he is outwardly on terms of intimate friendship. Whilst they are drinking, 'suddenly dark clouds obscure the whole sky, and heavy rain is threatening to set in at a moment's notice. The servants call the attention of the drinkers to the "dragon-hangings"* on the horizon, whereupon Ts'ao Ts'ao and Liu Hsüan-tê, running out and leaning on the balustrade of the balcony, look at the sky. "Do you know, Mr. Prefect," said Ts'ao Ts'ao, "all about the transformations of the dragon?" "I do not know much about them," replied Liu Hsüan-tê. "The dragon," said Ts'ao Ts'ao, "is able to render himself large or small, just as he likes. He is able to soar on high or to hide in the depths. When he is large, he raises clouds, and the breath of his mouth appears in the form of a fog. When he is small, he hides amongst the tribes of the scaly reptiles and conceals his shape. When he soars up, he flies at random between Heaven and Earth; when he hides, he lies concealed in the waves of the watery depths. Just now, the rule of Spring being established over the earth, the dragon transforms himself in accordance with the season [that is: he is about to soar on high], just like a man in prosperity, who may choose for himself the place he likes best within the compass of the four seas. For the dragon, as regards his natural qualities, may well be compared with the heroes of an epoch in history."' (Compare Mayers' article 'Lung,' No. 451.)

C. ARENDT.

Peking, April, 1884.

(To be Continued.)

9, 8 vers. ult., Ts'ao Ts'ao was 66 years old when he died in A.D. 220, it follows that the year of his birth is A.D. 155.

* In Chinese 龍 挂 *lung²-kua⁴* i.e. thunder-clouds, looking like dragons hanging down from the sky. In the present Chinese colloquial, thunder-clouds are described as 龍戲水 *lung-hsi-shui* 'dragons playing with water.'

THE YI KING, WITH NOTES ON THE 64 KWA.

(Continued from Vol. XII., page 88.)

30. The Kwa of brightness is *li* 離, to leave, here used in the sense of 麗 *li*, beautiful, name of some wild beast, separate, bright. Of this animal the character is a picture, with the addition of *chui*, bird. The animal is called genius of the mountains. Wen Wang and Cheu Kung explain it of brightness. Li is one of the eight Kwa doubled and not a broken line in the middle. As a picture the Ku Wen seems to represent tusks, legs, a tail, and, perhaps, a bristly neck. There is a rhyme in *a* in the text of lines 5 and 3, *la, ka, tsia, da,* and *tsia.*

31. The Kwa of mutual influence *hiem*, 咸, all. Fundamentally it is disappearance in the mouth, devour. It is written with mouth, and 戊 *sü* 4 *sut*, which means all. The Kwa is compounded of *ken*, the mountain which checks, underneath, and *tui*, marsh, smiling above.

Confucius says that *hiem* means *kam* 咸感 exert influence as if *sin*, heart, were attached to it. This is applied to marriage, in which the weak and the strong combine to exert influence on each other. Also the production of things in nature is symbolized in the same way. Further, the action of wise men in producing peace in the world is symbolized. The Tsin history relates that about A.D. 320 Kwo P'u, by means of this

Kwa changing to the well Kwa, foretold the discovery of some ancient bells, which were shortly afterwards found.

32. The Kwa of constancy *heng*, 恒, constant. Instead of following the Shwo-wen in deriving this from heart, ship, and two, I prefer to follow the older forms which give it as *kung*, 𠙵, phonetic and moon. The moon is constant in her changes. Thunder above and wind below are in the regular order of things. Wen Wang saw in this the emblem of the constancy of the sun and moon, of the seasons and of the renovation which results from the efforts of this sage. M. Terrien de la Couperie's explanation of the character 恆 is to my mind very improbable. *Asiat. Journ.* Vol. 14, p. 812. On this see Appendix.

33. The Kwa of retirement is *t'un*, 遯, to avoid, prudent, retirement. Mountain below and heaven above. The old form was probably *t'un*, shield, 盾, which is a picture of an implement held before the eye for concealment.

T'un is the Kwa of the 6th month. There are two broken lines below which indicate the progress made by darkness since it commenced, at the solstice. The sage retires when he sees this, for he knows that bad men are getting into power. Such was Wen Wang's soliloquy.

Kwo P'u, the diviner, found by means of this Kwa changing to *ku*, the true nature of a certain singular animal like a cow, a donkey and an elephant, which appeared in his time. He looked on it as uncanny. It was wounded with a spear and then went away.

34. *Ta chwang* 壯, strong, vigorous, greatly vigorous. It it is formed from a bed made of strips of wood, which, in the Ku Wen, are placed four across, and three down.

Heaven below and movement above make a favourable Kwa, for there are four unbroken lines below.

35. The Kwa of forwardness is *tsin*, 晉, advancement. Formed from the sun underneath, and a doubled 至, which is said to be a picture of descent to earth. Earth is below and brightness above. Both are female. Light comes out of the earth, in allusion to the sun rising. This is said in explanation of the relative position of the two constituent Kwa. Fer Regis' historical explanation, see Legge, p. 133. A prince who confers on the people prosperity is mentioned and the king as making a present of horses to him in great number.

It is added that the king receives him thrice in one day. Thrice is probably in allusion to the three lines of the Kwa of earth.

36. *ming yi*, 明夷. The appearance of clear intelligence wounded. Fire is below and earth above. The sun is gone under the earth.

This, it is said, is the representation of Wen Wang when meeting with the ill treatment he experienced at the hands of Cheu Wang. Evidently another hand than that of Wen Wang, viz. that of Confucius, is here at work in compiling the Twan Chwen.

Not only is Wen Wang described in the Twan as being represented in this Kwa in the form of the sun underground and as meeting with heavy misfortunes, but Ki Tsï, one of the celebrated statesman of that period, is also mentioned as being able in the time of calamity to decide correctly as to what he should do.

Ki Tsï (viscount), being mentioned in the fifth line under this title, requires, says Mau Si Ho, that we should regard Cheu Kung as the author of the text on each line, and not Wen Wang. He also remarks that Wen Wang being mentioned in the Twan Chwen shews the hand of Confucius in their bringing him into notice side by side with Ki Tsi, who as belonging to the Shang imperial family, could not, although imprisoned by Cheu Wang, take open part against the dynasty when liberated by Wu Wang.

The character *yi* is a picture of a man, (大 great) and a bow. This was the ancient idea of the Eastern barbarians such

as then inhabited Shantung promontory. But it is used phonetically in the sense wounded, injured. For this see in Legge Ch'un T'sieu, pp. 600, 604, an account of this Kwa being interpreted by a diviner to foretell the fate of a new born son.

37. The Kwa of the family, 家人. The character *kia* is a picture of three men under a roof says Tai Tung. The Shwo Wen derives it from *kia*, a boar, phonetically. See Chalmers, p. 65. The Ku Wen forms are divided between these two origins and a third, viz.: 瑕, in which case it may be derived from the marking of a red stone. The wind above comes from fire beneath. It is a truth of modern physics that wind is caused by heat. The authors of the Yi King knew something of this fact on empirical grounds.

The object of this Kwa is the regulation of the family and presses on each member the due discharge of his moral obligations to the others. The moral principles of the Yi King are the ground of the estimation in which Wen Wang and Cheu Kung are held as sages of the first class. This book has by its morality made divination respectable. The straws have been given up, but the morality taught in the book which shows how they are to be used can never cease to be recognized.

If in the Lu Shu Tung 六通書, the Lieu Wen form of 瘕, and the form of 瑕 in the Ku Wen Filial Piety classic and the two following it, be compared with the stone classic form of 家 and the 25th to the 29th ancient forms of 家 there given it will be admitted that the derivation from the marking of a red stone is very probable.

38. The Kwa of strangeness and disunion 睽, *kw'ei* 1 *k'ok*, strange. Below, a smiling marsh, and above, shining fine. This Kwa embraces many cases of special peculiarity, such as loss of horses, meeting one's chief in a bye road, having one's calf and bullock violently pulled back.

There is an instance of consulting the straws in the Tso Chwen in which this Kwa appeared. It was in the 24th year of Hi Kung, B.C. 635., see in Legge's Ch'un Ts'ieu, pp. 194, 195. This Kwa, on that occasion, appeared in exchange for *ta yeu*, the 14th Kwa. As usual the tortoise was first consulted and it gave the same presage as that which is recorded of the battle fought by Hwang Ti at Fan T'siuen.* This battle was recorded then in the tortoise divining book which the diviner consulted.

Here it is worthy of notice that it was customary to record in the divination guide books instances of former answers given by the diviners from their observation of the tortoise and the straws. Perhaps, it would be too much to expect that this is a record of the time of Hwang Ti, but it seems right to say that it was a record made either then, or later, by some diviner.

The ruler of Tsin said that he could not presume to regard the Kwa which Hwang Ti received as an omen suited for himself. 'But,' added the diviner, 'why not? The King of the Cheu dynasty is equivalent to the emperor of ancient times.' The ruler of Ts'in said let us try the straws. On doing so the first Kwa they got was *ta yeu*, and this changed to *k'wei*. In the first of these the fifth line, the only unbroken one, indicates the majesty of the emperor and offerings are presented to him. 'If you win a battle (said the diviner) and present gifts to the king you will be fortunate.' 'You may also learn (he added) from this Kwa that heaven (*k'ien*) the emperor comes out to meet you as indicated by the smiling (marsh) thus conferring on you great honour.'

For a case of divining with the help of this Kwa see under the 54th.

39. The Kwa of difficulty, 蹇 *kien*, lame. The character is formed of a cover under which is a man and the symbol for grass doubled. Beneath in the primitive phonetic

* This battle is mentioned in the 史記. This record seems to shew that the Shï Ki followed the old divining books and so filled up vacancies in ancient history.

were some hanging icicles. The character 寒 *han*, cold, was thus formed, the phonetic which was the basis of the *kien* of this Kwa having 足 for 冫.

Mountain below and water above. In water there is danger. Good fortune comes in the South-west. Ill fortune belongs to the North-east. Cheu was strong in the South-west, and Shang in the North-east.

40. The Kwa of loosening 解, *chie* 2 *kak*, to loosen, let go, explain. The picture of a carcase is found in 肉, *jeu* 8 *nok*, and this has the horns added at one end to represent an animal with horns, 角 *chian* 4 *kok*. To divide the carcase and loosen the parts from each other was the first thing to be done when the carcase was present. To represent this in writing, a picture of the cow, and the symbol for the knife used were added.

Water and danger below are surmounted by thunder and movement. Thunder freshens the natural world and has a lessening effect.

The old Yi King form of this character is 鮮, that is to say 鄲, as M. T. de la Couperie has pointed out. In opposition to him I hold that *kik* is phonetic on the left and *tsit*, ideographic, on the right. For his view see Appendix.

41. The Kwa of lessening is *sun* 損 2 *son*, cut shorter, diminish. In the oldest forms the right hand portion becomes unlike the character 員, and resembles a round cooking vessel over a fire.

A smiling marsh below is surmounted by a mountain. There is subtraction from the people and addition to the prince's possessions.

The old sound of s was t. Hence in the Ku Wen, Lau Tsï and Lu Shu Tung forms, the cooking vessel in the right is phonetic as *tun*. The modern *tun*, to stew, is a survival of the initial t.

42. The Kwa of addition is *yi* 益. This character is a compound of water above, and *ming*, a vessel, below. That is, water when it overflows appears over the vessel which holds it. One old form has a small circle over the vessel. Sometimes the vessel was omitted and a picture of joined hands, perhaps in the act of adding to some one's store, substituted for it.

Thunder is below, and the bending of wood and of wind above. As compared with the 41st Kwa there is subtraction from the 4th line and addition to the first. That is, *yang* becomes *yin* in the one, and *yin* becomes *yang* in the other. The worship of Shang Ti by the emperor is mentioned in the second line.

43. The Kwa of decision is 夬 *kwai* 3 *kat*, divide, decide. The character is formed from a hand and something held by it, probably a cutting instrument. Same as 決 *kiue*.

Heaven below and a smiling marsh above. It is the Kwa of the third month.

The abruptness of the statements in the text is caused by their oracular character. Under the Kwa name Wen Wang wrote the following words: 'Announce it in the King's hall, with a truthful and piercing cry as conscious of danger. Tell the people of your own city, there will be no advantage in immediate fighting. There will be good in what is done.' It is asked what is here referred to. The first thing is to examine the Kwa name. This tells us that decision is the subject. The strong cuts off the weak. The five lines of strength press upon the one remaining line of weakness. We have firmness below and smiling contentment above. We have decision below and harmony above. Confucius continues his explanations in rhyme. Thus *kang* rhymes with *kwang* and *chiung* with *chung*.

The abruptness of an oracle differs essentially from the calm and connected utterances of a philosopher. Wen Wang was selecting in this instance from the materials before him; he was not writing his own ideas.

44. The Kwa of meeting is in some copies 遘, as in 鄭 and in 石經, in others 媾

but it is usually 姤 *keu* 2 *ku*. This character is formed from *heu*, 后, prince, chief, as its phonetic. The origin of *heu* is in a picture of man with a mouth to express the idea of uttering commands.

Wind under heaven. This is the Kwa of the fifth month, according to commentators. Distribution among the months does not occur in the text. The transition is made from *kwai* to *keu*, when the upper broken line becomes whole and the lowest whole line becomes broken, and this would be the symbol of the fourth month, when light reigns throughout nature. Here darkness re-enters at the bottom of the Kwa, and it is, therefore, referred to the fifth month, that of the solstice, when the dark half of the year commences.

Heaven and earth meet. It is a time for marriage, in which the strong and weak are joined.

In the T'wan Chwen of Confucius we have four lines which end in the rhyming words, *kong*, firm, *dung*, to be long, *tong*, display, *gong*, to prevail, 剛, 長, 章, 行. They are an encomium upon this Kwa. Confucius does not rhyme in the Ch'un Ts'ieu nor in the Lün Yü. Here he tried to be archaic and oracular; or were the words added by some divining officer?

45. The Kwa of gathering into one 萃 *ts'ui* 3 *ts'ot*. As not seldom happens, the most probable origin of this character is more obvious in its compounded form with a radical, than when standing alone. Two men stand under shelter and their meeting is expressed by a cross below; grass is added as a common symbol for collection. The usual explanation, however, is that given by Chalmers, pp. 2, 131, deriving this character from clothes, as if the central idea were a soldier in uniform.

Earth below and a smiling marsh above.

The king is represented by Wen Wang as sacrificing in his ancestral temple. The idea of collection is seen in the gathering of the ancestral spirits to sacrifices, and of the attendance of the prince on occasion of the performance of this ceremony.

This Kwa would in the depths of immemorial time be appropriated to sacrificial ceremonies because it happened to come under the eye of the diviner and the consulter on some one occasion in such a striking way as to lead to its being specially recorded as belonging to sacrificial occasions. This was sanctioned by Wen Wang, as appears from his descriptions.

In the sacrifices, says the text, under the second line the summer ceremony known as Yo may be employed. This was easy to perform and sparing in the offerings. Undoubtedly this would be sufficient to bring the spirits down if the sacrificer be only sincere. Legge says the vernal sacrifice is meant, and has in this followed 王弼 Wang Pi. But Cheng K'ang Ch'eng, the Daily Reading, and Mau Si Ho, all say it was the summer sacrifice. Wang Pi died, A.D. 249. He founded, says Mayers, a new school of divination, based on a deep study of the Yi King.

This allusion to a sacrifice by its name is a proof that the text here is native and not a translation.

The Cheu dukedom had for two centuries its capital south of the Ch'i mountain, B.C. 1325 to 1122, when the Cheu family gained the empire. Before this the dukes lived, from 1796, on the North West of the Liang mountain.

46. The Kwa of rising and advancing is 升 *sheng* 1 *shom*. The character is a picture of ten pipes. Ten is on the right; the left part represents the pipes. Ten pipes make up the musical instrument called Sheng.

Wind below and earth above. As in the 45th Kwa we find in the text of the second line the words, if the sacrificer be sincere the Yo sacrifice may be used advantageously.

Under the fourth line the text reads: The king appoints him to offer sacrifice at Ch'i Shan 岐山, and he does so in a fortunate manner.

Both these circumstances speak for the Chinese origin of the Yi King. Chi Shan belonged to the ancient state of Chen. The Yo ceremony was also a Chen institution.

Confucius praises the Kwa in rhyming language. The three characters 亨, 慶, 行, rhyme together.

A historical character is given to this Kwa by the mention of Ch'i Shan. It may have been Wen Wang, or a predecessor, who, in obedience to the king, went to make the sacrifices mentioned, and who received the diviners' answers here recorded. His father was 公季, Kung Ki, and his grandfather Ku Kung. This last named, Tan-fu removed, B.C. 1327, from Pin (Pin Chen) to the south of the Chi mountain (Mayers' Manual.)

47. The Kwa of repression and confinement is 困 *k'wun*, a round hut, formed of wood within a circle; often the tree was written outside of the circle. The circle *k'wun* was probably phonetic.

Water below and above it a marsh. He who consults the divining straws is in distress but by knowing how to act in view of the perplexing circumstances' he obtains relief in correct conduct.

Confucius rhymes as usual, fitting 中 *tong* to 窮 *gong*.

The text of the 2nd line again introduces the question of sacrifices.

The Tso Chwen, Legge, pp. 510, 514, mentions an instance of the application of this Kwa. In the T'si country, Tsuy Wu Tsï a widow to marry a widow, Chang Chiang, on account of her beauty; because she had the same surname her brother objected. He consulted the milfoil. The straws took the form of this Kwa, and then changed to Ta Kwo, the 28th. The divining officers all said that the marriage would be fortunate. The intending bridegroom showed the arrangement of straws to Chen Wen Tsï, who said, the symbol for the masculine element (Water in Kwun) in the first Kwa obtained, changes to that for the feminine element in the newly obtained Kwa (where *sun* wind, is below; *tin*, marsh, remaining in both). Now wind is an inconstant thing. You must not marry this woman. See also (in the text of the third line), what is said 'entangled among rocks and catching hold of thorny bushes,' which wound him; 'he enters into his palace and does not see his wife. It is unlucky.' He has no home to which to return. He replied, 'She is a widow. There is no fear. The former husband has already borne these evils.' He then married her; afterwards he found nothing but evil resulting from the marriage.

This seems to show that in the time of the Tso Chwen the division of the Kwa into male and female was already in common use. That is, that heaven, thunder, mountain and water were regarded as male, and earth, fire, marsh and wind looked upon as female. This is what might be expected from the further fact that this division of the Kwa is mentioned in the 5th appendix ascribed to Confucius, viz: the Shwo Kwa Chwen, where we find also the Pa Kwa distributed among the best known animals, heaven being the horse and so on, and also represented as divisable into a father and mother with three sons and three daughters.

48. The Kwa of the well is called 井, *tsing* 2 *tsim*. This is a picture of a piece of land divided into nine portions, anciently appropriated by law and custom to eight persons, who worked the middle portion for the state and retained the produce of their own portion for themselves. In it there was a well, (marked by a dot in old forms) for common use. The text says the village may change but not the well.

Confucius in the Twan Chwen writes in verse. Each line ends in *ung*. Thus *c'hiung*, *chung*, *kung*, *hiung* are in rhyme.

Wood under water in the Kwa, i.e. *sun* under *k'an*, points, says Cheng Kang C'heng, to the bucket and pulley with which water was raised. But in the text we only see mention made of a pitcher and a rope.

49. The Kwa of change is 革 *kek*, to

change. Skin with the hair stripped off. The character in old forms represents such a skin. But it is also supposed to contain three tens, because 30 make a generation, and this is one period of change. This supposition is intended to explain a Ku Wen form otherwise difficult of solution.

Fire below a marsh. Confucius in the Twan Chwen says the two daughters are together. This alludes to the family connection of the Pa Kwa as father, mother, three sons and three daughters. Dr. Legge in his reasons for doubting the Confucian origin of much of the wings or appendices to the Yi King mentions the frivolity of many passages. Here is an instance of such frivolity. Confucius also alludes a little further on to T'ang Wang and Wu Wang as by their expeditions changing the destiny of the empire. They conformed themselves, he says, to the will of heaven and the expectations of the people. Such a change is as natural as the transition from one season of the year to another, which this Kwa symbolises.

Naturally Cheu Kung represents this Kwa as applicable, specially to the preparation of the Calendar. Anciently in China, as in Rome and Greece, every important act was inaugurated by divination. Among such events was the preparation of the calendar. Diviners meeting with this Kwa decided its peculiar scope to be the calendar.

50. The Kwa of the caldron is *ting* 鼎, tripod, caldron. The object is represented in the form of the character. A pot for boiling is set on iron frame with three legs.

Wood is under fire in this Kwa. The lowest line is the legs of the caldron. The fifth broken line represents the two ears. The 2nd, 3rd, and 4th are the body of the vessel. The 6th line is the handle.

The view advocated in these notes is that the text is not exclusively the composition of Wen Wang and Cheu Kung, but compiled by them from old divining books with additions from other sources or appended by themselves. Thus the words great, lucky and influential, may have been found by Wu Wang where they now stand after the Kwa. The first line, *ch'u lieu* says the caldron is overturned and its feet are in the air; there is nothing improbable in this, having reference to some incident in the situation of things when some one formerly consulted the oracle, nor in the mention of a concubine to be taken by the consulter if the omens were favourable. Or take the second line 'there is meat in the caldron. There is hate in the soul of my foe. If he does not cross my path it will be well.' This may have been an oracular answer on some earlier occasion recorded in a divining book. Legge refers to the fact that this and the first, third and fourth lines are rhymed.

The milfoil and tortoise are equally ancient; they belong equally to the time of Yau and Shun. The Cheu Kung family, while in its more Northern position, previous to B.C. 1327, must have had divining books and later down to the time of Wen Wang.

51. The Kwa of startling movement is 震 *chen* 3 *tin*, to shake, it is used of thunder and of earthquakes. In the case of thunder the root is the same as in Western languages.

This Kwa would derive its name, of course, from the repetition of the three lined Kwa which already had this designation. This is the rule with all the eight diagrams having three lines; the two broken lines above are *yin*. The lower line Yang is the point of commencement of a new state of things. This is expressed by thunder, a power in nature which is abrupt, startling and produces visible effects in the condition of the air and sky.

For Chen, we learn from Mau Si Ho, that the Kwei Ts'ang Yi had 釐. In the Ku Wen Shu King this character has rain above 里. But *lik* is the old sound of 里. (See my Chinese characters, p. 80, for proofs), and *p'ik lik* is an old double word for

thunder. Hence the meaning of the Kwa is unaffected by this change.

52. The Kwa of checking 艮 *ken*, limit, to stop. Mau Si Ho says that the old form of this character was 丿 and that it was the same with 人 man. The Cheu dynasty made heaven the first Kwa, the *shang*, earth, and the *hia*, man. We have *ken* in the colloquial. 得狠 *te hen*, reach limit, exceedingly. It also occurs in 限, *hien*, limit; 垠 *hien*, threshold; 根 *hen*, to check, keep a thing from moving. *hen* or *ken* is a limiting line, and so any line protruding on a smooth surface as in 𥉉 *ken*, a seam; 𥈔 seam in a stone. Perhaps it comes originally from 根 *ken*, a root, from the appearance of roots growing across paths in the way of the traveller. This is something like our phrase 'to be in the way' being formed from *way*, but meaning to be in some one's way in the sense of interrupting.

The explanation of the character tells us that it is compounded of eye above and spoon 匕 below.

A whole line over two divided lines implies that earth receives a check in mountains. Light and prosperity begin from below. Here also a beginning is made with darkness. This means a stoppage of resting of the foot* in the first line, of the calves in the second, of the waist in the third, of the whole body in the fourth, of the cheek bones in the fifth. In the sixth he is to make secure the mountain of his good fortune.

In a passage of the Tso Chwen (in Legge, pp. 437 and 440), already referred to, the second line of this Kwa was on one occasion announced by the diviner as the eight of *ken*, according to the Shang divination. The term eight is here used for divided lines, and it corresponds to six in the Cheu Yi of Wen Wang.

When the Cheu Yi divination gave a Kwa it might not afford an indication sufficient to satisfy the diviner or the consulter. Another was then sought and the first Kwa helped to make the indication of the second Kwa definite, as in this case by pointing out one particular line, the second as the seat of the prediction. The Sui Kwa was in the Shang divining book, and therefore did not originate with Wen Wang.

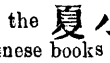
53. The Kwa of progressive advance is 漸 *tsien*, 7 *dim*, gradual. Below is *ken* and above *sun*, and we here, therefore, mountain beneath water, or masculine below feminine. In *kwei mei* which follows this we have feminine below masculine. Both are applicable to marriage in particular, and with the 31st and 32nd may have become specially appropriated in that way through remarkable instances of divination kept on record from some former period. The wild goose is alluded to under each of the six lines. Dr. Legge thinks that it is so mentioned because it had already beeome a necessary appendage of marriages. The converse may be true, that the goose became an animal appropriate to marriages. At present in North China, a goose, made of white cloth, is, with a stork and a fowl, carried before the marriage chair at weddings. They are hung from the roof of the chair at each of the four corners. The goose flies with a gradual even progress, and thus suits the meaning of this Kwa. The geese approach the river bank, they near the rocks. They advance to the dry plains. They alight on trees. They still advance. Such is marriage life.

54. The Kwa of the marriage of the younger sister is called 歸妹 *kwei mei*. The character *kwei* is formed from one of the verbs to *go* on the left, and from *fu*, woman, by contraction on the right. *ch'o* the 162 radical, used in words such as 道, *tau*, path, reason, principle, occurs in some

* 趾 *Chi* is foot and never toes (The character for toe is 指). Morrison and all his successors have gone wrong in this word. It means the foot or bottom of a thing. In the passage of the Han Shu cited in Kang Hi, where the left *Chi* is to be cut off it is the foot that is meant. Morrison perhaps took this for toes of the left foot, and so Williams and others.

old forms. This may have been the original radical. The character for woman is a picture of the broom she is expected to use after marriage, and which is called *cheu* and colloquially *shu*. The broom is in the Ku Wen written  , or  or,  , and the old forms for *fu*, woman, closely resemble these in several instances. Although the proper meaning of *kwei* is to return, it was already used popularly when the characters were formed for a bride's going to her husband's house for the first time.

Wen Wang commences with saying that this Kwa, consisting of a smiling marsh below and thunder above, indicates that the marriage will be unlucky. This is because the Kwa of the youngest daughter is beneath that of the oldest son. The proper order of things is inverted.

Legge explains the inverted order *kwei mei*, marriage of the younger sister instead of younger sister's marriage, as a change to a transitive force on the part of the verb *kwei*. This inversion should be compared with the curious inversions of syntactical order in the  . In other primitive Chinese books the syntax is uniform and in harmony with the ordinary laws of the language.

In the fifth line there is an allusion as in the 11th Kwa to the marriage of the younger sister of the emperor Ti Yi, father of Cheu Wang, who reigned from B.C. 1191 to 1154. Wen Wang outlived him nineteen years, and died at the age of 96. The marriage referred to may have taken place at any time in the reign of Ti Yi, and from this event Wen Wang's statements on this Kwa seem to have originated. The bridegroom is referred to in the 6th line, the bride in each of the six lines.

In the Tso Chwen it is related that Chiu Hien Kung, Duke of Tsin, consulted the diviners regarding the marriage of his daughter to Ch'in. He obtained first this Kwa and then *kwei* the 38th Kwa with the 6th line of *kwei mei* as the result. The diviner told him that the marriage would be unfortunate. The time was three centuries after the Cheu Yi, from which the words of the 6th line are quoted, was compiled.

55. The Kwa of prosperity is  *feng*, prosperous, full. In two Ku Wen forms it is a present held up by two hands which forms the character. The gifts are placed in the vessel called a  *teu* or *dut*. This consists of a circle to represent the opening, two legs and a cover, which is wanting in one Ku Wen form. The presents are represented in Ku Wen by  or by  . The bottom line in *teu* is the ground on which it stands.

Fire is below and thunder above. In the first line the consulter will meet with his mate *p'ei*. Some copies have *fei*  , queen. My etymology *p'ei* and *fei* are originally one. In the second line, it is said that grass or rushes grow so high as to conceal the sun at midday and the bushel is then seen. This is the explanation of Chen Yi, whom Legge follows. In the third line it is said that the plant called *p'ei* grows so high that the sun is hidden at midday and the small star *mei* (a group of four small stars near Mizar and called ε in our maps) can be seen. Mau Si Ho understands 'in the time of noon' as the time properly belonging to prosperity. After arriving at noon tide height the sun declines and the bear appears.

These allusions to stars six centuries before Confucius are interesting as furnishing stepping stones to the oldest literary remains of the Chinese, the early portions of the Shu Ching and the Hia Siau Cheng, where stars are also mentioned by name.

The lines mentioning the stars rhyme together, e.g. bu, rush, with du, bushel.

56. The Kwa of traveller is  *lü*. A body of 500 soldiers, travellers. The character is formed from a picture of a flag on the left, consisting of a staff having three streamers at and near the top, and two men on the right. In the Cheu Li five men form a *lü*.

Mountain is below and fire above, and

this suggests the burning mentioned in the text.

The traveller is first busy with trifling matters. This leads to misfortune. Then he is at his lodging with money for expenses and servants attending on him. A fire destroys his lodging and his servants are lost. But he is found at a certain spot with money for his expenses. He shoots a pheasant and while he loses his arrow obtains applause. The bird's nest takes fire.

Such ideas as these probably were suggested to Wen Wang by entries in divining books accessible to him. They would originate in applications for divination on the part of travellers and especially hunters.

57. The Kwa of bending to enter is 巽, *sun*. It implies bending and penetration. The explanation of the character is that it is a table with offerings upon it for presentations. For this a bending attitude is appropriate. I suspect a connection with *tsun*, a jar for holding wine, 尊, which has wine above and hand below. *Tsun* is sometimes, as upon the old cup, called 尊癸爵, *tsun kwei tsio*, given with the form 癸. This opens the way for a conjecture that our word *sun* may before it assumed the *ch'ü sheng* tone have been the same in sound with *tsun*, and been written with the same symbol.

This Kwa is one of the eight original Kwa doubled. In the second line the diviner and exorcist came on the scene. By these terms must be meant official persons who professed divination and were so employed on the occasion which gave rise to this description. The straws appear to have been thrown down on the mat close by the couch here called Chwang.

58. The Kwa of joy is 兌 *tui*, joyful. The oldest sound is *dut*. We can restore the final t from the word 說 *shwo* 4 *shot*, speak. Perhaps the character may be best explained as man, a mouth and a stroke above to denote speech as issuing from the mouth. It was then applied to joy, because joy was like it in sound. Afterwards the radical 言, *yen*, words, was added, when the character was used to denote speaking. The Shwo Wen explains *tui* as *shwo*, to say.

It is the *tui* of the eight Kwa doubled. Wen Wang took the different meanings of each name as he proceeded to describe the sixty-four Kwa and introduced whichever seemed to him most appropriate. He found the name attached to each trigram and hexagram coming down to him from antiquity and he assigned to it either its proper sense or senses as a word in the language, or its meaning arising from the accidental relations of the lines to each other. In this case all the lines except the fifth speak of joy, shewing that Cheu Kung took this to be the main idea. But originally, in the early centuries before his time, it may have meant the speech of the diviner, the old character being a picture of this, yet not without the combination of the ideas of the marsh, and of a smiling aspect of things.

59. The Kwa of dispersion is 渙 *hwan*, scatter, become loosened. The phonetic portion of this character is used with other radicals for exchange, brightness of a flame, greatness, and in the sense of calling to a person. In the seal character two hands are represented below, and this seems to indicate that exchanging was pictured in some way in the primitive character; above these is a knife and the character for four, as if in the act of exchanging something were cut in quarters. But it may be a picture of flames.

Wind (*sun*) moves above water (*k'an*). Wen Wang says the king is at the ancestral temple and meets with good fortune. This shews that it had come to be a sacrificial Kwa, one which had been found to be fortunate in its indications in the worship of the imperial temple of ancestors on occasion of the emperor himself being present. The views of Regis, McClatchie and Legge as the separate lines, may be seen in Legge, p. 196.

K'an indicates the condition and it is that of danger. Sun indicates the seat of command and the duty of the king to restore tranquillity. *K'an* is the river. *Sun* is the raft or boat with which it is to be crossed. This is a specimen of the way in which Mau Si Ho discusses this Kwa.

60. The Kwa of restrictive regulations 節 *tsie*, or *tsit*. The character is formed from what appears to be a knife on the right hand in one old form, but may be a picture of two bones united as in Kang Hi, where it is given as the ancient form of the whole character. If this be so the left side when added is a picture of a bamboo growing from the ground. Thus we have the joints of a bamboo and of bones combined. Then as to the sound it is the imitation of the noise heard in dividing the joints.

Wen Wang says rules troublesome in the observance should not be rigorously enforced. Cheu Kung says the teaching of the second line is that there will be evil in not leaving the court and door. Rules should be adhered to with tranquil submissiveness.

Water above is represented by *k'an*, and metal below by *tui*. This is the Kwa of harvest and of housing for the winter the produce of the year.

In the History of the Three Kingdoms we are told that Kwan Yü having been defeated Sun Ch'iuen, the ruler of the Wu country, directed Yü Fan to consult the milfoil stalks. He got the *tsie* Kwa with *tui* below and *k'an* above and the fifth whole line changing to a broken one as in the Liu Kwa, with *tui* below and *kwun* above. Yü Fan said in two days if he does not go out, his head will fall. It proved to be so. Upon this instance Mau Si Ho remarks that the fifth line, being the place of the commander when it changes from *yang* (in *k'an*) to *yin* (in *k'wan*), the head of the commander must fall. Kwan Yü died as the divination indicated. He was the god Kwan Ti.

61. The Kwa of central sincerity is 中孚 Chung fu. The character *chung* is a mouth or any opening divided in the middle by a down stroke. In old forms there are more than twenty varieties made by means of dots, flourishes, and curves.

Fu 孚 is explained in Chalmers, p. 166, to beam, the same in an old form as 保 *pau*, protect, as stated in the Shwo Wen under the *chan* radical *ch.* 6. In each case it is the protection of an infant that is pictured. This was changed later to the picture of a claw over a chicken to suggest the brooding of a hen, because *fu* was used in that sense and may then have been the same in sound with *pau*.

Tui, marsh, is below and *sun*, wind, above. Wen Wang probably found in some old record mention of pigs and fish in connection with this Kwa, and so they appear here; otherwise be would scarcely speak of these animals. The stork is mentioned in the second line as calling to and being answered by her offspring. This also requires the hypothesis of an old record to account for its introduction.

Cheu Kung's notes on the lines have some rhyming words among them, as *wo* and *mi* in line second, and *pa* and *ko* in line third. The old sounds are probably *ga*, *ma* and *ba*, *ka*.

62. The Kwa of excess in small things is 小過 *siau kwo*, small faults. The character 小 *siau* is a down stroke to denote division and 八 *pa* eight, to denote the same thing, while the sound is altered from *sok*, or *tok*, to cut, into *siau*, without a final. The character 過 *kwo*, to pass, is probably a picture of a cooking pan 鍋, kwo. In old forms 鍋 is a picture of a cooking pan, with feet and a cover, combined with 戈 *kwo*, spear, as phonetic. When at a later time *kwo*, an iron pan began to be used as a phonetic, the spear was omitted, and subsequently one of the walking radicals was added on the left to suit the sense of passing.

Mountain below and thunder above. Four divided lines outside. Two whole lines in-

side. Small things may be attempted, not great things.

A wind on the wing is unlucky when divination gives the first line as specially prophetic.

The second line refers to deceased father and mother, under the titles *tsu* and *pi*.

63. The Kwa of what is already past is 既濟, *ki tsi*. The character *chi*, already, is formed from 欠 *ch'ien*, to breathe fast, and with effort, to be deficient, turned over from right to left. It expresses the feeling of indigestion, rendering it difficult to breathe. The character 食 *shï* or *shik*, on the left hand, is formed, says the Shwo Wen, from 亼, deep, to gather, and 皂, bip, a grain of rice. In this case the lower part will be the stem by which the grain is attached to the ear.

In regard to 濟, *tsi*, save, cross a river, it is derived from ears of corn growing so regularly as to present an even surface so agreeing with the meaning of *ts'i*, even, which, in the oldest forms is composed of three ears of corn under a cover.

Fire under and water above.

In the third line Cheu Kung sees the conquest of the Kwei Fang country by the emperor Wu Ting about 150 years before. Wu Ting is spoken of by his temple title. We must suppose that this was the line which was presented itself when Wu Ting divined previously to the war. Three years elapsed before he was declared victor. In line fifth an ox is slain for sacrifice shewing that this Kwa had been concerned on some former occasions with sacrifices. Possibly it was on occasion of the sacrifices of Wu Ting. The cow of the West is said to be less successful than the musical pipes of the East. Ch'eng Yi refers this to Chow Wang and Wen Wang. The West in this case prevailed over the East. The pipes are the name of a spring sacrifice.

In the 2nd line there is an allusion to an interval of seven days, possibly a relic of Babylonian intercourse. There is another allusion to the week in the 24th Kwa.

64. The Kwa of what is not yet past is 未濟 *wei tsi*, the matter is not yet decided. Fire above water. The character 未 may be regarded as a tree with many branches, to indicate the idea of flourishing, *mau*, *mu*, or *mut*. This was used on phonetic grounds for *wei*, *mi*, *mit*, not, not yet. The original meaning is lost and the meaning as a negative has usurped its place.

This book of divining rules ends with incompleteness and it may well do so. Many of the Kwa are decided in tone and each is complete in itself. It was not Wen Wang's duty to regulate the order of the Kwa on a principle of literary completness. If it had been so he might have chosen to finish the series with some other.

There is another allusion to Wu Ting's expedition against a rebellious territory. It is in the fourth line instead of the third.

Thus historical illustrations are scattered through the 64 diagrams, compelling us to regard the book as made up of detached sentences in great part collected from old works.

APPENDIX.

In the Ku Wen form of 恆 *keng*, constant, occurring in 古周易, we have, says M. Terrien de la Couperie, *Asiatic Journal*, London, vol. XIV., p. 812, 'a group of two characters, which, transcribed in modern caligraphy would be 互巧.' He quotes from 六書通, which has in my copy the form 𢍏. In this form the right hand crooked line, may be a bow, or it may be a crescent. If the character were 巧, this stroke would be outside, as in the seven instances found in Lu Shu T'ung, among which hand, or work, stand at the left hand as ideographs. Hence this combination of *keng* and *k'iau* must be rejected, and with it the identity which M T. de la Couperie supposes to exist between it and the modern group 恆久, for which there is certainly no ground. It is not the habit of the Chinese to make characters by contraction in this way.

In the 40th Kwa the explanation of the

name 解, is a matter of discussion. M. T. de la Couperie has the merit of having pointed out the importance of the Ku Wen. In this case it is something quite different from the usual character that we have to deal with in the 古周易. It is  . In the 古老子 it is much the same. The right hand portion is the ideograph 節 section, joint, briefly written  , which may be a picture of the dividing instrument, or of two bones hanging together, and not yet quite separated. The left hand portion is my 707A phonetic (v. Chinese characters, p. 107.) Its ancient sound would be *kak*, though I formerly wrote *kik* for it. It occurs in 戟 *kik*, in 虢 *kik*, in 隙 *kik*, a hole. This last was formerly *k'ik*, as we learn from the Kwang Yün. In the middle is 白 *pak*, white, the hole looked through. Above and below the character 小 indicates that the hole is small. I can see no ground for M. T. de la Couperie's saying that there is any allusion here to Canton under an old name, Kwik-tsit, or to a Sinico Annamite language under an old name, *kieh-tiet*, for we have still to do only with a monosyllable *kak*, to unloose.

SUMMARY OF THE RESULTS OF AN INQUIRY INTO THE YI KING.

The object of this inquiry was to learn whether there exist traces in this book of foreign origin, either in the text or in the names by which the sixty four combinations of strokes are known, and also to find out the general aim and use of the book and the mode in which it originated.

The result of the inquiry is that the structure of the work and the materials of which it is made up all tend to show beyond doubt that it is a diviner's guide book. This agrees then with P. Angelo Zottoli's view that the study of the diagrams led the diviner to the possession of an oracle in definite words and suitable for direction in practical life and for resolving doubts. Professor Legge also says 'Wen Wang and his son were familiar with the practice of divination which had prevailed in China for more than 1,000 years and would copy closely its methods and style. They were not divining themselves, but their words became oracles to subsequent ages, when men divined by the hexagrams, and sought by means of what was said under them, to ascertain how it would be with them in the future and learn whether they should persevere in, or withdraw, from the courses they were intending to pursue.' We all owe much to Legge for his translations of and notes and prolegomena to the Chinese classics. His persevering studies through many years have given him great familiarity with the classics and the literature which has grown up out of their study under the the hand of native authors. This has been to him of great advantage in respect to general accuracy of translation and the avoidance of errors. We see this illustrated in the above sentence. His scholarship has made him fully aware of the unbroken existence of divination from the mythic dawn of the Chinese Empire down to recent times, while from moral sympathy he desires to relieve Wen Wang and his son from the imputation that they believed in so foolish a thing as divination. This leads him to describe Wen Wang in his prison as gazing on the hexagrams till each of them assumed a mystic meaning and glowed with a deep significance. He saw in them the qualities of various objects in nature and the principles of human society. He named each figure and uttered notes of warning and exhortation about the matter to which the oracle dimly pointed. 'It was an attempt to restrain the follies of divination within the bounds of reason.'* It appears then that Legge while treating the book as a book of divination does so with reserve. The same is true of McClatchie and Regis. One of these authors finds in the Yi King a grotesque mythology identical with that of the pagan West. The other

* Sacred Books of China, Yi King, page 21.

loves to trace in it dark allusions to contemporary history.

The outcome of this brief inquiry of my case, (a much briefer one I fear than that of the four translators now mentioned) is that the book is not only a diviner's manual with reserve and limitation, but a diviner's manual with full intention and adaptation. But while this may be said, let every one who would at once cry out that divination is nothing but nonsense and folly, and that therefore the Yi King is certainly not worth studying, first consider one or two things. It is not only modern history that is important to know but ancient history too. It is not only new science that is interesting, but to trace the way in which mankind have cast off the slough of early ignorance is not less so. The Yi King is a picture of the Chinese mind in the second millenium before Christ, and contains in brief what was then thought about the world, just as the Ptolemaic system of the universe is a picture of the European conception of the world down to the era of Copernicus. Wise and enlightened men believed in divination in ancient China, just as Dante, Alfred, and Roger Bacon, believed in the Ptolemaic system; and it is worth while to study the opinions of the wise in all ages.

Further it is a book made up partly of earlier documents and partly of additions by Wen Wang, and Cheu Kung. This hypothesis of early documents interspliced with new matter by the compilers, is really sustained by arguments of no small strength and facts of no small importance.

1. The hypothesis of compilation from earlier books accounts for the apparent nonsense sometimes written by Cheu Kung, the son of Wen Wang. Since Cheu Kung was a man of clear mind, familiar with mathematical, moral, and intellectual conceptions, it is very unlikely, impossible in fact, that he would himself have written all the very odd things ascribed to him. The hypothesis of a mixture of old and new materials relieves us of this difficulty. He wrote nothing not worthy of him. He simply allowed certain passages which have no noble significance to remain in the book he was compiling because they came with authority from older books of the same kind and also in some cases with the approbation of his father. This hypothesis enables us to do justice to the memory of two philosophers, father and son, by relieving them from the charge of originating passages without a clear and worthy sense and exhibiting inexplicable abruptness in the order of ideas.

2. The historical allusions which the Yi King contains to events in the Shang dynasty not elsewhere recorded are best explained as extracts from earlier manuals used in divining. Entries were made in the old divining books of which Wen Wang made use. They belong to the 11th, 54th, 62nd, and 63rd Kwa. The allusions are to events occurring about B.C. 1191 and B.C. 1320, a marriage and a war. Further there is in the 36th Kwa an allusion to Ki-tsï, who was appointed by Wu Wang, Lord of Corea, and who is mentioned in the Book of History, page 315, of Legge's edition. There is reference to divination in all these cases. These allusions are found attached to certain lines. Early diviners made entries and Cheu Kung copied them. Any successful divination and any very important case of consulting the milfoil was worthy of record, and this is the proper way of accounting for the entries, as is done by Cheng Yi in his comment in the common school editions under the 11th Kwa. Thus the historical allusions in the Yi King support the idea of a partial compilation of the work from earlier documents, consisting of diviner's records.

3. Such expressions in the Yi King as belong specially to the language of diviners are to be supposed to have been taken from older books by Wen Wang and Chen Kung. Such phrases as *Yuen heng li cheng*, and *Li kien ta jen*, as well as *Li sho ta chwen* 元亨利貞, 利見大人, 利涉

大川, belong to the special language of divination, and would not originate with Wen Wang or his son. They found them entered in certain places in the old divination records and adopted them. Neither the father nor the son were likely to invent the diviner's peculiar language. The terms lucky 吉, unlucky 凶, this will be repented of 有悔, there is no mistake 无咎, dangerous 厲, there will be nothing disadvantageous 無不利, where they occur, and they make up in fact a great part of the book, were found in their places in an older book and were copied in to the new compilation by the two sages who took this work in hand, or were used by them on official ground merely when they might meet with new combinations, as Cicero would do when a member of the College of Augurs.

4. The fact that the official diviners continued, after the new Yi King was compiled, to use the old one along with it, each Kwa bearing the same name in the new Yi King as in the older book, shews that the names of the 64 Kwa were not given by Wen Wang, and, consequently, the general significance of each Kwa was also determined previously by the diviners of the early dynasties. Sometimes a Kwa had a different name in the older book. But in such cases it was simply shortened or partially modified by Wen Wang. In fifty four cases* out of sixty four or thereabouts the Kwa had the same name. This is quite what might be expected, for it may be asked how would the 24th Kwa, for instance, the Kwa of returning, obtain its name and general meaning? In answer it may be said, one diviner would record his experience of what this combination (of five divided straws above and one whole one below) led to in a special case and one word would suffice—success. Another coming after added in the record the words 'in going and returning nothing distressing has occurred.' A third added the words, 'When friends come there is nothing to distress.' Another writes 'after seven days there is a return.' These sentences, each of them in itself an oracle, might be all entered in old records, and then Wen Wang might adopt them in the book he was compiling for the use of his divining officers and people in 'resolving doubts.' The general sense was already attached to the Kwa by the collected results of previous divinations. By this hypothesis, we eliminate the difficulty which meets us from the want of successiveness and connection in the sentences, and we relieve Wen Wang of the responsibility of deciding which Kwa should apply to marriages, which to sacrifices and which to warlike expeditions. All this was done already. His work was that of scissors and paste and not that of continuous original writing. He had before him 64 bamboo slips and leathern thongs to tie them together. With his brush and bowl of black varnish he inscribed on them the hexagram, the name and what the experience of fifteen hundred years had shewn to be the sense of each. He had to make it into a convenient oracle and he did so to the best of his ability. Where he could add nobleness to the thought, or depth to the moral significance, he would do so. The fact that an earlier diviner's manual had the same names to the various Kwa enables us to clear up this point and to make some progress towards determining the share which Wen Wang had in the authorship of the Yi King. The names of the Kwa carry with them a significance which tinged the compositions of Wen Wang and Cheu Kung in the text and of Confucius, and others, whoever they were, in the appendices. Wen Wang's object was gained when he had made a manual of divination for use in his dominions.

5. An auxiliary proof is found in the allusions to the dragon under the first Kwa and occasionally afterwards. The dragon concealed in a marsh, the flying dragon, a troop of dragons in the clouds in number

* Ten of the Kwa had different names, see note at the end.

six, are the expressions we find. This animal is associated with sovereignty and is one of the four lucky animals, the other three being the unicorn, the phœnix and the tortoise. The Chinese use of the wind *lung* 'dragon' as a symbol of imperial power rests very much on the Yi King. But is this notion a literary creation of Cheu Kung's, or is it a popular notion adopted by him? I answer, it is a popular notion, for it is never represented by native authors as a literary creation of one of the authors of the Yi King. Further it was believed in the time of Confucius that Fu Hi had the dragon for his symbol, as the emperor Hwang Ti had clouds for his and as Shau Hau and Shen Nung had respectively various birds and a representation of fire for theirs. Now if we attempt to realise to ourselves the actual state of popular opinion in those ages we are obliged to suppose that such notions as riding upon six dragons in the sky, and the flight of the dragon from a place of hiding to the open face of heaven, belong to the legendary lore which prevailed before Wen Wang's time. These things, in the Yi King are not a fresh imaginative creation but a popular way of indicating great, sudden and glorious success. These notions are based partly on cloud scenery meeting the eye, and partly on popular belief in the existence of flying animals of great size and combining the habits of amphibious reptiles and of birds. Cheu Kung either borrowed these notions from popular belief, clothed them in the language retained in the Yi King, or he took the expressions as they stand, from old divining books. I incline to think the latter, but it cannot be proved. If the former be true he is at most merely borrowing from folk lore in what he said about dragons. He, his father and their friend Ki Tsï belonged to a time of history and not of myth. They were reflective and moral men of a high type. They did not at all belong to the class that would invent myths.

The folklore passage from which the account here used of the symbols employed by the ancient emperors is taken belongs to the year B.C. 524, when Confucius was twenty seven years old. It is in the 790 chwen, in Legge's edition, pages 666, 667. The historian Chieu Ming relates the conversation which took place between the Lord of T'an in the South part of Shantung province bordering on the sea, and Chau Kung, Lord of Lu, when the former of these personages came on a visit to his more powerful neighbour. Imagine yourself standing on the mountain T'ai Shan and looking South over a vast plain. Sixty miles to the South-west is the chief city of the Lu kingdom and home of Confucius. Two hundred and fifty miles to the South-east is the T'an country; on the North, at the back of the mountain, lies the T'si country, including Tsi-nan-fu, the chief city of modern Shantung, and stretching away to the North almost to Tientsin. This Northern region is the inheritance of the Kiang family. The South plain lying before you, including the modern city of Tai-an-fu at the foot of the mountain, is the inheritance of the descendants of Cheu Kung, dukes of Lu. The Sung country, from which Confucius sprang by ancestry, lies three hundred miles to the South-west. The T'an country on the South-east is the inheritance of Shau Hau. These divisions of the baronies were made six hundred years before, at the foundation of the Cheu dynasty, when the Yi King was made. At that time, just three thousand years ago, it was arranged by decree that the Tsi country should be given to the deserving statesman Kiang T'ai-kung 姜太公, descendant of Shen Nung*, and tutor of Wu Wang. A barony in Honan was given to the representatives of the Hia dynasty and the Sung country to those of the Shang dynasty. There is a tomb under which it is said that the

* The family name of the descendants of Shen Nung was 姜, of Hwang Ti 姬 Ki, of Shau Hau 己 Si, of Fu Hi 風 Feng, of the great Yü 姒 Sï, The old sounds for these are Kom, Ki or Kit, Zik, Bam, Zai. See Chinese characters, pages 171 to 178, where it is shewn by the

emperor Shau Hau was buried. It lies a mile and a half to the East of the city of Confucius. The lord of the little state of T'an was his descendant. Perhaps his visit to the Duke of Lu was on the occasion of worshipping this tomb. But the historian says nothing of the tomb. When I saw it ten years ago it was in good condition. It is twenty feet high and about as large as the mound over the grave of Confucius. In front of the tomb is a pyramid built of limestone slabs forming a smooth inclined plane on the four sides without steps. This makes it a little difficult of ascent. On the top is a small temple containing an image of Shau Hau. The pyramid is called Wan Shi Shan, the hill of ten thousand stones. It is about a hundred feet in length at the base on each side. The pyramid is surely modern. The legends that led to its construction must be very old. Tradition has been busily occupied through the ages in keeping alive the historical reminiscences of this whole neighbourhood. It is this which lends to the conversation above referred to in the life time of Confucius so special an interest. It is deeply tinged with ancient popular beliefs and bears in an important way on the question how far we can recover the history of the time before Yau and Shun, to which Shau Hau, as a son of the Yellow Emperor, belonged. The Lord of T'an continued the conversation 'When my ancestor Kautsu, named Chi (tip), succeeded to the kingdom a phœnix arrived. He in consequence named his officers from birds. The chief compiler of the calendar was named from the phœnix. The swallow was made to serve as a name for the superintendent of the equinoxes, this wind having so rare a knowledge of the seasons. The shrike was made master of the solstices, and a certain green bird was held to preside over the beginnings of Spring and Autumn. A red bird gave its name to the officers in charge of the close of Spring and Autumn. The departments afterwards known as those of instruction 司徒, of war 司馬, etc., five in all, had official titles named from different kinds of pigeons and doves. Another set of five officers were named from pheasants. They presided over various classes of artisans, and over weights and measures and generally aimed at promoting justice and equality among the people. Beside these there were the nine Hu, officers whose duty it was to superintend the various branches of agriculture, in order that the people might not run into any excess.' The Lord of Tan adds at the close of this account 'that from the time of Chwen Hü, successor of Shau Hau, the customs changed, officers were named not from distant objects but from those which were near. Strange birds ceased to be used as titles, which were taken henceforth from the occupations of the people as appeared more suitable.'

After this remarkable extract from since lost history, it is added that Confucius went to see the feudal sovereign, who recited it, and learned from him some things which he did not know. So we are told by Tso Kieuming.

We conclude that at that time in Shantung, the belief was firmly rooted that before the time of Yau and Shun there reigned the Emperors named in this conversation, viz. Fau Hi, Shen Nung, Hwang Ti, Shau Hau and Chwen Hu, that their tombs were visited for the purpose of worship and that persons claiming to be their descendants were in the Cheu dynasty at the head of feudal baronies. Such was the state of public opinion in the time of Confucius. That sage did not add these accounts to the works of a classical nature which passed through his hands. He did not find them there, but he respected them nevertheless. He has said only a little about the primeval emper-

rhymes of the Book of Odes that 祀 Sï 'to sacrifice,' having 巳 for its phonetic, had a final K 3000 years ago, and so that 巳 had also. The Ku Wen forms bear out this conclusion. See them in 六書通 Lu-shu-tung, where the character Sï in Ku Wen forms still acts as phonetic to kï, 'to sacrifice.'

ors in one of the supplements to the Yi King, if he was the writer of that supplement. This interesting piece of folk lore, referring to Emperors who reigned 2,000 years before, has certainly some authority from its being inserted in the Tso Chwen. It indicates to us from what kind of materials Cheu Kung borrowed his ideas about the dragon. The popular belief that the father of the Yi King divination, Fu Hi, used the dragon 'as his favourite symbol, may very well have been known to Cheu Kung. The mythical adjuncts of Tauist writers who describe Fu Hi as having the head of a bull, the face of a man, the nose of a tiger and the body of a serpent were not yet invented. Such monstrous combinations are later than the time of Confucius. We do not need them to understand Fu Hi. The Tauists would have been wiser to reject such pictorial embellishments, which may very well have been suggested to them by pictures or images brought to China from Western countries after the establishment of the Persian Empire. We can appreciate the progenitors of the Chinese race better without the halo of myth thrown round them afterwards, when a tendency to believe romantic fables, through the opening of trade routes to Western lands, powerfully affected the Chinese people. When we consider that a belief in enchanted beverages capable of saving from death, in the existence of enchanted islands, and in judicial astrology, spread itself among the population at the same time we need not wonder that grotesque mythology spread its confusing veil over the chief personages of China's primitive age. But it was not yet in existence when Wen Wang and Cheu Kung were living.

6. The Appendices to the Yi King must also be looked on in part as coming from other heads than those of the sages. In order to support the idea that this sacred and mysterious book is the entire work of sages, it is maintained that Confucius wrote the appendices. Legge has pointed out that in the Tso Chwen (p. 437) eight sentences are quoted from the Wen Yen 文言, placed after the Chien Kwa or Kwa of firmness. They occur in a dialogue, where they are made use of by a dowager lady belonging to the ducal family of Lu, in the year B.C. 564. This was 14 years before the birth of Confucius. Hence this production must be attributed to some intermediate diviner of the Cheu imperial family. Much of the appendices was probably written by such diviners. To judge from this example it may be reasonably supposed that an expansion of a didactic nature was early attached to the 64 hexagrams. The dowager lady would not have made use of the words now attached to the 1st Kwa when it was the 17th Kwa with which she had specially to do, unless her attention had been drawn to them by the diviner. Accepting the native opinion that she was highly able and accomplished, we may suppose that on his doing so she read from the bamboo Yi King before her the words in question and commented immediately on them in the affecting manner recorded by Tso. The officer of divination would be standing before her with folded hands and she would be sitting on a carved throne without legs. The officer would offer the slips of bamboo of the old and new Yi King in succession from the bundle which lay close by, or was carried by an attendant. She would read in the Cheu Yi 元體之長也, greatness is superiority in person; 亨嘉之會也, penetration is meeting with good opportunities; 利義之和也, advantage is in the harmony of right action; 貞事之幹也, firmness is vigour in conducting affairs. Then she cited four more sentences explanatory of these. She then explained how her past life disqualified her for appropriating the good omens of the older Yi and compelled her to accept the unwelcome alternative that she would never come out of the Eastern Palace, the luxurious prison in which she was now confined, for this nobleness of character was not hers.

Native authority prefers to represent her as herself quoting from memory this passage of forty-four words in all from the Yi King. Mau Si Ho supposes the book from which she quoted to be the same from which Confucius derived materials for this appendix. (See 仲氏易, chapter 3, p. 3, column 10.) This is just the point I wish to make clear. The Yi King the diviners took with them for consultation was provided, whether that of the Hia, the Shang or the Cheu, with explanatory remarks (called 易訓 by Mau Si Ho). These notes were intended to help in removing doubts as to the meaning of a Kwa, or its applicability to the individual case with which the diviner had to do. Five hundred years had passed since Cheu Kung's death. Explanations would be added by diviners. These men were officials of the rank of red button at the present day, and would be scholars of repute, quite capable of following earlier diviners in the work of making clear from time to time in writing the sense of the predictious. These running notes or essays, as the case might be, all came into the hands of Confucius when he was in office in the ducal palace of Lu, and one of the copies he used would be the copy preserved in that palace. His duty in regard to the Yi King was the same as in regard to the Book of Odes and the Book of History. It was editing rather than original composition. It was in fact 刪定 *Shan-ting*, 'rejecting and fixing,' to use the words of the Han and the Sung literati.

Mau Si Ho speaks of these explanatory notes here because he required this supposition to explain how it came to pass that the learned lady Mu Kiang quoted from the Yi King forty-four words which Confucius added to that book. We can go farther and hold that the sage might have borrowed much more from the materials thus ready to his hand. How much we have not the means of knowing. The contrast in style and matter between the appendices and the works of later writers in the Cheu dynasty is very marked. There is nothing Tauist in them; they are pre-Confucian if not Confucian. But there may be Han dynasty work in the Shwo Kwa Chwen for instance which contains some contemptible passages. It was found about B.C. 70 by a woman in a ruined house, in time to be included by Lieu Hiang in the imperial edition ordered to be made in the reign of Siuen Ti. Ngeu Yang Sien rejected it and has been severely chidden for doing so by Mau Si Ho, who thought it the height of presumption to question what every one else regarded as the work of Confucius. The fact is that mythology has crept in here as Legge has stated. The horse, cow, dragon, fowl, pig, pheasant, dog and sheep are said to represent in this order the eight diagrams. The diagrams are also made a family of eight, father, mother, three sons and three daughters. Further the Pa kwa are found to be in the human body, the head, abdomen, feet, legs, ears, hand and mouth. Such things do not seem like what the Confucius of the Lun Yü would have written. They might well creep into the book at some later time. Most of the Shwo Kwa Chwen is, however, of a higher character and may have come from Confucius, or have received his endorsement.

7. This inquiry allows us to look at the appendices and text taken together in something like the following manner.

Kwa Ts'ï 卦辭, written and compiled by Wen Wang about B. C. 1142.*

Yau Ts'ï 爻辭, written and compiled by Cheu Kung about B. C. 1120.†

Twan Chwen 彖傳; notes on Wen Wang's text, praising the book for its profundity and comprehensive views; each Kwa

* The authorship by Wen Wang is stated or implied in the 11th section of 繫辭下傳 Hi Ts'ï Hia Chwen.

† Yang Hiung attributed the Yau Ts'ï to Wen Wang. Ma Yung and Lu Tsi ascribed it to Cheu Kung. Their opinion has prevailed. But nothing is certain. Whatever entered the book was anonymous. It became official and ceased to be individual. It was the book of ancient sages, but who they were is not mentioned, and often they are simply compilers.

is praised in succession. By Confucius as *author, or editor.*

Kwa Siang Chwen 卦象傳, Yau Siang Chwen 爻象傳. Notes by Confucious on the Kwa Ts'ï and on the Yau Ts'ï. He is part author and part editor.

Wen Yen 文言, notes on first and second kwa, taken by Confucius at best in part from the old Yi King as it came to his hands. He completed the notes probably in the form in which we have them. He probably prefixed the words Wen Yen as a title, changed 體 *t'i*, body, into 善 *shan*, good, in the first sentence, and prefixed 君子 *kiün tsï*, 'the honourable man,' in the fifth sentence. This is an example of the editorial work of Confucius.

Hi Ts'ï Shang Chwen 繫辭上傳, Hi Ts'ï Hia Chwen 繫辭下傳. First and second section of supplemental explanations. Confucius, part editor and part author.

Shwo Kwa Chwen 說卦傳, an account of the diagrams

Sü Kwa Chwen 序卦傳, remarks on the mode of arranging the diagrams.

Tsa Kwa Chwen 雜卦傳, miscellaneous remarks on various kwa.

These last three are attributed to Confucius. But his connection with these in part as editor and in part as author cannot be satisfactorily defined and much in them are not like his compositions.

On the whole the Yi King, as soon as the progress of the art of writing admitted of it, took the form of a book which increased in size in the hands of diviners who used it as their official manual of interpretation. Its contents changed to a certain extent in each dynasty. Successive editors expunged and added as they thought fit. Unknown authors wrote much in it. Wen Wang was editor of the divining book for his own kingdom, and he retained what he pleased from the manuals of the preceding dynasties. Cheu Kung, his son, succeeded to the post of the editor and author. Many additions were subseqently made. Confucius undertook the task of editor, with the sanction, we may suppose, of the reigning Duke of Lü. It was one book from first to last, but the several editions of it varied greatly. We cannot now separate the contributions of the various authors with certainty. None of them affixed their names. The specia character of the book precluded the names of authors. The disciples of Confucius not having any official connection with the book thought it advisable to add the words 'the master said' to passages which contained remarks on the diagrams made by Confucius in their hearing and which they appended on their own authority.

It is one book from the time of Fu Hi and the stream of tradition for many ages before the time of Wen Wang fixed the meaning of the sixty four combinations of the divining straws and gave them their names. The spirit of the book was that of the seer and that of the prophet. It saw into the secret depths of supernatural knowledge. It told exactly how events would occur. It was the expression of the thought of the perfect man and the undying record of his teaching.

To regard it as only the work of Wen Wang, Cheu Kung and Confucius is too limited a view. Wen Wang had the Yi King before him and he transmitted it to posterity in the way that Confucius did. His work was that of selection, adaptation, re-arrangement and reverent transmission of the original spirit of the book. Many things we read there we may regard as having been inserted by the diviners of each successive age from the earliest times down to the age of Confucius. They became the words of the sages, when the sages in the discharge of their editorial duty thought fit to adopt them.

The book is of Chinese origin, in its general conception, in the names* of its

* I went patiently through the necessary philological analysis of the 64 names of kwa in order to learn if there was anything in them to suggest foreign origin. Nothing of this sort presented itself.

64 divining forms, in its text, and in its appendices.

JOSEPH EDKINS.

Note.—*Ancient variations in names of Kwa.*

Among the names of the 64 Kwa are several which are peculiar to the Kwei Ts'ang Yi. A list of them, taken from the dictionary of Kang Hi and from Mau Si Ho, here follows:—

5th. 需 *Sü* was in the old *Yi* 濡. In Cheng Kang Cheng it is 秀.

26th and 9th. 大畜 was 奮畜,——小畜 was 毒畜.

15th. 謙 *K'im* was 兼 *Kim*.

29th. 習坎 was 罹 *Lau*. Lieu Hien gives it 欿.

51st. 震 *Chen* was 釐 *Li*.

In addition to these the following may be mentioned. In the Kung Yang Chwen, it is said that Confucius, when about to write the Spring and Autumn annals divined and obtained the 16th Kwa 陽豫 *Yang Yü* This is in the Chen Yi written with *Yü* only. Kung Yang Kau was of the age between Confucius and Mencius. In Mau Si Ho, I find some information on what scholars have thought of this. Respecting it Lung Chung of the later Han period remarks that here we have the Kwa name which was current in the Hia and Tin dynasties. Wang Su supports him in this opinion.

20th 觀. In Wen Wang's statement under this Kwa we have 盥 *Kwan*, wash hands, coming in place of 觀, which is found in the copy of Wang Su. There are two other characters 灌 祼, both called *Kwan* in the departing tone and meaning to wash the hands on sacrificing. The root is a verb *Kwan*, 'to pour,' which is found in *Kwan*, a can or pouring instrument, and 管, a tube or pipe. Water was poured on the hands at sacrifices in order to wash them.

25th 无妄. Instead of these characters we find in the 史記 Shï Ki, 无望.

30th. 離 is in the old characters 离 and means 麗 *Lik*, bright.

J. E.

CHINESE FABLES.

No. 1.

Once there was a student of retired disposition who spent a great deal of his time in an old garden which the neighbours said was a haunt of foxes. A friend of his remonstrated with him on the ground that foxes possessed dangerous powers of witchery, their favourite temptations being gold and women. The student said there was no danger on that score, as the only loves and avarice he had were his books and knowledge. Some time after this, however, a fox presented itself in the guise of a young girl, but met with a very rude reception. As her manner was forbearing and her language argumentative, the student, notwithstanding, allowed himself to discuss various theories with her. They got upon the subject of the male and female principles as touched upon in the old writings, and she at last remarked that the junction of the two essences perpetuated all life,—at the same time darting an affectionate glance at him. The student coldly asked whether there was any double meaning in this, and added that, if so, she had come to the wrong man. The vixen replied that she only ventured to hope for a trial, though