

**Zhu Xi's Commentary on the *Xicizhuan* 繫辭傳 (Treatise on the Appended Remarks)
Appendix of the *Yijing* 易經 (Scripture of Change)**

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Part B

Section 1:

[1] With the Eight Trigrams arranged, the images are present in them. When they are doubled, the lines are present in them.

"Arranged" means the classification of Qian as 1, Dui as 2, Li as 3, Zhen as 4, Sun as 5, Kan as 6, Gen as 7, and Kun as 8.¹ "Images" means the form and structure of the trigrams. "When they are doubled" means adding eight trigrams in sequence onto each trigram, making sixty-four. "Lines" are the six lines. After they are doubled each hexagram has six lines.

[2] When firm and yielding [lines] replace each other fluctuation is present in them. When remarks are appended to them and issued as decrees, the movements [of the lines] are present in them.²

When the firm and yielding replace each other and the fluctuations of the hexagram and lines go back and forth and intermingle, nothing cannot be seen [in them]. The Sages accordingly

¹ This is the "Fuxi 伏羲 sequence" of trigrams, also known as the *xiantian* 先天 (prior to Heaven, or *a priori*) sequence, the third of the Nine Diagrams appended to the beginning of the *Zhouyi benyi*, which is the earliest known depiction of it. The sequence does not appear anywhere in the *Yijing*, although Zhu Xi claims it is based on *Shuogua* 3.1. It probably originated with either Chen Tuan 陳搏 (d. 989), as Zhu Xi claims in *Zhuzi yulei* 100, 2552, or Shao Yong 邵雍 (1012-1077), who championed it. See Bent Nielsen, *Companion*, 264-268, and idem., "Cycles and Sequences of the Eight Trigrams," *Journal of Chinese Philosophy*, 41:1-2 (2014), 131.

² Firm and yielding (solid/*yang* and broken/*yin*) lines "replacing each other" refers to *yang* changing to *yin* and vice versa. The "movements" of the lines refers to the dynamism of a hexagram as it changes into another.

appended their remarks to decree what was auspicious and ominous. So the fact that what the diviner encounters matches the lines and images of the movements does not depart from this.

[3] Auspicious and ominous, regret and remorse, arise from the movements.

"Auspicious and ominous, regret and remorse" are what the remarks decree. However, they must accord with the movements of the hexagram lines in order to be seen.

[4] The firm and yielding [lines] establish the basis. Fluctuation and continuity make the seasons proceed.

Each firm and yielding [line] has a determined position. When they fluctuate from one to another the seasons follow.

[5] The auspicious and ominous always correctly (*zhen sheng* 貞勝) prevail [over each other].

Zhen means correct and constant; what enables things to be correct is constant. If events under Heaven are not auspicious, they are ominous; if not ominous, then auspicious. They are constantly prevailing over each other, and nothing more.

[6] The Way of Heaven and Earth is always correctly displayed (*zhen guan* 貞觀). The way of the sun and moon is always correctly bright. The activities of all under Heaven are always correctly unified.

Guan means displayed (*shi* 示). The fluctuation of the activities of all under Heaven are inexhaustible, but when they comply with principle they are auspicious; when they go against principle they are ominous. What makes them correct and constant is nothing but the unified principle [the natural/moral order].

[7] Qian firmly displays to people what is easy; Kun deferentially displays to people what is simple.

"Firmly" means in a strong manner. "Deferentially" means in a compliant manner. This is what is meant by "always correctly displayed" [in the previous line].

[8] The lines imitate this; the images represent this.

This refers to the principle of what Qian and Kun display in the previous passage. The lines being odd or even and the waning and waxing of the hexagrams are how they imitate and represent it [the natural/moral order].³

[9] The lines and images move within; the auspicious and ominous are seen without. Meritorious achievement is seen in the fluctuations [of the lines]; the dispositions of the Sages are seen in the remarks.

"Within" means within the stalks and hexagrams; "without" means outside the stalks and hexagrams. "Fluctuations" are the fluctuations of the activity within; "remarks" are the remarks seen within.

[10] The great virtue of Heaven and Earth is called life (*sheng* 生). The great treasure of the Sage is called his position. How does he preserve his position? That is called humanity.⁴ How does he gather people [to him]? That is called resources. Having ordered resources and correct statements, forbidding his people from doing wrong, is called rightness.

Mr. Lü [Zuqian], following the ancient [Yi], says, "When none among the multitude deceive, the country is preserved."

This section speaks of the auspicious and ominous aspects of the hexagrams and lines, and the creation of the meritorious achievement.

³ "Waning and waxing" hexagrams is one of the standard methods of hexagram transformation. "Waning" refers to the sequence in which *yin* grows in the hexagram: Gou 姤 ☱ (44) → Dun 遯 ☶ (33) → Pi 否 ☷ (12) → Guan 觀 ☱ (20) → Bo 剝 ☶ (23) → Kun 坤 ☷ (2). "Waxing" plots the growth of *yang*: Fu 復 ☱ (24) → Lin 臨 ☱ (19) → Tai 泰 ☱ (11) → Dazhuang 大壯 ☱ (34) → Guai 夬 ☱ (43) → Qian 乾 ☰ (1). These twelve hexagrams are called the "sovereign hexagrams" (*bigua* 辟卦), and are correlated with the twelve months and the phases of the moon. See Bent Nielsen, *A Companion to Yi Jing Numerology and Cosmology* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 18.

⁴ The original text has "people" (*ren* 人) here, but Zhu Xi says it should be "humanity" (*ren* 仁).

Section 2:

[1] In ancient times, when Baoxi [Fuxi] ruled all under Heaven, he looked up and contemplated the images in Heaven; he looked down and contemplated the patterns (*fa* 法) on Earth; he contemplated the markings of the birds and beasts and their appropriateness in relation to the earth. From nearby he took from his own body; from afar he took from things. In this way he first created the Eight Trigrams, to spread the power/virtue (*de* 德) of his spiritual clarity and to classify the dispositions of the myriad things.⁵

Wang Zhaosu [10th century] said, "between the words 'in relation to' and 'the earth' many texts have the word 'Heaven'" [i.e. 'in relation to Heaven and Earth']. Looking up and down, near and far, what [Fuxi] took from was not just a single thing. But it did not go beyond examining the polarity (*liang duan* 兩端) of *yin* and *yang*, waning and waxing. "The power/virtue of his spiritual clarity" was, for example, the nature of creating and complying, moving and stopping. "The dispositions of the myriad things" were, for example, the images of thunder and wind, mountain and marsh.

[2] He knotted cords together to make nets and snares for hunting and fishing. He probably took this from Li 離 [hexagram 30, Cohesion].

These two items aid each other, and things cohere (*li* 麗) with each other.⁶

[3] When Baoxi died, Shennong arose. He carved wood to make a plow, and bent wood to make the handle. He taught all under Heaven the benefit of plowing and hoeing. He probably took this from Yi 益 [hexagram 42, Increase].

These two structures are both made of wood, the former going into [the earth] and the latter activating it. There is nothing greater than this to benefit all under Heaven.

⁵ Although this only mentions the Eight Trigrams, recall that Zhu Xi believed that Fuxi also created the sixty-four hexagrams. He affirms this in the first line of his commentary on hexagram 1, Qian.

⁶ This is a paranomastic explanation, relying on the similar pronunciations of the hexagram Li and the word *li* 麗, whose secondary meaning is "cohere."

[4] He made markets at midday, causing all the people (under Heaven) to gather together all the goods (under Heaven). After exchanging them and going home, each [item] achieved its place. He probably took this from Shihe 噬嗑 [hexagram 21, Biting Through].

"He made markets at midday" with brightness above and activity below. He also used "biting" for [food] markets and "through" (*he*) for bringing together.⁷

[5] When Shennong died, the Yellow Emperor, Yao, and Shun arose. They continued the [former] changes [innovations], enabling the people to avoid weariness. With their spirituality they transformed them, enabling the people to adapt to them. When change (*yi*) reaches a limit there is fluctuation (*bian*); with fluctuation there is continuity (*tong*); continuity is long-lasting. This is how "Heaven helps him; auspicious, everything advantageous."⁸ The Yellow Emperor, Yao, and Shun let their upper and lower garments hang down [informally], and all under Heaven was ordered. They probably got this from Qian and Kun (hexagrams 1 and 2).

Qian and Kun fluctuate and transform without [intentionally] acting (*wuwei* 无為).

[6] They scooped out trees to make boats and carved wood to make oars. With the benefit of boats and oars they could cross impassable [waters], going far to benefit all under Heaven. They probably took this from Huan 換 (hexagram 59, Dispersion).

Wood atop water.⁹ "Going far to benefit all under Heaven" suggests expansion.

[7] They tamed oxen and harnessed horses to pull heavy loads some distance, benefitting all under Heaven. They probably took this from Sui 隨 (hexagram 17, Following).

Movement below, pleasure (*yue* 說) above.¹⁰

⁷ "Brightness above and activity below" refer to the component trigrams, Li ☲ (fire) above and Zhen ☳ (thunder, arousal) below. The second sentence is another paronomastic explanation: *he* in the hexagram name and *he* 合 meaning "bring together."

⁸ Quoting hexagram 14 (Dayou 大有, Great Holdings), 9 at the top.

⁹ The two component trigrams of Huan are Kan ☵ (water) below and Sun ☱ (wood) above.

[8] They made heavy gates and set up watchmen with clappers to deal with hoodlums. They probably took this from Yu 豫 (hexagram 16, Contentment).

Contentment is the idea of providing for.

[9] They split wood to make pestles and hollowed out the ground to make mortars. The benefit of mortars and pestles helped all the people. They probably took this from Xiaoguo 小過 (hexagram 62, Minor Surpassing).

Stationary below, active above.¹¹

[10] They strung wood to make bows and sharpened wood to make arrows. The benefit of bows and arrows is to dominate all under Heaven. They probably took this from Kui 睽 (hexagram 38, Opposition).

Kui is dealing with them by opposing and then dominating.¹²

[11] In high antiquity people lived in caves and dwelt in open countryside. In later ages the Sages changed this to various kinds of houses, with ridgepoles and roofs to deal with wind and rain. They probably took this from Dazhuang 大壯 (hexagram 34, Great Strength).

Strength is the idea of being fortified.¹³

[12] In ancient times the dead were thickly wrapped in firewood and buried in open countryside, with no grave mound or trees, and without a fixed mourning period. In later ages the Sages changed this, using coffins and vaults. They probably took this from Daguo 大過 (hexagram 28, Major Surpassing).

¹⁰ The two component trigrams of Sui are Zhen ䷳ (thunder, arousal) below and Dui ䷹ (lake, joy) above. *Yue* 說 "pleasure" is similar to *dui* 兌 "joy," the name of the trigram. The idea is probably that oxen and horses take pleasure in being of service.

¹¹ I.e. the active pestle above the stationary mortar. The component trigrams are Gen ䷶ (mountain, resting) below and Zhen ䷳ (thunder, arousing) above.

¹² The component trigrams are Li ䷲ (fire) over Dui ䷹ (lake). This hexagram was the referent of the title of Frances Fitzgerald's 1972 book, *Fire in the Lake: The Vietnamese and the Americans in Vietnam*.

¹³ The component trigrams are Qian ䷀ (creative) below and Zhen ䷳ (arousing) above.

The great affair of sending off the dead is surpassing in its richness.¹⁴

[13] In high antiquity order was kept with knotted cords. In later ages the Sages changed this to written records, which were used to order the many offices and supervise the myriad people. They probably took this from Kuai 夬 (hexagram 23, Resolution).

The idea of clear decision-making.

This section discusses how the Sages created implements and proposed images.

Section 3:

[1] For this reason the *Yi* consists of images. Images are representations.

The forms of the *Yi* hexagrams are the same as their ordering principles (*li* 理).

[2] The judgments (*tuan* 象) are the material (*cai* 材).

The Judgments refer to the material of each hexagram.

[3] The lines imitate the movements of all under Heaven.


To "imitate" (*xiao* 效) is to reveal (*fang* 放).

[4] For this reason the auspicious and ominous [prognostications] are generated and regret and remorse are expressed.

"Regret and remorse" are fundamentally subtle, so they are expressed in this way.

Section 4:

[1] A *yang* trigram has more *yin* [lines], and a *yin* trigram has more *yang*.

¹⁴ The hexagram Daguo  can symbolize the firm (*yang*) coffin inside the soft (*yin*) earth.

Zhen, Kan, and Gen are the *yang* trigrams, and they all have one *yang* and two *yins*. Xun, Li, and Dui are *yin* hexagrams, and they all have one *yin* and two *yangs*.¹⁵

[2] What is the reason for this? *Yang* trigrams are odd, and *yin* trigrams are even.¹⁶

In all the *yang* trigrams there are five strokes; in all the *yin* trigrams there are four strokes.¹⁷

[3] What are their virtues and actions? In a *yang* [trigram] the one is the noble and the two are the people. This is the way of the noble/superior person. In a *yin* [trigram] the two are the noble and the one is the people. This is the way of the petty person.

The noble is *yang* and the people are *yin*.

Section 5:

**[1] The *Yi* says, "If one is anxious and unsettled, [only] friends can follow his thoughts."¹⁸
The Master said, "Under Heaven, what thinking and deliberation is there? All under**

¹⁵ Zhen, Kan, Gen: ☳☵☶☱☲☴; Sun, Li, and Dui: ☱☲☳☴☵☶.

¹⁶ This refers to the numbers obtained by casting the yarrow stalks or coins: 7 and 9 produce *yang* (solid) lines, 6 and 8 produce *yin* (broken) lines;.

¹⁷ Zhu Xi here is counting a broken line as two strokes and a solid line as one. Richard Rutt has the same explanation (Rutt, *The Book of Changes [Zhouyi]: A Bronze Age Document* [Richmond: Curzon, 1996], 432). Han Kangbo 漢康伯 has another: "As the few are patriarchs of the many, so the One is he to whom the masses gravitate" (trans. Richard John Lynn, *The Classic of Changes: A New Translation of the I Ching as Interpreted by Wang Bi* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1994], 80). Richard Wilhelm has yet another, referring to the numbers 6, 7, 8, and 9, which are produced by the yarrow stalks or coins and which determine the type of line. He points out that all the *yang* trigrams are produced by numbers that have odd sums, and the opposite for *yin* trigrams. For example, all the possible ways of yielding Zhen ☳ (a *yang* trigram) are: 7+8+8=23 (no changing lines), 7+6+8=21 (second line changing), 7+6+6=19 (second and third lines changing), 9+8+8=25 (first line changing), 9+6+6=21 (all lines changing), and 9+6+8=23 (first two lines changing). See Richard Wilhelm, trans. *The I Ching, or Book of Changes*, translated into English by Cary F. Baynes, 3rd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), 337. I think Han Kangbo's explanation makes the most sense in terms of traditional Chinese thinking. Surprisingly, Zhu Xi's student, Chen Zhi 陳埴 (*jinshi* 1216), also agrees with Han, as does Li Guangdi (Li Guangdi 李光地, ed., *Zhouyi zhezong* 周易折中 [The *Yijing* Judged Evenly], 2 vols. [1716; rpt. Taipei: Zhen Shan Mei, 1971], 1059).

¹⁸ Quoting the fourth line text of hexagram 31, Reciprocity (Xian 咸).

Heaven return to the same point, but by various paths, one goal for a hundred plans. Under Heaven, what thinking and deliberation is there?"¹⁹

This quotes and explains the fourth line of Xian. It says that Order (*li* 理) is fundamentally nondual. The various paths and hundred deliberations are all natural, so what could thinking and deliberation do? If one needs to think and follow [a plan], then what is followed is narrow.

[2] When the sun goes, the moon comes; when the moon goes, the sun comes. The mutual displacement of the sun and moon generates light. The cold goes and heat comes; heat goes and cold comes. The mutual displacement of cold and heat completes the year. The past contracts and the future extends. The mutual stimulation of contraction and extension generate benefits.

This says that the contraction and expansion of past and future stimulate and respond to the constant order of nature. If one is anxious and unsettled about it, one is entering into the private realm. That is why one should follow [a plan] only when it is necessary to think.

[3] The inchworm contracts in order to extend. Dragons and snakes hibernate in order to preserve themselves. Essential ideas become spiritual in order to extend their utility. Beneficial use eases the body in order to ennoble one's virtue.

Following upon the discussion of the principle of contraction and extension, past and future, this extends to a discussion of learning and the mechanism of nature. To deeply explore ideas, to the point of becoming spiritual, is the utmost contraction [into the self]. But what enables one to go out and reach the basis of utility, to benefit by carrying out utility so that nothing uneasy is encountered, is the ultimate of extension, enabling one to enter and ennoble

¹⁹ This unnamed Master is understood by Zhu Xi to refer to Confucius. However, as he explains in his comment on A.7.1, that is inconsistent with Confucius having written the *Xici* himself, so the various instances of "The Master said" must have been added by later people.

one's store of virtue. One's inner and outer [characteristics] mutually nourish each other and mutually express each other.²⁰

[4] Beyond this perhaps there is nothing to know. To fully investigate the spiritual and understand transformation is the flourishing of virtue.

In the matter of mundane learning one can do no more than to exert oneself fully on pure ideas, and beneficially make use of the mechanism of mutual nourishment and expression. Above this [i.e. in higher learning], there is no use for this exertion. If one has reached the point of fully investigating the spiritual and understanding transformation, one achieves on one's own the flourishing of virtue and maturation of humanity. For one who does not understand, the past contracts. For one who has reached the goal on one's own, the future extends. This is simply the natural principle of stimulus and response. Master Zhang [Zai] said, "*Qi* has [the two modes] *yin* and *yang*. When it extends into action slowly, it undergoes transformation. When it is unified and unfathomable, it is spirit."²¹ The above four passages all explain the meaning of 9 in the fourth line of Xian.

[5] The *Yi* says, "Blocked by stone, holding onto thorns and thistles. Entering the house, not seeing one's wife. Ominous."²² The Master said, "If one is blocked by something that should not block him, it is certainly a disgrace to his name. If one holds onto something that one shouldn't hold onto, one's body is certainly in danger. Being disgraced and in danger, the time of one's death is nigh; how could one see his wife?

This explains the meaning of 6 in the third line of Kun.

[6] The *Yi* says, "The Duke shoots a hawk on top of a high wall, and hits it. Everything is advantageous."²³ The Master said, "The hawk is a bird; the bow and arrow are

²⁰ For more on spirituality (*shen* 神) as a human function see Joseph A. Adler, "Varieties of Spiritual Experience: *Shen* in Neo-Confucian Discourse," in *Confucian Spirituality*, ed. Tu Wei-ming and Mary Evelyn Tucker, vol. 2 (New York: Crossroad, 2004).

²¹ Zhang Zai 張載. *Zheng meng* 正蒙 (Correcting Youthful Ignorance), ch. 4 (*Zhangzi quanshu* 張子全書 (Master Zhang's Complete Writings), ed. Zhu Xi (Sibu beiyao ed.), 2:13b.

²² Quoting the third line text of hexagram 47, Impasse (Kun 困).

²³ Quoting the top line text of hexagram 40, Release (Jie 解).

implements. The shooter is a man. The superior person keeps implements on his person, waits for the right time, and acts. How could there be anything disadvantageous? To act without hindrance is how to go out and capture [one's prey]. This speaks of one who is good with implements and acts.

"Hindrance" is an obstruction. This explains the meaning of 6 in the top line of Jie.

[7] The Master said, "The petty person is not ashamed not to be humane, is not fearful of being in the wrong. If he sees no advantage he doesn't strive, if he is not forced he doesn't correct himself. If he is corrected in small matters and commanded in great ones, this is the petty person's blessing." The *Yi* says, "Feet in the stocks, toes vanish. No blame."²⁴ This is what it means.

This explains the meaning of 9 at the beginning of Shihe.

[8] If goodness is not accumulated there will not be enough to make a reputation. If badness is not accumulated there will not be enough to extinguish one's life. The petty person considers small goodness as unbeneficial, and doesn't do it. He takes small badness as unharmful and doesn't avoid it. Thus badness accumulates and cannot be concealed, and crimes become great and cannot be undone. The *Yi* says, "Wearing a cangue destroys one's ears. Ominous."²⁵

This explains the meaning of 9 at the top of Shihe.

[9] The Master said, "Danger comes from being at ease in one's position. Death comes from preserving one's existence. Disorder comes from one who rules. Therefore the superior person is at ease yet doesn't forget danger; survives yet doesn't forget death; rules

²⁴ Quoting the first line text of hexagram 21, Bite Together (Shehe 噬嗑).

²⁵ Quoting the top line text of hexagram 21, Bite Together (Shihe 噬嗑).

yet doesn't forget disorder. This is how his life can be easeful and his country can be preserved. The *Yi* says, "Death! Death! Fasten to a thick mulberry."²⁶

This explains the meaning of 9 in the fifth line of Pi.

[10] The Master said, "With slight virtue but honorable position, small wisdom but great plans, small power but heavy responsibility, rarely will one not be outstripped." The *Yi* says, "The cauldron has a broken leg and spills out the Duke's porridge, its form getting wet. Ominous."²⁷ This refers to being inadequate to one's responsibilities.

This explains the meaning of 9 in the fourth line of Ding.

[11] The Master said, "Isn't understanding incipience spirituality? The superior person, interacting with those above, does not flatter. Interacting with those below, he does not demean. Isn't that understanding incipience? Incipience is the subtle sign of activity, when the auspicious is first visible. The superior person sees incipience and acts, without waiting all day." The *Yi* says, "Hard as a rock, not all day. Correct and auspicious."²⁸ Hard like a rock, so why wait all day? The decision can be known. The superior person understands the subtle, understands the clear, understands the yielding, understands the firm. So the myriad people look to him.²⁹

This explains the meaning of 6 in the second line of Yu. In the *Han shu* [History of the Han Dynasty], "auspicious" is "auspicious and ominous."³⁰

²⁶ Quoting the fifth line text of hexagram 12, Obstructing (Pi 否). The connection between the quote at the end and the rest of the passage might be that a successful ruler must remain close to the actual circumstances of his people.

²⁷ Quoting the fourth line text of hexagram 50, Cauldron (Ding 鼎).

²⁸ Quoting the second line text of hexagram 16, Contentment (Yu 豫).

²⁹ The idea of "understanding incipience" is central to Zhu Xi's understanding of the function and value of *Yijing* divination. See Smith, Bol, Adler, and Wyatt, *Sung Dynasty Uses of the I Ching* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), ch. 6.

³⁰ Ban Gu 班固, *Han shu* (History of the [Former] Han), "Biography of King Yuan of Chu" (楚元王傳), 7. King Yuan of Chu, or Liu Jiao 劉交 (d. 178 BCE), was the younger brother of Han Gaozu, founder of the Han dynasty.

[12] The Master said, "Didn't the son of the Yan clan [Yan Hui] take pains to come close [to the Way]? When he did something wrong he always knew it; knowing it, he never returned to it." The *Yi* says, "Returning from not far away; nothing to regret. Greatly auspicious."³¹

"Come close" refers to coming close to the Way. This explains the meaning of 9 at the beginning of Fu.³²

[13] Heaven and earth intermingle and the myriad things transform and mature. Male and female blend their essences and the myriad things transform and grow. The *Yi* says, "With three men walking, one will be lost. With one man walking, he will find a friend."³³ The outcome is the same [either way].

"Intermingling" is the condition of intimately interacting. To "mature" is to thicken and coalesce, referring to the transformations of *qi*. To "transform and grow" is to come into form. This explains the meaning of 6 in the third line of Sun.

[14] The Master said, "The superior person pacifies his body and only then acts; eases his mind and only then speaks; determines his interactions and only then makes requests. The superior person cultivates these three things, and thus is complete. If he is fearful in his activity the people will not be with him. If he is anxious in his speech the people will not respond to him. If he makes requests without interacting, the people will not be with him. When no one is with him, those who would injure him will approach. The *Yi* says, "There are none who benefit (*yi* 益) him, and some will strike him. There is no regularity in his resolve. Ominous."³⁴

³¹ Quoting the first line text of hexagram 24, Return (Fu 復).

³² Although this passage contains the word *ji* 幾, which in the previous passage means "incipience," Zhu Xi explains in the *Classified Conversations* that here it means "close, almost," as it is sometimes used in the *Mencius* and the *Zuozhuan* (*Zhuzi yulei*, 76:1949). Han Kangbo (*Zhouyi Wang-Han zhu* 周易王漢康伯 [Sibu beiyao ed.], 8:5b) and Richard Rutt (*The Book of Changes*, 426) read this passage as a reference to "incipience" in the previous one.

³³ Quoting the third line text of hexagram 41, Decrease (Sun 損).

³⁴ Quoting the top line text of hexagram 42, Increase (Yi 益).

This explains the meaning of 9 at the top of Yi.

Section 6:

[1] The Master said, "Are not Qian and Kun the gates of the Yi? Qian is a yang thing and Kun is a yin thing. When yin and yang combine their virtues, the firm and yielding [lines] have their structure. By embodying the events of Heaven and Earth, they spread the virtue of spiritual clarity (*tong shen mingzhi de* 通神明之德).³⁵

The firm and yielding structure of every hexagram is formed by the joined virtues of Qian and Kun. Therefore it says, "Qian and Kun are the gates of the Yi." *Zhuan* 撰 [normally meaning "calculations"] here is like "event" (*shi* 事).

[2] The names [of the hexagrams] are varied but not too much. In examining their categories, do we not see the thinking of an era in decline?

Although the myriad things are numerous, they all come from the fluctuations of *yin* and *yang*. Therefore, although the meanings of the hexagrams and lines are expressed variously, they are not in error. However, they do not come up to the thinking and deliberation of high antiquity, a time of rustic simplicity. Thus we consider them to be the thinking of an era in decline, probably the time of King Wen and Zhou 紂 [last king of the Shang dynasty].

[3] The Yi reveals the past and examines the future, makes clear the subtle and explains the mysterious. It differentiates things and reveals their proper names, completing them with correct words and decisive phrases.

[Zhu suggests that the two appearances of the word "and" (*er* 而) in the passage are probably in error.]

[4] Its [hexagram] names are brief, but the categories they represent are great. Their meanings are far-reaching and their phrasing elegant. Their words are indirect yet on the

³⁵ This phrase is also applied to Fuxi in *Xici* B.2.1.

mark. The events [they refer to] are clear yet hidden. This is to enable those in doubt to assist the people in their behavior and to clarify the rewards of failure and success.

"Clear" (*si* 肆) means "set forth" (*chen* 陳). *Er* 貳 [two, double] means "doubt" (*yi* 疑).³⁶

This section contains numerous textual errors and doubtful words, so it cannot be thoroughly comprehended. Likewise the following ones.

Section 7:

[1] Did the *Yi* flourish in middle antiquity? Did those who created the *Yi* have anxiety and distress?³⁷

At the end of the Xia and Zhou periods the Way of the *Yi* was partly imperceptible. When King Wen was imprisoned in Youli he appended the Tuan [line] texts, and the Way of the *Yi* flourished again.³⁸

[2] For this reason Lü [hexagram 10, Treading] is the basis of virtue; Qian [15, Modesty] is the handle of virtue; Fu [24, Return] is the root of virtue; Heng [32, Perseverance] is the strength of virtue; Sun [41, Decrease] is the cultivation of virtue; Yi [42, Increase] is the abundance of virtue; Kun [47, Impasse] is the discernment of virtue; Jing [48, The Well] is the ground of virtue; Xun [57, Compliance] is the controller of virtue.³⁹

³⁶ Han Kangbo interprets *er* more straightforwardly, explaining that the "two" refers to failure and success (*Zhouyi Wang-Han zhu*, 8:6b). Cheng Yi agrees with him (*Zhouyi zhezong*, 1075).

³⁷ Middle antiquity refers to the late Shang and early Zhou periods, as Zhu Xi explains. High antiquity would be the times of Fuxi, Shennong, and Huangdi and earlier (see B.2.11, 13 above).

³⁸ Youli 羑里, in Henan province, is where King Wen 文王 of the Zhou 周 dynasty was allegedly imprisoned by the last ruler of the Shang dynasty, King Zhou 紂王.

³⁹ This and the next two passages are called the "Three Presentations of the Nine Hexagrams" (*san chen jiu gua* 三陳九卦). The reason for this grouping is unclear (see Nielsen, *Companion*, 194-95). In the *Classified Conversations* Zhu Xi describes them as "incidental" (*ouran* 偶然) oral remarks by Confucius (*Zhuzi yulei* 76:1952).

Lü (Treading) is ritual propriety (*li* 禮).⁴⁰ When Heaven above sends down moisture, making differentiations is not easy, so it is necessary to be careful in this regard. Only later can virtue be considered to have a basis and to be established. As for Qian (Modesty), everyone from the humble to the honored person considers ritual to be what must be grasped and not lost. All nine hexagrams refer back to personal cultivation of virtue, to manage occasions of anxiety and distress so that they occur in an orderly fashion. Its basis is how it is established, and its handle is how it is grasped. Fu (Return) means the beginnings of goodness do not exist outside the mind.⁴¹ Heng (Perseverance) means if one holds onto it without fluctuation, it will be constant and long-lasting. To guard against anger and suppress [diminish] desire so as to cultivate oneself is to move toward the good and reform one's transgressions, thereby increasing one's goodness. Only after being at an impasse (Kun) to verify one's strength, or being in a well (Jing) without changing one's location, is one able to comply (Xun) with principle and control the fluctuations of events.

[3] Lü (Treading) is being harmonious and reaching one's goal. "Qian (Modesty) is being honorable and shining."⁴² Fu (Return) is distinguishing among things when they are small. Heng (Perseverance) is not being fed up with complexity. Sun (Decrease) is being difficult at first and then easy. Yi (Increase) is growing abundance without artifice. Kun (Impasse) is being exhausted yet persisting. Jing (Well) is staying in place yet moving. Xun (Compliance) is assessing while being hidden.

This is like the "nine virtues" of the *Shu[jing]*.⁴³ Ritual propriety does not exert force on the world, but events all reach their utmost extent.⁴⁴ Modesty is humbling oneself, yet one's

⁴⁰ *Li* was an alternate pronunciation of *lǐ* 履 ("treading" in the sense of "proceeding correctly") in the third through tenth centuries, and was cognate with *li* 禮; (Paul W. Kroll, *A Student's Dictionary of Classical and Medieval Chinese* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 286.

⁴¹ In the *Classified Conversations* (ibid.) Zhu says, "'Fu is the root of virtue' is like Mencius' term, 'self-reflection' (*zifan* 自反)" (in *Mengzi* 2A.2 and 4B.28).

⁴² Quoting the Tuan commentary on Modesty (hexagram 15).

⁴³ *Shujing*, "Gao Yao mo" (Counsels of Gao Yao), 2. The nine virtues, in Legge's translation, are "affability combined with dignity; mildness combined with firmness; bluntness combined with respectfulness; aptness for government combined with reverent caution; docility combined with boldness; straightforwardness combined with gentleness; an easy negligence combined with discrimination; boldness combined with sincerity; and valour combined with righteousness" (寬而栗，柔而立，愿而恭，

honor shines forth. In Return the *yang* is subtle, yet does not disorder the group of *yin* [lines]. Perseverance is to abide in complexity without ever being fed up with virtue. Decrease is to first desire the difficult and to practice it thoroughly until it is easy. Increase is being full without creating. Impasse is being physically blocked yet successful in one's Way. The Well is being inactive yet reaching things. Compliance is assessing the appropriateness of things, yet being deeply hidden and unexposed.

[4] Lü (Treading) harmonizes behavior; Qian (Modesty) controls ritual propriety; Fu (Return) leads to self-knowledge; Heng (Perseverance) unifies virtue; Sun (Decrease) keeps harm away; Yi (Increase) promotes benefit; Kun (Impasse) lessens resentment; Jing (Well) distinguishes rightness; Xun (Compliance) is acting provisionally.

To "lessen resentment" means to have few occasions of resentment and blame. To "distinguish rightness" means to calmly be able to deliberate.

This section is the "three presentations of the nine hexagrams," which clarifies the [Sages'] way of dwelling in anxiety and distress.

Section 8:

[1] The *Yi* as a book cannot be kept at a distance; as a Way it is always shifting. It fluctuates and moves without rest, revolving and flowing through the six vacancies, rising and falling with no constancy, the firm and yielding [lines] changing into each other. They cannot be considered fixed essences, as they simply change along with circumstances.

"Keeping at a distance" is like forgetting. "Revolving and flowing through the six vacancies" means *yin* and *yang* flowing through the six positions of the hexagram.

[2] Its goings and comings in patterns cause one to understand caution within and without.

亂而敬，擾而毅，直而溫，簡而廉，剛而塞，彊而義) (<http://ctext.org/shang-shu/counsels-of-gao-yao>).

⁴⁴ Here "ritual propriety" stands for Treading, as Zhu equates the two in his previous comment. The idea is that by treading carefully and properly one can achieve one's goals better than by acting forcefully. Compare *Analects* 2.3, where Confucius says that government by virtue and ritual propriety is more effective than government by law and punishment.

This sentence is not accurate; I suspect there is something missing.⁴⁵

[3] It also clarifies anxiety and distress and its reasons. Even without a teacher or guardian, it is like having a father or mother nearby.

Although one has no teacher or guardian, it is always as if one's father or mother has come near, the utmost of admonishment and caution.

[4] At first one follows the remarks and considers their prescriptions, until apprehending a constant standard. But if one is not the [right] person, the Way will not subtly proceed.

"Prescriptions" are the Way. By first following the remarks and determining their principle one sees their constant standard. But [the ability] to spiritually clarify it exists within the person.

Section 9:

[1] The material of the Yi as a book has its origins in beginnings and its essentials in endings. The six lines intermingling are simply temporal things.

"Material" means the structure of the hexagram. The hexagram must rise up from its beginning to its end to achieve its structure. The lines, then, are simply temporal things.

[2] Its beginning [first] line is difficult to understand; its top line is easy to understand. They are root and branch. The text of the first line suggests; by the end it has achieved a conclusion.

This speaks of the beginning and top lines.

[3] But to grasp the virtues of complicated things and distinguish between true and false, one cannot do without the central lines.

⁴⁵ Han Kangbo, however, makes sense of the line: "This clarifies the standards for going forth and withdrawing so that one can understand the admonitions connected with being abroad and staying in" (trans. Lynn, *The Classic of Changes*, 90).

This means the four central lines of the hexagram.

[4] Yes, even if one seeks [answers to] life and death or good and bad omens, if one stays with it one can certainly understand. The wise person who contemplates the Judgment statements can deduce more than half.

Tuan 象 (Judgment) refers to the general discussion of the structure of the six lines in each hexagram [i.e. the hexagram text].

[5] The second and fourth lines have the same merit yet different positions; they are good in different ways. The second is often complimentary; the fourth is often a caution, as it is close [to the "ruling" line of the hexagram, the fifth]. The Way of a yielding line is that it is not beneficial to be distant. What is necessary is that it be without fault; its function is to be yielding and central.

This and the next passage discuss the central lines [second through fifth]. "Same merit" (*gong* 功) means they are *yin* [even-numbered] positions. "Different positions" means their distances [from the ruler] are different. The fourth is close to the ruler, and so is often a warning. It is not beneficial for a yielding [line] to be distant, yet the second is often complimentary, as it is yielding and central.⁴⁶

[6] The third and fifth [also] have the same merit yet different positions. The third is often ominous and the fifth is often meritorious, according to their grades of honor and humbleness. A yielding line [in these positions] is precarious and a firm line is surely superior.

The third and fifth are both *yang* positions, yet they differ in their honor and humbleness. Thus a yielding line residing there is precarious, and only a firm line is able to be superior.

Section 10:

⁴⁶ Even-numbered positions are considered *yin*, so yielding lines are "correct" in those positions. A yielding line in the second position is therefore both "central" (within the lower trigram) and "correct," which outweighs the disadvantage of being distant from the ruler.

[1] The *Yi* as a book is broad, great, and all-inclusive. It contains the Way of Heaven, it contains the Way of humanity, and it contains the Way of earth. It combines these Three Powers (*san cai* 三材 or 才) and doubles them, resulting in six [lines]. The six are nothing other than the Ways of the Three Powers.

The three strokes [lines] embody the Three Powers; repeating them results in six. We take the upper two lines as Heaven, the middle two lines as humanity, and the lower two lines as earth.

[2] The Way contains fluctuation and activity, which we call [changing] lines. The lines have gradations, which we call things. Things mix together, which we call patterns (*wen* 文). When the patterns do not match, good fortune and bad fortune arise.

"The Way contains alternation and activity" means the overall structure of the hexagram. "Gradations" means differences between far and near, honorable and humble. "Mix together" means the relations between the firm and yielding positions. "Do not match" means lines not matching their positions.⁴⁷

Section 11:

[1] Did the rise of the *Yi* correspond to the latter days of the Yin [Shang] period, when the virtue of the Zhou was flourishing? Did it correspond to the affairs of King Wen 文王 [of the Zhou 周] and Zhou 紂 [of the Shang]?⁴⁸ For this reason the statements [attributed to King Wen] concern precariousness. One who is in a precarious position can bring about peace; one who is in an easy position can bring about collapse. This Way is very great; none of the hundred things is omitted. Being cautious in regard to ends and beginnings, and considering it essential to be without fault, is called the Way of the *Yi*.

⁴⁷ E.g. a *yang* line in an even-numbered position and vice versa.

⁴⁸ The two names "Zhou" here are unrelated. According to the Zhou dynastic doctrine of the Mandate of Heaven, the virtue of every dynasty flourishes at first and then declines, causing Heaven to award the mandate to another family. King Zhou of the Shang was the "wicked" last king of the Shang, and King Wen was the virtuous founder of the Zhou, who was imprisoned for awhile by King Zhou. It was allegedly during this imprisonment that he wrote the hexagram texts of the *Yi*.

Being "apprehensive" and "cautious" leads to peace; being lazy certainly leads to collapse. This is the Way of the *Yi*.

Section 12:

[1] Qian is the strongest thing under Heaven; by practicing its virtue it is always easy to understand danger. Kun is the most compliant thing under Heaven; by practicing its virtue it always simple to understand predicaments.

Being the strongest, [Qian's] practice is without difficulty, hence "easy." Being the most compliant, [Kun's] practice is not troublesome, hence "simple." However, in one's affairs one should always have an understanding of their difficulty and not presume to handle them with ease. In this way when there is anxiety and distress, if a strong one starts high and descends below he will understand danger; if a compliant one starts below and moves upward he will understand predicaments. So although one can easily understand danger one doesn't fall into danger, and [although] one can simply understand predicaments one isn't trapped in predicaments. Therefore one is able to be apprehensive and cautious, and those without ease will collapse.⁴⁹

[2] [Qian] is able to make the mind/heart joyful;⁵⁰ [Kun] is able to examine the feudal lords' deliberations. [Thus they] determine what is auspicious and ominous under Heaven and complete all untiring efforts under Heaven.

The words "the feudal lords" are superfluous. "To make the mind/heart joyful" is the mind and order coming together (*xin yu li hui* 心與理會), which is the activity of Qian.⁵¹ "To examine deliberations" is order (*li* 理) according with deliberation and scrutiny, which is the

⁴⁹ Zhu Xi clearly thinks the text here is overly optimistic. This is consistent with his general attitude toward the achievement of Sagehood, which he thinks is very difficult. See Joseph A. Adler, *Reconstructing the Confucian Dao: Zhu Xi's Appropriation of Zhou Dunyi* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014), 80-81.

⁵⁰ All commentators read *shuo* 說 (discuss) here as a loan-word for *yue* 悅 (joyful).

⁵¹ *Lihui* 理會 can also be a binome meaning "understanding," in which case the phrase could be rendered "the mind's involvement with understanding."

activity of Kun. When the mind is joyful [at ease], it can determine what is auspicious and ominous. When deliberations are examined, one can complete one's untiring efforts.

[3] For this reason fluctuation and transformation speak of action, and auspicious events bring blessings. Images and events [enable us to] understand implements, and the practice of divination [enables us to] know the future.

"Fluctuation and transformation speak of action;" therefore "images and events" enable us to "understand implements." "Auspicious events bring blessings;" therefore the "practice of divination" enables us to "know the future."

[4] Heaven and earth established their positions and the Sages actualized their potential (*cheng neng* 成能). With the counsel of men and the counsel of ghosts, the ordinary people share in this potential.

"Heaven and earth established their positions," and the Sages created the *Yi* to actualize their merit (*gong* 功). In this way, "with the counsel of men and the counsel of ghosts," even the dullest of ordinary people can share in its potential.⁵²

[5] The eight trigrams are announced by images; the lines and statements are expressed according to their conditions. The firm and yielding [lines] mix their places, and the auspicious and ominous can be seen.

"Images" means the hexagram drawings. "Lines and statements" means the hexagram and line statements.⁵³

[6] Fluctuations and movements are expressed according to their advantage; the auspicious and ominous shift according their condition. For this reason love and hatred work against each other, giving rise to the auspicious and ominous; the far and near take from each other, giving rise to regret and remorse; true and false stimulate each other,

⁵² They share in the *Yi*'s power by practicing divination (*Zhuzi yulei* 76:1963).

⁵³ The hexagram drawing is only one of the meanings of "image" (*xiang* 象); Zhu Xi means that that is what it means here. See, for example, his comment on A.1.1.

giving rise to advantage and harm. The general conditions of the *Yi* are such that when those near to each other do not mutually gain, there is bad fortune. If harm results, there is regret and remorse.

"Do not mutually gain" means mutual hatred. Bad fortune, harm, regret, and remorse all arise from this.

[7] The statements of one who is about to rebel are shameful. The statements of one who has doubts in his inmost heart are indirect. The statements of a fortunate person are few. The statements of a confused person are many. The words of a person who slanders the good are superficial. The statements of one who has lost what he should preserve are wrong.⁵⁴

The statements of the hexagrams and lines are also like this.

Appendix: Discussing the Trigrams (*Shuogua* 說卦), sections 1-3⁵⁵

Section 1:

[1] In ancient times, when the Sage [Fuxi] created the *Yi*, he was mysteriously assisted by [his] spiritual clarity to produce the yarrow stalks.⁵⁶

"Mysteriously assisted by spiritual clarity" is like the phrase "assisting in the transforming and nourishing [processes of Heaven and earth]."⁵⁷ The "Tortoise and yarrow stalk"

⁵⁴ "Lost what he should preserve" might be an allusion to Mencius' statements about preserving and nourishing the innate moral nature of the mind.

⁵⁵ These sections are similar in form and content to the *Xici*, and very different from the rest of the *Shuogua*, which is probably much later. They are in fact combined with the *Xici* in *Yizhi yi* 易之義 (Meaning of the *Yi*), one of the texts excavated at Mawangdui in 1973. See Rutt, *The Book of Changes*, 434.

⁵⁶ Although some translators (e.g. Legge, Wilhelm, Rutt) think this passage refers to the plural Sages who created the *Yi* (including King Wen and the Duke of Zhou), the fact that it discusses the invention of yarrow-stalk divination means it must refer specifically to Fuxi. And while *shenming* 神明 sometimes means "gods and spirits," for Zhu Xi it typically means the spiritual capacity of human beings to intuit the natural/moral order (*li* 理); hence "spiritual clarity." See Adler, "Varieties of Spiritual Experience."

treatise [of the *Shiji*] says, "When all under Heaven are at peace, the Kingly Way is obtained and the yarrow stalks grow long, in full clumps of a hundred stalks."⁵⁸

[2] He tripled Heaven and doubled earth to give the numbers a basis.

Heaven is round and earth is square. A circle of one [unit diameter] has a circumference of three, and each three is one odd [number], so tripling Heaven makes three. A square of one [unit on a side] has a circumference of four, and four and two are even, so doubling earth makes two.⁵⁹ The numbers all arise on this basis. Therefore, after the stalks are cast for three changes [i.e. one line], if the remainders are three odds, then [the line is] $3 \times 3 = 9$. If the remainders are three evens, then [the line is] $3 \times 2 = 6$. If [the remainders are] two twos and one three it is 7; two threes and one two make 8.

[3] He observed the fluctuations of *yin* and *yang* to establish the hexagrams. He initiated the movement of the firm and yielding to produce the lines. He harmoniously accorded with the Way and virtue to put in order (*li* 理) rightness. He fully explored the order of things (*qiong li* 窮理), fulfilled their natures (*jin xing* 盡性), and thereby attained [Heaven's] decree (*zhiyu ming* 至於命).⁶⁰

"Harmoniously accorded" is a summary way of speaking about following the features [of things/events] with no deviation. "[Put in] order" (*li* 理) means following along with events to apprehend their particular patterns (*tiaoli* 條理); it is [used in two] separate ways here.⁶¹ Fully exploring the order of all things under Heaven, fulfilling the natures of people and things, and joining with the Way of Heaven is the extreme merit of the Sage's creation of the *Yi*.

⁵⁷ *Zhongyong* 22. The assistance works in the reverse direction here, but in the *Classified Conversations* Zhu makes clear that this is what he means (*Zhuzi yulei* 77:1965).

⁵⁸ Sima Qian 司馬遷, *Shiji* 史記 (Historical Records), 128.7 (<http://ctext.org/shiji?searchu=著莖長丈>).

⁵⁹ What is meant here is tripling a singular Heaven and doubling a singular earth. In his *Classified Conversations* Zhu says, "One Heaven tripled makes three; one earth doubled makes two" (一箇天參之為三；一箇地兩之為二) (*Zhuzi yulei* 77, 1966).

⁶⁰ *Qiongli jinxing yizhiyu ming* 窮理盡性以至於命 became a Cheng-Zhu slogan summarizing the meaning and import of the whole Confucian project of becoming a Sage. See Zhu's comment on *Xici* A.4.3.

⁶¹ I.e. as a verb in this sentence and as a noun in the next.

Section 2:

[1] In ancient times when the Sage created the *Yi*, he intended to accord with the principle (*li* 理) of the nature (*xing* 性) [of things] and what was ordained (*ming* 命) [by Heaven]. In this way he established the Way of Heaven, calling it *yin* and *yang*; he established the Way of earth, calling it yielding and firm; he established the human Way, calling it humanity and rightness. He combined these three powers and doubled them; thus the *Yi* has six lines making each hexagram. He divided *yin* and *yang*, which function alternately as yielding and firm [lines]; thus the *Yi* has six positions making each figure.

"He combined these three powers and doubled them" refers to the six lines as a whole. He divided them into portions, and so [the lines] mix together among the *yin* and *yang* positions to make the patterns and figures.⁶²

Section 3:

[1] Heaven and earth determine the positions; mountain and marsh penetrate [each other's] *qi*; thunder and wind push against each other; water and fire do not combat each other; [thus] the Eight Trigrams combine with each other.⁶³

⁶² *Wenzhang* 文章 usually refers to text, but here the context is clearly the hexagram figures alone.

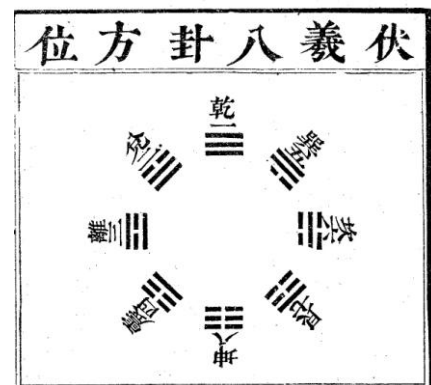
⁶³ "Water and fire do not combat each other" may be an error, as in the Mawangdui manuscript *Yizhi yi* 易之義 (Meanings of the *Yi*), which contains the first three sections of *Shuogua*, the text reads "water and fire combat each other," and this of course makes conventional sense. See Edward L. Shaughnessy, trans. *I Ching: The Classic of Changes* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1997), 218-19. Also, section 5.2 of the *Shuogua* says that "*yin* and *yang* push against each other." In the *Classified Conversations* Zhu Xi goes to some lengths to explain the text as received, which may seem surprising as in other cases he doesn't hesitate to say that some words are extraneous or errors, e.g. in *Xici* A.12.2 and B.6.3 (*Zhuzi yulei* 77:1971-72). One possible reason for his acceptance of "water and fire do not combat each other" is that "combat" (*she* 射, literally "to shoot an arrow") is too dualistic a concept for a relationship that Zhu conceives as non-dualistic polarity and *interpenetration*. For example, section 16 of Zhou Dunyi's *Tongshu* 通書 (Penetrating the Changes) contains the line, "The *yin* of water is based in *yang*; the *yang* of fire is based in *yin*." Zhu Xi's comment on the line is: "Water is *yin*, yet it is generated from [the number] one, so it is based in *yang*. Fire is *yang*, and yet it is generated from two, so it is based in *yin*." See my discussion of this in *Reconstructing the Confucian Dao*, 260-61, n. 151, and chapter 3. In the *Classified Conversations* he compares "water and fire do not combat each other" to "mountain and marsh penetrate [each other's] *qi*," supporting the idea that he wants to leave conceptual space for interpenetration between water and fire.

Master Shao [Yong] said, "These are Fuxi's positions of the Eight Trigrams: Qian in the south, Kun in the north, Li in the east, Kan in the west, Dui occupying the southeast, Zhen occupying the northeast, Sun occupying the southwest, and Gen occupying the northwest. This way in which the Eight Trigrams interact, making the sixty-four hexagrams, is called *a priori* learning (*xiantian zhi xue* 先天之學)."⁶⁴

[2] Enumerating the past is according; knowing the future is reversing. Thus the Yi enumerates in reverse (*ni shu* 逆數).

Starting from Zhen and passing through Li and Dui reaches Qian; this is enumerating the already generated trigrams [from 4 to 1, clockwise in the circular Fuxi Diagram]. From Xun passing through Kan and Gen reaches Kun; this is extending to the not-yet generated trigrams [from 5 to 8, counter-clockwise]. The sequence of the Yi's generation of the trigrams, then, is Qian, Dui, Li, Zhen, Xun, Kan, Gen, and Kun [1-8]. Thus the enumerations are reversed. (故皆逆數也).⁶⁵

⁶⁴ This trigram arrangement is depicted in no. 4 of the Nine Diagrams at the beginning of Zhu Xi's *Zhouyi benyi*, "Fuxi's Directional Positioning of the Eight Trigrams" (right). I use "*a priori*" for *xiantian* (literally "before Heaven") because I understand the term to refer to analytic, not synthetic, relationships. See Georges Rey, "The Analytic/Synthetic Distinction," in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta (Fall 2015 ed.) <<http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/analytic-synthetic/>>. For example, in the *Yixue qimeng* (Introduction to the Study of the Yi) Zhu Xi approvingly quotes a statement by Shao Yong, "There was an Yi before [the hexagrams] were drawn" (Zhu Xi, *Yixue qimeng*, 1224; also Adler, *Introduction to the Study of the Classic of Change*, 16).



⁶⁵ In his *Yixue qimeng* (chapter 2) Zhu Xi quotes Shao Yong's comment on this passage, from *Huangji jingshi shu* 皇極經世書 (Sibu beiyao ed.), 7A:24a:

Master Shao said:

This section explains the Eight [Sequential] Trigrams of Fuxi. The fluctuations of the Eight Trigrams illuminate their interactions and complete the Sixty-four. "Enumerating the past is according" is like movement in accordance with Heaven. This is a movement to the left [counter-clockwise], in each step toward the previously-generated trigram [in terms of the seasons]. Thus it is called "enumerating the past." "Knowing the future is reversing" is like movement opposite to Heaven. This is a movement to the right, in each step toward the not-yet-generated trigrams. Thus it is called "knowing the future." The

calculations of the *Yi* are completed by reversing [the rotation of Heaven]. This section directly explains the ideas of [Fuxi's] chart in terms of reverse [anticipatory] knowledge of the Four Seasons (Adler, *Introduction to the Study of the Classic of Change*, 22).

Although *ni* 逆 can also mean "anticipating" or "foreseeing," which makes obvious sense here -- Legge translates it as "anticipation" and Nielsen ("Cycles and Sequences," 137) uses "forecasting" -- Richard Lynn suggests that this meaning may in fact be based on this passage (*The Classic of Changes*, 124, n.7). However, the opposition with *shun* 順 "according" suggests that "reversing" is appropriate here. The passage has given *Yijing* commentators a great deal of trouble; every one seems to have a different way of explaining it, ranging from simple avoidance to rather ingenious methods.

My theory is that "reverse enumeration" probably refers to the two common Chinese cosmological models, called *gai tian* 蓋天 (dome heaven) and *hun tian* 混天 (spherical heaven). In the former, heaven and earth are like nested hemispherical domes; in the latter they are like concentric spheres. In both models heaven rotates counter-clockwise around the earth. The heavenly bodies move clockwise in relation to heaven, but more slowly than heaven's rotation, so they appear to move counter-clockwise (east to west). See Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 3: *Mathematics and the Sciences of the Heavens and Earth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 210-19.

According to this model, Zhu Xi and Shao Yong are, in effect, superimposing the counterclockwise rotation of heaven onto the circular arrangement of Fuxi's hexagram sequence (see previous note), in which the temporal sequence of the seasons associated with the trigrams is clockwise. Thus to move from the present to the future, as in divination, one is moving clockwise, which is opposite to the rotation of heaven. To put it another way, while the seasons progress clockwise on the Fuxi chart -- summer, fall, winter, spring -- from the fixed human perspective the present becomes the past. Since the *Yijing* provides a method, through its numbers, of seeing from the present to the future, it is opposite to the natural flow. Hence "the *Yi* calculates in reverse." In other words, knowing the past is a natural human capacity, while the capacity to divine the future is part of the oracle's "spiritual" nature (see *Xici* A.10.4). The difficulty with this rationale is that it does not really involve the numbers assigned to the trigrams, which do not entirely fit the model -- only on the right side of the circular chart does the sequence of numbers correspond to the progress of seasons (as Cai Yuanding acknowledges in the *Yixue qimeng*, chapter 2 [Adler, *Introduction to the Study of the Classic of Change*, 22]), but without considering it problematic.

This whole problem may in fact be the result of a copyist's error. In the Mawangdui manuscript of the *Yijing*, discovered in 1973, the corresponding line reads, "The *Yi* has *penetrating* numbers." The character for "penetrating" (*da* 達) could easily have been mistaken for *ni* 逆 "reverse" by a careless copyist -- if the manuscript actually predates the "received" version of the text. This is not certain, despite the fact that the Mawangdui manuscript dates from about 190 B.C.E. and the received version is the one embedded in the commentary by Wang Bi, 226-249 C.E. (See Edward L. Shaughnessy's translation of the Mawangdui text, with the original Chinese, in his *I Ching: The Classic of Changes*, pp. 218-19, line 15, and his comments on the relative dating of the two versions, 18.) Nevertheless, as scholars ever since Wang Bi have had the character *ni* in their text, that is the one we must read and interpret here.

In a less problematic context (because it does not involve the movement of heaven and divining the future), the following dialogue from Zhu Xi's *Classified Conversations* also addresses these terms, again in reference to "Fuxi's Directional Positioning of the Eight Trigrams:"

Anqing 安卿 asked: [Shao Yong's] discussion of the *Xiantian* Diagram says, "Yang within yin is yang moving backward (*ni xing* 逆行); yin with yang is yin moving backward. Yang with yang and yin within yin are both moving forward (*shun xing* 順行)." What does this mean?

Reply: The left side of the chart is yang; the right side is yin. On the left starting from Zhen with one yang [line], Li and Dui with two yang, and Qian with three yang are yang within yang, moving forward [clockwise]. On the right starting from Xun with one

yin, Kan and Gen with two *yin*, Kun with three *yin* are *yin* within *yin*, moving forward [clockwise]. Kun with no *yang*, Gen and Kan with one *yang*, and Xun with two *yang* are *yang* within *yin*, moving backward [counter-clockwise]. Qian with no *yin*, Dui and Li with one *yin*, and Zhen with two *yin* are *yin* within *yang*, moving backward [counter-clockwise] (*Zhuzi yulei* 65, 1615-1616).

Shao Yong's statement is in his "Images and Numbers of the *Xiantian* [Diagram]" (*Xiantian xiangshu* 先天象數, in *Guanwu waipian 2* (*Huangji jingshi shu*, SBBY ed.), 7A:33b. It is quoted by Zhu Xi in *Yixue qimeng* (in *Zhouyi zhezong*), 2:29a (Adler, *Introduction to the Study of the Classic of Change*, 25). Following the sentences quoted by Anqing, Shao Yong continues, "This is truly the perfect order (*zhili* 至理). Counting forward (*shun shu* 順數), Qian is 1, Dui is 2, Li is 3, Zhen is 4, Xun is 5, Kan is 6, Gen is 7, Dun is 8. Counting backward (*ni shu* 逆數), Zhen is 1, Li and Dui are 2, Qian is 3, Xun is 4, Kan is 5, and Gen and Kun are 6" (ibid.).