

Unearthing the *Classic of Changes*

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Édouard Chavannes (1865-1918)



Chavannes' Influence on Wang Guowei and Chinese Paleography



**“Les livres chinois avant
l’ invention du papier.”**
Journal Asiatique 5 (1905):
5-75.

王國維，簡牘檢署考，1912

Oracle Bone Discovered at Anyang Circa 1912



“La divination par l’écaille de tortue dans la haute antiquité chinois (d’après un livre de M. Lo Tchen-yu).” *Journal Asiatique* 17 (1911): 127-37.



Turtle Shell Unearthed at Anyang



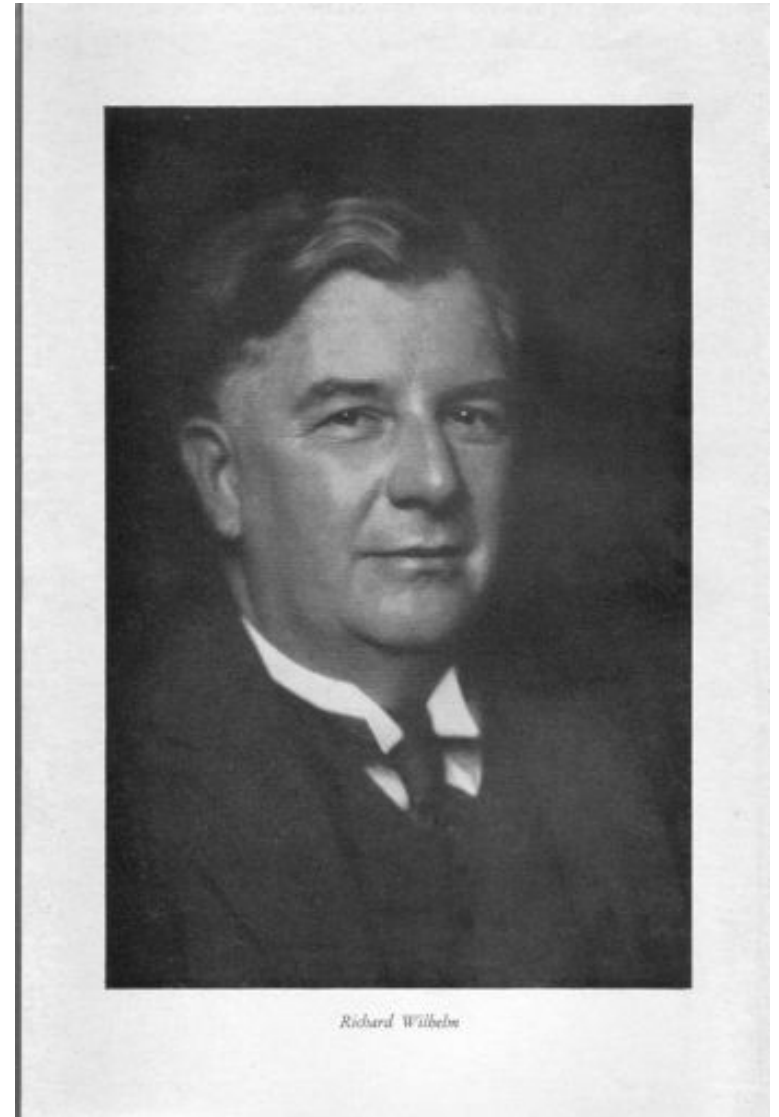
Turtle Shell Discovered at Anyang in 1936



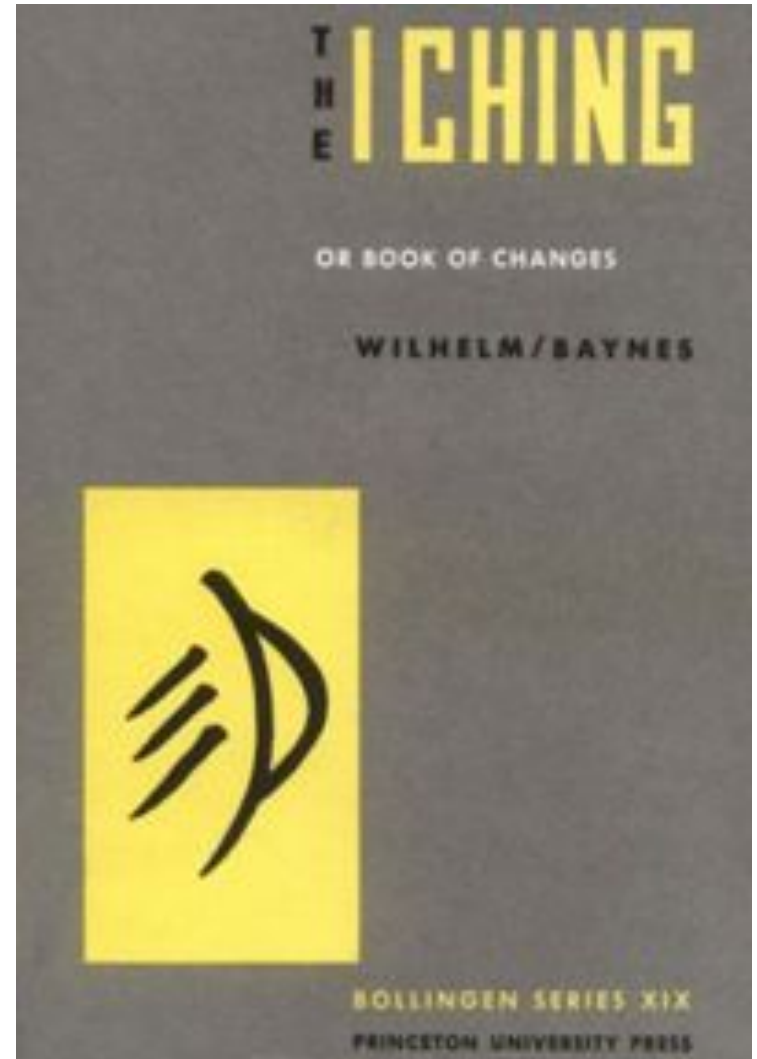
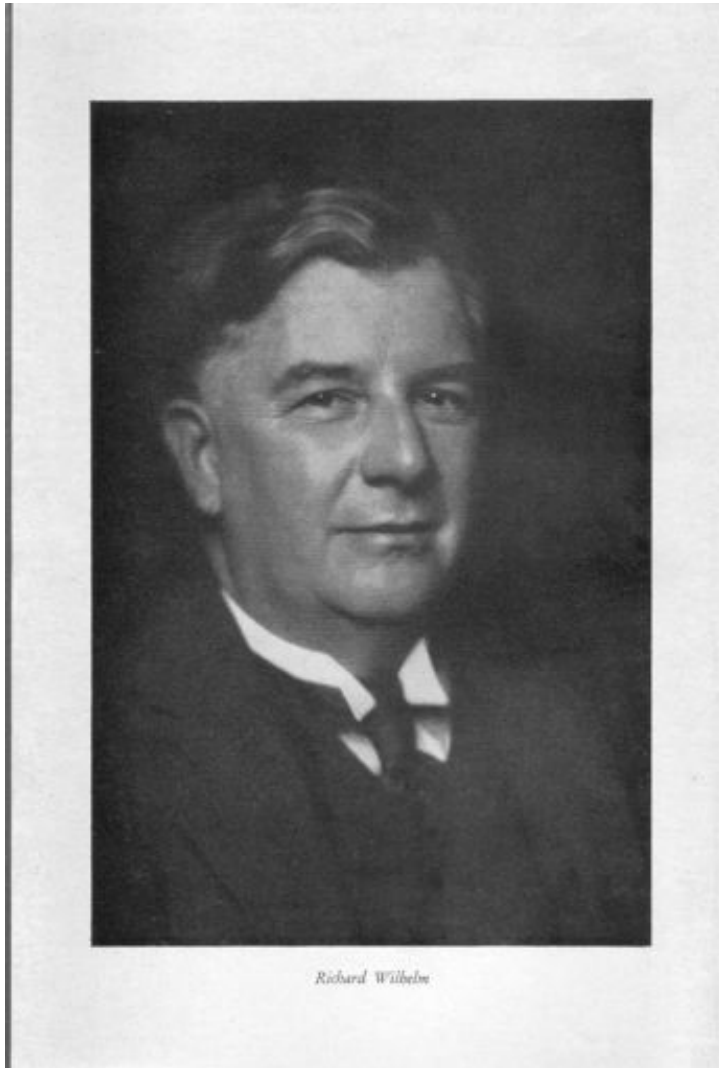
1915+2000+2358+2388+2434+3233+3377+6702+7795+2696

13.07184+13.05527

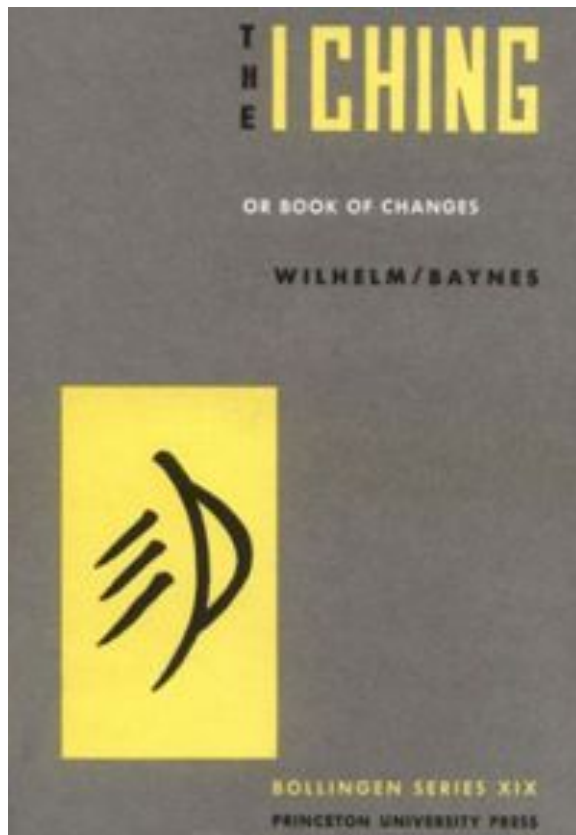
Chavannes and Richard Wilhelm (1873-1930)



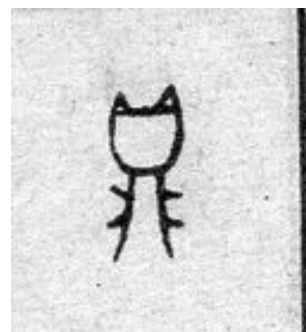
Richard Wilhelm (1873-1930)



乾元亨利貞



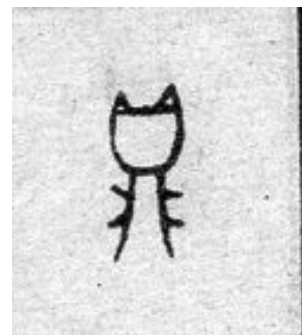
“THE CREATIVE works
sublime success, Furthering
through perseverance.”



The **tieng* Word Family



zhen 貞 “to divine; pure”
zheng 正, “upright, correct.”
zheng 政 “government,”
zheng 征 “punitive military
campaign”



ding 鼎 “cauldron”
ding 丁 “nail” (the original
pictographic form of a
character now written
釘),
ding 定 “settled, definite”
ding 訂 “to correct a text”

“New” Changes Studies

Gao Heng 高亨，《周易古經今注》

元，大也。亨即享字。古人舉行大享之祭，曾筮遇此卦，故記之曰元亨。利貞猶言利占也。筮遇此卦，舉事有利，故曰利貞。

“*Yuan* means ‘great.’ *Heng* is simply the character *xiang* 享. Once when the ancients held a great sacrifice, they divined and met with this hexagram, and therefore recorded it saying ‘Great sacrifice.’ ‘*Li zhen*’ is the same as saying ‘Beneficial prognostication.’ When you divined and met this hexagram, what you proposed to do would have benefit, and therefore they said ‘*Li zhen.*’ ”



CHINA

Beijing

Pyongyang

Seoul

Yumen

Saotou

Dalian

Yinchuan

Taiyuan

Tianjin

Golmud

Xining

Lanzhou

Shijiazhuang

Qingdao

Nanjing

Shanghai

Jinan

Gansu

Xian

Zhengzhou

Katong

Yellow Sea

Nanjing

Shanghai

Mianyang

Wuhan

Chengdu

Chongqing

Hangzhou

Ningbo

Zigong

Yueyang

Nanchang

Wenzhou

Quzhou

Changsha

Jiayue

Dukou

Guiyang

Fuzhou

Taipei

Kunming

Nanning

Xiamen

Tai-chung

Guangzhou

Shantou

Tai-nan

Nanning

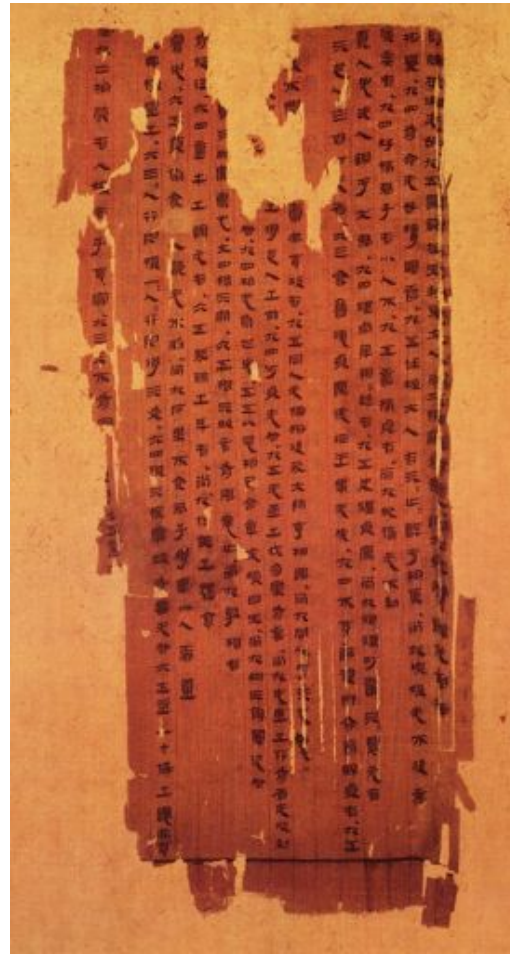
Hong Kong

Kao-Hsiung

Hanoi

MYANMAR

Mawangdui 马王堆 Yi Jing Manuscript



Sequence of Trigrams in Mawangdui 马王堆 *Yi Jing* Manuscript

Jian *Gen* *Kan* *Chen* *Chuan* *Duo* *Luo* *Suan*
☰ ☶ ☵ ☱ ☲ ☳ ☴ ☷

They combine in turn with trigrams of the bottom trigram in the following sequence (except that each of the top trigrams of a set first combines with itself):

Jian *Chuan* *Gen* *Duo* *Kan* *Luo* *Chen* *Suan*
☰ ☲ ☶ ☳ ☵ ☴ ☱ ☷

SEQUENCE OF HEXAGRAMS IN
THE MAWANGDUI MANUSCRIPT ZHOUYI

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Jian	Fu	Yuan	Li	Song	Tingren	Wumeng	Gen
健	婦	豫	禮	訟	同人	无孟	狗
☰	☷	☱	☲	☱	☰	☱	☰
乾	否	遯	履	訟	同人	无安	姤
Qian	Pi	Dun	Lu	Song	Tingren	Wusang	Gen
1	12	33	30	6	13	25	44
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Gen	Taixu	Bo	San	Meng	Fan	Yi	Gu
根	泰畜	剝	損	蒙	繁	頤	復
☰	☱	☶	☱	☱	☰	☱	☰
艮	大畜	剝	損	蒙	賁	頤	蠱
Gen	Daxu	Bo	San	Meng	Ben	Yi	Gu
52	26	23	41	4	22	27	18
17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Gan	Bu	Bi	Jian	Jie	Ji	Zhan	Jing
贖	福	比	蹇	節	既濟	屯	井
☱	☱	☱	☱	☱	☱	☱	☱
坎	漸	比	蹇	節	既濟	屯	井
Kan	Xu	Bi	Jian	Jie	Ji	Zhan	Jing
29	5	8	39	60	63	3	48
25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
Chen	Taizhuang	Yu	Shaoguo	Guimei	Jie	Feng	Heng
震	泰壯	余	少過	歸妹	解	豐	恆
☳	☱	☱	☱	☱	☱	☱	☱
震	大壯	豫	小過	歸妹	解	豐	恆
Zhen	Dazhuang	Yu	Xiaoguo	Guimei	Jie	Feng	Heng
51	34	16	62	54	49	55	32

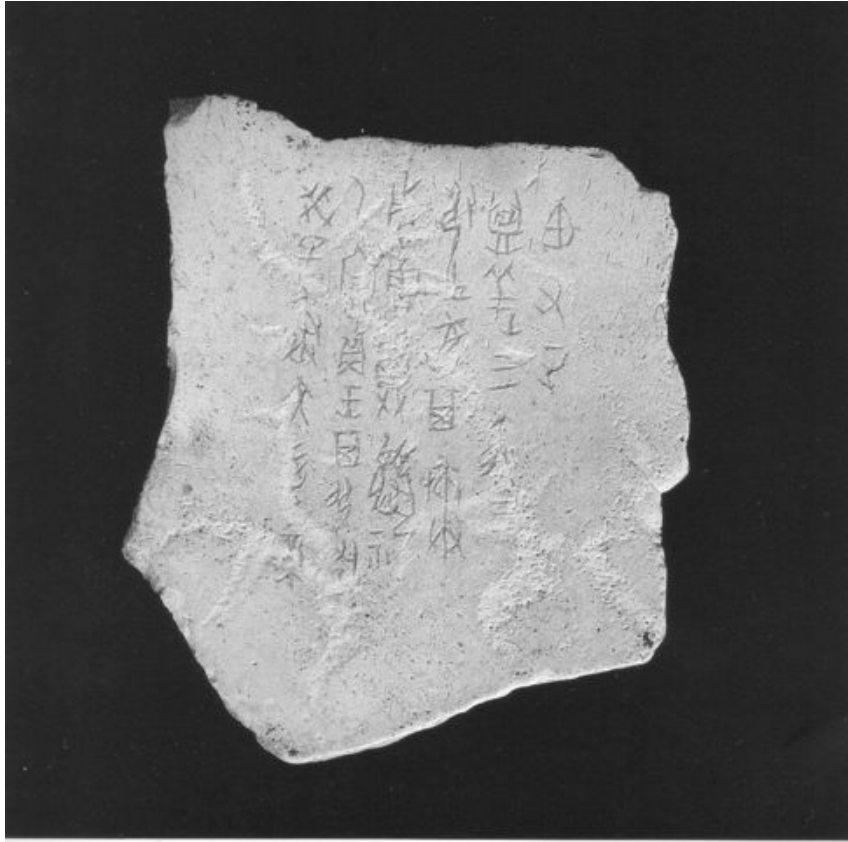
33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
Chuan	Tai	Qian	Lin	Shi	Mingyi	Fu	Dong
川	泰	謙	林	師	明夷	復	登
☱	☱	☱	☱	☱	☱	☱	☱
坤	泰	謙	臨	師	明夷	復	升
Kun	Tai	Qian	Lin	Shi	Mingyi	Fu	Sheng
2	11	15	19	7	26	24	46
41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48
Dao	Guai	Zu	Qin	Kun	Le	Sui	Taiguo
導	訣	卒	欽	困	勒	隋	泰過
☱	☱	☱	☱	☱	☱	☱	☱
兌	夬	萃	咸	困	革	隨	大過
Dui	Guai	Cui	Xian	Kun	Ge	Sui	Daguo
58	43	45	31	47	49	17	28
49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56
Lao	Dayou	Jin	Lu	Guai	Heji	Shi Ke	Ding
羅	大有	潛	旅	乖	未濟	噬嗑	鼎
☱	☱	☱	☱	☱	☱	☱	☱
離	大有	晉	旅	睽	未濟	噬嗑	鼎
Li	Dayou	Jin	Lu	Kui	Heji	Shi Ke	Ding
30	14	35	56	38	64	21	50
57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64
Suan	Shaohu	Guan	Jian	Zhongfu	Huan	Jiaren	Yi
筭	少貳	觀	漸	中復	渙	家人	益
☱	☱	☱	☱	☱	☱	☱	☱
巽	小畜	觀	漸	中孚	渙	家人	益
Xun	Xiaoxu	Guan	Jian	Zhongfu	Huan	Jiaren	Yi
57	9	20	53	61	59	37	42

The sequence number and name above each hexagram picture refer to the Mawangdui manuscript, while those below refer to the received text.

Shuihudi 睡虎地 “Day Book” (*Ri Shu* 日書) Yunmeng 雲夢, Hubei; 1975

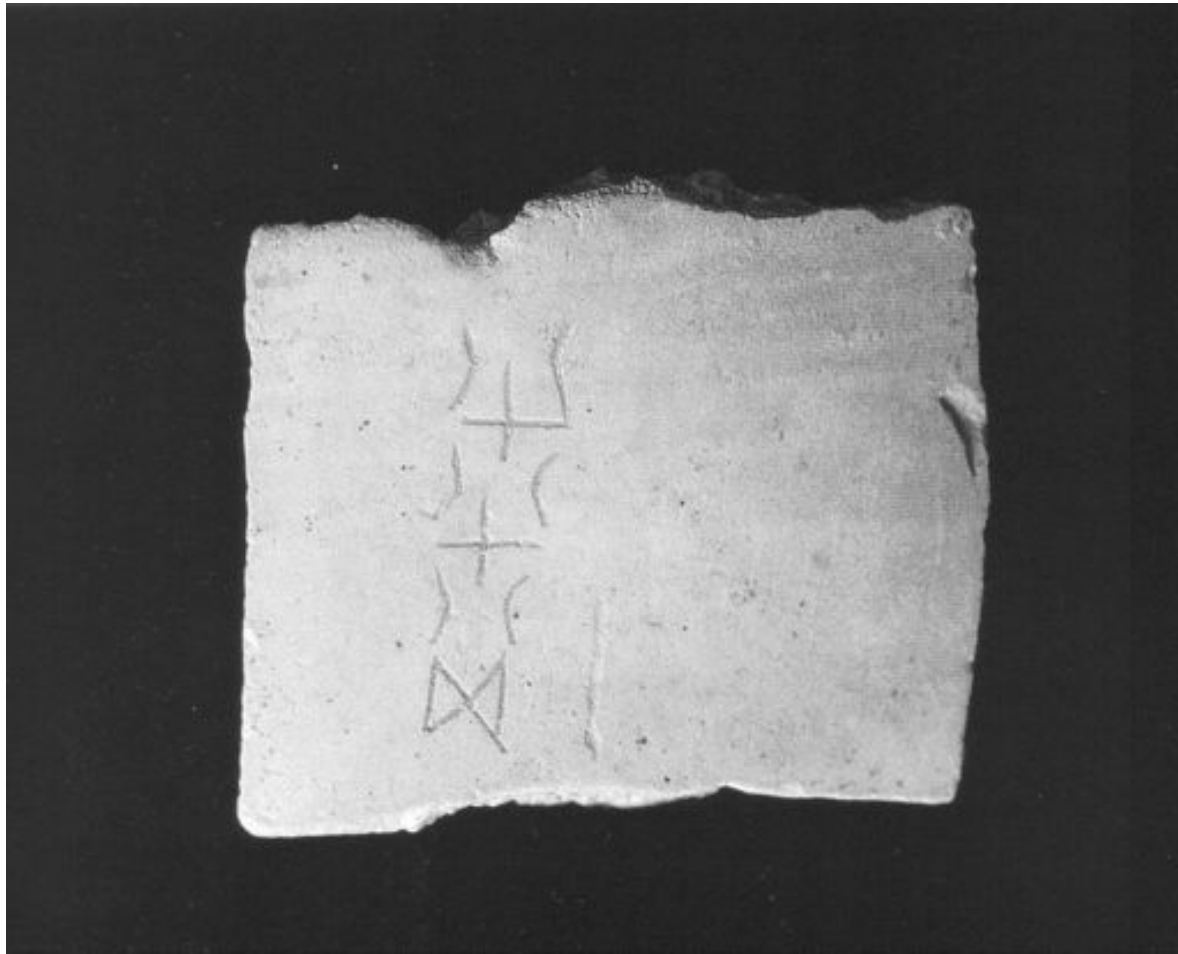
- On Knot days, starting affairs will not be successful; for making sacrifices, distress; in giving birth to a son, it ought not be a younger brother, for if it is a younger brother he will certainly die; in entrusting to others, the one entrusted will certainly take over the host's house.
- On Sunny days, the hundred affairs will all be successful; the country and district will get their harvests and the common people will be successful all around; in sacrificing, all of the higher and lower spirits will receive it, and then fulfill one's intent.
- On Intersecting days, it is beneficial for solid affairs; digging a well will be auspicious; sacrificing, moving gates, and moving water will be auspicious.
- On Harmful days, it is beneficial to dispel inauspiciousness and danger, and to get rid of what is not lucky; sacrificing and moving gates will be auspicious; sacrificing in great number will certainly be disorderly.
- On Shady days, it is beneficial to marry and start a household; sacrificial offerings, marrying a son, taking a wife, and contributing resources will be greatly auspicious; in seeing the lord or superiors, if you reach them several times, there will be no trouble.
- On Reaching days, it is beneficial to set the army in motion and go out on campaign and to see others; in sacrificing, the high and low will all be auspicious; in giving birth to children, males will be auspicious, while females will certainly leave the country.

Zhouyuan 周原 Oracle Bone
Qishan 岐山, Shaanxi; 1977



On *guisi* (day 30),
performing the *yi*-
sacrifice at the temple of
the accomplished and
martial Di Yi, divining:
“The king will sacrifice to
Cheng Tang, performing
a caldron-exorcism of the
two surrendered women
and an *yi*--sacrifice with
the blood of three rams
and three sows; would
that it be correct.

Zhouyuan 周原 Oracle Bone
with Numerical Symbol



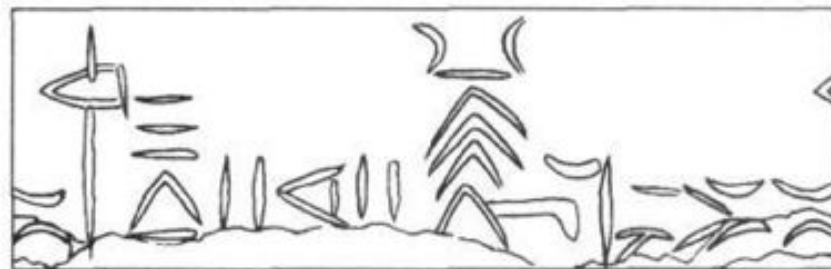
Recently Discovered Zhou Oracle-Bone
Qijia cun 齊家村, Fufeng 扶風, Shaanxi; 2003

八十八十
我師不也
祀也又
八十八十
祀也又
祀也又
祀也又
祀也又
祀也又

CHX 採集: 1 Pottery Paddle; after Cao Wei, "Tao pai shang de shuzi gua yanjiu," *Wenwu* 2002.11: 66



CHX 採集: 2 Pottery Paddle; after Cao Wei, "Tao pai shang de shuzi gua yanjiu," *Wenwu* 2002.11: 67



Fuyang 阜陽 Zhou Yi Bamboo-Strip Manuscript

Shuanggudui 雙古堆, Fuyang 阜陽, Anhui, 1977



- 53. 同人于壘亨
- 54. 君子之貞
- 55. •六二同人于宗吝卜子產不孝吏
- 56. 三伏戎于
- 57. 興卜有罪者兇
- 58. 戰斷彊不得志卜病者不死乃瘥 •九四乘高唐弗克
- 59. 有爲不成 •九五同
- 60. 人先號
- 61. 後笑大師
- 62. 相〔彳+禺〕卜穀囚
- 63. 九同人于鄙无咎卜居官法免

- 53. ... Fellow men in the wilds; receipt. (Beneficial to cross the great river; beneficial for a)
- 54. nobleman's determination.
- (First Nine: Fellow men at the gate; there is no trouble.)
- 55. ... • Six in the Second: Fellow men at the ancestral temple; distress. *Divining about a child: you will give birth, but it will not be filial; about serving ...*
- 56. (Nine in the) Third: Crouching enemies in (the grass: ascending the high mound, for three years not)
- 57. ... arising. *Divining about a guilty one: ominous ...*
- 58. ... battling: the enemy will be strong but will not obtain its will; divining about someone who is sick: if they do not die then they will get better. • Nine in the Fourth: Riding on a high wall, you cannot (be attacked; auspicious.) ...
- 59. ... something will be done but not finished. • Nine in the Fifth: Fellow
- 60. men, first shouting,
- 61. later laughing; the great armies .. (can)
- 62. meet each other. *Divining about tying a prisoner: ...*
- 63. ... (Top) Nine: Fellow men in the suburbs; there is no regret. *Divining about residing in office: you will be dismissed. ...*

Fuyang 阜陽 Zhou Yi Bamboo-Strip Manuscript

- (xx) *Together with People* in the wilds; receipt. (Beneficial to ford the great stream. Beneficial) for the lord's son to divine.
- Six in the Second: Together with people at the ancestral temple; stingy. **In divining about a son being born, it will not be filial; in deputing ...**
- (Nine) in the Third: Crouching belligerents in the (grass: Ascending its high hillock, For three years not) arising. **In divining about one who is guilty, it will be ominous; about doing battle, the enemy will be strong but will not get its way; in divining about one who is ill, if he does not die then he will be exhausted.**
- Nine in the Fourth: Riding its high wall: it cannot be (attacked; auspicious.) ... **there will be something done that will not be completed.**
- (Nine in the Fifth: Together with) people first crying (out) and later laughing: The great armies (can) meet each other. **In divining about tying up a prisoner ...**
- (Top) Nine: Together with people in Hao; no regret. **In divining about occupying office, you will be dismissed.**

Baoshan 包山 Bamboo-Strip Divination Record
Baoshan 包山, Jingmen
荊門, Hubei; 1986



Baoshan 包山 Bamboo-Strip Divination Record

In the year that the Great Supervisor of the Horse Dao Hua led the army of the Chu state to relieve Fu, in the Jingshi month, on the day *jimao*, Chen Yi used the Proffered Command to divine on behalf of *Zuoyin* Tuo: “Coming out and going in to serve the king, from the Jingshi month all the way until the next Jingshi month throughout the entire year, would that his person not have any trouble.” 1-6-6-8-6-6 1-6-6-1-1-6 He prognosticated it: “The long-term divination is auspicious, but there is a little worry in the palace chamber. For this reason propitiate it, raising up and praying to the palace, moving one white dog and ale to drink; would that this dispel the trouble in the palace chamber.” Wu Sheng prognosticated it, saying: “Auspicious.”

Xincai Geling 新蔡葛陵 Bamboo Strips

Xincai 新蔡, Henan; 2003

齐客陈异致福于王之岁，献马之月，乙丑之日...（甲三217）

The year that the Qi envoy Chen Yi presented tribute to the king, the Xianma month, the *yichou* day ...

... ㄗ 筮为君贞：居郢，还返至于东陵，尚毋有咎。占曰：兆无咎。有祟...（乙四100零532、678）

... X divining by milfoil on behalf of the lord, determined: "Residing in Ying and returning as far as Dongling, would that there not be any trouble."
Prognosticating he said: "The result has no trouble, (but) there is a curse ...

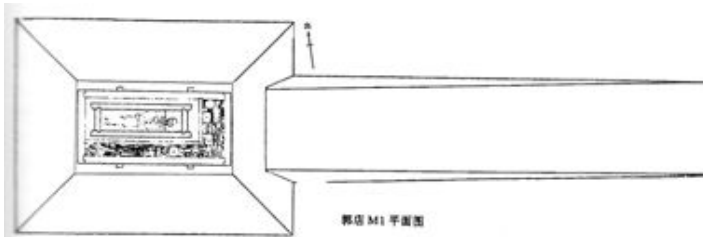
...（卦画）是（首上册下：刺）（士左刃右：壮、创）而口，亦不为大訇，毋卹，无咎。...（零115、22）

numerical hexagram): This is to stab and wound your mouth, still this is not a great shame; don't worry, there is no trouble. ...

...其繇曰：氏日末兑：大言（言左断右）二，小言憊二。若组若结，终以...（甲三31）

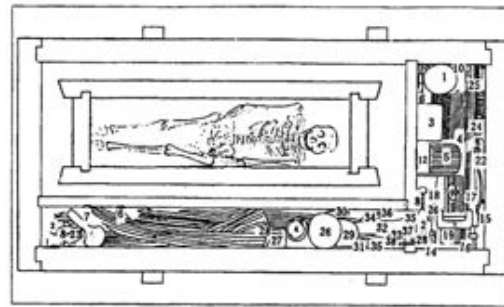
... its omen statement says: "This day's end is Dui: major sayings so sincere, minor sayings so worrisome. Orderly and knotted, in the end ...

Line Drawing of Guodian 郭店 Tomb Guodian 郭店, Jingmen 荊門, Hubei; 1993



郭店 M1 平面图

10a



郭店 M1 棺槨室平、剖面图

10b



Bamboo slips during conservation process, with legible characters.
Photograph by Zhou Guangshu, Jingmen City Museum.

An Example of a *Gui Cang* Hexagram Statement
Wangjiatai 王家台, Jingmen 荊門, Hubei; 1993

- xx “Troops” (*Shi*) states: In antiquity the Son of Heaven Mu sent out troops and had the stalks divined by Yu Qiang. Yu Qiang (said): “Not auspicious.” It says: “The dragon descends from heaven, but the road is long and far; flying and piercing heaven, so blue its wings.””

Shanghai Museum Bamboo-Strip Manuscript of Zhou Yi:
Shi "Army" Hexagram



Shanghai Museum Bamboo-Strip Manuscript of *Zhou Yi* As Compared with the Received Text of *Shi* "Army" Hexagram

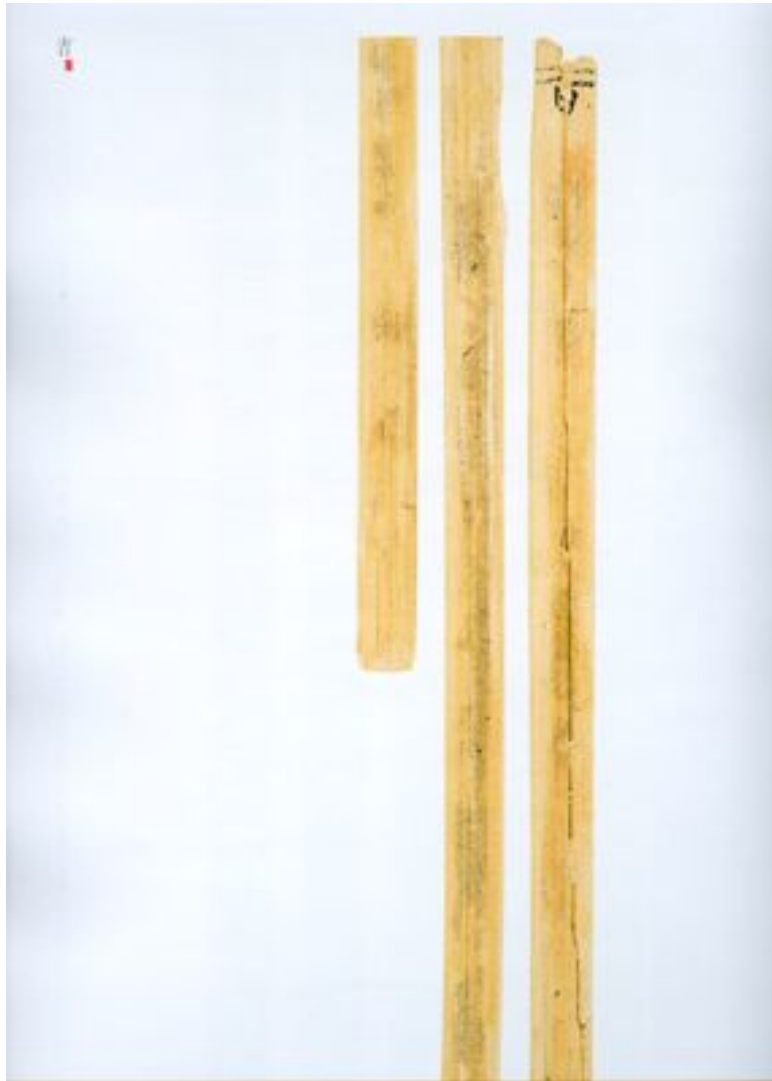
7. 圖示 貞丈人吉亡咎初六有言以事不怠西九二才可卒吉亡咎王是錫命六五
 有言以事不怠西九二在師中言無咎王三錫命六三

G 類 貞丈人吉无咎初六師進以律否臧西九二在師中言无咎王三錫命六三
 師或輿尸西六五師在左或无咎六

8. 王或又命利言亡咎長子師而若子德昭貞西上六次君子又命諸邦承蒙賞二物
 月

王或又命利言无咎長子師而若子德昭貞西上六次君子又命諸邦承蒙賞二物
 月

Shanghai Museum Bamboo-Strip Manuscript of Zhou Yi: *Ru* 乳 “Suckling” (*Xu* 需 “Awaiting”) Hexagram



Shanghai Museum Bamboo-Strip Manuscript of Zhou Yi: Qian ䷀ (謙) “Modesty”

开卦利用戒伐亡不利上六鸣雁可用行市征邦



尚西應■卿君子又柔初六應君子而涉大川吉六二鳴雁 四亡不利實應六五不羸日

Shanghai Museum Bamboo-Strip Manuscript of Zhou Yi: Wang Wang 亡忘 “Forget-Me-Not” (Wu Wang 无妄 “Nothing Foolish”)

人之且邑人之或九四可貞亡替九五亡忘又疾勿藥又藥上九亡忘行又補亡由利



圖 亡忘 元卿利貞非遠又補不利又由遠初九亡忘吉六三不勝而獲不雷之

Shanghai Museum Bamboo-Strip Manuscript of Zhou Yi: Yi 頤 “Jaws”

頤 頤頤 貞吉觀頤自求口實初九據余雷繼觀我敗頤凶六二曰遠頤羸經于北渚征凶六三羸頤貞凶十年勿



用亡直利六四遠頤吉虎見頤 丁猷攸 亡管六五羸經尻貞吉不可涉大川上九羸頤厲吉利涉大川

Shanghai Museum Bamboo-Strip Manuscript of Zhou Yi: Qin 欽 “Careful” (Xian 咸 “Feeling”)

志九五欽丁搏亡懸上六欽頌夾脂



編書欽丁卯利貞取女吉初六欽升冊六二欽升書凶尻吉九晶欽升書勢升陸善九四貞吉亡懸僅

Shanghai Museum Bamboo-Strip Manuscript of Zhou Yi: Heng 恒 (恆) “Constant”

子凶上六散恒貞凶



恒 貞 恒 利 貞 亡 咎 初 六 散 恒 貞 凶 亡 由 利 九 二 恒 亡 九 晶 不 經 亨 應 或 承 亨 恒 貞 亨 九 四 敗 亡 禽 六 五 經 亨
應 貞 婦 人 吉 夫

Shanghai Museum Bamboo-Strip Manuscript of Zhou Yi: *Jie* 訛 “Criticized” (*Jian* 蹇 “Lame”)



上六 往 蹇 利 大 吉 利 見 大 人

公 喪 訛 利 西 南 不 利 東 北 利 見 大 人 初 六 往 蹇 利 大 吉 王 臣 訛 非 今 之 古 九 品 往 蹇 利 大 吉 四 往 蹇 利 大 吉 五 大 訛 不 利



Shanghai Museum Bamboo-Strip Manuscript of Zhou Yi: Jing 莖 “Well-Trap” (Jing 井 “Well”)



莖 莖 莖 改 莖 不改 莖 亡 危 亡 且 迷 莖 莖 气 至 亦 母 莖 莖 莖 莖 丁 餅 凶 初 六 莖 莖 不 似 莖 莖 莖 亡 莖 九 二 莖 莖 莖 莖
 佳 州

Shanghai Museum Bamboo-Strip Manuscript of Zhou Yi: Ge 革 “Rebellion”

剛升帶礪同心六四艮升船六五艮升頌言又奮繼亡上九章艮吉亡



剛升帶礪同心六四艮升船六五艮升頌言又奮繼亡上九章艮吉亡

開止亡替利業貞六二艮升足不離升謹升心不悖九鼎艮升曠

Distribution of Shanghai Museum Zhou Yi Red-and/or-Black Symbols According to Pu Maozuo 濮茅左

■ 明 鼎湖圖上(鼎湖圖)有黑線(鼎湖圖)鼎湖圖(鼎湖圖)鼎湖圖(鼎湖圖)鼎湖圖(鼎湖圖)

■ 明 鼎湖圖上(鼎湖圖)有黑線(鼎湖圖)鼎湖圖(鼎湖圖)鼎湖圖(鼎湖圖)鼎湖圖(鼎湖圖)鼎湖圖(鼎湖圖)

鼎湖圖

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Shanghai Museum Zhou Yi "A" and "B" Calligraphy Compared

四十九



圖1 竹簡同心六四見开船六五見开頌言又齋離亡上九擊良吉七

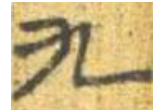
四十八



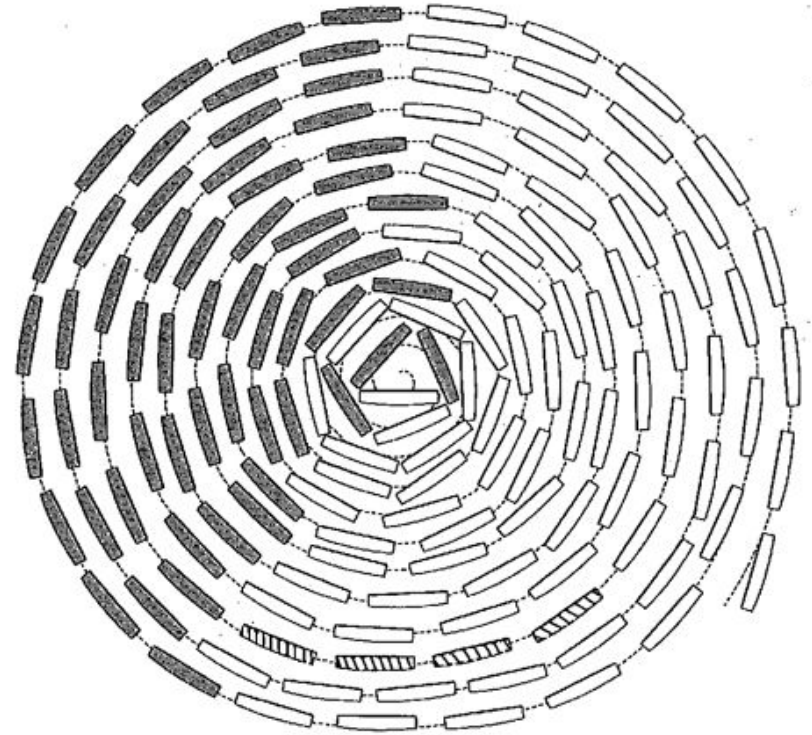
西既見开保不獲开身行开越不

开止亡替利業貞六二見开足不贖开隕开心不悖九品良开曠

Shangbo *Zhou Yi* Calligraphic Differences “A” (l.) and “B” (r.):
其、六、九、不、物



Sun Peiyang's Reconstruction of Shanghai Museum *Zhou Yi* Manuscript



Heng 亨 and Xiang 享 in the Zhou Yi

乾：元亨，利貞。

Qian: Prime *heng*; beneficial to divine.

否初六：拔茅茹，以其夤。貞吉。亨。

Negation First Six: Pluck the cogongrass out with its roots. Divining: auspicious.

Heng.

否六二：包承。小人吉，大人否。亨。

Negation Six in the Second: Wrap the offering. For a petty person auspicious, for a great person not. *Heng*.

大有九三：公用亨于天子。小人弗克。

Great Offering Nine in the Third: The duke herewith *heng* to the Son of Heaven. A

petty person is not capable of it.

損：有孚。元吉。無咎。可貞。利有攸往。曷之用，二簋可用享。

Decrease: There is sincerity. Prime auspiciousness. No trouble. You can divine. Beneficial to have somewhere to go. What can you use: two *gui* can be used to *sacrifice*.

益六二：或益之十朋之龜，弗克違。

永貞吉。王用亨于帝。吉。

Increase Six in the Second: Someone increases it with ten strands of turtleshell; you cannot go against it. Long-term divination: auspicious. The king herewith *sacrifices* to Di. Auspicious.

Heng 亨 and *Xiang* 享 in *Zhou Yi* Manuscripts

In the Mawangdui manuscript

馬王堆帛書：

R: “享” M: “芳”

R: “亨” M: “高”

傳本《隨》：元亨利貞

馬帛《隨》：元高利貞

上博《隨》：元鄉利貞

In the Shanghai Museum
manuscript

上博楚簡：

R: “享” S: “享”

R: “亨” S “鄉”

傳本《隨》上六：王用亨于西山

馬帛《隨》上六：王用芳于西山

上博《隨》上六：王用享于西山

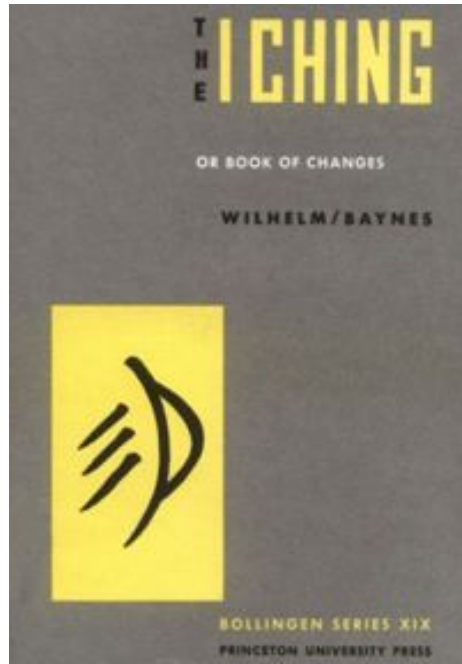
Mozi 墨子 Account of Turtle-Shell Divination

- 巫马子谓子墨子曰：“鬼神孰与圣人明智？”子墨子曰：“鬼神之明智于圣人，犹聪耳明目之与聋瞽也。昔者夏后开使蜚廉折金于山川，而陶铸之于昆吾。是使翁难乙卜于白若之龟，曰：‘鼎成三足而方，不炊而自烹，不举言东，而自臧，不迁而自行，以祭于昆吾之虚，上乡’！乙又言东，兆之由曰：‘饗矣！’逢逢白云，‘一南一北，一西一东，九鼎既成，迁于三国。’夏后氏失之，殷人受之；殷人失之，周人受之。夏后、殷、周之相受也。数百岁矣。使圣人聚其良臣与其桀相而谋，岂能智数百岁之后哉！而鬼神智之。是故曰，鬼神之明智于圣人也，犹聪耳明目之与聋瞽也。”

Mozi 墨子 Account of Turtle-Shell Divination

Magus Mazi addressed Master Mozi saying, “Who is more intelligent, the ghosts and spirits or the sages?” Master Mozi said, “The greater intelligence of the ghosts and spirits vis-à-vis the sages is just like those with perceptive ears and bright eyes vis-à-vis the deaf and blind. In antiquity, Qi, the lord of Xia sent Fei Lian to dig metal out of the hills and streams, and to cast a caldron at Kun Wu. This one sent Engnan Yi to divine about it with the turtle of White Approval, saying: “The caldron will be complete with three legs and will be square, will cook of itself without being troubled, will store of itself without being raised, will move of itself without being transferred, in order to sacrifice on the mound of Kun Wu; **would that it be received.**” Yi then spoke of the omens of the cracks, saying: “It is **“Received”** indeed. He encountered Feng Bo, who said, “Now south now north, Now west now east: The nine caldrons being completed, Will be transferred to the three kingdoms.” The lords of Xia lost them, and the men of Yin got them; the men of Yin lost them, and the men of Zhou got them. The lords of Xia and Yin and Zhou having gotten them from each other has taken several hundred years. Even if we caused the sages to assemble their best ministers and their finest advisors, could it be that they would be able to know what would happen after several hundred years! And yet the ghosts and spirits knew it. This is why I say that the greater intelligence of the ghosts and spirits vis-à-vis the sages is just like those with perceptive ears and bright eyes vis-à-vis the deaf and blind.

乾元亨利貞



“THE CREATIVE works
sublime success,
Furthering through
perseverance.”

Qian: Prime receipt,
beneficial to divine.