

THE CHINA REVIEW.

THE YI KING AND ITS APPENDICES.

1.—PERIODS OF SEVEN DAYS.

The discovery of the fact that the Babylonians had a weekly day of rest and that they had also other days of cessation from public business has a bearing on some passages in the Yi King. Those passages in that ancient book which speak of periods of seven days should be looked at again, because it is now certain that in primitive times it was not only among the Hebrews that a sabbath was observed in Asiatic countries but also among the Babylonians.

In the intercalary month of the Babylonians the 7th, 14th, 19th, 21st and 28th days were observed as sabbaths. Mr. W. St. C. Boscawen writes that there is no difficulty about the 7th, 14th, 21st, and 28th days, these being of astronomical origin; but that the selection of the 19th seems at first obscure. He explains it as being the 49th day from the beginning of the preceding month, i.e. 30 and 19, or 7 times seven, the Chaldean month having thirty days. He also mentions that the *dies candidus*, 'white day,' of the Romans is derived from the *yum ibbu*, 'day white,' of the Chaldeans. They also called the sabbath *yum nubattur* 'proclaimed day' and *yum nuk libbi*, 'day

of rest of heart.' In the Babylonian account of the creation it is said, 'on the seventh day he appointed a holy day and to cease from all business he commanded.'*

These sabbath days of the Babylonians would be like lucky days among the Chinese and other Oriental peoples and would resemble these more than they would the sabbath among the Hebrews. We read in the Bull inscription of Khorsabad, 'on the propitious day of the happy month, the month of Sivan, on the day *ap ap*, I measured the ground and moulded bricks.'†

We might well expect to find, without being surprised, such language occurring in old Chinese literature if it were less scanty than it is, for in the present day a lucky day would certainly be chosen for such an event. The first time we meet with the term lucky day 吉日 *ki ji*, is in the Odes, and it is connected with prayers. In the Han shu it is found in conjunction with fasting, 歷吉日以齋戒. From this it appears that the word lucky has not

* H. Fox Talbot in Records of the Past. Vol. IX.

† Records of the Past. Vol. XI, p. 20.

in it enough of religious sentiment to render it an exact equivalent of the Chinese word 吉, as anciently used. A lucky day, when called 吉日, was a religious day. About A.D. 60, in the time of Ming Ti, the emperor who introduced Buddhism to the city of Loyang, it is said in the history that 'sweet dew still descended, and the red fungus (芝草 *Polyporus lucidus*) grew before the imperial hall. The officers in charge of sacrifices chose a happy day to present a written announcement in the ancestral temple.* Such examples of the phrase 'lucky day' bring it into close relationship with worship and self-purification, and as they are quite anterior to the entrance of Buddhism into China, which greatly promoted the belief in lucky portents, we may see here very clearly that in Babylonian, Chinese and Hindoo ancient usage, sabbath days and lucky days were very much alike. The spreading influence of Babylonian and Egyptian thought reached at a very early period all the southern countries of Asia, China included, and taught the people ideas of this complexion.

After this introduction let us look at the passages in the Yi King where periods of seven days are mentioned. The first is in the 復卦 *Kwa*, that of return, applied by Chinese interpreters to the winter solstice. The first line is whole and the other five are all divided. The text says, 'There will be free movement and progress. The subject meets no difficulties in going out and coming in. Friends come to him without error. He returns and repeats his former course. In seven days he will return. Wherever he goes he prospers.' All native authors, in the explanation of this text, accept the notion of each month having a *Kwa* proper to it and agree in regarding the 11th month as that to which this *Kwa* ought to be applied. There is little to support this in the text or appendices, yet it has been adopted by Legge who here follows the


Sung commentators as they followed the Han.

The second appendix, Siang chwen, says, 'Thunder is under earth. Return. The ancient kings on the "day of arrival" shut the gates, merchants did not travel. Barons did not inspect the lands subject to them.' The explanation of the day of arrival as referring to the winter solstice has its advantages. If this be correct, the shutting of the gates and the stop put to travelling would be in order to favour the setting apart of this time to religion. The emperor, till the present time, prepares by fasting for the sacrifice at the temple of heaven, and no public business is done. But the period of seven days stands in the text, and the phrase 'day of arrival' may refer to this. Native commentators do not favour it. If we could call the seventh day 'the day of arrival,' as we can do the solstice, our course would be plain. We could then refer all the details to the rest returning after seven days. In the *Li Ki* it is said that the month of the winter solstice was a time for fasting and purification, and for remaining in retirement.

The best course for us here is to refer the words 'day of arrival' and the details about shutting the gates, stopping of trade and rest from official duty, to the winter solstice, and to view it as one of the special days of fasting, worship and rest, observed by the Chinese in the time of the ancient kings. Both Babylonians and Jews had other days beside the weekly sabbaths which were kept as holy days.

What then were the seven days of the text? Some say they are the interval from the 23rd *Kwa* to this one which is the 24th. If we divide 35 days by 60, we have a remainder of six days and a fraction. The 23rd is framed of five divided strokes below and one whole stroke above, or earth below and mountain above. The upper stroke of *Po*, the 23rd, with the six strokes of *Fu*, the 24th, make seven. Others say that a day is taken for a month and that from the

* *Hen Han Shu* 明帝記.

fifth to the 11th month are seven days with this understanding. Shau Yau fu arranged the 6th Kwa in a circle with the 2nd Kwa Kwun at the north point and Po and Fu on each side thus . Here the symbolism was darkness complete six days before the solstice. A gleam of light at the top is seen six days again before this. A gleam of light at the bottom at the solstice. Then it is said the upper line of Po and the six lines of Kwun make seven days. Mau Si ho adds, that seven is a number that frequently occurs in celestial revolutions. On the whole the seven days' period remains a puzzle. There is something rather forced in these explanations, nor can we, on the ground of this passage only, feel sure that we have found a weekly sabbath.

Let us search then for other instances of the knowledge possessed by the ancient Chinese of an occasional period of seven days. In the Li Ki we have the following passage: 'The fast of the superior man consists in the singleness of his aim when bringing into activity his pure intelligence. Therefore he fasts seven days to fix his thoughts, and three days more to regulate them. The reason of fasting is to prevent the harm coming from abundant food, to induce reverence and to check the gross appetites.' From this we conclude that seven days were in ancient time a period much in use in connection with worship, and fasting was often continued for that time. In the After Han history, in the biography of the Empress of the Teng family clan, it is said that on the eighth day of the first month there was a fast for seven days at the ancestral temple. It is added that all the officers of the court had duties appointed them. In these cases it is a week of fasting for a religious purpose that is recorded. Beside this we have in the sixth century after Christ the Wei emperor* at a feast ask-

ing the courtiers why 人日 *jen ji* 'the day of man' is called by that name. He was told by Wei Sheu that in the first month the first day is that of the fowl, the 2nd of the dog, the 3rd of the pig, the 4th of the sheep, the fifth of the cow, the sixth of the horse and the seventh of man. These seven days are in the 路史 *Lu Shi* mentioned as days of creation at the commencement of the world. It is said that the inferior creatures were made first, because the creation of these was easy. The more honourable were more difficult and were reserved till the last. This seems to be a *relic* of the Babylonian and Hebrew account of creation, but very much altered. It does not occur in this form before the sixth century, so far as we as yet know.

The result of this inquiry is that in ancient times the Chinese had the custom of fasting for seven days in connection with worship at the winter solstice and as a part of the ceremonies belonging to the worship of ancestors. But as to a rest for a day at the recurrence of every seventh day round the year, we find no trace of it.

There remains the consideration of the connection of the week with the twenty-eight constellations. Some of the names of the 28 constellations occur in the Yau tien of the Book of History, either expressly, Mau the Pleiades, and Hü, Beta in Aquarius, or by implication, Niau for Sing (in Hydra) and Hwo for Fang in Scorpio. In the Odes we have mentioned Pi, in Hyades, including Aldebaran, the ruler of rain, and Ki 箕 winnowing shovel, the ruler of wind in Sagittarius, and Teu and Nieu in Sagittarius. These stars in the zodiac of twenty-eight are mentioned in the eighth century. We may fairly conclude then that the 28 constellations were known from the time of Yau, the two expressly mentioned being sponsors for the rest. Fang, Hü, Mau, and Sing, were observed as meridian stars at that time. The strength of the argument lies in the fact that their position, as observed, agrees with what the

* See in Pei wen yun fu under 人日. The story is not only in history. It is spread among the people at the present time in North China.

law of the precession of the equinoxes requires that it should be. They were the middle stars in four groups of seven each. In the east was the blue dragon (Scorpio). In the north was the black warrior or unicorn Chi lin* (Aquarius). In the west was the white tiger (Taurus and Orion). In the south was the red quail or phoenix (Cancer, Leo). Now the fact that afterwards in the Han dynasty, or later, the Hindoo week became known to the Chinese and the day of the sun, our Sunday, was identified with Fang, Hü, Mau, and Sing, does not require us to suppose that before this time the names of the 28 constellations were applied to days by the ancient Chinese. The doctrine of the five elements† is mixed inextricably with the old Asiatic week, and Sunday and Monday being applied to the sun and moon, the other five days are fire, water, wood, metal, and earth respectively. The week went from Asia to our Saxon ancestors, and the distribution of the days under the tutelage of the five Teuton gods was certainly later than their distribution among the planets in India and Babylonia. The Babylonian and Indian week was an adjunct of the elemental philosophy which, springing up among the Babylonians, taught that the elements are active powers in nature, revolving in circles or moving in straight lines everywhere and visiting all parts of the dead and living universe. Its application to the sun, moon, and stars and to days led to the new ideas connected with the calendar first in Babylonia, then in India and, in the first century before Christ, by King Fang in China. This writer has left a small work on the Yi King which shews what his system was. We may see in the **太玄經** Tai hiuen ching what is meant. In this book we have 81 instead of 64 Kwa. They are arranged on the outer rim of a circular diagram of which the centre is **玄** hiuen, the dark principle. This

word constitutes the base of the operations of the universe and it is convertible with Tau, **道**, the Logos of Lau Tsi. In the Tau te King both terms are freely used. The arrangement of the 81 symbols begins at the north, the winter solstice, and each occupies a space corresponding to four days and a fraction. The first symbol (chung) is **chung** 中, the second **周** *cheu*, to the east of it. Then follows *hiên* and after it another *hiên* and *shau*. The elements are placed under each name in the following order, viz., earth, water, fire, wood, metal. Under the next five, they take the order water, fire, water, metal, earth, and there is a variation in almost every group. The 81 symbols are divided into nine groups of nine each. There is no use made of the 28 constellations, except that the sun's place in each is noted at the chief points in his annual journey.* On Dec. 21st, the notes tell us, the year begins with the solstice and the sun was then at the 1st degree of Nieu. This, if the Chinese had in the first century an astronomical week with the five elements and sun and moon attached to it as in later times, would require us to regard the day of the winter solstice, in the year when Yang Hiung wrote this book, as a Saturday. But this point is doubtful. What we know certainly is this, that in B.C. 104, as the Shi ki tells us, the sun and moon were in conjunction in the first degree of Nieu at 12 o'clock at night at the winter solstice, and that the day was also **甲子** Kia tsi. If we take the precession at 50 seconds ·25, we have about 28° 4' for the difference in position of Nieu compared with the present time. The Han emperor, advised by his astronomers, took the element earth for his dynasty. Now it is difficult to say whether the application of this element to the winter solstice in B.C. 104 was on account of the emperor Han Wu ti having chosen this element, as he did at the time

* See Ho Kwan tsi, chapter 2, p. 4. An author of the Chan kwo period.

† Water, fire, wood, metal, earth.

* This is now about 300°; Yang Hiung regarded it as the place of the sun for the winter solstice in his time, say 270° roughly.

when he ordered the use of the T'ai ch'ü calendar, or because the elements were already affixed to the days and the astronomers of those days only confirmed what they found. The year 104 was Ting ch'eu, but in the Shī ki it is called 丙子. It is certain therefore that there were irregularities. That we find the constellation Nieu mentioned in the notes to the Tai hiuen king, as the place of the sun at the winter solstice, is due to the fact that it was the place of the sun in B.C. 104. We conclude from the Tai hiuen king that, in the time of our Saviour, Yang Hiung, a great poet and philosopher, while studying nature from solstice to solstice, as light and darkness waned and grew, saw the five elements working in perpetual succession each for a day, still did not divide the year into weeks, but followed King Fang in making periods of from four to five days. The 28 constellations are used by him to indicate the place of the sun in his annual journey. This was the state of things before the Buddhists brought the Hindoo week into China. The zodiac of 28 was not used to mark days. What we can deduce from the facts respecting this zodiac is simply that it was in use for 2,000 years before our era, that it was divided into four groups of seven, of which the central ones Fang, Hū, Mau, Sing were meridian stars at the equinoxes and solstices, and that, when the Buddhists brought in the Hindoo week, and applied the 28 stars to days, as was done in their own country, the days of these four stars were found to be Sundays.

The other passages in the Yi king where a period of seven days is mentioned, do not, it may be thought, add anything of importance in this question. In the 51st Kwa, that of sha-king, chen doubled, it is said under the second line in the Tau ts'ü, after the remark that he had lost his money (貝):—Do not go in search of it, you will get it again after seven days 勿逐七日得. The work of Mau Si ho makes each stroke a day, and says that, after going through the six

strokes and beginning again, the loser will get his money at the point where he lost it. I prefer first to consider the meaning of the Kwa. It was mainly sacrificial sacrifices that were often performed after seven days' fasting. A seven days' fast was taken as a period of a few days, and in common parlance the phrase 勿逐七日得 'without seeking he will get it after seven days' or about that time. Whether it was a proverb of common speech or not, we cannot tell, but it went into the diviner's stock of phrases, for we find it again in the 63rd Kwa, Ki tsi, 'already passed over,' water above fire. A woman loses her carriage screen. Let her not seek it. She will find it after seven days. The writer of the Siang appendix says, she finds it in seven days because she treads the path of right. My suggestion is that the five words *wu chu tsi j'ü te* were a customary diviner's phrase, and its coming into use was caused by the frequency of seven day fasts of a religious nature. Though there was not a weekly day of rest, there were occasional days of rest, and among them the winter solstice was included as well as seven day fasts in connection with the more important sacrifices. In this way the three passages in the 24th, 51st and 63rd Kwa, may all be reconciled.

This hypothesis does away with the need of taking a day for a month, which is highly objectionable and improbable, and also with the need of counting a stroke for a day, which is also improbable. The Chinese are not to be congratulated on the probability or naturalness of their explanations of the seven days in the Yi King. Our advantage is in our growing acquaintance with ancient Babylonian customs.

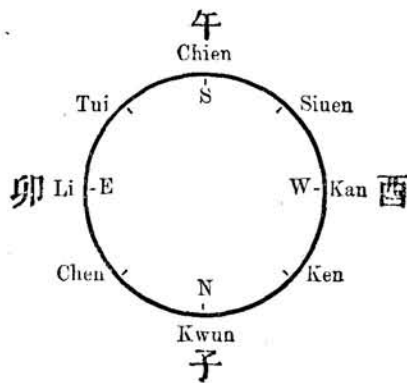
2.—THE TEACHING OF THE SHWO KWA

CHWEN.

This is the last of the appendices. It was lost, but in the reign of Siuen Ti, B.C. 73 to 48, it was found by a young woman

when pulling down an old house. At that time King Fang, who in his work on the Yi King applied the teaching of this book to the calendar, was still living. He would feel great interest in this treatise, because it gives new and expanded views of the Yi King.

Chen Twan and Shau Yau fu found in it their celebrated doctrine of the former heaven 先天之學. Fuhi, the original author of the book of divination, is represented by these two scholars of the tenth and eleventh centuries as placing the



symbol of heaven in the south, earth in the

north, fire in the east, water in the west, thunder in the south-west, wind in the north-east, mountain in the south-east and marsh in the north-west. The principle of Yang prevails in the south, as Yin does in the north. Ken, mountain, seems to have its position determined by the direction of the flow of Chinese rivers and the fact that Kwun lun is on the north-west, while on the south-east China shelves to the sea. Thunder, the symbol of spring, is in the north-east, and its opposite, wind, in the south-west. Fire takes the east, where the sun rises, and its opposite, water, is in the west.

To understand the arrangement, it will be necessary to look at the diagram of 64 Kwa, round and square, as drawn by its authors. In the circular form, heaven is found in eight Kwas occupying the division 午 wu, earth in eight Kwas in 子 tsī, fire in 卯 mau, water in 酉 and so on. In the square form, heaven is placed in the north-west, and earth in the south-east.

Let us view the Pa Kwa as eight elements and mark them by their initial letters, H heaven, M marsh, F fire, T thunder, W wind, WT water, MT mountain, E earth.

heaven, rules; Kwun, earth, conceals in its bosom.

In this section the eight Kwa become distinctly physical influences. It may be asked, is there here ground for Eu yang Sieu's assertion that the Shwo kwa chwen was made in the Han dynasty. It appears to me not so. The elements were in the days of the Tso chwen, fifth century before Christ, supposed to move among the days in a fixed order. In that work,* water and fire are mentioned as likely to bring evil on certain States of China by uniting in their operations on certain days, called 壬午 Jen wu and 丙子 Ping tsí. This certainly teaches, that in B.C. 524, the date in the history, the elements were already supposed to travel round the day-cycles, each in its own order and mode of operation, in such a way as to have an influence on human affairs. This was when Confucius was young. There is then no reason to regard the Shwo kwa chwen as a Han dynasty work or as teaching Han dynasty opinions, simply because it represents the elements as moving in circles round the sky and as affording means of divining the future if we notice on what days their influences combine.

But it is in the fifth section of the Shwo kwa chwen that we have, in the Yi King, the first definite statements assigning points in the compass systematically to the elemental powers, and the first attempt made toward a complete reconciliation of the Yi King with the new native speculations and the newly arrived Babylonian teachings on physical nature. In the east is Chen, shake. Spring and the thunder element and the birth of all things are there, not the birth of a primeval creation, but the annual birth of the world when the brown earth of North China becomes green. In the south-east is the wind element Sun, which purifies and tempers. In the south is Li, giving warmth and

* Legge's Tso chwen, p. 668, 水火之牡也, 其以丙子若壬午作乎水火所以合也 p. 636.

light. The prince looks to the south and governs. In the south-west is Kwun, earth, the nourisher. In the west is Tui, the autumn, with its smiles. In the north-west is Chien, heaven. Here light (yang) and darkness (yin) come close together. In the north is K'an, water. To it all things return. It is the goal of labour. In the north-east is Ken, mountains. Here all things end and also take their origin.

This is Wen wang's arrangement of the eight elements. Such is the statement of Ch'en Tw'an and Shau Yau fu. If this statement be true, then in Wen wang's time the eight symbols of divination were already identified with the five elements.

We need to consider whether in the older parts of the Yi King there is anything to justify the placing of the divination elements in the horizon in definite positions. In the second Kwa we read 西南得朋 si nan te p'eng, in the south-west friends are obtained. In the 17th Kwa, Sui, we have the Kwa Chen under the Kwa Tui, or east under west. We find in the sixth line the words 王用亨于西山 Wang yung hiang (heng, same as hiang) yü si shan, the king sacrifices on the west mountain. The mention of south-west in the second Kwa, Kwun doubled, may be taken as an indication that Wen wang placed this Kwa, symbolic of earth, in the south-west quarter, and the mention further on of the words in the north-east, friends are lost, may indicate that an opposition in orientation is attended by opposition in political and social life. In the Sui Kwa, the worship at a mountain in the west is likely to be at Ch'i Shan,* the home of the Cheu family before the empire fell to them. The Sui Kwa, consisting of Chen thunder below and Tui marsh above, nothing can be fairer than to conclude, as to the orientation of Tui, that the diviner viewed it as belonging to the west.

In the 40th Kwa, Kie loosen, we have the

* In the 46th Kwa, Sheng, the king sacrifices at Ch'i-shan.

remark 'loosening will be prosperous in the south-west.' The symbols rain and thunder combine, thus rendering the idea of loosening prominent. But there is nothing to shew what was the orientation of Chen and Kan the two constituent Kwa. In the 39th Kwa, Kien, consisting of mountain below and water above, there is an allusion to the south-west as a quarter where there is prosperity, but here again there is no indication of that being the quarter of earth. In the 46th Kwa, Sheng, consisting of earth below and wind above, it is said in an expedition to the south there will be prosperity. But this tells nothing about which of the elements belongs to the south. In the 49th diagram, Ke change, consisting of fire below and marsh above, we have some real light on the matter of the elements in their relation to the points of the compass. Under the fifth line we find the words, 'the great man changes as the tiger changes. Before divining he has the confidence' (of all). Now the tiger is the animal symbolized by the west and by the Tui Kwa, and this is not likely to be an accidental coincidence. This argument carries with it much force, especially as the Siang appendix says, 'of the great man, when he changes, it is true as it is of the tiger, his stripes grow brighter.' The word ping, bright, alludes to the lower symbol Li, bright, fire, as the tiger does to the upper symbol Tui, which presides over metal and the west. There can here be no reasonable doubt that the writer of this appendix had the thought clear in his mind not only that Li meant brightness but that the tiger, the symbol of the western constellations, was indicated by Tui. But this involves a definite orientation of the elements. So in the 10th Kwa, consisting of marsh below and heaven above, the tiger is mentioned in the oldest text in such a way as to shew that Wen wang himself looked upon Tui, marsh, as belonging to the western quarter. His words are, 'in treading on the tiger's tail, he does not bite. This man will prosper.' Here then

we may draw the conclusion that in the twelfth century before Christ the elements were already referred to the four quarters of the sky, and we know by the Hung fan that the five elements in the order water, fire, wood, metal, earth were then taught as a doctrine explanatory of the phenomena of the universe by Ki tsü, who went to Corea at the head of his retainers. In fact, leading the first Chinese colony that we know of to that peninsula.

By this method of proof we find that Shau Yau fu was right in holding that the fourth section of the Shwo kwa chwen teaches the philosophy of Wen wang, so far as it consisted in placing the eight elements of the Yi King and the five elements of the Hung fan in definite points of the horizon.

Yet there is a note in the school edition of the Yi King, at the end of the 4th section, saying the positions of the eight Kwa are given in this section, but we do not understand it. Mau Si ho blames Chu Hi in strong terms for this opinion. We must regard then the words as his, though the preface to the book bears the name of Cheng Yi. Elsewhere Mau Si ho also blames him for encouraging Shau's view respecting Fu hi's arrangement of the elements. The part taken by Chu Hi seems to be this. He placed Shau's diagrams at the head of the school edition, introduced by Cheng Yi's preface. In doing so, he lent encouragement to the views maintained by Shau, but in his three volumes on the Yi King, written in the old mandarin dialect of the court of Hangeheu, contained in his published works, he is cautious not to commit himself to a thorough advocacy of the new ideas brought in by Ch'en Tw'an and Shau Yau fu. They belong to the school of the 數學 Shu hio, numerical philosophy, founded by King Fang and Cheng Kang cheng in the Han dynasty and recommenced by Ch'en and Shau. As to Chu Hi himself, he was from choice and habit an adherent of the moral school, and his views upon the Yi King are pre-

dominantly of a moral kind, like those of Confucius.

3—THE TWO TEXTS CHARACTERIZED.

The phraseology of the oldest text of the Yi King consists of diviners' language in great part and also of ordinary language. Thus in the first Kwa **元亨利貞** great, penetrating, profitable, correct, is a string of adjectives expressing the diviner's sentiments in regard to the actions of the person who consults the oracle. The same words occur under many of the 64 figures. The phrase **有攸往** means commencing an enterprise; **有孚** *yeu fu* means, if he deserve confidence, Fu is faithful, to be depended on; **利涉大川** *li she ta ch'wen*, in crossing a river he will have prosperity; **利見大人** he will have prosperity in meeting with great persons; **吉** and **凶** mean prosperity and adversity; **无咎** no error; **履虎尾** *lü hu wei*, tread on the tiger's tail, is used with **兌** the Kwa of the west quarter, in allusion to the white tiger, which is supposed to be seen in Orion and Taurus, the constellations of the west. The phrase **小往大來** 'the little goes, the great comes' indicates gradual improvement in the prosperity of those who inquire their destiny. The opposite is **大往小來**. Great success is **大有**. Among the many phrases beginning with **利** *li*, profit, are **利建侯**, there is profit in setting up feudal princes. This would be used when the question was, whether feudal princes should be summoned to help on any occasions and not only when there was a new investiture of a feudal baron. Another is **利君子貞** there is prosperity when he, whose destiny is inquired about, is a hero and correct in conduct.

At present in modern Chinese we meet with many negative sentences in colloquial use, as *pu ts'ò*, *pu li*, not wrong, not far wrong, where an affirmative is meant, such as 'he is excellent' or 'that is what was needed.' So in the old diviners' language there

were also many negative sentences such as **出入无疾** in going out or coming in he meets no misfortune. The modern **不好** 'you had better not' is, when turned into very old Chinese **不利** as in **不利即戎** 'it is better not to commence fighting at once.'

The sentence **七日來復** 'in seven days he will return' is probably proverbial. The diviners would use it because they were very much accustomed to seven day fasts at the great sacrifices. Periods of seven days were in use as the fourth of a month in various religious observances, and good fortune was expected to attend their observance. This sentence would thus be accounted for without great difficulty.

The occasions on which good fortune is desired and expected give origin to a few definite expressions such as **取女吉** good fortune in choosing a wife; **小事吉** good fortune in all small matters; **貞吉** if correct you will be fortunate; **其來復吉** his coming back will be fortunate; **有攸往夙吉** if he go and go early, he will be fortunate; **南征吉** if he go on an expedition to the south, he will be fortunate, and the opposite, **征凶** *cheng hiung*, if he go on an expedition, it will be unfortunate.

The old text from which the preceding phrases have been collected is commonly ascribed to Wen wang, founder of the Cheu dynasty. In it are found the germs of many conceptions which afterwards became more developed. Thus from the Lin Kwa, the 19th, it may be implied that Kwan, the 20th Kwa, was applied to the 8th month. Lin has ☱ below and ☲ above, Kwan has ☲ below and ☱ above and is therefore just the converse of Lin. The old text says that Lin indicates prosperity, but that in the 8th month there will be adversity. The converse of Lin being Kwan, it is implied that Kwan has to do with the 8th month, as Fuh has to do with the 11th. So also there is a passage in which there seems to be a clear reference to the orientation of

the figure Tui, that is 'treading on the tiger's tail.' That this really implies that the tiger was known in the 12th century as the configuration of the western group of seven, in the zodiac of 28 constellations, seems highly probable, because in this Kwa Lü, the 10th, and in the Kwa Ke, the 49th, the tiger is mentioned in connection with Tui, which later authors unanimously assign to the west.

Also in connection with 離 fire, brightness, we find the cow mentioned once in the oldest text, in the 30th Kwa, in the words 'in feeding the cow (pim nieu) there is prosperity.' Also the cow occurs in the Kwa Ke, the 49th, mentioned under the first line in the following manner: He is bound with the hide of a brown (Hwang ox). Here I suspect that the reddish brown of cows in both cases is understood to be the colour of fire, seeing that in both instances the Kwa is Li, fire, and in the second line of the 30th Kwa the same colour is mentioned. In Wen Wang's time the colour attributed to fire should in consequence be regarded as yellow or reddish brown. If we had only the oldest text, that called the Kwa ts'ï 卦辭, we should know the orientation of Tui to be west and of Kwun to be south-west.* We should also know that Kwun and Li were female Kwa. We should know the phrases for good and ill fortune and have destiny foretold in regard to war and marriage, and be favoured with advice founded upon the portents afforded by the divining straws. We should also know that divination on behalf of kings was more important than for the common people, and that, when they were about to sacrifice, it was specially incumbent on them to consult the straws. The proper behaviour of the women of the family, rewards to meritorious feudal chiefs, and various matters of inferior moment, were also the subjects of divination. Three-fourths of

* In Kwun a mare is mentioned with the feminine p'im. In Li a cow is mentioned also with p'im.

the text consists of official phrases in use by diviners. Very little therefore was written by Wen wang. We rather see in this ancient text the hand of Shang dynasty diviners.

But let us examine also the second text, that on the separate lines or 爻辭 Yau ts'ï. It is crowded with the sort of expressions peculiar to diviners. All the sentences already noted in the oldest text occur here again in profusion. But there are large additions. The dragon comes on the scene. He is seen in the fields and flying in the firmament. One flies too high and suffers on account of it. A host of dragons appear without heads. They are fighting in the open. Their blood is a dark brown. Hunting the deer is described. Various instruments of torture are mentioned. The opposite of 君子 upright man, namely 小人 siao jen, comes into use, also 幽人 the retired man and 武人 the warrior in armour are also introduced. The marriage of a princess, which took place about B.C. 1190, has allusions made to it. The phrases 无悔 no repentance, 无不利 everywhere successful, 利用行師 he will be successful in moving his troops, 有悔 he will regret it, 利居貞 he succeeds by keeping to correct conduct, 用譽 by acting he obtains praise, 至臨 on the event taking place or on his arrival, 厲吉 in vigour there will be good fortune, 貞吝 in correctness there will be regret.

In regard to music and sacrifices, there are such phrases as 利用禴 there will be success in performing music, 王用享于岐山 the king offers a sacrifice in Ch'i Shan without error, 利用享祀 there will be success in sacrificing.*

In regard to enterprises, we have 往有尙 in going there will be success, 往厲必戒 in going, lest there should be severe

* It may be noticed that here 用 yung has the force of 動 tung move, from which it is indeed derived.

resistance, you must take precautions. In regard to lost articles we have the expression 勿逐七日得 without needing to seek it, you will have it again in seven days.

From the preceding view of the materials of the first and second texts of the Yi King they may be considered contemporaneous. Both seem to consist of observations made by diviners in the Shang dynasty and worked up afresh for the use of Cheu dynasty diviners. That the materials are of the Shang dynasty and partly of the Cheu dynasty, may be shewn by the persons and events mentioned in the texts. Thus there is the conquest of the country called Kwei fang by the emperor Kau tsung, who reigned from B.C. 1324 to B.C. 1265, requiring three years for its completion. This is in the Ki tsi figure. Mau Si ho believes that the Kwei fang country was Tibet or a part of it and the same as the Si J'ang. He states that Kau tsung was unquestionably Wu ting. The emperor Ti yi, who is mentioned in more than one passage, reigned from B.C. 1191 to 1154. In the 11th Kwa his younger sister is married. In the 54th Kwa it is said that her sleeves were inferior to those of her younger sister. She looked like the moon when nearly full. Beside these two emperors, Ki tsi is also mentioned, the noted statesman of the Shang dynasty.

If there were need of any additional arguments in support of the view that much of the two old texts was written in the Shang dynasty, I might mention that in the Tso chwen, when the Shang dynasty Yi King is mentioned, the name of the Kwa is the same as in the Cheu Yi. Thus under the year B.C. 564 the figure Ken changes to the figure Sui, and the entry in the Cheu Yi under Sui is Yuen heng li cheng, wu kieu, great, penetrating, beneficial and correct, without error. Hence the names of the Yi King figures were the same in the Shang and in the Cheu dynasty. But if the names of the figures or Kwa were the same, then the order of the strokes was the same. Also as some of the

Kwa speak of marriage, others of sacrifices, and others again of military expeditions, the general sense of the Kwa was also the same in the two dynasties, for these peculiarities of meaning are usually inseparable from the name of the Kwa, for example, Fu returning, Tung jen, friends. The old and new texts are the expression of this old sense attached to the figure and its name. The two old texts then may be regarded as largely the work of the Shang dynasty diviners, but edited, corrected and extended by Wen wang and his son Cheu kung.

I add here a word regarding the philosophical standpoint of these texts. They are examples of moral divination. There is no cosmogony or orderly discussion of any profound subject. The authors of the texts make but rarely allusion to the five elements, the five colours, or to any of the numerous divisions of the Hung fan. The reader of the Hung fan would know that such a system of divination existed as we find in these texts, but the reader of the texts would not know that in that age there existed such a document as the Hung fan. These texts are narrower in their scope than the Hung fan. They are a manual for the divination bureau, principally written, to judge from the chronological notes they contain, in the 14th, 13th and 12th centuries before Christ. The morality is that of Yau, Shun, Yü, and Tang, and is the system of an age innocent of speculative philosophy. Divine revelation was regarded as a fact. Sacrifices were regarded as homage to real beings. The elements were water, fire, wood, metal, earth, and their properties to soften and descend, to burn and ascend, to be crooked and straight, to yield and change, and to grow grain, vegetables, and fruits. To these five elements the five tastes were matched in such a way that water was salt, fire was bitter, wood was sour, metal was hot, and earth was sweet. The five planets were also distributed among the five elements, but this is not stated in the Hung fan. Another group of five particulars is

given in the Hung fan and consists of face, speech, seeing, hearing, thinking. Such was the numerical philosophy of the 12th century and probably much earlier. It is obscurely hinted at in the two texts, but the diviners limited themselves as a rule to their proper subject, which was in their time a very prominent department of the government, and presided over by very responsible officers.

4.—THE FIRST TWO APPENDICES.

The first two of ten 'wings' or appendices to the Yi King are the comment ascribed to Confucius known as T'wan, in two parts. It consists of remarks on the first text attached to each of the 64 figures in succession. The remarks are in all cases laudatory of the depth, truth and extensive applicability of the Kwa. The object of the writer is to inspire his readers with admiration for the profundity of the Yi King.

The contents of this comment shew that in the time of the writer faith in divination had so grown, that the 64 symbols were supposed to embrace within them a true and profound doctrine of the world and its movements. This does not appear in the two early texts. In them the Yi King is a system of divination only. In the T'wan appendix, the Yi King is a book of symbols from which the good man and the hero may obtain knowledge, consolation, moral improvement and elevation of thought. The historical references it contains are to T'ang, Wen wang, Ki tsi and Wu wang only. It reads like the manual of a teacher who would conduct his pupils through the whole of the 64 Kwa in the Chen dynasty arrangement and point out on the way the main points of thought suggested by each Kwa.

The most interesting points are those that here follow. Heaven is the source of existence. All things take their beginning from heaven. But this is developed no farther than by expressing the beneficent

action of clouds and rain. The six strokes of the figure are to the mind of the writer six dragons which rule the sky. Earth shares with heaven in the production of all things. A new antithesis, soft and hard, comes into use along with this dual method of accounting for existing things. Among the eight Kwa, Ch'ien, K'an, Ken, and Chen are male and strong, while Siün, Li, Kwun, Tui are weak and female. Much more attention is here given to the characteristics of the eight Kwa than in the old texts. When the teacher has before him the thunder and water symbols for instance, he discusses the phenomenon of movement in connection with danger. If he sees the two figures heaven underneath and fire above, he remarks upon the union of strength and mental illumination. Fire is weak, and he remarks that the name of the double figure being ta yeu 大有 'great possessions,' the hero, though weak, has attained to a high position and great possessions. The figure 'humility' gives the writer occasion to make use of the word Tau, the way. The way of heaven is to diminish the full and to add to the possessions of the humble. It is the way of earth to change the condition of the full and cause a stream of blessing to flow towards the humble. It is the way of spirits (Kwei shen) to injure the full and give happiness to the humble. It is the way of men to hate the full and love the humble. Coming to the 24th Kwa, Fuh, the author says, having the whole stroke at the bottom and the five divided strokes above it, lying before him, the hard returns, there is movement, and it is in the right direction. The action returns to its former path. On the 7th day there is a return, such is heaven's mode of working. In Fuh is seen the heart of heaven and earth. He remarks on the 38th figure, Kwei, which has marsh below and fire above, that two daughters live together, but their intentions do not move together. There is pleasure joined to bright thoughts. Human actions harmonize with heaven and earth. These

examples suffice to shew the aim of the writer. His attention is chiefly drawn to the constituent figures which make up the double Kwa in each case. He does not in his range of thought transcend physical nature and human society. Only once or twice does he illustrate his views by historical instances, as where he says, intellectual light within and pliancy and submission without were possessed by Wen wang who was involved in great calamities. There is benefit in maintaining correctness when in straits, and in voluntarily obscuring one's brightness as Ki ts'i was able to do.

Who was the writer of the T'wan appendix? It was some one who admired Wen wang and Ki ts'i and who did his best to develop the meaning of the Yi King figures by studying their physical peculiarities. He aimed to point out to his pupils the extent and ramifications of the elemental (五行) philosophy. This embraced the dual principle strong and weak, light and darkness, male and female. There is nothing here to require us to refer the T'wan appendix to Confucius as its author. We may say that it was written between the time of Chen kung and Confucius, probably about the ninth century before Christ. The writer adhered to the moral teaching of the ancient Sages and was a strong believer in the elemental philosophy, a philosophy which Confucius admired without sympathy, and for which he only cared because it seemed to come from the sages of the past. Nor was this appendix written by a Tauist. In its philosophy, if it may be so called, there is nothing of the Tauist modes of expression. The Tau of this appendix is the order of nature as seen in the physical heaven and earth, and it is observed by a writer bent only on correct moral distinctions. It is just what Confucius would approve and one is tempted to think that his admiration for the Yi King may have been very much caused by the moral philosophy we find in this and the second appendix. As he did not write the

Wen yen, quoted in the Tso chwen at a date earlier than the time of the sage, so also he may not have written this appendix. That we do not find here a doctrine of creation is conclusive against a Tauist origin. We are only taught that it is by the active protection and aid of heaven and earth that things are born and go on till they decay and die. Tauists prefer to go back farther than this.

The second appendix* is more like the production of a diviner than the first in some respects. But it makes admiring observations and limits their range to moral subjects like the first. Its aim is chiefly to expound the sense, sentence by sentence, of the second text. The author is fond of speaking of what the ancient kings did, calling them the 先王 Sien wang. To him we owe the interesting passage respecting the primitive sabbath-keeping at the time of the winter solstice, when for a time all business was stopped in order that religious duties might receive undivided attention. He mentions the sacrifices offered by the emperor at Chi shan, the original home of the Cheu family, and the spot where ancestral tombs would be periodically visited for worship. He never omits to embrace in his statements the meanings of the upper and lower figures. Under the Kwa of change he refers to the issue of the government calendar to distinguish times. He adds particulars respecting the marriage of the emperor's sister in the 14th century. On the whole this appendix is very poor in thought and scope.

5.—THE THIRD APPENDIX.

The fifth and sixth wings now follow, constituting Legge's third appendix.

The third appendix is of a higher style and does enough to redeem the Yi King from the charge of being common-place. Here occurs for the first time in Chinese

* The Siang appendix forms the 3rd and 4th of the ten wings.

literature a new word for the soul, hwun.* The writer represents the Yi King as in agreement with heaven and earth, so as to be able fully to define the way (Tau) in which the world is administered. Looking up at the objects of astronomy (sun, moon and stars with the clouds and colours of the sky) and down on the earth divided into nations and climates, knowing the causes working in the hidden world of darkness and the regions of daylight with the period allotted to life and death and their nature, how the spiritual essence and the breath animate the living, and how the soul wanders when change comes at the hour of death, this book knows thoroughly, in consequence, the reality concerning spiritual beings, Kwei and Shen.

When it is said that the Yi King is able to do these things, it is meant that the sage can do them. By this is intended the agency of Fu hi, Shen nung, Hwang ti and the other wise emperors. It is in this appendix that we have the first account of the three emperors whose names are here given. They are introduced as the authors of the Chinese civilization. As such they are in the tradition represented by this appendix, not as monstrous beings half fish and half man, dressed in leaves and newly sprung from chaos, but as wise men and teachers endowed with royal authority. Divination is the earliest science but it was a divination which embraced the knowledge of the stars and terrestrial nature and was able to penetrate into their arcana. The result of this higher divination was the symbols of the Yi King. Armed with this knowledge, they



* The word hwun 魂 soul is probably formed from 神 shen by slipping of the initial letter. Shen would be an old name for breath. This same slipping has caused a large number of characters to have a double pronunciation. Thus 樂 yo for ngak and lo for lak. Kwo 果 as a phonetic is also lo. Cases are very numerous. The law may be simply stated thus. Labial initials change to tooth and guttural initials; tooth initials change to guttural initials. Labials came first as in 父母 fu mu, father, mother.






shewed the people how to make strings serve for communicating thought as in ancient Peru, and nets to use in hunting and fishing. This the writer ascribes to the fire kwa li 𠄎 as suggesting the shape of a net, which, if doubled, it may do in a certain rough way. The invention of the plough, spade and hoe were symbolized by the Kwa called Yi, consisting of 𠄎 above and 𠄎 below. The upper is wind and wood the lower is the east and thunder, but as wood is the element of the east, we have wood occurring twice and this suggests its use in the implements of the husbandman. There is no reason to doubt that this was the way in which the author reflected and it shews how the educated class thought about things in the eighth century before Christ or thereabouts. Here is another example. Shen Nung taught the people to meet in markets to exchange the produce of their localities. This is indicated by the Kwa known as Shi ho 𠄎 𠄎 consisting of brightness above, and movement below. To the mind of the writer, brightness meant the day-time in which the busy movements of the market constantly take place. By this sort of harmless ingenuity he strove to magnify the importance of the Yi King. The value to us is that we are able to judge by this author's fancies, at what stage Chinese thought had arrived in his time. The country was then completely under the influence of the elemental philosophy which came after the moral philosophy of Yau and Shun and preceded the cosmogonical philosophy of Lau and Chwang.

One of the most striking features of the Hi t'si or third pair of wings of the Yi King is its arithmetic. The diviners had their milfoil stalks, forty-nine in number and one over, and constantly manipulated them. They were six feet long for the emperor,* four feet six for barons, three feet

* Nine ancient feet at eight inches give six of our feet. See in the Yi li. Plates with descriptions in the Kang li edition.

three for officers and two feet for the common people. They were kept in round boxes and were required in common life, for funerals could not be performed without them, it being necessary to know that things were being done in a way to cause good luck. By means of these divining sticks it was found that 1, 3, 5, 7, 9 belonged to heaven and 2, 4, 6, 8, 10 to earth, also that 25 belonged to heaven and 30 to earth, making in all 55. When the diviner spread out his forty-nine sticks, he called it the great extension 大衍. One was the great extreme 太極. Four handfuls made the four seasons or T'ai Yin, T'ai Yang, Shau Yin, Shau Yang, as Shau Yau fu tells us, and it would be of no use to contradict him for we find these four names in the Su wen and Ling shu, the oldest medical books, dating at least from the Ts'ien Han period. The number 360 is made up of 144 for earth and 216 for heaven. By farther manipulation you obtain 11,520. Here the secret might be that, if 36 be multiplied by 36 and four times 36 be subtracted, you get 11,520. But we are told that male strokes 192 give 5,912, female strokes 192 give 4,608 and that these numbers added make 11,520. To obtain this result it is necessary to multiply 192 by 36* and also by 24. There is another way of obtaining this sum. Add 144 times 36 to 216 times 36, and subtract 144; for we may make up this number in several ways. It comes, say the Chinese, out of that book which is a picture of the world, the Yi King, and if the number of things in the universe could be counted, they would be found to be exactly 11,520. The Yi King is a revelation of the secrets of the

* The Babylonians called 60 years a sossos, 600 years, a neros. A saros was 6 neri or 3600 years, others make them terms of days. A talent was 60 minas. An hour was 60 minutes. That is, they were fond of multiples of six. Sixty was a higher unity and was written  with what was in fact a large unit or one. Thus  was 62.

universe. It is the work of sages who had an insight into things, the knowledge of which others could not attain. We find in it a picture of nature and a prophetic conspectus of all later science, if we know the key to its riddles. It is worth observing that the numbers here mentioned are all multiples of thirty-six, the square of six, and this circumstance may have some light thrown on it by the passage in the Tso chwen (Legge, p. 556), where the character 亥 is said to be composed of two at the head and three sixes in the body of it. It would be in Ku wen 𠄎. This, says the Tso chwen, is to be read 26,660, the number of days that an old man had lived, and he would be 73 years old, and a little more. The old man had been born on the day 甲子 on the first of the month and no fewer than 445 Kia ts'i days had passed since. This happened B.C. 542 at the time when mathematics and astrology were already studied extensively in China, and this part of the third appendix might very well originate about this time, at least there is nothing in the arithmetical statements here made inconsistent with that supposition. I will add here that in the astronomy and astrology of the Babylonians numbers were expressed in cuneiform much as in the mode of the Chinese mathematicians and of the Su cheu ma ts'i. Five strokes stand for five and three strokes for three. If four strokes are written on the left of two, the compound is read forty-two. Thus  is 21,  is 14,  is 16,  is 25,  is 329.

The tablets which have in them this mode of arithmetical writing belong to the library of Sargon, king of Agane, and were drawn up in the 16th century B.C. The cuneiform writing was in common use for commercial purposes, and among the tablets unearthed from the mounds a very large proportion are descriptive of commercial transactions. The passage in the Tso chwen suggests that in the course of trade the Babylonian mode of writing numbers had be-

come known in China in the sixth century B.C. With this it may be credibly supposed that the mathematical progress made by the Chinese in the Cheu dynasty before the time recorded in the history of Confucius was very much due to the help they received from Babylon. With the dial came the rudiments of trigonometry. There does not seem anything unreasonable in the supposition that the shape of the earth in the Cheu pi, that of an umbrella, the use of the gnomon, the names keu and ku of the sides of a right-angled triangle, the measurement of the earth in a rough way by the use of the gnomon, and the study of the properties of numbers as in this appendix to the Yi King and in the Cheu pi are all the result of the working of the Chinese intellect based on Babylonian knowledge. It was from the gnomon and its shadow that the Greeks developed both geometry and trigonometry. There was science in Egypt and Chaldea before the time of the Greeks and the first ideas of trigonometry and geometry were known to the builders of the pyramids and of the hanging gardens of Babylon. The Greeks were themselves learners before they became the teachers of the world. The position of the Chinese in the time of the western Chow dynasty was like that of the Greeks in the west; they were learning from Babylon and they expanded the germs of scientific thought as they received them in the best way they could.

The result of this investigation into the arithmetic of the 3rd appendix is that we are able to assign it to the time before Confucius and to a writer who was familiar with the mathematical school founded by Chow kung. Thus we retain it within the bounds of Confucian orthodoxy and the teaching of the sages. But it has taught us that, in giving a complete account of Chinese thought in the western Chow, we must include a mathematical school along with a school of astrology, a school of the philosophy of the five elements and a school of the old moral philosophy of Yau and Shun.

All these existed before the writing of the Tau te king. If Confucius and Mencius had happened to have cared for studies not ethical, we should know more about these schools than we do. But the fact of their existence cannot be questioned, if we fairly weigh the evidence from the Hung fan, the Chow pi and the history of Sī ma Ts'ien.

In the 3rd appendix a systematic attempt is made to sound the depths of the Yi King philosophy. The writer, whoever he was, believed in the profundity of the thoughts of the sages Fu hi, Shen nung, Hwang ti, Yau and Shun. They pierced in his opinion the mysteries of heaven and earth and in this book they have made them known. Its philosophy is therefore of an all-embracing kind. Most of it is an attempt to elevate divination and cause it to assume the categorical forms of well-reasoned thought. This appendix is indeed the chief repertory of what may be called the Yi King philosophy of the pre-Confucian age. The sage is the teacher, the actor, the inventor of the useful arts, and the diviner. By including divination among the chief duties of the sage, the writer shews that he belongs to the western Chow period. We find the sage divining in the Shu King and in the Yi King. To divine was in accordance with law and custom. No discredit had been thrown upon divination when the third appendix was written. But the school of the Tauists and that of Confucius and Mencius worked disastrously for the continuance of belief in divination. The founders of these schools ceased to feel interest in the subject, but never profess unbelief. Hence this appendix must have been written before the sixth century B.C. The author comes upon the subject of the ultimate formula of divination. It is expressed in the following words. The Great Extreme of the Book of Changes produced the two Elements or Spheres. These produced the four Forms and the four Forms in their turn produced the eight Diagrams, or Pa Hwa. Late authors such as Shau Yau fu have made a cosmogony of this,

but it is simply a symbolism attached to the milfoil stalks. T'ai ki, the Great Extreme, means an undivided bundle of fifty stalks, or one when the bundle consists of 49 stalks. A division results in night and darkness represented by two Spheres. These two Spheres become the four seasons according to the Han commentators. Others say it is the greater and smaller Yin and Yang that are meant. These occur in the Su wen 素問, a Taoist medical work which perhaps belongs to the age of Chwang Tsi and Mencius, if we may judge from the Taoist doctrine of longevity being stated in full at the beginning. In it the names 少陰, 太陰, 少陽, 太陽. Shau Yin, T'ai Yin, Shau Yang, T'ai Yang are applied to vessels of which there are twelve in the human body. There are three kinds of vessels yin, yang, and yang ming 陽明. They begin in the hands, in the feet, in the head, ear, ribs or armpit and pass through the body, ending at some one of these parts. They are channels for the passage of 氣 ch'i. The yang or bright ch'i warms the flesh, fills the skin, fattens certain parts and controls the opening and shutting of pores. If the greater and smaller Yin and Yang were meant by the four Forms, some light may be thrown on the sense by the use of these four terms in the Su wen. But perhaps the Han critics were right in taking the four Forms 四象 to be the four seasons, which form a part of the favourite elemental philosophy of the western Chow period. Indeed we may combine the two, calling spring and summer Shau yang and T'ai yang, and autumn and winter Shau yin and T'ai yin.

The meaning of this remarkable passage is closely connected with the milfoil rods and must refer in the first instance to the manipulation of these rods. As a secondary sense it may include what the eight Kwa include, every thing in the field of nature and human action. The term 太極 T'ai chi means 'the great limit' or origin. We are not at liberty to refer it to creation or

cosmogony, because the first examples of the idea of cosmogony are found in the Tau Te King and in Lie Tsi. But the language, being symbolical, is capable of being referred to cosmogony as one sense, and Chen Twan and Shau Yau fu have taken advantage of this ambiguity to found upon the Yi King a Taoist cosmogony and a school of thought which Mau Si ho affirms* to belong in no way to this ancient book.

Several portions of the third Appendix are referred to Confucius. His disciples very early placed at the head of these passages the words 子曰 Tsi yue, the Master said. This shews that these disciples believed Confucius to have written these parts of the appendix and no more. Chu-hi feels perplexed by this because he says Confucius wrote all the ten wings. But in this opinion we must suppose Chu hi to be mistaken. Among the passages having this heading the arithmetical section is not included. That which treats on the great extreme has this heading, so that we are in a certain way obliged to recognize that Confucius wrote it. The style of the sage is not very visible in it and certain doubts must remain as to the authorship. I would rather call it pre-Confucian, because it is written in the spirit of an earlier time when divination was still implicitly believed. It is worthy of remark that the scholarly consciousness of the Chinese leads them to quote passages in this appendix as a part of the Yi King even when the word 子曰 'the Master said' precede. They do not say when reciting these passages, Confucius said this, but the Yi King says this. The reason of this I suppose to be that Confucius and his disciples do not *ex animo* accept divination, but cannot say so plainly because this would be to condemn the sages. We see how far Confucius and his followers could go on the subject of divination in the Chung Yung (page

* Mau Si ho says that the Sien t'ien doctrine belongs to We Pie yang, author of the Tsau tung ch'i.

281, Legge). 'He whose teaching is the most sincere can foresee coming events. When the State is about to prosper, there are sure to be lucky portents. When the State is falling to ruin, there will be strange monstrosities as a sign of evil. There will be visible marks in the milfoil stalks and in the tortoise and each of the four parts (of the tortoise or of the milfoil bundles). When good times are near, he will know it. When evil approaches, he will know it. Therefore he who is most sincere is like a good in his knowledge.' The aim of the writer is to exalt the sage, not divination. Divination is possible because of his high qualities. This is a different thing from the belief of the writer of the third appendix to whom the milfoil and tortoise are divine things which are imitated by the sage. Two centuries at least should intervene between the time of the writer and the time of Confucius. The prefixed words 子曰 constitute a difficulty which does not seem insuperable when we remember the high admiration for the Yi King expressed by Confucius, and the fact that zealous disciples would be led to believe that all it taught was accepted by him *ex animo*.

We must admit the authorship of Confucius where for instance his favourite disciple Yen Hwei is spoken of as in the second part of this appendix in the 5th section. In this instance the prefix Tsī yue must be allowed to be correct. There is no necessity to throw doubt on this prefix in any case where there is the absence of internal evidence against it. Perhaps the passage containing the T'ai chi is the only one requiring any decided expression of doubt.*

* A Chinese friend suggests that a little far-

Two more passages require some remarks. The statement is made that the Yi flourished in the mediaeval age 中古. This refers to the Shang dynasty and especially the time when Wen wang was imprisoned. In another section it is said that the flourishing period of the Yi King was at the end of the Shang.

The result to which the preceding investigation brings us is that the text of the Yi King belongs to the Shang dynasty and the appendices to the Chow. The chief part of the appendices was the work of court diviners and others down to about the eighth century. What Confucius inserted was fragmentary. The writers belonged to an older school of thought than his, that is to the philosophy of the five elements joined with mathematics and the study of moral philosophy according to the teaching of the wise kings of antiquity.

The Yi King belongs to an older stratum of literature than the Four Books, and while the 'Ten wings' were in course of being appended to it, Taoism was unknown. The only books that can be associated with it as of the same age are the Shi and the Shu, the Chow Li, the Yi Li, the Chow pi and the Hia siao cheng. There was no such writer as Kwan Chung or Li Lau tan in the time when the 'Ten wings' were made, nor was the western Chow overthrown by the Tibetan tribes.

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ther on in the same section an allusion is made to the Ho t'u and Lo shu and that in the Lun yü Confucius laments that the phoenix comes no more and the Yellow River does not now throw up from its depths a map to instruct mankind. From this he argues that Confucius believed in omens and in the Ho t'u. But this is pathetic rhetoric, not faith.