

“In Search of *Yijing*’s Original Meaning: Zhu Xi’s Philosophy of Divination”

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Zhu Xi, *The Original Meaning of the Yijing: Commentary on the Scripture of Change*. Translated and edited by Joseph A. Adler. New York: Columbia University Press, 2020. viii, 387 pp. Hardcover \$65.00, ISBN 978-0-231-19124-1.

Among Chinese classics, the *Yijing* 易經 (*I Ching, Book of Changes*) is known for being difficult to read. This difficulty arises partly due to the text itself. Although the *Yijing* is commonly considered one single text, in actuality it

consists of three distinct layers. The first layer comprises eight trigrams and sixty-four hexagrams, allegedly drawn by the mythical figure Fu Xi 伏羲. These graphics, being symbolic and suggestive, are thereby open to different interpretations and creative formulations. The second layer consists of statements accompanying each hexagram, allegedly written by King Wen 文王 and the Duke of Zhou 周公 during the eleventh century B.C.E. Unlike the first layer, which is abstract and symbolic, the second layer is concrete and specific. It provides an empirical account of the Shang–Zhou transition and suggests a course of action in a stressful time. The third layer is composed of seven pieces of writing from the fifth to second centuries B.C.E. Divided into ten segments (hence the name “Ten Wings”), the authors of these writings used the hexagrams to discuss cosmic patterns, the relations between humanity and nature, and the complexity of human life.¹

With three distinct layers, another difficulty associated with reading the *Yijing* is finding its true meaning. Since its canonization as a Confucian classic in 136 B.C.E., the *Yijing* has been a subject of debate regarding what constitutes its core text (*benjing* 本經) and what can best be described as its early commentaries (*zhuan* 傳).² Historical records show that, during the Han period (206 B.C.E.–220 C.E.), the core text of the *Yijing* referred strictly to the first two layers of the texts, and consequently the classic was often known as the *Zhouyi* 周易 (*Changes from the Zhou Dynasty*), highlighting its link to the Western Zhou period. Toward the end of the Eastern Han, however, three of the Wings—the *Tuan* 象, the *Xiang* 象, and the *Wenyan* 文言—were added to the core text.³ Wang Bi’s 王弼 (226–49) popular commentary, the *Zhouyi zhu* 周易注 (A Commentary on the *Changes from the Zhou Dynasty*), followed this new structure of the *Yijing* text. Since Wang Bi, the distinction between the core text and the Ten Wings had become blurred, giving rise to different commentarial traditions, such as the “Images and Numbers School” (*xiangshu* 象數) and the “Principle and Meaning School” (*yili* 義理).⁴

The distinction between the core text and the Ten Wings diminished further in the eleventh century, when Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033–1107) added yet another Wing, the *Xugua* 序卦, to the core text in his *Yichuan yizhuan* 伊川易傳 (The Yi River Commentary on the *Changes*). This new formation of the *Yijing* text became the standard in the fifteenth century, when Emperor Chengzu 成祖 of the Ming dynasty (r. 1402–24) ordered a new official commentary, the *Zhouyi daquan* 周易大全 (Compendium on the *Changes from the Zhou Dynasty*, 1415), based on Cheng Yi’s commentary and supplemented by that of Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200). The sad irony is that Zhu Xi vehemently rejected the insertion of the Ten Wings into the core text, but in the *Zhouyi daquan* his attempt to exclude them was aborted. His own commentary, the *Zhouyi benyi* 周易本義 (The Original Meaning of the *Changes from the Zhou Dynasty*), was divided into fragments and inserted under each hexagram following Cheng Yi’s commentary.⁵

In the Qing dynasty (1644–1911), the reverse took place. Zhu Xi’s commentary formed the core of the *Zhouyi zhezong* 周易折中 (Balanced Annotation of the Changes of the Zhou Dynasty, 1715), and Cheng Yi’s commentary was divided into fragments and inserted into Zhu Xi’s commentary.⁶ In both the *Zhouyi daquan* and the *Zhouyi zhezong*, Cheng Yi’s and Zhu Xi’s commentaries were presented as being compatible to support the image of the Cheng–Zhu school of Neo-Confucianism, even though Cheng Yi and Zhu Xi disagreed on the structure of the *Yijing* text and its meaning.

Zhu Xi’s *Yijing*

Zhu Xi’s reason for separating the core text from the Ten Wings was that the *Yijing*, he thought, was originally a book of oracles. He argued that although the classic had become a book of wisdom after the addition of the Ten Wings, its primary purpose was to help readers make critical decisions when they were at a crossroads. For him, it was the divinatory function that distinguished the *Yijing* from the other Confucian classics such as the Book of Songs, Book of Documents, and Book of Rites. Rather than giving clear moral or political lessons, the *Yijing* directed readers’ attention to the uncertainty and serendipity of life. Aided by the visual imagery of hexagrams and the solemn rituals of divination, Zhu Xi asserted, readers became aware of the difficulty facing them and the options available to them. If there was a moral lesson in the *Yijing*, it would be that human beings must live with their limited power in controlling the future. For this reason, Zhu Xi insisted that “the *Yijing* was originally composed for divination” (*yi ben buxi er zuo* 易本卜筮而作) to highlight both human finitude and the need to be open to unexpected outcomes.⁷

For scholars of late imperial China, Zhu Xi’s recovery of the original *Yijing* caused trouble. For the specialists of Zhu Xi’s philosophy particularly, they had to answer the daunting question: “Why would a cool-headed thinker support divination?” Underlying this question is the perception that divination must be irrational and superstitious. Based on this conventional understanding of divination, it does not make sense that a gifted philosopher like Zhu Xi would view divination favorably and use it to resolve philosophical issues. Similarly, historians of Song–Ming Neo-Confucianism find Zhu Xi’s recovery perplexing. If indeed Cheng Yi and Zhu Xi were the leaders of the Learning of Principle (*lixue* 理學), why did they stand on opposite ends regarding the structure of the *Yijing* text and how it was used?

With so much at stake, Joseph A. Adler’s full translation of Zhu Xi’s *Zhouyi benyi* is most welcome. Published by Columbia University Press, Adler’s *The Original Meaning of the Yijing* marks a milestone in North American studies of Chinese classics. In less than three decades since the

publication of Kidder Smith et al., *The Sung Uses of the I Ching* (1992), North American scholars have successfully transformed the *Yijing* from a timeless classic that offered abstract principles of life into an evolving text that grew and developed over centuries through commentaries.⁸ With this “historical turn,” we now have the full translations of three major *Yijing* commentaries in imperial China—those of Wang Bi (translated by Richard John Lynn),⁹ Cheng Yi (translated by L. Michael Harrington),¹⁰ and Zhu Xi (translated by Joseph A. Adler)—covering the Chinese *Yijing* studies from the third century to the twelfth century.

Rendered by Adler as “The Original Meaning of the *Yijing*,” the *Zhouyi benyi* was one of Zhu Xi’s late works. Completed after decades of preparation and revision, it provided a glimpse of Zhu Xi’s mature thinking on moral metaphysics, linking everyday practices to their transcendental roots. More importantly, the *Zhouyi benyi* was Zhu Xi’s third attempt to explain the *Yijing* text, following his meditation on the concept of *taiji* 太極 and his summary of the *Yijing* divinatory procedure in a short work called the *Yixue qimeng* 易學啓蒙.¹¹ In one stroke, Adler’s translation gives answer to two perplexing questions. The first is how Zhu Xi, the philosopher, views divination. The second is how Zhu Xi’s philosophy of divination is expressed in his interpretation of the *Yijing*, particularly the sixty-four hexagrams.

Zhu Xi’s Philosophy of Divination

For Adler, Zhu Xi had a unique view of divination. Back in 1992, in his first major writing on Zhu Xi, he succinctly summarized Zhu Xi’s view of divination:

The ultimate purpose of performing divination, like everything else in [Zhu Xi’s] system, was to contribute to self-cultivation. . . . [T]he oracular power of the [Yi] was considered to be like the “spiritual” (shen) capacity of the perfectly clear mind of the sage to know the future.¹²

For Adler, the best way to understand Zhu Xi is through his deep interest in self-cultivation. To Zhu Xi, divination was a method of self-cultivation, no different from sweeping the floor, cooking a meal, or counting the number of trees in a forest. Its goal was to calm the mind, purify the soul, and above all, connect the person to the incessant unfolding of the universe.

In the introduction to *The Original Meaning of the Yijing*, Adler goes a step further by situating Zhu Xi in the broad context of Chinese divination:

“Divination” can be defined as a method of obtaining answers to specific questions by nonempirical means. . . . Divination is thus to be distinguished from prophecy by the fact that prophets, in the strict sense (based on the model of the prophets of the Hebrew Bible), are passive recipients of their divine messages, while diviners actively pose their questions, regardless of their specificity. Divination in China and elsewhere is usually about “fortune-telling,” or predicting the future, as in the ubiquitous use of

bamboo sticks and printed oracles in Chinese and other East Asian temples. The *Yijing*, however, was unique in becoming a “book of wisdom” as well as a manual of divination. (p. 2)

For Adler, Zhu Xi’s approach to divination was a continuation of the Chinese practices for predicting the future. To resolve doubts, Chinese divination did not appeal to a divinity or seek help from a transcendental deity. Instead, it aimed to provoke the inquirer—who was usually facing problems or severe stress—to find out what was plausible and what was not.

To understand Zhu Xi’s quest for the original meaning of the *Yijing*, Adler contends, we must keep in mind his goal of self-cultivation.

Zhu Xi insisted that people in his time needed the assistance of the ancient Sages in their efforts of moral self-cultivation, and so they should take into account the Sages’ “original intention” in creating the *Yi*. . . . “The *Yi* was originally created for divination,” not as a book of moral principles or moral guidance simply to be read—even though its textual layers did contain valuable moral principles and guidance. But that guidance in the process of self-cultivation was intended to be accessed *through and only through* the medium of divination. When done properly, said Zhu Xi, divination “enables everyone from kings and dukes to the common people to use it for self-cultivation and ordering the state” (p. 13).

The last sentence in the quoted paragraph is extremely important. Here, Adler identifies Zhu Xi’s two major contributions in interpreting the *Yijing*. First is Zhu Xi’s efforts to systematize and standardize the *Yijing* divination. On this score, Zhu Xi’s short divinatory manual, the *Yixue qimeng* (which Adler has translated separately as *Introduction to the Study of the Classic of Change [I-hsüeh, ch’i-meng]*), the nine *Yijing* diagrams (included in Part A of *Original Meaning*), and the “divination ritual” (included in the Appendix of *Original Meaning*) are significant. Together, they show the sincerity and commitment required in a proper performance of divination. They demonstrate that divination is not a casual move of walking into a diviner’s store and throwing coins or yarrow stalks to seek advice. Rather, divination is a serious and solemn occasion, wherein a person must focus his or her mind on things at hand and make careful plans for the future. In short, when performed properly, divination transposes one’s mind from the mundane to the spiritual, and from the hustle and bustle of everyday life to the permanent principle of the universe.

Zhu Xi’s second contribution was expanding the social appeal of the *Yijing*. By focusing on the divinatory function of the sixty-four hexagrams, Zhu Xi transformed the *Yijing* from a classic for the educated elite to a manual of self-cultivation for “everyone from kings and dukes to the common people” (p. 13). Without denying the importance of the Ten Wings, Zhu Xi saw the sixty-four hexagrams as self-sufficient to provoke an inquirer to

critically review his or her life. The inquirer would definitely benefit from reading the philosophical discussion in the Ten Wings, but the inquirer did not have to be philosophically astute to understand the uncertainty and serendipity of human existence. Anyone who had fallen on hard times would understand how unkind life could be. Anyone who was at a crossroads would know how difficult it was to make an informed decision. Anyone who was an underdog would know an attempt to change one's fortunes was a high-stakes poker game. Hence, by returning to the divinatory root of the *Yijing*, Zhu Xi made the classic accessible to everyone—educated and uneducated, rich and poor, young and old, strong and weak, male and female—as long as that person needed a new direction in life.

In the end, the attempt to return to the divinatory function of the hexagrams separated Zhu Xi from Wang Bi and Cheng Yi—the two dominant figures in the *Yijing* studies of his time. For Zhu Xi, the return to the divinatory root of the *Yijing* required a rearrangement of the received text, separating Fu Xi's *Yijing* from those of King Wen and Confucius.

Reading Hexagrams as Oracles

Regrettably, in *The Original Meaning of the Yijing*, Adler is more successful at explaining Zhu Xi's philosophy of divination than showing how Zhu Xi returned to Fu Xi's *Yijing*. To his credit, in sixteen pages, Adler faithfully summarizes Zhu Xi's philosophy of divination by explaining his key terms and concepts (pp. 22–36). Those encountering the *Yijing* for the first time should read these pages carefully to get a sense of what Zhu Xi wanted to accomplish in writing a commentary on the *Yijing*. For readers who are interested in Chinese thought, they would benefit from reading these pages because they provide a summary of the basic assumptions of Song–Ming Neo-Confucianism. By explaining concepts such as change, time, image, number, principle, and human destiny, Adler presents a picture of a dynamic universe driven by the constant intermixing of *yin* and *yang* forces. From the prism of the universe's self-renewal, we can understand why Zhu Xi viewed divination as a revitalizing experience of finding one's possibilities and limitations.

Take, for instance, the concept of time (*shi* 時). Adler tells us that in the *Yijing*, time not only refers to discrete temporal units, such as years, seasons, months, hours, and minutes, but also means “the qualities of the time,” namely, the opportunities that are available and unavailable at a particular moment (p. 24). When time is understood dynamically as something moving and developing, the *Yijing* hexagrams can be seen as symbols of the constant changes in the natural and the human realm. When hexagrams are understood as symbols of changes, *Yijing* divination makes perfect sense because it allows the inquirer to use whatever hexagrams are selected to gauge “an inherently dynamic, changing situation as well as its direction of change, like a vector

(a force with both magnitude and direction)” (p. 24). Just as “change is constant” in the world of the *Yijing*, “everything is possible” in *Yijing* divination as well.

This dynamic view of life is also applied to “principle” (*li* 理) and “human destiny” (*ming* 命). In the *Yijing*, these two terms do not suggest predeterminism as they do in English. Rather than meaning a fixed pattern or a preordained path, the two terms are dynamic and provisional. “Principle” means “ordering,” Adler tells us. It describes one’s resources and limitations in the complex and evolving world (p. 30). Similarly, “human destiny” is understood proactively as the “givenness” of life or the situation into which we are thrown (p. 30). In both terms, we are asked to ponder the precondition that we must live with, and the foundation upon which we can build our future. Adler tells us that this dynamic view of the human condition is extremely important to Zhu Xi. For him, self-cultivation is transformative because we, as humans, are able to make the right decisions if we are given the opportunity to consider all the options (p. 30).

Unfortunately, in Adler’s translation of the *Zhouyi benyi*, this dynamic picture of decision making is not effectively conveyed. The problem arises from Adler’s misguided decision to not follow Zhu Xi’s instruction to separate the core text from the Ten Wings. In *The Original Meaning of the Yijing*, Adler puts three of the Wings—the *Xici*, the *Shuogua*, and the *Zagua*—into separate chapters (see chapters 3, 4, and 5), but he inserts the *Tuan*, the *Xiang*, and the *Wenyan* into the sixty-four hexagrams. In the end, after all the discussion of Zhu Xi’s search for the original meaning of the *Yijing*, Adler is still translating the same text as it appears in Wang Bi’s version. What we have in *The Original Meaning of the Yijing* is a translation of a collated text in which Fu Xi’s *Yijing* is mixed with those of King Wen and Confucius.

In the introduction, Adler gives a candid explanation for not following Zhu Xi’s instruction. He writes:

I began working on this translation following Zhu Xi’s plan but soon found it cumbersome, and I thought it important for the connections between the several commentaries to be more evident. I therefore changed it to the collated arrangements as in the right column in the box. My apologies to Zhu Xi; but I think he sacrificed readability and usefulness just to make the point regarding his theory of the “original meaning” and to maintain consistency with it. (p. 18)

Considering the immense difficulty in rendering the seemingly disjointed and obscure hexagrams into English, one must sympathize with Adler’s concern with “readability and usefulness.” In many ways, the *Tuan*, the *Xiang*, and the *Wenyan*—respectively rendered by Adler as “Commentary on the Judgment,” “Commentary on the [Greater or Smaller] Images,” and “Commentary on the Words of the Text”—help to give cohesive interpretations of the hexagrams.

Nevertheless, inserting them into the hexagrams distorts Zhu Xi's interpretation of the hexagrams as oracles. If we compare the cost and the benefit, the benefit of making the hexagrams look coherent does not outweigh the cost of losing Zhu Xi's intention of rendering the hexagrams as oracles.

Take, for instance, the hexagram Qian 乾 ☰ (The Creative, #1). Counting from the bottom to the top, the hexagram depicts six dragons (represented by the six straight *yang* lines) in various positions: “a hidden dragon” in line 1, “a dragon appearing in the field” in line 2, a dragon (personified by a superior man) in constant alert in line 3, a dragon “hesitantly leaping in the deep” in line 4, “a flying dragon” in line 5, and “a dragon going too far” in line 6 (pp. 54–56). If reading the six lines of the hexagram Qian as a story (as the authors of the *Tuan*, the *Xiang*, and the *Wenyan* do), the hexagram can be understood as a Greek tragedy. On the one hand, the tone of the first five lines is upbeat, projecting an impression of an incessant progress from a hidden dragon to an emerging dragon, a wavering dragon, and finally a flying dragon. On the other hand, the progression is abruptly cut short by the downfall of an arrogant dragon, warning of the danger of hubris.

But if the hexagram Qian is read as an oracle, it can be seen as six different conditions with six differing prognostications. In his commentary, Zhu Xi takes this approach by deliberately separating each hexagram line into two parts: the image (*xiang* 象) that reveals the condition of the inquirer, and the prognostication (*zhan* 占) that presents the voice of the oracle. As a result, his comments are brief and concise, such as “we should contemplate this image and appreciate this prognostication” (line 1), and “Superior person’ refers to the prognosticator, one who is capable of fearful concern, so although his position is precarious there is no blame” (line 2). Adler describes these brief comments as “minimalist” (p. 20). But these “minimalist” comments serve the purpose of transforming the hexagram lines into the voices of the oracle. Hence, if an inquirer receives line 1 from divination, he or she is in the situation of a “hidden dragon” and the prognostication of the oracle would be “to avoid taking an aggressive action.” If an inquirer receives line 2 from divination, he or she is in the situation of “a dragon appearing in the field” and the prognostication of the oracle would be “seeking help from a great man.” If an inquirer receives line 4 from divination, he or she would be in a situation of “hesitantly leaping in the deep” and the prognostication of the oracle would be “no blame” if the inquirer really works hard to make the leap. And so on and so forth.

The advantage of this “minimalist” approach is that it is open-ended. It presents the voice of an oracle and the inquirer must guess what is said and unsaid. In this minimalist reading, even an apparently undesirable line is not dreadful because nothing is predetermined. For instance, “the dragon going too far” in line 6 means the inquirer will definitely have “regret” because of

“rising up and being unable to come down” (p. 55). But the prognostication of the oracle also implies that regret can be minimized (or even erased) if the inquirer knows how to step down tactfully before he or she reaches too high.¹³

This open-ended feature of Zhu Xi’s reading is also found in the hexagram Fu 復  (Return, #24), a hexagram that Adler repeatedly discusses in the introduction. As Adler points out, the hexagram Fu is tremendously important to Neo-Confucian thinkers because it “symbolizes [the] moment of immanent creative potential springing forth spontaneously from the natural world” (p. 35). In terms of the hexagram image, Fu consists of one straight *yang* line at the bottom and five broken *yin* lines on top. It represents the return of the *yang* force after its total replacement by the *yin* force in *Kun* , as shown in the sequence of the “waning and waxing hexagrams” (*xiaoxi gua* 消息卦) perfected by Yu Fan 虞翻 (164–233) in the Eastern Han period:

Kun  [2] → Fu  [24] → Lin  [19] → Tai  [11] → Dazhuang 
 [34] → Guai  [43] → Qian  [1] → Gou  [44] → Dun  [33] →
 Pi  [12] → Guan  [20] → Bo  [23] → (back to Kun).

From the perspective of the “waning and waxing hexagrams,” the hexagram Fu is promising and life-giving. It starts a gradual increase of the *yang* force while the *yin* force decreases. For Neo-Confucian thinkers (Zhu Xi included), this return of the *yang* force carries a moral-metaphysical meaning. As Adler explains, it “represents the immanent natural and moral creative potential inherent in *qi*, the stuff of the universe, which is also the stuff of the human mind” (p. 35).

But in Zhu Xi’s commentary on Fu, he focuses on how to take the return of an aggressive force (or person) graciously and thoughtfully. Particularly, he is concerned with the potentially combustible situation of a rising star threatening the old guards while they are still in power. For instance, in line 1, where the *yang* force announces its return, Zhu Xi warns that the inquirer receiving this line from divination should consider his or her situation as being delicate and challenging. Although the prognostication of the oracle is “supremely auspicious,” the condition is tremendously complicated. The auspicious outcome will only come when three conditions are met: (1) “one rests at the beginning of an affair,” (2) “erring but not by much,” and (3) “one will be able to return to goodness, without reaching the point of repentance” (p. 143). The oracle is clearly warning against excessive aggressiveness when someone is allowed to return to prominence.

As a voice of the oracle, each of the five *yin* lines in Fu has its own advantages and disadvantages (p. 143). In line 2, the oracle announces that an auspicious result will come if the inquirer is able to display “the relaxed beauty

of Fu.” In line 3, the oracle suggests that there is “danger but no blame” because the inquirer is not decisive in accepting the returning of the *yang* force. In line 4, the oracle is silent on the outcome when the inquirer is “proceeding centrally.” But Zhu Xi thinks that the prognostication of the oracle should be “good fortune” because the inquirer is an “individual who is able to follow the good while acting in a group.” In line 5, the oracle foretells “without regret” if the inquirer is sincere in accepting the return of the *yang* force. Finally, in line 6, the oracle declares the outcome to be “ominous” because the inquirer is mishandling the return of the *yang* force, causing a lot of confusion and misunderstanding.

These examples show that Zhu Xi did not sacrifice readability and usefulness to advance his theory of the “original meaning of *Yijing*.” There is no doubt that he shared the view of a dynamic universe and the centrality of moral cultivation with other Neo-Confucian thinkers. But in reading the *Yijing*, he had his own agenda. He saw the *Yijing* as a book of oracles, and encouraged readers to develop mental dialogues with hexagrams. He also wanted to use hexagrams to remind readers of their limited ability to determine the course of their lives. All these would not be possible unless the hexagrams and the Ten Wings were separated.

Conclusion

Since the early 1990s, the historical turn of *Yijing* studies in North America has promised a new direction of using the commentaries to elucidate the complexity of Chinese society and the creativity of Chinese thought. Thirty years later, we reach a point where we not only have learned more about the variety of the *Yijing* commentaries but also have rendered some of the important commentaries into English. At the same time, the more we study the *Yijing* commentaries, the more we know that our conventional categories (such as Neo-Daoism or Neo-Confucianism) are not applicable to *Yijing* studies.

Adler’s *The Original Meaning of the Yijing* is a case in point. In the translation, there is a mismatch between the two images of Zhu Xi. One is Zhu Xi as a Neo-Confucian thinker; the other is Zhu Xi as a *Yijing* commentator. While Adler thinks that the two images should be the same, in reality they are quite different. As a result, *The Original Meaning of the Yijing* is only partially successful in rendering *Zhouyi benyi* into English. Sadly, with all his efforts and erudition, Adler does not fully capture what Zhu Xi considered “the original meaning” of the *Yijing*. If in the future Adler has an opportunity to publish a revised edition of *The Original Meaning of the Yijing*, I would suggest that he take the *Tuan*, the *Xiang*, and the *Wenyan* out of the sixty-four hexagrams and put them into separate chapters. I would also suggest that he add “translator’s notes” at the beginning of each hexagram, drawing readers’ attention to the “mental dialogues” that Zhu Xi created when

interpreting the oracle. These are minor changes, but they would make Zhu Xi happy.

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NOTES

1. The Ten Wings are: *Tuan* 象 (Judgments) I; *Tuan* 象 (Judgments) II; *Xiang* 象 (Images) I; *Xiang* 象 (Images) II; *Wenyang* 文言 (Words of Text); *Xici* 繫辭 (Great Treatise) I; *Xici* 繫辭 (Great Treatise) II; *Xugua* 序卦 (Sequence of Hexagrams); *Shuogua* 說卦 (Discussions of Trigrams); *Zagua* 雜卦 (Miscellaneous Notes on Hexagrams).

2. For the textual history of the *Yijing*, see Michael Nylan, *The Five “Confucian” Classics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 202–252; Geoffrey Redmond and Tze-ki Hon, *Teaching the I Ching* (Book of Changes) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 1–157; Richard J. Smith, *Fathoming the Cosmos and Ordering the World: The Yijing (I Ching, or Classic of Changes) and Its Evolution in China* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2008), 7–56; and Richard J. Smith, *The I Ching: A Biography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 1–47.

3. The earliest record of adding the *Tuan*, the *Xiang*, and the *Wenyang* to the main text can be found in the *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 (A Chronicle of the Three Kingdoms). In an account, court scholars in the Wei Kingdom were asked to explain why some of the Wings were inserted into the sixty-four hexagrams in Zheng Xuan’s 鄭玄 *Yijing* commentary. See Chen Shou 陳壽, *Sanguo zhi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, [1959] 2020), 136.

4. For the history of *Yijing* commentaries, see Smith, *Fathoming the Cosmos*, 57–111; Redmond and Hon, *Teaching the I Ching*, 158–180.

5. For the significance of the *Zhouyi daquan*, see Tze-ki Hon, “A Precarious Balance: Divination and Moral Philosophy in *Zhouyi Zhuanyi Daquan*,” *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 35, no. 2 (2008): 254–271.

6. For the significance of the *Zhouyi zhezong*, see Tze-ki Hon, “Classical Exegesis and Social Change: The Song School of *Yijing* commentaries in Late Imperial China,” *Sungkyun Journal of East Asian Studies* 11, no. 1 (2011): 1–15.

7. For a summary of Zhu Xi’s view on the *Yijing*, see Tze-ki Hon, “A Precarious Balance,” 256–59 and “Classical Exegesis and Social Change,” 3–6.

8. Richard John Lynn explains the significance of the “historical turn” in his 1997 review of *Sung Dynasty Uses of the I Ching*. He wrote: “A significant shift in the way scholars and translators approach the *Yijing* 易經 (Classic of Changes) has recently become apparent. Instead of viewing the work as a timeless book of wisdom existing outside history, with a single unchanging meaning that can and should be extracted throughout, we are becoming increasingly aware that the *Classic of Changes* exists in as many versions as there are commentaries on it: its text is so dense and opaque that its meaning depends on how commentaries interpret it.” See Richard John Lynn, “Review of Kidder Smith, Jr., et al., *Sung Dynasty Uses of the I Ching*,” *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 27 (1997): 152.

9. Richard John Lynn, trans., *The Classic of Changes: A New Translation of the I Ching as Interpreted by Wang Bi* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994).

10. L. Michael Harrington, ed. and trans., *The Yi River Commentary on the Book of Changes* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019).
11. For these two earlier works of Zhu Xi, see Joseph A. Adler, *Reconstructing the Confucian Dao: Zhu Xi's Appropriation of Zhou Dunyi* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014), and *Introduction to the Study of the Classic of Change (I-hsüeh ch'i-meng)* (Provo, UT: Global Scholarly Publication, 2002).
12. Kidder Smith, et al., *Sung Dynasty Uses of the I Ching* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 176.
13. Because of the openness of the oracles, Zhu Xi read the inauspicious or disastrous hexagrams as neutral. See Tze-ki Hon, "Coping with Contingency and Uncertainty: The *Yijing* Hexagrams on Decay and Disorder," *Sungkyun Journal of East Asian Studies* 19, no. 1 (2019): 12–16.

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