their available foot and horse and await his arrival. The Governor hastened to the inn from which the Emperor had despatched the Decree, but Kien Lung was gone no one knew where. However no time was lost in surrounding the Ou village.

Ou Jen-shan, when he saw such a body of military coming, knew that all was up, and prepared for a desperate resistance. The village had a good wall, and he could depend on all fighting to the last. On the first day, the Governor made several attacks but was repulsed with loss. The cordon was drawn closer, and several attempts by the villagers to cut through during the night failed. The second day a continual series of attacks were made but without perceptible effect. The third day an assault was delivered from four different points by the entire strength of the besiegers, and the store of ammunition in the village being almost exhausted, the wall was stormed and all over fifteen years of age put to the sword. Ou Jen-shan was captured and reserved for the next day, when he was taken outside the village and decapitated. All articles of value being removed, the village was reduced to ashes. The booty was distributed among the poor peasantry in the neighbourhood.

The Emperor, in his hiding place, heard of all this with great gratification, and despatched Jih Ching with an order requesting Huang Taotai to pay the oppressed fisherman a sum of 100,000 Taels, which was promptly done. From this time forward the family increased in wealth, fame and honour. The four boys, when they grew up, entered the Emperor's service, and by meritorious actions rose to distinction in the State.

The Emperor and Jih Ching continued their journey towards another place. But here the Chronicler says: 'For a short time we will leave them. The lily bears more than one bud and our attention is directed to events in another province.' I also think enough has been written for the present. At some future date the translation may be resumed.

G. Taylor.

FRAGMENTARY STUDIES IN ANCIENT CHINESE PHILOSOPHY.*

The metaphysics of the Chinese, that is to say, their earliest attempts at speculative philosophy, originated perhaps in Shamanic superstition, starting from the generally accepted idea, which pervades all the Chinese Classics, that for all mundane affairs there is a fixed destiny laid down by Heaven. The ancestors of the Chinese people believed, however, that Heaven's decrees, though inscrutable in a sense, are not absolutely unknowable, but hinted at by all peculiar, sudden or unusual events or products of Nature. These were supposed to be intended to serve, so to say, as omens or portents, interpreting the will of Heaven. The ancient Chinese further believed that the parapace of tortoises, and the stalks of the milfoil can be so examined and manipulated as to afford a clue towards the theoretical comprehension and practical application of the meaning of such omens or portents, or to indicate by themselves prophetically the events of the near or remote future. As to natural omens, the course of the sun was watched, and the

* The reason why this article makes no reference to the views lately advanced on the subject of the Yih King philosophy by Dr. Legge, Dr. Edkins and Professor De Lacouperie, is simply this that this article was written more than ten years ago and is now, for want of leisure, published without material alterations.—E. J. E.

appearance or disappearance of clouds, halos near the sun, rainbows etc. were specially observed. So also the force and direction of the wind was noted, and all this was done systematically and in pursuance of traditional prescriptions, in order to derive therefrom a hint for the present or a prophecy for the future. To solve doubts, to obtain divine confirmation and sanction of one's own intentions, especially before entering upon any important undertaking, professional augurs were consulted as to the propriety or wisdom of the intended movement or as to a lucky day for its execution. Jupiter also appears to have been astrologically observed in very early times. But among all the various means employed to divine the will of Heaven, the tortoise and milfoil became by far the most popular instruments of divination. 'To divine the future,' says a Commentary to the Yih Ying, 'there is nothing like the milfoil and the tortoise.' Even Sages are said to have consulted the popular milfoil in order to prognosticate the future (according to the same Commentary). There is every reason to believe that the use of both the milfoil and the tortoise for purposes of divination is of very ancient date. All the oldest documents we have, contain abundant references to them, and their use continued in public affairs as well as in private and domestic matters, even among the educated classes, till long after the invention of the diagrams, down to the time of Confucius, whilst among the common people both are consulted to the present day. There is however no clue, nor was any serious attempt ever made, to explain the origin of these two means of obtaining auguries, not practised by any other nation. According to the Chow Li (Kuen 24), it was customary, when consulting the tortoise, first to besmear it with the blood of a sacrificial victim and then to offer a sacrifice to the first discoverer of auguries by means of a tortoise. The name of this person was already lost, when this record was made. But the name of the first augur who used the stalks of the milfoil is, in the same work, stated as Wu-hien (巫咸). It is, however, a disputed point whether Wu-hien was the Minister of T'ai Mow (B.C. 1637) referred to in the Shoo King, or, as the Sze-ki asserts, an astrologer of Hwang Ti (B.C. 2697).

As to the relative importance attributed to the auguries obtained by tortoise and milfoil, there is considerable unanimity. The tortoise was generally believed to yield more important and decisive vaticinations than the milfoil. There was, however, a difference in the order of practically consulting the two. In important State affairs it appears to have been customary to consult first the milfoil and then the tortoise, but in private affairs the order was reversed.

Six different kinds of tortoises were distinguished. In the case of each, however, the outer parapace was never used, but the inner parapace was scorched with fire until 5 cross lines became visible and these were supposed to refer to the 5 elements. The upper and lower portions of the inner shell were considered not to furnish any indications, but two portions to the right and two to the left were supposed to be all important. They were called 四兆. The cracks caused by the fire were called 兆 and the Chow Li distinguishes three kinds of such fissures, according to their dimensions. The inner shell of the tortoise was treated in this way with a view to obtain decisions concerning eight different contingencies or 命 viz. 征·象·與·謀·果·至·雨·瘳, military expeditions, appearances in the sky, grants, treaties, questions of reality, arrival, rain, pestilence.

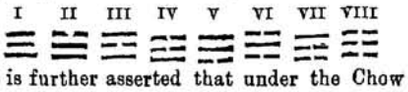
As regards the milfoil, it should be noted that its stalks only were used, and these only after being cut in two different sizes. That is to say, some were used in full size and some half size. In other words, there were long and short stalks. Both together were used like lots, but manipulated according to 3 different methods, and the figures obtained by throwing down, spreading out and otherwise manipulating the whole of the stalks by

sorting them into groups, were interpreted in nine different ways, named according to the names of nine ancient augurs or nine lines of descendants of augurs (巫更, 巫咸, 巫式, 巫目, 巫易, 巫比, 巫詞, 巫參, 巫環). The three different methods of manipulating the stalks are called 連山 (grouping the stalks into) Connected Ridges, 歸藏 (grouping the stalks so as to make them) Revert to Separate Collections, and 周易 (grouping the stalks so as to bring about a) General Transformation. These methods of manipulating the stalks were fixed, however, in accordance with the traditional successive systems of divination by means of diagrams, used under different dynasties (Hia, Shang, and Chow), and in each case the stalks were grouped so as to represent, by their respective location of groups of long and short stalks, the known diagrams. *Thus the stalks, after being sorted* and grouped according to one or other of the three systems in vogue, could be read off by giving each group the name and meanings of the corresponding diagrams, and *then it* was simply a matter of interpretation according to the nine systems above named.

This derivation of the diagrams from the use and arrangement of the stalks of the milfoil seems to me far more rational than the traditional derivation of the eight diagrams from the Ho-t'u which I shall have to treat in a separate chapter.

Unfortunately, however, very little can be satisfactorily ascertained as to the original meaning and detailed use of the eight diagrams. All that is definitely known amounts pretty nearly to this, that in very ancient times a set of eight diagrams was drawn up, systematizing what was then known of the order of natural phenomena, and these diagrams were used for purposes of divination. The invention of these eight diagrams is popularly ascribed to Fuh-hi. But Fuh-hi is a legendary personage about whom nothing whatever bearing *critical investigation is known.* Neither the Shoo King nor the Bamboo Annals know him. Nowhere in the Chinese Classics is there any reference to him, except in the Commentary to the Yih King, written by some disciple of Confucius. It is quite possible that within the mass of myths and legends, which have in course of time gathered round the name Fuh-hi, there is some kernel of historical truth referring to some historic person or persons, typical for the advancement of primitive civilisation in certain directions, but it must be left to guesswork, guided by the historical instinct of some future critic, to disentangle this skein of truth and fiction. Meanwhile, however, the name Fuh-hi is a convenient notation for the unknown inventor of the diagrams, and though I think those diagrams are the product of the age rather than of any individual mind, the name Fuh-hi will do just as well as another, and it is convenient therefore to refer to these diagrams as the diagrams of Fuh-hi in contradistinction of the farther development which these original diagrams received in later ages. It is further known that these diagrams were differently arranged and consequently a different construction put upon them under the Hia, Shang and Chow dynasties, whilst the trigrams themselves were left unaltered. But the precise order followed under the Hia and Shang dynasties is not known now, except that there remains a tradition to the effect that the order in which they were arranged under the Chow dynasty was the following:—

I II III IV V VI VII VIII



It is further asserted that under the Chow dynasty the first of these trigrams was viewed as representing Heaven, and the eighth as representing Earth, whilst the second was referred to vapour, the third to fire, the fourth to thunder, the fifth to wind, the sixth to water and the seventh to mountains. The names given to these eight trigrams may not be of Chinese origin at all, but, if they are of foreign origin, I am unable even to guess whence they came.

It is therefore evident that at the time when the Chow Li was written, which may have been even before Confucius, the eight trigrams were not treated as philosophical or metaphysical emblems merely, but principally as means of divination and as such connected historically or practically with the tortoise and milfoil.

Nevertheless it is very probable that there is underlying these eight trigrams a definite system of natural philosophy. Heaven and Earth are looked upon as the great powers which rule over all the changes of the world. Heaven being represented by the symbol ☰, which is formed by three full length stalks of the milfoil, placed parallel, there is a suggestion in this symbol of the idea of strength as the characteristic of the principal active power of Nature. For the number three I can only refer to a passage in the Tao têh King. 'Unity produced duality, duality produced trinity, trinity produced all things.' This passage is quite solitary in the Tao têh King and not much connected with the leading ideas of the book. We have here evidently a very ancient tradition whose origin and primitive meaning is now lost beyond recovery. Having thus obtained a symbol for Heaven, it was but natural to represent Earth, the other dual power of Nature, by the symbol ☷ i.e. by the same three full-length stalks of the milfoil, but each broken in two, and the three lines also placed parallel. This suggests the idea of the comparative weakness of the second re-acting power in Nature. The total of stalks thus obtained is nine. And here I see the connection between the eight trigrams and the Great Plan, which, as I shall show in a subsequent chapter, has nine divisions. Strange to say, I have not met yet in any of the numerous Chinese works treating on the Yih King a reference to the evident connection here existing between the Great Plan and the eight trigrams, although many Chinese writers are puzzled by the absence in the eight trigrams of another number, the number 5, which occupies a prominent position in the Great Plan.

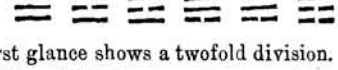
Now, if my readers will take three full-length and six half-length stalks—ordinary lucifer matches will answer the purpose—I would ask them to consider the former as representing Heaven and the latter as representing Earth, and then to throw down the lot at hap-hazard. Let any one then arrange them, as they have fallen, in two portions, but so that each portion must consist of three parallel lines, each line being formed either by one full-length or by two half-length stalks, and it will be seen that, however one may throw the nine original stalks and re-arrange them according to the rules just mentioned, the result will always be exactly two symbols identic with two of the above given eight trigrams and no others.

It seems clear then that, as to numbers, the numbers three and six are prominent numbers in these eight trigrams, but duality within a trinity appears to be the ruling idea, whilst the number nine appears as the total, and the unit is either not indicated at all or presupposed.

As to the six trigrams being obtained by intermixing the component elements of the diagrams for Heaven and Earth, they are evidently meant, as their names and the values currently put upon these names indicate, to typify the transformation which the dual principle of Heaven and Earth undergoes in the phenomenal changes of nature.

Let us examine them a little more closely.

II III IV V VI VII



A first glance shows a twofold division. The II, III and IV diagrams have each a whole line for their basis, whilst the V, VI and VII have a broken line for their basis. The former three therefore refer comparatively more to heaven, the latter more to earth. In the ancient meanings attributed to these 6 trigrams, there is exactly the same division apparent, as vapour, heat and thunder clearly refer more to Heaven, whilst wind, water and mountains refer more to the lower terrestrial sphere than to Heaven.

A similar dualism appears in the second line, which is a whole in II, V and VI diagrams, representing respectively vapor, wind and water, and a broken line in III, IV and VII diagrams, signifying respectively fire, thunder and mountains.

Another significant division becomes prominent if we examine the third line in each diagram, for we see then, in the order in which the six diagrams are arranged, a regular alternation of the numbers two and one, for the odd and even, broken and unbroken, heavenly and terrestrial symbols alternate all along.

A fourth harmony in diversity becomes apparent if we direct our attention to the proportion of whole and broken lines in each diagram. There again we find a double division, for numbers IV, VI and VII exhibit one whole and two broken lines, whilst numbers II, III and V, show one broken and two whole lines in each diagram.

As to *symbols*, therefore, we have in these eight diagrams the types of the dual powers, Heaven and Earth, whilst the principal phenomena of nature are viewed in two groups according to their relation to either Heaven or Earth. Each of these phenomena exhibits the influence of both Heaven and Earth. Among the phenomena related to Heaven, the influence of this power appears strongest in vapour and heat, whilst among those related to Earth, the influence of the latter appears strongest in water and mountains.

It seems we must not view these six phenomena as having been looked upon in the light of elements of nature, but rather of phenomena indicating the purposes of Heaven, the natural destiny, so to say, in a form most applicable to purposes of divination and fortune telling. The numbers two and three are most prominent. The number three also is clearly viewed as the characteristic number for Heaven, while the number six appears to be the denominator of Earth. The absence of the number five seems to me to indicate, that the five elements, which in subsequent ages play such an important part in Chinese natural philonophy, were not known when these eight trigrams were constructed.

As to the dual powers, it should be noted that the terms Yin and Yang do not appear in any ancient document, notably not in the ancient portions of the Yih ascribed to Wen Wang and Chow Kung, but in that portion only which dates from the time of Confucius. But the ideas are to be found here all the same, only not yet detached as separate values from the symbols for Heaven and Earth. The terms Yin and Yang clearly arose, in their modern sense, during the period which elapsed between Chow Kung and Lao tsze.

So far I have only given that interpretation to these eight diagrams, which a critical investigation of the principal sources of reference, which exist in China, indicated as having been in all probability the most ancient purpose, meaning, and use of these diagrams. If I am correct in this view, it will have to be acknowledged that, if philosophy is the transformation of sensations and perceptions into logical abstractions, we have here, in these eight Chinese trigrams, apart from the divinatory and superstitious use to which they were practically applied, a system of philosophy or rather the first attempt of the Chinese mind at philosophising. There is underlying these diagrams a recognition of the truth that things are groups of relations. The diagrams themselves are, to my mind, clearly ideal constructions expressing real facts and built up from the real elements of imperfect and fanciful experience but have after all a kind of experience for their basis. These diagrams are simply abstract types, substituting an ideal process for that actually observed in nature. They are formulæ in which the multifarious phenomena are stripped of their variety and reduced to unity and harmony. Causation is here represented as imminent change, as the constant interaction of the bi-polar power

of Nature, which is never at rest, balanced or free, the mutually sustaining opposition of two forces which are essentially one energy, and in the activity of which divergence of direction is inherent and essential. This polarized unity is, however, not definitely formulated by the Chinese mind, which had but a dim perception of it, groping after it rather in the dark, than actually grasping it by logical definitions, and thus this polarized unity of Nature became the point from which all subsequent treatments of this curious diagram-philosophy started.

It does not come within the purport of this paper to show the further development of the original scheme of 8 trigrams into 64 diagrams in the age of Wen Wang, Chow Kung or subsequently. I reserve this for another occasion. But partly in defence of the view here advanced and partly as a supplement to the above given exposition of the eight diagrams themselves, I now proceed to explain the meanings which native philosophers attributed to those ancient eight trigrams.

Strange to say, in the Yih King itself there is not a word concerning these eight trigrams, as it deals exclusively with the 64 hexagrams of Wen Wang, which were formed by multiplying the 8 diagrams with each other. As far as the text of the Yih King goes, for aught we can learn from it, the eight trigrams might never have been used separately at all. Even the remarks appended to the text and ascribed to Wen Wang and Chow Kung and those attributed to Confucius, which are appended to the first and second diagrams, have no reference to the 8 trigrams whatever.

There is, however, in every edition of the Yih, as we now have it, a series of 'Appended Remarks' (Hi tsze) to be found. These are essays in the course of which the Yih is frequently quoted as a (*king*) 'Classic' and Confucius also is over and over again quoted as 'My Master said,' thus plainly intimating a post-classic origin. A further appendix, consisting of Notes on Discussions to the diagrams (Shwo Kwa Chuan), Notes on the order of the diagrams (Su Kwa Chuan) and Miscellaneous Notes on the diagrams (Tsuh Kwa Chuan), contains neither any quotation from the Yih nor from Confucius, and appears to be altogether but a series of hints inserted for fortune-telling purposes.

As regards the 'Appended Remarks,' we have to examine first the remarks attributed to Confucius and then the remainder of the text. Confucius is known to have regretted, late in life, that he had not studied the Yih King. But we have no earlier authority than that of Pan Ku (died A.D. 92) for the asssertion that Confucius, prompted by this regret, did actually study and expound it. But granting even that Confucius had studied the Yih late in life and commented upon it, there is no text that can be referred to as giving Confucius' own explanation, nor is there any disciple of Confucius to be pointed to as expounding the Master's statements referring to the Yih. There is indeed a commentary on the Yih King in existence bearing the name of Tsze Ha, but all Chinese critics admit it to be a forgery. All we have, therefore, in support of the view that Confucius did expound the Yih, are the scattered quotations in the 'Appended Remarks' (Hi-tsze) for which no one has ever been able to assign an author or the time of composition.

Doubtful as the authenticity of these 'Appended Remarks' is, they contain very little of any value. The twenty-one quotations alleged to have been derived from Confucius, which they contain, are mostly made up of trite moral sayings concerning the principles and actions of the Superior Man and have no direct connection with the leading ideas of the Yih King at all. There are however a few passages bearing on our subject. One passage says, 'those who made the Yih, knew the principles of robbers.' Another saying is, 'he who knows the principle of change and evolution knows the actions of the spirits.' A third sentence runs thus, 'this is what is meant by the assertion that accord-

ing to the doctrine of the Sages the Yih consisted of four divisions (remarks, changes, symbols, prognostics).' A fourth passage says, 'by use of the diagrams, the Sages penetrated the purpose (destiny) of the universe, determined the occupations of mankind and settled the doubts of the whole world.' A fifth passage runs as follows, 'the Sages established symbols and thereby fully disclosed ideas; they formed diagrams and thereby fully explained what is natural and unnatural; they appended remarks and thereby disclosed words; they changed (the lines) all through and thereby disclosed what is advantageous; they drummed and danced and thereby fully disclosed the spirits.' A sixth passage runs thus, 'K'ien and K'wan (that is to say, the first and second of the 64 diagrams) are the gates of change; K'ien is something masculine, K'wan is something feminine; when the Yin and Yang unite their power, the hard and soft (whole and broken lines) become embodied, for they embody the workings of Heaven and Earth and penetrate the mystery of the powers of the bright spirits. The names given to them (the 64 diagrams) are miscellaneous yet not unsuitable; examining them in detail we find therein the ideas of a degenerate race.'

It is significant that, whilst the authenticity of these sayings of Confucius is extremely doubtful, they contain no distinct reference to the eight trigrams of the fabulous Fuh-hi and that, whilst these quotations recognize the diagrams generally as a means employed by 'Sages' to explain the mysteries of Nature, of practical life and of the hidden future, the names given to the 64 diagrams, if not the diagrams themselves (as means of fortune-telling), are here stigmatized as the invention of a degenerate race. It is further significant that Confucius himself did not employ the diagrams for the purpose for which the 'Sages' are here alleged to have employed them, and that in none of his authentic sayings he ever referred to the dualism of Yin and Yang. Both internal and external evidences for the authenticity of the quotations ascribed to Confucius are therefore conflicting, and, as but little is to be learned from them, the question of authenticity is scarcely worth investigation. It would seem however that these quotations are derived from some disciple of the school of Confucius.

In the remainder of the 'Appended Remarks' we have not only distinct references to the eight trigrams but their origin is historically traced back to the mystical Fuh-hi and the very composition of the diagrams is genetically explained, and their meaning dogmatically interpreted, on the basis of a mystic philosophy of numbers.

(To be continued.)

E. J. EITEL.