ART. XVII.—The *Yi king* of the Chinese, as a book of Divination and Philosophy. By the Rev. Dr. Edkins, M.R.A.S.

An important point in the study of the *Yi king* is the recognition of its existence before Wen Wang's time. The elements of main difference between the *Yi king* of the early dynasties and that of Wen Wang was in the order of the Kwa. The same names were current, and probably the admonitory remarks were, many of them, the same also. These remarks are all anonymous, and we are at liberty to guess who wrote them. The appendices are anonymous also, and they may have mainly been written by men before the time of Confucius. The three sages, Wen Wang, Cheu-kung, and Confucius, were all editors, and Fu Hi the original author.

As Fu Hi is supposed by tradition to have lived about 3020 B.C.,¹ before the invention of the plough, in the days when men's occupations were mainly hunting and fishing, he belongs to what is called the Mythic period. He may, however, have really existed, and perhaps the preferable hypothesis respecting him is that he was a Chinese and lived in China. At least this is the Chinese notion. The part that Babylonia, Susiana, and Bactria had in helping forward the early progress of China in knowledge and the arts would be by successive contributions of information at different times. The early acquaintance of the Chinese with astronomy, their calendar, their cycles, and their symbols used in writing, are best accounted for in this way. Possibly foreigners settled in China on each occasion of the intro-

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¹ If we adopt the assumption of Chinese native chronology, which makes the year B.C. 104, when the winter solstice occurred on the day Kia Tei, the 17th year in the 44th cycle, and regard the first cycle as commencing in the 8th year of Hwang ti, we obtain B.C. 2757 as the eighth year of Hwang ti. To this add Shen nung 140, Fu Hi 115 years.
duction of western information. But I am inclined to the supposition that the early emperors recognized by the Chinese were all natives. A period of four thousand years is not too much for the growth of a language like the Chinese. During the whole of the third millennium before Christ the Chinese race may very well have been in their present home, and Fu hi may have been a Chinese born in the country. He may, as the Chinese say, have invented the practice of divination by the milfoil, and have acted among his countrymen and subjects as a prophet. The third appendix to the Yi king tells us that (Legge, p. 382) Fu hi worked at the brilliant forms exhibited in the sky, that is, the sun, moon, and stars, and at the shapes or figures which presented themselves on the earth. He then looked at the feathers and hair of birds and beasts, and examined plants and trees, whose appearances vary according to the season of the year and the locality in which they are found. He took note of what is in the body whether physical or moral. He also looked forth on what is beyond man to whatever class of being it may belong. He then made the Pa kwa, etc.

This description may be taken to mean that this ancient emperor of five millenniums ago accomplished much towards the formation of a system of writing, in addition to the invention of the Pa kwa. Ting nan hu of the Ming dynasty says, the invention of writing is attributed by every one to Tsang kie, and it is not said that it originated with Fu hi. If Tsang kie was an officer of Hwang ti, it will be right to say that Fu hi commenced making the characters, and that they were completed in the time of Tsang kie. Or it may be said that Tsang kie was an officer of the emperor Fu hi. All this is now beyond the reach of research.

Whether we assign to Fu hi a share in the invention of the characters or not, we must, if we would retain for him the invention of the Pa kwa, exclude rigorously from our chronology all extravagant elements not belonging to classical and primitive tradition. Thus, in Lie tsi, we are told (ch. vii. p. 9) that Fu hi lived more than 30,000 years
ago. He also says (chap. ii. p. 16), Fu hi, Nü kwa, Shen nung and Hia Heu (founder of the Hia dynasty) had snake bodies, human faces, buffalo heads, and tiger noses. This Taoist author belongs to an age of fictitious literature, and is, indeed, himself the oldest extant example of it. His account of the fairy islands is so like a tale of foreign origin that our only doubt need be as to whether this story entered China by Bactria or Cochin China (ch. v. pp. 3, 4). Cyrus had taken Babylon and established the Persian empire in the century before Lie ts'ai. The eyes of the Taoist philosophers were intently fixed on the west. It would be by the importation of Babylonian or Hindú tradition that Lie ts'ai would imagine the existence of a god of the north called Gugom, a vast circumambient ocean bathing the shores of the world and monsters swimming about with vast islands on their heads. These he mentions in connexion with Fu hi and Shen nung. He must have seen Babylonian mythological pictures with figures half man and half fish. He wrote in a spirit of greedy credulity, without cool insight, his aim being to help in leading his countrymen to aspire after moral perfection by living in a land of dreams and practising an ascetic life. We must reject Taoist stories, because the standpoint of the authors is not satisfactory. The historical instinct belongs in China only to the Confucian school. The clustering of myths around the early Chinese emperors and their times began, however, before the days of Lau ts'ai. Thus we find romance commencing about B.C. 1000 in the time of Mu wang, and in Kwan ts'ai B.C. 680 we have mentioned (ch. xxiii. p. 6) a personage called Chui jen, who in the folklore of those days, when P'an ku was unknown, served as a first ancestor of the human race and as first instructor in cookery.

Rejecting mere folklore and Taoist stories, we will follow the admitted ancient works and treat the traditions of the Yi king and all the older classics as the true primitive tradition of China. We may then with a certain confidence regard Fu hi as a real man, who lived about B.C. 3000, but had neither the body of a fish nor the nose of a tiger, yet taught his countrymen useful arts, and, believing in divination, taught them this also.
The Yi king reads like a genuine relic of ancient times. It has the tone and colouring of high antiquity in the text and older appendices. There is a marked absence of myth. The persons mentioned are real. The incidents bear the stamp of actuality. There is poetry and imagination, but it is never mythological. In these respects it is like the Book of Odes, which contains no Taoist element, and no myths like those of the post-Confucian period. The celestial emperor, the earthly emperor, and the human emperor, myths of the later Han period, imported from western countries after the time of Christ, are entirely foreign to the Chinese classics, as they were entirely unknown to the ancient Chinese people. The same is true of P’an ku. The Yi king belongs to a time when all such personages were in the future; it is, itself, a truthful picture of ancient China and may be fearlessly referred to as descriptive of what the country was, chiefly in the second millennium before Christ.

The Shwo kwa chwen, or appendix V. in Legge’s translation, is mentioned by him as containing one mythological passage. It is remarkable that this appendix was lost, and was afterwards found about B.C. 30, by a woman in the wall of an old house. This was after the time when King fang introduced the principle of applying a kwa to each of the twelve months. Perhaps there has been manipulation in this appendix, after it left the hands of Confucius.

The first great school of Yi king interpretation was in fact introduced by King fang and rests on the application of the symbols of this book to physical nature as its pivot. We see the effect of this in the explanation of the Fu kwa the 24th. Instead of being an affair of a returning seventh day as in the text, it is applied to the eleventh month, and strictly limited to the time of the winter solstice. It suited the ideas of the Han period to apply the Yi king to symbolize the seasons and the phenomena of day and night,

1 King fang again is said by critics to have derived his views from Meng hi, also of the Han dynasty. But King fang is the more prominent figure. The imperial calendar, published annually, is profoundly influenced by his opinions.
but this was not known to Confucius. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, Ch’en t’wan, a Taoist, and Shan yan fu, a Confucianist, founded a new school by introducing what they called the Sien tien chi hio doctrine of the early heaven, meaning by this name the teaching of Fu hi. Shan yan fu aimed to restore the primitive order of the characters, but he failed, in the judgment, at least, of Man si ho, who attacked him vigorously, saying that in placing heaven in the south, earth in the north, fire in the east, and water in the west, he had merely followed the leading of the Taoist Wei pe yang, the alchemist of the second century. The celebrated commentator Ch’eng yi adopted the principles of moral philosophy (Li hio) in opposition to those of Shan yan fu (Shu hio, doctrine of numbers). The authors of Chien lung’s catalogue ascribe to Man si ho the merit of founding a new school in the 17th century, on the principles of accurate criticism of Chinese antiquity.

**The Seventh Kwa, Shih, Army.**

To obtain the correct sense of the Yi king, our best course is to view it as a collection of fragments added to, from time to time, by court diviners.

For instance, we have before us the 7th hexagram \(\text{三} \). This consists of two parts, (k’an) kham and (kwun) khon. The whole is shi, an army. The lower three lines are called kham, a sinking cavity. The upper three are k’o, earth, submission. Let us suppose that an army is about to set out on an expedition. The emperor orders the diviners to inform him by their methods what will be the success of the expedition. The diviner takes his fifty straws. He manipulates them in a variety of ways, till he obtains a certain figure of six lines. He finds that the 7th kwa, Shih, army, is the answer to his inquiry. This he has to interpret. He has before him in the first place three symbols, shi, k’am, k’un, coming down from the author of the eight kwa. They mean ‘army,’ ‘many,’ ‘to lead an army,’ for the whole hexagram, ‘danger,’ ‘water,’ for the lower three strokes, and ‘earth’
and 'submission' for the upper. As a rule, thus much was
common to the three divining guide books in use at the court
of the Cheu dynasty.

In addition, there were remarks inserted in the books by
previous diviners. These remarks were anonymous, but in
the Cheu li, as the Yi king of the Cheu dynasty was called,
it was understood that a good many of these remarks came
from Wen wang, the ancestral founder, and Cheu kung, the
legislator of that dynasty.

The 7th hexagram is explained thus: "Army. If the
leader be correct in character and views, there will be good
fortune. No need to fear." This may be from Wen wang,
or from some ancient diviner and adopted by Wen wang.
It may be an admonition based on the experience of some
early occasion.

The admonition in the lowest line states "that at the
beginning of action (c'hu) there is weakness (feminine
element). Let the army go out according to rule. If bad-
ness be present, there will be misfortune."

Second line. Male element (nine indicates this). Seat of
power (the second line of a trigram is usually the seat of
power of subordinates). When he is in the midst of the
army, luck, no fear. The king has given command three
times.

This was probably inserted in some case of divination,
when the general had received commands from the emperor
on three different occasions with honour specially bestowed
each time. It would be in the Shang dynasty.

Third line. Dark element (six) (combined with danger)
in the third place (over the male element). If the soldiers
bring back their dead in carriages, it will be unlucky, with
this arrangement of the straws.¹

Fourth line. Dark element. Fourth place. For the
army to retreat a stage will be not unlucky.²

Fifth line. Dark element. Place of the general, who is

¹ Certainly there must be an allusion to some fatal engagement, some actual
event not on record. By the case of we know not what old diviner the admoni-
tion is preserved.

² A stage is 30 li or about five miles, as in the sun's path a stage is 30 degrees.
here warned that when there are birds in the field, and they can be easily captured, there will be luck. If he place eminent persons in command of troops, and then allow ordinary men to convey the slain in carriages, even though such men are correct in character, there must be ill luck.\(^1\)

Sixth line. Dark element in the last and closing scene. The emperor gives orders to reward the army. The rule of states and clans is assigned to the deserving. Let not the bad be admitted to office.\(^2\)

If the hypothesis of a foreign vocabulary be adopted, all the help we get from the relative position of the lines, and their elemental significance as belonging to light or darkness, is completely lost, and the concatenation of the thoughts shut out from view. Thus, submission characterizes the three upper lines, which prophesy the close of the expedition. Danger marks the three lower lines, which admonish the general in regard to the first part of the experiences of the campaign.

If the three ruling ideas of the hexagram and its constituent trigrams belonged to them before the time of Wen Wang B.C. 1150, as Chinese authors assume to be the case, we may then view the Yi king as truly belonging to the Hia and Shang dynasties. It was at that time used as a book of divination, and was regarded as essential to the administration of affairs. To make it begin to be a divining book with the time of Wen Wang is to interfere too rudely with the smooth consecutiveness of ancient Chinese history.

This will be seen by foreign students with increasing clearness, in proportion as the Tsao chwen comes to take its right position as the most important historical work we possess on the period with which it deals.

Let us take as an instance of the value of the Tsao chwen,

\(^1\) Here we meet with enigmatical language. The birds are real persons. The slain carried with the army in its retreat (an unlucky thing to do) embraces also other unlucky actions.

\(^2\) The sense is well connected throughout these admonitions and prophecies, if we only make allowance for the mode of composition. The remarks were gradually collected in the official divining book, and finally issued from the hands of Wen Wang and his son in this form. The Siang appendix supports the interpretation I have given.
and of the helpful light of history, a case of divination in
the year B.C. 596, as recorded in Legge's Ch'ün ts'ieh, pp.
312, 317. When armies went out, it was necessary to
divine and this on both sides. In pages 311, 316 there
are examples of divination on the part of the Cheng people.
A few pages later occurs an extract from the Yi king, which
shows how it was used at that time. Siün sheu, an officer
in charge of one brigade of the Ts'in armies then put in
motion to invade Chang, said, "The army is in danger
according to the Cheu yi now consulted; the hexagram Shî
was obtained, consisting of danger below and submission
above. This changed to lim 'coming down upon,' consisting
of marsh below and submission above. The admonition of
the altered line, the lowest line of the 7th hexagram, says
if the army go out not according to rule, but with mis-
conduct, there will be evil. For the general to be submissive
in carrying through his duties is good conduct. To fail in
submission is misconduct. The many (Kam, many) are
scattered and the army becomes weak. The river (symbolized
by K'âm 'water') becomes a marsh (tui the new trigram,
which takes the place of kam) by increase of obstructions.
The rules are not obeyed, and are made subservient to a
capricious will. Therefore it is said that in carrying out
the rules there is misconduct. Further the rules are brought
to nought. The full (water) becomes spent. Heaven places
obstructions and prevents completeness. Therefore there is
misfortune. To become standing water is the effect which
proceeds from obtaining the Lim hexagram. There is a
general, but the men do not obey. This is the Lim hexagram
carried to its utmost limit. If we meet the foe, there will
be a great defeat. Chi t'ai will be the representative person
to be visited by this calamity. Though he should escape
death and return home, he must there sustain great evils."

Here we see how thoroughly the main idea of each group
of lines, as suggested by its name, pervades the interpre-
tation. The prophesying power of the Yi king is in the
groups of lines still more than in the text or letter-press
description. Both are necessary parts of the Yi king and
the Appendices are another necessary part. But the most authoritative, original, and essential ideas are those involved in the three names of the eight kwa and of the 64 kwa. In this case submission, belonging to each of the six lines, belongs therefore to the bottom line, which is taken by the lot in this instance. The single line possesses the qualities of both the lower and upper trigram. It has also the qualities of the new trigram which is obtained by later manipulation. The meaning of the new line obtained is made up of four factors. Shī 'army,' ka'm 'water,' k'un 'submission' tui 'marsh.' This is the reason why the diviner thinks still more of Fu hi than of Wen wang. The eight names and 64 names, which are supposed to be pregnant with prophetic meaning, are all attributed to Fu hi. Fu hi has a real share in the exposition of the sense; and when the Chinese speak of the three sages who compiled this work, they mean Fu hi, Wen wang and Confucius.

The Fifteenth Kwa, K'ien, Humility.

A second example of a hexagram will be now presented. I take advantage again of M. Terrien de Lacouperie's article on the Yi king and its Authors, and select one of those which he has there treated in detail, the 15th, the kwa of humility. I do this in order that the reader may be able to refer to the Chinese characters and the four translations collected by the industrious care of M. de Lacouperie, and placed before the reader at one view.

Kwa of humility ☴☵. Stopping or mountain belongs to the lower trigram, and here is the commencement of action. Submission and earth belong to the upper trigram, and characterize the later stages of action.

The diviner's admonition in reference to the whole hexagram says, "Perseverance. The noble actor will in the end succeed in his enterprise." No doubt the diviner, in saying this to the person who consulted him, had in view the union of the three ideas, definiteness, submission, humility. Wen wang when he wrote these words, or adopted them from an ancient diviner, which is more probable, was simply stating
what he understood Fu hi to mean by the names. In the
Shang dynasty Yi king the character ki'en had no radical,
but it was probably then pronounced k'am, and meant
‘humble.’

First line. Weakness (broken line) or the dark element
is at the beginning. But the noble actor is humble in two
respects (mountain below earth, and he himself at the foot of
mountain). He will therefore be successful in crossing (k'am,
water) the great stream (formed by the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th
lines).

Second line. (This is the seat of power.) Dark element.
His humility is spoken of by many. He is correct in pur-
pose, and lucky on this account.

Third line. The noble actor, who is both meritorious and
humble, will be lucky in the end.¹

Fourth line. Weak element. But (being immediately
above so strong a position as the third line) he will prosper
in everything. Still he must be careful to maintain his
humility.

Fifth line. Weak. He is not rich, but by help of his
neighbours he can successfully make assaults. Wherever he
fights, it will be with success.

Sixth line. Weak. The general voice proclaims him
humble. He can successfully depart with his troops, but
(not being in the seat of authority, as is shown by the
fifth weak line) he attacks only the cities of his own state.²

A third example will now be taken.

¹ As the diviner studies the kwa which he has obtained as the result of his
eighteen manifestations, he instructs the person who consults him in the meaning
of each of the six lines. In this case the main idea, humility, recurs in each line
except the fifth. In determining the significance of the third line, an undivided
one, he quite possibly took into consideration that it made k'am, water, if joined
with the line above and below it; and then, thunder, if joined to the two lines
above it, as native commentators explain things. He looked on the unbroken
lines as a sign of strength, and then the combination of strength with humility
brought before his consciousness the conception of an actor of noble qualities,
who must in the end be successful.
² There is nothing very abrupt or improbable in the native interpretation of
this kwa. There is a concatenation in the admonitions on the separate lines.
The building of the admonitions on the essential primary meaning of the trigrams
and hexagram is obvious. There appears to be no call to accept the hypothesis
of a vocabulary. This hypothesis is disproved by the obvious concatenation of
the sense in the several lines. Legge's translation seems to be sustained, and so
also is the supposition that Wen wang found in the old Yi king the main purport
of the trigrams and hexagram almost complete.
THIRTIETH KWA, LI.


This kwa is made use of in the 1st section of the latter half of the Hi t'si appendix. Pan hi made nets for his people to use in hunting and fishing with the help of this kwa. He may, after the nets were made, have detected a resemblance between the holes of nets and the open spaces in the divided lines of this kwa. The simple study of the lines of the kwa would not of itself suggest how a net was to be made. But this is how things are put.

In li a divided line in the middle is flanked by two undivided lines. The prominent idea is brightness. The middle line represents substance, and is weak. The outer lines are the signs of action, and are strong. The consulter is told by the diviner in the general admonition that correct conduct insures continued success. In nourishing the cow (a patient and docile animal, here introduced as a symbol of submission) luck will be insured.

Brightness is doubled in this kwa. Weakness is flanked on both sides by power. There must be correct conduct and patient docility as in the cow. The other prominent idea in the word li is attachment to. Fire must be attached to something, as plants to the earth, and the heavenly bodies to the sky.

When the admonition was first written, there must have been a cow in the possession of the consulter. The admonition would then appear natural.

First line. Action begins with the strong element. The shoe or your stepping is entangled or confused. Be careful. There will be no error.

Here the word for "straw sandal," and "to tread," is used, though in the ascending tone. We know that the tone was different from that of li, brightness, attached. The diviner may have introduced the word sandal as homophonous, although the tone differed. All the help he could get in
interpreting the kwa was embraced under the one word li in all or any of its meanings. He had no aid from the trigrams, they being the same with the hexagram. I do not know why Legge, McClatchie, and Regis have avoided the word sandal in this place. Probably both sandal and the action of treading were before the writer's mind.

Second line. Weak element in the centre. The yellow Li bird. Great good fortune.

I take this from M. Terrien de Lacouperie. Diviners in those times had scarcely learned to make use of the philosophy of the five elements in the way which Chinese expounders here assume that they have done. I suppose the diviner to have seen the yellow li bird on the occasion. As its name agreed in sound with the kwa, he accepted it as a good omen.

Third line. Strong element in the 3rd place. The shining of the setting sun is the symbol. If not saluted by beating earthen pans and singing, there will be heard the sighing of the tottering old man. The omen is unfortunate.

Here the diviner is thinking of the end of the day. The trigram is a day, and the third line is its close. The man who consulted the milfoil was perhaps aged. Or the diviner introduced an old man whom he saw. The old must die. It is either a joyful event to be greeted with singing or a sorrowful one to provoke sighing. The diviner takes the sun shining in the evening as an omen, limiting himself to sense "brightness" found in the name of the kwa. The omen means death.

Fourth line. Strong element at the beginning of the second period of action. He comes with sudden rush, like the burning of a fire, like death, as if to be rejected.

This is the beginning of the second day in the diviner's statement, which assumes the form of prophecy.

Fifth line. Weakness on the throne. A shower of tears shows how sad he is. He will have good fortune.

The tears are those of self-condemnation and a new resolution.

Sixth line. Strength at the end. The king in action.
He leads out an army. He obtains fame. He kills the chiefs and merely makes prisoners of those who were not fellow-rebels.\textsuperscript{1}

We cannot resign the help given to the explanation of the kwa by the relative position of the lines as shown in the preceding interpretation. The hypothesis of a vocabulary does not seem therefore admissible.

\textbf{Thirty-first Kwa, Hien.}

This is the kwa of mutual influence, and refers to marriage. The separate trigrams are ken, mountain, below, and tui, marsh, above. The weak lines are 1, 2, and 6. The strong lines are 3, 4, and 5.

The mutual influence is that of conjugal affection. The constituent elements are stopping (which indicates entire devotion) on the part of the husband and smiling consent on the part of the wife.


This is one of those kwa which is taken to represent the human body, and the separate lines indicate the parts of the body from the toes to the face.


Second line. Weakness in the second place. Movement in the calf will be unfortunate. In rest there will be good fortune.

Third line. Firmness in the upper part of the mountain. Movement in the thigh. Keeping hold of the person following. Advancing will be regretted.

Fourth line. Firmness in the first line of march. Correct

\textsuperscript{1} A Chinese friend, to whom I referred some points in the interpretation of the six admonitions or prophecies in this kwa, recommended me in the first line to keep in view both meanings of the word li, sandal, viz. as a verb to tread on, and as a noun sandal. With this I agree, for divination is enigmatical and often ambiguous. The ambiguity consists in taking one or more words in two senses. Diviners love ambiguity, because whichever sense is verified by the event, the correctness of the divination is confirmed, and every diviner is naturally interested in the success of his own divination.

Fifth line. Firmness in the post of honour and power. Movement in the flesh lying along the spine. No repentance.

Sixth line. Weakness in the end of the action. Movement in the jaws and tongue.

The object is to divine respecting some proposed marriage. Would it be fortunate? In the progress of the eighteen manipulations it struck the diviner that in the diagram drawn by him in accordance with the result of those manipulations, there was a rude representation of the human body, from the feet to the head. Each line represented a portion of the body. Each part he viewed as subject in succession to influence as expressed in the name of the kwa, kam, to affect. The feet, the heart, and the tongue are set in motion by feeling. The effect and nature of the movements of the parts of the body in succession are adduced as affording indications of what would be the good or ill fortune of the man whom the diviner had in his eye. The general admonition is on marriage. The scope of the six particular admonitions is wider. It embraces the influence of nature on the human body and the orderly movement of the limbs in their mutual connexion. On this depends the repute a man has among his friends.

Perhaps it would be well to regard the six particular admonitions as based not on the idea of marriage at all, but on the name kan, influence, under which heading marriage furnishes one example. In the remarks of the second appendix, Hi t'si hia chwen, there is not a word of marriage. It was the destiny of the Yi king to become changed early into a book of philosophy, and here is an instance where a kwa, which originally proclaimed good or ill fortune attending marriages, modified its tone so that it became the teacher of the influence of the superior man as set forth in the remarks here referred to in the 2nd Appendix.
Twentieth Kwa, Kwan, Gazing.

Kwan is stated in the Er ya to be K’iue, the side opening in the gateway of a palace or ancestral temple. The diviner who wrote the general admonition to this kwa had before his mind a sacrifice. This would be suggested by the circumstance that it was on occasion of a proposed sacrifice that he was called to manipulate with the milfoil. But as the name kwan was already given to the kwa, the diviner who wrote the particular admonitions added such remarks in each case as appeared to him to come naturally out of the meaning of the kwa name.

Divination existed in the earliest times, and every kwa would acquire a name in accordance with the results of the earliest divination. In this case the kwa became, in the first instance, that of “seeing,” “gazing.” The earliest recorded addition which now remains to this kwa is the general admonition, and the six particular admonitions would follow at a later period. In each case, when an entry was made in the divining book, the diviner would endeavour to gain aid, in shaping his admonition or prophecy, from the meanings of the kwa name, and the ideas suggested by the relative position of the lines. In the general admonition, the meaning “wash hands” is used. In the admonitions attached to the lines the meanings are all varieties of the original seeing or gazing. We are warranted in concluding that the application of this kwa to sacrifices was specially primitive, and that it was by later diviners applied to the emperor, the courtiers, and the palace.

General admonition or prophecy. Seeing. He washes his hands previous to offering the sacrifices. He is trustworthy and dignified.

First line. Weakness at the outer and lower stage in the scene. Boys looking. The matter belongs to inferior men. There is no fault. For the superior man there is cause for regret.

Second line. Weakness at the second gateway. Looking
at the prince. There is advantage in connexion with such
women as these. Their deportment is correct.

Third line. Weakness at the third stage. Those who are
at this stage should look at their own life. They will then
know whether to advance or to retreat.

Fourth line. Weakness. Stage the fourth (where the
king, who is at the fifth stage, can be seen). Here he looks
at the glory of the kingdom. It will be advantageous for
him to be guest with the king.

Fifth line. Strength. Place of honour. (The king speaks),
Look at my mode of life. (The diviner says to the consulter).
Such a man is the superior man, and you, if you so act, will
be without fault.

Sixth line. Strength. Highest stage of progress. He
who looks at the king’s life (and imitates it) will be a superior
man without fault.

The whole scene presents the king on his throne as the
object of contemplation. There are five stages of contempla-
tion. Men of low origin peep from the outer door. Women
peep from a nearer position. Men in office are near the
king, as are those who aspire to be guests. The king him-
self is on the throne, here represented by the fifth line.

It is necessary in divination for any kwa to become
applicable to new circumstances. Here the sacrifices of the
general admonition are lost sight of altogether. The whole
attention of the diviner is bent on a court scene, where the
centre figure is a good and noble prince. Probably there is
an allusion to some ancient emperor, as in the “Song of
the five children” there is a description of the virtues of the
emperor Yü, which would in its tone agree very well with
the character of the ideal emperor here pourtrayed. But it
might be the emperor Cheng Tang, or Pang keng, or Wu
ting of the Shang dynasty. If Cheu kung, for instance,
drew his materials from the Lien shan yi, it would be Yü ti
that is referred to. If from the Kwei tsang yi, it would be
one of the three Shang emperors just mentioned. It could
not, I think, be one of the five children, as supposed by
M. Terrien de Lacouperie, because they were not seated on
The Yi King as a Book of Divination.

The throne, and the name Kwan was applied to all the five brothers. The coincidence is probably a mere accident. The ideas attached to Kwan in the court scene require us to suppose that the diviner thought of it as an outer and second gate, as a verb to gaze, and as also meaning to wash. It does not appear to be used here as a proper name of the king who might be on the throne at the time.

The Thirteenth Kwa, Tung Jen, Associated Friends.

The diviner has before him to help in interpretation the ancient name of the whole kwa, associated friends, and its parts, li, fire, below, at the beginning of action, and k'ien, heaven, above, completing the action.

In the tenth century, when the Tang emperor Fei ti invested the city Tai yuen, the Tsin emperor Kau tsu in his distress commanded Ma chung tsi to consult the milfoil. This officer went through the eighteen manipulations and obtained the 13th kwa. His statement to his sovereign was as follows. Firmness above and brightness below. The ruler's virtues are bright. The people in the south look towards him, and he obtains the empire. There must in these circumstances be associated friends to help him. Kien is the north-west. The Yi king says there is fighting in Kien. Li is the south. The Yi king says there is meeting in Li. Those who come to help us are in the north-west. Kien is the kwa of the ninth and tenth month. The victory ought to be won at the union of these months.

In accordance with this prediction, the Kie tan Tartars helped the Tsin emperor and defeated the Tang army in the ninth month.

In the primitive divination, so far as we know, the kwa were not divided among the months. Nor does it seem clear that the Shwo kwa chwen, which places the eight kwa round the compass in the positions chen east, sun south-east, li south, kwun south-west, tui west, kien north-west, ka'n north, koa north-east, was written before the time of Confucius. But it would be hypercritical to deny that this was
the order of the kwa in the Cheu yi. Supposing the Shwo kwa chwen were a late addition, this part of it would not be likely to be an innovation. The elemental philosophy required this arrangement, and it was under the influence of this philosophy that Wen wang wrote.

The position of the diviner in Wen wang's days would differ therefore from that of the diviner in the tenth century after Christ, mainly in regard to the application to months. The three leading ideas, Tung jen, heaven, fire, would be the same for each.

The Tung jen could not mean Troglodytes, because the appendices agree with the text in assigning to the words the sense, associated friends, and as the text is much of it older than the time of Wen wang, there is no call to break with a tradition so self-consistent and so primitive.

General admonition. Friends are in the field. Perseverance. There will be good fortune in passing a great river. There will be a benefit secured, the chief being upright.

Particular admonition on first line. Strong element at the beginning of action. Friends are at the gate. No error.

Second line. Weakness. Second place (the chief place among subordinates). That friends connect themselves in parties under leaders is cause for regret.

Third line. Strength. Third place (indicates intention to seize the opportunity to attack him who is in possession of honour at the fifth place). He hides his arms in the long grass and mounts a high hillock. For three years he has remained without marching in advance.

Fourth line. Strength. Fourth place. Mounting the wall of the fortress, he refrains from an assault, not being able to conquer. There will be good fortune.

Fifth line. Strength. Place of honour and power. Friends first lament and afterwards are seen rejoicing. The great army conquers them and then they meet.

Sixth line. Strength. Highest line. Friends are on the outside of the city. There is nothing to regret.
History does not throw light on the circumstances here alluded to. It would not be strange that these entries should have been made in reference to some unknown event in the Shang dynasty. It ought to be recollected that we mentioned in the 11th and in the 63rd kwa events which took place about B.C. 1190 and B.C. 1364 respectively.

When once the record had been made, it was liable to become an enigma to all those who were not acquainted with contemporary events. This is the reason that the Yi king appears to be disjointed and obscure.

**Conclusion.**

The diagrams being inseparable from the text of the Yi king, to view the text as consisting of vocabularies and ballads is inadmissible. The oldest part of the text that we can trace by internal chronological evidence attaches itself to B.C. 1364. Other parts may be older than this, and there is nothing decisive in the words or grammar of the text to indicate the period to which it should be referred.

The diagrams are contemporary with the invention of writing by the Chinese. The same sort of mental activity made the one which made the other. The diagrams became the vehicle for the expression of a philosophy. The characters became the basis of the national literature.

The reason why the diagrams of the Yi king became the vehicle of philosophy was that they are general symbols capable of application to new circumstances a hundred times over. But what does philosophy consist of if it be not the reduction of human knowledge to general propositions? Philosophy began very early in the world, because some men, possessing the generalizing faculty, would, in any country where civilization had made some progress, be able by a few intuitions and deductions to lay the foundations of a philosophy. The first philosophy of the Yi king was the dual, based on the strong and weak element found in nature. In the diagrams the single and double lines became symbols for the expression of some of the simpler ideas of this
philosophy. Then the names of the kwa became attached to them by diviners, a memento in each case perhaps of a successful divination. These names also became repositories of ideas springing out of the dual philosophy. But, as time went on, the philosophy of two contrasted elements in a single antithesis expanded itself into the system of the five elements. A philosophy whose symbols were linear became a philosophy whose symbols were circular and linear. This was the stage which philosophic progress had reached in the eleventh century before Christ, and this was the reason that Wen wang changed the order of the kwa.

When Confucius appeared on the scene, and undertook the task of preserving the classics for posterity, what struck him most forcibly in the Yi king was its philosophy, and in the appendices he bent himself to the completion of that philosophy. He found them probably in a fragmentary state, and when they left his hand, they had assumed nearly their present form. What was in early ages a manual of divination, became by the completion of the appendices both a manual of divination and a compendium of the philosophy of the ancient sages. It was only the mind that dictated the Chung yung philosophy, that could have finished the Yi king. Native scholars have been impressed by the general similarity of tone in the Chung yung and the Appendices to the Yi king, and have unanimously regarded them as proceeding from one master mind.

The philosophy of Confucius was moral, but he preserved the elemental philosophy of Wen wang, and, having a fervent admiration of that sage, retained his system unimpaired. The Wen yen, or 4th Appendix, is cited in the Tso chwen as used A.D. 564, before Confucius was grown to man's estate, and is therefore not his. The Shwo kwa chwen, or 5th Appendix, forms a bridge between the teaching of Confucius in the old Yi king and the views of the Han dynasty writers.

The Yi king proved itself to be the mother of philosophies in the Han dynasty. King fang founded upon it the philosophy of the calendar, and Yang hiung constructed upon
this idea a long philosophic poem which he called the Taik'hiuen king,\(^1\) in eighty-one sections. Each section had a kua, and it was intended as a sort of competitor in repute with the Yi king, but the attempt has failed. An alchemical philosophy was founded by Wei pe yang on the Yi king.

The pride and admiration felt by the Chinese in the Yi king cannot therefore be wondered at, for it is the fundamental book of their philosophy. If in certain passages it is obscure, it ought to be considered whether the necessary historical elucidations are wanting. Where they exist, the Yi king is no more difficult to understand than any other ancient Chinese book.

\(^1\) The Taik'hiuen king proceeds in its 81 sections from the winter solstice through the year to the winter solstice again. The Yang principle is at its climax June 21st. It expands in spring, and contracts in autumn. The elements metal, wood, water, fire, earth, are influences in perpetual circulation, each dominating for a short time in succession. Fu hi preferred 8 and 64 as the favourite numbers of his philosophy. Yang hiung preferred 9 and 81, in this following Wen wang.