Xiang, and the Xici, in his interpretations. See Gao Huaimin (1983), p. 169. However, according to Ho Peng-yoke (1966), p. 133, Bi Zhi is also the reputed author of the *Zhou Yi fenye* (Regional Correlations of the Changes), a book which must have correlated geographical locations, fates, and the Changes. (Note that Bi Zhi is sometimes erroneously called Fei Zhi.)
- 238 2 "...images-and-numbers "method"—The Images-and-Numbers doctrine concerns the graphic images in the hexagrams and the numbers produced by the manipulation of milfoil stalks. Three interpretive traditions were imperially sponsored in Han times: those taught by Meng Xi, by Liangqiu He, and by Shi Chou. The Han Stone Classics (completed AD 183) version uses the Liangqiu tradition as base.
- 238 2 "...and the directive"—Wang Bi 1/4b.
- 238 2 "...nothing particularly special"—For the first quotation, see Wang Bi 10/2a-2b; for the second, Wang Bi's commentary to sect. 42 of the Laozi. Wang also wrote that "Heaven and Earth take no purposive action with respect to the myriad things, and each of the myriad things adapts to its own functioning." See Hsiao Kung-chuan (1979), pp. 607-44.

- 238 3 "...by the mantic technicians"—Wang's commentary is preoccupied with the correct place of family members and of the ruler, with the distinction between martial vs. civil, and so on, in the context of the Hexagram and Line system of the Changes. Obviously, Wang Bi responded to contemporary trends multiplying images for interpretation by summarizing the Laozi cosmology with one well-chosen hexagram: Return (said to emerge from the node between yin and yang). See Alan Chan (1991), pp. 77-79, for the importance of Return as a theme. Note also Wang's insistence, in 1/12b, that the true worthy "is able to revert and follow inherent pattern, thus changing the previous fate (ming)." Ouyang Xiu would later argue that the Tuan and Xiang commentaries offer images about "the superior and petty person, advance and retreat, movement and tranquillity, and firm and soft, patterns of order and chaos, rise and fall, success and failure, good and ill fortune." See OYX-C, p. 129 ("Yi huo wen").
- 240 1 "...things thoroughly appropriate"—Wang Bi 1/3a.
- 240 1 "...[about Heaven-Earth-Human]"—Wang Bi 10/9b-10a, trans. after Hellmut Wilhelm (1960), p. 88.
- 240 2 "...to hold the meaning"—Wang Bi 10/9a. Wang Bi, of course, here alludes to a famous passage in the Zhuangzi (ZZYD 1613/64-65). This translation follows, but also modifies Fung, II, 184; cf. Hellmut Wilhelm (1960), 87-88; Alan Chan (1991), p. 33: "to name Dao is to greatly name its meaning; to designate it means that one does not completely understand its depth." See Wang Bi2, p. 198 (trans. after Chan, p. 64).
- 240 3 "...major interpretive approaches"—The Siku quanshu distinguishes six types of Changes study: (1) the pre-Han mantic practice of the court diviners, as reported in the Zuo and Guoyu; (2) the Han classicists' concern with Images-and-Numbers (xiangshu), as epitomized by Jing Fang and Jiao Gan; (3) their successors in Song, Chen Tuan and Shao Yung, who traced "coming into being and transformation"; (4) Wang Bi, who rejects xiangshu theory; (5) his Song successors, including Hu Yuan, Cheng Yi, and Zhu Xi, who elucidated the idea of Principle (li); and (6) Li Guang (1078-1159) and Yang Wanli (1127-1206), who were historicists. These six the Siku divides into two main approaches: the Images-and-Numbers approach (nos. 1-3) and the Ethical Principle approach (nos. 4-6), which basically reflect the hexagram configurations and language texts of the Yi respectively. Note that only two works from the third century AD on the Changes are extant in full: essays by Ruan Ji and by Wang Bi. For Wang Bi, see T'ang Yung-t'ung (1947); Alan Chan (1991), esp. pp. 29-34; Howard Goodman (1985), esp. pp. 268-70; and Anne Cheng (1997), pp. 310-20.
- 241 1 "...Images-and-Numbers methods"—Zhu Xi thought that the ethical aspects of divination would be apparent to one who is able to "empty the mind in order to seeek what is intended by the words' meanings.... [so as then] to apply it to situations." See Zhu Xi, cited in Dai Junren, (1961), p. 101. The famous exegete Lai Zhide (sixteenth century) basically resurrected the main principles of Han exegesis, on the other hand. Then Gu Yanwu (1613-82), following Wang Bi, insisted that Confucius had emphasized the application of the Changes to everyday speech and conduct and ignored the numerological and divinatory implications. Gu castigated the interpretations of Chen Tuan (d. 989) and Shao Yung (1011-77) as Daoist. They should be rejected, he argued, along with the diviners' interpretations, which Gu claimed had been promoted by the Song masters Cheng Yi (1033-1107) and Zhu Xi.
- 241 1 "...the absolute ultimate"—For the first citation, SGZ 10:319, citing Jinyangqiu; paralleled by SSXY (Mather, 96); for the second, ZYYD 41/Xi A/5.
- 241 2 "...his list of Classics"—XZYD 14/5/44; 97-98/27/39,47.

- 241 2 "...devotee of the Changes"—Notably, the *Shiji* (comp. ca. 100 BC) in its collective biography of classicists gives little information about early Changes' masters (SJ 121:3127). See Mark Csikszentmihalyi and Nylan (forthcoming).
- 241 2 "...and grand neoclassical imitations"—The two most famous early neoclassical imitations were Yang Xiong's *TXJ* and Jiao Gan's *Yilin*. For the former text, see Nylann (1993); for the latter, Ozawa Bunshirô (1970), 116-32; and Suzuki Yoshijirô (1963), pp. 431-593.
- 241 2 "...acknowledged the fact"—The sudden prominence of the Changes is attested by the number of quotations from the text in imperial documents; by the growth of apocrypha, forgeries, and divination manuals in late Western Han; and by the classicist Yang Xiong's (53 BC-AD 18) decision to write a neoclassic in imitation of the Changes.
- 242 1 "...by virtuous acts"—*Analects* 13/22 (Waley, 177): "Of the maxim, 'If you do not stabilize an act of charismatic virtue, you will get evil by it [[instead of good],' the Master said, 'Yes, the [diviners] do not simply read the omens'."
- 242 1 "...and gods '[to consult]'"—LJ 19/2.
- 242 1 "...nature of all things?"—XZYD 63/17/29-64/17/46. See CQYD 111/Xi 16/1 Zuo, which insists that matters of yin and yang (i.e., matters of change) have nothing to do with "auspicious and inauspicious matters"; those are "determined by men" with respect to constant principles. The appearance of uncanny or weird manifestations is attributed to the acts of men in CQYD 61/Zhuang 14/fu 1. The fatuity of misinterpreting a random event as a constant norm is epitomized in the *Hanfeizi*, where a farmer, seeing a rabbit stun and kill itself by bumping into a tree trunk, thereafter waits by the same tree trunk, expecting to get more rabbits for dinner.
- 242 2 "...attracted innovative thinkers"—Mantic traditions, being esoteric, were probably handed down orally. Kidder Smith (1993), p. 5, notes in a parallel observation that the absence of "nearly every trace of human actors" in the text is to some degree what empowers the reader to "roam freely throughout the natural world."
- 242 2 "...an unwitting public"—See HS 88:3599-3602, for the cases of Meng Xi and Jing Fang.
- 242 2 "...of the Ten Wings"—This summarizes the basic argument of ZYYD 49/Xi A/9. Cf. ZYYD 44/Xi B/1, which portrays the structure of the Changes in four basic components: the graphic images, the Line Texts, the changes, and the movements. Compare Cheng Yi (1033-1107), *Yizhuan*, intro., which says, "In the Changes, there are four ways to perfect wisdom: (1) to approach the understanding of the text through words; (2) to approach the understanding of transformation through action; (3) to approach the understanding of images through the construction of tools; and (4) to approach the understanding of the oracle through divination." Zhang Xuecheng (1737-1801) in his *WSTY*, essays 1-3, admits the existence of only two layers of understanding: the historical, which saw the Changes as a record of ancient customs, and the mantic, which he identifies as a distortion of the original teachings. The *Mawangdui* ms. "Yao" shows Confucius honoring the wording but not necessarily the act of divining, as Harper (1997) points out.
- 243 1 "...courses of action"—HS 72:3056-57. And over half were said to have followed his advice! Or possibly, "If only they follow my words, they are already half-way there!"
- 243 2 "...connection with divination"—From the time of the oracle bones in 1300 BC, oracular pronouncements about events in Heaven-and-Earth were verified against their outcomes.

- 243 2 "...thing fixing fate"—Mawangdui "Xici" ms., section 21, corresponding to Xici A11. See Edward Shaughnessy (1994), p. 64.
- 244 1 "...death and decay"—Literally, yin and yang are said to "rub against one another," in ZYYD 39/Xi A/1(2). Change occurs in the world in the wake of yin and yang assuming their (shifting) places in their cycle; in the parallel world of the Changes, "when Qian and Kun take their [rightful] positions, the changes are surely established in their midst!" See ZYYD 44/Xi A/12. Ouyang Xiu (1007-72), imagining a more anthropomorphic Heaven, said, "It is not that Heaven does not prefer the good; Heaven probably cannot always prevail on human beings, mixed as they are [in substance].... Knowing this principle, one understands, rather than feels surprise, at the fortune and misfortune, the success or failure, that the sages and good people in history may or may not encounter" (trans. modified from James Liu [1967], p. 94).
- 244 1 "...of the unfolding situation"—ZYYD 3/1/yan. This is one way to interpret the characterization translated earlier.
- 244 1 "...despite the danger"—ZYYD 3/1/yan (Wilhelm, 381). The emphasis on timely behavior that "responds to change" appears in Xunzi, chap.8, as well. </FONT
- 244 2 "...signs of change"—ZYYD 47/Xi B/5. That he recognizes what has just begun to happen is itself the clearest sign of his godlike powers.</TD
- 244 2 "...all subsequent development"—ZYYD 43/Xi A/10; 47/Xi B/5, 8: "Does not he who knows the spring of things possess spirit-like wisdom?... Those springs are the slightest beginnings of movement and the earliest indications of good fortune or ill. The noble man, seeing them, acts accordingly without letting so much as a single day go by"; cf. Lao chap. 64, both of which discuss the embryonic stage (*ji*) imperceptible to ordinary people. See Bodde's discussion of *ji* in Science, II, 78-80. SW 4b:84 defines the graph as what is minute or fetal. In many contexts, however, *ji* refers to the spring or trigger mechanism of action.
- 244 3 "...free of mistakes"—ZYYD 41-42/Xi A/7.
- 244 3 "...undermines good relations"—ZYYD 42/Xi A/7. ZYYD 44/Xi A/12 ends with a section in praise of silence.
- 244 4 "...has evolved gradually"—ZYYD 4/2/yan.
- 244 6 "...destroys a person"—ZYYD 46-47/Xi B/4 (with some rearrangement of the text).
- 245 1 "...and the soft"—ZYYD 47/Xi B/4.
- 245 2 "...may be blameless"—ZYYD 48/Xi B/8. ZYYD 40/Hsi A/3 explicitly defines "no blame" as the noble person's "goodness making up for errors," rather than perfection in all cases.

- 245 2 "in appropriate ways"—For example, the Changes' emphasis on the steady accumulation of good deeds corresponds with the message of Ode 288, which speaks of "daily progress and monthly advance." Bourdieu & Passeron (1990), p. 168, contrasts "the unconscious inculcation of principles" with "the organized transmission of articulated and even formalized principles ("explicit pedagogy"). Pi Xirui (1954), ch. 6, concludes that the Changes served as a kind of compendium of everyday wisdom. Charles Stafford (1995) elucidates in what sense this might be true, in his characterization of moral education in modern Taiwan: "a situation in which children already know most of what they are taught, having learnt it while it was not being taught to them (p. 1)." This leads possibly to two conclusions: first, that much of moral teaching occurs in silence, and second, that accuracy in divination often depends less upon spiritual powers than upon the diviner's simple observation of human nature. The first conclusion finds support in Rules of Behavior for Children, trans. in Isaac Headland (1914); H.Y. Lowe (1940); Edward Hall (1959), pp. 91-166; Mary Erbaugh (forthcoming); the second, in Wang Chong's LH 77:254.
- 245 2 "...[with change itself]"—ZYYD 39/Xi A/1.
- 245 3 "...full social being"—See Jon Saari (1990), chap. 1.
- 246 1 "...to develop empathy"—For the truly humane person freed from unnecessary worry, see Analects 12/4; 9/29; 14/28. For the humane person's concern for her own character and ability, see Analects 1/16, 4/14, 14/30.
- 246 1 "...attain true greatness"—The first citation is from Mencius 4B/28; the second, from 7A/17. Pang Pu (1988), which I read after writing the original draft of this chapter, reminds readers of the precedents for the "work and worry" theme in pre-Han documents. Note that this outer-directed notion of sagely practice contrasts with the more interior notion offered by many later Confucian thinkers following Zhou Dunyi, who considered "sagehood to be nothing but integrity."
- 246 1 "...incapable of grief"—See the "Wuxing pian," found at Mawangdui and at Guodian, sect. 2, 5. For the text of the Mawangdui version, see Pang Pu (1998). Regarding alternative traditions on the question of the sage's cares: Analects 15/4 is only one of many texts to see the sage-ruler Shun as one who rules without effort. For the sorts of mockery aimed at the humane worriers, see ZZYD 21/8/9. For a typical battle by a Confucian master against the very attractive models advocating wuwei, see FY 4:10. The Xici's influence was probably offset by that of the *Doctrine of the Mean* (Zhongyong), a text that speaks of the sage as "obtaining it [his goal] without thinking of it," a phrase interpreted in Kong Yingda's Correct Meaning to mean that the sage "without thought or concern for it, of his own accord obtains the good." (More likely, that phrase refers to Analects 1/10 and 2/18, where the good man, without aiming to, incidentally gets his reward.) Han Yu (768-824) therefore defined sagehood in this way: "The sage cherishes the true nature of integrity and enlightenment and is rooted in the perfect virtue of the doctrine of the mean. If anything issues from within and takes form without, it does not derive from concern (*siliu*) and is always in accordance with rules.... The mind that [must] select how to behave is not applicable there [i.e., by definition, is not a sage]."
- 246 2 "...and yet "concerned"—For the two Xici passages, see ZYYD 40/Xi A/4; ZYYD 40/Xi A/5. Cf. The "Wenyan" glosses on Hexagram 1, for example, which insist that worthy people "in low position feel no anxiety" (ZYYD 2/1/yan). For the two Xici passages, see ZYYD 40/Xi A/4; ZYYD 40/Xi A/5.
- 246 2 "...in human society"—For example, ZYYD 39/Xi A/1 writes, "Heaven is high and Earth is low; thus high and low are ..." For predestined fate, see FFu Sinian (1952); also Mori Mikisaburô (1971).

- 246 2 "...and so suitable"—ZYYD 44/Xi A/11 says unambiguously, "Therefore, as to Heaven's giving birth to divine things, the sage man imitates it. And when Heaven and earth change and transform, the sage imitates them. When Heaven hangs images, to show forth good and ill luck, the sage images them. When the river gives forth its map and the Luo puts forth its writing, the sage imitates them." This reference to the Hetu and Luoshu is a possible interpolation, on two grounds: (a) the unnecessary repeat of the verb "imitates" [takes as model]; and (b) the occurrence of the reference to the Hetu and Luoshu at the end of a series of parallel statements, the usual place for insertions.
- 246 2 "...the species' various aims"—In the phrase of Stephen Owen (1992), p. 35, the Chinese speak of "a kind of ethical curiosity that is both social and sociaable."
- 246 2 "...of unperfected humans"—See ZYYD Xi B/2. Possibly, this argument represents an answer to Xunzi's observation (in chap. 10 of his book) that the sociial division of labor brings "ease and pleasure to the one and toil and labor to the other." In the "Xici" scheme, those who labor with their hands are ideally freed from worries about the rational arrangement of their lives.
- 246 2 "...loneliness and alienation"—ZYYD 47/Xi B/4 makes that very plain. See Joseph Tobin (1989); Jon Saari (1990), for more modern times.
- 246 2 "...to him leave him"—Zhong, chap. 5 (p. 8, lines 1-2).
- 246 2 "...its proper place"—ZYYD 45/Xi B/2. For the sage's attempts to "make the people easy," see HSWZ 2/32. Cf. Cheng Yi, xu 4a: "It can be said that iits [the Changes'] sage authors reached a peak in their concern for the following generations."
- 247 1 "...in its pleasures"— For Fan Zhongyan, see Anne Cheng (1997), pp. 402ff.
- 247 1 "...[in the Way]"—Zhu4 36/29b-30a. The reference to "fear and trembling" is to Ode 195/6, which is cited in Analects 8/3.
- 247 2 "...substantially lessen its value"—Of course, Zhuangzi occasionally disputes the point that life is indisputably better than death, but he does so in order to persuade his readers to act in a fashion that will extend life, which he regards as of supreme value. There is also the societal recognition that suicide can be virtuous under certain circumstances, a point that many thinkers would agree upon.
- 247 2 "...a thorny problem"—For the portrait of Yao as one who "worries lest the many beings not achieve their ends," see SY 1/2b. Yu, another legendaryy sage who probably appears under the rubric of "later sage" (i.e., later than Huangdi, the Yellow Emperor, Yao, and Shun) was famous for his hard work (symbolized by the callouses on his hands and feet and by his refusal to rest in the comfort of home when making his rounds).
- 247 3 "...amassing charismatic virtue"—SJ 4:116-17.
- 248 1 "...or so it seemed"—For the slanderous charges aimed against the Duke of Zhou, see the Documents, Jin teng chapter. SJ 47:1911 shows that Confucius was also the victim of slander. In some late traditions, Confucius served as Minister of Justice, but most early traditions emphasize that he was a total failure (in conventional terms) throughout his long life. Ran Geng, Zilu, and Yan Hui were disciples of Confucius who died prematurely. See SJ 47:1943 for the final quotation. Cf. FSTY 7:51. King Wen and Confucius were both imprisoned also.

- 248 1 "...for such injustices"—Mori Mikisaburô (1971), esp. chaps. 1 and 2, on the unkindness and unpredictability of Heaven.
- 248 2 "...bear personal misfortune"—Cf. Documents, "Junya," par. 5 (Zhengyi 19/12a): "Consider their hardship so as to plan for their ease. Only then will the common people be made tranquil." Cf. Heiner Roetz (1993), pp. 130-31, which has Mencius contending that "compassion ... does not carry far if the direct personal experience of the suffering of others ... is lacking."
- 248 2 "...of the Changes?"—And also the "Owl" ode (Ode 155) in the Shijing.
- 248 2 "...and understand fate"—For the phrase "delights in Heaven," see ZYYD 40/Xi A/4. For the Mawangdui ms., which has a variant on the "Xici" (A11), see Shaughnessy (1994), p. 64. For the duty of the sages to help others achieve this delight in fulfilling the Way, see Mencius 4A/28, commentary by Zhu3 4/13a-b.
- 248 3 "...powers of discernment"—This is the working assumption behind the "Great Commentary." Cf. the stated position of He Yan (ca. 190-249), as recorded in SGZ 28:795, which Wang Bi sought to refute.
- 249 1 "...alienation and fragmentation"—As ZYYD 39/Xi A/1 says, "Hard and soft [yin and yang] rub against one another; the Eight Trigrams stir against one another.... The course of Qian [the yang aspect of cosmic process] brings maleness to completion; the course of Kun brings femaleness to completion." For the generation of fortune and misfortune, see ZYYD/Xi B/10. Much of the reading given here borrows from Yang Xiong's (53 BC-AD 18) understanding of the "Xici," as elaborated in the autocommentaries to the TXJ, though most modern commentators seem to be more drawn to the idea of sagehood presented in the "Xici" than to this persistent theme. Lee Yearley (1993) addresses the barriers to human flourishing that constraints of time and place represent.
- 249 2 "...the manifold changes"—ZYYD 40/Xi A/2: "This is why the place that the noble man lives and takes his ease is the order of change/the Changes. What he delights in and plays with is the phrasing of the Line texts. This is why the nobleman at rest [i.e., before he needs to take any specific action] as a rule contemplates the images and plays with the phrases. In movement, he as a rule contemplates the changes/the Changes and so plays with the oracle." Here, the Changes tallies with a portrait given of Yan Hui, Confucius's most beloved disciple, in Analects 6/11: "How able Hui is! A bowlful of rice, a gourdful of water, and a life in a mean alley... yet Hui does not lose his sense of delight." Cf. Mencius 7A/21 on the "three delights" of the noble man.
- 249 2 "...to walk in virtue"—Kong Yingda, Zhouyi Zhengyi, cited in Gao Ming (1982), p. 3; what I translate as "concern" is more literally "source of anxiety and worry." Zhang Zai (1020-77) put this another way: "in life" the noble man "follows and serves [Heaven and Earth]," and then "in death," he is "at peace."
- 249 2 "...that overcomes alienation"—For the trope that humans feel a pressing need to overcome alienation, see Eric Henry (1987). This trope Henry dates precisely to the late Warring States period; it certainly continues as a powerful rhetorical trope into Western Han, as is evident from Sima Qian's Shiji (compiled ca. 100 BC). As a presupposition, it lies behind the many early discussions on pleasure that will be the subject of my next work, and constitutes part of the discourse associated with the most sophisticated rhetorical works of the time, including the "Xici."
- 249 2 "...fragrant as an orchid"—ZYYD 4/2/yan. The quotation is from ZYYD 41/Xi A/6.
- 249 3 "...does not further"—ZYYD 40/Xi A/2.

- 250 1 "...freedom from anxiety"—That finite things, events, and persons affect one another strongly is a premise underlying the entire Ten Wings: "Those making the same sound respond to each other; those of the same qi seek each other out." Water flows to the wetlands; fire goes to the parched places. The clouds follow the dragon; the winds follow tigers. See the ZYYD 2/1/yan. For the Changes' effect on changes in the world, see ZYYD 42-43/Xi A/9-10. In emphasizing the necessity for kindly, empathetic feeling, the "Great Commentary" recalls the Documents, in which the Duke of Zhou says, "The noble man ... understands the hardships of sowing and reaping ... and so he understands what it takes for the ordinary man to survive." See GJG 350020.
- 250 1 "...Sons of Heaven"—On the lack of a land base, rank, or support to win the throne, see ZYYD 42/Xi A/7: "To be honoured but have no position, too noble but have no common people [as subjects]: The worthy man is in low position and without support. This is why when he makes a move, he will have cause for regret at every turn." Cf. FY 10:30. I read a later passage in Xi A/7 as another comment on the sorrows experienced by King Wen, the Duke of Zhou, and Confucius: "Did not the makers of the Changes know robbers [i.e., the injuries that ensue from things or situations being snatched away]?"
- 250 2 "...in their development"—For the three previous quotations, see ZYYD 41/Xi A/4-5; ZYYD 41-42/Hsi A/7; ZYYD 2/1/yan. For this quotation, see ZYYD 41/XXi A/6: "The sages have a means by which to see the confused diversities of All-under-Heaven." Cf. ZYYD 40/Xi A/4: "Understanding all with respect to the myriad things, he makes his Way rescue All-under-Heaven... He stoops to complete..." Cf. ZYYD 45/Xi B/2: "Comprehending the flux [of the Changes and cosmic changes], they made it so the common people did not grow weary.... Only when one change had run its course did they make alterations, by which they achieved comprehension and continuity." I translate the single word *tong* as both "comprehension" and "continuity." Cf. ZYYD 44/Xi A/12: "There being flux, they comprehended them [in the text] in order to exhaust benefit. They drummed it and danced it in order to exhaust what was divine."
- 250 2 "...did not kill"—ZYYD 43/Xi A/10. This recalls the effort in Mencius 2A/2 to convert older notions of martial courage to moral courage.
- 250 3 "...a martial spirit"—See Su Shi 1:13 (on Hexagram 4).
- 250 3 "...to achieve full humanity"—FY 5:15 defines "martial" as "overcoming one's own selfish desires" to work for the greater glory of the good.
- 250 3 "...point of dissipation"—Before the ellipsis, Ode 295 (describing King Wen, a sage whom legend credits with the authorship of part of the Changes, cited by Zhong, chap. 10 (ICS p. 14, line 11). After, Zhong chap. 12 (ICS p. 17, line 18).
- 251 1 "...obviate undue disruption"—ZYYD 43/Xi A/11 outlines the move from undifferentiated *qi* (*taiji*) in successive stages to greater differentiation: through yin/yang, the Four Images of the Changes, and finally the creation of the myriad things. All multiplicity and finiteness in existence first evolves from and then returns to Ultimate Oneness. That is why, as ZYYD 46/Xi B/3 teaches, "All-under-Heaven tends to unity, but by different paths," and "a single outcome may result from a hundred thoughts."

- 251 1 "...their charismatic power"—ZYYD/Xi B follows a reference to the cares and anxieties of "the authors of the Changes" with a reference to nine Hexagrams that particularly illustrate the course of virtuous action. Hexagram 32, Heng, is associated there with manifold tasks which nonetheless leave the gentleperson unwearied. Cf. TXJ2 "Xuanwen," p. 453. Both quotations draw upon Confucius's self-characterizations in the Analects as eager and unwearied. For the determination of the sages to do good, despite "hesitation and hindrance," see Hexagram 3 (Wilhelm, 401). For one reference that shows the influence of this line of thought, see HSWZ 7/6 (Hightower, 229): "So the purpose of study is not to achieve success, but [to enable one] to be in straits and not be distressed, and to keep the determination from failing in times of difficulty. First understand the beginnings of disaster and good fortune, and your mind will be without illusions."
- 251 1 "...rewarded by the gods"—Ode 239, where the gods "encourage and reward" (lao), rather than "put to work" (also lao) the noble men.
- 251 2 "...solution to wrongdoing"—This chapter borrows much from Willard Peterson (1982), with some differences in emphasis. Peterson, p. 65 writes, "The 'Commentary' seems to be addressed primarily to the 'ordinary men' who would be guided to act in such a way as to become 'superior men,' and who are especially concerned with what seems to me to be politically consequential conduct, referred to in the 'Commentary' as the 'enterprise,' or the 'great enterprise.'" The Xici is addressed to ordinary men, but I find surprisingly little emphasis on political action in the Xici. Confucius, as viewed from the vantage point of the Ten Wings, subscribes to the notion that the relation between cosmic processes and Man is the defining factor in the establishment of social morality. Hence the text's repeated affirmations of the esoteric import of the text, for example, "The names employed sound unimportant, but the possibilities of application are great Things are openly set forth, but they also contain a deeper secret" (Wilhelm [trans.], 73). The term "wrongdoing" refers to activities that are inappropriate in context, rather than evil per se.
- 251 2 "...attaches to external evils"—See Xi A/2, for extended discussion on the differences between "no blame" and "regret and remorse."
- 252 1 "...parent ways of the Dao"—The Changes, however, is never rash enough to promise to relate detailed or exact information about an infinite variety of forms. As Wang Bi put it, "For change, ... a clever calendrist cannot establish this kind of calculation; a sage intelligence cannot make the rules for it. It is something that laws and ordinances cannot make even, something rates and measures cannot equalize." See Wang Bi 10/4a-4b. Whereas the Odes offers a way of knowing humans, the Changes offers a different approach to knowing things in Heaven-and-Earth: Since ordinary language can't express the full range of experience, "the sages established the images ... and the hexagrams."
- 252 1 "...consider oneself virtuous"—ZYYD 42/Xi A/7.
- 252 2 "...to be in vain"—Analects 14/41.