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THE HISTORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF ZHOU YI『周易』 STUDIES IN THE WEST— AN OVERVIEW

John Makeham

It is probably no exaggeration to claim that no other Chinese classic has so fascinated Western sinologists for so long as Zhou yi (or Yi jing『易經』). Although Zhou yi has only been known of in the West for about three hundred years, yet in this short period (particularly short when compared to the three thousand years old tradition it has enjoyed in China !) it has risen from the status of an obscure and often absurdly misunderstood work to a position such that it can now be regarded, in the words of a contemporary American philosopher, as "nearly an inexcusable omission in a [Western] man's intellectual life--be he philosopher, sociologist, orientalist or even journalist ---to be ignorant of the I Ching." (1)

This may appear a most ironical state of affairs, especially considering the minor role this work now plays in modern (mainland) China, but when viewed in light of Zhou yi's philosophy of rise and decline, ebb and flow, then this irony is seen to be all that more meaningful. The following passage from The Great Treatise 繫辭傳 is a laconic expression of that philosophy:

When the sun goes, the moon comes ; when the moon goes, the sun comes. Sun and moon alternate ; thus light comes into existence. When cold goes, heat comes ; when heat goes, cold comes. Cold and heat alternate, and thus the year completes itself. The past contracts. The future expands. Contraction and expansion act upon each other ; hereby arises that which furthers. (2)

The aim of this short paper is to provide Japanese researchers with a general account of the development of Zhou yi studies in the West. It is not an attempt to provide a comprehensive or detailed

account of the three hundred years of research, in many languages, that has been devoted to Zhou yi in the West. (3)

To appreciate the magnitude of the metamorphosis in understanding and assessment that has developed within the Western tradition, the first two sections of this paper will outline European research on Zhou yi prior to this century, thus providing a background against which Western interpretive developments of this century may be highlighted. The third section will, in turn, introduce some of the most important of these modern transmitters and interpreters.

I) European Theories From the Seventeenth to the Middle of the Nineteenth Century

The earliest information regarding Zhou yi to appear in Europe was probably that which was included in the preface to a book published in Paris in 1681. (4) While soon after this several partial translations by Jesuits were made, it was not until 1736 that a complete translation was made. (5) This was done in Latin and based on earlier undated translations by other missionaries.

Yet even before this work was published, there was already interest in the nature of Zhou yi, leading some to speculate that it was a textbook on logic written by Fu Xi 伏羲 (6), others to claim that it was a remnant of a system of counting devised by Fu Xi (7), while others saw it as a history of the Chinese people. (8)

Well after its publication, other such speculations continued to abound. For example, a certain O. Piper considered it to be the groundwork of a treatise on ethics in connection with the yin and yang lines of the hexagrams. (9)

However, by far the most important figure to be associated with this early European interest in Zhou yi was G.W. Leibniz (1646-1716). The influence of Chinese thought on the philosophy of Leibniz has been the subject of much enquiry and there is strong evidence to suggest that as a result of the intellectual stimulation derived from Neo-Confucian organic naturalism in particular, (10) Leibniz was better able to formulate

his own philosophy, whereby the world is not seen as a vast machine but rather as a vast living organism every part of which was also a living organism co-operating in a pre-established harmony of wills.

The relationship between Leibniz and Zhou yi, however, can perhaps best be described as one of theoretical parallelism, and it was in the discovery of this parallelism, rather than any theoretical borrowing, that the influence of Zhou yi was most pronounced.

Specifically, his understanding of Zhou yi seems to have been limited to an acquaintance with Shao Yong's 邵雍 (1010-1077) redeployment of the order of the hexagrams according to the so-called Fu Xi or xiantian 先天 order. This new order could be arranged in a sequence, one hexagram after another (see diagram 1), or in a square of eight by eight hexagrams, in which counting begins at hexagram number 1 and proceeds to 7, then continues in the same progression from 8 to 15 and so on (see diagram 2). (It is interesting to note that in this square arrangement, the hexagrams in the vertical rows e.g. 0, 8, 16, 24, 32, 40, 48, 56, always have the upper trigram in common, i.e. in our example $\overline{\text{---}}$, while those in the horizontal rows, e.g. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, always have the lower one in common, i.e. in our example ---). Finally, he arranged them in a circular form. (see diagram 3)

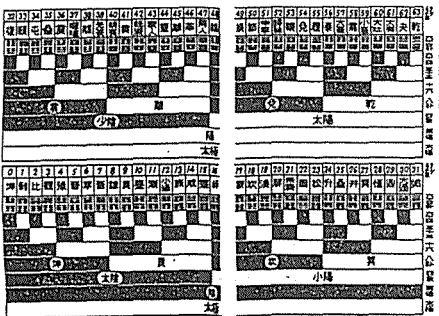


Diagram 1

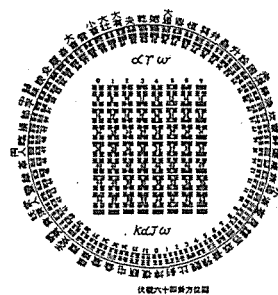


Diagram 2.8

It was this new Fu Xi order (11) that Leibniz had learnt of after having been sent a copy of diagrams 2 and 3 (12) by the Jesuit missionary J. Bouvet in 1701 (13). According to the Fu Xi order as understood

by Leibniz, the sequence of the hexagrams begins with kun 坤, (not qian 乾, because Bouvet's information did not allow Leibniz to distinguish which was the first and which was the last hexagram) and proceeds to bo 剝, bi 比, guan 觀, yu 豫 etc. Some years earlier, Leibniz had devised a system of binary or diadic arithmetic, which is represented as follows: 1=1, 2=10, 3=11, 4=100, 5=101, 6=110, 7=111, 8=1000 etc. (14). By assigning the broken yin line the value 0 and the unbroken yang line the value of 1, and by disregarding any 0 preceding 1, Leibniz discerned a gradual increasing number of unbroken lines. This conformed exactly with his own binary system. Thus, ☷ corresponds to 000000, ☶ to 000001, ☵ to 000010, ☴ to 000011, ☳ to 000100, etc.

In the words of Hellmut Wilhelm, "the correspondence arrived at by these two great minds independently, each having started from a completely different basis, is truly an astonishing phenomenon." (15)

In short, Leibniz was one of the very few scholars in the first period of the study of Zhou yi in Europe (which was to a large degree characterized by mathematical or related interpretations) who succeeded in achieving some correct understanding of the theoretical nature of the sequence of the hexagrams. This understanding, however, pertained only to the sequence devised by Shao Yong, and as such, had no direct bearing on the nature of Zhou yi as a philosophical and ethical classic.

2) European Studies from the Middle of the Eighteenth Century to the Turn of the Twentieth Century

This second period was characterized by the appearance of five complete modern European language translations of Zhou yi, viz. that by T. McClatchie, J. Legge, C. Philastre, and C. de Harlez. (16)

McClatchie's translation was poor and has been strongly criticised. As to his interpretation of the text, he saw it as a cosmology based on the principles of yin and yang, which reflected the symbolism of an ancient phallic cult he believed once existed in China. (17)

The importance of paying attention to the Chinese commentary tradition began with Legge. Yet, although in the long introduction to his translation he displays a familiarity with the commentaries assembled in Zhou yi zhezong 『周易折中』, he was not bound by the orthodox interpretations, and was in fact the first Western sinologist to repudiate the traditional ascription of the authorship of the Ten Wings 十翼 to Confucius.

His translation is still considered quite reasonable and is often referred to. Yet, while he faithfully reproduced what had been long known in the Chinese tradition, and while avoiding any dilettante theorising, he had little new to say of the work. Indeed, in the very first sentence of the 1882 preface to his translation he wrote:

I have to acknowledge that when the manuscript was completed

I knew very little about the scope and method of the book. (18)

Philastre's translation is based on Zhou yi zhezong and like Legge he understood the necessity of paying attention to the Chinese commentary literature. However, his translation is not considered particularly good and his interpretive contribution is minimal.

deHarlez's translation is based on the conviction that Zhou yi is a dictionary consisting of sixty-four chapters. He maintained that the name of each hexagram was the subject of definition in the hexagram text 卦辭 and further details were added in the line texts 爻辭 (19). He also proposed that the work subsequently became corrupted with extraneous aphorisms and sentences of fortune telling, and concludes that the text was originally the notebook of some political figure which was later turned into a divinatory text.

deHarlez's lexical interpretation had, in fact, been derived from a similar theory proposed a little earlier by A. deLacouperie. deLacouperie believed that the Yi jing text (as distinct from the appendixes) was a collection of lost materials, the meaning of which had been long forgotten, and that it eventually came to be used as a divinatory text. He maintained that the original text was an imitation of a Babylonian dictionary devised by certain Bactrain tribes whom he believed had migrated to

China "circa 2282 B.C." (sic.). (20)

It is interesting, if somewhat dismaying, to note that this lexical theory, in a modified form, continued to be subscribed to by A. Conrady as late as the 1930's. (21)

3) Important Studies This Century

The beginning of this century marks a significant advance in Western studies of Zhou yi. In the second period, i.e. the latter half of the nineteenth century, a welter of interpretations was proposed, but little consensus was reached. Beginning with the German Richard Wilhelm (1873-1930), the importance of Zhou yi as a work of international literary significance was clearly demonstrated and this realization has had a major influence on Western studies of the work since.

Like Legge, Wilhelm attempted to provide a reliable and readable translation. Under the tutelage of the Qing scholar Lao Naixuan 勞乃宣 (1843-1921), and based on the commentaries of Zhou yi zhezong, he produced what is considered to be the best European-language translation of Zhou yi. His German translation appeared in 1924 and the re-translated English version was published in 1950. (22) Wilhelm, however, was not simply a translator, but an interpreter, who saw Zhou yi as a work which transcended the confines of its Chinese cultural background having a significance for all humanity. He saw this significance as being the value of the work as a guide for an individual's psychic understanding. Further, seeing the West as spiritually impoverished, he wanted to bring back some of the East's spiritual and psychological wisdom. That he has been successful in introducing the work to the West is evinced by the immense popularity of the English edition. His success is perhaps all the more remarkable, for despite his being a European missionary in China, he devoted himself to his task "with no trace of Christian resentment or European arrogance". (23)

His interpretative contribution is centered on the mantic value of the work as a guide to ethical behavior. He writes:

In addition to the law of change and to the images of the states

of change as given in the sixty-four hexagrams, another factor to be considered is the course of action. Each situation demands the course of action proper to it. In every situation there is a right and wrong course of action. Obviously, the right course brings good fortune and the wrong course brings misfortune. Which, then, is the right course in any given case? This question was the decisive factor. As a result, the I Ching was lifted above the level of an ordinary book of soothsaying... When it happened for the first time in China that someone, on being told the auguries for the future, did not let the matter rest there but asked, "What am I to do?" the book of divination had to become a book of wisdom. (24)

Thus, the individual can share in the shaping of his own fate. With the aid of Zhou yi, an individual is able to recognize situations in their germinal phase and so control them while there is still time.

By the use of yarrow stalks, one could attain a point of vantage from which it was possible to survey the condition of things. Given this perspective, the words of the oracle would indicate what should be done to meet the need of the time. (25)

Although Wilhelm did not discuss in detail why the oracle should be efficacious, he did maintain that "the manipulation of the yarrow stalks makes it possible for the unconscious in man to become active." (26) Indeed, the unconscious was the theoretical underpinning of his understanding of how the contents of a given hexagram were related to the questions posed. Such an explanation of the role that the unconscious plays in this relationship correctly belongs to the domain of psychology, and it was G.G. Jung, one of the most remarkable psychologists and psychotherapists this century, who provided a psychological interpretation in his foreword to the 1950 English version of Wilhelm's The I Ching or Book of Changes.

Jung's association with Wilhelm began in 1928 when the latter asked him to collaborate on a joint commentary to the Daoist text, The Secret of the Golden Flower 『太乙金華宗旨』 (27). In fact, Jung had

long been interested in Zhou yi as as an oracle technique, and even before the appearance of Wilhelm's translation had long made use of Legge's.

Jung believed that the authors of Zhou yi were particularly concerned with the phenomenon of the "chance" aspect of events and that this was a result of the importance that the Chinese have traditionally attached to empirical reality rather some ideal or theoretical reality "behind" phenomenon which would have a causal relationship with phenomena. Thus, for Jung, the Chinese view of reality was concerned with the "configuration formed by chance events in the moment of observation and not at all the hypothetical reasons that seemingly account for the co-incidence." (28)

The important point to notice here is Jung's emphasis of "the moment of observation" for at the basis of his understanding of why Zhou yi was an efficacious mantic tool, lies the conviction that whatever happens at any given moment, such as the questioner's frame of mind when the yarrow stalks are cast, possesses the quality peculiar to that moment. Consequently, the resulting hexagram is an image encapsulating the quality of that particular moment in time. But why should the contents of a given hexagram be capable of reflecting a meaningful relationship between a questioner's psychic state and some external and independent event?

Jung hypothesized that there was a peculiar acausal principal responsible for such meaningful co-occurrences, which he termed synchronicity. According to this theory, time is not seen as an abstraction but as a "concrete continuum which possesses qualities or basic conditions capable of manifesting themselves simultaneously in different places by means of an acausal parallelism." (29) In other words, both psychic and physical phenomena are expressions of the one reality and thereby have an equivalence of meaning.

Jung's psychological explanation of how this is possible rests on the premise of the existence of certain a priori "patterns of behaviour"

called archetypes which are responsible for the organization of unconscious psychic processes. These archetypes mould man's ways of perception into specific patterns, which, once activated, present themselves as ideas and images. Archetypes function as a type of 'hub' around which situations form and these situations are composed of some event taking place outside the human psyche (a macrocosmic event) and an event within the human psyche (a microcosmic event). Archetypes express the unity of these two aspects of the one reality.

The efficacy of the oracle, according to Jung, is based on the primary archetypes yin and yang, which are found both in nature and the unconscious, thereby serving as a symbolic device shared in common between the psychic inner world and the physical outer world. Further, as binary numerals, yin (0) and yang (1) subsume the characteristics of all numerals, and for this reason are able to effect order on disorder. Thus the hexagrams, which are composed of yin and yang lines and hence are archetypal images, have, on the one hand, the ability to reflect an individual's unconscious state at a given moment and so allow its conscious expression, and on the other, allow the individual to connect his psychic state with some objective, empirical situation that also shares the same 'quality' inherent in the hexagram. The authenticity of this meaningful connection rests entirely with the questioner.

Related to the notion of archetypes is the concept of the "collective unconscious" which is described as a storehouse of archetypes and instincts and said to comprise in itself the psychic life of all our ancestors right back to the earliest beginnings. Jung believed Zhou yi to have relevance for all men, for although specific symbols and motifs may vary from culture to culture and be conceived of differently from individual to individual, yet they are all derived from mankind's collective unconscious. (30)

For Jung, the 64 hexagrams are seen not merely as a repository of

the collective psychological experience of the early Chinese people, but also symbolize or represent situations of universal validity. Since each line of any hexagram has the potential to change into its opposite, a total of 4,096 (64²) archetypal situations is possible. Since each of these primal situations is richly symbolic, the next step to relating them to particular instances, which by virtue of their intrinsic natures are affined to a particular primal situation and hence are 'bonded' to it as members of a group or pattern, is not difficult to imagine.

This last point is extremely important and has attracted the attention of many prominent Western sinologists. Needham calls this type of thinking coordinative thinking and describes it as follows:

In coordinative thinking, conceptions are not subsumed under one another but placed side by side in a pattern, and things influence one another not by acts of mechanical causation, but by a kind of "inductance"... Things behaved in particular ways not necessarily because of prior actions or impulsions of other things, but because their position in the ever-moving cyclical universe was such that they were endowed with intrinsic natures which made that behaviour inevitable for them. If they did not behave in those particular ways they would lose their relational positions in the whole (which made them what they were), and turn into something other than themselves. (31)

Needham argues that the influence of this type of thinking, which pervades Zhou yi and which was later amplified by such thinkers as Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 and Zhu Xi 朱熹, was the basis of the Chinese philosophy of organism and had a profound effect upon the development of the modern natural sciences in the West. (32) However, the symbolism employed in Zhou yi, he argues, retarded the development of Chinese science because from the Han dynasty onwards, the hexagrams came to be seen as "invisible operators and causative factors" behind natural phenomena. He concludes that Zhou yi:

tempted those who were interested in Nature to rest in explanations

which were not explanations at all. The Book of Changes was a system for pigeon-holing novelty and then doing nothing more about it. Its universal system of symbolism constituted a stupendous filing system. (33)

While from the point of view of natural science such criticisms undoubtedly have a degree of validity, yet from the point of view of psychology anthropology, literature and philosophy, the symbolism of Zhou yi has tended to be viewed by a great number of Western scholars as a subject of great depth and complexity, providing many insights into the nature of Chinese culture and thought. The attention given to the imagery and symbolism of Zhou yi is perhaps the most important contribution of modern Western scholarship, and the main figure to be associated with this scholarship is Hellmut Wilhelm, the son of R. Wilhelm.

H. Wilhelm, Prof. Emeritus of Washington University, was born and educated in China. His research is characterized on the one hand, by a continuation of his father's work, while being able to benefit from the advances made in all areas of sinology over the past fifty years, and on the other, by the productive application of Jung's work on archetypes to the study of concepts and images in Zhou yi. Probably his most important thesis is that the line texts 爻辭 are older than the hexagram texts 卦辭 (34).

Outside this European and American tradition, but also of some importance, is the work of the Russian sinologist I.K. Shchutskii. He wrote his Researches on the I Ching between 1928 and 1935, but it was not published until 1960. (35) Unlike Legge or R. Wilhelm, his aim was, through critical research, to investigate the nature and composition of the original text. To this end, he paid careful attention to the critical literature in both China and Japan. In fact, he was probably the first non-Asian sinologist to show a real knowledge of Japanese sinology. (36)

In conclusion, it can be seen that Zhou yi has risen from being the subject of often gross misinterpretation, to a position such that it is now seen as an important work of world literature, providing insights

not only into the world of Chinese thought and psychology, but also affording us with a unique perspective into the human mind itself. For the student of Chinese studies, it is now unquestionably regarded as "one of the primary sources of the cardinal points of Chinese thought and of the terminology which is found in most works". (37)

As to its future, this will, I think, to a large extent be determined by advances made in cross-disciplinary studies, such as the Wilhelm/Jung and Needham approaches which have highlighted perspectives that sinology, in the narrow sense of the term, could not singlehandedly. As to its longer term, more deeply rooted impact on the Western mind and culture, this task will, perhaps, increasingly fall within the province of literature. (38)

NOTES

- 1) Wayne McEvilly, 'Synchronicity and the I Ching' in Philosophy East and West, 18, p.144. 1968.
- 2) Xici zhuan 下 ; Richard Wilhelm, The I Ching or Book of Changes p.338. Princeton University Press, 1980.
- 3) For an excellent bibliographical guide to Zhou yi studies in the West, see Hellmut Wilhelm, Book of Changes in the Western Tradition : A Selective Bibliography. Seattle : University of Washington Press, 1975.
- 4) Confuzius Sinarum philosophus, seu scientia Sinensis latine exposita studio et opera Patrum Societatis Jesu iussu Ludovichi Magni e bibliotheca regia in lucem produxit P. Couplet. See E. Hauer, 'I Ging. Das Buch der Wandlungen, aus dem Chinesischen verdeutscht und erläutert von Richard Wilhelm... 1924', in Ostasiatische Zeitschrift pp. 242-247. Berlin, Leipzig, 1925.
- 5) P. Regis, Y-King, Antiquissimus Sinarum liber, edited by J. Mohl, Stuttgart and Tübingen : vol. 1. 1834, vol. 2, 1839. See J. Legge, The Yi King, Introduction, p. 9 and footnote, in Sacred Books of China, Part 2, included in the collection, The Sacred Books of the East, XVI. Oxford

- : Clarendon Press, 1899. See also A. T. deLacouperie, The Oldest Book of the Chinese, The Yh King, and its Authors, vol. 1, pp. 47-48. London: D. Nutt, 1892.
- 6) This view is said to have been maintained by the German, J. T. Haupt, in his Neue und vollständige Auslegung des von dem Stifter und ersten Kaiser des Chinesischen Reichs Fohi hinterlassenen Buchs Ye-Kim genann. Rostock and Wismar: Bey and Boedner, 1795. See Hauer, p. 242. An English translation of the relevant passage from Hauer can be found in the English translation of the Russian work, Kitaiskaya klassistyeskaya "kniga peryemen", by I. K. Shchutskii, viz. Researches on the I Ching, p. 17. London and Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980.
- 7) See Hauer, p. 242.
- 8) See J. H. Schumacher, Die verbozenen Alterthümer der Sinesen aus dem uralten Kanonischen Y-King untersucht p. 208. Wolfenbüttel, 1763.
- 9) O. Piper, Üeber das I-King. Die texte der Confucius welche sich auf die verschiedenen Reihenfolgen des Kwa beziehen, pp. 187-214. Zeitschrift d. deutsch. morganländischen Gesellschaft, vii. 1853. Also, see his earlier paper, Üeber das I-King, Die verschiedener Bestandtheile des Buche u. ihre Verstandlichkeit, pp. 273-301, *ibid.* iii. 1849; v. 1851, pp. 195-220.
- 10) See for example Leibniz's marginal annotations to Traité sur Quelques Points de la Religion Chinois, by the Jesuit Longobardi, and Traité sur Quelques Point Importans de la Mission de la Chinois, by the Franciscan A. de Ste Marie, which along with his letter to de Remond, (letter XV111, pp. 413ff.), are included in Viri Illustris Godefridi Guil. Leibnitii Epistolae ad Diversos, Theologici, Juridici, Medici, Philosophici, Mathematici, Historici, et Philologici Argumenti, e Msc. Auctoris cum Annotationibus suis primum divulgavit. 2 vols. Breitkopf, Leipzig, 1735. See also J. Needham, Science and Civilization in China vol. 2 Cambridge:

At the University Press, 1962 for an excellent discussion of this issue.

- 11) The earliest it can be traced back to is to Shao Yong. See his Huang ji jing shi shu 『皇極經世書』, circa 1060. A.D.
- 12) The diagrams are reproduced from Suzuki Yoshijirō's 鈴木由次郎 article 'Fuki rokujuyon ka hōi zu to Raipunitsu no nishinhō sanjutsu' 伏羲六十四卦方位図とライブニッツの二進法算術, pp.611, 614, 615, in Oriental Studies Presented to Dr. Tetsuto Uno in Celebration of his Ninety-ninth Birthday, 『宇野哲人先生白壽祝賀記念』. 東洋学論叢 Tokyo, 1974.
- 13) J. Needham, Science and Civilization in China, vol. 2, p. 341, records the following interesting observation:

The discovery that the I Ching hexagrams could be interpreted as another way of writing numbers according to the binary system... seems to have been in the first place the idea of Bouvet rather than of Leibniz. Bouvet had brought the Book of Changes to Leibniz's attention in 1698, but it was not until Leibniz had sent him a table of his binary numerals in April 1701 that the identity with the hexagrams was realised, and in November of the same year Bouvet despatched to Leibniz two complete diagrams of the series.
- 14) Leibniz's first description of his binary system was in his paper 'De Progressione Dyadica', delivered in 1679, the full publication of which appeared in 1703 under the title 'Explication de l'Arithmetique Binaire', in Memoires de l'Academie royale de Science, 1703, 3, 85. See Needham vol. 2 p. 341.
- 15) H. Wilhelm, (trans. C. Baynes) Eight Lectures on the I Ching, p. 91, Bollingen Series LVII. Princeton University Press, 1973. See also his study, 'Leibniz and the I Ching', Collectanea Commissionis Synodalis in Sinis, no. 16, 1947.
- 16) T. McClatchie, A Translation of the Confucian Yi-King. Shanghai

,1876. J.Legge, The Yi King. See note 5. C.Philastre, Tscheou Yi: Le Yi:King ou livre de changements de la dynastie de Tscheou, traduit pour la première fois en français avec les Commentaires traditionnels complet de T'schèng Tsé et de Tshouli et des extraits des principaux commentateurs par Philastre. Annales du Musée Guimet VIII, XXIII.Paris,1885-1893. C.deHarlez, Le Yih-King. Texte primitif, rétabli, traduit et commenté. Brussels,1889. Le Yih-King, traduit d'après les interprètes chinois avec la version mandchoue. Paris,1897.

- 17) See for example: 'Phallic Worship', China Review IV, (1875-1876); 'The Symbols of the Yih-King', China Review I, (n.d.)

18) Legge, p. xiii.

19) de Harlez, Le Yih-King. Texte primitif, rétabli, traduit et commenté, p.12.

20) deLacouperie advances the following theses:

...at an early period in their history, the Chinese Bak families (deLacouperie identifies them as the Chinese baixing 百姓, and to have originally been the Northern neighbours of the Akkado-Sumerians) had borrowed the pre-cuneiform writing and elements of their knowledge and institutions from a region connected with the old focus of culture in South-Western Asia. (p.96)

Admitting by force of overwhelming evidence, the borrowing by the Chinese Bak families of the script and elements of culture from this lexico-making people (i.e. the Babylonians and Assyrians), we have to recognize the probability of their borrowing at the same time, as was unavoidable, some of these vocabularies. (p.97)

...what is pretty sure is, that the Chinese vocabularies have been framed in obedience to the same principles, with the same materials, and undoubtedly according to the tradition of the old syllabries of South-Western Asia. (p.99)

...the basis of this most abstruse book of the Chinese

consisted, for the most part, of vocabulary lists or glossorial explanations of the ideograms forming the heading of every chapter, and that these lists had been framed by the early Chinese leaders for the benefit and teaching of their followers, in imitation of similar lists used in Anterior Asia, with which they were acquainted, explaining the various uses and meanings of the ideographical characters of the writing which had been taught to them. (intro. v-vi)

For the 'evidence' he adduces, see pp. 97-99 in particular.

- 21) A. Conrady, 'Yih-king Studien. Herausgegeben von Eduard Erkes', Asia Major VII, (1931-1932) pp. 409-468. He summarizes the results of his analysis as follows:

- 1) The I Ching is actually a kind of dictionary as Lacouperie maintains, but of considerably later date, namely, Chou times (for it is also called Chou I) since:
- 2) its glossary displays intellectual views which in any case apparently correspond to the moral-political viewpoints of the time of Chou, although this was not on such a wide scale as deHarlez wishes, and
- 3) hexagrams are an ancient writing system which does not have to go back to extreme antiquity, but is perhaps a kind of local writing of West China—the ancient region of the Chou or of their ruling predecessors there—the Chiang.

This translation is from Shchutskii, p. 50. See also Shchutskii pp. 49-51 for a critique of this theory.

- 22) R. Wilhelm, I Ging. Das Buch der Wandlungen. 2 vols. Jena: Deidrichs 1924, English trans. by C. Baynes, (2 vols.). New York: Pantheon, 1950. I have used the third edition, in one vol., with preface by H. Wilhelm, Bollingen Series XIX, Princeton Univ. Press, 1967, hereafter Wilhelm/Baynes.
- 23) C. Jung, 'Richard Wilhelm: In Memorium', p. 54, in The Collected

Works of C.G.Jung, vol.15. Bollingen Series XX, Princeton University Press, 1971.

- 24) See Introduction to Wilhelm/Baynes p.liii.
- 25) Wilhelm/Baynes p.liv.
- 26) Wilhelm/Baynes p.liv.
- 27) R.Wilhelm/C.Jung, The Secret of the Golden Flower. English translation by C.Baynes. London:Kegan Paul, 1931. I have used the edition included in The Collected Works of C.G.Jung, vol.15.
- 28) See his Foreword to Wilhelm/Baynes p.xxiii.
- 29) This was his earliest recorded definition of the term. See his 'Richard Wilhelm in Memorium' p.56. His most detailed discussion of the term is in his essay, 'Synchronicity: An Acausal Connecting Principle', in his Collected Works, vol.8. Bollingen Series XX, Princeton University Press, 1972. See also his Foreword to Wilhelm/Baynes.
- 30) See his 'On the Nature of the Psyche' p.152, Collected Works vol.8.
- 31) Needham, vol.2, pp.280-281.
- 32) Needham, vol.2 pp.291-303 ; 496-505 in particular.
- 33) Needham, vol.2 p.336. See also p.304.
- 34) Wilhelm's oeuvre is considerable. As an introduction to his scholarship in English, see Heaven, Earth and Man in the Book of Changes, (particularly the paper entitled 'The Interplay of Image and Concept') Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1980 (first published in English in 1977) ; Eight Lectures on the I Ching (see note 15).
- 35) See note 6.
- 36) His studies led him to conclude that "the chronological coordination of the texts united in the Book of Changes" is as follows (see pp.156,185):
 - 1) First layer of the basic text (i.e. the names of the hexagrams and the mantic formulae)
 - 2) Second layer of the basic text (i.e. hexagram texts 卦辭)
 - 3) Third layer of basic text (i.e. line texts 爻辭)

- 4) The most ancient citations in the Wenyan 文言 commentary.
 - 5) Daxiang 大象 commentary.
 - 6) Tuan 象 commentary.
 - 7) Xiaoxiang 小象 commentary.
 - 8) Xici 繫辭 commentary ; the first three paragraphs of the Shuogua 說卦 commentary ; Xugua 序卦 commentary
 - 9) Shuogua commentary beginning with the fourth paragraph ; glosses of Wenyan commentary ; Zagua 雜卦 commentary.
- 37) P.Demiéville, 'Review of Kitaiskaya Klassicheskaja Kniga Peremen', T'oung -Pao, 50, pp. 266-278, 1963.
- 38) A good example of how the imagery of Zhou yi can be effectively employed within a Western literary format and so be more readily transmitted to Westerners is the case of H.Hesse's novel, Das Glasperlenspiel (The Glass Bead Game) (1943), which employs many images and concepts from Zhou yi. That the progression of Joseph Knecht's career throughout the novel can, on one level, be seen to be modelled on the six lines of the qian 乾 hexagram, is a case in point.