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Between Numbers and Images: The Many Meanings of Trigram Gen 艮 in The Early *Yijing*

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Abstract: This paper examines the images of trigram *Gen* in the *Yijing*, with a focus on images in the *Shuogua* 說卦 commentary. The *Shuogua* presents images either found in or to be extrapolated from the base text within a structured and highly interpretive system that forms "image programs" for each of the eight trigrams. I argue the *Shuogua*'s image programs have a defined architecture, and its images are not random lists of words collected without an agenda and devoid of relationships and mutual interaction with others. My main thesis is a high percentage of images in the *Changes* developed through a simple and direct pictographic method, like the one used in a recently discovered Warring States period divination guidebook called *Shifa* 筮法 (*Method of Milfoil Divination**), that was done by matching the graphic shapes of individual numbers and the overall shapes of numbers in three-line combination to shapes of real objects and logographs. If a diviner could see so many pictographic images in single numbers and sequences of numbers in combination, like what we now see in operation in the *Shifa*, then we ought to assume that a deeper repository of subjective and innovative images could be observed in number combinations at the multiline, trigram, and hexagram levels. Stated directly, trigram and hexagram diagrams were not pictorially meaningless; numbers produced images, and images produced the words and judgments that form early layers of text. Professional diviners had an expert knowledge of the tradition and Warring States use of the *Changes* continued to develop and explain image programs for the eight trigrams along these guidelines.

Keywords: *Shifa*, *Zhou Yi*, *Yijing*, Warring States divination, Trigram *Gen*

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1 Introduction—The Method of Observing Images in the *Shifa* 筮法 (*Method of Milfoil Divination**) and the Image Program of Trigram *Gen* in *Changes* Commentary

New discoveries related to the practice of divination by numerical manipulation have fundamentally altered our view on the composition of divination manuals generally referred to as *Changes* (*Yi* 易).[1] Sortilege and casting divination by plant stalks, stones, corn kernels and related materials produced numerical outcomes (1, 4–9) that were recorded as "lines" and stacked in a vertical orientation to form trigrams, tetragrams (rare), and hexagrams, the latter by the Late Shang period (ca. 1300–1046 BC) seems to have become normative.[2] Numerical hexagrams first

1 Throughout the paper I use the following terms: *Changes* 易 refers to the *Three Changes* 三易 divination manuals: The *Zhou Yi* 周易, *Guicang Yi* 歸藏易, and *Lianshan Yi* 連山易, and to sortiledge divination manuals with hexagram or trigram results. The term *Zhou Yi* refers solely to the sixty-four hexagram core text of the *Yijing* without any canonical commentary, and the term *Yijing* refers to the *Zhou Yi* plus its attached canonical commentary called the *Ten Wings*. When speaking about the *Zhou Yi* I use the term "hexagram picture" (*gua hua* 卦畫) in reference to the six-line diagrams that precede each of the sixty-four hexagram names. I refer to prognostications after the hexagram name as "hexagram statement" (*gua ci* 卦辭), and refer to prognostications found in the six individual lines as "line statement" (*yao ci* 爻辭). I refer to line statements by their placement in the hexagram picture, from bottom to top, that is, initial line, line 2, line 3, line 4, line 5, and top line, and do not use number (9 and 6) plus line number terms like Nine in the First, Six in the Second, etc. The transcription of numerical trigrams and hexagrams starts with the initial bottom line and moves upwards. Numerical trigrams and hexagrams are also referred to as "numerical trigram pictures" and "numerical hexagram pictures".

Li Dingzuo 李鼎祚 2016 is the base text. Commentaries outside of the canonical ones attached to the *Zhou Yi* are cited as referenced. Excavated manuscripts of the *Zhou Yi* and *Guicang* used in this paper are the Shanghai Museum Warring States *Zhou Yi*, the Mawangdui Western Han *Zhou Yi*, and the Wangjiatai Qin *Guicang*; the *Lianshan* is no longer extant: Ma Chengyuan 馬承源 (ed.) 2004; Fu Juyou and Chen Songchang 1992; Wang Mingqin 2004: 26–49. Edward Shaughnessy 2014 provides a introduction, transcription, and annotated translation of the Shanghai Museum *Zhou Yi*, Wangjiatai *Guicang*, and Fuyang *Zhou Yi*; an earlier work by Edward Shaughnessy 1996 does the same thing for the Mawangdui *Yijing*. Both of Shaughnessy's books include a transcription and translation of the received version of the *Zhou Yi* on opposite pages from the manuscript counterparts, as well as bibliographies. For the numerical trigrams and hexagram examples used in this paper, see Pu Maozuo 濮茅左 2006, Zhang Jinping 張金平 2015.

2 To date, the number 4 only appears in Qinghua University's *Shifa* 筮法 (*Method of Milfoil Divination**) manuscript (see footnote 12 for full citation) and is not seen in any actual divination

appear in Late Shang and Western Zhou (1045–771 BC) material culture inscribed on divination materials and commemorative objects both individually and in inverted pairs and cluster sequences that match traditional orderings of the *Zhou Yi*'s sixty-four hexagram pictures. By the end of the Western Zhou at the latest numerical hexagrams were already being converted out of actual divination-result sequences into a formulaic system that only utilized two of the possible numeric values, either 1 or 7 and either 6 or 8, because they occurred with the highest frequency.[3] In this simplified system, which delimits the possible six-line outcomes to just sixty-four, 1 or 7 stands for all odd numbers and 6 or 8 for all even numbers. The conversion of hexagrams into even and odd lines regulated hexagram divination systems, and ultimately led to a codified set of hexagram pictures like those in the *Zhou Yi*, which is the only one of the *Changes* texts to have been transmitted intact. What have been since at least the Warring States period conventionally referred to as yin and yang lines and male and female trigrams began as the numbers 6 or 8 and 1 or 7.[4] This is how the lines and

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records. "4" seems to have become eligible for use in written divination results as late as the Late Spring and Autumn period, and once its graphic form changed from four deictic horizontal strokes 𝌆 to something more abstract — likely a rebus borrowed from *si* 厶. The numbers 2 and 3 are never used because they never got taken out of their deictic composition of multiple horiztonal lines. The multiple horizontal lines in the graphic forms of the numbers 2–4 seem to have been left out of hexagram recording because they caused confusion building hexagram pictures and reading the divination outcome. For the discovery of numerical hexagrams, see Zhang Zhenglang 張政烺 1980: 4–15; translated, by H. Huber, R. Yates 1980–81: 80–96.

3 This refers to the *Ding hexagram dagger-axe* 鼎卦戈 inscription; see footnote 5. Li Xueqin 李學勤 2011: 231, proposes and reconstructs two hypothetical systems of milfoil divination for the Western Zhou period that he labels "System-1" ("B" system) and "System-7" ("A" system). System B produces the numerical outcomes 1, 5, 6, 8, 9, but not 7, and System A produces the numerical outcomes 5–9 but not 1. The outstanding issue here is the instances where 1 and 7 occur in the same sequence; see too the Western Han example in footnote 17. Jia Lianxiang 賈連翔 2014a: 29–32, tabulates the following distribution for 64 occurrences of "System-1" numerical combinations on 31 Shang-Western Zhou artefacts: 1: 49.6%; 6: 25.9%; 8: 17.6%; 5: 5.2%; 9: 1.7%; 4: 0%. He tabulates the following distribution for 47 occurrences of "System-7" on 30 Shang-Western Zhou artefacts: 7: 35.5%; 6: 42.2%; 8: 15.1%; 5: 6%; 9: 1.2%; 4: 0%. Jia Lianxiang 2014b: 58, tabulates the numbers seen in the hexagram pictures from Warring States divination records recovered from Tianxingguan 天星關, Baoshan 包山 and Xincai Geling 新蔡葛陵, finding the following distribution: 4: 7, 5: 13, 6: 323, 1: 308, 8: 10, 9: 23. Jia notes that "System-1" shows closer affinities to the *Zhou Yi*. What seems relatively clear is that each of these systems used three even numbers (4, 6, 8) and three odd numbers (1/7, 5, 9).

4 Li Ling 李零 2006: 184–215, says the lines of the *Zhou Yi* evolved into yin and yang lines from the numbers 8 and 1. Lines comprised of 1 and 6 are already referred to as "yin" and "yang" in the *Shifa* (strips 13–15). The same text also refers to the gender of trigrams as female or male. The method of gender detection follows the same rules outlined in the *Shuogua* commentary. Male and female trigrams are ascertained by counting the total number of lines/strokes that

hexagram pictures of the *Zhou Yi* evolved to look as they do. In this paper I take the following three positions: one, the *Zhou Yi* is a Western Zhou text;[5] two, hexagram pictures began as numbers;[6] and three, hexagram pictures contain the images (*xiang* 象) that led to the composition and development of the *Zhou Yi*'s text.

The process of recording and recopying hexagram pictures during and after actual bouts of divination, that is as it concerns the orientation, layout, and written style of these consciously arrayed numerical outcomes, must have played a key role in numerology and image recognition. This, in turn, led to predictions, injunctions, hexagram labels or names, and various statements based on the divinatory experience. Late Shang and Western Zhou diviner groups and the scribes working collectively with them on behalf of their patron-clientele, who at this time were probably confined to the king, royal family, and elite lineages, must have been the keepers of this professional knowledge and the ones responsible for making the earliest divination manuals. The putative assignment of the creation of sixty-four systematized hexagram pictures to King Wen of Zhou, and the making of text to go along with them to his son Dan, the Duke of Zhou, simply means that a divination manual like the *Zhou Yi* was traditionally understood to have been created between the end of the Shang and beginning of the Western Zhou. The archaeological record is fragmented and cannot confirm this, but it does validate that the environment and constituent elements were there to do so. What is certain however is that Late Shang and Early Zhou culture was using sortilege divination in conjunction with oracle bone divination. Those with access would have had experience reading both oracle bone cracks and numerical hexagram pictures. As Shang diviners used notebooks for reference with oracle bone divination records,[7] we have to assume that the same was true for coexisting hexagram divination records as well.

Given that hexagram pictures had a numerical origin, the highest frequency combinations 1–6, 1–8, 7–8, and 7–6 would have been catalysts for image recognition at the line, trigram, and hexagram levels. Let us take the first two combinations as an example. The hexagram pictures ䷱ *Ding* 鼎 (Cauldron) and

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comprise the trigram, with yin or even lines counting as two. Of the 228 total lines in the *Shifa* 85% are either 1/7 or 6. These statistics imply that the numbers 4, 5, 8, 9 served a special function in the divinatory process and that 1/7 and 6 were the two constants.

5 Yu Xingwu 于省吾 1960 [1936]: 1.1a–2b. Based on the Ding hexagram dagger-axe 鼎卦戈 inscription, the *Zhou Yi* in the nineth-eighth centuries BC consisted, at a minimum, of a regulated set of sixty-four hexagram pictures and text. The text included an overall hexagram judgment and individual line statements. See Dong Shan 董珊 2011, and Schwartz 2018.

6 Jao Tsung-i 饒宗頤 2009: 4.10–25.

7 David N. Keightley 2001.

䷚ *Yi* 頤 (Jaws) are commonly referred to in *Yijing* scholarship as examples of "pictographic images", which means that the shape of a hexagram picture as a whole resembled the image of an object that, in turn, inspired the creation of its text.[8] The process of observing a "cauldron" and "jaws" in a hexagram picture could seemingly only have come out of these combinations.[9] The same holds true for trigram images like *Kan* 坎 as water, *Gen* 艮 as mountain, gate, and the hand, *Xun* 巽 as objects with legs and a horizontal top such as a table and the area of a person's thighs to midsection, and *Dui* 兌 as objects with an open or separated top such as an open mouth, the horns of a ram (*yang* 羊), and the number 8 (*ba* 八).[10] This of course does not mean images were not observed in other numerical combinations at the trigram and individual number line levels, for now we know they most certainly were.[11]

A recently discovered Warring States guidebook for hexagram divination called *Shifa* 筮法 (*Method of Milfoil Divination**) contains precisely this kind of information. The text, written in the form of tables and illustrations on sixty-three numbered bamboo strips, contains information on how to interpret upper and lower trigrams within a numerical hexagram. Based on specific divination

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8 For the term "pictographic images" (*xiangxing zhi xiang* 象形之象), see Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲 (1610–1695) 2007: 129. Most *Yijing* handbooks make reference to these two hexagrams as paradigms of this category; see for instance, Liu Dajun 劉大均 2016: 34. When talking about image recognition from a hexagram picture, I use the terms "whole-bodied" or "single-bodied" and "two-bodied" (i. e. divided into trigrams); for the champion of this terminology, see Zhu Zhen 朱震 (1072–1138) 2012.

9 *Yi*  (頤) is composed of a "human head" (頁) and "jaws" with teeth. The word is first seen in Western Zhou script without the 頁 classifier. The graph illustrated here comes from the Shanghai Museum *Zhou Yi*. The hexagram's text originated out of a resemblance between the hexagram picture and a visual or pictorial image of "jaws".

10 *Kan* (Pit) is associated with water because its trigram picture, ☵, resembles the archaic graph for "water" (see Figure 1). It is unlikely that a numerical combination other than 8-1-8 would have inspired the same connection; support for this interpretation now comes from the *Shifa* which says 8 has the line image of "water". *Xun* is associated with legged-objects such as tables and people because its whole-bodied trigram picture resembles legs and a tabletop; for this interpretation, see Huang Zongxi 2007: 155. The association between mountain and *Gen* almost certainly derives from two 6s in Lines 1 and 2 of its trigram picture (6-6-1), and four 6s in Lines 1–2 and 4–5 of its hexagram picture (6-6-1-6-6-1). Scholars have noted that the *Changes* manual *Lianshan* (*Connected Mountains*) got its name because its first hexagram picture was *Gen*. The name *Lianshan* originated from the image of connected mountains observed in the hexagram picture *Gen*.

11 A prime example is the association between *Kun*, 6-6-6  , and the graph *chuan* (川) "river", which is the Hexagram's name in the Mawangdui version. This hexagram name appears to have been born out of the resemblance between the shape of the numerical combination and the logograph.

rubrics trigrams are explained individually and by how they interact within a cluster of four (i. e. two hexagrams). In one section of the guidebook (section 29/30; strips 52–59) called "Line Images" (*yao xiang* 爻象) individual numbers have their own associated images like those listed in the canonical *Shuogua* 說卦 commentary.[12] Below are the images listed under the numbers four (strips 58–59) and eight (strips 53–54):

> 四之象為地為員為鼓為耳為環為踵為雪為露為
> Four's images is earth, is circle, is drum, is ear, is ring, is heel, is snow, is dew, is hail.

> 凡肴(爻)象八為風為水為言為非(飛)鳥為瘴脹為魚為罐筒才上為醪下為汰
> In all cases of line images: eight is wind, is water, is speech, is flying bird, is swelling, is fish, is container; above it is wine's dregs, below it is rinse.

The number four in the *Shifa*'s numerical hexagram combinations is written as  , and a comparison with Warring States period allographs like  , , and that have marks on the inside and lines traversing its outline makes it evident that all of its so-called "images" listed above obtained their associations through a simple connection to the number's *graphic shape*. All of four's visualized images are circular and are matched because their shape shows a resemblance to four's written form. Images range in size and aside from the abstract "circle" are all tangible objects—two are related to the body, three are related to the sky, one is related to land, one is an instrument, and one is jewelry. The method of image recognition here is that a diviner in encountering "observed images" of objects that reminded him of this shape. This atypical writing of "four" with an empty inside and nothing piercing its outline appears to have been utilized specifically for clearer image recognition—we might call it its "divinatory form"; and there are others.[13]

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12 Li Xueqin 李學勤 (editor-in-chief) 2013: *Shifa* is found on pages 2–9 (full-size photographs), 21–52 (magnified photographs), 75–123 (transcription). Line images are only listed for 4, 5, 8, 9, which as I mentioned above were low-frequency and relatively unwanted outcomes.

13 The writing of four with an empty middle does occur on some Warring States seal inscriptions from the state of Yan 燕. As early as the Shang dynasty, the graphic form of the numbers five (五) and six (六) were manipulated for use in numerical trigram and hexagram recording by abbreviating strokes so as to avoid confusion with the numbers 8 (八) and 1 (一). In the *Shifa* and outside of the numerical hexagram examples 4 is written in its more regular form . The same holds true for nine, which in numerical trigram combinations is written in its "divinatory form" , but elsewhere in the manuscript in its more regular form . *Jiu* 九 9 is a pictograph of the right arm with a bend at the elbow and is the archaic form of *zhou* 肘 "elbow". The divinatory form, which straightens out the arm and does not include the bend in the elbow, shows resemblance to the number one. Like the images of four, some of 9's line images in the *Shifa* (strips 56–57), for instance "snake" (*she* (蛇)), "bow" (*gong* (弓)), and "bend" (*qu* (曲))

The line images for number eight, on the other hand, derive largely through pictorial resemblances made between the number's *graphic form*  (*ba* 八) and logographs. Table 1 demonstrates how a certain part of each logograph shows a resemblance to the shape of the number's graphic form. The ones that do not draw their associations in this way, swelling, speech, wine dregs, and rinse, clearly play on things that are open at the top and fanning or swelling out at the bottom. "Speech" is connected here through trigram *Dui* 兌 . The prime image of *Dui* listed in the *Shuogua* is the mouth and what comes out it, namely speaking with words. The name of the trigram itself appears to have originated through a pictorial resemblance between its picture  (as 1-1-8) and the shape of the graph to write *dui*  (兌), which is the ancestral form of *shui/shuo* 說 "to talk" (see Figure 1).[14]

Table 1: Line images of the number 8 in the *Shifa*.

eight	wind	water	flying[15]	fish	container[16]
					

The *Shifa* divination guidebook also contains a diagram of the human figure (section 24/30; Figure 1) where the eight trigrams in eight different 1–6 numeric combinations are iconographically matched to parts of the body. For instance, trigram *Dui*, written 1-1-6, is the mouth and nose—the first two solid lines of the trigram as number one (一) are the mouth, and six is the nose; and trigram *Xun* 巽, written 6-1-1, is the legs 6 to the waist 1-1. For our purposes here, trigram *Gen*, written 6-6-1, is the hand. All of the associations in the diagram between the eight trigrams and parts of the human figure match images listed in the *Shuogua*.

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clearly originate from an iconographic play on objects with a bend or natural curve. The *Xici* in the Mawangdui *Yijing* makes the same shape association between nine and "snake". I continue to talk more about this in the following paragraphs and in the section on animals.

14 *Ba* "eight" occurs once in the *Zhou Yi*, in the hexagram statement of  *Lin* 臨, "*Zhi yu bayue xiong* 至於八月兇" (Arriving to the eighth month, ominous). The lower trigram of *Lin*'s hexagram picture is *Dui*; see Yu Xingwu 1960 [1936]: 1.12a–13b.

15 The graph *fei* 非 is to be read as a phonetic loan for *fei* 飛. The Mawangdui *Yijing* writes *fei* 飛 as *fei* 翡.

16 The graph *tong* 侗 is to be read as a phonetic loan for *tong* 筒(筒) "container".

Figure 1: The *Shifa*'s diagram of the human figure and associated eight trigrams.

The *Shifa*'s method of obtaining images at the line and multiple line levels by matching the graphic shapes of individual numbers and the overall shapes of numbers in three-line combination to shapes of real objects and logographs is in fact the simplest and most direct approach to image recognition. Being that the structure and language of the text in "Line Images" section of the manuscript is so similar to the lists of trigrams and their images in the *Shuogua* commentary, we now have firm reason to believe that many more images than just the occasional or coincidental ones derived this same way. What this means of course is that a large number of the *Zhou Yi*'s images were *observed from within* trigram and hexagram pictures. If a diviner could see so many pictographic images in the graphic form of a single number, we now have to assume that a deeper repository of subjective and innovative images could be seen in multiple number combinations (i. e. trigrams and hexagrams), especially in those high frequency combinations previously mentioned.

The *Xici* commentary tells readers of the intimate relationship between the *Changes* and images. In addition to telling users that the "*Changes* are images", it also provides a brief description of the composition of the text, saying, "Sages set

out hexagrams, observed images and attached statements, so as to clarify auspicious and inauspicious." The *Shuogua* and other canonical commentaries like *Tuan* 彖 (Judgment) and *Xiang* 象 (Images) describe how images function in the hexagram pictures and present these images within a system of classification set to eight trigrams. Since the *Shuogua* is generally understood to be the cornerstone of eight trigram study, and since it is generally thought to be a Warring States text that derives its knowledge from older sources, detecting and tracing a method in the *Shifa* of how Warring States diviners obtained images and plugging it into the image program of the concurrent *Shuogua* is an innovative and relatively secure way to discuss the *Zhou Yi* from an emic and distinctively Eastern Zhou perspective. Because the methodology is based on actual practice, that is scribes recording (how the numerical lines were written in diagram form) and diviners/users reading (obtaining images), it structurally invites variation. Newly unearthed versions of *Changes* manuals contain language (i.e images) that differs from the received *Zhou Yi* and *Guicang* fragments collected in medieval encyclopedias (*leishu* 類書). A working hypothesis is therefore that variation is valid and expected within the context of divination. It reveals the personalized nature and unique skill set of diviners. Diviners and users saw different images in the same picture, and saw the same image or similar images in different pictures. To make all variation equal the text of one tradition (i.e the received text tradition) betrays the overall tradition.

This paper addresses the images of trigram *Gen* in the *Zhou Yi*'s canonical commentaries, and with an emphasis on images listed in the *Shuogua*. The *Shuogua* presents images either found in or to be extrapolated from the base text within a structured and highly interpretive system that forms "image programs" for each of the eight trigrams. Images in image programs are not randomly collected words devoid of relationships and mutual interaction with others. My main thesis is that a high percentage of images in the *Changes* originated and developed through a simple and direct pictographic method. Images were observed at the line, multiple line (called *banxiang* 半象 or "half images"), trigram, and hexagram level. They were observed rightside up, upside down (called *fuxiang* 覆象), and from other angles as well. A single image could be observed in different pictures, and multiple images could be observed in the same picture. This is the reason image classification based on an eight trigrams model contains a degree of overlap. Since images were not just observed at the trigram level, it is not a contradiction in some instances to classify one image, especially at the category level, as belonging to multiple trigrams.[17] Diviners had a professional knowledge of the tradition and Warring States use of the *Changes* continued to develop and explain image programs for the eight trigrams along these guidelines.

17 Shang Binghe 尚秉和 (1870–1950) 2016: 9–11.

Table 2: Numerical trigrams of *Gen* in the *Shifa*.

			
6-6-1 (divinatory form)	6-6-9 (with divinatory form of 9)	6-6-5	6-6-1 (iconographic form)

The numerical combinations or "alloforms" of trigram *Gen* in the *Shifa* are 6-6-1, 6-6-9, and 6-6-5 (Table 2). What I call a "divinatory trigram form" in Table 2 refers to the layout and style of a trigram picture as it appears in the hexagram examples (*gua li* 卦例) in the first part of the manuscript. "Iconographic trigram form" refers to the layout and style of a trigram picture as it appears in the diagram (Figure 1). In the hexagram examples and diagram, individual line numbers are also written in intentionally designed "divinatory line forms", like number four mentioned above, which differ from how these same numbers appear in the discursive parts of the manuscript and as strip or "page" numbers. Number nine in the hexagram examples, as in 6-6-9 in Table 2, is written with a level stroke (一) that is different from its curved form  seen elsewhere. The number five in the hexagram examples, as in 6-6-5 in Table 2, is written with two intersecting lines (X) that is different from how it is written elsewhere bordered above and below with a single horizontal line  . I refer to these more conventional types as "non-divinatory numerical forms". Divinatory forms of numbers first occur in Shang divination records and seem to have been adopted in order to avoid confusion with numbers written above and below (as in 5 with two 1s). In the case of the *Shifa*, there is an awareness to maintain an aesthetic of a unified and regulated-spaced trigram picture. However, and it is important to note this here, both divinatory and non-divinatory forms contributed to image recognition. Alloforms of trigram *Gen* with five and nine as the top line are important new data. I explain their importance later in the paper when discussing why *Gen* is associated in the *Shuogua* with a cluster of wild animals.

Gen's trigram picture in early versions of *Changes* manuals evolved into yin (broken) and yang (solid) lines from the numerical sequences 8-8-1 (*Zhou Yi*) and 6-6-1 (*Guicang*). We know this mainly because of the existence and evolution of numerical hexagrams from the Late Shang onwards, and because hexagram pictures in unearthed versions of the *Zhou Yi* look just like one

Table 3: Evolution of trigram *Gen* from 8-8-1 to yin-yin-yang lines.

			
8-8-1 as upper trigram in Western Zhou numerical hexagram	8-8-1 numerical trigram (Warring States)	Shanghai Museum (Warring States)	Mawangdui (Western Han)

and eight (Table 3), and in the Wangjiatai *Guicang* look just like one and six. Conversion of hexagram pictures from actual numerical results into a codified set of 64 hexagrams written with only one and either eight or six was already taking place during the late Western Zhou period. The Shanghai Museum bamboo text version and reference to the *Changes* in other Warring States period manuscripts, for example from Guodian 郭店, confirms the existence of a stable core text in circulation circa 300 BC. Historical anecdotes related to the *Changes* in the *Zuozhuan* imply that divination manuals called *Changes* were in circulation during the Spring and Autumn period. The prevaling view at present is that by the end of the Western Zhou the *Zhou Yi* was committed to writing in some form.

The high-frequency numerical sequences 8-8-1 and 6-6-1 in particular are fundamental to unlocking the primarily pictorial, and sometimes logographic, image program of *Gen*, both as a trigram and as a hexagram. The image program is formed of an architecture based predominatly on two complementary and bi-directional image categories: objects that hang, fall, or decline, like a hand with five fingers facing down and ripe fruit hanging or dropping from tree and vine; and objects that incline, are erect, or rise, like a mountain with multiple peaks and a gateway.[18] One of *Gen*'s prime images cuts across both of these image categories, and seems to be using the image of a gateway intentionally and by design. This is the image of "causing things to end/causing things to begin" and

18 The "Obtaining" (得) section of the *Shifa* (2/30; strip 13) interprets a trigram comprised of one 6 (yin) on top of 1s (yang) as "(yin) rising over yang" (作於陽). The image of rising comes from the shape ^ (6; yin) on top of flat — (1; yang).

"completion", that is, the very end of winter through the beginning of spring, and direction northeast. The image of hanging down/falling down/decline is connected to late winter and rising/incline to early spring. Time and seasonal flow is one way in which trigram *Gen* interacts with trigram *Zhen* (middle of spring and cardinal direction east), its opposite when turned upside down. Han period commentary and *Yijing* weft texts refer to *Gen* as the "gateway of ghosts" (*gui men* 鬼門) and "gateway of darkness" (*ming zhi men* 冥之門) for this reason.[19] When set to an interpretive system of one, calendrical correlations and directions, and two, hexagram chi (*gua qi* 卦氣) and alternation (*gua bian* 卦變), *Gen*'s gateway is the boundary between old and new year, death and birth, and between yang air evaporating and then having breath again. I will return to this point later when discussing hexagrams *Bo* 剝 and *Guan* 觀/*Guan* 灌, while in another section I propose that a pictographic connection exists between trigram *Gen* and *dong* 冬 "winter", the ancestral form of *zhong* 終 "to end."

The meaning of *Gen* 艮 in both the received *Zhou Yi* and recently unearthed copies is another issue to be addressed in this paper. *Gen* 艮 is called by the phononym *Gen* 根 "Roots" in a Western Han version of the *Yijing* (Mawangdui) and *Hen* 狠 "Fierce" in transmitted excerpts of the *Guicang*. This type of name variation is a distinguishing characteristic of the *Changes*. Parts can be changed and yet still interact seamlessly with the others. Those with a professional knowledge of the tradition would have known how to fit new interpretations into its flow and to make sense of shifting meanings. The *Changes* are notorious for using the same graph to write different words, even within a single line, and unearthed versions of the *Changes* manuals are equally notorious for having different written graphs with the same or similar pronunciation to their corresponding words in the received version. Are these just phonetic loans or should we read variation as an alternative interpretation? Most instances have to be decided on a case-by-case basis. In addition to *Gen*/*Gen*/*Hen*, I evaluate three other instances. The first is *Meng* 蒙 "Cover; Ignorant" (Hexagram #4), called *Mang* 尨 "Long-haired dog" in the Shanghai Museum's Warring States version; the second is *Dun* 遯 "Flee" (Hexagram #33), called *Dun* 豚 "Piglet" in the Shanghai Museum's Warring States version, and *Chuan* 椽 "Beams" in the Fuyang *Zhou Yi*. The third is *Guan* 觀 "Looking up" (Hexagram #20), called *Guan* 灌 "Libate" in the Wangjiatai *Guicang*. I look at the implications of these variations as it relates to image recognition and trigram classification.

Stated here in brief, *Gen*'s prime images as hanging or falling types, are hand, wild animals with black snouts and long tails, an end, ripe fruit on a branch, strands of cowries, strung up fish, and pouring water; inclining, erect,

19 Zheng Xuan's comment in Li Dingzuo 2016: 139; Fang Shen 方申 (19th c.) 2002: 2.

or rising types are mountain and mound, gateway, roofed and walled places where people dwell and congregate, and male youth (juventud). Each of these images can have subsets of derivative images and associations.

The *Shuogua* (Set 1) and *Xici* (Set 2) canonical commentaries in the *Yijing* list the following images as being associated with trigram *Gen*,

Set 1
G-d comes out in *Zhen*, arrays evenly in *Xun*, sees each other in *Li*, delivers military service in *Kun*, speaks words in *Dui*, does battle in *Qian*, toils in *Kan*, and completes words in *Gen*.
(帝出乎震齊乎巽相見乎離致役乎坤說言乎兌戰乎乾勞乎坎成言乎艮)

Gen is the trigram of the direction northeast. It is how the myriad things complete an end and complete a beginning. (艮東北之卦也萬物之所成終而所成始也)

As for what makes an end and forms a beginning for the myriad things, there is nothing stronger than *Gen*. (終萬物始萬物者莫盛乎艮)

Gen is to stop (艮止也) *Gen* is dog (艮為狗) *Gen* is hand (艮為手)

Gen's third line obtains male (i.e a yang line), for this reason it is called young male.
(艮三索而得男故謂之少男)

Gen is mountain, is trail, is small rock, is gate and watchtower, is fruit and melon, is gatekeeper and alley watchman, is fingers, is dog,[20] is rat, is category of black snouts. It among wood is hard with many joints.
(艮為山為徑路為小石為門闕為果蓏為閽寺為指為狗為鼠為黔喙之屬其於木也為堅多節)

Set 2
Double gates, hitting the wooden clapper in order to wait for intruders; it likely obtained its (image) in hexagram *Yu* 豫.
(重門擊柝以待暴客蓋取諸豫)

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20 "Puppy; dog" is listed twice in the *Shuogua* commentary under trigram *Gen*. For this reason commentators like Yu Fan and others insist that the second instance of dog is a scribal error and should be read variously as *gou* 拘 "to arrest" and *gou* 狗 "tiger cub; bear cub". In both cases *Gen*'s other images shape these readings: "to arrest" through "hand" and "young tiger" through both animals with long tails and male youth. The fact that dog is listed here in front of rat seems to recommend that it should be read as it is.

Below I regroup these images in based on their level of prominence in the base text. I classify images as prime images, images, and sub-images. What I term sub-images are mainly functions, characteristics, outputs, or organic derivatives of main images.

1. Prime image: Mountain
   Sub-images: trail, small rocks, hard, to stop (things from moving)
2. Prime images: Gate, watchtower
   Sub-images: gatekeeper, alley watchman
3. Prime image (from system—parts of the human figure): Hand
   Sub-image 1: fingers, to stop (things from moving)
   Sub-image 2: wood with many joints (resembles joints in fingers)
4. Prime image: to stop (from image of top solid line over two broken lines)
5. Image: dog, rat, (and) category of black snouts
6. Image (from system—Father, Mother, and Six children): youngest son
7. Image: What completes an end and completes a beginning, direction northeast, black with cyan hues
8. Image: Fruit, melon (or plant fruit)
9. Image: Hard (from top yang line as number 1)

The images from these two sets form a basic images guide for trigram *Gen*. Amongst this group some words like hand, watchtower, and melon/plant fruit (*luo* 蓏) do not appear in hexagram or line statements. As I mentioned previously, the most reasonable explanations are: one, images not found in the received version of the *Zhou Yi* belonged to other *Changes* manuals like the *Guicang* or *Lianshan*; two, images not found in the received version of the *Zhou Yi* imply that they were there in alternate versions of the text. The logic of the first explanation indicates the *Shuogua* is actually a comprehensive guidebook meant for consultation with other *Changes* manuals as well.[21] To this, and based on trigram *Gen*'s rather concise but complex image program in the *Shuogua*, another possible explanation is that the *Shuogua* commentary contains images at the category level, which means that the user is expected to extrapolate sub-images when encountering them in the base text. The image of "*category* of black snouts" is the most obvious and direct evidence.[22]

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21 See Li Ling 李零 2013: 386–389.

22 The word "hand" (*shou* 手) does not appear at all in the *Zhou Yi*, but there are a plethora of sub-images and associations related to the features and actions of hand(s); the *Shuogua* points out just two, fingers and wood with many joints. The word finger (*zhi* 指), however, does not occur in the received version of the *Zhou Yi* either. The word "mountain" (*shan* 山) appears

The *Shuogua* does not meticulously collect all of the images for each trigram from the base text.[23] It is specific when it chooses to be, for example in listing an image that only occurs once in the base text like rat in Line 4 of hexagram ䷢ *Jin* 晉 (Advancing).[24] Of course it is also possible to just say the *Shuogua* is simply not complete. Understood by most scholars to be a Warring States composition based on older sources, parts of it may have been lost in transmission, or were fragmentary to begin with. Being as it may, it does provide the basic image programs for each of the fundamental interpretive systems: seasons and directions, elements, parts of the human body, family, gender, animals, virtues, and categories, along with other additional examples. Works similar to the *Shuogua* were undoubtedly circulating during the Warring States period. The *Shifa* contains *Shuogua*-like material embedded into a more comprehensive text. The *Shifa*'s list of line images would have been much longer had it included images for 1/7 and 6.

In the above list the words *luo* 蓏 and *qian* 黔 in *qian hui zhi shu* 黔喙之屬 require additional explanation, as there are textual variants and definitions that somewhat largely affect the room we have to interpret them.

According to Lu Deming's 陸德明 (556–627) *Jingdian shiwen* 經典釋文, Jing Fang's 京房 (77–37 BC) edition had the word *duo* 墮 "fall, hang" in place of *luo*.[25] The issue is that neither *luo* nor any specific kind of fruit from a creeping plant like gourd (one instance) or melon (zero instances) occur in the *Changes* with an obvious connection to trigram *Gen*.[26] *Guo* 果 "fruit", on the other hand, which precedes *luo* in the *Shuogua* list only occurs once in the *Zhou Yi* and definitely refers to the phrase "ripe fruit not being eaten" (*shuo guo bu shi* 碩果不食) in the top line statement of Hexagram *Bo*. Presumably the reason *guo* is listed as an image of trigram *Gen* is because it is the upper trigram in Hexagram *Bo*'s picture. The situation between *luo* and *duo* is complicated by the fact that the two words have a similar sound, which means they could have been a phonetic loan and nothing more. But my sense is there is more to it.

The combination *guo luo* occurs in Han period texts, but there are two primary reasons to accept *duo* as a true alternative reading, and one with an explicit target in mind. Reading *guo* and *luo* as two nouns produces a conflict with trigram *Qian*, since the *Shuogua* lists "tree fruit" (*mu guo* 木果) as an image

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twice in the *Zhou Yi*, but there are several sub-images related to it; the *Shuogua* just points out two, small rock and trail.

23 Yu Xingwu, "Introduction" to Shang Binghe 2016: 1–7.

24 Lines 2–4 are an embedded trigram *Gen*; Line 4 is trigram *Gen*'s top line; see Yu Fan's comment in Li Dingzuo 李鼎祚 2016: 532.

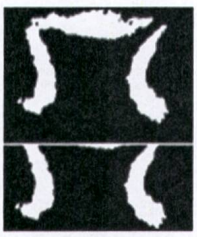
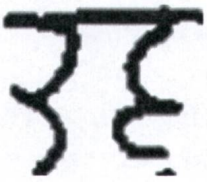
25 Sun Xingyan 孫星衍 (1753–1818) 1988: 729.

26 The received *Zhou Yi* has one instance of such plant fruit, "gourd" (*gua* 瓜), in Line 5 of *Gou* 姤 "Meeting". Hexagram *Gou* is comprised of *Qian* over *Xun*, and does not contain trigram *Gen*.

of trigram *Qian* earlier in its text. The *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字, Xu Shen's etymological dictionary submitted 121 AD, glosses *guo* as tree fruit and *luo* as plant fruit, and commentators on the *Shuogua* as early as the late Eastern Han use its definition there to explain its meaning here.[27] The other explanation is that *guo luo* means a general reference to fruit of a plant and the first word does not refer to tree fruit. This is possible. Reading *duo* as a stative verb produces "fruit hanging or falling" which although loosely related to trigram *Qian* is a distinct image. A more compelling method to determine variation in unearthed versions of Warring States and Qin-Han *Changes* is how particular images fit into the *Shuogua*'s image program of a particular trigram. In this instance, the image of an object hanging or falling, here fruit off the branch or vine, lies precisely at the heart of *Gen*'s image program. The case *Shuogua* commentators make is that plant fruit is associated with *Gen* through its prime image of mountain. Yet these same commentators cannot pinpoint a single tangible image in the base text.[28]

As Table 4 illustrates, this particular image of fruit hanging or falling from tree/plant branch resembles double eight or double six at the ends of the solid line (as number 1) on top of it. *Gen*'s hanging/falling/declining image types stem from numerical sequences like these. The numerical trigram pictures in this Table further illustrate the effect of scribal practice (orientation and style) on image recognition. For instance, writing number 1 as the top line connected to the ends of 8 in line 2 below it brings out associations that writing it further above and disconnected from it might not have done; in the same light, writing the double 8s in lines 1–2 in a connected style and writing them in a detached

Table 4: Trigram *Gen*'s picture as hanging or falling image type.

			
8-8-1 (Late Western Zhou) (reconstructed)	**8-8-1 (Late Western Zhou)**	**6-6-7 (Late Western Zhou)**	**6-6-1 in the *Shifa***

27 Sun Xingyan 1988: 29.

28 Song Zhong's comment in Li Dingzuo 李鼎祚 2016: 531, says *luo* refers to individual things like gourds and melons but does not pinpoint any occurence in the base text.

Figure 2: Western Zhou numerical hexagram 6-6-6-6-1-8.

style produces different images. The same hold true for 6s. Overlapping 6s brings out associations that spatially detached 6s do not. This is important for *Gen*'s association with mountains, its most iconic image, but also for others, like strung up fish (see Figure 2). It must be kept in mind that diviners and scribes recorded hexagram results in different styles and orientations. Even as early as the Shang divination results must have originally been recorded on perishable materials with brush and ink. Writing with a brush and ink differs from writing with a knife on bone and clay. The hexagrams and trigrams engraved on bone and cast in bronze are largely part of high culture and commorative. Records of actual divinations at the event on perishable materials and recopies for the sole use of diviners would have looked different. Images originated in the numerical results of actual divination recording. Images and their derivatives developed as divination results became further scrutinized outside of actual divination events and in preparation for them.

The word *hui* 喙 can refer both to the beak of a bird and to the snout of an animal. Ma Rong 馬融 (79–166) explains the color term *qian* 黔, used as a modifier, as black,[29] and the compound as referring to meat-eating animals. Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200) cites the *Zhou Yi* images of tiger and leopard as actual text examples, and connects "wild animals" through the prime image of the mountains. Other Han and Six Dynasty commentators enlarge the "wild animal" subset to include (small) fox, wolf, and extend it to tail or "long tailed" (*chang wei* 長尾) because it is a defining characteristic of the animals in this group headlined by dog and rat.[30] New evidence in the *Shifa* adduced in the section on animals below supports the reading of Ma Rong and others. I do however question whether or not tail is a classifiable trigram image. One additional point needs to be made here. The real sense, in my opinion, of the *Shuogua*'s clearly intentional use of the word *qian*, which does not mean pure

29 The semantic component of *qian* is *hei* 黑 "black".

30 Zhang Huiyan's 張惠言 (1761–1802) comment in Li Yizhuo 李翊灼 2015: 407.

black but a shade of it, has to do with the trigram's connection to the late winter and the direction northeast. Pure black is the color of the cardinal direction north (*Kan*). Dictionaries define *qian* as black with a cyan hue. This is important since in Warring States interpretation *Gen* leads into *Zhen*, which is cardinal direction east and the color cyan. Black with cyan hues naturally means *Gen* with traces of *Zhen*.

1.1 *Gen*'s "remnant images" (*yi xiang* 逸象)

Images of trigrams collected outside of the *Yijing* (base text + Ten Wings) are referred to as "remnant images". What this term more specifically refers to are images not included in the *Shuogua* and collected from texts outside of the *Yijing*, like the *Zuozhuan*, *Guoyu*, and commentary on the *Zhou Yi* from various sources. The "remnant images" of Yu Fan 虞翻 (164–233), for instance, were assiduously extracted from his line commentary by Zhang Huiyan 張惠言 (1761–1802) and Fang Shen 方申 (19th c.).[31] Below are extended sets of *Gen*'s "remnant images" in Zhang Huiyan's edition of Yu Fan's commentary, as well as those listed in Lai Zhide's 來知德 (1525–1604) *Shuogua* commentary which also includes a couple of "remnant images" ascribed to Xun Shuang's 荀爽 (128–190) collected commentary *Nine Schools* (*Jiu jia yi* 九家易).

Yu Fan: *Gen* is younger brother, is young man; is gentleman, is worthy man; is youth, is boy attendant; is official; is friend; is gatekeeper; is time; is dipper; is star, is the *Mo*-star (name of a small star); is lighting; is fruit; is circumspect, is knot (or moderation); is to wait for; is to regulate; is to grasp; is small; is many, is thick; is to get; is dwelling; is to seek; is sincere and substantial; is a way; is cave dwelling; is stone; is city, is house (/palace) and room, is gate and courtyard, is hut, is window, is to reside; is ancestral temple and temple, is altar to the g-d of soil; is nose; is forearm; is back; is calf; is skin, is small tree, is large fruit; is large; is leopard, is wolf, small fox; is tail; is child, is male; is fox; is reserved; is concerning time (/seasons); is residing in the body; is mountain and mound; is tiger.

Lai Zhide has: is bed, is pinch, is to end, is residence, is hut, is hill, is sincere, is youth, is tail.

Xun Shuang's *Nine Schools* has: is nose, is tiger, is fox.

These lists of "remnant images" show how later commentators relied on the *Shuogua* to read the base text. Yu Fan's and Lai Zhide's remnant images

31 Li Yizhuo 2015: 405–408. Fang Shen 2002: 15–28.

demonstrate how *xiangshu* commentators used *Shuogua*-classified images to continue to develop and extend image programs for each of the eight trigrams.

To conclude this opening section, let's assume the *Shuogua* was circulating during the Warring States period. Based on what we know about how the *Shifa* makes image connections with individual lines and trigrams, what approach would we take to interpret images in the *Shuogua*? Regardless of whether the trigram was understood at this time to be a yin-yang picture or combination of numbers, the *Shifa*'s method of image associations to real objects and logographs all originate in shape resemblance. A diviner encounters number four in a numerical outcome and observes "dewdrop" because it has a similar shape; he encounters number eight and observes "wind" either because the shape of the number leads to a visualization of the wind, or more likely because the graph used to write this word has a similar shape in it. The *Shifa* confirms this was a well-developed and popular Warring States method of image recognition and image interpretation. The commemorative inscription called the *Hexagram Ding dagger-axe* (*Ding gua ge* 鼎卦戈) confirms this method was in use several centuries earlier and no later than the end of the Western Zhou.[32] Nearly all of *Gen*'s image program in the *Shuogua*, especially the prime images hand, gate, mountain, and winter are best explained through the *Shifa*'s pictographic method of image recognition. Prime images and their organic derivatives are the foundation of the *Zhou Yi*'s words.[33] Numerical pictures, image-based judgments, and injunctions comprise the base text.

2 Hand

During the Warring States period at the latest *Gen*'s trigram picture in a 6-6-1 numerical combination was being interpreted as a pictorial representation of the hand. The *Shifa*'s diagram of the human figure and associated eight trigrams iconographically matches *Gen* to the hands (Figure 1). What the diagram makes visually clear is how the connection between the trigram picture and the image of the hand with fingers happened. In early script, a pictograph of "hand" is used most prominantly used to write the words *shou* 手 "hand", *you* 右 "right hand" and *zuo* 左 "left hand". Table 5 illustrates

32 See footnote 5.

33 Wang Bi 王弼, "Ming xiang 明象", in Li Dingzuo 李鼎祚 2016: 574–577.

Table 5: *shou* 手 "hand" in Western Zhou (A) and Warring States (B) script; two Western Zhou numerical trigrams in 6-6-1 (C) and 6-6-7 (D) combinations.

A B C D

"hand" in late Western Zhou and Warring States script and compares it to the numerical trigrams 6-6-1 and 6-6-7. *Shou* 手 (hand) has always been written pictographically. In Western Zhou script, *shou* depicts the forearm and five fingers. The slight bend in the four of the five fingers resembles the divinatory form of number six, and this becomes more present in Warring States script. Warring States forms from the state of Chu embedded a "person" (*ren* 人) determinative to determine its meaning, but this regional allograph did not survive with the Qin standardization of the script. What is important about this comparison is that it demonstrates how numerical trigram pictures are approximately matched to objects and logographs within a defined system. Exact matches are not important or even necessary. What matters is resemblance and mental association — any hint whether it be overt, esoteric, or completely subjective that leads to recognition. In a system where trigrams were being matched to parts of the body, *Gen* resembled enough of the hand to establish a match. The matching likely originated from a mental association between picture and the archetype of hand with fingers through the medium of pictographic elements in the script. Stated directly, the numerical combination double 6 under 1 resembles the logograph *shou*. During the Warring States period at the latest, but likely much earlier, the image of hand was pictographically matched to the trigram picture *Gen* in a system where trigrams were being associated to parts of the human figure.

Once hand was recognized in *Gen*'s trigram picture, organic sub-images of fingers, joints, arm parts like the forearm, and hand actions followed. The image of wood with many joints seems to have come through a connection with the shape of the human finger with its multiple joints. The derivation is Hand > single finger > archetype of things finger-shaped with multiple joints. The *Zhou Yi* hexagram picture called *Jie* 節 ([Bamboo] Joints; Regulated) contains an embedded trigram *Gen* in lines 3–5. To these joint-inspired

images is the spine and back in hexagram *Gen*'s hexagram and line statements.[34]

Other sub-images deriving from the hands naturally are actions involving them. These include grabbing, lifting, holding, touching, pinching, gelding, hitting, wrapping, binding, and many others. Perhaps the most representative example of *Gen* as hand is the text of hexagram ䷞ *Xian* 咸, comprised of trigram *Gen* under trigram *Dui*. A lot of *Gen*'s hand action occurs when trigram *Gen* is the lower trigram or embedded in the lower position (lines 2–4) of a hexagram picture. The *Tuan* commentary explains *xian* as *gan* 感 "(causing) feeling" (adding a heart determinative under *xian* equals *gan*), and the traditional understanding is that there is an interaction and exchange between the young male *Gen* with the young female *Dui* — *Gen*'s hand "feels" *Dui*'s mouth. But the line statements do not stop with just feeling the mouth; the hand starts low and moves up the girl's body. This is the reason *Xian* is commonly taken to be the most sensual of the *Zhou Yi*'s hexagrams. *Xian*'s inverted opposite is ䷟ *Heng* 恆 (Long-lasting), *Xun* (as older woman) under *Zhen* (older man). The hexagram pair has a special and emphasized position in the *Yijing* tradition because they are the first two hexagrams in the second half of the received *Zhou Yi*. In the canonical *Hexagram Sequence* (*Xu gua* 序卦) commentary, *Qian* and *Kun*, the first two hexagrams of the manual represent the interaction of heaven and earth and the birth of all things. *Xian* and *Heng*, in turn, represent the exchange and interaction of man and woman, the birth of the family, and cultural institutions stemming from it. The young man and young woman in *Xian* consummate their relationship, and in *Heng* it lasts until the end of their days.[35]

2.1 Hand washing (*guan* 盥) and the hexagrams ䷓ *Guan* 觀/*Guan* 灌

Perhaps the most representative example of what Lai Zhide calls an enlarged trigram (*da xiang* 大象) is the hexagram picture ䷡ *Da Zhuang* 大壯 "Greatly injure" (Hexagram #34) as an enlarged trigram *Dui* ☱ (☱).[36] Doubling each one of a trigram's lines in sequence forms an "enlarged trigram" as a hexagram.

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34 *Gen*'s hexagram statement includes the judgment, "Looking back at his back, (you) are not going to capture his torso". Yu Fan's commentary in Li Dingzuo 李鼎祚 2016: 319 says, "*Gen* is many joints, this is the reason it says 'back'"; see too Huang Zongxi 2007: 152.

35 The *Hexagram Sequence* says, "The way of husband and wife cannot not be long-lasting, which is the reason *Heng* follows it (*Xian*)." Shang Binghe 尚秉和 (1870–1950) 2016: 151.

36 Yu Xingwu 1960 [1936]: 1.2b–4b.

Strictly speaking, there can only be eight "pure" enlarged trigrams. Enlarging each one of *Dui*'s lines in sequence produces *Da Zhuang*, and doing this to *Gen*'s lines produces ䷓ *Guan* 觀.[37] The featured image in the top trigram of *Da Zhuang*'s line statements is the ram (*yang* 羊), and the *Shuogua* lists the ram as an image of *Dui*. Ram, written pictographically  in oracle bone script and  in Warring States script, is an image of *dui* mainly because of the resemblance between the trigram picture with a top line as 6 or 8 and the logograph *yang* with its characteristic horns ) over two solid lines (二); it is plain to see that *yang* in Warring States script resembles the numerical combination 1-1-6. The logic of enlargement goes that images grow as trigrams grow. The ram's enlarged manifestation in *Da Zhuang* is thus more powerful than it is as trigram *Dui* in its three-line base form.[38]

Guan's hexagram pair through inversion in the received *Zhou Yi* is ䷒ *Lin* 臨 "to look down". This "looking up"-"looking down" complementary relationship is direct and almost certainly derived from the empty space (*xu* 虛, and as number eight) running through the middle of the yin lines in the hexagram pictures. That is, in *Guan* the image of "looking up" has a bottom-to-top visual orientation created by the empty space running through the passage of the four yin lines that stop with the two solid yang lines at the top; in *Lin*, the image of "looking down" is the reverse, it is the empty space running through the middle of the four yin lines when viewed from top-to-bottom down to the two yang lines at the start. But in the Mawangdui version, which has a different hexagram sequence, Lin and Guan are detached and Lin is called "Forest" (Lin 林).[39] Language in the line statements of "Forest" is altered accordingly to fit this new image.[40]

Seeing that the word *lin* "looking down" as a noun does not fit well in the line statements, Wen Yiduo ingeniously proposed to read *lin* 臨 as *lin* 潾 "pouring rain".[41] *Lin* "forest" is the phonetic element and etymologically

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37 *Guan* comes in front of ䷖ *Bo* 剝 "Paring" in a *Qian* 乾 sequence of hexagram alternation. Paring away of the yang line in line 5 of Guan produces hexagram Bo. I discuss hexagram Bo later in the paper.

38 Li Ling 2013: 196–199 calls the ram "mature".

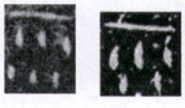
39 The hexagram picture is also called "Forest" in the Fuyang *Zhou Yi*. It is called "Looking down" in the Wangjiatai *Guicang*.

40 The most obvious example of this is the replacement of the word *xian* 咸 in line statements 1 and 2 for *jin* 禁 "restricted", which has a "forest" element in it.

41 Wen Yiduo 聞一多 1965: 22–23; Li Ling 李零 2013: 139. In my opinion, Wen's best evidence to support his new reading is the line statement *gan lin* 甘臨. *Gan*, which means "sweet" or "sufficient" (etymologically related to something in the mouth) does not make much sense modifying *lin* read "looking down". Wen notes that the *Shijing* has phrase *gan yu* 甘雨 "sweet/

connected to *lin* 霖 "pouring rain" and *lin* 淋 "pouring rain". Taken out of the "looking up"-"looking down" relationship, we should not deny out of hand that this hexagram picture did not have different historical interpretations and just assume based on the received text that all variation has to equal *Lin* 臨 "Looking down". For our purposes here, a key aspect of Wen Yiduo's reading is the association to falling water. Water is a prime image of the number eight in the *Shifa*. The *Shifa* specifically says that when eight occurs at the bottom of a trigram or hexagram picture the image is of water rinsing or gushing out. The logic of this implies that reduplicated 8s produces the image of even more water; just like how enlarged trigram *Dui* in *Da Zhuang* produced a ram more powerful than usual. *Lin*'s four yin lines as four 8s (or four 6s) have a visual orientation of descending and spreading out. In this pictorial arrangement, the straight yang lines (as 1) at the bottom of the picture form a flat surface. Turning *yu* 雨 "rain" upside down (*fuxiang* 覆象) in Table 6 resemble the hexagram picture *Lin*.[42]

Table 6: Falling water and Trigram *Gen*'s picture.

				
Shang script (early)	**Shang script (late)**	**Shang script (early; non-royal)**	**Warring States script**	**Trigram *Gen* in the Shanghai Museum *Zhou Yi***

I want to focus from here on two specific points. First, is the image of hand washing and sacrificial rites in the *Zhou Yi*'s *Guan* "Looking up" hexagram statement, and how the hexagram picture as enlarged trigram *Gen* led to images and text associated with ritual action and where it was performed; second, is to address the implications of the Wangjiatai *Guicang* which names the hexagram picture *Guan* 灌 "Libation" and not "Looking up".

sufficient rain" and gan is glossed by Han commentators as "sufficient". Adding a water determinative to *lin* 臨 equals *lin* 瀶.

42 For upside down images in the *Zhou Yi* and upside down logographs early script, see Yu Xingwu 于省吾 1960 [1936]: 1.4b–7a. My section on *peng* 朋 "double strand of cowries" talks more about this.

Guan's hexagram statement in the received *Zhou Yi* begins with the image-sentence "washing hands and not making the sacrificial offering" (*guan er bu jian* 盥而不薦). Ma Rong's commentary sets the context within a ritual setting and reads washing hands (*guan* 盥) as the homophone "libate" (*guan* 灌), "*guan* 盥 means to bring in ale vessels and pour libations (*guan* 灌) on the ground in order to cause the spirits to descend". His commentary continues to state the importance of this initiatory ritual action within a larger spirit offering event and paranomastically emphasizes that here the actions of the kings are most visible for all to see (*guan* 觀). Perhaps more importantly, Ma Rong is the first commentator to point out a connection between the hexagram statement and Confucius' statement recorded in the *Analects* that the most crucial procedural component of any spirit offering is the libation, "At the great sacrifice, after the pouring out of the libation, I have no wish to look on" (禘自既灌而往者，吾不欲觀之矣).[43] The message behind Confucius' statement is not that after the libation one can leave and not bother watching the rest. Rather, it is that this initial rite sets the tone for the entire event centering on the sacrifice, feeding the spirits, and prayer. If the person who makes the libation gets it right then what comes after will be correct as well; the converse is that if the libation is wrong in any way then the spirits will not descend and the rest of the ritual events are invalid and inauspicious. Confucius observes (*guan* 觀) the virtue and reverent airs of the participants (the archetype being the king) in the opening ritual action. The words *guan* 觀, *guan* 盥, and *guan* 灌 have identical pronunciations and there is obvious word play at the heart of it all.[44] *Guan* 灌 is a cognate of *guan* 祼 "libation", which regularly occurs in Shang oracle bone inscriptions concerning ancestor sacrifice.[45]

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43 Li Dingzuo 李鼎祚 2016: 139.

44 Li Ling 2013: 141–142.

45 Zheng Xuan, once Ma Rong's student, offers a pure *xiangshu* interpretation that focuses on how the constituent trigrams interact in the hexagram picture, "*Kun* is ground, is crowd; *Xun* is tree, is wind. Nine in the Fifth is the Line of the king. Trigram *Gen* is embedded in the hexagram picture; *Gen* is ghost gate, and also palace and watchtower. A place with trees in the ground and with a ghost gate and palace is the image of a king's ancestral temple". As I mentioned earlier, *Gen*'s image of gate and the winter-spring/end of life-rebirth transition is the reason Han texts begin to refer to *Gen* as having the image of a ghostly gate. Trigram picture *Gen* has the image of gate, doorway, and roofed enclosures (house, palace, temple, etc). In Hexagram *Bo*, *Gen* has the image of a cottage; in the text of hexagram ䷷ *Lü* 旅 "Travelling" (#56), *Gen*, the lower trigram, produces the images of lodging house/camp (*ci* 次), place (*suo* 所 [from *hu* 戶 "door"]), and dwelling (*chu* 處).

In the Qin dynasty Wangjiatai *Guicang* the hexagram picture called "Looking up" in the *Zhou Yi* is called "Libate". The *Guicang* only has hexagram statements and does not have individual line statements. The hexagram statement is fragmented but there is enough language to see that the main topic is unquestionably about making libation.[46]

From the perspective of numbers and images, this begs the question, where does the image of "washing" and "libating" come from in the first place? Does it come from the image of embedded trigram *Gen* as ghost's gate and roofed enclosure as temple? Does it come from a combined meaning of the trigram relationship *Kun* under *Xun*, that is *Kun* as earth and *Xun* as offering table?[47] The logic for the former is that procedural actions related to ritual spirit offering like washing and sacrificial offering takes place most prominently in a temple. The philosophical reading of *Guan* as "looking up" places an emphasis on the watching crowd (the *Shuogua* says multitudes are an image of trigram *Kun*). The crowd "looks up" at the participants performing the rites. Correct movements of the participants, namely the king, transform the people.[48]

The simplest and most direct interpretation of the hexagram name *Guan* as "Libation" is not through gate or temple, although we cannot deny that *Gen*'s gate played its role in image connections, but rather that hexagram picture of

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46 Edward Shaughnessy 2014: 178: "Libation says: In the past Xia Hou Qi divined about making offerings." The word Shaughnessy translates "offerings" is comprised of the determinative *you* 酉 "wine vessel" and better interpreted more specifically in relation to the hexagram name. Shaughnessy 2014: 178, chooses to classify a *Guicang* excerpt found in medieval *leishu* to "Libation". It reads, "In the past Xia Hou Qi divined by milfoil about making offering to the spirits at the Great Mound and ascending the Equalizing Terrace, and had the stalks prognosticated by Gao Yao, who said, Not auspicious". I am in no position here to try and validate whether or not this inclusion is correct. The passage does not contain a hexagram name and the word "making (food) offering" (*xiang* 饗) differs from the Wangjiatai text. The only connection is the subject, but this person appears throughout the *Guicang*. His appearance does nothing to strenghten or loosen any connection. However, what is appealing is the occurrence of the image "great mound" (*da ling* 大陵); see my section on "Mounds", under "Mountain(s)". The first four lines of *Guan* are 6. The mountain/mound image is prevalent. Shaughnessy 2014: 309, note 14, also makes reference to and a connection with the image-phrase "the mound of Jin" (*Jin zhi xu* 晉之虛) in Wangjiatai *Guicang Jin*'s 晉 hexagram text. As an image this connection is also appealing because of the multiple 6s and Gen's appearance in *Jin*'s hexagram picture ䷢.

47 The hexagram *Guan* "Looking up" occurs in the *Zuozhuan*. In a divination dated to Duke Zhuang 莊, year 22, a diviner gets *Guan*'s *Fou* ䷓, for which Line 4 of *Guan*, the only different line, is the line statement to predict the divination inquiry. The diviner's own interpretation then explains the interaction of the two hexagram pictures and observes a mountain amongst the cluster of images. The only way to explain this is that mountain was read as enlarged or embedded in *Guan* or embedded in *Fou*.

48 Li Ling 2013: 141–142.

trigram *Gen* as pure enlarged trigram *Gen* resembles pouring water/spirits. I propose that the four 8s in Hexagram *Guan*'s 觀/灌 picture had the image of pouring water, and this lead to the more refined images of hand washing in the *Zhou Yi* and libating in the *Guicang*. As I mentioned above, water is a prime image of the number eight in the *Shifa*, and the *Shifa* says that when eight occurs at the bottom of a trigram/hexagram picture the image is water rinsing or gushing out. The association between eight and water is pictographic (Table 1). By this same logic, *Gen*'s double 8s and enlarged *Gen*'s four 8s have the image of even more water. The bottom trigram of *Guan* is *Kun*. The Mawangdui *Zhou Yi* calls hexagram *Kun* as *Chuan* 川 "River". Three 6s looked at sideways resembles *chuan*, a pictograph of flowing water used to write the word "river" (see footnote 11).

In *Guan*, the yin lines as four 8s (or four 6s) resembles liquid and the two yang lines are a container. In the *Shifa* diagram of the human figure and the eight trigrams (Figure 2) the first two yang lines (as 1) of trigram *Dui* are the person's mouth. Anyone familiar with paleography knows that mouth is often used to depict a container, since both things hold other things inside of them. Table 6 includes a unique Shang period allograph of *yu* 雨 "rain" that is written as water coming out of a container. It is quite direct to see the resemblance between the trigram picture as 8-8-1 and the logograph "rain". The words *guan* 裸 "libate" and *you*  "libate" in early script depict pouring liquid (ale, water) from a different type of container, called *you* 酉.

But water is a prime image of trigram *Kan* in *Yijing* commentary. Scholars generally agree that the origin of this image connection is pictographic — the composition of *Kan*'s trigram picture ☵ as 8-1-8 resembles the logograph *shui*  "water" in early script. This is where the *Shifa*'s connection between 8 and *shui* comes from. One of the reasons *Kan* is associated with hardships and difficulties is because of water. A major topic in early divination is the difficulties and danger of crossing rivers and moving outside in the rain. While there is no question that *Kan* has the image of water, it has no relation to the particular images of hand washing in the *Zhou Yi* and making libations in the Wangjiatai *Guicang*.

This new interpretation for the *Guicang*'s "Libation" has the advantage of according with the other "hanging down"/"falling down" types in *Gen*'s image program. Pouring out water to wash and pouring out ale and other types of alcoholic beverages to initiate sacrificial rites and to lure down the spirits is well attested in the ancient world and well documented in ancient Chinese writing from the commencement of the historical period. The name of the hexagram picture in the Wangjiatai *Guicang* is internally supported by language in the hexagram statement. The name *Guan* "Looking up" in the *Zhou Yi* is also valid, especially when paired with *Lin* "Looking down" in the hexagram sequence in

the received tradition. The image of hand washing in "Looking up" is connected to trigram *Gen* through the hand and to an overall image of the hexagram picture as resembling water being poured out of a container. The four yin lines as number eight (or six) have the image of falling water, and the two top lines are the container.

3 Mountain

Mountain as an image of trigram *Gen* is recorded in the *Zuozhuan* (Zhao, year 5). It is also an image that occurs in historical accounts of Spring and Autumn period oracle bone divination in the *Zuozhuan* (Xiang, year 10). If a diviner could see the image of a mountain in the transverse crack on an oracle bone, then it is not impressionistic in the least to assume that a diviner could see the image of a mountain in the shape of number 6, and mountains in the overlapping shapes of multiple 6s. There is no dispute amongst *xiangshu* commentators that the image of mountain came from a pictorial resemblance to the trigram's picture, although there are different explanations for it.[49] Mountain has always been written in the script as a pictograph with multiple peaks (Table 7).

Table 7: Mountain and the numerical trigrams 6-6-1 and 6-6-7.

  6-6-1 in Western Zhou and Warring States examples	 mountain in Shang-Western Zhou and Warring States script	 6-6-7 (Shang oracle bone)

The mental association to mountains is made from double six; it would not have come from eight with its open middle. *Gen*'s hexagram is comprised then of two sets of double six (four altogether). This forms what the *Xiang*

49 Zheng Xuan (127–200) says hexagram *Gen* "resembles mountains coming out from the clouds, continuing and continuing without end" (象山之出雲連連不絕); see Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574–648) 2015: 6, and Sun Xingyan 孫星衍 1988: 319. Li Dingzuo 2016: 531 chooses Song Zhong's 宋衷 (third century AD) comment that explains *Gen*'s trigram picture as mountain, pictorially representing yin as earth (i. e. initial and second lines) piled up with a tree (top yang line) that grows on top.

commentary calls "joined mountains" (*jianshan* 兼山). The *Xiang* commentary intentionally avoids the term "connected mountains" (*lianshan* 連山) because that is the name of one of the three sanctioned *Changes* manuals in early China. Like the *Zhou Yi* and *Guicang*, the *Lianshan* (Connected Mountains) also had eight trigrams and sixty-four hexagrams in its set. The reason this hexagram divination manual was called by this name was because the first hexagram in its ordering sequence was *Gen*. The name itself is a clear indication that a pictographic method of image recognition was prevalent amongst divinatory and user communities in the early China. *Gen*'s mountain is the trigram's most iconic image.

The most obvious association in the *Zhou Yi* between *Gen* and mountain occurs in hexagram ䷴ *Jian* 漸 (Progressing). The hexagram picture is comprised of *Gen* under *Xun*, and the composition of the statements are structured in a basic narrative structure that gradually traces the upward movements of a wild goose from the low-lying waterside to mountains and highlands. Images spatially move up the lines of the picture. The word mountain itself does not occur in the text, but commentators connect the images that do occur — boulders,[50] mound, and highlands — to it. The word mountain occurs in "Western Mountain" (*xi shan* 西山), Top Line of ䷐ *Sui* 隨, and "Mt. Qi" (*Qi shan* 岐山), Line Four of ䷭ *Sheng* 升.[51]

3.1 The Wangjiatai *Guicang* hexagram *Ling* 陵 (Mounds) and mounds in the *Zhou Yi*

The hexagram picture ䷎ called *Qian* 謙 (Modest) in the received *Zhou Yi* is called *Ling* 陵 (Mound) in the Wangjiatai *Guicang*. Hexagram pictures in the Wangjiatai *Guicang* are written with 1 (yang) and 6 (yin), and *Ling* (Mound) was written something like 𠂤. Like other examples of *Changes* variation, especially hexagram names, the words *qian* and *ling* rhymed. We could simply gloss over the graphic disparity by taking the *Guicang*'s name as a phonetic loan for the received *Zhou Yi*'s name. There are however several compelling reasons why

50 The Shanghai Museum *Zhou Yi* and Mawangdui *Zhou Yi* write *ban* 阪/坂 "slope" and not *pan* 磐 "boulder".

51 Trigram *Gen* is embedded (*huxiang* 互象) in lines 2–4 of *Sui*, and upside down (*fuxiang* 覆象) in lines 3–5 of *Sheng*. But as I discuss in the following section the image of mountain(s) likely originated as the single line number 6 and multiple overlapping 6s. The directional word "western" in *Sui*'s top line statement is related to the upper trigram *Dui*, which in the *Shifa* and *Shuogua* is cardinal direction west.

we should not. The first is is because the *Zhou Yi* and the *Guicang* were two distinct divination manuals. Although there is parity and a close interaction between the two, there must also have been disparity and a degree of competition. There is no explicit need to make the two equivalent. Second, since the hexagram picture contains trigram *Gen*,[52] and since the image of mountain is such an iconic image of trigram *Gen* across the *Changes* tradition, it is entirely plausible within the method of *Changes* image recognition and interpretation to explain the disparity as diverging interpretations of the same hexagram picture.[53] Stated directly, the Wangjiatai *Guicang* hexagram *Ling* (Mounds) got its name because the hexagram picture with its two sequences of chained 6s resembled mounds.

Aside from *Jian* 漸 (Progressing), mound occurs two other times in the received *Zhou Yi*: in Line 3 of ䷌ *Tong ren* 同人 "Together with men", and Line 2 of ䷲ *Zhen* 震 "Tremor". In both cases, phrases in low-lying lines predict an upward movement to high or multiple-peaked mounds. *Zhen* contains an embedded trigram *Gen* in Lines 2–4, but *Tong ren* does not have an obvious relationship to *Gen* other than Line 2 is a yin line (as 6). *Zhen* forms a pair with *Gen* because turning *Zhen* upside down produces *Gen*. Both *Zhen* and *Gen* are formed with a single yang line and two yin lines, which means that both trigram pictures have elements to observe mountains. In *Zhen* the yang line is at the bottom; in *Gen* the yang line is at the top. Since there is reason to think that the divinatory form of six as a "line image" could have been interpreted as an image of mound on its own, or at least through double six, it is plausible that the two yin lines in trigram *Zhen* and the four yin lines in hexagram *Zhen* were associated with mounds and mountains. In the 1930s, Yu Xingwu presented a convincing argument that the images of hill (*qiu* 丘) and ruins (*xu* 虛) in the *Zhou Yi* and related texts were pictographically related to trigram *Zhen* and not *Gen*.[54] The overlap between the two is not a contradiction since the image of mountains and mounds was likely based on the appearance of multiple 6s.

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52 The *Xiang* commentary says that earth has a mountain in its midst (*di zhong you shan* 地中有山). The yin lines in lines 1–4 and again in line 6 of the hexagram picture is why it is "in its midst".

53 The name *Qian* (Modest) appears a foil to its inverted pair, hexagram *Yu* 豫/余 (Big; Excess). The name could have also been related to trigram *Kun* in the lower trigram (*Kun* as earth, as flat, as compliant), or related to how the single yang line in line 3 interacts with the five yin lines enveloping it.

54 Yu Xingwu, "Introduction" to Shang Binghe 2016: 5–6.

3.2 Rocks

As just mentioned above, the words boulder and slope occur in Line 3 of *Jian* (Progressing). Rocks and words with a rock element in it are found in several places in the received *Zhou Yi*. The latter reveals ingenuity and crafty scribal play. Line 2 of hexagram ䷏ *Yu* 豫 has the sentence-image "stuck in the rocks, it is not going to be all day".[55] The *Shuogua* says *Gen* has the image of "small rocks", which means that here it interprets the hexagram picture as containing an embedded trigram *Gen* (Lines 2–4). The word I read as "stuck in between" is *jie* 介. *Jie* has various meanings: it means "big" (e.g Line 2 of *Jin* 晉 "Advance"), "hard" (phonetically related to *ji* 堦), "assist", "shell", and "to lie in between". The commentarial tradition defines and explains *jie* here in various ways, but in my opinion the easiest and least complicated is first to have knowledge that the words are related to an image in the hexagram picture. *Jie* 介, written  in Shang oracle bone script and  in Warring States brush script, depicts a person in between objects. The objects surrounding the person resemble the number 8 or multiple 8s. There is an obvious pictographic match between the hexagram picture as a whole with its single yang line *in between* multiple yin lines and the logograph *jie*. Turning either the hexagram picture on its side or the Shang oracle bone example on its side makes the connection easier to see. If the graphic form of 6 or multiple 6s resembled mountain > rocks, then the single yang line (一) has the appearance of something in between them. Lu Deming's *Jingdian shiwen* says that another version of the text writes *jie* as 砎, adding a rock determinative. This is exactly the kind of scribal play I was alluding to above. I provide a couple more examples later in the paper.

3.3 *Xian* 限 "boundary, line, waist"

The *Zhou Yi* is notorious for using different words with the same pronunciation in a single hexagram text. The word *xian* 限, which is formed of a "mound" 阝 determinative with *gen* 艮 as its phonetic, appears in Line 3 of *Gen*'s hexagram picture ䷳. This line is a middle line in the picture and the solid line here constitutes a natural boundary between lower and upper parts of the hexagram picture. The other yang or solid line in hexagram *Gen* is the top line. The hexagram text is like *Xian* 咸 in that images in the statements progress in a low-to-high spatial composition with the human figure as its

55 Line 3 of hexagram ䷮ *Kun* 困 "Bound" says, "Bound in the rocks"; Shang Binghe 2016: 215 classifies "rocks" as an image of embedded trigram *Xun*.

skeleton. As such, the occurrence of *xian* in Line 3 is generally understood in *Yijing* commentaries as a playful epithet for the waist. This entails that what is below it are the legs and what is above it is the upper body and head. This all makes sense in this case given *xian*'s meaning – here, what divides two parts, the lower body from the upper body. I have included a brief discussion of this word-image here is because of the semantic relationship between *xian* 限 and mountain.

4 Gate

Like its two other prime images hand and mountain, the matching of trigram *Gen* to the image of gate and watchtower is also pictographic.[56] The *Shuogua* lists derivative sub-images as being related to those people in charge and positioned at these places. In turn, *xiangshu* commentators like Yu Fan and others increase the image program to include what comes after passing through the threshold of a front gate, and what lies in between two gates, front and back. Gate as a prime image and as a category for enclosures where people live and congregate originated in the iconographic resemblance between the trigram picture and the object-archetype of a gate or its pictographic depiction in the written script. Table 8 illustrates the resemblance between trigram *Gen*'s picture and the pictograph used to write the word *men* "gate". The top yang line (as 1) resembles the gate's lintel, and double eight with its open space (*xu* 虛) running through the middle resembles the doors. Writing "door" in the words *men* and *hu* "door" 戶 (Table 8) has strokes that resemble the graphic form of number eight. In the *Shifa* the line number eight having the image of "flying" is made through pictographic matching (see Table 1), and the graph used to write the word flying, *fei*  (非 [飛]), has a graphic resemblance in early script to how scribes write door. In fact, in the Shanghai Museum's Warring States bamboo strip version of the *Zhou Yi* the word *men* in the *Sui* 隨 hexagram statement "Going out the gate/door to exchange has success" (*chu men jiao you gong* 出門交有功) is written  (strip 16), which is *fei*. There is no phonetic relationship between *fei* and *men*, which means that the most cogent explanation for its appearance here

56 Shang Binghe 尚秉和 2016: 333. Yu Fan's comment in Li Dingzuo 李鼎祚 2016: 531 says that the two yin lines are the gate/door and the yang line lies outside of it. This makes sense too given that the three yin lines of *Kun* have the image of an open door. In my opinion the open door image, formed of three 8s with an empty middle space, is also pictographic. Table 8 and the discussion just below in this paragraph provides graphic evidence.

Table 8: *Gen*'s trigram picture as "gate", "door", "pen", "house/palace".

 Trigram *Gen* in Warring States and Western Han *Zhou Yi* copies	 "Gate" in OBI script	 "Door" in Warring States script	 Toponym Jian 閒 in OBI. Gate in front of roofed enclosure	 7-7-**8**-6-7-5 numerical hexagram (Shang)
 6-6-1 in Warring States numerical tigrams	 "House, palace" in Warring States script;	 "Pen" in Warring States script;	 8-1 in Western Zhou numerical hexagram	 "Pen" in Western Zhou script

is simply because the two graphs resemble each other. We might choose to call it an incomplete writing of *men* but it is perfectly recognizable in its syntax. The main graphic difference between the two is the addition of two vertical strokes depicting doorposts in *men* (,). In sum, the *Shifa* pictographically matched the graphic form of eight to *fei*, and *fei* resembled *men* in Warring States script. From a Warring States perspective this logic implies that double eight under one is a pictorial match with *men*.[57] Once gate was recognized in a numerical sequence that converts to trigram *Gen* then related images and derivatives like the ones identified by Yu Fan organically followed. We can classify them as sub-images of the erect gate and door category.[58]

57 The *Xici* commentary says trigram *Kun* has the image of an open door when moving. *Kun* as three 8s is a pictographic image of an open door; on the other hand, *Kun* when still, perhaps as three 6s, is a closed door. The same in turn would then be true with *Qian* as curled (number 9) and hard (number 1).

58 Li Yizhuo 2015: 407.

4.1 Hexagram ䷏ *Yu* 豫

Double gates, front and back, produce associated images of city, at a high level, and of an individual residence or communal building like a temple, at the low level. Big gates have gatekeepers that keep watch and allow entry and exit. Lanes and passages as part of a city's architecture have wardens. The *Xici* saying that hexagram *Yu*'s picture has the image of double gates seems to be playing on a mirrored image. Lines 2–4 are an embedded trigram *Gen*, and lines 4–6 are an upside down (called *fuxiang* 覆象) trigram *Gen*. The front gate leads in and the back gate leads out.

The *Xici*'s comment about hexagram *Yu* is a reflection of its hexagram statement which says, "it is beneficial to establish an archer-lord, march the army" (*li jian hou xing shi* 利建侯行師). The image of *Gen*'s "gate" and the hexagram statement gave rise to the *Xici*'s interpretation. At the same time, the *Xici* also clearly plays on trigram *Gen*'s "hand" in making sub-image associations to those who patrol and guard the gates with a wooden clapper waiting for intruders to arrive. Waiting for intruders and making sounds to alert their arrival is likely related to "marching the army", and when coupled with the image of front and back gates naturally has in mind the image of a city of some kind with walls, watchtowers and guards. The *Xici* statement reveals that whoever wrote or transmitted this interpretation saw the image of a gate in the hexagram's picture. It interprets the base text's hexagram statement as originating in the pictographic and visual image of gates in the picture's midst.

The appearance in *Gen*'s hexagram statement of the sentence "walking into his courtyard, (and) not seeing his person" (行其庭不見其人) leads Li Dingzuo, the Tang dynasty compiler of the *Zhou Yi jijie*, to add an explanatory note to Yu Fan's comment that "*Gen* is courtyard" which says, "*Gen* is gate and watchtower. This one (i.e *Gen*'s hexagram picture) is pure *Gen*. Duplicate its gate and watchtower, and inside of the two gates is the image of a courtyard." Just like with mountain, the single gate image in trigram *Gen*'s picture led to the image of double gates in hexagram *Gen*'s picture.

It is of course also entirely possible that gate and types of roofed and walled enclosures were observed independently. I say this both because the two-line numerical sequence 8–6 resembles the "roof" and "walls" of a building (Table 8), and 8–1 resembles a pen for rearing (*chu* 畜) (Table 8). The top line statement in hexagram ䷖ *Bo* 剝, discussed below, infers that the picture as a whole resembles the image of a destroyed hut or cottage. In the same way double six in *Gen*'s picture is commonly understood to be the reason behind

its image of an erect and lofty mountain, two-line combinations also produced images. An example like this calls attention to the problem of matching individual and two line images to a particular trigram. This is because images do not have to originate at the trigram or hexagram levels. The *Shifa* demonstratively proves the existence of images at the individual line level.

Let's look at one example, the image of "fish" (*yu* 魚). In the *Shifa* "fish" is an image of the number eight. This connection is made through a resemblance between the graphic form of eight (*ba* 八) and its resemblance to the shape of a fishtail archetype. It does not belong to any one particular trigram. Because the *Yijing* commentarial tradition conventionally arranges images according to the eight trigrams, we will see that classifying fish is a problem. The traditional method of image classification is to first collect all of the occurences of a single image (f.i. fish in category and its kinds) in the base text and to see in what trigram pictures it most frequently occurs. When an image does not neatly fit into a one-to-one match with a single trigram, the next step is either to find out why, as in the case of the word northeast in *Kun*'s hexagram statement discussed later, or to create a method of line substitutions and other alternations so that it will. It is in this process that Han commentators like Yu Fan and others have been criticized for being excessive.

In the *Zhou Yi*, fish occurs four times in three hexagrams, in ䷫ *Gou* 姤 (2 times), in ䷼ *Zhongfu* 中孚 (1 time), and in ䷖ *Bo* 剝 (1 time):

> Six in the Fifth: Strung up fish taken for the palace people to favor; nothing not beneficial. (*Bo*)
> 六五：貫魚以宮人寵无不利。
>
> Nine in the Second: The wrap has a fish, no fault. Hosting is not beneficial.
> Nine in the fourth: The wrap is without a fish. To rise up is ominous. (*Gou*)
> 九二：包有魚无咎不利賓。
> 九四：包无魚起凶。
>
> Piglets and fish are auspicious. Beneficial to cross the big river. Beneficial to make a determination (or: Benificial determination). (*Zhongfu*)
> 豚魚吉利涉大川利貞

The *Shuogua* does not list fish. *Xiangshu* commentators like Yu Fan, Lai Zhide, Zhu Zhen, and others classify it is a remnant image of trigram *Xun* primarily because it occurs in Line 2 of *Gou*, and this corresponds to the lower trigram, *Xun*, of *Gou*'s hexagram picture.[59] When it occurs in the hexagram

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59 Zhu Zhen 朱震 (1072–1138) 2012: 271. The word "sardine; silver fish" (*fu* 鮒) occurs Line 2 of hexagram ䷯ *Jing* 井 (Well); *Jing*'s lower trigram is *Xun*. The Shanghai Museum Warring States version has a different interpretation; see Edward Shaughnessy 2014: 59–66 (analysis); 120–121 (annotated translation).

statement of *Zhongfu* commentators choose *Xun*, the upper trigram, because of its usage in *Gou*. The problem is its occurrence in Line 5 of hexagram *Bo*, which does not contain trigram *Xun*. This indicates that a single classification is likely incorrect.[60]

Issues like these led Shang Binghe towards the realization that a single image can have multiple trigram classifications. His commentary in general maintains the principle of not using line substitutions to reconcile incongruence.[61] For him, fish is an image both of *Xun* and *Kun*, because *Kun* is the lower trigram in *Bo*.

Another interpretive strategy to reconcile incongruence is Yu Fan's concept of a "half image" (*banxiang* 半象). The basic principle behind it is that images could be formed from two lines of a trigram. Half images can be corroborated throughout the base text and this concept has made a huge impact on the development of *xiangshu* commentary since the late Han. In the 1930s, Yu Xingwu proposed to expand "half images" to include single line images, and used the example of fish to validate it, although at the time he could only adduce evidence from within the *Zhou Yi*'s base text.

The "Line image" section of the *Shifa* now provides indisputable evidence that there were line images, and lots of them. The issue now is not whether images were observed at the individual and multiple line levels, we know that they were, but rather how to apply a more refined microclassification structure to reconcile classification at the trigram level within the framework of the *Yijing* commentarial tradition. I do not disagree with maintaing the established way of grouping images under trigram rubrics because a lot of images were formed from three line combinations. The reason Yu Fan is right to use "half images" is because he knew images came from only two lines. The reason Shang Binghe is right to classify single images as belonging to multiple trigrams is because the traditional way of classification is at the trigram level. Each hexagram picture contains four trigrams, and images were observed at the individual line and multiple line levels. There are clear overlaps.

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60 The upper trigram of *Bo* is *Gen* and the lower trigram is *Kun*. The way Lai Zhide explains the occurrence here of fish is to interpret *Bo* as an enlarged trigram (*da xiang* 大象) *Xun* because substituting the yin line in line five for a yang line would make the upper trigram *Xun*. This interpretation is excessive in that it bends Lai's own concept of pure enlarged trigrams. *Dun* "Fleeing"/*Dun* "Piglet" is *Xun*'s pure enlarged trigram because doubling each of its lines supersizes it; *Guan* 觀/*Guan* 灌 is *Gen*'s pure enlarged trigram. While I accept that images in the *Zhou Yi* prove the existence of enlarged trigrams (e. g. *Da Zhuang* 大壯 "Greatly injure", Hexagram #34), *Bo* is not one of them.

61 Shang Binghe 2016: 9–11; 115, 270–271.

The evolution of yin and yang lines from numbers complicates and blurs traditional ways of interpreting the *Changes*. Yu Xingwu interprets the image of "strung up fish" in hexagram *Bo*'s Sixth in the Fifth line statement as originating in the appearance of five stacked yin lines (as multiple 8s or 6s).[62] Refining Yu Fan's comment that "fish are yin things, used here to illustrate multiple yin lines", Yu Xingwu directly states that each of the yin lines *is* a fish. In my opinion Yu Xingwu is right, although it is more precise to say that each of the yin lines evolved from the number eight, which we now know from the *Shifa* was matched to the image of fish through its pictorial resemblance to the archetype of a fishtail. The strung up fish are five 8s and they do not technically belong to any one trigram. It is more precise to say that, in the *Zhou Yi*, fish is an image of number eight, and it occurs in the three hexagram texts cited above (and also silverfish in *Jing* [Well]) because of a yin line or multiple yin lines comprising the hexagram picture. Multiple 8s led to mental associations of multiple fish, and this is undoubtedly the reason the sentence with strung up fish occurs in Line 5 of the hexagram picture, because it was the first fish of several on the string. But what about *Gou*'s Nine in the Second line statement that says the wrap has a fish? If multiple 8s equal multiple fish, then perhaps the single eight in *Gou*'s first line would be one fish. This is why I translate the judgment the way I do with a definite article.[63]

In summary, fish is a divinatory image of number eight (and/or six). Reduplicated 8s (and 6s) resemble multiple fish. The specific image of "strung up fish", as a combined meaning, is best explained either as an image of trigram *Gen* or as an image of hexagram *Bo* as a single-bodied picture.[64] Figure 2 shows a Western Zhou period example of a 6-6-6-6-1 five-line numerical sequence and illustrates how "strung up fish" might have looked to a diviner at this time. The top yang line (1) is the string. It perfectly fits into trigram *Gen*'s image program of things hanging down. The word *guan* 貫 "a string of coins, to string, to go through" is cognate with *guan* 關 "a pass, to penetrate, to close" and *chuan* 串

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62 Yu Xingwu 于省吾 1960 [1936]: 1.2b–3a.

63 Perhaps the above conclusion is being too rigid. In early script writing a word with one semantic grapheme and reduplicating it multiple times can have the same meaning. For instance, the word "fishing" (*yu* 漁) in Shang script is written with three fish and in later script with just one fish; the word *yang* (洋) is written in Shang script with three sheep and in later script with just one sheep. The word *lu* 鹿 "deer" is written in Shang script with multiple deer and with one deer.

64 The difference depends on the number of fish. I prefer the former interpretation since taking away three fish from the bottom still allows for the match. In *Bo, Kun* also has the image of fish; see Shang Binghe 2016: 115. Yu Fan makes the connection between *Gen*, hand, and the act of stringing something on a line.

"to string together". The last word *chuan* has always been a pure pictograph that depicts things on a line or stick.

5 Double Strand of Cowries

One of Yu Xingwu's great *Yijing* discoveries is that the *Zhou Yi*'s word-image *peng* 朋 "double strand of cowries" is a pictographic match with trigram *Gen*'s picture (Table 9). He traces all the occurences in the base text and concludes that *peng* is not an image of *Dui*, as Han commentators say, but rather a "remnant image" of *Gen*.[65] The implications of Yu's analysis go far behind this single identification, for it provides a clear and cogent expression of his faith in the pictographic method of image recognition, and demonstrates the craft of how one of the 20th century's most preeminent paleographers and classical scholars read the *Yijing*.

Table 9: Trigram Gen and *peng* 朋 "double strand of cowries" in early script.

☶			
Trigram *Gen* in the received version	Trigram *Gen* in the Shanghai Museum Warring States version	*Peng* in Warring States script	*Peng* in Shang-Western Zhou script

The *Zhou Yi* as a Western Zhou composition implies that *peng* 朋 has to mean a double strand of cowries. It could not have meant friend since the word did not yet have this meaning in the inscriptional corpus from this period.[66] The most obvious instances of the word being used in its primary sense are the complementary phrases "a turtle worth ten double strands of cowries" (*shi peng zhi gui* 十朋之龜) in the pair ䷨ *Sun* 損 (Loss) and ䷩ *Yi* 益 (Gain). Although its graphic evolution has blurred its original meaning, in early script *peng* depicts a double strand of shells. Traditional explanations say that a strand of five shells was called one *xi* 系 and two *xi* equalled one *peng*. The word-image *peng* occurs nine times in the base text. It occurs twice in hexagram statements, twice in a lower trigram, and five times in an upper

65 Yu Xingwu 于省吾 1960 [1936]: 1.4b–7a.
66 Li Jingchi 李鏡池 2015 [1981]: 5.

trigram. In line statements it only ever occurs in line 2, line 4, or line 5. Five of the nine occurrences are upside down *Gen* (*fuxiang* 覆象). In this context its upside down/rightside up variation makes sense, since nearly all of the statements including *peng* involve predictions about getting money or losing money: "*peng* will be lost" (*Tai* 泰, Line 2); "get *peng* in the southwest; lose *peng* in the northeast" (*Kun* 坤, hexagram statement); "*peng* together on a hairpin" (*Yu* 豫, Line 4); "*peng* will come" (*Fu* 復, hexagram statement); "*peng* will follow your thoughts" (*Xian* 咸, Line 4); "*peng* will come" (*Jian* 漸, Line 5); "*peng* will arrive, trust this" (*Jie* 解, Line 4). Whether money was going to come or go was likely related to how *Gen* appeared in a hexagram picture. Profit and loss is a major divination topic past and present.

Peng in the hexagram statement of *Kun* is the only instance in the dataset where *Gen* does not appear in the associated hexagram picture. From a Warring States perspective, the connection is because direction southwest is opposite direction northeast. The *Shuogua* says *Kun* is direction southwest and *Gen* is direction northeast. The *Shifa* implies the same information. The reason *peng* will be gained in the southwest and lost in the northeast is because the hexagram picture is *Kun, Gen*'s opposite.

Hexagram *Yu*'s 豫 Line 4 statement (Nine in the Fourth) in the received version has the image "double strand of cowries together on a hairpin" (*peng he zan* 朋盍簪). The phrase occurs exactly at the sole yang line (1) in the picture and the image is pictographic.[67] The interpretation goes that Line 4 is the hairpin and the cowries, represented by the three yin lines (8), are strung on it. This makes sense because the image is similar to hexagram *Bo*'s "strung up fish" (*guan yu* 貫魚), and it fits neatly into our hanging/falling down-type image set. The image of a hairpin in early script is perhaps most recognizable in the graph used to write the *yan* 妍 "pretty woman". In oracle bone script the word is written  and depicts a kneeling woman with a pin (*zan* 簪) through her hair. The hairpin looks just like number one and resembles the divinatory form of nine.

6 Hexagram ䷖ *Bo* 剝 (Pare away)

In addition to "strung up fish on a line" discussed previously, a cluster of other images in hexagram *Bo*'s statements is related to *Gen*'s appearance in the upper trigram of its hexagram picture. Some commentators refer to the picture as a

67 Shang Binghe 2016: 115.

manifestation (impure) of enlarged trigram *Gen*.[68] The real reason they say this is because hexagram *Bo*'s text is staturated with iconography related to trigram *Gen*, although *Kun* still plays a part. I will go through these images here one by one. The main image of *Bo*'s hexagram text is of course its name, paring or peeling away. The word for paring, *bo*, is a compound pictograph formed of pig plus knife. Variant spellings seen in early bronze inscriptions add a hand holding the knife because the act of cutting logically requires the hands. The hand is *Gen*. The main verbal action in the statements is paring and its main image objects are bed (/chair) and hut. It seems simple to explain the two main image objects as coming from a pictorial resemblance to the hexagram picture as a unified image. *Bo*'s five 8s (yin lines) are the bed (chair) frame's dismembered feet and legs and the single yang line (number 1) at the top is the bedtop (chairtop); these same five 8s are the hut's dismembered walls. In early script both "bed" (chair) and "serving table" are pictographs written  .[69] The numerical sequences 8-1 and 6-1 resemble it. But the overall image in hexagram *Bo* is the paring away and "disjointed" state of these objects. Analyzed by trigram, bed (/chair) and hut seem like images of *Gen*, but it is more complicated than that. These specific images need extra yin lines (including the lower trigram *Kun*) to complete the disjointed image. The *Shuogua* says *Gen* has the image of multiple joints. Bed (chair), table, and things with legs in general are usually classified as images of *Xun*.[70] The nuance is that these objects are being dismembered piece-by-piece (or line-by-line) and destroyed.

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68 The advantage of this reading is that *Gen* is the upper trigram hexagram picture and *Bo* could be explained as simply extending *Gen*'s yin lines. All that is required for image associations is a prompt, and there is clearly enough of *Gen* in *Bo* to have arrived at this interpretation. The same could be said for *Xun* in *Bo*, which is the reason a commentator like Lai Zhide explains Bo the way he does, and how he reconciles the appearance of fish in its text.

69 In Shang oracle bone script, bed is used to write the word *ji* 疾 "sick", which depicts a person lying in bed with dots of perspiration (rotated ). Shang Binghe 尚秉和 2016: 61–62, classifies the words *ji, bing* 病, and *jiu* 疚 as images of *Xun*. In the "Death and Life" (*Si sheng* 死生) section of the *Shifa* (1/30; strips 1–2), hexagram cluster 1, *bing* is an image of *Xun*.

70 Some *xiangshu* commentators interpret the hexagram picture as enlarged *Xun* (Lai Zhide) and others as enlarged *Gen* (Yu Xingwu). Trigram *Gen* and trigram *Xun* overlap because both have a solid yang line under a broken yin line. The "Rotation of Qian and Kun" (*Qian Kun yun zhuan* 乾坤運轉) section of the *Shifa* (22/30; strip 40), in talking about the appearance of the moon during a week, says that *Qian* and *Kun* grow *Gen* from *Xun*. This refers to yin evaporating *Xun*'s yang line two and producing *Gen*. In the *Yijing xiangshu* commentary bed/chair is usually associated with *Gen* solely because of *Bo*, and table, especially for sacrificial offerings, is associated with *Xun*; see hexagram *Xun*'s text and comments by Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲 2007: 155. In general, *Xun* is associated with legged-objects. The nuance in hexagram *Bo* is the image of objects becoming disjointed. This comes from *Gen*'s additional yin line.

The first four lines of the line statements focus on cutting apart a bedframe or chairframe by its most recognizable features and starts with its low-lying parts. This format of line statement building, by which the images of a line statement correspond to the line's position in the hexagram picture, is a well-attested feature of an early layer of the *Zhou Yi*'s composition. Images related to a bedframe (chairframe) in the line statements are: feet, dividers (legs), and bedtop (chairtop), called the bed's (chair's) "skin" (*fu* 膚).[71] Han commentators explain the top yang line of trigram *Gen* as a hard shell.[72]

The only line that does not contain the word *bo* is Line 5. Not using *bo* in this line creates a series of new images that are also based on the hexagram picture as a unified single-bodied picture. It also creates space for its reappearance with a different but related image in the top line. Line Five's images are strung up fish, bringing, palace, people, and favor. The graphic form of the word *yi* 以 "to bring" started as a pictograph of a hand holding an object. Taking a string of fish to the palace is a contribution that seeks favor. Gifts of fish to people of elite status already occur in Shang oracle bone inscriptions. The word translated as "favor" is *chong* 寵. It rhymes with *gong* 宮 "house, palace", and the roof + walls determinative (phoneticized with *long* 龍 "dragon") comprising the semantic part of its graphic form seems to be an intentional graphic play on trigram *Gen* as dwelling.

Another one of these same graphic plays shows up in the following line statement in the phrase *shuo guo* 碩果. *Shuo* "large", or perhaps better translated "big-headed", is comprised of stone 石 plus the determinative for head 頁. As I mentioned earlier, stone is an image of *Gen* through its connection to mountain that is a featured image in Line 2 of Hexagram *Yu*. Hanging or falling fruit from a tree is an image of *Gen* collected in the *Shuogua*. Lai Zhide ingeniously explains that the image is not just large fruit but large fruit hanging on a tree branch.[73] The top yang line is the branch.[74] What is attractive about this interpretation is that it accords

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Xun, with only one six or eight, is simply base objects with legs. Movement comes about because of its initial yin line as either 6 or 8 with 1 over it resemble the thighs and midsection to waist, and legs and tabletop. The nuance in hexagram *Bo* is the image of objects becoming disjointed. This comes from *Gen*'s additional yin line. *Xun*, with only one six or eight, is simply base objects with legs.

71 Shang Binghe 尚秉和 2016: 114.

72 Li Dingzuo 李鼎祚 2016: 532. Lines 2 and 3 of Gen's trigram picture are the same as trigram Li's. Trigram Li's association with shellfish and armor plays on the outer yang lines as a shell or covering. The soft middle line as what is inside or being covered.

73 Lai Zhide 2015: 136.

74 The Western Han bamboo manuscript Jing jue 荊決 (*Jing Decisions*) contains a statement (strip 10) that refers to a yang line as a tree branch; see Beijing daxue chutu wenxian yanjiusuo (ed.) 2015: 157.

both with fish strung up on a line and strands of cowries on a hairpin.[75] Figure 2 illustrates how a Western Zhou scribe recorded a four-line run of 6s under 1.

In summary, *Bo*'s hexagram picture contains six visual images associated to trigram *Gen*'s picture: destroyed bed (/chair) and hut, palace, favor, strung up fish, and ripe fruit hanging or falling off a tree branch or vine. Verbal actions related to the image of hand are paring away, bringing, and getting (*de* 得, a hand getting a cowrie; top line statement). The top line statement also has the image of a "big chariot" in the sentence "The gentleman gets a big chariot" (君子得大輿). The *Shuogua* lists "big chariot" as an image of trigram *Kun*. More about *Kun*'s role in *Bo* will be alluded to in the following paragraphs.

From a Warring States perspective, I will add a few comments here on the meaning of the hexagram name, *Paring*, and its function in the line statements. Hexagram *Bo* is the paired opposite of ䷗ *Fu* 復 (Return). A single yang line at the beginning of *Fu* and a single yang line at the end of *Bo* give this pair a unique look. The *Tuan* commentary to *Bo* makes two crucial interpretations.

The first is that it explains the hexagram as "the gentleman values above all (the cycle) of evaporating and breathing (again), fullness and emptiness, which are the movements of heaven" (君子尚消息盈虛天行也). This seems to be a comment on the picture, the single yang line on top of five yin lines. By the Han, the binary pair *xiaoxi* 消息 becomes the cornerstone of complex systems of *Zhou Yi* interpretation focused on how much air (*gua qi* 卦 氣) a hexagram has in its alternations (*gua bian* 卦變), starting from Pure *Qian* and Pure *Kun*. The hexagrams *Bo* (Paring away), *Fu* 復 (Return), *Guai* 夬 (Breech; Resolute) and *Gou* 姤 (Meeting) are the first and last manifestation of alternations of these two pure hexagrams. The 1987 discovery of a pottery vase with a band of eleven numeric hexagrams arrayed in an alternating sequence and illustrating how yin (as number 6) moves through Pure Hexagram *Qian* (as six 1s) is hard evidence that hexagrams were being arranged systematically during the late Western Zhou.[76] It also implies that a basic system of hexagram alternation by line substitution and one based on pure *Qian* and pure *Kun* is a fundamental and perhaps native system of the *Zhou Yi*'s architecture. The *Shifa* has several sections that associate trigrams with the seasons, phases of the moon, days of the week, and times of the day. This kind of structural information in the *Shuogua, Shifa* guidebook, and *Tuan* commentary reveals how the *Changes* were being read and explained during the Warring States. The *Warring States Changes* are the gateway to the *Han Changes*.

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75 Lai Zhide 2015: 135.

76 Yao Shengmin 姚生民 1990.

The second is the phrase "observing the image" (*guan xiang* 觀象) as a comment to its trigram analysis "going smoothly and stopping it" (*shun er zhi zhi* 順而止之), which is the *Tuan*'s way of explaining the hexagram picture as trigram *Kun* under *Gen*. *Kun* has the image of going smoothly without being blocked (as three 8s with space running through the middle), and *Gen* has the image of to stop. The *Tuan* commentary uses the word *xiang* 象 just three times, and this is the only occurrence of the phrase *guan xiang*. This verb-object phrase is better known from the *Xici*, which says that the words of the *Zhou Yi* came from images seen when hexagram pictures were set out (*she gua guan xiang xi ci* 設卦觀象系辭). This makes it quite clear that, as far as Warring States commentators were concerned, images in pictures led to text.[77] But what exactly does the *Tuan* mean here when it says, "observing the image"? The other two instances where the *Tuan* uses the word *xiang* are in the commentary to *Ding* 鼎 and *Xiao guo* 小過. In both cases the word refers to the pictorial matching of a hexagram picture to an observable object in its midst; in the first instance it is a caldron, and in the second instance it is a flying bird.[78]

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77 The word *xiang* "images" (象) in the canonical commentaries has two contexts. The first refers to celestial images and land models, and the second, to object-images in trigram and hexagram pictures. Fu Xi 伏羲, the mythical creator of the eight trigrams, created trigrams by observing images in the sky, namely the sun, moon, and stars, and by observing models on land, like earth, mountain, marsh, etc. These images are the foundation for the creation of the trigrams. According to the canonical commentaries, the sun, moon, and stars are the basis of all images. This is the other meaning of *she gua guan xiang*, that is the trigrams were given images based on their resemblance to real images in the sky and to models on earth. This method is different than observing images in pictures. It takes a pre-determined image and fits a trigram or hexagram picture to it.

78 There is general agreement that the *Tuan*'s comment "*ding xiang ye* 鼎象也" is saying that this object resembles the hexagram picture. *Ding* is the cornerstone example of the pictographic method at the hexagram level. The image of a flying bird occurs in the hexagram statement of *Xiao guo*. The *Tuan* commentary says, "*you fei niao zhi xiang yan* 有飛鳥之象焉", which also in my opinion means the same thing as it does with caldron, that is, the hexagram picture as a single-bodied picture resembles a flying bird. Yu Fan and others do their best to deny this and to force the image of a flying bird here to be an image of trigram *Li* by saying that the flying bird in *Xiao guo* comes from *Mingyi* 明夷 (Brightness Injured; Calling Pheasant), *Kun* over *Li*. Realizing the problem with this and being fundamentally opposed to line substitution as a means to explain image and trigram picture disparity, Shang Binghe 2016: 274–276, interprets flying bird as an image of double trigram *Gen*, both rightside up and upside down. This is based on his reading of the *Shuogua*'s *qian hui zhi shu* 黔喙之屬 as referring to birds and not wild animals. The *Shifa* lists flying bird as an image of the number 8. The connection comes from a resemblance between the number 8, the archetypal wings of a bird, and the word *fei* 非 (飛) "flying". The interpretation of Song Zhong 宋衷, in Li Dingzuo 2016: 374, is that the hexagram picture iconographically resembles the image of a bird with spread wings: The two yang lines in the center of the picture form the body of the bird and the double yin lines (8s) on each side are

Zheng Xuan's sub-comment on the *Tuan* says, "Yin pneuma invades yang, moving up to take hold of Line Five; all things go to zero and die (*ling luo* 零落). This is the reason the hexagram is called *Bo*."[79] The word *luo* 落, translated as "die" here, is a linguistic pun on *bo*. The word *luo* means leaves and fruit falling off a tree, but pre-Qin texts (e. g. *Shangshu* 尚書 "Shun dian" 舜典) use it as a euphemism for death. Thinking in puns, *guo* "fruit" also rhymes with *bo* and *luo*, and pre-Qin texts like the *Zuozhuan* use it as meaning to kill ("an adversary"; *Xuan*, year 2). Looked at from this perspective, we see what the *Shuogua* means in listing "fruit falling off a tree" as an image of trigram *Gen*. Readers are not expected to find this exact phrase in the text because it is not there. It is an interpretation of the trigram's picture based on the occurrence of the word *guo* in this line statement. According to the *Shuogua*, the phrase "*shuo guo*" originated in seeing the image of matured fruit hanging down off what looks like a tree branch in a trigram picture comprised of double 8 or double 6 under 1/7. Ripe fruit not being eaten means that the fruit will drop off and eventually wither and die. The "Renjianshi" 人間世 chapter in the *Zhuangzi* 莊子 traces the last steps of fruit's degeneration and its language has connections to Line 5 of *Bo* and the *Shuogua:*

> There are hawthorns, pear-trees, orange-trees, pummelo-trees, and fruit and gourds from other types of trees and plants. When their fruits are ripe, they fall off, and falling off, they lie in the dirt. The large branches are snapped, and the small branches washed away. (夫柤梨橘柚果蓏之屬實熟則剝剝則辱大枝折小枝泄)

Warring States and Han commentators read the hexagram picture as part of six-hexagram sequence starting with *Qian* (Pure Yang). In *Bo*, yin is in the process of killing yang and returning to *Kun* (Pure Yin). *Qian* is the in the process of vanishing. The "battle" between *Qian* as yang (hard) and *Kun* as yin (soft) is one of the fundamental principles of line, trigram, and hexagram alternation. Pure *Qian* and Pure *Kun* beginning to lose lines to the other seems to be what *Tuan* means when it says evaporating (then) breathing, full (then) empty are the movements of Heaven. Yang is about to die out but get reborn in the next hexagram, *Fu*. *Gen* as the upper trigram in *Bo*, with its top yang line over five yin lines, signals near death and the end of a cycle. *Gen* is the gateway to *Zhen*, the lower trigram in *Fu*, which has associations to pregnancy (a cognate of *zhen* 娠), movement, pure springtime, and cardinal direction east.

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the wings. Based on the *Shifa*, there is no reason to categorically deny that *Xiao guo*'s hexagram picture, as a single-bodied picture, could not have this image. The relationship between trigram *Li* and birds (pheasant) is not pictographic. It derives both from net (as its object) and sun.

79 Li Dingzuo 2016: 155.

The *Tuan*'s comments here and elsewhere about evaporating and breathing, being full and then empty, is part of its larger discourse on time, the seasons, and movement in the sky, namely the sun and moon. The *Tuan*'s comment about *Bo*'s hexagram picture running smoothly and then something stopping it refers to the composition of the hexagram picture being formed of *Kun* under *Gen*. The single yang line at the top, as part of trigram *Gen*, is what brings a cycle to an end. *Gen* is the gateway of evaporating and breathing, and the pivot from complete emptiness to the restart of fullness.

7 *Gen* as Late Winter (*Dong*), the End (*Zhong*) of Things, Completion, and Direction NE (*Dongbei*)

The *Shifa* contains a section (21/30; strips 37–39) that the editors name "The Lucky and Ominous of the Four Seasons" (*Si ji ji xiong* 四季吉凶). It provides the degree of auspiciousness and inauspiciousness of six of the eight trigrams throughout the four seasons. Table 10 presents the contents in table form. The variables are the four seasons, six trigrams, and two rubrics, lucky and ominous, which are subdivided into degrees big and small. *Qian* and *Kun*, which are the topic of the following section of the *Shifa*, are not included. For our discussion here, *Gen* is greatly lucky in the winter and then greatly ominous in the spring. By the autumn it returns to having a little luck, which then leads back to its great luck the following winter. *Gen* is paired with *Li* and *Zhen* is paired with *Xun*. In the *Shifa* trigram *Li* is assocated to direction north and the winter season, and *Kan* is associated to direction south and the summer season. The positions of *Li* and *Kan* in the *Shifa* are the opposite in the *Yijing*. In the *Shuogua*, *Li* (S) follows *Xun* (SE), and *Kan* (N) precedes *Gen* (NE). The *Shifa* has six trigrams to allocate to just four seasons, which is why two have to get paired as they do. *Zhen* is the middle of spring and cardinal direction east, and *Xun* is late spring to early summer and the direction southeast. *Li* is the middle of winter and cardinal direction north, and *Gen* is the late winter to early spring and direction northeast. The trigrams overlap in this way.

Table 10: Reconstruction of *Shifa*'s degree of luck of six trigrams during the the four seasons.

	Spring	Summer	Autumn	Winter
greatly lucky	*Zhen, Xun*	*Kan*	*Dui*	***Gen, Li***
a little lucky	*Kan*	*Zhen, Xun*	***Gen, Li***	*Dui*
greatly ominous	***Gen, Li***	*Dui*	*Kan*	*Zhen, Xun*
a little ominous	*Dui*	***Gen, Li***	*Zhen, Xun*	*Kan*

Both the *Shuogua* and *Shifa* say that *Gen* is strongest in the winter and is building up strength in the autumn: "As for what makes an end and forms a beginning for the myriad things, there is nothing stronger than *Gen*" (終萬物始萬物者莫盛乎艮). Having evaporated (*xiao* 消), it is weakest in the Spring. In a seasonal cycle the end of things comes in the late winter. This is followed by rebirth in the spring, "G-d comes out in *Zhen*" (帝出乎震). As I mentioned earlier, when setting the eight trigrams with the seasons, *Gen*'s gateway is a boundary that in front of it completes the year, stops and ends all things. But it is also the passage to a new beginning. It ends the year and begins a new year. When setting the eight trigrams with the twenty-four nodes (*ershisi jie* 二十四節), *Gen* is *Da Han* 大寒 (Great Cold) to *Li Chun* 立春 (Establishing Spring). It follows true north (*Kan*/*Li*), and leads into true east (*Zhen*). This explains the Warring States interpretation that *Gen* transitions an end to a beginning, and at the same time unlocks the intent of the *Shuogua*'s use of the word *qian* 黔 "black with cyan hues". Pure black is the color of the north, and cyan is the color of the east. Black with cyan hues means *Gen* with traces of *Zhen*.

The *Shuogua*'s association of *Gen* to direction northeast appears to have been based on hexagram picture ䷦ called *Jian* 蹇 (Limping). *Jian*'s hexagram picture is comprised of *Gen* under *Kan*, and the hexagram statement has the prediction, "beneficial to the southwest; is not beneficial to the northeast". The only other occurrence of northeast in the *Zhou Yi* comes in the hexagram statement of *Kun*, and is also paired with southwest. In both cases southwest is lucky and northeast is unlucky. In both the *Shuogua* and *Shifa*, "southwest" is an image of *Kun*.

Let me explain more about the *Shuogua* section that says,

> G-ds come out in *Zhen*, array evenly in *Xun*, see each other in *Li*, deliver military service in *Kun*, speak words in *Dui*, do battle in *Qian*, toil in *Kan*, and complete words in *Gen*.
> (帝出乎震齊乎巽相見乎離致役乎坤說言乎兌戰乎乾勞乎坎成言乎艮)

First, the early Six Dynasties commentator Gan Bao 干寶 (283–351) said this information came from the *Lianshan* (Connected Mountains) *Changes*.[80] This supports the position I have taken throughout this paper that the *Shuogua* is a guide to be used with all three *Changes* manuals, not just the *Zhou Yi*.[81] From a Warring States perspective, *Gen* has the image of "completing words" and forms a pair with *Dui* who has the image of "speaking words". Substituting each line in *Dui*'s trigram picture for its opposite creates *Gen*; the *Shuogua* seems to have this

80 Shang Binghe 2016: 327–328; Li Ling 2013: 388.

81 This is the conclusion of Jin Jingfang 金景芳 1998: 184–191.

in mind, but there is more. The language the *Shuogua* uses before the names of the eight trigrams are in fact all images. What I mean by this is that the words were crafted out of each trigram's image program. "Coming out" for *Zhen* is the initial movement of *Zhen*'s foot. It is related to its initial yang line. "Array evenly" is related to *Xun*'s legs. The two yang lines in its trigram picture are arrayed evenly on top of a single yin line, as 6; 6 under 1 resemble the thighs to the midsection (see the Diagram of the eight trigrams and human figure). "See each other" is *Li*'s eyes. *Dui* is mouth, and the graph to write *dui* 兌 is the ancestral form of *shuo/shui* 說 "to talk". These associations originate in a pictorial resemblance between *Dui*'s trigram picture and the pictograph used to write the word *dui*. The *Shifa* lists "words" (*yan* 言) as an image of the number 8. In *Dui*, the number 8 is on top, i.e what comes out of the mouth. In *Gen*, however, the top yang line stops the words. The *Shuogua* says "complete" (*cheng* 成) because *Gen* is the end of the cycle and gateway to a new beginning in this interpretive system.

In the *Zhou Yi*, the sentence "The gentleman has an end" (*junzi you zhong* 君子有終) only occurs in Hexagram *Qian* 謙 (two instances). *Qian* 謙 forms an opposite of hexagram *Yu* 豫 when it is turned upside down. Han *xiangshu* commentators based on the *Shuogua* say that the embedded *Gen* in *Qian*'s 謙 picture is why *zhong* occurs in these statements.[82] The word *zhong* 終 is written *dong* 冬 in the Western Han Mawangdui version. From Shang oracle bone inscriptions we know that *dong* is the ancestral form of *zhong*. Table 11 shows how *dong/zhong* was written in early Chinese, and provides a comparison with *Gen*'s trigram picture in several numeric sequences. Early script eventually adds the determinative "sun/day/time" to *dong* to clarify its meaning of winter, and adds the determinative "thread" to clarify its reading as *zhong* "to end".[83] Some paleographers interpret the two circles at the tips of Shang and Western Zhou forms as knots on the end of a string. Whether this is true or not, there is no question that they indicate an end of some kind. The graph *dong/zhong* resembles something hanging down and its shape resembles the divinatory form of 6. As such and within the context of *Zhou Yi* and image recognition, it fits pictorially into the same group as strung up fish, double strands of cowries, hands and fingers, ripe fruit hanging or falling, etc.

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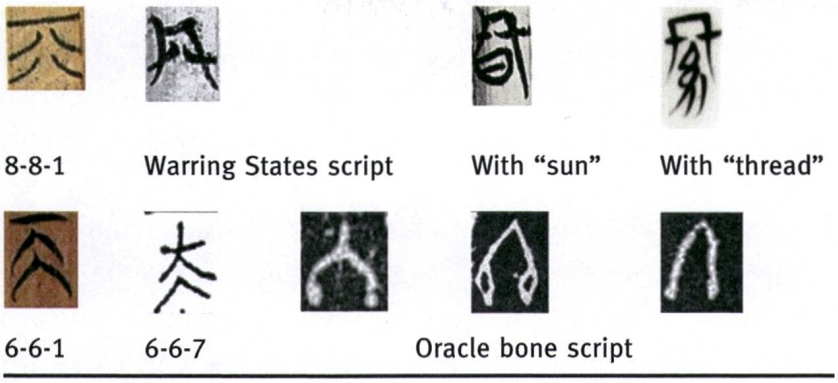
82 There are plenty of other occurences of the word *zhong* "end" in the *Zhou Yi* and a fuller analysis is required to determine how and even if they relate to trigram *Gen*. I agree with Han commentators that it is an image here.

83 The "ice" determinative (two dots at the bottom in 冬) in the graph's modern form replaced the "sun/day/time" determinative; the association is ice with winter.

Table 11: *Gen*'s trigram pictures in 8-8-1 and 6-6-1 and the logograph *dong/zhong* in early script.



8-8-1	Warring States script	With "sun"	With "thread"
6-6-1	6-6-7	Oracle bone script	

8 *Gen*'s Animals

"Large wild animal" (*da shou* 大獸) is an image of number nine in the *Shifa*. Image recognition from number to object-image was pictographic. The association comes from a match resemblance between the number's non-divinatory graphic form ) and the dog (*quan*  [犬]) determinative in *shou*  (獸) "wild animal".[84] *Jiu* 九 9 is a pictograph of the right arm with a bend at the elbow and is the archaic form of *zhou* 肘 "elbow". Shang and Western Zhou period scribes sometimes add a deictic symbol like a small circle or short dash at the elbow to elucidate that it is this specific area of the arm that the graph for this word intends to write. Including "wild animal", several other of 9's line images in the *Shifa* (strips 56–57) originate from an iconographic play on objects with a bend or natural curve. These include "snake" (*she*  [蛇]), "bow" (*gong* [弓]), and "bend" (*qu*  [曲]).

In the *Shifa*, the graphic shape of nine is not an exact match to *quan* but like the others in the set shows enough of a shape resemblance to establish an image association. Like with "hand", a resemblance, however slight, overt, subjective, or esoteric was all a diviner needed to make image connections with objects and graphs in the written script. The key characteristic of the dog pictograph is the long tail curled upwards at the end (for instance  in Shang oracle bone

84 The *Shifa* seems to make the connection to "big" (*da*) because nine is the biggest numeric outcome value.

script).[85] This is what likely led to a connection with the curved "tail" of number nine. "Long-haired dog" (*mang* 尨;  in Shang oracle bone script) is also a dog pictograph (the 彡 strokes depict long hair), and animals like fox and wolf (dog types) are written with a dog determinative.

The *Shuogua* lists a cluster of three animal images: dog/puppy (*gou* 狗), rat, and animals with black snouts. As I alluded to earlier, *Yijing* commentators have always been somewhat in disagreement over the meaning of the term I read as "black snouts", since the word *hui* 喙 also means beak and can refer to birds. Ma Rong's comment collected in the *Zhou Yi jijie* says, "*Qian zhui* (黔喙) are meat-eating wild animals, and refer to things like jackal and wolf. *Qian* 黔 means black. Yang and black at the front." The last part refers to trigram *Gen*'s top yang line. As I also mentioned earlier, the word *qian* is not pure black, but rather black with cyan hues. Its usage in the *Shuogua* seems directly related to *Gen*'s association with the late winter/early spring and direction northeast. I agree with Ma Rong's interpretation since animals and not birds are an integral part of trigram *Gen*'s image program, both through pictographic associations and through derivative connections with the mountains.

Knowing about the *Shifa*'s pictographic matching of nine to dog in the word *shou* 獸 "wild animal", then one explanation for trigram *Gen*'s association with dog in the *Changes* tradition is the presence of a nine as the top line in one of its numerical alloforms (see Table 2). That is, a numerical combination like 6-6-9 led to the direct association with dog or wild animal, because the pictographic writing of the word nine resembles an animal with an upward-curved tail, amongst which dog, as reflected in early script, was one of the archetypes. Dog, which was coopted as the wild animal determinative in Shang and Western Zhou script, also features in the phonographic spellings of wolf and fox. Other wild animal archetypes with an upward-curved tail in early script are tiger and leopard.[86] As I shall mention again below, rat is connected here because it has a characteristically long tail . Warring States Chu script (*Chuguo wenzi* 楚國文字) coopts rat, and not dog, as a wild animal

85 Certain distinguishing features of animals like tails and horns (or lack thereof) are used to identify words and design in oracle bone inscriptions and bronze art; see Hiyashi Minao 林巳奈夫 2009.

86 Han commentators, like Xun Shuang mentioned earlier, classify tiger 虎 solely based on Line 4 of ䷚ *Yi* 頤 "Jaws". Zheng Xuan makes the connection to wild animals that live in the mountains. Tiger and leopard both famously occur in the upper trigram of ䷰ *Ge* 革 "Shear (animal hide)" and *Gen* is not present. Leopard 豹 occurs just once, and other occurences in the *Zhou Yi* of tiger do not appear related to trigram *Gen*. Fox 狐 occurs in *Jie* 解 and *Wei ji* 未濟 and likewise does not appear to be related to trigram *Gen*. Han *xiangshu* commentators make these identifications through line substitution and hexagram alternation on the basis of the *Shuogua*'s "category of black snouts" and as things found in the mountains.

Table 12: 6-6-5 and "dog" in Warring States script.

			
6-6-5 "alloform" of trigram *Gen* in the *Shifa*	*quan* 犬 "dog" in Warring States script	*mang* 尨 "long-haired dog" in Warring States script	*gou* 狗 "puppy" in Warring States script

determinative. The word *hen* 狠, comprised of the wild animal determinative plus the phonetic *gen*, means fierce.

A second explanation for *Gen*'s association with dog is that a pictorial resemblance was observed in a numerical alloform with five as the top line. Table 12 shows a 6-6-5 alloform of *Gen* in the *Shifa*. It demonstrates how in Warring States script the logographs *quan* 犬, *mang* 尨, and *gou* 狗 all are written with two strokes at the top that resemble the divinatory form of five. The curved body and tail in variant forms resembles the divinatory form of 6. Out of context it would be easy to mistake the word for *quan* in Warring States script as a combination of five over six. In the same logic, it is also easy to see how a diviner would have seen *quan* in one of *Gen*'s trigram pictures.

8.1 Long-haired dog (*mang* 尨)

In the received version of the *Zhou Yi* the hexagram picture ䷃ (*Kan* under *Gen*; hexagram 4/64) is called *Meng* 蒙. *Meng*, with its grass determinative, means shroud. A derivative meaning, "unenlightened", probably derives from the sense of being unable to see clearly. The word is used as a noun throughout the hexagram text. It occurs in five of the six line statements in simple two word combinations, and occurs twice (in the hexagram statement and Line statement 5) preceded by *tong* 童 "young".[87] Short two word statements occur throughout the *Zhou Yi*'s line statements and are similar to the composition of *Dun* 遯 "Flee"/*Dun* 豚 "Piglet" discussed in the following section.

87 Shaughnessy 2014: 72, translates the hexagram statement *fei wo qiu tong meng, tong meng qiu wo* 匪我求童蒙童蒙求我 as "It is not we who seek the young shroud; the young shroud seeks us." Following a traditional line of philosophical interpretation, Li Jingchi 2015 [1981]: 11, reads *tong* as the ancestral form of *tong* 僮, and *tong meng* as "unenlightened youth".

The meaning of *meng* in the base text has never been especially clear. The conventional explanation is that in some instances the meaning of the word refers to an unenlightened person, and in some instances it refers to a shroud of some kind. The philosophical, ethical sense is that a confused youth seeks the guidance of a teacher. What interests me here are two things: (1) a new name and main subject for this hexagram picture in the Shanghai Museum version, what the variation means, and how the new image fits or does not fit into the image program of trigram *Gen*; (2) how *tong*, an image of *Gen*, works as a modifier in front of it.

The Shanghai Museum *Zhou Yi*, which is the oldest version of the text to date, writes *mang* "long-haired dog" (尨) (Table 12), and not *meng*. These two words are phonetically similar enough for most modern commentators to simply brush off the graphic disparity and to read *mang* as a phonetic loan for *meng*, thereby giving a clear preference to the received version. But the *Zhou Yi* is different from other classics in that it is open to and thrives on change and variation. It is after all a book of divination results and judgments. *Mang* reads smoother in the hexagram text, as the words that preceed it in the line statements are all verbal actions better related to handling a dog versus handling an unenlightened youth.[88] I make a similar argument for *Dun* "Piglet" in the following section.

I agree with Edward Shaughnessy both in not insisting that *mang* is the original name of the hexagram, but also that *meng* might not have been either.[89] The issue is not about origin. It is about how to read a Warring States version of *Zhou Yi* dated circa 300 BC that was unearthed in a peripheral southern state (modern day Hubei province). We do not implicitly *have to* read *mang* as a loan for *meng* just because that is the word in the received version. We do not need to choose between *meng* or *mang*, just like we do not have to choose between *dun* "flee" and *dun* "piglet". Variation is acceptable in the *Changes* tradition because statements are image based, and images originated and developed out of numerical pictures. Deciding how to read Warring States-Han excavated versions of the *Zhou Yi* and whether to edit variation should take into consideration the relationship between a particular image and its image program.

The *Shuogua* lists *gou* 狗 "puppy; dog" as an image of *Gen* but this word does not appear in the received *Zhou Yi*.[90] Long-haired dog, and particularly

88 Shaughnessy 2014: 57–60; 72–73, provides an annotated translation and discussion of reading strategies.

89 Shaughnessy 2014: 59.

90 The hexagram picture called *Gou* 姤 (Meeting) in the received *Zhou Yi* is called *Gou* (Dog) in the Mawangdui version.

tong mang "young long-haired dog", is a natural fit into trigram *Gen*'s *Shuogua* image program, and for this reason alone I prefer to explain its occurrence in the Shanghai museum manuscript as a valid interpretation and evidence that this interpretation was in circulation during the Warring States period. In summary, the image of a long-haired dog is directly related to the hexagram picture formed of *Gen* over *Kan*, and based on the appearance of trigram *Gen* as the upper trigram in the hexagram picture.

8.2 Rat

Rat occurs once in the *Zhou Yi*, in Line 4 of *Jin* 晉 (Advancing). The *Shuogua* is specific here in its identification. Han *xiangshu* commentators reconcile the image of rat listed after puppy dog in the *Shuogua* by saying that it resembles a dog but is smaller.[91] The word preceeding rat in the line, *shi* 鼫, appears to be a type of language play with trigram *Gen*. The rock 石 element in the word corresponds to rock as an image of *Gen* through its association to mountain. Thinking in images, whoever wrote this word with this graph seems to be intentionally calling attention to this association. The same might be true with the word *shuo* 碩, which is also written with rock, and is best represented by the phrase *shuo guo* 碩果 "ripe fruit".[92] Yu Fan lists *shuo* as a remnant image of trigram *Gen*.

8.3 Pigs and piglets

The association of number nine to the image of wild animal was made by pictographically matching the non-divinatory form of nine to dog, which is the determinative in *shou* 獸 "wild animal". The steps of this method are clear: the diviner observes the number nine in a hexagram result and makes an image connection with wild animal through dog because the shape of nine resembles the bend in the dog's tail. Wild animal as a category does not refer to a specific

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91 Yu Fan's comment in Li Dingzuo 李鼎祚 2016: 532, "Seems like a dog but only smaller, (and) in Kan's pit; this is the reason it "is rat". This is Hexagram *Jin*'s Nine in the Fourth."

92 Zheng Xuan's commentary and the text of Li Dingzuo *Zhou Yi jijie* has *shuo* 碩, not *shi* 鼫. The *Shuowen jiezi* defines *shi* as a flying squirrel. *Shuo shu* 碩鼠 "big field rat" is the name of a poem in the *Shijing* (Mao #113); see Li Ling 李零 2013: 202. The only other occurrence of *shuo* in the *Zhou Yi* is in the top line statement of *Jian* 蹇 ䷦ "Limping", "Going off limping, returning big-headed"; *Gen* is the lower trigram.

kind of animal. It is similar to the *Shuogua*'s category of black snouts. In the *Shifa* the number nine is also an image of boar.

The *Shifa* has a section (27/30; strips 43–51) called "Hexes" (*Sui* 祟) which lists curses associated with each of the eight trigrams. It says that when the number nine appears in *Gen*'s top line the hex is with a boar (*ju* 豦). Later in the section it then goes on to say that when the number nine appears in *Kan*'s middle line the hex is with a male boar.[93] "Boar" is the only word that appears twice and in two separate trigrams in "Hexes". The logic here is that nine is connected to pig the same way it connects to wild animal through dog. The only way to differentiate between non-gendered pig and dog in early script is by the length and curl of the animal's tail: the pig's tail is short; the dog's is long and curled. Just as important, this new information proves that an image can belong to multiple trigrams if its origin is at the line level, in this case the line number nine. Images can cross trigram boundaries. The pig hex in *Kan* is said specifically to be a male pig in order to differentiate it from *Gen*. *Gen* and *Kan* are both male trigrams.

The hexagram picture comprised of *Gen* under *Qian* and called *Dun* 遯 "Fleeing" in the received version is called *Dun* 豚 "Piglet" in the Shanghai Museum *Zhou Yi* and *Chuan* 椽 "Beams" in the Fuyang *Zhou Yi*. All three words contain a pig element in them. In "fleeing", a "run swiftly" determinative is paired with the phono-semantic *dun* "piglet"; in "beam", a wood determinative is paired with the purely phonetic *tuan* 彖 "pig". Similar to the *Meng*/*Mang* variation discussed earlier, reading *dun* "piglet" in the Shanghai Museum version as it is written and not as a loan for verbal *dun* "flee" makes much clearer sense in the line statements.[94] I am not suggesting to read "Piglet" as the name of the hexagram in the received *Zhou Yi*, nor am I saying that "Piglet" is the "original" name for this hexagram picture, only that the hexagram picture in this excavated version should not be read as "Running away" just because that is its name in the received version.[95] I briefly address the implication of "beams" in a footnote at the conclusion of this section.

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93 In the *Shifa* and *Yijing* commentarial tradition *Gen* and *Kan* are male trigrams.

94 The phrase "*Dun*'s tail" in Line 1, as the opening line in the hexagram picture, makes more sense to read "Piglet's tail" and not "Fleeing tail". Likewise, in the following Line 2, the object particle *zhi* in the sentence "seize it using the hide of a brown ox" (執之用黃牛之革) appears to be referring back to the subject, the piglet, in Line 1. The remaining lines, "bound *Dun*", "good *Dun*", "great *Dun*" and "fat *Dun*", all make much better sense read as "piglet".

95 The hexagram picture *Gen* under *Qian* is a pure enlarged trigram *Xun*. *Xun* is an image of the thighs and is associated throughout the *Zhou Yi* with leg movement; see Line 1 of *Gou*. *Dun* as "fleeing" also makes better sense as the inverse opposite of the hexagram that follows it, *Da Zhuang* 大壯 "Greatly injure". "Fleeing" is a valid interpretation of the hexagram picture, although it does not read smoothly in the line statements.

The *Shuogua* says trigram *Kan* has the image of pig and the *Shifa*'s "Hexes" section confirms this connection, but it really is through the individual line number nine. Shang Binghe determines, correctly in my opinion, that pig is an image of three trigrams: *Kan, Xun*, and *Gen.*[96] The *Shifa* confirms the overlap between *Gen* and *Kan*, and I have already spoken about the overlap between *Gen* and *Xun*. The hexagram picture now called *Dun* "Piglet" further attests to a Warring States interpretation of pig as an image of trigram *Gen*.

Pig or piglet occurs in four hexagram texts in the received *Zhou Yi*: in ䷼ *Zhongfu* 中孚 (Capture in the middle), ䷫ *Gou* 姤 (Meeting), ䷥ *Kui* 睽 (Cross-eyed), and ䷙ *Da chu* 大畜 (Great Rearing). Amongst these hexagram pictures the only one structurally related to *Kan*, that is, without substituting any lines is *Kui* (*Kan* is embedded in lines 3–5). This is what the *Shuogua* appears to be referencing. The logic behind connecting pig with *Xun* is this: (1) the image of a lean or emaciated pig (*lei shi* 羸豕) occurs in the initial line statement of hexagram *Gou*, and the lower trigram is *Xun*[97]; (2) piglet occurs in *Zhongfu*'s hexagram statement along with fish, and as I mentioned in the section on fish above commentators usually associate fish with *Xun* because it is the lower trigram in both *Gou* and *Jing* 井 (Well) ䷯. The choices for piglet in *Zhongfu* are between *Xun, Dui, Zhen*, and *Gen*. *Zhen* and *Dui* can be ruled out because of their deeper connections to dragon and sheep. Commentators choose *Xun* because of the evidence in *Gou*.

The crux of the issue is classifing the occurrence of pig in line 5 of *Da chu*, whose hexagram picture does not contain either *Kan* or *Xun* in it. Like with the image connection between fish(tail) and the line number eight, classification issues arise because of the likelihood that the image of pig did not arise out of a trigram picture, but rather out of number nine. *Da chu* contains a cluster of domesticated animal images — fine horse (*liang ma* 良馬), young ox's headboard (*tong niu zhi gu* 童牛之牿), and gelded pig's tooth (*fen shi zhi ya* 豶豕之牙). "Fine horse" is listed in the *Shuogua* as an image of trigram *Qian*, the lower

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96 Shang Binghe 尚秉和 2016: 127–128, 270–271.

97 The only structural difference between *Dun*'s hexagram picture and *Gou*'s hexagram picture is the substition of a yin line for a yang line in line 2 — *Xun* growing into *Gen*. The image of an emaciated pig in the initial line of *Gou* matches the image of a fat pig in the top line of *Dun; Qian* is the upper trigram. The difference between *Xun* and *Qian* is *Xun*'s initial yin line that *xiangshu* commentators explain as yin starting to evaporate yang. Perhaps this contributed to the formation of the images of fat versus emaciated. This new Warring States interpretation leads to a deeper connection between *Dun* "Piglet" and *Gou* "Meeting", and implies the two were being read together in some Warring States divinatory traditions. In a *gua qi/gua bian* sequence of yin growing in yang, these two hexagrams would have been arrayed one after the other.

trigram in *Da chu*, and this appears to be its reference point. *Xiangshu* commentators tag the word "young" modifying ox as an image of trigram *Gen*, the upper trigram in *Da chu*.[98] The easiest and most direct explanation for the occurrence of piglet here is that it is an image of *Gen*. Pig is the archetype of an animal with a black snout, and the specific image of a "pig's teeth" is evidently related to it. Gelding is a hand action and the logograph in early script is written with a hand holding a knife next to a pig; *Gen* as the hand. Pigs, horses, and cattle are reared in pens and stables. Gate and roofed enclosure (pen and stable) are prominent images of *Gen*.[99]

8.4 Tail

Yu Fan and Lai Zhide list tail as a remnant image of trigram *Gen* mainly because it is a defining characteristic of the dog, rat, and animals with black snouts. The modern commentators Shang Binghe and Yu Xingwu disagree. Here I review the evidence.

Tail occurs seven times in four hexagrams in the received *Zhou Yi*: three times in hexagram *Lü* 履 "Walking", once in hexagram *Dun* 遁/豚, once in hexagram *Ji ji* 既濟 "Already across the river", and twice in hexagram *Wei ji* 未濟 "Not yet across the river". Aside from *Dun*, neither of the other three hexagram pictures contains trigram *Gen*.

Yu Xingwu has studied the words tail, feet, head, and horns in the *Zhou Yi* and cogently determined that these words commonly designated a specific line

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98 The specific image of young ox's headboard requires a bit of explanation. The *Shuogua* lists bovine as an image of trigram *Kun*, but a story in the *Zuozhuan* (Zhao, year 5) has bovine as an image of trigram *Li*. As I understand it, the initial and middle lines of *Gen* are yin lines and form a half image of *Kun* (double 8). The top yang line of *Gen* as 1 is the headboard. 8-8-1 is a image of an ox's horns in headboard that originates with *Kun* as bovine. Headboard is also related to *Gen*'s solid and hard top line as a stop. The headboard image is important when thinking about how to make sense of the Fuyang *Zhou Yi* hexagram name "Beams". Prior to the appearance of the Shanghai Museum version the default explanation was simply to read *chuan* as a loan for *dun* "to flee". But now the situation is complicated. Should we read it as a loan for "flee", as a loan for "piglet", or as it is written? In the latter case the image of beams can be explained through *Gen* as headboard, gate, and roofed enclosure. The lower trigram in *Dun* is *Gen*, and the top trigram is *Qian*. *Qian* is comprised of three solid horizontal lines. If the top line of trigram *Gen* is the gate's lintel and the roof of an enclosure, then Lines 4–6 of Dun are the roof's horizontal "beams". Although beams does not read smoothly in the line statements, we cannot deny the possibilty that "beams" was a valid interpretation of the hexagram picture to a user community.

99 Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲 2007: 140.

position in a trigram or hexagram picture. He concluded that these words, as "images", were not directly related to any of the eight trigrams. What he means is that tail and feet, which are low-lying archetypes, normally occur in the initial line of a trigram or hexagram picture, whereas head and horns (except in *Da Zhuang* 大壯; see below), which are highest point of human and animal figures, normally occur in the top line of a trigram or hexagram picture. For tail, the only evidence contrary to this is Lines 3 and 4 of *Lü*. Yu explains both as being related to the initial line of the upper trigram.

By the Warring States period at the latest diviners were interpreting an oracle bone crack by dividing it into parts based on and named after the human figure. The lower part of the crack was the foot and leg, the middle was the body, and top part was the head.[100] Based on this, there is no reason to not assume that Eastern Zhou diviners were not doing the same thing with trigram and hexagram pictures. In a trigram picture, the bottom line is the feet, the middle line the body, and the top line the head; for a hexagram picture, simply enlarge the trigram. Yu's analysis is sensible and even though it cannot entirely reconcile every instance there is no firm evidence to support that tail is part of *Gen*'s image program.

9 Hexagram ䷳ *Gen* 艮

In classical Chinese the word *gen* 艮 belongs solely to the lexicon of the *Changes*. Literary references are either to it being one of the eight trigrams or citing its hexagram text. The Late Han period dictionary *Shuowen jiezi* defines it as *hen* 很 "disobey", but an incorrect graphic analysis as eye 目 over spoon 匕 led to an inaccurate and unconvincing justification to support it. Later dictionaries define it as "to stop" based on the authority of the canonical *Yijing* commentaries. It is also common to find *gen* defined as *xian* 限 "to stop, boundary", and as "hard" (*gěn*). All of these meanings derive through the lens of Warring States *Yijing* interpretation and are really just an aggregate of the trigram picture as mountain, as gate, as guardian, as dog, as hand, as late winter, as direction NE, and as death — which stops all things. *Xian* 限 first occurs in Western Zhou bronze inscriptions and the semantic root is mound; *gen* is purely phonetic. *Gen*'s etymology centers on the eye.

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100 See the Warring States manuscript called "Oracle bone divination story" (*Bu shu* 卜書), in Ma Chengyuan 馬承源 (edited) 2008: 290–302.

The primary meaning of the word written *gen* 艮 is to look back. *Yan* "eye" 眼 is etymologically related to *gen*, and *gen* and *gu* 顧 "to look back" are cognates.[101] *Gen* first occurs in Shang oracle bone inscriptions and is clearly formed of an eye over a man's body  . The direction of the eye faces the opposite direction of the man's body. The direction of the eye looking behind thus differentiates it from the similarly shaped and homophonous *jian* 見 "to see",[102] which is formed from the exact same components but with the eye looking ahead and in the same direction as the man's body. Simply stated, *Gen*'s eye looks back, and *jian*'s eye looks in front. The two words are etymologically related and differentiated in the script solely by the orientation of the eye. The same type of thing occurs in early script with other parts of the body. For instance the mouth in *ji* 即 and *ji* 既. The sounds of the two words had the same root and both graphs are written with a person kneeling next to a food vessel. When the mouth faces the food vessel (*gui* 簋) the meaning is to approach (*ji* 即); when it faces away from the food vessel the meaning is finished (*ji* 既).

In Western Zhou script, *gen*'s eye eventually gets detached from the man's body and is written behind it  . This new orientation seems intended to reinforce the word's primary meaning, but in point of fact actually wound up and led to its graphic corruption. Han scholars such as Xu Shen's *Shuowen jiezi* incorrectly analyzed the graph as an eye over a spoon  , since in early script the graphic form of spoon 匕 and the graphic form of person 人 was similar. *Gen*'s eye 目 erronously morphed into sun 日, since the writing of the two was similar as well  .

Since I take the position that the *Zhou Yi* was composed during the Western Zhou, then as a bronze age text the probability that *gen* was used in its primary sense is decidedly stronger than any interpretive definitions given to it by commentators several centuries later. This does not mean however that *gen* in the base text does not mean "to stop", only that we must acknowledge that based on the available evidence this reading likely comes through a late Eastern Zhou lens. Explaining the *Zhou Yi* through the canonical commentaries unquestionably renders *gen* as "to stop", but this needs to get weighed in relation to the word's primary meaning of "to look back".

The composition of *Gen*'s hexagram text is similar to *Xian* "Feeling" discussed earlier. The hexagram text begins as follows:

> 艮其背，不獲其身，行其庭，不見其人，无咎。
> *Gen* one's back, (you) are not going to get hold of one's front; walking into one's courtyard, (you) are not going to see one's person; no fault.

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101 Tang Lan 唐蘭 (1900–1979) 1981: 28–29.

102 The word *jian* 艱 "difficulties" has *gen* as its sound component.

The canonical commentaries uniformly define *gen* as stop. When trigram *Gen* occurs in a hexagram picture the *Tuan* commentary often connects it to time. This is the reason that Yu Fan interprets "time, season" as a remnant image of *Gen*. The first part of the *Tuan* comment to *Gen*'s hexagram statement says:

> 艮，止也。時止則止，時行則行，動靜不失其時，其道光明。
> *Gen* means to stop. Stop when it is time to rest, and act when it is time to act. When movement and stillness occur at the proper time then its way is bright and clearly illuminated.

Line statements continue to produce images of the human figure, starting in the lower lines with low-lying points of the body and gradually progressing up the body as the lines move upward. Statements in Lines 1–5 continue in the form of "*gen* (verb) + *qi* (third person pronoun) + part of the human figure". Line 1 is the foot, Line 2 is the back of the calf, Line 3 is the waist, spine, and heart, Line 4 is the torso, and Line 5 is the jaw. What is different between the body images in *Xian* and *Gen* is that *Gen* moves back and forth from the verso side to recto side of the human figure.[103] The primary meaning of *gen* and particular images of the verso side of the human figure throughout the hexagram text indicate that the hexagram name and its use as a verb in the hexagram text originally meant to look back.

9.1 Roots

Gen 艮 is called by the phononym *Gen* 根 "Roots" in a Western Han version of the *Yijing* (Mawangdui). "Roots" is a phonograph written with a wood determinative and *gen* as the sound element. On the surface the least complicated way to explain this variation is simply that *gen* 根 is a phonetic loan for *gen* 艮. *Gen* 根 was a commonly used word at this time and *gen* 艮 was already an obscure one. The only line where reading "roots" makes sense is the Line 6 phrase "*dun gen* 敦根", which Edward Shaughnessy translates "thick roots". Throughout the rest of the hexagram text Shaughnessy reads *gen* 根 "roots" as though it were *gen* 艮 "to still", that is without the wood determinative, and this is primarily because a verb is needed and "roots" does not make sense no matter how you try and spin it.

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103 Huang Zongxi 2007: 152. The verso of the human figure is so prominent that Huang interprets the six-line picture as its pictographic image: lines 1–2 are the legs, line 3 is the waist, lines 4–5 are the back with spine, and the top line is the shoulder.

While "roots" clearly does not make sense in six of the seven statements, what makes the variation intriguing is that the image fits neatly into the image program. First is the connection between roots and the *Shuogua*'s "that what completes the beginning of all things". Roots are a beginning and *Gen* is the gateway between death and life. Second, a pictoral match exists between "roots" and *Gen*'s trigram picture  . The connection can made indirectly by looking at the graphic form of another word that means "roots", *bu/fou* 不.[104] Unlike with the phonograph *gen*, early graphic forms of *bu/fou*  ,  , (in Shang oracle bone script) and 丕 (in Western Zhou bronze script) depict how scribes pictographically wrote "roots" to record the word's sound.

As this paper has demonstrated, a lot of interpretive and highly innovative image play went on with diviners and users of the *Changes*. Divination was such a popular activity in traditional culture that one could imagine the amount of interpretation that existed amongst professionals and non-professionals alike. Professional diviners in early China knew the tradition and texts like the *Shifa* guidebook imply that the pictographic method of image recognition during the Warring States period was a well-known and highly accentuated unlocked skill. Codified *Changes* manuals in circulation at this time provided a base text of hexagram results, model images embedded into judgments and statements, and injunctions to reference, but as unearthed versions show us diviners and users continued to make personalized additions. In the case of the Mawangdui *Zhou Yi* a diviner or user seems to have skillfully and poignantly renamed the trigram/hexagram picture as "Roots" as a linguistic play of *gen* 艮, but also with the knowledge that it fit into its image program, despite the fact that it did not read coherently in any line of text except maybe one. The same is true for *Hen* 狠 "Fierce" transmitted in *Guicang* excerpts. We need not assume however that even the "inventor" of the roots interpretation actually read it this way in practice. The idea is that diviners and users while recognizing the ingenuity of the name would have continued to read the word in most of the statements as though it were still *gen* 艮, just like Edward Shaughnessy judiciously does in his English translation.

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104 *Bu/fou* 不 is the phonetic element in *fou* 否, which is the name of Hexagram #12 in the received *Zhou Yi*. Yet another word meaning roots, *hui* 彙, occurs in Line 1 of both  *Tai* 泰 and its inverted pair  *Fou* 否, "Pulling up cogongrass stems with its roots 拔茅茹以其彙." *Xiangshu* commentators usually classify flora as an image of *Xun* on the basis of the *Shuogua*, which lists wood as one of its prime images. This association appears to have originated in a pictographic resemblance between *Xun*'s trigram picture and the logograph for wood/tree, *mu* 木.

10 Conclusion

The *Zhou Yi* has always been a divination manual of predictions for use with a type of sortilege divination and number manipulation that produces hexagram results. The *Zhou Yi*'s hexagram set consists of sixty-four hexagrams that are divisible into eight individual trigrams. Eight individual trigrams interact and change in every possible combination to produce a set of sixty-four hexagrams. There were other sets of *Changes* in ancient China, both 8/64 and alternatives like the newly discovered Western Han period divination manual called *Jing jue* 荊決 (*Jing judgments*) with its four different line combinations that produce a set of sixteen trigrams. The base text of the *Zhou Yi* originated in the Western Zhou, developed through the Spring and Autumn period, and has in fact always been an open book in the sense that diviners who used it could add their own predictions based on their clinical experiences with it. The Western Han version of the *Zhou Yi* written on bamboo slips and discovered in a tomb at Fuyang, Anhui provides an example of this.

The recovery of the *Shifa* in the Qinghua University collection of Warring States bamboo manuscripts validates the importance of images in *Changes* interpretation and places the *Yijing* commentary within the context of a larger and active Warring States commentarial tradition. It validates that user communities were well aware of the relationship between numbers and images. We have long known from anecdotal records in the *Zuozhuan* and *Guoyu* how diviners read and interpreted hexagrams, but having an authentic Warring States period divination guidebook like the *Shifa* simply transforms what we know about the subject and confirms the popularity of the *xiangshu* method of interpretation. For our purposes here, the most significant features are its sequences of "line images" and the diagram of the human body and its associated trigrams. Image recognition was based purely on visual association between the shape of a number or numbers in combination and objects or logographs that resembled it. Looking back, in the 1930s the great paleographer Yu Xingwu was spot on when he said in the introduction to his *Shuang jian chi Yijing xin zheng* 雙劍侈易經新證 that the *Zhou Yi*'s images came from real objects and logographs observed in its hexagram pictures. The *Changes*, he declared, is a study of images. New discoveries related to the *Changes* imply that its composition was based on the numerical results of actual divinations, numbers arrayed in diagram or "picture" form, images observed within them, and injunctions (auspicious or inauspicious) that derived from them.

A resemblance to an object or its graphic representation was all a diviner needed to make image associations. Images could be observed in single lines,

double lines (called "half images"), trigrams, enlarged and embedded trigrams, hexagrams as a single-bodied picture, and everywhere else in between. Prime images led to derivative sub-images based on function and characteristics. That so many images could be found in the lines of six-line diagram is what makes the *Zhou Yi* so unique and special, and why it consistently defies being codified or essentialized.

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