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Kūn's 'body': the many appearances and meanings of the pure even-numbered trigram in the early *Yìjīng* and related texts

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Abstract: One of the main reasons why words (i.e., 'images') in the *Yìjīng* and *Guīcáng* might appear so enigmatic is because they have become detached from the 'pictures' (*guàhuà* 卦畫) or 'bodies' (*guàtǐ* 卦體), as divination results, in which diviners first recognized them. This paper has two objectives. The first, as part of a larger database project, uses early Chinese excavated materials to reconstruct and reimage the many configurations and appearances of trigram Kūn's 'body' (Kūn tǐ 坤體). Seeing and thinking about the pure even-numbered, yīn trigram in its original configurations leads us toward a deeper appreciation and understanding of the complexity of this early system of divination, and doing so is integral to investigating, as a thought experiment, complex relationships between divination results (i.e., trigrams and hexagrams) and numbers, numbers and images, and images and predictions. Users of the *Changes* should no longer visualize Kūn's 'body' as one-dimensional ☷ and ☷☷. The second, examines images of trigram Kūn in the *Yìjīng*, with a starting point being the images in the canonical commentaries, and the *Shuō guà* commentary in particular, by using hermeneutic principles in the 'numbers and images' tradition. The *Shuō guà* presents images either found in or to be extrapolated from the base text within a structured and highly interpretive system that creates 'image programs' for each of the eight trigrams. I argue the *Shuō guà*'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.

Keywords: ancient systems of knowledge; trigram Kūn; Warring States *Changes* divination; *Yìjīng*

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1 Introduction: a rediscovered 4th century BC method of ‘obtaining images’ (*qǔ xiàng* 取象) in trigram and hexagram divination

The *Xìcí* 繫辭 “Appended Statements”, a discursive commentary attached to the *Zhōu Yì* in the canonical *Yìjīng*,¹ tells users of the intimate relationship between the *Changes* and ‘images’ (*xiàng* 象).² In addition to preparing users to read the base

1 Gāo Hēng 高亨 (1900–1986) 2004: 15–16 dates the large majority of content transmitted in the *Xìcí* to the Warring States period (476–221 BC); as do Lǐ Xuéqín 李學勤 (1933–2019) 2006: 94–119 and Liào Míngchūn 廖名春 2004: 214–216. Lǐ Jìngchí 李鏡池 (1902–1975) 1978: 292–324 emphasizes that the *Xìcí* was the work of a ‘community’ and suggests it was a Western Hàn composition. The appearance of a version of the *Xìcí* in the *Mǎwángduì Yìjīng*, in addition to text from the received *Xìcí* included in some of the other *Mǎwángduì* commentaries, confirms that nearly all the received text was in circulation no later than about 190 BC, when the text was copied; (a notable exception is the *Dà yǎn* 大衍 or “Great Exposition” section, which might mean that it was a later addition.) See Edward Shaughnessy 1996: 15, 20–22. It seems prudent to refer to the *Xìcí* as a composite text with Warring States roots.

2 Throughout the paper I use the following terms: *Changes* 易 refers to the *Three Changes* (*sān Yì* 三易) divination manuals: The *Zhōu Yì* 周易, *Guīcáng Yì* 歸藏易, and *Liánshān Yì* 連山易, in addition to other sortilege divination manuals with hexagram or trigram results. The term *Zhōu Yì* refers solely to the core text of the sixty-four hexagrams without commentary, whereas the term *Yìjīng* refers to the *Zhōu Yì* plus commentary. When speaking about the *Zhōu Yì* I use the terms ‘picture’ (*guàhuà* 卦畫) and ‘body’ (*guàtǐ* 卦體) in reference to the three-line diagrams forming the eight trigrams and the six-line diagrams that precede each of the 64 hexagram names. I refer to prognostications after the hexagram name as a ‘hexagram statement’ (*guàcí* 辭辭), and refer to prognostications found in the six individual lines as a ‘line statement’ (*yáocí* 爻辭). I refer to line statements by their placement in the hexagram picture, from bottom to top, that is, initial line, line 2, 3, 4, 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’. I italicize hexagram names in pinyin but not trigram names.

Lǐ Dǐngzuò 李鼎祚 (mid-late Táng) 2016: *Zhōu Yì jíjiě* 周易集解 is the base text. Commentaries outside of the canonical ones attached to the *Zhōu Yì* are cited as referenced. Excavated manuscripts of the *Zhōu Yì* and *Guīcáng* used in this paper are the Shànghǎi Museum Warring States *Zhōu Yì*, the *Mǎwángduì* Western Hàn *Zhōu Yì*, and the Wángjiātái Qín *Guīcáng*; the *Liánshān* is no longer extant: Mǎ Chéngyuán 馬承源 (ed.) 2004; Qíu Xīguī 裘錫圭 (editor-in-chief)/Húnán shěng bówùguǎn/Fùdàn dàxué chūbù wénxiàn yǔ gǔwénzì yánjiū zhōngxīn (ed.) 2014; Wáng Míngqín 2004: 26–49. Edward Shaughnessy 2013 provides an introduction, transcription, and annotated translation of the Shànghǎi Museum *Zhōu Yì*, Wángjiātái *Guīcáng*, and Fùyáng *Zhōu Yì*; an earlier work by Shaughnessy 1996 does the same thing for the *Mǎwángduì Yìjīng*. For the numerical trigrams and hexagram examples used in this paper, see Pú Máozuǒ 濮茅左 2006, Zhāng Jīnpíng 張金平 2015.

text by alerting them that words in *Changes* manuals are images, and reinforcing that 'images are resemblances' (*xiàng xiàng yě* 象像也), the treatise also provides a brief description of the composition of the text, saying "Sages set out hexagrams, observed images and attached words, so as to clarify auspicious and inauspicious."³ 'Setting out hexagrams' refers to a six-line divination result. Diviners observed images in the divination result and attached words—hexagram names, injunctions, and predictive statements, so as to clarify whether or not the issue under inquiry was fit for use, and considered to be auspicious and favorable, or unfit for use, and considered to be inauspicious and unfavorable. In the 1930s, Yǔ Xīngwú, arguably one of the finest philologists and paleographers of his time, said in the introduction to his *Shuāngjiànyǐ Yījīng xīnzhèng* 雙劍謄易經新證 (New Evidential Studies on the *Yījīng*), that images in the *Changes* mainly originated and developed in resemblances between real objects and logographs and their associated hexagram and trigram pictures. The *Changes*, he declared, is a study of images.⁴

A relatively secure strategy for reading and interpreting unearthed Warring States *Changes* manuals is to engage with them from an emic perspective. A recently discovered 4th century BC Warring States guidebook for hexagram divination called *Shìfǎ* 筮法 (*Method of Milfoil Divination) shows *Changes* users how numbers produced images and how images produced words, and this is very much in line with the description provided by the *Xìcí* cited above. The *Shìfǎ* manuscript, written in the form of tables and illustrations on sixty-three numbered bamboo slips, contains information on how to interpret upper and lower trigrams within a numerical hexagram. Based on specific divination 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; slips 52–59) called "Line images" (*yáoxiàng* 爻象) individual numbers have their own associated images like those listed in the canonical *Shuō guà* 說卦 (Explanation of the trigrams) commentary.⁵ Below are the images listed under the numbers four (slips 58–59) and eight (slips 53–54),

3 Zhōu Yì jǐjiě 13.393–394, 15.448, 15.459.

4 Yǔ Xīngwú 于省吾 1960.






5 Qīnghuá Dàxué Chūtǔ Wénxiàn Yánjiū yǔ Bǎohù Zhōngxīn (ed.), Lǐ Xuéqín 李學勤 (editor-in-chief) 2013: *Shìfǎ* 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, and 9, numbers which had an extraordinary significance due to the high odds of drawing one vis-à-vis 1/7 and 6. The manuscript has been translated with annotation and an introduction by C.A. Cook and Zhào Lù 2017.

四之象為陞（地），為圓（圓），為壺（鼓），為耳，為環，為腫（踵），為雪，為露（露），為（霓霞）。








The images of four: becomes earth,⁶ becomes a circle, becomes a drum, becomes an ear, becomes a ring, becomes a heel, becomes snow, becomes dew, becomes hail.

凡爻象，八為風，為水，為言，為非（飛）鳥，為癰（腫）脹，為魚，為權（罐）甬（筭），才（在）上為飢（醪），下為汰（汰）。

In all cases of line images: eight becomes wind, becomes water, becomes speech, becomes a flying bird, becomes swelling, becomes a fish, becomes a container; at the top, it becomes ale dregs, below, it becomes rinse.




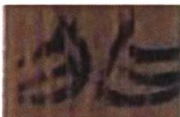


The number four in the *Shifǎ*'s numerical hexagram combinations is written as , and a comparison with Warring States period allographs like , , and  that have marks on the inside and lines traversing its outline makes it evident that all of the so-called 'images' listed above obtained their associations through a simple connection to the number's graphic shape. All of 4's visualized images are circular and are a match because their shape shows a resemblance to 4'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 discernible: a diviner encountering  observed images of objects that reminded him of this shape.⁷

⁶ I understand the verb *wéi* 為 in formulas like these as meaning 'becomes' or 'changes (into)', based primarily on an anecdote about *Changes* hexagram divination in the *Zuǒ zhuàn* (Lord Mǐn 閔, year 1); Shàng Bǐnghé 尚秉和 2012: 5.77, *Jiāo shì Yì gǔ* 焦氏易詁, provides a commentary.

⁷ This atypical writing of 'four' with an empty inside and nothing piercing its outline appears to have been utilized specifically for clearer image recognition. I refer to this as a 'divinatory form'; and there are others. As early as the Shāng dynasty, the graphic form of the numbers 5 (五) and 6 (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 *Shifǎ* and outside of the numerical hexagram examples 4 is written in its more regular form . The same holds true for 9, which in numerical trigram combinations is written in its 'divinatory form' , but elsewhere in the manuscript in its more regular form . *Jiǔ* 九 (9) is a pictograph of the right arm with a bend at the elbow and is the archaic form of *zhǒu* 肘 'elbow'. Like the images of 4, several of 9's line images in the *Shifǎ* (slips 56–57), for instance 'snake' (*shé* 蛇 ) ('bow' (*gōng* 弓 ) and 'bend' (*qū* 曲 ), clearly originate from an iconographic play on objects with a bend or natural curve; see Hóu Nǎifēng 侯乃峰 2015: 19–22. The *Mǎwángduì Yìjīng*, "Zhōng" 衷, column 24, makes the same shape association between nine  and 'snake': 為九之狀，浮首頰下，蛇身僂曲 "The shape of the number nine is a floating head facing downward, a snakelike body coiled around."

The line images for number 8, on the other hand, derive largely through pictorial resemblances made between the number's graphic form 八 (*bā* 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, ale dregs, and rinse, clearly play on things that get bigger or emit out at the top and bottom.

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

Eight	Wind	Water	Flying ⁸	Fish	Container ⁹
					

The *Shǐfǎ*'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 the "Line Images" section of the manuscript is so similar to the lists of trigrams and their images in the *Shuō guà* 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, from a Warring States perspective, a large number of images in the *Zhōu Yī* and *Guīcáng* 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,¹⁰ we now must assume that a deeper repository of subjective and

⁸ The graph *fēi* 非 'wrong' is to be read as a phonetic loan for *fēi* 飛. The *Mǎwángduì Yìjīng* writes 飛 as 翬.

⁹ The graph *tǒng* 洞 'straight-forward' is to be read as the same word signified *tǒng* 筒 (筒) 'container'.

¹⁰ Huáng Zōngxī 黃宗羲 (1610–1695) championed the term 'pictographic images', *xiàngxíng zhī xiàng* 象形之象; see Huáng Zōngxī 2007: 129, "Yuán xiàng" 原象 (Original Images).

innovative images could be seen in multiple number combinations (i.e., trigrams and hexagrams).

2 Trigram Kūn's 'body' (Kūn tǐ 坤體) as a gateway into the *Changes*

The *Xìcí* suggests that ☰ Qián 乾 and ☷ Kūn 坤, as a unified pair, are the gateway into the *Changes*.¹¹ This, in effect, is another way of saying that trigrams and hexagrams start with pure Qián and pure Kūn, and that the images of these two trigrams are foundational knowledge for using, and more importantly comprehending, divination manuals and related literature. A clear model of trigram Kūn's images is therefore required before proceeding to do other things with them.

In *Yijing* studies, the technical term tǐ 體 'body' refers to the configuration of a trigram and hexagram (i.e., guàtǐ 卦體), or forming the completed structure of one.¹² The compounds Kūn tǐ 坤體 'Kūn's body' and Qián tǐ 乾體 'Qián's body', the only two pure diagrams, occur far more frequently in the commentarial tradition than the word 體 does in combination with any of the other six trigrams and sixty-two hexagrams. Tǐ 體 occurs just four times in the *Yijing* and, significantly, only ever in reference to Qián's and Kūn's 'bodies'.¹³

Specific to the *xiàngshù* 象數 ('numbers and images') commentarial tradition, the terms 'Qián's body' and 'Kūn's body' both occur at the opening of Gān Bǎo's 干寶 (280–336) *Yijing* commentary, in the annotation to hexagrams Qián and Kūn. Gān refers to the trigrams, in their pure state, as being intact—*Qián tǐ jì bèi* 乾體既備 "Qián's body is already complete"; *Kūn tǐ jì jù* 坤體既具 "Kūn's body is already set".¹⁴ Selected for inclusion in both Lǐ Dǐngzuò's *Jíjǐe* and Sūn Xīngyǎn's 孫星衍 (1753–1818) *Jíjǐe*, to fully comprehend these two technical formulas at their first occurrence is vital for grasping a key hermeneutic strategy in operation during Gān Bǎo's time (and likely inherited from Hàn use of the

11 *Zhōu Yì jǐjǐe* 16.477; Mǎwángduì *Yijing*, "Zhōng" 衷, col. 34–35.

12 This word is also used in the technical lexicon of bone divination; for instance, it refers to the configuration of a divination crack in a turtle shell in the "Jīn téng" chapter of the *Shàng shū*; *Shàng shū zhùshū* (Beijing: Beijing dàxué 1999 ed.) 13.335–336.

13 It occurs twice in the *Wényán* 文言 commentary: once about hexagram Qián (*Zhōu Yì jǐjǐe* 1.9) and once about Hexagram Kūn (*Zhōu Yì jǐjǐe* 2.44), in both instances as they are embodied by the noble man; and twice in the *Xìcí* (*Zhōu Yì jǐjǐe* 16.478). Lái Zhidé 2019: 1.199 defines the word 體 when it occurs in the *Wényán* commentary to Hexagram Kūn as meaning the "fixed bodies of Qián and Kūn" (體者，乾坤之定體也).

14 *Zhōu Yì jǐjǐe* 1.4 (Qián, top line), 2.36 (Kūn, Line 3); Sūn Xīngyǎn 2018: 1.20, 1.58.

Changes), namely that Kūn's and Qián's 'bodies' are no longer 'intact' once interaction between yīn and yáng lines produces the 'mixed', secondary trigrams.¹⁵

The *Shuō guà* identifies the stomach (fù 腹) as an image of Kūn, presumably based on the *Zhōu Yī* hexagram *Míngyí* "Brightness injured" (Line 4), and we now have a diagram in the *Shìfǎ* matching the eight trigrams to different parts of the human figure that recognizes Kūn as the chest (see Section 9; Figure 1). Centered on the hermeneutic formula "Kūn becomes the torso", which I derive from conflating the *Shuō guà* and *Shìfǎ* as a system matrix, an image cluster collated by Zhāng Huìyán 張惠言 (1761–1802) from Yú Fān's 虞翻 (166–233) commentary can be reconstituted as: 'shape' (xíng 形) > 'body' (tǐ 體) > 'stomach' (fù 腹) / 'chest' = 'torso' > 'me' (wǒ 我) > 'myself' (zì 自) (The image of Kūn as a model of 'shapes' is related, in the *xiàngshù* tradition, to the earth's many contours).¹⁶ Among the eight trigrams, Kūn's connection with the body, mainly because of its early association with the torso—essentially the human trunk—appears the most perceptible.

I intend in this study to demonstrate how the images of the pure even-numbered trigram operate in a *Changes* matrix and as a unified program, stemming from the *Shuō guà*, that I consider to be reflective of its Warring States use. Western Hàn uses of the *Changes* inherited Warring States uses of the *Changes*, and knowledge systems about and principles of line, trigram, and hexagram interpretation developed during this time has had a fundamental impact and long-lasting influence on how users of the *Changes* in the 'numbers and images' tradition have read and explained the texts thereafter. An essential task, having collated Kūn's images, is to elucidate how Kūn's 'body', in its many early configurations, has come to be associated with such a massive, dynamic corpus of images. Obviously I shall not be able to deal with the several hundred of them (and growing). I will, however, focus primarily on what I identify as the prime images, so as to set a foundation, and, from there, make organic correlations with related images (sub-images, derivatives) leading to what I then term image clusters. The idea is to substantiate an image program for Kūn from an emic perspective,

15 The Nine Schools' commentary pinpoints the *Wényán* commentary to hexagram Kūn (*Zhōu Yī jǐjiě* 2.40) as evidence; "Kūn is most gentle and soft, but when put in motion is hard and strong" (坤至柔而動也剛). The commentary says that this refers to trigram Kūn changing into trigram Zhèn, and yīn giving birth to yáng. The *Shuō guà* (*Zhōu Yī jǐjiě* 17.521) lists *xuánhuáng* 玄黃 'black and yellow', an adjective which occurs in the Top Line statement of Hexagram Kūn (*Zhōu Yī jǐjiě* 2.38) in reference to the interaction of Heaven (Qián) with Earth (Kūn), as an image of a 'mixed' (*záwù* 雜物) trigram Zhèn.

16 *Zhōu Yī jǐjiě* 2.34, citing Sòng Zhōng 宋衷 (dates uncertain; Eastern Hàn).

centered on Warring States use of the *Changes*, with an innovative and technical apparatus to establish it.

Hàn users of the *Changes*, for instance Yú Fān, elaborated a principle of eight trigram interpretation that took ☳ Zhèn 震, ☵ Kǎn 坎, and ☶ Gèn 艮, which were classified as male trigrams no later than the Warring States period (*Shuō guà/Shìfǎ*),¹⁷ as originating in Kūn's 'body'.¹⁸ The procedure is this: when a single yáng line 'resides' (the technical term is *jū* 居) in trigram Kūn's initial line, it produces the trigram Zhèn; when it 'resides' at its middle line, it produces trigram Kǎn; and when it resides at its top line, it produces trigram Gèn. This principle for interpreting trigram pictures therefore assumes that the six 'mixed' trigrams emanated from of the 'bodies' of the two 'pure' trigrams—Qián and Kūn. Envisioning and defining Qián and Kūn's 'bodies' as the source of the other six trigrams is a compelling explanation for why, in the *xiàngshù* tradition, images of Kūn and Qián statistically outnumber images associated with other six trigrams by such a wide margin. (The data is provided in Section 2.2.)

Yet what will also become apparent is that some images listed in the *Shuō guà*'s key, and now also in the Hǎihūn manuscripts,¹⁹ like 'cart' (*chē* 車) and 'bovine' (*niú* 牛), cannot readily be identified with Kūn in the received version of the *Zhōu Yī*. When this happens I find that applying Yú Fān's interpretive principle of a trigram's 'half image' (*bànxàng* 半象) (i.e., an image observed in two of a trigram's three lines),²⁰ or developing Gān Bǎo's principle of Kūn's 'intact body' both work in activating the *Shuō guà*. This causes me, in turn, to provide examples with discursive analysis—from the perspective of late Hàn/early medieval use of the *Changes*—of intersections between female Kūn and the three male trigrams Zhèn, Kǎn, and Gèn.

Throughout the *Shìfǎ* there is validation, substantiating information in the *Shuō guà* tradition, that Warring States uses of the *Changes* identified trigrams by gender. A section on the topic of divining about *xiǎng* 享 'offering sacrifice' suggests that the community who produced this text understood the six mixed trigrams as emanating from Qián and Kūn 'bodies'. The text says,



𪛗 (凡) 𪛖 (享), 月朝, 屯 (純) 牝, 乃鄉 (饗)。

17 *Zhōu Yī jǐjiě* 17.516–517; *Shìfǎ*, "Obtaining" 得, Examples 4–5, slips 7–10.

18 Or, as per Gān Bǎo, meaning Kūn's body is no longer intact.

19 Lǐ Líng 2020: 254–267. Lǐ refers to the manuscript as *Yīzhān* 易占 'Yī prognostications'. The text, however, contains more than just predictions, and reads like a reference for the study and use of the *Zhōu Yī* hexagrams. For convenience, I shall refer to it hereafter as the Hǎihūn manuscripts.

20 Yú Xīngwú 1960: 1.2b–4b provides a good overview with examples.



月夕，屯（純）戊（牡），乃亦鄉（饗）。

6-6-6 6-6-6 In all cases of offering sacrifice, when the moon 'is in its early phase',
6-1-1 6-6-6 all cows, then feast.

1-1-1 1-1-1 When the moon 'is in its late phase', all bulls, then also feast.
6-6-1 1-1-1

The technical terms *yuèzhāo* 月朝 (lit. the moon in the morning) and *yuèxī* 月夕 (lit. the moon in the evening) refer to the first and third of three ten-day (*xún* 旬) periods comprising a single lunar cycle.²¹ The effect of the 'contrived' hexagram-divination results shows discerning *Changes* users how to read and interpret images observed within the hexagrams' pictures. In Example 1, the first hexagram of the pair and the top trigram of the second hexagram are 'all' the 'pure' even-numbered trigram, Kūn, which is why the prediction says to use 'all cows' for sacrificial offerings. In Example 2, the first hexagram of the pair and the top trigram of the second hexagram are 'all' the 'pure' odd-numbered trigram, Qián, which is why the prediction says to use 'all bulls' for sacrificial offerings. It is important to note here that Kūn does not have the image of 'bovine' as it does in the *Shuō guà* (and as I explain below this is but a high-level category that requires the user to further elaborate), but only the gender-specific image of a 'cow'. The two most pressing issues for offering sacrifice that needed resolution in early Chinese inscriptional sources was the time (When) and the offering (What). Cattle were the most-frequently used sacrificial animal in traditional China, and the *Shìfǎ* assumes this to be common knowledge. Thus the category of animal to be used was presumed by tradition, but a diviner making his way through the details of planning an event and setting an agenda would have needed to further refine and interpret the trigrams in order to determine whether to use all females, all males, or a combination of both. This same issue is encountered repeatedly in the Shāng oracular inscriptions.²²

A second, related issue for a diviner was the time to carry out sacrificial offerings. Divination about time is also encountered repeatedly in the Shāng oracular inscriptions, and, commonly, about this very subject. As noted by Lǐ Xuéqín, the image of the moon in 'its early phase' comes from the single yīn line at the bottom of *Xùn* ䷋, the bottom left trigram of the first hexagram pair,

²¹ Lǐ Xuéqín et al. 2017: 152.

²² For oracle bone evidence, see Schwartz 2019.

while the image of the moon in ‘its late phase’ comes from the single yáng line at the top of *Gèn* ䷋, the bottom left trigram of the second hexagram pair. Although the text does not elaborate, we can see that in Warring States uses of the *Changes* the ‘intact bodies’ of pure Qián and Kūn were considered fundamental to interpreting images observed in the mixed, secondary trigrams.²³

2.1 The many appearances of trigram Kūn’s ‘body’, and its image program in the *Yìjīng* and *Shìfǎ*

It is common knowledge that the outcomes of *Changes* divination were two even and two odd numbers, and four integers in total: 6 and 8; 7 and 9. What is new to *Changes* studies is that Warring States divination records and the *Shìfǎ* confirm that up to six numbers were used to play the game,²⁴ adding now 4 and 5. This means that trigram and hexagram divination at this time, but likely much earlier, had outcomes of three even and three odd numbers. For our purposes here, it also means that Kūn’s ‘body’ as three broken lines derived from a polymorphous, pure even-numbered trigram (*Kūn)²⁵ that in its many configurations was more ‘changeable’ than we knew previously. Kūn’s trigram ‘body’, as the outcome of real divination, had 27 (3³) possible configurations. We knew only of 8 (2³) previously. Appendix 1 arranges these as a tabular form and reconstructs the possible 3-digit outcomes based on data in and extrapolated from the *Shìfǎ* and using the *Shìfǎ*’s calligraphy. The numbers are set out horizontally as strings of Arabic numerals, and vertically in Warring States *Changes* notation so as to mimic divination outcomes. Kūn’s ‘body’ could be comprised of three 4s, three 6s, three 8s, or any combination of these three even-numbers. This means that the ‘body’ of trigram Kūn that we all know, ䷁, which evolved from three 8s, had 26 other configurations. The ‘body’ of hexagram Kūn that we all know, ䷁, which evolved from six 8s, had 728 (3⁶) other configurations.

I propose that one of the reasons why words (i.e., ‘images’) in the *Changes* might appear so enigmatic is because they have become detached from the ‘bodies’ or ‘pictures’, as divination results, in which diviners first recognized them. Looking

²³ For a related example in the *Shìfǎ*, “Determining about one’s husband and daughter” 貞丈夫女子, slips 24–31.

²⁴ Lǐ Líng 2013: 1–15 uses this terminology.

²⁵ The symbol * before Kūn indicates the name and its sound is hypothetical.

at the original configurations of Kūn in all of its bodily manifestations leads to a deeper appreciation and understanding of the complexity of this system of divination, and doing so is integral to investigating, as a thought experiment, complex relationships between divination results and numbers, numbers and images, and images and predictions; that is, the basic composition of the base texts. Users of the *Zhōu Yì* should no longer visualize Kūn's 'body' as one-dimensional ☰ and ☷.

Kūn's trigram picture in early versions of *Changes* manuals evolved into pure yīn (broken) lines from the numerical sequences 8-8-8 (*Zhōu Yì*) and 6-6-6 (*Guīcáng*). We know this mainly because of the existence and evolution of numerical hexagrams from the Late Shāng period onwards, and because hexagram pictures in unearthed versions of the *Zhōu Yì* look just like three 8s (for instance trigram Kūn ☷ in the Mǎwángduī version), and in the Wángjiātái *Guīcáng* look just like three 6s (for instance the pure yīn hexagram ☷ in the Wángjiātái *Guīcáng*). Conversion of hexagram pictures from actual numerical results into a codified set of sixty-four hexagrams written with only 1 (/7) and either 8 or 6 was already taking place during the late Western Zhōu period. The Shànghǎi Museum *Zhōu Yì*, the Qīnghuá University **Hexagram List*, and reference to the *Changes* in other Warring States period manuscripts, for example from Guōdiàn 郭店, confirms the existence of a stable core text in circulation circa 300 BC. Historical anecdotes related to the *Changes* in the *Zuǒ zhuàn* further imply that divination manuals called *Changes* were in circulation during the Springs and Autumns. Recent discoveries infer that a *Zhōu Yì* was committed to writing, in some form, by the end of the Western Zhōu.²⁶

The numerical combinations and alloforms of trigram Kūn in the *Shìfǎ* are 6-6-6 and 6-6-8 (Table 2). The "Hexes" (Suì 崇) section of the manuscript (Section 26) also confirms that Kūn's alloforms included the number 4. Although the text does not have any specific examples, based on the positions of other extraordinary numbers,²⁷ we have every reason to assume that: 1) this numerical result could occur in either of the trigram's three lines, for example as 4-6-6/6-4-6/6-6-4 (Table 2 shows two reconstructions); and 2) it could occur multiple times in






26 Dǒng Shān 董珊 2011: 68–88; Schwartz 2018a: 49–50, 68–75.

27 This can be confirmed through the position of other extraordinary numbers, 5 and 9, in configurations of the other trigrams in the "Hexes" section of the *Shìfǎ*. For instance, under the hexes of trigram Qián, there is a configuration of all fives; under the hexes of trigram Luó 羅 (= Yījīng's Lí 離), there is a configuration where two fives, positioned at the initial and top lines, 'wedge' the number 4; under the hexes of trigram Láo 勞 (= Yījīng's Kǎn 坎), there is a configuration where the number 5 is the middle line. As for 9, it occurs at the top line (Gèn 艮), the middle line (Láo 勞), and the initial line (Zhèn 震).

more than one line, for example as 4-6-4/4-4-6/6-4-4-/4-4-4. Appendix 1 has illustrations of Kūn's 'body' in these configurations.

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 (*guàlì* 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. In the hexagram examples and diagram, individual line numbers are also written in intentionally designed 'divinatory line forms', like number 4 mentioned above, which differ from how these same numbers appear in the discursive parts of the manuscript and as slip or 'page' numbers.²⁸ I refer to these more conventional

Table 2: Numerical combinations of trigram Kūn in the *Shǐfǎ*.

				
6-6-6 (divinatory form)	6-6-8	6-6-4 (reconstructed)	4-6-6 (reconstructed)	6-6-6 (iconographic form)

types as 'non-divinatory numerical forms'. Divinatory forms of numbers first occur in Shāng divination records and seem to have been adopted to avoid confusion with numbers written above and below (as in X (5) in the middle of two 1s; illustrated in n28).

In the case of the *Shǐfǎ*, there was 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. Trigram Kūn's 'body' in the configuration 6-6-8, the confirmation of a trigram Kūn containing the number 4, and 'earth' *dì* 地 as a 'line image' of number 4 in the *Shǐfǎ* ("Line Images") is critical new data. Number 4 as the image of 'earth' is perhaps the most significant discovery, since the *Zuǒ zhuàn* (Lord Zhuāng, year 22; Lord Mǐn, year 1), *Guó yǔ* ("Jìn yǔ" 晉語, 4), and *Images, Xìcí*, and *Shuō guà* commentaries all classify earth (*tǔ* 土/*dì* 地) as an image of trigram Kūn. In early commentaries and in literature about the *Changes*, the prime image of Kūn is undoubtedly earth. It is central to the

²⁸ Number 9 in the hexagram examples, as in 6-6-9 ䷌, is written with a level stroke (一) that is different from its curved form (𠃊) seen elsewhere. The number five in the hexagram examples, as in 6-6-5 ䷋, 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 ㄟ.

development of trigram Kūn's image program in Warring States and Hàn uses of the *Changes*.²⁹

Prime images produce derivative sub-images and lead to additional subsets of direct and indirect correspondences. The *Shuō guà* says Kūn's image of 'mother' derives from its image of 'earth', and for this reason I list it below as one of its sub-images. The "Hexes" section of the *Shǐfǎ*, under Kūn, now confirms an early association between Kūn and 'mother', with 'gate' and 'road', with direction 'west', with providing 'service' and being 'obedient', and with 'death'.

The text for trigram Kūn in "Hexes" (slip 44) says,

與（坤）崇：門、行。屯（純）乃母。八乃妘（奴）以死，乃西祭。四乃緤（縊）者。

Kūn's hexes: Gate, road. [If the configuration is] pure,³⁰ then it is the mother. If there is an 8, then it is a slave who died; then it is western sacrifice. If there is a 4, then it is a hanging (or: strangling).









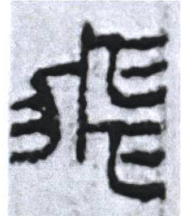
A *xiàngshù* reading, from a Warring States-Western Hàn perspective, understands all the keywords in this passage as images of Kūn. I propose that Kūn has the image of a gate and a road because its 'body' in the configuration 8-8-8 resembles the archetypal images of these things as represented in Warring States script traditions (for instance in Chǔ script) (Table 3). In practice, a diviner inquiring about a hex observed a gate and a road in trigram Kūn's picture because its lines resembled the graphs used to write these words in the script. The listing of gate as an image of trigram Kūn seems, on the surface, to contradict the listing of the same image as an image of trigram Gèn in the *Shuō guà*. As illustrated in Table 1, the *Shǐfǎ* matched the graphic form of eight to *fei* 非 (飛) 'fly', and the shape of the graph *fei* 非 resembled the shapes of the graphs *mén* 門 and *hù* 戶 'door' in Warring States script traditions.³¹

29 Zhū Zhèn 朱震 (1072–1138) 2012: 9.262.

30 I understand the term 'pure; all' (*chún* 純) as meaning the same number was obtained for 'all' three lines. For trigram Kūn, this would be the three configurations: 6-6-6, 4-4-4, and 8-8-8; see too Jiǎ Liánxiáng 2020: 246.

31 Schwartz 2018b: 1163–1164. Since there is no section in this paper on Kūn having the image of 'fluttering wings', I shall discuss it briefly here. The number 8 has the line image of 'flying bird' in the *Shǐfǎ* and the association is iconographic. The reason 8 has this image is because the shape of this number resembles the shape of things that spread open, for which wings in flight is an archetype. The binome *piānpiān* 翩翩 'flapping flapping' occurs in Line 4 of *Tài* 泰 ䷊ "Exalted". "Exalted" is comprised of Kūn over Qián, and "so fluttering" occurs in Kūn's initial line. The *Image* commentary interprets it as an image of trigram Kūn. Trigram Kūn's 'body' in the configuration 8-8-8 enlarges the image of wings in motion and produces the image of flapping and flying in the air. For a discussion of how this interpretation can be applied to the hexagram picture ䷊ and text of *Xiǎoguò* 小過 "Small surpassing", see Schwartz 2018a: 65n40 and Schwartz 2018b: 1174n78. This same binome occurs in stanzas three and four of the *Shījīng* song *Sì mǔ* 四牡 "Four Steeds". The

Table 3: Kūn's body in the configuration 8-8-8 compared with the shapes of the graphs writing the words 'road', 'gate', 'wrong', and 'flying' in Warring States script (Chǔ).

8-8-8	<i>háng</i> 行 'road'	<i>mén</i> 門 'gate'	<i>hù</i> 戶 'door'	<i>fēi</i> 非 'wrong'/飛 'fly'
				
				

Hàn *xiàngshù* commentators classify *hù* 戶 'door(leaf); family; household; opening' as an image of Kūn and the combination of 'door' plus another image of Kūn in the *Shuō guà*, the 'masses' (*zhòng* 眾), forms the sequential image cluster: household > three hundred households > settlement > kingdom > territory. The association of *hù* 戶 with trigram Kūn in the *Yijing* tradition also seems, on the surface, to contradict the listing of the same image as an image of trigram Zhèn in the "Hexes" section of the *Shifǎ* (slip 49). Yet from a Warring States perspective this logic implies that two 8s (over or under 1, thus equalling trigram Gèn and Zhèn), and as many as three, resembled the graphs 門 and 戶 writing the words *mén* 'gate' and *hù* 'door'. Contradictions between interpretations in the *Shifǎ* and *Shuō guà* are of course not at odds. Divergence reveals diversity among how user communities read and interpreted *Changes* results.




In the "Hexes" section, the image of the father is associated only with trigram Qián, and the image of the mother is associated only with trigram Kūn. The *Shifǎ* further confirms that a system associating the eight trigrams with the composition of a family, as an archetype, that is: father, mother, three boys and three girls (父母六子), was in circulation among Warring States *Changes* traditions to interpret individual trigrams and their interaction with the others more widely.

song uses the repeated image of doves flapping about in flight as a metaphor for a man constantly moving about in service to the king; in the *Yijing* tradition, 'service' is an image of trigram Kūn as an archetype of labor and the cow; the cow's main virtue is its complicity; see n65.

The words *bā* 八 'eight' (LH *pat) and *nú* 奴 (LH *na) 'slave' had a close articulation in Late Hàn Chinese. The word 'slave', which I understand in this instance as referring to a female (hence the 'female' signifier), was associated with trigram Kūn when its picture contained one 8 or multiple 8s because: 1) Kūn is a female trigram; 2) in the *Changes* tradition its virtue lies in compliance and being pressed into service; and 3) the sounds of the words had a similar articulation.

Hàn *xiàngshù* specialists classified *sǐ* 死 'die' as a remnant image of Kūn primarily through its association with Kūn's picture as appearing 'empty' (*xū* 虛), 'collapsed/collapsing' (*tuírán* 隤然; *Xìcī*), and 'completely out of breath' (*jìnxiāo* 盡消; Xún Shuāng's remnant image).³² These images all emanate from Kūn's 'body' in the configuration of three 8s/three 6s/three 4s, which have the appearance of weak or soft in the *Changes* tradition because of its open, bent or empty middle, and when compared vis-à-vis the straight and hard lines of the numbers 1/7, 5, and 9, as diametrical opposites.

Kūn is correlated with direction southwest in the *Yijing* commentarial tradition, and now, significantly, with southwest and west in the *Shìfǎ*.³³ This is a sound explanation for why a hex is said to occur with a western sacrifice. Sacrificing to the west is related to death and first recorded in the Shāng oracular inscriptions.³⁴

Finally, the graph writing the word *yì* 'increase' in Warring States Chǔ script is  (益), which is the ancestral form of *yì* 縊 'hang, strangle; noose'. The loop at the top is what resembles the number 4. Throughout the "Hexes" section 'noose' is a 'line image' of number 4 because the shape of the number *resembles* it. Moreover, the configuration of trigram Kūn's 'body' as , that is with 4 at the top line over double-6, closely resembles —a loop with running knots. In association with

32 Collated by Zhāng Huìyán from Yú Fān's commentary, the image of 'death' is part of the image cluster: close, disorder, kill the father, enmity, harm, stop harm, to end, to end forever, worn out, exhausted, die, perish; Lǐ Yìzhuó 李翊灼 (Qīng) 2015. Yàdāng Shìwòcí 亞當 施沃慈 (A.C. Schwartz) 2018: 123–129 discusses the relationship between the images of emptiness, sickness, and death in the *Shìfǎ*. In the Mǎwángduì *Yijing*, Hexagram ䷍ Dà yǒu 大有 "Great Possession", Line Five, the line number 8 (or 6) has the image of a man *wěirú* 委如 'stooped-like'. If one 8 has the image of 'stooped', then three 8s would have the enlarged image of 'collapsed'. The received *Yijing* has *wěirú* 威如 'dignified-like'. Reading 委 in the Mǎwángduì version as though it was a phonetic loan for 威 just because that is the graph written in the received version misses the ingenuity of the line image.

33 Schwartz 2018b: 1170, 1177.

34 Schwartz 2019: 282–283.

things *that cause death*, the divinatory form of 4, as a circle, resembles the image of a noose as an archetype; a hex is thus determined to come from an animate object that was hung or strangled.

Elsewhere in the *Shìfǎ*, trigram Kūn is called ‘yīn’ (slips 13–15) and ‘female’, forms a pair with Qián, has the image of a cow, and is keyed to the days Yǐ 乙 (2/10) and Guǐ 癸 (10/10) of the Decameron.

The *Shuō guà* (Set 1) and *Xìcí* (Set 2) canonical commentaries in the *Yìjīng* list the following images as being associated with trigram Kūn:

Set 1

Earth 地

Kūn in the capacity of storing it. 坤以藏之。

[G-d] sends out labor in Kūn. 致役乎坤。

Kūn means earth, it delivers nourishment to the myriad things. This is the reason why it says, “Sends out labor in Kūn”.³⁵ 坤也者、地也，萬物皆致養焉，故曰：致役乎坤。

Kūn means compliance. 坤，順也。

Kūn becomes a bovine. 坤為牛。

Kūn becomes the stomach. 坤為腹。

Kūn means earth; this is the reason why it is called ‘Mother’. 坤，地也，故稱乎母。

Kūn becomes earth, becomes a mother, becomes cloth, becomes a pot, becomes stingy, becomes equality, becomes a cow with offspring, becomes a big cart,³⁶ becomes patterned, becomes the masses, becomes a handle;³⁷ it becomes black, in referring to earth.

坤為地，為母，為布，為釜，為吝嗇，為均，為子母牛，為大輿，為文，為眾，為柄，其於地也為黑。

³⁵ In this section of the *Shuō guà*, Kūn comes after trigram Lí (south) and before Duī (west). It can therefore be deduced that Kūn was direction southwest in this arrangement of the eight trigrams; (this is the so-called Zhōu King Wén’s Eight Trigram Sequence; see Zhū Zhèn 2012: 295).

³⁶ The word I translate here as ‘cart’ is yú 輿. 輿 means ‘maker of wheeled vehicles’, ‘carriage’ 車廂, and also refers to chē 車 ‘wheeled vehicles’ in general. As a verb, it means to carry in a cart; see Line 3 of hexagram 師 “Army”. Throughout this paper I follow Edward Shaughnessy 2013: 256 in translating 輿 and 車 as ‘cart’; Lǐ Líng 2013: 392 understands it as meaning ‘carriage’.

³⁷ The word-image ‘handle’ does not occur in the received version of the *Zhōu Yì*. The *Xìcí* explains hexagram Qiān 謙 “Modest” as the “handle of virtue”; trigram Kūn is the upper trigram in “Modest”.

Set 2

The sky by being lofty and respected, and the earth by being low-lying and humble, Qián and Kūn are fixed.

天尊地卑，乾坤定矣。

As for Qián, it is still when curled, and straight when moving; this is how it gives birth on such a large-scale. As for Kūn, it is still when closed, and open when moving; this is how it gives birth so extensively.

夫乾，其靜也專，其動也直，是以大生焉。夫坤，其靜也翕，其動也闢，是以廣生焉。

As for Qián, its certainty shows people its simplicity; As for Kūn, its collapsed state shows people its economy.

夫乾，確然示人易矣。夫坤，隤然示人簡矣。

Huáng Dì, Yáo, and Shùn let their jackets and skirts hang down and the sub-celestial realm was governed; it presumably was adopted from hexagrams Qián and Kūn.

黃帝、堯、舜垂衣裳而天下治，蓋取諸乾坤。

Below I regroup and classify the images of trigram Kūn in the canonical commentaries and the *Shìfǎ* as prime images, images, and sub-images based on mutual relationships. What I term sub-images are mainly functions, characteristics, outputs, or organic derivatives of main images.

Prime image: earth/land/soil

Sub-images: to store (/hide), myriad things, sends out nourishment, sends out conscription, mother, cow, compliance, cloth (to clothe > spread out and cover), pot (that which contains), black soil, low-lying (relative to the sky), collapsed, still when closed and open when moving, this is how it gives birth so broadly.

Prime image: stomach/chest = torso

Prime image: road

Prime image: water³⁸

Sub-images: swelling, rinsing out

Prime image: masses

Image: big cart

38 This is based on the *Shìfǎ*, “Line Images”, which says the number 8 has the image of water. If one 8 has the image of water, then reduplicating it three times (as 8-8-8, an alloform of trigram Kūn) would also have the image of water; Schwartz 2022.

Image: stingy

Image: equality

Image: a skirt draping down; in the *Xìcí* associated with governing and rules;
associated with the earth and cloth through the idea of things that cover.

Image: patterned; associated with the earth and its myriad things.

Image: handle

Image: gate, door

Image: west, southwest

Image: days Yǐ 乙 (2/10), Guǐ 癸 (10/10)

Image: (female) slave

Image: death

The *Shuō guà*, understood to be a Warring States composition based in part on older sources, is a codebook or key to understand the base text. Yet hardly any of the images that the *Shuō guà* and *Xìcí* list for Kūn can be directly located in the received text of the *Zhōu Yī*, and this carries with it several implications. First, it suggests the *Shuō guà*'s images came from different versions of the *Zhōu Yī*, and that it was also keyed to other *Changes* manuals like the *Guīcáng*. Second, some images are exact matches in the base text, but others are clearly only intended to be understood as high-level categories. Of course, it is also possible to just say the *Shuō guà* is simply not complete and parts were lost in transmission. Being as it may, the text does provide basic images for each of the fundamental interpretive systems: seasons (southwest), natural elements (earth), parts of the human body (stomach), family (mother), gender (female), animals (bovine), and virtues (compliant, even, stingy). Image lists similar to the *Shuō guà* were undoubtedly circulating during the Warring States period.³⁹ The *Shǐfǎ* contains *Shuō guà*-like material embedded into a more comprehensive manual. The *Shǐfǎ*'s list of line images would have been much longer had it included images for the numbers 1/7 and 6.

To conclude this section, let us assume the *Shuō guà* was circulating during the Warring States period. Based on what we know about how the *Shǐfǎ* made image connections with individual lines and trigrams, what approach would we take to interpret images in the *Shuō guà*? Regardless of whether the trigram was understood at this time to be a yīn-yáng picture or combination of numbers, the *Shǐfǎ*'s method of image associations to real objects and logographs all originate in shape resemblance. A diviner encounters number 4 in a numerical outcome and observes 'dewdrop'

³⁹ In the *Mǎwángduì Yìjīng*, the commentary "Essentials of the *Changes*" 易之要 has the 'introduction' or opening discursive section of the *Shuō guà* but none of its image lists. This implies that the *Shuō guà*'s image list was likely independently transmitted and given an introduction to make it more of a discursive text.

because it has a similar shape; he encounters number 8 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 *Shìfǎ* confirms this was a well-developed and popular Warring States method of image recognition and image interpretation. The commemorative inscription called the *Hexagram Dǐng dagger-axe* 鼎卦戈 confirms this method was already in use several centuries earlier and no later than the first half of the 8th century BC.⁴⁰ Prime images and their organic derivatives are the foundation of the *Zhōu Yī*'s lexical words. Numerical pictures, image-based judgments, and injunctions comprise the base text.

2.2 Kūn's 'remnant' images

Images of trigrams collected outside of the *Yìjīng* (base text + canonical commentaries) are referred to as 'remnant' images (*yìxiàng* 逸象). The term more specifically refers to images not included in the *Shuō guà* that are collected from texts outside of the *Yìjīng*, like *Zuǒ zhuàn*, *Guó yǔ*, *Zhōu Yī* non-canonical commentaries, *Yìlín* 易林 (Western Hàn), and apocrypha (Hàn). As mentioned, trigram Kūn's image program in the *Shuō guà* is listed mostly at the category level and not at the item level. The only images listed at the item level in the *Shuō guà* that can be located in the received version of the *Zhōu Yī* are 'stomach', 'earth', 'masses', 'bovine', and 'big cart'; the only image listed in the *Xìcí* that is found at the item level in the received version of the *Zhōu Yī* is 'skirt'.

'Stomach' and 'earth' both occur in hexagram *Míngyí* 明夷 "Brightness injured"; 'masses' occurs in hexagram *Jìn* 晉 "Advance" (received version) / 潛 "Watery" (Mǎwángduī version); 'big cart' occurs in hexagram *Dàzhuàng* 大壯 "Great strength"; and 'skirt' occurs—in the compound *huángcháng* 黃裳 'yellow skirt', in hexagram *Kūn*. 'Bovine' occurs throughout the text. The word-image 'mother' occurs twice in the received text, but only in compounds. One is *gānmǔ* 幹母 'stem mother' (Line 2, *Gǔ* 蠱 "Parasite") and the other is *wángmǔ* 王母 'royal mother > grandmother' (Line 2, *Jìn* 晉/潛).⁴¹

Specialists and other users who understand how the *Shuō guà* is keyed to the text use its category-level images to identify specific images in the base text. One of the major accomplishments of commentators in the *xiàngshù* tradition is to use the

⁴⁰ Dǒng Shān 2011; Schwartz 2018a: 49–50, 68–75.

⁴¹ The word-image *bǐ* 妣 'ancestress' (one instance, Line 2, *Xiǎoguò* 小過 "Small surpassing") can be added to these two instances, although the word is not spelled with 母. 'Ancestress' is a composite image of Kūn as 'mother' + *sāng* 喪 'lose, deceased'; (Yú Fān, cited in *Zhōu Yī jǐjiě* 12. 376). It is significant that all three instances of words deriving from 'mother' occur in Line 2 of a hexagram picture/the middle line of a trigram picture.

Shuō guà's key to pinpoint images at the item level in the *Zhōu Yī*. The remnant images listed below reveal how Eastern Hàn *xiàngshù* commentators like Zhèng Xuán 鄭玄 (127–200), Xún Shuǎng 荀爽 (128–190), and Yú Fān 虞翻 (164–233) used the *Shuō guà*'s key to trigram Kūn to read the *Yìjīng*; and how each of these users developed unique and innovative strategies to further elucidate it.

The singular goal is to better understand how the *Zhōu Yī*'s hexagrams correlate to word-images in the statements, and how these word-images correlate to meaning and lead to predictions. The argument from a *xiàngshù* perspective is that the *Zhōu Yī* (and now too the [Wángjiātái] *Guīcáng*) cannot be read coherently without foreknowledge that images originated in trigrams and hexagrams.

Remnant images of Kūn collected by Qīng dynasty *Yìjīng* scholars outnumber remnant images of the other seven trigrams. The remnant images that Yú Fān associated with each of the eight trigrams, for instance, were assiduously extracted from his line commentary to the *Yìjīng* by Zhāng Huìyán and Fāng Shēn 方申 (19th c.).⁴² Zhāng Huìyán collected 456 images: 110 for Kūn (24%) and 80 for Qián (18%); Fāng Shēn collected 1,287 images: 294 for Kūn (23%) and 119 for Qián (9%).⁴³ Image-counts for the other six trigrams are significantly less. These statistics confirm that Yú Fān made the most connections with Kūn; Kūn's remnant images comprised one quarter of his total amount, and four out of every ten remnant images were matched either to Kūn or Qián.

Below are extended sets of Kūn's remnant images in Zhāng Huìyán's edition of Yú Fān's commentary,⁴⁴ in Fāng Shēn's collation of remnant images from Zhèng Xuán's commentary (including apocrypha), and from Xún Shuǎng's commentary, including those in his collected commentary of the Nine Schools 九家易.

Yú Fān's remnant images: servant, compliant servant, citizens, ten-thousand citizens, surname, petty person, city folk, ghost, shape, body, cow, mother, stomach, me, myself, arrive, safe, healthy, wealth, property, accumulated, amassed, gathered, layered, thick, send out, to use, wrap, alone, calm, manage, below, contain, affluent, empty, book, close, near, boundary, without boundaries, wishes, detest, veins, rites, rightness, affairs, enterprise, big enterprise, governing the masses, customs, rules, categories, closed, conceal, seal, silent, shame, desire, transgression, ugly, accumulated dislike, lost, disorder, kill the father, enmity, harm, stop harm, to end, to end forever, worn out, exhausted, die, perish, dark, obscure, evening, dark of night, summer heat, day Yǐ 乙, year, ten years, door, gate

⁴² Zhāng Huìyán's commentary is presented in Lǐ Yìzhuó 李翊灼 2015; Fāng Shēn 2002b: 15–28.

⁴³ In addition to these two works, Huì Dòng 惠棟 (1697–1758) 2007 collects a total of 330 remnant images: 81 for Kūn (25%) and 61 for Qián (18%).

⁴⁴ Zhāng Huìyán says that Yú's remnant images likely came from Mèng Xǐ 孟喜 (1st c. BC). Shàng Bǐnghé 尚秉和 (1870–1950) refers to the set as Mèng Xǐ's remnant images as transmitted by Yú Fān. See Shàng Bǐnghé 2012: 186–190, *Jiāo shì Yī gǔ* 焦氏易詁.

of rightness, closed door, close and open, earth, accumulated earth, stairs, field, city, country, kingdom, big kingdom, myriad countries, not one's own kingdom, territory, ghost territory, skirt, apron (or kneepad), cart, axle, receptacle, earthen jar, sack, tiger, water buffalo, earthen-brown cow, ancestress, multitude servants, prisoner, corpse, selfish, base, inside, broad, long-lasting, do things, kill, unkind, blurred, period of death, shroud, gate of virtue, one's own city.

Zhèng Xuán's remnant images: mother, road, earth, south, people's gate, million (/trillion), to end, yellow, horse.

Xún Shuǎng's remnant images: yīn trigram, pure yīn, Hàì 亥-month (10th month), lost, territory, sack, skirt, yellow, silk, elixir, dark, wetland, masses, march the troops, harmonious, field, variegated things, abyss, city, three-hundred households, obeying, multiplied, water, ocean, what is below, wrapping and storing, gentle and compliant, completely out of breath, descending.

2.3 A summary of Kūn's image program

The high-frequency numerical sequences 8-8-8 and 6-6-6 in particular are fundamental to unlocking the primarily pictorial, and logographic, image program of Kūn, both as a trigram and as a hexagram. The image program is formed of a matrix based on bi-directional images: things that open and spread out, incline and amass, and things that close, contain and cover, decline and reduce, exhaust and collapse. Trigram Kūn has the converse images of 'many' and 'few'. It manifests opposing virtues of being compliant and open and being alone and reticent.⁴⁵

Kūn's image program centers on the earth, the mother, the torso (i.e., the trunk of the body), the thoroughfare, and water.⁴⁶ The way these images function and

⁴⁵ The relationship between Qián and Kūn in the *Yijing* is explained in the *xiàngshù* commentarial tradition as one of both harmony and opposition. When harmonious, Kūn complies and follows Qián; when in opposition, Kūn remains alone and isolated. Harmony is most manifest in hexagram *Tài* 泰 "Exalted" and opposition is most manifest in hexagram *Pǐ* 否 "Denied".

⁴⁶ Kūn as the image of water does not occur in the canonical commentaries. In the hermeneutical system of the canonical commentaries, and particularly the *Shuō guà* and *Images* commentary, Kǎn (abysmal water) and Duī (standing water) have the image of water. Xún Shuǎng (< Nine Schools) identified water—and its derivatives 'ocean' 海 and 'abyss' 淵—as remnant images of Kūn, and Shàng Bǐnghé used Jiāo Gòng's 焦贛 (mid-late Western Hàn) *Yǐlín* to show that Kūn, in addition to Kǎn, also had this image during the Western Hàn; see the note of Huáng Shòuqí 黄寿祺 (1912–1990) in Shàng Bǐnghé 2012: 132, *Zhōu Yì gǔshì kǎo* 周易古筮攷; and Shàng Bǐnghé 2012: 12–13, *Jiāo shì Yǐlín zhù* 焦氏易林注. Newly recovered information from the *Shǐfǎ* and evidence from the Mǎwángduī *Yijing* and Wángjiātái *Guīcáng* (Schwartz 2022) entirely support it. I will just say here that Kǎn, Duī, and Kūn have distinct water images that correspond at a 'category' level but do

change is based on where they occur within a hexagram picture and how they are observed: for instance, open or closed, accumulating (inclining) or collapsing (declining). Kūn is set in motion when an odd numbered yáng line (1/7, 5, or 9) enters its ‘body’ (picture), but before (virgin) and after (widowed, orphaned) it has, it remains ‘alone’.

Images of number 8 in the *Shìfǎ*, and particularly water, are associated with spreading open, containing, swelling, and splashing out. The *Shìfǎ*’s diagram of the eight trigrams matched to parts of the human body visually illustrates the expansiveness and thickness of the chest (Figure 1). The divinatory form of number 6 is written with two parallel slanting strokes, and number 8 is written with two disconnected but parallel slanting strokes that leave an open space or emptiness (xū 虛) in between. Trigram Kūn in the pure configuration 6-6-6 is positioned at the chest in the *Shìfǎ* diagram. Its six total strokes, each pair (i.e., each 6) bent at the middle with symmetrical sides, expands out across the figure’s chest. The chest is the broadest area of the diagram; there is more space in this area of the body than in the other areas. Whether or not by design, the diagram illustrates a connection between the chest and the earth.

One 8 is open in the middle and when enlarged, 8-8-8, the space through its empty middle has a longer depth of openness and a more pronounced emptiness. Its negative, empty space forms images in positive and negative spaces. Images can be observed in both horizontal and vertical orientations.

‘Road’ is an image of trigram Kūn in the “Hexes” section of the *Shìfǎ*, and Hàn specialists like Zhèng Xuán and Jiāo Gòng 焦贛 knew about it. Road is a conduit for movement, but it does not move in and of itself. There is a direct connection for instance between the image of a road and divinations about being abroad—on the topics of travel, official service, and war, and especially as it concerns the movement of troops and ‘masses’ of people (zhòng 眾). The canonical *Zá guà* 雜卦 (Miscellany about the Hexagrams) commentary explains the hexagram “Army” *Shī* 師 as being about the masses, and commentators like Xún Shuǎng and Shàng Bǐnghé classify ‘army’ as a remnant image of trigram Kūn based primarily on its

not overlap at the ‘item’ level. Note that there is an interpretive tradition that understands the pure yīn trigram as representing ‘wet’, but it is by virtue of it being the opposite of ‘dry’ (gān 乾), which is represented by the pure yáng trigram; Hellmut Wilhelm (1905–1990) 2019: 39 says, “To begin with, we have the pair of opposites, Qian and Kun ... the names of these trigrams are not easy to decipher; their oldest meaning is probably ‘the dry’ and ‘the moist’, that is to say, the separation of land and water.” Michael Nylan 2001: 203, 217 says that trigram Kūn represents wetness, the feminine, and the impulse to complete, and trigram Qián represents dryness, the masculine, and the impulse to initiate. Another way to explain the assignment of different bodies and characteristics of water to different trigrams is diversity among early *Changes* traditions.

appearance as the outer trigram in the hexagram's picture.⁴⁷ Later I review two interpretations for why Kūn has the image of the masses, and present how at least one Warring States user community conveyed a connection between the hexagram name "Army" and its hexagram picture.

Commentators understand *bù* 布 'cloth' and *fǔ* 釜 'metal pot' differently, and the issue is complicated by the fact that neither occurs in the received text.⁴⁸ What does seem relatively straightforward is that these two words should be understood as a pair, just like with the pair earth and mother before it, and stingy and equality after it.⁴⁹ 'Cloth' and 'metal pot' might best be explained as being related to earth's broad and expansive covering, and how they have a capacity to contain (all things sub-celestial). Number 8 in the *Shìfǎ* has the image of a container and tripling 8, by extension, produces the enlarged image of a giant-sized container with an enormous capacity. (In *Changes* study, doubling a pure trigram's lines enlarges its 'base image' and the result is referred to as a trigram's *dàxiàng* 大象 'big image'.⁵⁰) A 'skirt' is made from cloth, and as mentioned, its covering or veiling what is under or below it is one of its main characteristics (*Xīcī*). The source of this image connection presumably was 'yellow skirt' in Line 5 of hexagram Kūn. *Bù* 布 as a verb means to spread out and this resonates with the image program used in the *Shìfǎ* for line number 8. The *Shuō guà* says spreading out is an image of trigram Zhèn, and in the received version of the *Shuō guà* the word is *fū* 敷 'spread, extend'.

47 Shàng Bǐnghé 2012: 132, *Zhōu Yī gǔshì kǎo*.

48 Shàng Bǐnghé 2016: 20.330 understands *bù* 布 as referring to currency (*quánbù* 泉布), and based on this interpretation Lǐ Líng 2013: 392 reads *fǔ* 釜 as *fǔ* 斧, which was another type of currency used during the Warring States period. Lǐ surmises that the images of stinginess and even-handedness that follow in the *Shuō guà*'s list was business vocabulary deriving from the image of Kūn as currency; Shàng proposes that *quánbù* 泉布 was a derivative image of Kūn as 'water'. Understood in its primary sense, 釜, as an archetype of a food container, is associated to Kūn's prime images of the earth and the stomach.

49 Since I do not have a section in this paper discussing the image *jūn* 均 'evenness', I shall add a few comments here about how I understand this image working in Kūn's image program. The *Shuō guà* correlating Kūn with *lín* 吝 'stingy' is usually explained by commentators as a derivative image of earth. The argument goes that earth's stinginess comes from its hiding and storing things. Its engendering and giving life to all things *without preference* reflects its impartiality and 'evenness'. Another possible interpretation, and a much simpler one, is that Kūn's 'evenness' is pictographic. The trigram picture as three 8s or three 6s is symmetrical right and left; see Tables 2 and 3. Footnote 78 presents more images of this kind.

50 Yú Xīngwú 1960: 1.2b–4b, Schwartz 2018b: 1153–1154. Lái Zhīdé 2019 is the champion of this terminology and applies the principle throughout his reading of the base text.

3 Kūn becomes ‘earth’, a ‘big cart’, a ‘mare’, and a ‘cow’

The word-image *dì* 地 occurs once in the received *Zhōu Yì*, in the top line statement of hexagram *Míngyí* 明夷 “Brightness injured”. The *Shuō guà*’s identification of trigram Kūn as 地 seems in part to have been based on this instance.⁵¹

As mentioned, Kūn as the image of *tǔ* 土 ‘earth, soil’ first occurs in literary anecdotes about hexagram divination in the *Zuǒ zhuàn* (Lord Zhuāng, year 22) and *Guó yǔ* (“Jìn yǔ” 晉語 4). Kūn’s image of the earth 地 is first mentioned as Qián’s partner and opposite in the *Wényán* commentary to hexagram *Qián* 乾, “If things that have their origin in the sky stay with what is above, and things that have their origin on the earth stay with what is below, then each thing will follow in its own category.”⁵² This statement is important because it resonates with how the *Shuō guà*’s key organizes the image program of trigram Kūn at the category level.

Kūn’s image of the earth first occurs in the *Judgment* commentary to Kūn’s hexagram statement, at the occurrence of the word *pìn* 牝 ‘mare’, which the commentary calls “an earth type” and something that “moves on the land without boundaries”.⁵³ Both a ‘mare’ and a ‘big cart’ are archetypes of giant things that in antiquity moved across the land in all directions and transported large quantities of smaller objects. The *Images* commentary unvaryingly keys the occurrence of trigram Kūn in a hexagram picture to the earth. The image of earth first occurs in the *Images* commentary to Kūn’s hexagram statement and says, “Earth’s force [is] Kūn (or: compliance). The noble man uses his thick virtue to support things” (地勢坤(順), 君子以厚德載物).⁵⁴ How the *Images* commentary plays on humanity having characteristics of the earth is a good example of how philosophical meaning developed out of images. One of the major characteristics of earth is its thickness. Authors of philosophical texts, especially during the classical period, like to refer to worthy men as having ‘thick’ virtue. Like earth, the thick virtue of

51 The outer trigram of “Brightness injured” is Kūn and the inner trigram is Lí, here manifest as the sun. The line statement says “[the sun] initially rises in the sky; later it enters into the earth”. “Enters into the earth” portrays stages of the evening: sundown and twilight (Line 4), evening (Line 5), and late evening (Top Line). The opposite of “Brightness injured” in the received *Yìjīng* is *Jìn* 晉 “Advancing”. “Advancing” refers to the sun’s gradual ascension. I discuss the hexagram pair in more detail later in this study.

52 *Zhōu Yì jíjiě* 1.18.

53 *Zhōu Yì jíjiě* 2.32.

54 *Zhōu Yì jíjiě* 2.34. Shàng Bǐnghé 2016: 2.22–24 has a long, convincing argument that the graph 坤 in the sentence 地勢坤 should be read as a phonetic loan for *shùn* 順 ‘compliant’; for a discussion of the relationship between 坤 and 順, see Sections 12.1, 13.

worthy men supports the growth of the myriad things, and with a focus on commonfolk.

One way to understand Kūn's association to the earth is that it is the result of Qián's association with the sky. However, new information in the *Shìfǎ* opens up an interpretation that was unfathomable prior to its discovery. Based on its primary method of image recognition, the *Shìfǎ* lists *dì* 地 'earth' as an image of the number 4 because the shape of 4 resembled the image of a clod of earth as an archetype. As mentioned, alloforms of trigram Kūn included as many as three 4s. Theoretically, and while there are certainly other explanations, the appearance of a 4 or multiple 4s in its trigram picture (see Appendix 1) could have led to observing the image of soil/clod(s) of earth (土) in its midst.

The image of Kūn as a 'big cart' is complex and requires a detailed examination. Cart in the *Shìfǎ* is an image of number 5, and the image connection appears to be iconographic; a match exists between the shape of the number X (5) and the archetype of a wheel-spoke.⁵⁵ The *Shuō guà* also lists 'cart' in the image program of trigram Kǎn, saying, "Referring to carts (or to wheeled vehicles in general), it becomes (its) many failures."⁵⁶ The *Shuō guà* does not mean that a cart itself is an image of Kǎn, but only that composite images associated with cart failure are. An account of divination in the *Zuǒ zhuàn* (Lord Xǐ, year 15) records trigram Zhèn as having the image of cart, and this interpretation was presumably keyed to an image program for this trigram in circulation among Warring States *Changes* traditions centered on things that move forward with 'speed and determination' (*juézào* 決躁 (*Shuō guà*)), with prime images being a foot (>feet) and thunder.

⁵⁵ Hóu Nǎifēng 2015: 19–22.

⁵⁶ Kǎn's relationship with Kūn can be explained as stemming from Kūn's 'intact body' or 'base image', and the change that occurs once Kǎn's single yáng line occupies Kūn's middle line. *Xiàngshù* commentators starting no later than the Hàn use the technical phrase 'Kǎn residing in Kūn's body' 坎居坤體 in reference to images that crossover between the two. Kǎn's prime images are water and a pit, and these two images lead to the sub-images of danger, trouble, failure, and other types of hardships and tribulations. As I illustrate later in this section, in the *Shìfǎ* the appearance of number 5 in Láo's 勞 'Toil' (= Kǎn's) middle line has the image of ambush by sword and a gory death. Kǎn in the *Shuō guà* is associated with sickness in the heart and ear and increasing sorrow. Kǎn does not have the image of the heart, but rather only the images of heart illness and sadness. Kūn has the image of heart because the heart is contained in the chest. The *Shuō guà* saying Kǎn has the image of causing vehicle failures implies that Kūn has base image of a cart. Like with the images heart (Kūn) and heart illness (Kǎn), it is the middle yáng line piercing Kūn's 'body' that produces these failures. Yú Fān, cited in *Zhōu Yì jǐjiě* 17.528, says 坤為大車, 坎折坤體, 故為車多眚 "Kūn has the image of a big cart. Kǎn splits Kūn's body. This is the reason why [Kūn] as a big cart has many failures".

The iconographic association of the line number 5 to the image of a cart in the *Shìfǎ* complicates the issue of trigram-to-image association in the *Zhōu Yì*. What we do not know is if any 5 could have become the image of a cart, or whether the line's position in a hexagram picture was also taken into account. Since the initial line of Zhèn is an odd-numbered line, and its image program centers on strong movement, it would appear that a deeper connection can be made between a cart and trigram Zhèn than can be made between a cart and trigram Kūn.⁵⁷

Kǒng Yǐngdá 孔穎達 (574–648) explains a 'big cart' as an image of Kūn through an association with earth.⁵⁸ Lǐ Líng, understanding the word *yú* 輿 as a 'carriage', also connects it to earth because a carriage is square and its shape resembles how people in antiquity understood the shape of the sub-celestial realm.⁵⁹ Big carts (/carriages), big animals like bovines and horses (mares), and masses of people (especially an army) all move along the land; earth supports all earthly things and allows them to move on it.

The graphs 輿 and *chē* 車 are both used to write the word cart in the received version of the *Zhōu Yì*, but Shànghǎi Museum and Mǎwángduī versions have 車 where 輿 usually occurs.

The image 'big cart' *dà yú* 大輿 occurs just once in the *Zhōu Yì*, in Line 4 of ䷊ *Dàzhuàng* 大壯 "Great Strength". The text says,

九四：貞吉，悔亡。藩決不羸，壯于大輿之輹。

Nine in the Fourth: The determination is lucky; regret is gone. (If a ram intends) to break open a fence and not weaken its horns, (it needs to be) stronger than the axle of a big cart.⁶⁰

57 See Lái Zhīdé 2019: 418–419; Shàng Bǐnghé 2012: 32, *Zhōu Yì gǔshì kǎo*.

58 *Zhōu Yì jǐjiě* 17.520: 取其能載 'chosen because of its ability to transport'.

59 Lǐ Líng 2013: 392. The square shape of the earth alluded to in Line 2 of hexagram Kūn in the *Zhōu Yì* does not agree with the circle images of number 4 in the *Shìfǎ*.

60 The occurrence of the word-image *léi* 羸 'weak' is, in my opinion, connected to the hexagram picture of *Dàzhuàng* as an enlarged trigram Duī; trigram's Duī's 'body' with a yīn line (as 6/8) over two solid yáng lines resembles how the word ram, *yáng* 羊, was written in archaic script; see Schwartz 2018b: 1154. The image of a fence being breached appears to be a different interpretation of the hexagram picture as a 'whole-bodied' image; see Schwartz 2018b: 1134n8. 'Break open' stems from encountering the two 'broken' (as 8 八) yīn lines. The hexagram picture called "Breaching" in the received *Zhōu Yì* is comprised of a top yīn line over five yáng lines. The image of a 'breach' in that hexagram picture comes from the top broken line in relation to the solid lines below it (that is, the yīn line has been 'breached' by the hard and strong yáng lines under it). In Schwartz 2018b, I followed the interpretation of Mǎ Róng 馬融 (79–166) and read the word 壯 as 'injure, wound' (傷). Shaughnessy translates the word as meaning 'maturity' (1996: 88), and then both as 'strength' and 'wound' (Shaughnessy 2013: 183, 256). He translates this passage of the line statement, "A hedge opened but not broken, wounded by the strut of a great cart," reading 壯于 as a passive and hedge as its object. I agree with Lǐ Líng 2013: 196 who glosses 壯 as meaning strong,

Trigram Kūn does not appear in the hexagram picture, yet the *Shuō guà*'s reference could only have been referring to this place in the *Zhōu Yì*. This implies that the author/compiler of the *Shuō guà* almost certainly understood the image of a 'big cart' in Line 4 of "Great Strength" as an image of trigram Kūn, even though the upper trigram in the hexagram picture is Zhèn. I mentioned earlier a Hàn principle of eight trigram interpretation that identified Zhèn as originating in Kūn's 'body'. The hexagram picture ䷡ "Great Strength" resembles an 'enlarged' ䷋ trigram Duì, but it also resembles an 'enhanced' ䷌ trigram Zhèn.⁶¹ The logic of enlargement (and enhancement) goes that images grow as trigrams grow. In order to activate the *Shuō guà*'s key and apply the hermeneutic formula "Kūn becomes a big cart" (坤為大輿), Lines 5–6 would have to be understood as a 'half image' of Kūn's 'big cart', and the yáng line below it (Line 4) interpreted as a quasi-'deictic' line 'indicating' the cart's axle. Observing the yáng line in Line 4 with trigram Qián's three yáng lines under it, the axle is thus enhanced and it *changes* the image into a strong axle. In terms of predicting the future, what this fortune seems to mean is that more resources are needed to accomplish one's goal.

A comparable example can be adduced from the Line 4 statement of ䷌ *Dàchù* 大畜 "Great Rearing", which has the phrase *tóngniú gù* 童牛牯 "young bovine in a headboard". "Great Rearing" is comprised of Qián under Gèn. The image of 'young' is part of trigram Gèn's image program.⁶² 'Bovine' is an image of Kūn in the canonical commentaries, but its trigram's picture does not appear, at least on the surface, in "Great Rearing". As I will discuss later in Section 8, "Kūn becomes a road", in this hexagram text Gèn's top yáng line also has the image of a 'shoulder pole' in the composite image of "holding up Heaven's crossroads" (*hè tiān zhī qú* 何天之衢). In Line 4 *xiàngshù* commentators see the yáng line in Line 6 as having the pictographic image of a 'headboard'. The images "holding up Heaven's crossroads" and "young bovine in a headboard" are actually both 'false images' (*jiǎxiàng* 假象) of trigram Gèn;⁶³ more properly analyzed, they are fusions of ䷋ Kūn and ䷌ Gèn. The composite images in these two instances seemingly stemmed from

solid, and mature, and translates the sentence into modern Chinese as, 公羊要想把圍欄撞破而無傷于角, 不容易, 除非它的角比牛車的伏兔還結實 "If a ram wants to break down a fence and not injure its horns, it is not an easy thing to do, unless its horns are stronger than the axle of an ox-led wagon." The *Judgment* commentary to "Great strength" interprets 壯 as referring to the hexagram picture's four yáng lines. The presence of five yáng lines in a row in both "Breaching" and *Gou* 姤 "Meeting" supports it.

61 Schwartz 2018b: 1153–1154. What I mean by 'enhanced' is this: Zhèn is the upper trigram in "Great Strength" and its image is 'enhanced' (*zēngqiáng* 增強) or 'thickened' (*jiāhòu* 加厚) by the appearance of trigram Qián's yáng lines under its initial yáng line.

62 Schwartz 2018b: 1185n98.

63 For the concept of a 'false image', see Wú Rǔlún 吳汝綸 (1840–1903) 2002: "Yì shuō" 易說.

observing trigram Kūn's 'base' or 'intact' image of road and bovine in trigram Gèn's picture. From a Warring States perspective, Gèn and Duī both have the image of 'youthfulness' because in a system which correlates the eight trigrams with the nuclear family, Gèn and Duī are 'young boy' and 'young girl'. As Gèn is a male trigram, perhaps we might say that the young bovine in this line statement is a young ox.

Although the *Shuō guà* interprets 'big cart' in "Great Strength" as an image of Kūn, connecting Kūn to a cart throughout the rest of the *Zhōu Yì* is less certain.

As mentioned, in the Hǎihūn manuscripts trigram Kūn is associated with *niú* 牛. *Xiàngshù* commentators associate *niu* 牛 'bovine' > 'cow' as an image of Kūn through the prime image of earth.⁶⁴ In a system of interpretation that matches animals to the eight trigrams, bovine > cow is matched to Kun through earth because it is compliant, motherly, and an archetype of providing heavy labor.⁶⁵

Bovine is an image of Kūn in the canonical commentaries but using the *Shuō guà*'s key to activate this word as an image of Kūn in the *Zhōu Yì* is actually, like it is with cart, quite problematic as well. The word 牛 occurs eight times in the *Zhōu Yì*,⁶⁶ but trigram Kūn does not appear in any of these eight hexagrams' pictures. (This includes trigrams inset in Lines 2–4 and 3–5; in addition to upside-down trigrams.) The *Zuǒ zhuàn* has a *Zhōu Yì* anecdote (Lord Zhào, year 5) that says a cow is an image of trigram Lí, and this matches the phrase "rearing female cattle" 畜牝牛 in the hexagram statement of ䷃ Lí 離 "Net". "Losing cattle in Yì" 喪牛于易 occurs in the Top Line statement of ䷷ Lǚ 旅 "Traveling", and trigram Lí is the outer trigram in its picture.

Yú Fān, who rigidly followed the *Shuō guà*'s key in reading the *Zhōu Yì*, seems to have denied that cow was an image of any trigram other than Kūn. Gān Bǎo, perhaps more flexibly, understood cow as an image of both trigram Lí and Kūn. His reason was because "Lí's lines originated in Kūn" (Lí yáo běn Kūn 離爻本坤).⁶⁷

64 *Zhōu Yì jǐjiě* 17.520; Shàng Bǐnghé 2016: 20.331.

65 Lái Zhidé 2019: 15.702 says 牛性順，其蹄折 "A bovine's nature is compliant; its hoofs are split." 'Split hoofs' is a novel image play on the bent or split lines (as 6/8) of Kūn's trigram picture.

66 The instances are: 或繫之牛 "someone's tethered bovine" (*Wúwàng* 無妄 "Don't act foolishly"); 童牛之牯 "young bovine's headboard" (*Dàchù* 大畜 "Great rearing"); 畜牝牛 "rearing female cattle" (Lí 離 "Net"); 執之用黃牛之革 "grasp it using a yellow bovine's hide" (*Dùn* 遁 "Retreating"); 見輿曳，其牛掣 "see a cart dragging, its bovine pulling back" (*Kuí* 睽 "Cross-eyed"); 鞏用黃牛之革 "strengthening it with a yellow bovine's hide" (*Gé* 革 "Shearing"); 喪牛于易 "losing cattle in Yì" (*Lǚ* 旅 "Traveling"); and 東鄰殺牛 "eastern neighbor kills bovines" (*Jìjì* 既濟 "Already across").

67 *Zhōu Yì jǐjiě*, 10.303, citing Gān Bǎo; Zhū Zhèn 2012: 326–327. The system can be traced back to Western Hàn *Changes* traditions through Xún Shuǎng. Gān Bǎo understood the trigram pictures

In order to explain the relationship between trigram Kūn and the composite images listed above, *xiàngshù* traditions developed innovative strategies. Yú Fān's principle of half images is perhaps one of the more well-known. (But not necessarily one of the more well-accepted!) One of Yú's prime examples demonstrating this principle can be found in his explanation of the composite image "someone's tethered bovine" 或繫之牛 in Line 3 of ䷁ *Wú wàng* 無妄 "Don't act foolishly" (received version)/ *Wú wàng* 無忘 "Don't forget me" (Shànghǎi Museum version). The hexagram picture is comprised of Zhèn under Qián; the trigram inset in Lines 2–4 is Gèn and Xùn in Lines 3–5. In the *Shuō guà*, Gèn has the prime image of a 'hand' (> hands) and Xùn has the prime images of 'tree' and 'rope'. Yú Fān thus explains the composite image as: a person tethers a bovine to a tree with a rope.⁶⁸ Applying the *Shuō guà*'s key, Yú Fān interprets the two yīn lines in Lines 2–3 as a 'half image' of trigram Kūn; Kūn is the bovine, trigram Xùn is the tree and tether, and trigram Gèn is the hands that tie the tether.

4 Interlude: the effect of *Changes* divination recordkeeping on image recognition

Before continuing to discuss other images in the program of the pure even-numbered trigram, I shall first outline the effect of *Changes*-divination recordkeeping on image recognition. We must first however, as a methodological issue, separate actual divination records from commemorative inscriptions intended for display. Second, we should assume that the recording of numbers as divination results, as a process of writing and as an integral feature of scribal practice, can show the same patterns of graphic variation and manners of style widely attested in early Chinese scripts from excavated sources. Stated directly, divination in the *Changes* traditions produced numerical results either line by line, trigram by trigram, or hexagram by hexagram. How diviners and scribes recorded these lines, trigrams, and hexagrams affected what images were observed in them.













Writing with a brush and ink of course differs from writing with a stylus in clay or on a hard surface like bone and stone. Numbers and numerical combinations in early *Changes* diagrams inscribed on bone and bronze already show a remarkable

Xùn, Lí, and Duǐ, the secondary female trigrams, as originating in Kūn's 'body'. This matrix is the converse of Yú Fān's and Lái Zhidé's system that I use in this paper, which understood Kūn as engendering the secondary male trigrams.

⁶⁸ *Zhōu Yī jǐjiě* 6.170.

amount of variation, and we can thus imagine just how much variation there would have been in actual divination recorded on perishable materials with a brush and ink; or even, in actual divination records written out in shallow sand or with chalk-like substances on rocks and other hard natural surfaces. The graphic structure of certain numbers (i.e., their divinatory forms) were altered to accord with principles of recording numerical results as lines stacked vertically, and early examples from material documents like the ones in Table 4 underline an integral relationship between actual divination results, scribal habits and manners like orientation, layout, and style, and the observation, from different angles, of images in trigram and hexagram pictures. Images, says the *Xìcí*, form when hexagrams, as numerical results, are set out. Let us consider some examples.

Table 4: Divinatory and non-divinatory forms of *liù* 六 ‘6’ and its resemblance to *rén* 人 ‘person’ in Warring States scripts.

					
The initial two strokes in 六 (6) written in Western Zhōu script	The initial two strokes in 六 (6) written at a low angle in Warring States-Qín scripts	6-6-6 on a late Shāng ale vessel (Fù Wū-yǒu 父戊卣)	6-7-6-6-6-7 on a Western Zhōu oracle bone	1-1-6-8-8-1 on a late Shāng jar	8-1-8-6-8-8 on a Western Zhōu pottery paddle
					
6-6-6-7-6-8 from late Shāng pottery mould	6-6-6-1-6-6 1-1-6-1-1-6 Warring States hexagram results (Bāoshān divination records, slip 201)	人 ‘person’ in Warring States scripts	從 ‘follow’ in Warring States scripts	眾 ‘masses’ and 聚 ‘amass/meet’ in Warring States scripts	入 ‘enter’ in Warring States scripts

The commemorative trigram 6-6-6 inscribed on a late Shāng ale vessel (Fù Wù-yǒu 父戊卣) in Table 4 illustrates how images of the pure even-numbered trigram might have been observed in multiple lines tightly 'layered' one above the other. 6s in a row can be observed to be gradually increasing or gradually reducing depending on how a user wants to see it, and depending, I dare say, on the divination inquiry and the circumstances that generated it (i.e., the 'intention'). I have already discussed elsewhere how 6 and multiple 6s overlapping each other led to observing mountains, hills, rocks, and ruins in pictures of trigram Gèn and Zhèn.⁶⁹ Table 4 also shows how line density and line layering can affect the range of observable images in a trigram and hexagram picture.

How scribes wrote and recorded the divinatory forms of 6 and 8, at the line level, could have affected and altered what images diviners and users observed in them. Table 4 shows various ways and styles of writing 6 and 8 in divinatory and non-divinatory forms. The divinatory form of 6 is an abbreviation of its non-divinatory form. It is written in two strokes. The start of the first stroke and the degree of the angle formed by connecting the two strokes to write out 6 could easily have led to observing different images. I refer to these angles as high and low; Table 4 shows examples of the non-divinatory form of 6 in Western Zhōu bronze script and Warring States-Hàn brush scripts. Table 4 also illustrates the way 6 and 8 were recorded in combination with other even-numbered lines on Shāng and Western Zhōu oracle bones and bronzes. Inscriptions on oracle bones were actual divination results, whereas the inscriptions on ritual bronzes were commemorative and designed to look the way they do. Hexagrams written in brush and ink on bamboo from a Bāoshān tomb (slip 201) date to the Warring States period and were copies of previous divination results.

The sequence 6-7-6-6-6-7 on the Western Zhōu oracle bone illustrated in Table 4 has three 6s in a row in Lines 3–5 (i.e., *Kūn inset). Note how the shape of each 6 is different. If we were to fix an orthographic typology for these 6s, the 6 in the Line 1 and the 6 in Line 5 are of one type (type A), the 6 in Line 3 is a variant (type B), and the 6 in Line 4 is another variant (type C). One scribe recorded the value 6 in three different styles in the same divination result.

The sequence 6-6-6-7-6-8 on a late Shāng pottery mould in Table 4 has four 6s, and the lower trigram equals trigram *Kūn. The 6s in the initial and middle lines of the lower trigram are stacked tightly and their angles fit neatly into one another. There is space in between the second 6 and the third 6, and the 6 and 7 in Lines 3 and 4 are recorded in what seems appropriate to call a 'ligature' (*héwén* 合文). The angle of the 6 in Line 3 is different and the right side is more sloped than the 6s in the two lines under it. The 6 in Line 5 touches the 7 in Line 4 and is written with a

⁶⁹ Yādāng Shīwòcí 2018: 123–129; Schwartz 2018b: 1159–1162.

high angle, and with straight and erect lines. In this example, one scribe wrote four 6s in three styles in the same divination result.

The sequence 1-1-6-8-8-1 on a late Shāng period jar in Table 4 is a commemorative inscription. The hexagram appears to have been written in a playful way. Its two 8s, in Lines 4–5, are written differently and arranged in a unique style. By designing the numerical combination 1-6-8 in such an orientation, the effect resembles the word *gōng* 公 ‘duke; public’. 1-6-8 converts, hypothetically, to trigram *Zhèn. Western Hàn *Changes* traditions recognize *gōng* 公 as a ‘remnant’ image of trigram Zhèn.⁷⁰

Finally, the sequence 8-1-8-6-8-8 on a Western Zhōu pottery paddle in Table 4 writes four 8s in three different styles and sizes.

The idea being advanced here is that the way in which professional diviners, scribes, and recreational users of the *Changes* in early China recorded and copied divinatory forms of line numbers and line numbers in various combinations led to observing different images in their midst. At the single line level, recording 6 at a high angle and with straight, balanced lines appears different than 6 written at a low angle and with unbalanced lines; 8 written with a minimal curve and with minimal space in between its two strokes appeared different than 8 written with a more emphasized curve and with a more emphasized space in between its two strokes. As combinations, recording numbers as ligatures has a different look than arranging them separately. Scribal diversity and variation in single line-numbers manifests and shows even more changeability when the same number appears reduplicated, and when it appears in combination with other numbers.

5 Kūn becomes the ‘masses’

The divinatory forms of the numbers 8 and 6 are each written in two strokes. A single yīn line, as either 8 or 6, thus can be said to equal two. Trigram Kūn’s ‘body’ as three 8s, three 6s, or a combination of the two integers, equals six. The *Shuō guà* lists ‘masses’ (*zhòng* 眾) as an image of trigram Kūn, and Yú Fān’s commentary says, “Things in threes are called a group. A yīn line has the image of [two] people, and [Kūn’s] three yīn lines follow one another; this is the reason why it ‘becomes the masses’”.⁷¹ Yú Fān explains the image recognition using a simple method: Kūn’s three yīn lines, as six pieces in total (坤為六斷), has the appearance of a group.⁷²

⁷⁰ Shàng Bǐnghé 2012: 11.191, *Jiāo shì Yī gǔ*; Shàng Bǐnghé 2016: 11.188.

⁷¹ Zhōu Yī jǐjiě 17.520.

⁷² Lái Zhīdé 2019: 15.704 explains the principle as “even-numbered lines form a group” (偶畫成群). In addition to Kūn as having the image of the ‘masses’ in the *Shuō guà*, the *Zá guà* (Miscellany about the Hexagrams) commentary explains ䷍ *Dà yǒu* 大有 “Great Possession” as 眾 the masses,

The word-image 眾 occurs just once in the *Zhōu Yī*, in Line 3 of ䷢ *Jìn* 晉 “Advancing”, which says, *zhòng yǔn* 眾允 “The masses approve [of you]”. The hexagram picture is comprised of Kūn under Lí and the *Shuō guà*’s reference point could only have been this instance.

When compared to a single yīn line, three yīn lines, as six strokes in total, has the appearance of multiplied and accumulated. The hexagram statement of “Advancing” says,

康侯用錫馬。蕃庶，晝日三接。

Kāng Hóu was herewith awarded horses. They multiplied. He mated them three times a day.

Kāng Hóu, a brother of King Wǔ of Zhōu, was appointed head of the state of Wèi 衛 (northeast Hénán) soon after the establishment of the Zhōu dynasty. The name of the hexagram, *Jìn* 晉, is written with a ‘sun’ signifier, and the sun signifier matches trigram Lí’s prime image as the sun.⁷³ The two constituent trigrams thus form a combined image depicting the sun over the earth. The sun advancing in the sky is a metaphor for promotion in official service. Kāng Hóu’s success in breeding horses as a royal institution was an archetype of career promotion and a contribution to the advancement of institutions established by the state.

The previous section discussed how scribes in early China wrote a single integer, 6, in various ways. Using illustrations to support my argument, I called attention there to how attributes and manners of scribal practice like stroke density, high and low angles, the degree in which diagonal strokes slanted, and unbalanced, non-symmetrical styles could lead to observing distinct images in a divination result. Here I want to supplement that discussion and make a higher-level classification that applies both to non-divinatory and divinatory forms of line numbers. Looking

whereas the *Xù guà* (Sequence of the Hexagrams) commentary says that hexagram ䷆ 師 “Army” means the masses. Lǐ Dǐngzuò, *Zhōu Yī jǐjiě* 17.552, says ䷆ has the image of the masses because the picture has an accumulation of five yáng lines (i.e., they ‘correspond’ to one another). A comparison of these two hexagram pictures indicates that the image of masses, or many, clearly derives from the ratio of five yáng lines to a single yīn line in “Great Possession”, and the converse in “Army” (*Shìfǎ*, “Divining about one’s husband and daughter” 貞丈夫女子, slips 27–28, refers to this as a “gathering” 萃). The *Judgment* commentary offers yet another interpretation; the name “Great possession” refers to the single yīn line occupying the central position (Line 5) in the diagram. The Qinghuá University **Hexagram List* names the hexagram picture 少又(有) “Small possession”. This image derives not from the gathering of yáng lines, but rather from the single yīn line among the gathering of yáng lines. Naming the same hexagram picture both 大有 and 少有 is significant, for it shows the bi-directionality of trigram and hexagram interpretation; it is thus another instance of diversity among user communities of the *Changes* in early China.

⁷³ Schwartz 2018a: 56–59.

back at Table 4 as reference, I suggest to separate archaic forms of 六 ‘six’ into two orthographic types based on the shape of the first two strokes (i.e., the ‘roof’ 宀):

Type A: written with a high-angle and symmetrically balanced: 𠂇;

Type B: in contrast, written with an initial stroke that either starts slightly higher than the second stroke or slightly lower, thereby forming a lower angle and non-symmetrical shape that resembles the graphs 人 and 𠂇 signifying the words *rén* ‘person’ and *rù* ‘enter’.⁷⁴

Table 4 shows a Warring States hexagram-divination result (Bāoshān) written with a brush and ink on a bamboo slip. The result consisted of two hexagrams arranged side by side, and a total of seven 6s occur in their midst. The way 6 was written in Line 1 of the inner trigram of the hexagram on the right resembles the graph *rù* 𠂇, and the 6 in Line 3, the top line of the inner trigram, resembles the graph *rén* 人. Next to the Bāoshān hexagram-divination result in the same Table, I provide a couple more examples to illustrate how the word *rén* was written in Warring States scripts. Thinking about the shapes of objects and their pictographic representations, it is not impressionistic in the least to see how the word-images of ‘person’ and ‘enter’ could have been observed in the many configurations and appearances of trigrams and hexagrams in Warring States divination practice.

In summary, a divinatory form of 6, depending on how it was written, resembles the pictograph used to write the words ‘person’ and ‘enter’. If the image of the graph 人 writing the word *rén* ‘person’ can be seen in the single line number 6, then we should think that double-6 could resemble the pictograph 从 used to write the word *cóng* ‘follow’ (Table 4; a graphic variant in oracle bone script writes it in a vertical orientation), and triple-6, *becoming* ‘three people’, produces a visual connection with the graphs 眾 and 聚 writing the words *zhòng* ‘masses, man’ (众 in simplified script; Table 5) and *jù* ‘amass, assemble’ respectively (Table 4). This does not mean that *rén* 人 ‘person’ was only an image of Kūn, since I am making the claim that an association can be made at the line level (i.e., from a single yīn line). In fact, all of the trigrams with the exception of Qián contain at least one yīn line (as 6), and this suggests that a ‘person’ could have been observed in any of the other seven trigrams (and sixty-three hexagrams), ‘following’ could have been observed in any two sequential yīn lines (as 6) in combination, and the ‘masses’ could have been observed in any sequential three yīn lines (as 6) in combination. Being as it may, associating the ‘masses’ to trigram Kūn would, however, have been the most evident and direct correlation, since its trigram picture contains the most ‘people’, so to speak. Kūn’s association

⁷⁴ This was cleverly pointed out by Lǐ Xuéqín 2006: 281.

with ‘masses’/‘many’/‘accumulation’ is important, as it creates a cluster including: ten households, three-hundred households, settlement/city, millions (/trillions), kingdom, territory, and army, in addition to various kinds of human labor, affairs, and services undertaken by multiple people.

6 Hexagram *Shī* 師 “Army” in the Shànghǎi Museum *Zhōu Yī* and Wángjiātái *Guīcáng*

The hexagram picture ䷆ in the received version of the *Yijing* and its corresponding pictures in the Shànghǎi Museum *Zhōu Yī* and Wángjiātái *Guīcáng* (Table 5) are both named *Shī* 師 “Army”. (The Shànghǎi Museum *Zhōu Yī*, Wángjiātái *Guīcáng*, and the Qīnghuá University **Hexagram List* all write the word without the signifier 白, and just with the phonophore 帀.) As mentioned, the *Judgment* and *Xù guà* (Sequence of the Hexagrams) commentaries explain the meaning of “Army” as *zhòng* 眾 ‘masses’.⁷⁵ When the word ‘army’ occurs in the *Zhōu Yī*, Hàn xiàngshù commentators activate the *Shuō guà*’s key and connect it with trigram Kūn through an association with the ‘masses’.⁷⁶

Yú Fān’s interpretation that trigram Kūn has the image of masses of people because its three yīn lines, appearing as six ‘pieces’ 六斷 (i.e., written in six strokes 六畫), has the appearance of a group, or my supplementary explanation that each line, as the number 6 (or 8), resembled the graph writing the word *rén* 人 ‘person’, can both be enlarged to account for the two additional yīn lines, totaling five, in the hexagram picture ䷆. Four yīn lines in a row (Lines 3–6), as an enlarged image of trigram Kūn, produces the appearance of an even greater number of people. Traditional definitions say that two-thousand five hundred men constituted an army in ancient China.

Line 1 of “Army” says *shī chū yǐ lǜ* 師出以律 “The army exits in ranks”. The *Shuōwén jiězhì* defines 律 as *jūnbù* 均布 ‘equal distribution’.⁷⁷ There is a significant correlation here between the image of evenly distributed ranks and the symmetrically orientated ‘equal distribution’ of the yīn lines, as 6 or 8, in the hexagram picture.⁷⁸ As illustrated in Table 5, the many yīn lines in ䷆ have the appearance of

⁷⁵ *Zhōu Yī jijiě* 3.72; 17.536.

⁷⁶ *Zhōu Yī jijiě* 4.120 (Zhèng Xuán); 6.165 (Xún Shuǎng); 17.536 (Nine Schools).

⁷⁷ *Zāng Kèhé* 2.116.

⁷⁸ Other words in the *Zhōu Yī* that play on this image are *bān* 班 / *biàn* 辨 ‘dividers, ranks’ in *Zhūn* 屯 “Emerging”, *Dàchù* 大畜 “Great rearing” (Shànghǎi Museum) and *Bō* 剥 “Paring”; *xián* 閑 ‘door divider, divide’ in *Dàchù* 大畜 “Great rearing” (received version); *fēi* 非 / 匪 ‘wrong’ in *Pǐ* 否 “Denying” and *Bǐ* 比 “Alliance”; *jiē* 階 ‘stairs’ in *Shēng* 升 “Ascend”; *běi* 北 ‘north’ in *Yǐ* 頤 “Jaws”


Table 5: Hexagram “Army” and the word “army” in Warring States script.

					
Hexagram “Army” in the received version of the <i>Yijing</i>	Hexagram “Army” in the Shànghǎi Museum <i>Zhōu Yī</i>	Hexagram “Army” in the Wángjiā- tái <i>Guīcáng</i> (handcopy)	<i>shī</i> 師 ‘army’ in Warring States Chǔ script (Shànghǎi Museum <i>Zhōu</i> <i>Yī</i>)	Hexagram name “Army” in the Shànghǎi Museum <i>Zhōu Yī</i>	Hexagram name “Army” in the Qīnghuá University *Hexagram list, under trigram Kūn

organized rows or columns (five rows of two/two columns of five). As I mentioned earlier, the *Shuō guà* lists 均 and 布 ‘cloth; spread out’ as images of trigram Kūn. The image of an ‘army’ might have derived from an accumulation of the pure even-numbered trigram, as 6/8, which, as mentioned, resembles ‘many pieces’, while its lines, or strokes, also have the appearance of evenly aligned rows.⁷⁹ An archetype of many people in uniform rows is an army.

Below, I shall address how a Warring States *Changes* user (or community) demonstrated a recognition and understanding of the relationship between the hexagram picture ䷆ and the hexagram name 師 (師) “Army”.

In the Shànghǎi Museum version, the hexagram picture formed with Kūn over Kǎn occurs at the top of its own bamboo slip (slip 7), and the hexagram’s name, “Army”, written in a unique and hitherto unknown style, occurs just under it (Table 5). Immediately following the hexagram’s name there is a mark (.) indicating a stop. In addition to the hexagram’s name, the theme-word 師 repeatedly occurs on the same bamboo slip, and thus makes it an ideal case for an orthographic comparison. It is immediately discernible that the form and style of the graph writing the hexagram’s name differs from the graphs writing the same word in the line statements directly below it.

Thinking in numbers and in terms of how strokes in the script resemble them, the shape of the graph writing the hexagram’s name, , resembles two 6s and a half-6 or half-8. I suggest that the distinctive style in which this graph was written

(Shànghǎi Museum version); and *liè qí yín* 列其夤 ‘cutting apart his ribcage’ in *Gèn* 艮 “Looking back” (see n103 for the quotation).

⁷⁹ See Section 5, first paragraph.

seems to have been influenced by shape of the upper trigram Kūn written directly above it on the slip. By writing the hexagram name in this anomalous way, the person or community who produced the hexagram text of “Army” appears to have been conveying an image resemblance between the hexagram picture, its top three lines, and the hexagram’s name.

The other way that 𠄎 is written in the line statements of “Army”, with a t-like shape at its bottom, 𠄎, is commonly seen in Warring States Chǔ manuscripts. A resemblance between the shape of this graph and the appearance of the hexagram picture (Shànghǎi Museum; Wángjiātái) is also easily recognizable. The short horizontal stroke crossing the L-shaped stroke towards the bottom corresponds to the single yáng line in the hexagram picture’s Line 2. Comparing the two different ways that the word ‘army’ was written in the hexagram text, as it is represented by the Shànghǎi Museum version, we might say that the top half of 𠄎, that is the first three strokes, resembles Kūn’s ‘half image’ or ‘abbreviated form’; while the bottom half, that is strokes 4–6, resembles Kǎn’s ‘abbreviated form’. Thinking in terms of principles and habits of early scribal practice, graphs in the daily script, like trigram pictures recorded as results, can also be said to have ‘half images’ in the form of signifiers (*bùshǒu* 部首) and abbreviated forms (*shěngtǐ* 省體). I will return to this comparison, refining my approach, in a later section of the paper.

Aside from the hexagram text of “Army”, the word 師 occurs in the texts of five other hexagrams in the *Zhōu Yì*: ䷊ 泰 “Exalted” (Top Line) (11/64); ䷌ 同人 “Assembling men” (13/64), ䷋ 謙 “Modest” (Top Line) (15/64); ䷏ 豫 “At ease” (hexagram statement) (16/64); and ䷗ 復 “Return” (Top Line) (24/64). With the exception of “Assembling men”,⁸⁰ trigram Kūn’s picture is present as the upper trigram in “Exalted”, “Modest” and “Return”; and it is present as the lower trigram in “At ease”. Line statements in “Modest”, “At ease” and “Return” all have the verb phrase *xíng shī* 行師 ‘march the troops’, and Xún Shuǎng (< Nine Schools), as cited earlier, reads each instance as a being related to trigram Kūn. In the *Zuǒ zhuàn* (Lord Xǐ, year 15), however, ‘march the troops’ is classified as an image of trigram Zhèn. The overlap surely reveals diversity among early *Changes* traditions, but a specific overlap in the identification of images associated with Kūn and Zhèn implies something more systematic. As I have proposed, an intersection of images classified variously across early *Changes* traditions seems more plausibly explained through what the three ‘bodies’ of Kūn, Zhèn and Gèn have in common—

⁸⁰ Substituting all of the lines in the hexagram picture of 同人 for their opposites changes the picture into “Army”. An alternative interpretation is that the amassing of yáng lines in the hexagram picture led to the image of ‘assembling’; see *Shìfǎ*, “Determining about Husbands and Daughters”, slips 24–31. The name of the hexagram, “Assembling men”, and the theme of its text also depicts wartime events. The word 同 first occurs with the sense of assembling men for military action in Shāng oracle bone inscriptions; see Schwartz 2019: 204–205, 290, 324, 363–364.

two yin lines in a row. This indicates that while images were observed in two lines, interpretive communities continued to classify them, as per the tradition, to trigrams.

The *Guīcáng* divination text for “Army” can be reconstituted on the basis of three different Wángjiātái texts combined with two different quotations in medieval literature.⁸¹ Below is the complete hexagram statement:

參師曰昔穆王天子筮出師（西征）而枚占于禺強。禺強占之曰：不吉。龍降于天而道里修遠。飛而中（沖）天，蒼蒼其羽。

“Army” says: In the past Son of Heaven King Mù divined by milfoil about sending out the army (to campaign westwardly) and had the stalks prognosticated by Yú Qiáng. Yú Qiáng prognosticated, saying: Not auspicious. The dragon descends from heaven, but the road is long and far; flying and piercing heaven, so green its wings.

Ancient commentary to the *Guīcáng* is no longer extant.⁸² The *Shuō guà*’s key, however, was universal to *Changes* manuals,⁸³ and new information in the *Shìfǎ* can be used to validate and further supplement it. From a Warring States perspective, taking an emic approach and reading the Wángjiātái *Guīcáng* by applying hermeneutic principles in the *Shuō guà* and *Shìfǎ* is an innovative and relatively secure strategy. I will attempt to annotate, in a *xiàngshù* notational style, the *Guīcáng*’s hexagram text of “Army”.

‘Dragon’ is listed as an image of Zhèn in the *Shuō guà*,⁸⁴ and Zhèn appears in Lines 2–4 of the hexagram picture of “Army”. ‘Descending’ is an image of trigram Kūn in the *xiàngshù* tradition, because its many yin lines in a row, as the numbers 6/8, can have the appearance of declining.⁸⁵ Zhèn also has the prime image of the ‘foot’ in the *Shuō guà*, and here its movement is ‘exiting’ (> ‘sending out’). ‘West’ is an image of Duī in the *Yìjīng*, but in the *Shìfǎ*, “Hexes”, it is associated with Kūn, which corresponds, at the level of cardinal directions, to its association with the ‘southwest’ in the *Yìjīng* tradition. ‘Road’ 行 is an image of trigram Kūn in the *Shìfǎ*, “Hexes”, and the appearance of an extra 6 (/8) under trigram Kūn (in Line 3) in the hexagram picture enlarges the road; (this could then account for why the text says “is long and far”.) As I have stated earlier, ‘piercing’ (here the word is *zhong* 中) is

⁸¹ Shaughnessy 2013: 154.

⁸² Lǐ Xuéqín (et al.) 2017: 361–363.

⁸³ Jīn Jǐngfāng 金景芳 (1902–2001) 1998; Jīn Jǐngfāng 2000: 30–35, “*Shuō guà zhuàn lüèshuō*” 說卦傳略說.

⁸⁴ Zhōu Yì jǐjiě 17.514.

⁸⁵ Xún Shuǎng’s remnant images cited earlier classifies jiàng 降 as an image of trigram Kūn. But the same yin lines can also have the appearance of flying and ascending; bi-directionality, as a characteristic feature of reading the lines of a hexagram result, is another reason why images in the *Changes* can appear contradictory, and enigmatic.

an image of trigram Kǎn in *Yijing* studies, and Kǎn is the lower trigram in this picture. 'Green' cāngcāng 蒼蒼 is an image of trigram Zhèn in the *Shuō guà*. 'Flying bird' fēiniǎo 飛鳥 is an image of the number 8 in the *Shìfǎ*, "Line Images", and the hexagram picture contains four yīn lines in a row (Lines 3–6); the image of 'wings' developed out of multiple-6s or 8s appearing in a row.

In summary, the different handwriting styles in which the graph 𠂔 writing the word 'army' occurs in the Shànghǎi Museum version of the *Zhōu Yī* is easily discernible. I propose that the user community who produced this version observed a resemblance between the configuration of trigram Kūn's body as pure triple-6 or triple-8, the hexagram picture as it was written out, and the shape of the graph 𠂔 writing the word *shī* 'army'. The issue here is not about origin, and neither is it about whether the hexagram name or the theme of its predictive statements were created like this. My target is Warring States-Qín use of the *Changes*, particularly the rapid development of hermeneutic methods and principles among expert communities; it is to develop strategies to read unearthed Warring States versions of the *Zhōu Yī* and *Guīcáng* more sensitively and to appreciate the authenticity and features of these early written instantiations. Variation is acceptable, and encouraged, in the *Changes* tradition because the openness of its system (always 'changing'), words are image-based, and images originated and developed out of numerical pictures. Observing the word 𠂔 in the diagram ䷁ is unrecognizable; observing the word 𠂔 in the diagrams ䷁ and ䷂ is perhaps recognizable, and I would venture to say even more so if a diviner had inquired about war and/or military affairs and encountered this hexagram as a result.

From an emic perspective, centered on principles of image recognition among Warring States *Changes* communities, the word 'army' is visible in the hexagram picture, and this was a reason, if not the reason, it became the main theme for prediction. Injunctions and text were crafted out of the main theme and designed to suit *Changes* manuals in different traditions.⁸⁶

⁸⁶ In the *Zhōu Yī*, the word 'army' occurs in five of the six line-statements. *Zhàng rén* 丈人 'adult man' occurs in the hexagram statement. Line statements in the hexagram text use terminology about war and depict affairs and events that commonly transpire among deployed troops. Starting in the initial line, images are: troops going out in ranks, the king thrice makes awards and commands, corpses are carted away, troops take camp, hunting, shackling prisoners, two brothers in the army have different duties, and the great man has a mandate to open the state and uphold its families. In the *Guīcáng*, generally speaking, hexagram statements were mythological and fabulous, language is obscure and negative, and predictions are inauspicious. Zhōu King Mù's journeys and military expeditions to the west (i.e., to the west of modern-day Xī'ān) was an image archetype in early Chinese culture.

7 Kūn becomes the numbers ‘two’ and ‘ten’, from a Warring States-Western Hàn perspective

The word *shí* 十 ‘ten’ occurs in the text of five hexagrams in the *Zhōu Yì*, and only in the phrases *shí nián* 十年 “ten years” and *shí péng zhī guī* 十朋之龜 “a turtle shell worth ten double strands of cowry shells”. The hexagrams are:

䷁ *Zhūn* 屯 “Emerging”

䷗ *Fù* 復 “Return”

䷚ *Yǐ* 頤 “Jaws”

䷧ *Sūn* 損 “Decrease”

䷩ *Yì* 益 “Increase”

A commonality easily discernible among the five hexagram pictures is that they all contain at least three yīn lines in a row. Three yīn lines in a row is trigram Kūn.

Xún Shuǎng and Gān Bǎo match month ten to trigram Kūn.⁸⁷ The assignment of Kūn as the tenth month of a year and the tenth day (*Guǐ* 癸) of the Decameron does not seem coincidental. Kūn as month ten is part of a larger system of ‘ruling hexagrams’ (*pì guà* 辟卦), putatively fixed during the Western Hàn period, that matched the twelve months of the year with twelve of the sixty-four hexagrams based on six hexagrams portraying yáng gradually growing in pure hexagram Kūn and six hexagrams portraying yīn gradually growing in pure hexagram Qián (month four).

Xiàngshù commentators classify ‘ten’ as an image of Kūn in part based on the *Xìcí*. The *Xìcí* has a passage, just after its famous statement on a method of milfoil divination (*dà yǎn fǎ* 大衍法), that associates the ten cardinal numbers as heavenly and earthly numbers. Odd numbers 1, 3, 5, 7, 9 are heavenly, and even numbers 2, 4, 6, 8, 10 are earthly.⁸⁸ Heaven’s numbers start at one and finish at nine, and earth’s numbers start at two and finish at ten.⁸⁹ Heaven is trigram Qián, and earth is trigram Kūn.

Section 25 of the *Shìfǎ* provides associations between the eight trigrams and the ten heavenly stems (*tiāngān* 天干), and Section 27 provides associations between the six secondary trigrams and the twelve earthly branches. This can be diagrammed as follows (using the conventional trigram names) (Table 6):

⁸⁷ *Zhōu Yì jǐjiě* 2.36 (Gān Bǎo); see the list of Xún Shuǎng’s remnant images cited earlier.

⁸⁸ *Zhōu Yì jǐjiě* 14.421, 14.429–430.

⁸⁹ Lái Zhǐdé’s commentary, 2019: 2.205, to Line 2 of *Zhūn* “Emerging” says, “the middle lines are Kūn’s earth. Earth’s numbers finish at ten. It is ten’s image.”

Table 6: System in the *Shǐfǎ* matching the eight trigrams with the ten heavenly stems; the six secondary trigrams with the twelve earthly branches.

	☰ Qián	☷ Kūn	☶ Gèn	☵ Duī	☲ Kǎn	☱ Lí	☴ Zhèn	☴ Xùn
天干	甲壬	乙癸	丙	丁	戊	己	庚	6辛
地支			辰戌	巳亥	寅申	卯酉	子午	丑未

The ordering of the eight trigrams in this sequence starts with the primary trigrams, Qián and Kūn, and continues by arranging male trigrams with their female counterparts through inversion starting with the pair Gèn and Duī. Days one through eight of the Decameron are each matched to one trigram, and the remainder is two. Starting again with the primary trigrams, Qián is allocated day nine, and Kūn day ten. It is important to note that the male trigrams Qián, Gèn, Kǎn, and Zhèn are matched to odd-number days of the week, while the female trigrams Kūn, Duī, Lí, and Xùn are matched to even-number days of the week.

The ordering of the eight trigrams in this sequence is referred to in *Yijing* scholarship as the nuclear family arrangement: 父母六子 'Father, Mother, and their six children' (three boys, three girls). It is how the hexagrams are arranged in the *Mǎwángduī Zhōu Yǐ*. The appearance of interrelated systems correlating the eight trigrams with the ten stems and twelve branches confirms that both were already well-developed and in use at the end of the Warring States period, and it further implies that complex Western Hàn systems like *Nà Jiǎ* 納甲 were built by combining pre-existing components with newly developed ones. Jīng Fáng's 京房 (77 BC-37) *Yì zhuàn* 易傳 elucidates this in the following passage:

分天地《乾》《坤》之象，益之以甲乙壬癸。《震》《巽》之象配庚辛。《坎》《離》之象配戊己。《艮》《兌》之象配丙丁。

Divide the images of heaven and earth, Qián and Kūn, and increase them with the days Jiǎ, Yǐ, Rén, and Guǐ. The images of Zhèn and Xùn match days Gēng and Xīn. The images of Kǎn and Lí match days Wù and Sì. The images of Gèn and Duī match the days Bǐng and Dīng.

Jīng Fáng's sequence differs from the *Shǐfǎ* in that it puts the pair Zhèn and Xùn, and not Gèn and Duī, immediately after Qián and Kūn. The pair Gèn and Duī were placed last even though they were matched to days three and four of the Decameron, and Zhèn and Xùn were moved up to follow Qián and Kūn even though they were matched to days seven and eight. One explanation to account for why trigram

Gèn was originally matched to day three, Bǐng 丙 (丙), was because the configuration of its trigram picture as 6-6-1 ䷗ (Western Zhōu) ䷧ (Warring States), 8-8-1 ䷖ (Western Zhōu) ䷖ (Warring States), or even possibly a combination like 6-8-1, resembled the shape of the graph used to write day three of the Decameron.⁹⁰ Matching day three, Bǐng, to trigram Gèn would have led to a codified sequence of the remaining five secondary trigrams.

8 Kūn becomes a ‘road’

I proposed earlier that the association of trigram Kūn with a road was pictographic, that is, Kūn’s ‘body’ in the configuration of pure 8 resembled the shape of the graph 行 writing the word *háng* ‘road’. 行 as an image of trigram Kūn in the “Hexes” section of the *Shìfǎ* implies that the Warring States user community who produced that particular section of the text would have also interpreted and read road as an image of trigram Kūn in *Changes* manuals. Among Eastern Hàn users of the *Changes*, Zhèng Xuán recognized road as an image of trigram Kūn. This section focuses on the image of the road and its derivative sub-images in the *Zhōu Yì* and the *Yìlín*. Image association in the *Yìlín* thus validates an unbroken line of transmission among *Changes* use from the Warring States through the Eastern Hàn of the ‘lost’ interpretive formula “Kūn becomes a road”.⁹¹

⁹⁰ Observing 丙 upside down 𠂔 (𠂔 > 𠂔) resembles the graph used to write the word ‘mountain’ 山 (山). ‘Mountain’ is a prime image of trigram Gèn and the association, following Zhèng Xuán (see Schwartz 2018b), was pictographic.

⁹¹ ‘Lost’ because it is not included in the *Shuō guà*’s key, and neither the *Zuǒ zhuàn* nor *Guó yǔ* make reference to it. The *Shuō guà* lists ‘path’ 徑 as an image of trigram Gèn (< prime image of ‘mountain’), and *dá tú* 大塗 as an image of Zhèn. 塗, which means ‘smear, spread, paint’, should perhaps be read as a phonetic loan for *tú* 途 ‘road, path’; as such, 大途 would then mean a ‘big road’ or ‘big journey’. Based on the *Shuō guà*, *xiàngshù* commentators like Yú Fān, who read Zhèn’s image of 大塗 as though it wrote 大途, understand *háng* 行 as a derivative. The *Shuō guà* commentary correlates many images to one trigram, and one image, at the category level, to different trigrams. For instance, in a system that associates the eight trigrams with parts of the human body, trigram Lí has the image of both the eyes and the upper abdomen; in a system that associates the eight trigrams with animals, trigrams Qián, Zhèn and Kǎn all have horse imagery (Kūn has the image of a ‘mare’ in the hexagram statement of Kūn). In early literature about the *Changes*, such as in anecdotes about hexagram divination in the *Zuǒ zhuàn* and *Guó yǔ*, trigram interpretation adduced by specialist diviners and occasional users sometimes agreed with image correlations in the *Shuō guà*, and sometimes it did not. Perhaps the most obvious examples are the association of a ‘cow’, an image of trigram Kūn in the *Shuō guà*, as an image of trigram Lí in the *Zuǒ zhuàn*; and the association of a ‘cart/carriage’, an image of trigram Kūn in the *Shuō guà*, as an image of trigram Zhèn in the *Zuǒ zhuàn* and *Guó yǔ*; see Shàng Bǐnghé 2012: 4, *Jiāo shì Yìlín zhù* 焦氏易林注.

The *Yìlín*'s ䷁ Kūn's Kūn 坤之坤 “Receptive's Receptive” is a prime example of what types of images Western Hàn *Changes* traditions observed in hexagram Kūn's picture. The text reads:

坤之坤：不風不雨，白日皎皎。宜出驅馳，通利大道。

“Receptive's Receptive”: No wind, no rain, the white sun so sparkling. Suitable to exit and drive the horse(s) fast; the big road is wide open and profitable.⁹²

The final clause contains the images *tōng* 通 ‘pervading, wide open’ and *dàdào* 大道 ‘big road’. As mentioned, I propose it is the empty space through the middle of Kūn's ‘body’, in the configuration 8-8-8, that produces the image of a wide-open thoroughfare. Yú Fān, somewhat controversially, understood this broad and extensive openness, without obstruction, as a conduit for big enterprise, and suggested that the images of profit and wealth derived from it.⁹³

The hexagram text Kūn's Kūn 坤之坤 implies that Jiāo Gòng recognized hexagram Kūn as having the image of a big road (大道). If hexagram Kūn has the image of a big road in the *Yìlín*, then we might suggest, through a principle of reduction, that trigram Kūn has the image of a road. New information in the *Shìfǎ* means that this formula was not a Western Hàn innovation.

⁹² Shàng Bǐnghé 2012: 21, *Jiāo shì Yìlín zhù*. A similar prediction 宜出驅馳，通理大道 occurs in the hexagram text of Qián's Tàì 乾之泰 “Vigorous' Exalted”; the outer trigram in “Exalted” is trigram Kūn. The phrase 通理 occurs once in the *Yìjīng*, in the *Wényán* commentary to hexagram Kūn; see Wú Rǔlún 2002: 1.30, “Yì shuō” 易說.

⁹³ Yú Fān classifies wealth and property (fù 富, cái 財) as images of Kūn. Jì Lěi 紀磊 (Qīng) 2002: 7a, strongly disagrees; see also Shàng Bǐnghé 2012: 3.46–47, *Jiāo shì Yì gǔ*. In the *Yìjīng* tradition, a yīn line has the appearance of being ‘empty’ and yīn lines in combination have the appearance of being ‘out of breath’ (xiāo 消) and ‘collapsed’ (tuírán 隕然); the *Images* commentary, Zhōu Yì jǐjiě 4. 99, describes it as “losing fullness” shī shí 失實. Kūn's ‘emptiness’ thus informs a prediction about loss and poverty; see the *Images* commentary to Line 4 of Tàì 泰 “Exalted” and the Top Line of Shēng 升 “Ascending”. A good example of Kūn embodying these negative images occurs in hexagram “Exalted”, Line 4, which says 翩翩不富以(與)其鄰 “Flapping, flapping, impoverished along with one's neighbor(s)”; Kūn is the outer trigram in “Exalted”. The gathering of Kūn's three yīn lines (as three 6s/three 8s = 6 strokes) has multiple images: one, is ‘wings’ > ‘fly’, hence ‘flapping, flapping’ (*Shìfǎ*, line image of 8), and a second is the ‘masses’ (*Shuō guà*); derivatives based on fusing the interpretive formulas “Kūn as the masses” and “Kūn as the torso”, form the image cluster: ‘(one's own) settlement/ city’, and ‘(one's own) kingdom/ country/ territory’. The ‘houses’ in Kūn's ‘settlement’ are all ‘impoverished’. Conversely, in the inner trigram, Qián's lines have the appearance of being solid and full, and this produces the image of ‘wealth’. The prediction 不富以(與)其鄰 also occurs in Line 5 of ䷎ Qián 謙 “Modest”, while its reverse, 富以(與)其鄰 “wealthy along with one's neighbor(s)” occurs in Line 5 of ䷇ Xiǎochù 小畜 “Small-scale rearing”. The ‘neighbor(s)’ alluded to in “Modest” are the other yīn lines comprising the upper trigram Kūn, in addition to those in Lines 1–2. In “Small-scale rearing” the image of wealth is the exact inverse. The ‘neighbors(s)’ alluded to are Lines 5–6 and Qián, the lower trigram.

The *Yilin* utilizes several principles of interpretation, but the two most fundamental are: 1) an analysis of just the second hexagram picture (i.e., the divination result); and 2) a comparison of the *change* that occurs when comparing the first hexagram (X's) (i.e., the date of the divination) to the second (Y) (i.e., the divination result).⁹⁴

The entry ䷁ ䷁ *Kūn's Gèn* 坤之艮 “Receptive's Looking Back” says,

塗遏道塞，求事不得。

The road is blocked. Will not get what one seeks.

Considering the image program in the hexagram statement, a comparison of the changing lines in the two hexagrams indicates that the two yáng lines, Lines 3 and 6, in the second hexagram are the obstructions (i.e., Gèn's ‘rocks’) on the ‘road’. Taking the yáng lines away, we can deduce that the initial hexagram's picture, *Kūn*, has the image of a road (*túdào* 塗道). Thus, another way to read and interpret hexagram *Gèn*'s picture is to observe its underlying ‘base image’ as hexagram *Kūn*, or as reduplicated trigram *Kūn* ‘intact’. Lastly, and since I omitted it in an earlier study,⁹⁵ I should also add that in the *xiàngshù* tradition trigram *Gèn* has the image of *qiú* 求 ‘to seek, request’.⁹⁶ I propose, as a thought experiment, that the association was pictographic. 求 in Warring States script (Chǔ) is written 𠂔 and resembles trigram *Gen*'s ‘body’ in the configuration 6-6-9, as in the *Shifǎ*'s 𠂔.

Classifying trigram *Kūn* as having the image of a road in the *Zhōu Yī* is somewhat problematic. In addition to the word 道, which occurs twice in line

94 Perhaps the most explicit instance of the second method occurs in ䷁ ䷁ *Gǔ's Dàzhuàng* 蠱之大壯 “Bewitching's Great Strength”:

陰變為陽，女化為男；治道得通，君臣相承。

Yīn [lines] change and become yáng [lines], a girl transforms and becomes a boy. Constructing a road, a passage is cleared; ruler and minister support one another.

(This formula occurs four more times in the *Yilin*: *Zhūn's Lí* 屯之離 “Emerging's Net”, *Huàn's Lǚ* 渙之旅 “Dispersing's Travelling”, *Fēng's Jié* 豐之節 “Abundant's Moderation” and *Wèiji's Guài* 未濟之夬 “Not yet across' Breach”.) In *Gǔ's Dàzhuàng*, “yīn [lines] change and become yáng [lines]” refers to the changing lines when comparing the two hexagrams' pictures (Lines 1, 4, and 6). “A girl transforms and becomes a boy” refers to trigram *Xùn*, a female trigram located in the lower left quadrant of the two hexagrams (as four trigrams), and “boy” seems best explained as referring collectively to the other three male trigrams. “Constructing a road, a passage is cleared” refers to trigram *Gèn* in the initial hexagram changing into trigram *Zhèn* in the second hexagram. Trigram *Gèn* changing into trigram *Zhèn* has the image of an open road because *Gèn*'s top yáng line, indicating a ‘block’ or ‘stop’, changes into an open yīn line, indicating unobstructed movement.

95 Schwartz 2018b.

96 Shàng Bǐnghé, *Jiāo shì Yì gǔ*, 3.37.

statements meaning 'road',⁹⁷ there is also one instance of *qú* 衢 'crossroads', and five instances of the phrase *zhōng háng* 中行, understood variously as 'middle line(s)', 'mid-journey', 'middle of the road', 'on the road', and 'central ranks'.⁹⁸ As a dataset, there seems no compelling reason to associate trigram Kūn with 'road' in all of these cases.⁹⁹ I shall offer a single solution for two instances, but it requires the application of the hermeneutic procedure I have just afforded above for how to understand the hexagram statement in the *Yìlín's Kūn's Gèn*, namely that trigram's Gèn 'mixed body' be understood as consisting of, as a base layer (or 'base image'), trigram Kūn's 'intact body'.

Before turning the more complex cases in the *Zhōu Yì*, I shall first look at a less complicated example related to hexagram *Yì* 益 "Increase", by clarifying the hermeneutic procedure used in the *Judgment* commentary to analyze its picture, which I understand to be an expression of a Warring States hermeneutical strategy in circulation among *Changes* traditions more widely.

The hexagram statement to ䷩ *Yì* 益 "Increase" includes the formulaic prediction *lì shè dàchuān* 利涉大川 "[It is] beneficial to cross the big river". The *Judgment* commentary, applying a *xiàngshù* interpretation, merges the constituent trigrams and reads the hexagram picture as portraying the composite image of crossing a big river by walking over a boardwalk—*mùdào nǎi xíng* 木道乃行 "[observe a] boardwalk then move". The hexagram picture is comprised of Zhèn under Xùn; Kūn is inset in Lines 2–4. Xùn has the prime image of wood in the canonical commentaries, and this is presumably why a boardwalk bridging the water is emphasized to be made of wood. Zhèn has the prime image of a foot, and its main characteristic is forward movement.¹⁰⁰ I suggest trigram Kūn has the dual

⁹⁷ I do not address instances in the *Zhōu Yì* where 道 means 'course of action'.

⁹⁸ Richard Rutt 1996: 247, 265, 266 has 'before the journey is done', 'mid-course', and 'middle of the way'; Edward Shaughnessy 1996: 105, 121, 165 has 'central ranks' and 'middle of the ranks'; Gāo Hēng 2004: 162, 292–293 has 'on the road', and says it is also a name; Lǐ Líng 2013: 112, 228, 155, 224 has 'on the road', 'going half-way, mid-course', and also reads it as a name. The *Images* commentary says 中行 refers to the 'middle line' of a trigram, and to Line 2 and 5 of a hexagram. Shàng Bǐnghé 2016: 24.118–119 further suggests Lines 3–4 referred to the 'middle lines' of a hexagram picture. The dataset is: ䷞ *Fù* 復 "Return", Line 4; ䷩ *Yì* 益 "Increase", Lines 3–4; ䷊ *Tài* 泰 "Greatness", Line 2; ䷧ *Guài* 夬 "Breached", Line 5. The phrase does not occur in hexagram statements, nor does it occur in initial or top line statements.

⁹⁹ This occurs in Line 2 of ䷞ *Lǚ* 履 "Treading", which says 履道坦坦 "Treading on a road that is so level"; the image of a 'level road' seems best associated with the yáng line in Line 2, which is integral to the line statement; the reduplicative 坦坦 'so level' was perhaps engendered because of the accumulation of yáng lines in the hexagram picture.

¹⁰⁰ I suggest that when functioning as a noun, 'road' 行, that is, as a conduit for movement, the word is an image of Kūn; but when it functions as a verb, 'march' 行, it is an image of Zhèn.

images of both river and road. The road, in this instantiation as a ‘boardwalk’, is formed in the empty, negative space passing vertically through the middle of Kūn’s open lines. On both sides of the boardwalk is Kūn’s ‘river’ (*chuān* 川). The river flows under it horizontally.

As discussed in Sections 4 and 5, trigrams, like graphs in the script, also had abbreviated forms or condensed ‘bodies’. In the late Hàn *xiàngshù* tradition, abbreviated forms, or condensed ‘bodies’, are referred to as a trigram’s *bànxàng* 半象 ‘half image’; in Hàn scribal practice and *xiǎoxué* 小學, abbreviated forms are called *shěngtǐ* 省體, and signifiers are called *bùshǒu* 部首.

In archaic script the signifier 行 is written in an abbreviated form as 彳, omitting the right side of its full form. 行 in Warring States script is written 𢀩, and, as I said earlier, its shape resembles triple-8. Abbreviating 𢀩 not by omitting its right side but by omitting its ‘bottom line’ and writing it only with its ‘middle’ and ‘top’ lines renders it 𢀪, and this shape resembles double-8. Further abbreviating 𢀪, and writing it only by using its ‘top line’, renders it 𢀫, and this shape resembles the single line number 8. All diviners needed a hint of a resemblance to observe an image in a combination of numbers. Now abbreviating/condensing a trigram’s ‘body’ in the *Changes* obviously cannot mimic scribal practice and omit a trigram’s left or right side; the process would have to happen by envisioning that a trigram’s ‘intact body’ had ‘lost’ a line. Activating the *Shìfǎ*’s formula “Kūn becomes a road” and thinking, as an experiment, about configurations of a trigram’s ‘body’ based on principles and manners of scribal practice (i.e., design, layout, orientation) leads me to suggest that the image of a road would have first been observed in trigram Kūn’s ‘intact body’. Once this happened, the image would then have been recognized in its abbreviated or ‘half image’ in trigram Zhèn and Gèn, whose pictures, as I have said, are the only ones among the remaining seven trigrams that have double-8 in a row.

The sentence *hè tiān zhī qú* 何天之衢 “Holding up Heaven’s crossroads” occurs in the Top Line of ䷍ *Dàchù* 大畜 “Great Rearing”. The graph 衢 is written with a full ‘road’ signifier, 行, and the phono-semantic 𠂔 瞿 ‘looking left and right’ (> 𠂔 懼 ‘startled, scared’). Gèn, the upper trigram, has the prime image of a hand and derivatives are arm and shoulder movement, and this, presumably, produced the sub-image of (verb >) ‘hold up’ and ‘carry on the shoulder’.¹⁰¹ Using trigram

¹⁰¹ The graph 何 (𠂔) depicts a man carrying an axe on his shoulder. The ‘axe’ 柯 *kē* is phono-semantic, and for our purposes here it resembles the ‘divinatory form’ of 9. 何 is the ancestral form of 荷 *hè* ‘carry on shoulder’. When combined with the two yīn lines under it, the top yáng line in *Dàchù* has the image of a ‘shoulder pole’ (Lái Zhidé 2019: 6.351–352). The Top Line statement of ䷍ *Shìkè* 噬嗑 “Biting and chewing” has the image *hè jiào miè ěr* 何校滅耳 “Carrying a cangue on the shoulders and with a cut-off ear”. (何 in the *Mǎwángduì* version is written 荷.) The top yáng line of trigram Lí (resembling a pole) and the middle broken line (resembling the shoulders) has the

analysis to explain the image of 'crossroads' leads to a crossover: the word can be classified as an image of Gèn's first two yīn lines, as a 'half image' of Kūn (*Shìfǎ*, "Hexes"; *Yìlín*; Zhèng Xuán), or as trigram Zhèn (from *Shuō guà*: 震為大塗 'Zhèn becomes a big road'), inset in Lines 3–5. The overlap happens because, in this particular instance, the image of 'road' seems to have formed out of double-8; it does not belong to any one trigram. 'Heaven' is an image of the lower trigram, Qián. Double-8 above Qián leads to the composite image of "Heaven's crossroads". The composite image can thus be explained in the following *xiàngshù* formula: Gen's shoulder bears Heaven's crossroads on a pole. The pole, as Gèn's top yáng line (as 1/9), is a pictographic 'line image'.

9 Kūn becomes the 'torso'

The *Shuō guà* lists the word fù 腹 as an image of trigram Kūn in a system matching the eight trigrams to parts of the human body.¹⁰² The *Shìfǎ* also has this system, expressed in the form of a diagram, where it matches trigram Lí to the stomach and Kūn to the chest (Figure 1). Kūn's area of the body, starting at the bottom of the ribcage,¹⁰³ is the broadest and 'thickest' among the other seven trigrams.¹⁰⁴ Trigram Lí is the stomach in the *Shìfǎ* diagram but it is matched with the eyes in

image of "carrying a cangue on one's shoulders". (The image of a 'cut-off ear' comes from trigram Kǎn inset in Lines 3–5. Kǎn is the blood trigram; ear is an image of Kǎn in the *Shuō guà* and *Shìfǎ*.)

102 *Zhōu Yì jǐjiě* 17.515–516.

103 'Ribcage' yín 贛 is a remnant image of trigram Kūn. Trigram Kūn's picture as three 6s or three 8s resembles the ribs. Line 3 of ䷁ Gèn 艮 says,

艮其限，列其夤，厲。薰心。

Looking back at his waist, cutting apart his ribcage, danger; smoke the heart.

'Waist' refers to the yáng line in Line 3 that creates a boundary and thus separates the hexagram picture into two parts. Lines 4 and 5 thus form a 'half image' of a human body above the waist. The image of ribs likely comes from double-8/double-6 in this position in the hexagram picture. The 'heart' is contained in this part of the body. 'Smoke' is enlarged trigram Lí as the image of 'fire' in Lines 3–6.

104 The *Shuōwén jiězhì* defines 腹 as hòu 厚 'thick; dimension'; Zāng Kèhé 2002: 4.267. 'Thick' fits nicely into Kūn image program through an association with earth, amassed earth, and, here, with the trunk of the human body. The *Judgment* commentary to Kūn's hexagram statement says, "Kūn, in its thickness, supports the variegated things" (坤厚載物); *Zhōu Yì jǐjiě* 2.31.

the *Shuō guà* system.¹⁰⁵ However, in a different section of the *Shuō guà*, under trigram Lí's images, the trigram has the image of *dàfù* 大腹 'upper part of the stomach'.¹⁰⁶ If *fù* 腹 in the *Shuō guà* just means the stomach, as it is conventionally understood, then the *Shuō guà* system does not associate any trigram to the chest. The *Shìfǎ* system, on the other hand, and if purely following the diagram, does not associate any trigram with the eyes. While it is thus possible to say that *fù* 腹 in the *Shuō guà* system meant the stomach, the *Shuō guà* system did not include the chest, and the *Shuō guà* and *Shìfǎ* simply associated trigram Kūn with different parts of the torso, the proximity of trigram Kūn's body parts across the two systems, unlike the other seven trigrams, adds a complexity to the system matrix. Conflating the two systems, as a thought experiment, leads to the assumption that trigram Kūn was first associated, more broadly, with the torso—essentially the trunk of the body. *Changes* traditions that associated trigram Lí with the stomach, as per the *Shìfǎ*, might have just moved trigram Kūn up to the chest. *Changes* traditions that associated trigram Lí instead with the eyes, as per the *Shuō guà*, might have then associated trigram Kūn with the stomach and left the chest out, or they might have intended *fù* 腹 to mean the torso.¹⁰⁷

Whether intentional or coincidental, the *Shìfǎ* diagram, in positioning Kūn directly over Lí, now affords us the earliest representation in visual art of the hexagram picture ䷗ *Míngyí* 明夷 "Brightness injured" (Figure 1).¹⁰⁸

105 Trigram Lí also has the image of the 'eyes' elsewhere the *Shìfǎ*, "Life and death" 死生, Example 1, slips 1–2; see Yādāng Shīwòcí 亞當 施沃慈 (A.C. Schwartz) 2018.

106 *Zhōu Yī jǐjiě* 17.530; Lǐ Dǐngzuò, perhaps more reasonably, says that it means 'big-bellied': "like a pregnant wife"; see Schwartz 2018a: 58n23.

107 Zōng Fúbāng, Chén Shìnáo, and Xiāo Hǎibō (ed.) 2003: 1868, *fù* 腹, entry 6: "*fù* is what contains and wraps the five viscera" (i.e., heart, liver, spleen, lungs, kidneys), citing Gù Yěwáng 顧野王 (519–581). Zhū Zhèn 2012: 9.258 says that trigram Kūn, in addition to its association with the stomach, also has the image of *shēn* 身 'body, trunk'. Cf. *Qīnghuá* 1, *Fù yuè zhī mìng* 傅悅之命, slip 4: "I nurture you because of your belly, not your body." (朕畜女(汝), 佳(惟)乃畧(腹), 非乃身。)

108 We can be confident that the hexagram picture was called by this name because that is its name in the *Qīnghuá* University **Hexagram List*, slip 5 (It is written in the list as *Wáng yí* 亡夷 (ligature); 亡 is a phonetic loan for *míng* 明).



Figure 1: Trigram Kūn as the chest in the *Shifǎ*; a Warring States illustration of the hexagram picture *Míngyí* 明夷.

The word *fù* 腹 occurs just once in the received text, and it just so happens to be in Line 4 of *Míngyí*. This instance in the base text was ostensibly the *Shuō guà*'s source of reference. The line statement of the hexagram text reads:

入于左腹，獲明夷之心，出于門庭。

Enter in the left side of the stomach, capture *Míngyí*'s heart, and exit out the gate through the courtyard.

The *Shifǎ* diagram shows us where Line 4 of *Míngyí* is on the human body. A *Shifǎ*-inspired reading of the initial clause of the line statement would render it “Enter in the left side of the chest.”¹⁰⁹ The reason the text says ‘entering’ is because this line is the initial line of the outer trigram, Kūn. I propose, following Shàng Bǐnghé, to interpret the ‘heart’ as an image of Kūn because of its location in the body.¹¹⁰ From a *xiàngshù* perspective, the text says “Exit out the gate and courtyard” because trigram Gèn, observed upside-down (*fùxiàng* 覆象), and trigram Zhèn, inset in Lines 3–5, both appear in the hexagram picture.¹¹¹ One of trigram Gèn's prime images is a gate (*mén* 門),¹¹² and trigram Zhèn, through its prime image of the foot, expresses movement. The “Hexes” section of the *Shifǎ*, however, also lists gate as

109 In pre-Classical and Classical Chinese the word for the ‘chest’ is *yīng* 膺; see for instance the manuscript text **Bǔ shū* 卜書 (Turtle-shell Divination Story) in the *Shànghǎi Museum Manuscripts* (ShàngBó 9).

110 *Zhì* 志 ‘ambition, intent’, *sī* 思 ‘wishes’ and *yōu* 憂 ‘sorrow’ are its derivatives. An image cluster is thus: [body]: chest > heart > ambition/ wish/ sorrow. See Shàng Bǐnghé 2012: 13–14, *Jiāo shì Yǐlín zhù*; Shàng Bǐnghé 2012: 194, *Jiāo shì Yǐ gǔ*; Shàng Bǐnghé 2016: 19.99–100; *Zhōu Yì jǐjiě* 5. 136.

111 Schwartz 2018b: 1165; Yú Xǐngwú 1960: 1.4b–7a.

112 Schwartz 2018b: 1163–1165, Table 8. Gān Bǎo, cited in *Zhōu Yì jǐjiě* 7.226, understands Line 3 of a hexagram picture as a courtyard and Line 4 as a gate; (this is part of a larger system of understanding a whole-bodied hexagram as a residence with individual lines associated with its specific spaces).

an image of trigram Kūn, which is the outer trigram in *Míngyí*; both interpretations fit.

10 Kūn becomes ‘cloth’, a ‘shroud’, a ‘skirt’

The *Shuō guà* lists *bù* 布 ‘cloth (n.), spread out (v.)’ as an image of trigram Kūn. I mentioned earlier that the hexagram picture ䷁ named *Mēng* 蒙 “Shrouded” (or “Ignorant”) in the received version of the *Zhōu Yì* was named 龍 *Máng* “Long-haired dog” in the Shànghǎi Museum version. In both instances, the images of ‘shrouded’ and a ‘long-haired dog’ seem to have been either formed (shroud) or completed by (long-haired) the three consecutive yīn lines in the picture’s midst (Lines 3–5). In order to match these particular image associations to real objects, the orientation of these yīn lines, as the numbers 6/8, would have been observed as downward-sloping and falling down (see Table 4).

The *Judgment* commentary refers to the yīn lines above and below the yáng lines in ䷁ Kūn 困 “Entangled” as ‘covering’ them (*Kūn gāng yǎn yě* 困，剛掩也). Further developing this interpretive principle, if a single sloped-shaped yīn line, as the number 6 or 8, when over and under a straight line, as 1/7 or 9, has the image of covering and concealing it, then three yīn lines in a row would have the enlarged image of blanketing it. Changing the verb ‘cover’ into a noun, we can adduce three yīn lines (as 6/8) as having the image of a giant shroud.

Applying the *Judgment* commentary’s hermeneutic principle, the image of ‘shrouded’ and ‘long-haired’ in ䷁ is directly associated to the appearance of three yīn lines (as 6/8) in a row covering the single yáng line below it (Line 2). Sub-images that are related to or derive from the interpretive formula “Kūn becomes cloth” form the image cluster: skirt > conceal, hide, disguise, obscure, darkness, evening > ignorant, stupid, confused, chaotic and lost. The Qīnghuá University *Hexagram List (slip 2) names the hexagram picture *Páng* 悞 (悞) “Stupid”.

The image of a ‘long-haired dog’ is a composite image. It differs from the image of a common dog (*quǎn* 犬). ‘Dog’ can be classified as an image of trigram Gèn through its association to animals with black snouts (*Shuō guà*),¹¹³ while the image of a dog with ‘long-hair’ is thus formed by the presence of three yīn lines in a row. Trigram Gèn’s initial and middle lines in ䷎ merge with the top line of the lower trigram Kǎn to form trigram Kūn. Once fused with Gen’s ‘dog’, the extra yīn line (Line 3) enlarges the dog’s hair and changes it into a long-haired one, *máng* 虬 (虬). Compare, for instance, how the shape of triple-8 or triple-6 forming trigram Kūn resembles the ‘hair’ depicted on the left and right sides in the

113 Schwartz 2018b: 1145–1146, 1149, 1179–1183.

pictographic form 豕 writing the word 'long-haired pig' in Shāng oracle bone script.

The *Judgment* commentary says that hexagram *Mēng* 蒙 expresses “the hard work and success of a sage”.¹¹⁴ The word 蒙 occurs just once more in the *Yijing*, in the *Judgment* commentary to *Míngyí* “Brightness injured”. The central image formed by the constituent trigrams is Lí's (setting) 'sun' gradually entering into and being 'covered' by Kūn's 'black earth' (or 'black sea'; see the section below “Kūn becomes an ocean”). The philosophical meaning of this hexagram is related an historical allusion cited in Line 5 about a senior member of the Shāng royal family, Jǐzǐ 箕子, who feigned madness in order to survive a brutal purge enacted by his nephew, the last Shāng king, Dì Xīn 帝辛. In early Chinese literature, Jǐzǐ was an archetype of a someone who in a time of extreme hardship was able to avoid death by clever disguise. Building on this theme, the *Judgment* commentary ingeniously inserted another historical allusion, about King Wén of Zhōu, and supported it by adding that he was “patterned and brilliant on the inside, gentle and compliant on the outside, so as to shroud great turmoil.”¹¹⁵ The conscious choosing of the word-image *mēng* 蒙 is code for trigram Kūn.¹¹⁶

The image of Kūn as a 'yellow skirt' (*huáng cháng* 黃裳) occurs in Kūn's Line 5 statement. Xún Shuǎng's collected Nine Schools' commentary lists both 黃 and 裳 as remnant images of trigram Kūn. The word 'skirt' in Warring States script, as illustrated below (Figure 2), resembles 8s over 6s.



Figure 2: 'Skirt' in Warring States script (Chǔ).

114 *Zhōu Yì jǐjiě* 2.55.

115 *Zhōu Yì jǐjiě* 7.223. In Chinese the sentence reads, 內文明而外柔順，以蒙大難，文王以之. Before Wén became king, he too, like Jǐzǐ, served the last Shāng ruler as a leader of the western territories. Later, imprisoned by the king at Yǒulǐ, he won his release and eventually went on to defeat the Shāng with the support of regional lords, established the Zhōu, and brought civility and peace to the sub-celestial realm. Shàng Bǐnghé 2012: 7, *Jiāo shì Yǐlín zhù*, classifies King Wén of Zhōu as an image of trigram Kūn, and Jǐzǐ of Shāng as an image of trigram Zhèn; for the latter, see too Yàdāng Shīwòcí 2018: 127–128. The “Properties of the *Changes*” (column 20) in the Mǎwángduī *Yijing* calls King Wén an epitome of hexagram Kūn's virtues (gentle and compliant).

116 Xún Shuǎng's comment, cited in *Zhōu Yì jǐjiě* 7.223, glosses 蒙 as bì 蔽 'cover (in foliage)', and says, “The sun below the earth, and covered by Kūn, has the image of great turmoil.”

The *Images* commentary to Kūn, Line 5, refers to ‘yellow skirt’ as *wén zài zhōng* 文在中. The *Judgment* and *Images* commentaries understand the word *zhōng* 中 ‘middle’ as a technical term referring to the ‘middle line’ of a trigram’s picture; in this instance, it denotes Line 5 of the outer trigram.¹¹⁷ The *Shuō guà* lists 文 it as an image of trigram Kūn, and Xún Shuǎng’s collected Nine Schools’ commentary says the word means a ‘mixture of colors’. Plugged into Kūn’s image program, and when blended together with the image of Kūn as the ‘earth’ and the ‘masses’, the composite image forms a pattern: the myriad earthly things mixed together.¹¹⁸

Derivative sub-images stemming from 文 as a ‘pattern’ are *zhāng* 章 ‘distinctive mark; composition’, *shū* 書 ‘document’, ‘writing’, and ‘book’, since 文 also means characters in the writing system and thus denotes the words that these characters write.

A yellow skirt occurs in Line 5, but the image of a skirt is actually formed from the interpretive formula trigram Kūn as ‘cloth’ and the image it takes when designed with five yīn lines in a row (Lines 1–5 as 6/8). In its enlarged ‘body’, trigram Kūn’s ‘cloth’ changes into a long, layered skirt. A long skirt with decorative designs drapes down covering, enveloping, hiding, and protecting what is under it. When fused with the formula “Kūn becomes the masses”, a composite meaning of covering and keeping people safe is formed. Covering and keeping people safe is a metaphor for governing them. Governing masses of people requires rules, laws, and institutions. Rules, laws, and institutions are mandated to citizens of the state by means of documents and other forms of written communication.¹¹⁹





10.1 The pure yīn trigram has the image of water in the Mǎwángduī Zhōu Yī

The pure yīn trigram is written *chuān* ䷁ (||) in the Hǎihūn manuscripts (cited and illustrated below). The name of the pure yīn trigram and hexagram picture in the Mǎwángduī version equal to trigram and hexagram Kūn in the received version of the *Yījīng* is also written ䷁ (||). It is quite direct to observe a shape

¹¹⁷ Lái Zhīdé 2019: 1.194, says that ‘yellow’ and ‘skirt’ are images of trigram Kūn, but he also connects ‘yellow’ to the number 5, and ‘skirt’ to the number 6. What he seems to mean is that yellow is a technical term used in reference to line position (in the *Zhōu Yī* the word ‘yellow’ only occurs in either Lines 2 or 5 and is always lucky), whereas ‘skirt’ is an image of an even-numbered result (6/8). Xún Shuǎng classifies yellow (actually an earthen-colored brownish yellow) as an image of Kūn through its association with earth.

¹¹⁸ *Zhōu Yī jǐjiě* 17.520.

¹¹⁹ Oral announcements, calls, and commands are images of trigram Xùn, through its prime image of the wind, and trigram Duī, through its prime image of the mouth.

resemblance between the trigram pictures  (6-6-6; rotated 90° ) and the pictograph *chuān*  (川; rotated 90° ) in Warring States script.¹²⁰ 川 functions phono-semantically in the graph 順 writing *shùn* 'compliant; receptive; in the flow'. In the *Yijing*, compliance and passivity are trigram Kūn's most characteristic virtues.

The hexagram name 川 in the *Mǎwángduī Zhōu Yī* should either be read as it is written 'converging water, river, flow', or as the proto-form of *shùn* 順.¹²¹ The alternative, that 川 was a phonetic loan for 坤 (*Shuōwén jiězhì*: "earth") is of course also plausible, but I would still suggest that the graph selected for the loaning was not random. One controversial point, however, with reading 川 as a loan for 坤 is that the earliest occurrence of the latter, written with an 'earth' signifier *tǔ* 土 and the phono-semantic *shēn* 申, is from Eastern Hàn sources. I will return to this topic in Section 11. At present, writing the pure yīn trigram/hexagram with the graph 川 first occurs in Western Hàn *Changes* sources (*Mǎwángduī* and *Hǎihūn*).

The slip carrying the text of the pure yīn trigram in the *Hǎihūn* manuscripts is unfortunately broken and its beginning either has not yet been found or is no

120 Wáng Yīnzhī 王引之 (1766–1834) 1999: 1.3a–3b chides those who interpret 川 (川) as originating in a resemblance to the pure yīn trigram and read it as though it wrote the word 'river/flow' as having a shallow understanding of the *Changes*. In his opinion, 川 is a simple phonetic loan for 坤; see too Dīng Sixīn 2011: 351–353. From philological and linguistic perspectives Wáng's analysis is of course persuasive and most likely correct, but the issue is that *Changes* manuals and literature about the *Changes* need to be handled with a different apparatus. It strikes me as a poor choice to take such a resolute position that there was not an association between pictures, names and words in the hexagram and line statements; it is thus contrary to the *Judgment* commentary, *Zhōu Yī jǐjiě* 10.308, elaborated by Shaughnessy 1996: 12–13 and Schwartz 2018a: 68–75. What is important though about Wáng's detailed analysis is that he emphasizes 川 is 川, and not an archaic form of 坤; more on this in Section 11.

121 Shaughnessy 1996: 304 clarifies his rationale for translating 川 as "The Flow", by saying "For *chuan* 川, "river", the received text, in which this is hexagram 2, reads *kun* 坤, generally understood as "The Earthly Principle," but also routinely glossed as *shun* 順, "in the flow; compliant." Since *chuan* 川 is also the phonetic component of *shun* 順, it would seem that their combined sense of "water flowing smoothly within a channel" leads to the original sense of this name." Warring States manuscripts frequently use the graph 川 to write the word *chuān* 'river' and also to write the words 順 and 訓. Liào Míngchūn 2001: 31–32, after Yú Yuè 俞樾 (1821–1907), also reads 川 as the proto-form of 順. Lǐ Líng 2013: 76 does not read 川 as 坤 either, and seems to favor reading it as 順; his reconstruction of the text of the pure yīn hexagram in the *Hǎihūn* manuscripts, however, now appears to contradict this; see Lǐ Líng 2020: 255. Hellmut Wilhelm (1905–1990) 2019: 39 says, "To begin with, we have the pair of opposites, Qian and Kun ... the names of these trigrams is not easy to decipher; their oldest meaning is probably 'the dry' and 'the moist', that is to say, the separation of land and water." Michael Nylan 2001: 203, 217 says that trigram Kun represents wetness, the feminine, and the impulse to complete, and trigram Qian represents dryness, the masculine, and the impulse to initiate.

longer extant. Based on the paronomastic formula used for the pure yáng hexagram text directly before it in the manuscript, Lǐ Líng's reconstruction, quite plausibly, has 屯《《=者《《也. Lǐ reads the first two 《《 either as a phonetic loan for or writing the same word signified with *kūn* 坤, and the third 《《 either as a phonetic loan for or as the proto-form of 順. The graph however that Lǐ transcribes as 《《 is 𠂔𠂔 which is plainly identified as a late Warring States-Western Hàn way of writing *chūan* 川. Comparable examples include: 𠂔𠂔 (Xīncài Gělíng, 0.198, 0.203; Warring States), 𠂔𠂔 (Guōdiàn, *Zūn dé yì*, slip 12; Warring States), and 𠂔𠂔 (Xīchuí jiǎn 西陲簡, 51.3; Western Hàn). The Western Hàn *Changes* expert/community that produced and used the text, which is composed in a exegetical style in vogue among Hàn philologists more widely, obviously knew how to understand 川者川也 as a *Changes* formula. Writing the name for the pure yīn trigram with the graph 川, which I proposed was associated, if not only indirectly, to the shape of the pure yīn trigram's 'body' (in the configurations pure 6/pure 8), elicits various interpretations among different users.

The polysemic nature of the Chinese writing system and the underlying principle of change in this system of divination are conduits for innovation and variation. Practitioners and users with expertise in the *Changes* traditions used the openness of the texts to add extra meaning to words in their written instantiations, thereby conveying hidden interpretations directly into the source text, and leveraged prescriptive sound moulds to express lexical variation.¹²² The Mǎwángduī *Yijing* writes the name for the pure yáng trigram/hexagram with the graph jiàn 鍵 'key' > jiàn 健 'strong, hard', and not with the graph qián 乾. Again, our choice is whether to read 鍵 as it is written, as a graphic variant or phonetic loan for 健 (I suggest the former, as 'metal' is an archetype of something 'hard and strong'), or as a phonetic loan for 乾. The paronomastic formula 屯建=者建也 occurs in the Hǎihūn manuscripts, and this corresponds to the Mǎwángduī text tradition quite well. The paronomastic definition in the *Shuō guà* for the pure yáng trigram/hexagram, Qián jiàn yě 乾健也 "Qián is hard and strong", validates that this exegetical formula was developed during the Warring States period, if not earlier. Scrutinized together, we have solid evidence that Western Hàn *Changes* traditions referred to the pure yáng trigram/hexagram by its most characteristic 'virtue'. In the same vein, we should probably read 川 based on the paronomastic definition in the *Shuō guà*, Kūn shùn yě 坤順也 "Kūn is compliant", and approach it the same way.

¹²² A prescriptive sound 'mould' produces a container for precise semantic contents that are made explicit with written elements; see n160.

Reading 川 as though it were a rebus or phonetic loan for the same word signified with 坤 actually muddles what I understand to be an underlying code in operation in the sequence of the silk manuscript text where the eight hexagram pictures with the pure yīn trigram as the outer trigram are arranged together (Hexagrams 33–40; Table 7). As I will demonstrate in the sub-sections below, the *Changes* community that produced this ‘recension’ seems to have systematically inserted into the source text graphs written with a ‘water’ 巽 signifier in order to critically develop and elucidate a hermeneutic strategy that water was an image of the pure yīn trigram.¹²³ Missing the import of 川 starting the sequence obscures the fingerprints that follow. Moreover, betraying how these graphs, as a set of clues, appear in the manuscript and reading them as phonetic loans, starting with 川 : 坤, in order to accord with words in the received version of the text not only negates the craft of this innovation, but it also betrays the very *Changes* tradition which has always elevated such innovation. Moving out of a one-dimensional, philological analysis, I attempt in this section to make a more inclusive approach to the reading of the graph 川 in the *Mǎwángduī Zhōu Yī* by considering the integrity and intentionality of the manuscript text and reading Hexagrams 33–40 as a hermeneutical map.

10.2 Water images in ䷊ *Tài* 泰 “Exalted”

The graph *tài* 泰 (䷊) first appears in Qín dynasty script as a new way to write the words *tài* 太 ‘exalted’ and *dà* 大 ‘great, big’. (The sound element in 泰 is 大; 太 is a derivative of 大.) 泰 is written with a water signifier, two hands in an elevating

¹²³ It is important to clarify here that there are an abundance of phonetic loans, alternative spellings, errors, and misspellings in the *Mawangdui Yijing* silk manuscript. Being as it may, from a *xiàngshù* perspective, the systematic use of graphs written with a water classifier indicates a coded system of trigram interpretation. These graphs however do not have to be read as the words they wrote in order for the code to be conveyed and deciphered. I have addressed this issue elsewhere (Schwartz 2018b: 1189–1190) in a discussion of variant names for the hexagram picture named *Gèn* 艮 “Looking back” in the received *Zhōu Yī*: “[In] the *Mawangdui Zhou Yi*, a diviner or user seems to have skillfully and poignantly renamed the trigram/hexagram picture as *Gen* 根 “Roots” as a linguistic play on 艮, but also with the knowledge that it fit into its image program (i.e., things that hang down), 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.”

Table 7: Hexagrams 33–40 in the *Mǎwángduī Zhōu Yī* (i.e., the pure Yīn trigram ‘palace’ sequence).

Mǎwángduī sequence/received version sequence	33/2	34/11	35/15	36/19	37/7	38/36	39/24	40/46
Mǎwángduī <i>Yījīng</i> (base text + commentaries)	川	泰/奈	謙/濂 ¹²⁴	林	師	明夷	復	登
Meaning	Converging water; flowing water; river	Wet, slippery; exalted	Insufficient/ freezing water	Forest	Army	Brightness injured	Return	Ascend
Received version of the <i>Yījīng</i>	坤	泰	謙	臨	師	明夷	復	升
Meaning	Earth	Exalted	Modest	Look down upon ¹²⁵	Army	Brightness injured	Return	Ascend

motion (gǒng 升), and the phono-semantic 大. The word has two meanings: one is *huá* 滑 ‘wet, slippery’; the other is obviously synonymous with 太/大.¹²⁶

There are four water images, including the name of the hexagram, in the hexagram text “Exalted”, and three of the four images can confidently be classified as images of trigram Kūn, the outer trigram. The first is understandably the hexagram’s name; the second water image, ‘river’ 河, occurs in the statement of Line 2, *yòng píng hé* 用馮河 “use [the result of this line] to ford a river without a boat”; the third water image, ‘ripple’ 波, occurs in the *Mǎwángduī Zhōu Yī*’s Line 3 statement, *wú píng bù bō* 無平不波 “There is nothing flat that does not wave”; and the fourth water image, ‘moat’ 隍/湟, occurs in the *Mǎwángduī Zhōu Yī*’s Top Line statement, *chéng fù yú huáng* 城覆于隍 [湟] “The outer city wall collapses into the

¹²⁴ The Hǎihūn manuscripts also writes the hexagram name as 濂; see Lǐ Líng 2020: 256.

¹²⁵ Wén Yīduō 聞一多 (1899–1946) 1965: 22–23 reads 臨 as a phonetic loan for 灑 “pouring rain”. Read through Wén’s lens, 林 “forest” can be read as a phonetic loan for *lín* 淋 “soaking wet” or *lín* 霖 “pouring rain”; see Lǐ Líng 2013: 139 and Schwartz 2018b: 1154–155.

¹²⁶ Jì Xùshēng 2014: 800; Lǐ Líng 2013: 113. Wáng Bì’s 王弼 (226–249) commentary to the *Zhōu Yī* glosses it *dà tōng* 大通 ‘penetrate entirely; universal; great communication’. The hexagram names *Dà guò* 大過, *Dà zhuàng* 大壯, and *Dà chù* 大畜 in the received version of the *Yījīng* are written 泰過, 泰壯, and 泰畜 in the *Mǎwángduī* version, which, as mentioned, was copied about 190 BC. The graph 泰 does not occur in the Shànghǎi Museum version. In the Qīnghuá University *Hexagram List*, the 泰 hexagram is written with the still unidentified graph 𡗗; *Dà guò*, *Dà zhuàng*, and *Dà chù* are all written with 大.

wet [moat]”.¹²⁷ Below, I shall discuss the items separately, aside from the hexagram name, and in the order they appear in the hexagram text.

Although the image of a river occurs in the inner trigram of “Exalted”, a Warring States reading strategy correlates Line 2 with Line 5, which is the middle of trigram Kūn. It is plausible to interpret 河 ‘river’ in this sentence as referring specifically to the Yellow River. Supposing we do this, the image of the Yellow River in “Exalted” can be associated with the image of a river 江 (i.e., the Yangtze) in the Wángjiātái *Guīcáng* hexagram text *Guǎ* 寡 “Alone”,¹²⁸ and the three rivers (Yellow, Yangtze and Huái) as water images in the *Yīlín*’s *Qián*’s *Guān* 乾觀 “Vigorous’ Observing” (cited and discussed in the next section). 馮河 means to ford a river without a boat. It implies swimming or floating with the aid of a device and using one’s legs to move across. Trigram Zhèn, which has the prime image of the feet > strong forward movement in the *Shuō guà*, is inset in Lines 3–5 of “Exalted”. From a *xiàngshù* perspective, it is Zhèn’s ‘feet’ that help one move in the water. The absence of trigram Xùn’s picture in “Exalted”, with its prime image of wood (*Shuō guà*), signals that there is no boat available to help one ford the river.¹²⁹

Earlier I cited the sentence *wú píng bù bō* 無平不波 to illustrate how a solid yang line (as 1 or 9) under a bent or curved yin line (as 6 or 8) had the image of a flat

¹²⁷ Only the ‘water’ signifier is visible in the manuscript. 湟 has been reconstructed based on a graphic variant noted in Lù Déming’s 陸德明 (ca. 550–630) *shìwén* commentary (cited in Sūn Xīngyán 2018: 3.138).

¹²⁸ Schwartz 2022.

¹²⁹ This interpretation is applying a hermeneutic principle in operation in the *Judgment* commentary. In its explanation of ䷛ *Zhōng fú* 中孚 “Trust in the Middle”, *lì shè dà chuān* 利涉大川 “[It is] beneficial to ford the big river”, the commentary says *chéng mùzhōu xū* 乘木舟虛 “[cross the big river by] riding in a wooden boat’s empty space”. Xùn, the outer trigram in *Zhōng fú*, has the image of wood in the canonical commentaries, and boats are made of it. The technical term ‘empty space’ refers to the two yin lines in the ‘middle’ of the hexagram picture. The hexagram’s lines as a whole-bodied picture has an appearance of a boat, and the empty space in the middle, having been carved out, is where one takes a position. The main function of a boat is to cross water, and this seems to be how the *Judgment* commentary formed the association; see Schwartz 2018a: 61–62. The phrase *píng hé* 憑河 occurs in the *Yīlín*, *Kūn*’s *Shēng* 坤之升 “Receptive’s Ascension” ䷁, which says, *píng hé dēng shān* 憑河登山 “Fording the river (/Yellow River) without a boat and climbing a mountain”. Shàng Bǐnghé 2012: 15, *Jiāo shì Yī gǔ*, interprets ‘river’ as an image of trigram Kūn, the outer trigram in *Shēng*. Trigram Zhèn is embedded in Lines 3–5 of *Shēng*, and this is appears to be what evoked the images of swimming and climbing (<strong forward foot movement). Three 6s has the image of amassed earth and ‘steps’ (階); for a prime instance, see *Zhōu Yì jǐjiě*, 9.286, hexagram *Shēng* 升, Top Line statement; see too Shàng Bǐnghé 2016: 13.212. Multiple 6s (in trigrams Gèn, Zhèn, and Kūn) have the image of uneven terrain > rocks, hills, mountains and ruins; see Schwartz 2018b: 1159–1162; Yādāng Shīwòcí 2018: 127–128.

shape changing into a sloped shape.¹³⁰ The word ‘wave’ in the Mǎwángdūi version is written pō 陂 ‘slope’ in the received version. The cognates share a sound value and are differentiated only in script by the signifiers ‘water’ and ‘mound’.¹³¹ ‘Wave’ fits seamlessly as an image of trigram Kūn through its association with water;¹³² ‘slope’ also fits seamlessly as an image of trigram Kūn through an association with amassed earth. Retaining the prescriptive sound mould *pâi, early *Changes* user communities manipulated signifier variation to create semantic and lexical nuance.

The graph huáng 隍 ‘wet moat’ in the Top Line statement of the Mǎwángdūi text is written huáng 隍 ‘dry moat’ in the received text. The two share the sound value huáng 皇,¹³³ and are also only differentiated in script by the signifiers ‘water’ and ‘mound’.¹³⁴ Like with 波 and 陂, early *Changes* users with profound specialization in the tradition manipulated signifier variation in prescriptive sound moulds to create lexical nuance and to afford text new meaning. Both graphs write the word ‘moat’, but a ‘water’ signifier indicates a ‘wet moat’ whereas a ‘mound’

130 The image of Qián as flat and Kūn as sloped is perhaps more discernible when a solid yáng line occurs directly under a bent or broken yīn line. For instance, in the hexagram picture “Exalted”, the flatness of the yáng lines of Qián (i.e., the inner trigram) are more pronounced when they *change* into the sloped yīn lines of Kūn (i.e., the outer trigram). Giving further expression to one of the *Shǐfǎ*’s distinctive methods of image recognition, that is at the line level, ‘flat’ (as 1/7/9) and ‘sloped’ (as 6/8) are be images of line numbers, just as in the canonical commentaries ‘solid’ and ‘empty’ and ‘hard’ and ‘soft’ are images of yáng and yīn lines.

131 The word signified with bēi/pō 陂 ‘slope, embankment’, and its graphic variants 岐/pō 坡, is a member of a word family written with a common phonophore (pí 皮): bō 波 ‘wave, ripple’, bǒ 跛 ‘lame’ (< walking with one foot higher than the other), and pō 坡 ‘slope, hillside, bank’. ‘Mound’ 阜 is amassed earth, and the exchange of the signifiers 阜 and 土 was common practice among scribal traditions. The exchange of ‘water’ and ‘earth’ signifiers occurs in Warring States script traditions, for instance in variant forms of ní 泥/圯 ‘mud’ and shā 沙/壖 ‘sand’. I prefer however to read 陂 and 波 as lexical variants that originated as ‘specialized’ orthographic forms for the same word.

132 波 ‘waves’ can be classified as an image of trigram Kūn, since it occurs in Line 4 of “Exalted”. If the number 8 in the *Shǐfǎ* has the line image of ‘water’, then multiple 8s or 6s would have the ‘enlarged image’ (dà xiàng 大象) of gradually expanding amounts of water; a principle of line image > trigram image enlargement produces the image of Kūn as converging water, river, abyss, ocean, and, in this instance, waves.

133 To date, neither 隍/隍 (graphic variant; see the next footnote) nor 隍 have appeared in Pre-Hàn paleographic materials. This suggests that in Pre-Warring States versions of the *Zhōu Yǐ* the word huáng ‘moat’ in this line statement would have either been spelled phonetically with 皇 and without a signifier, with a different phonetic speller, or with a lexical variant that broke from the prescriptive sound mould. Below I suggest that one candidate would have been huáng 黃 > 潢 ‘watery moat; pool’, which like 皇 also occurs in pre-Classical inscriptions.

134 An alternative spelling of 隍 is 隍, written with an ‘earth’ classifier. The situation we have then with signifier exchange in this pair is precisely same as the one just alluded to in the previous footnote.

signifier indicates a 'dry moat'.¹³⁵ 隍 (OCM wān) is cognate with *huáng* 潢 (OCM *gwān) 'watery moat, pool'.¹³⁶ With this foreknowledge, a Western Hàn reading strategy could thus be to take the word 隍 as a synonym of *nì* 沔 (溺) 'drown, submerge in water'.¹³⁷

In the Top Line statement of "Exalted", *chéng fù yú huáng* 城覆于隍 [隍], it is the outer city wall that turns over (> collapses) and submerges in the wet moat. In the *xiàngshù* tradition, 'wall', like a mountain (that is, an archetype of something that 'stops' or 'blocks' one from passing), is an image of trigram *Gèn*; its appearance upside-down (*fù xiàng* 覆象) in this hexagram picture means the wall has fallen.¹³⁸ Trigram *Kūn*'s three broken or bent lines have the image of 'collapsing' (*tuírán* 隤然, *Xīcǐ*), and when fused with trigram *Gen*'s 'wall' the composite image is a 'collapsed wall'. Trigram *Duī*, inset in Lines 2–4, has the prime image of a 'marsh' (*Shuō guà*), and its derivative images—with a main characteristic being standing water—are moat, pond, swamp, pool, lake, puddles, and rainwater.

10.3 Kūn becomes an 'ocean' in ䷋ *Míngyí* 明夷 "Brightness injured"

The formula "Kūn becomes an ocean" is attributed to the Nine Schools' *Changes* commentary, which was collected and supplemented by Xún Shuǎng in the third century AD. I know of it only from Huáng Shòuqí's annotation to Shàng Bǐnghé's list of remnant images appended to the *Shuō guà*.¹³⁹ Evidence in the *Yílín* and the *Mǎwángduī Yìjīng* substantiates that this interpretation was in circulation during the Western Hàn.

Perhaps Shàng Bǐnghé's best evidence for applying the formula to interpret the *Yílín* comes from the hexagram statement *Qián's Guān*, or "Vigorous' Observing".

䷀ 乾之觀：江河淮海，天之奧府。眾利所聚，可以饒有。樂我君子，百福是受。

"Vigorous' Observing": The Yangtze River, Yellow River, Huái River, and the ocean are Heaven's profound treasures. Many profit on what amasses there, there is always plenty to eat. Joyous is our noble man; a hundred blessings, this is what [he] receives.

¹³⁵ Commentary putatively ascribed to Zǐ Xià's 子夏 (507–? BC) explains 隍 as a 'wet moat'; Zhèng Xuán glosses 隍 it as *hè* 壑 'moat; canal'. See citations in Sūn Xīngyán 2018: 3.138.

¹³⁶ Zōng Fúbāng, Chén Shìáo, and Xiǎo Hǎibō (ed.) 2003: 1291, citing *Dà Dài Lǐ*, "Xià Xiǎozhèng" 夏小正, defines 隍 as *xià chǔ* 下處 '[water] going down to a lower place; sink'.

¹³⁷ Yáng Xióng 揚雄 (53 BC–18) *Fāngyán* 方言 13.157.

¹³⁸ This interpretation follows Yú Xīngwú 1960: 1.6. For an overview of upside-down images in the *Yìjīng* and their relationship to upside-down logographs in early script, see Yú Xīngwú 1960: 1.4b–7a; Schwartz 2018a: 1145, 1165.

¹³⁹ See n46.

As I mentioned earlier, there are multiple interpretive systems at work in the *Yìlín*, but a common principle for prediction focuses on the second hexagram of the pair (i.e., the result hexagram). Shàng Bǐnghé understands the appearance of four bodies of water in the hexagram statement as being associated with the four yīn lines of the second hexagram picture. Trigram Kūn, the inner trigram, which becomes ‘enlarged’ by the appearance of an additional yīn line in Line 4, unambiguously has the image of water in *Guān* 觀 “Observing”.¹⁴⁰

Although we do not know how the formula “Kūn becomes an ocean” was applied by Western Hàn exegetes to read and interpret the *Yìjīng*, or when, where, and from whom this interpretation originated and developed, there has to have been a hook either in one of the hexagram or line statements in a version of the *Zhōu Yī* or in an early commentary that evoked it.

The word ‘ocean’ does not occur in the received version of the *Yìjīng*, but it does occur one time in the Top Line statement of the hexagram text “Brightness injured” in the Mǎwángduī version. The Mǎwángduī version has been lost since the second century BC, which is precisely when Nine Schools’ interpretation was circulating.¹⁴¹ This leads to an hypothesis that the word’s occurrence in the Mǎwángduī version of “Brightness injured” was the point of reference in the Nine Schools’ commentary.

Below I provide a comparison of the Top Line statements in the received version (R) and the Mǎwángduī version (MWD),

R: 上六：不明晦。初登于天，後入于地。

MWD: 上六：不明海。初登于天，後入于地。

In the Mǎwángduī text, our choice is to read *hǎi* 海 as a phonetic loan for *huì* 晦, or to read it as representing the word that it writes. In the received text, and now that the earliest version of this line statement occurs in the Mǎwángduī text, our choice is to read 晦 as a phonetic loan for 海, or to read it as representing the word that it writes.

Hui 晦 ‘dark’ and *hai* 海 ‘ocean’ are written with the same sound element, *mǔ* 母 > *měi* 每, and distinguished in script by the signifiers ‘sun’ and ‘water’. The graphs writing these basic *xíngshēng* composites appear in three orientations









¹⁴⁰ The image of ‘heaven’ in the noun phrase ‘Heaven’s treasures’ (*tiān zhī àofǔ* 天之奧府) refers to the hexagram on the left (i.e., the hexagram which corresponds to the date of the divination), hexagram “Vigorous” (*Qián*). This is therefore an example of an interpretation that observed images in the two hexagrams, arranged together, as interacting.

¹⁴¹ Shàng Bǐnghé 2012: 2–5, *Jiāo shì Yī gǔ*, understands the title as referring to the nine *Changes* experts gathered by Liú Ān, Prince of Huáinán, sometime before 139 BC.

(Table 8): with the classifier on top, to the side, and underneath the sound element. As it regards the water signifier 𣶒 in 海, in brush script the center of the middle stroke sometimes appears extremely faint. Looking carefully at the first example under 海 in Table 8 (center column, graph 1), one can see that the middle stroke is indeed connected but the thinness and lightness of the line in the center causes the signifier to appear as though it was composed of six short, disconnected strokes. These short, disconnected strokes resemble the numerical sequence 8-8-8. It is precisely this style of calligraphy that could have led to 海 and related graphs written with a water signifier being mistaken for six disconnected strokes (Table 8, center column, graph 3) by late medieval compilers of ancient paleography.

海 and 晦 are attested phonetic loans in early Chinese excavated and received literature.¹⁴² A more recent example occurs in the Warring States manuscript called

Table 8: A comparison of the hexagrams *Míngyí* and *Jìn* with the graphs used to write the words 'dark' and 'ocean' in Warring States scripts.

晦	海	
		
(Yīn Gāozōng wèn yú sān shòu, slip 10)	(Mín zhī fù mǔ, slip 12)	明夷
		
(Héngxīān, slip 9)	(Guōdiàn, Lǎozǐ A, slip 20)	
		
(Gǔishén zhī míng, slip 8)	(Hàn jiǎn 汗簡, 5.33)	晉/潛
Sun classifier at the bottom, to the side, and at the top of the sound element	Water classifier at the top, to the side, and at the bottom of the sound element	

¹⁴² Gāo Hēng 高亨 (comp.) 1989: 442–443; Bái Yúlán 白於藍 (comp.) 2008: 35, 40, 162.

King Wǔ Dīng of Yīn asked to the Three Old Men 殷高宗問於三壽 (Qīnghuá 5). The text on slip 10 where the loan occurs says,

殷邦之妖蜚（祥）并起，八紀則縉（紊），四厥（巖）將行，四晦（海）之夷則作，九牧九矣（咳）將喪。

If bad omens in the state of Yin arise together, the eight pillars will then be in disorder, and the four cliffs will move; the level of **the four oceans** will then arise as a result, and the nine pastoral lands and nine frontiers will be lost.

The noun phrase ‘four oceans’ is written with these same two graphs in the *Chǔ Silk Manuscript A*.

The *Judgment* commentary to the hexagram statement of “Brightness injured” proposes that the reason the prediction says *lì jiān zhēn* 利艱貞 “[It is] beneficial to inquire about hardship” is because the hexagram picture, comprised of trigram Kūn’s ‘earth’ over trigram Lí’s ‘sun’, produces the composite image of *huì qí míng* 晦其明 “[Kūn] darkens its (>Lí’s) brightness”.¹⁴³ Reading 晦 as a verb and 明 as a noun is innovative, since 晦 and 明 (or a synonym like *guāng* 光) usually occur in combination in early Chinese literature in reference to the sun and moon, 晦 in front of 明, and mean contrastive ‘dark’ and ‘bright’. The following examples suffice to demonstrate this.

地有高下，天有晦明，民有君臣，國有都鄙，古之制也。

The earth has high and low, the sky has dark and bright, the commonfolk have rulers and subjects, kingdoms have capitals and districts; these are ancient regulations.¹⁴⁴

六氣：曰陰、曰陽、曰風、曰雨、曰晦、曰明。

The six vapors are called shade, sun, wind, rain, dark, bright.¹⁴⁵

先又（有）晦，安（焉）又（有）明。

First there was darkness, then there was brightness.¹⁴⁶

不明 ‘not bright’ and 晦 ‘dark’ are synonymous; reading 不明晦 as two coordinate verb phrases does not make sense.¹⁴⁷ On the other hand, taking 晦 as a noun and 不明

¹⁴³ *Zhōu Yì jǐjiě* 7.223.

¹⁴⁴ *Guó yǔ*, “Chǔ yǔ” 楚語, 6.

¹⁴⁵ *Zuǒ zhuàn*, Lord Zhào, year 1.

¹⁴⁶ *ShàngBó* 3, *Héngxiān* 恆先, slip 9.

¹⁴⁷ Gāo Hēng 2004: 348 parses 不明, 晦, and reads 明 as a phonetic loan for 鳴 ‘bird call’. His reading would be translated as “Not calling out, [the pheasant] is hidden.” Richard Rutt 1996: 259 says, “The pheasant stops crying.” Edward Shaughnessy 1996: 113 translates it “Not bright or dark”, apparently indicating the twilight. Lǐ Líng 2013: 203 translates it into modern Chinese as

as its modifier—with the sense of complete darkness is a strong reading. However, that the *Images* commentary does not mention it suggests that either its meaning was considered self-explanatory, ambiguous, not in the version of the text that the author(s) of the *Images* commentary had access to, or it was a later interpolation.

Another approach is to read the statement through the lens of the *Judgment* commentary. 明 can be understood as a verb and 晦 is its object. This would render the phrase as “not going to cause the darkness to be light [again],” with the sense that upon reaching the final line of the hexagram picture the sun has long since departed and everything is now pitch black.¹⁴⁸ A metaphorical reading sees chaos and evil; it sees goodness and men of worth purged for letting their inner light shine too bright for others to see.

The meaning of 不明海 is perhaps easier to understand on the surface—海 is a noun and 不明 its modifier—but there is also a underlying metaphor in operation. 不明 is another way of saying dark or black, and one of Kūn's images in the *Shuō guà* is ‘black soil’.¹⁴⁹ Projected onto water and infused into the formula “Kūn becomes an ocean”, we get the images of ‘black water’ and ‘black sea’. In early Chinese literature, if not describing natural images like the sun or fire, or referring to eyesight, the phrase *bù míng* 不明 was a euphemism for unintelligence; it occurs in reference to ritual and legal institutions that did not clearly designate and elucidate their core principles and values (for instance *Xúnzǐ*, “Tiān lùn” 天論). A lack of clarity by the person/office with the authority to oversee these institutions was predicted to lead the masses into uncertainty and confusion and society towards disorder and chaos.

The *Shuōwén jiězhì* defines 海 as *tiānchí* 天池 “Heaven's pool” and says it feeds the hundred rivers (*yǐ nà bǎi chuān* 以納百川).¹⁵⁰ ‘Black water’ (黑水) is one of six rivers mentioned in the *Huáinánzǐ* (“Dìxíng xùn” 地形訓), and in the *Shānhǎijīng*, “Hǎi nèi jīng” 海內經, it is said to flow out of the North Sea. In the *Yǐlín*, the ocean is

“The color of the sky has gradually darkened, and twilight has finally arrived.” Images often reach an extreme at the top line of a hexagram picture, and in my opinion, the imagery in the Top Line of “Brightness injured” is complete blackness, not the twilight; see the next footnote. The sun has long since dropped down out of sight, and darkness now covers everything. It is the culmination of the theme in the hexagram text that brightness has finally been mutilated. 夷 means 平 ‘flat’; its verbal sense is to flatten. Hàn commentators like Zhèng Xuán and Mǎ Róng gloss it as *shāng* 傷 ‘injure, harm’. The word 夷 (written + a mound classifier) occurs in Shāng oracle bone and early Western Zhōu bronze inscriptions with the meaning of mutilate or quell; see Schwartz 2019: 300.
148 Wáng Bì refers to the Top Line as “becoming the ruler of darkness” 為暗之主; *Zhōu Yì jǐjiě*, 586.

149 *Zhōu Yì jǐjiě* 17.520.

150 Zāng Kèhé 2002: 17.729.

called the “ancestor of water” and the “king of water”. The ocean as the king of all water is a metaphor for the king of all men. A total of three predictions in the *Yìlín* start in form *hǎi wéi shuǐ wáng* 海為水王 “The ocean is the king of all water” or *hǎi wéi shuǐ zōng* 海為水宗 “The ocean is the ancestor of all water”:

節之節：海為水王，聰聖且明。百流歸德，無有叛逆，常饒優足。

蒙之乾：海為水王，聰聖且明。百流歸德，無有叛逆，常饒優足。

損之履：海為水宗，聰聖且明。百流歸德，無有叛逆，常饒優足。

The **ocean** is the king/ancestor of all water (because its) capacity is lofty and **bright**.¹⁵¹ The hundred streams return to what is virtuous, and there is no moving in the other way; for a long time, there will be abundance and enough supply.

Applying the *Yìlín*’s interpretation of a bright ocean (明海) as a metaphor for an enlightened king (明王) to the hexagram text of *Míngyí*, “black ocean” (不明海) is a metaphor for an unenlightened ruler (不明王). As I discussed earlier, historical allusions in *Míngyí* and its canonical commentary about Jizǐ of Shāng and King Wén of Zhōu portray individuals suffering hardship and a country destabilizing during the tyrannous reign of the last king of Shāng, Zhòu 紂.

10.4 The hexagram picture ䷶ named *jìn* 潛 “Watery”

The inverse of *Míngyí* 明夷 “Brightness injured” (Hexagram 36/64) in the received sequence of the *Yìjīng* is *jìn* 晉 “Advancing” (Hexagram 35/64). 晉 is named *jìn* 潛 “Watery” (Hexagram 51/64) in the *Mǎwángduì Zhōu Yì*. Although 明夷 and 潛 are separated in the *Mǎwángduì* hexagram sequence, they have a positive-negative relationship in the *Yìjīng* tradition. The *Judgment* commentary says that 晉 means ‘advance’, and it interprets the hexagram picture, trigram Lí over trigram Kūn, as having the image of the “sun coming out and rising above the earth”; it interprets *Míngyí*’s hexagram picture, trigram Lí under trigram Kūn, the inverse of *jìn*, as having the image of the “sun entering into the earth”. The *Zá guà* 雜卦 (Miscellany of the Hexagrams) commentary glosses 晉 as *zhòu* 晝 ‘daytime’.¹⁵² Projected onto its opposite, *Míngyí* has the meaning of *yè* 夜 ‘nighttime’.

潛 is comprised of a ‘water’ signifier 氺 and the sound element *jìn* 晉, which, in turn, is comprised of a ‘sun’ signifier 日 and the abbreviated phono-semantic

¹⁵¹ The word I translate as ‘capacity’, *cōng* 聰, is related to the ears, and means a keen and distinct listener; 明, is related to the eyes, and means a keen and distinct viewer (see *Lúnyǔ* 論語 “Jì shì 季氏” 10). As a compound, *cōngmíng* 聰明, is a combined mastery of both, and means intelligence.

¹⁵² This gloss has appropriated the word 晝 from *jìn*’s hexagram statement.

zhì 𢇛.¹⁵³ Thinking of associations between graphs in the written script and trigram and hexagram pictures, Lí's 'sun' and Kūn's 'water' both appear in the graph 潛.

I want to examine *variora* in the Initial Line statement. Below I present the text of the Received version (R) followed by the Mǎwángduī version (MWD),

R: 初六：晉如摧如，貞吉。罔孚，裕，无咎。

Six in the First: Advancing-like, breaking off-like, the determination is auspicious. There is no trust. Abundance.¹⁵⁴ Without fault.

MWD: 初九<六>：潛如浚如，貞吉。悔亡，復浴，无咎。

Nine <Six> in the First: Watery-like, deepening-like. The determination is auspicious. Regret is gone. Returning abundance. Without fault.

In Hàn Chinese, *cuī* 摧 (OCM *dzûi; LH *dzuəi) 'break, bend, thrust' and *jùn* 浚 (OCM *junʔ; LH *jun^B) 'deep, deepen, dredge' had a close enough articulation to loan for each other. (Both were dentals, with a *weī* 微/*wén* 文 rhyme-group correspondence.) The prescriptive sound mould in this position was filled with different semantic content as various traditions with profound specialization in the *Changes* saw fit. I propose that 浚 was introduced into the text to enhance the image program of 潛; it functions in the same way that 摧 complements 晉 in the received version.¹⁵⁵ 浚 occurs once in the received version, in the Initial Line of ䷁ *Héng* 恆 "Long-lasting": *jùn héng* 浚恆 "deep constancy". (浚 is written with the graphic variant 濬 in Zhèng Xuán's reading). Both occurrences of 浚 in an even-numbered, initial line suggest it is an image of the line number 6 or 8 when it

153 𢇛 is a Qín script corruption of two arrows, *shǐ* 矢, facing downwards. The primary meaning of 晉 is the sun "rapidly advancing" in the sky; see Jì Xùshēng 2014: 532–534.

154 The inclusion of the word *huǐ* 悔 'regret' before *wáng* 亡 'gone' in the Mǎwángduī version of this line, which is absent in Wáng Bǐ's (i.e., the received) version, implies a corruption in transmission sometime after 190 BC. The received version should almost certainly be reconstructed [悔] 亡 on the basis of the more coherent Mǎwángduī version, and thus would render the line statement: 晉如摧如，貞吉。[悔]罔（亡），孚裕，无咎。The overall meaning of the prediction changes quite drastically as a result.

155 The *Images* commentary to this phrase says 獨行正 "walks alone in the right course"; *Zhōu Yī jǐjiě* 7.219. 摧 is sometimes glossed as to walk backward (退), but this reading is not nearly as compelling as comprehending it in its more basic senses of to break, bend and thrust forward. If we understand its meaning as thrusting forward, then it complements 晉 as meaning advancing forward. If we understand it as to break, then it is coordinate with 晉, "advancing and breaking", meaning moving forward breaking what is ahead of it. The compound verb *cuīzhé* 摧折 'break/bend and split' occurs throughout the *Yǐlín* and it is clearly a yīn-line image (or rather an image of a line number: 6 as 'bent' or 8 as 'split'); a basic image of a yīn line is that it appears split in two pieces (Trigram Kūn is comprised of three yīn lines split in six pieces (*liù duàn* 六段)). Yú Fān and Lái Zhīdé both use 折 as part of their technical vocabulary; see n55, n64.

appears at the ‘depths’ of a hexagram picture (a so-called ‘low-lying’ image.) The *Shìfǎ* says when the number 8 occurs at the bottom of a trigram it has the image of water splashing out. The text of the Mǎwángduī version thus affords another prime example of how hermeneutic principles transmitted in the *Shìfǎ* can be used to interpret images in the *Zhōu Yì*.

Regardless of how one chooses to read the graph 浴 in the Mǎwángduī version—that is, as an alternative form for the same word signified with a ‘clothing’ signifier, yù 裕 ‘abundance’, or as it is written¹⁵⁶—what is more crucial for my purposes is the occurrence of yet another graph written with a ‘water’ signifier. As 浴 intersects seamlessly with the other water images in this line statement, we must assume that the precise semantic rendering of graphs with water signifiers was by design.

11 The graphic evolution of *kūn* 坤, and towards a definition

The origin of the graph *kūn* 坤, written with *tǔ* 土 ‘earth’ and *shēn* 申 ‘extend’, and the primary meaning of the word it writes is not entirely certain.¹⁵⁷ It is notable that in both the 2nd century BC Mǎwángduī *Yìjīng* and the 1st century BC Hǎihūn manuscripts the name of the pure yīn trigram is written with the graph *chuān* 𤝵 (||), not with 坤. It is, in fact, still uncertain when the graph 坤 first occurred in written traditions of the *Zhōu Yì*. Based on present evidence from Warring States through Western Hàn *Changes* excavated literature, Sòng paleographies of *gǔwén* script (i.e., Hàn jiǎn 汗簡, *Gǔwén sìshēng yùn* 古文四聲韻), and excerpts of the *Guīcáng* collected by Qīng scholars, the graph 坤 seems to have been used in the *Guīcáng* tradition earlier than in the *Zhōu Yì* tradition. As mentioned, the earliest instance of 坤, with the elements 土 and 申, is from Eastern Hàn sources.¹⁵⁸ It strikes me as a poor choice to assume that the graph 𤝵 is an archaic form of 坤.¹⁵⁹ Perhaps they were loans, but whether or not one decides to make the loan remains an interpretive choice. I took the position earlier, following Edward Shaughnessy,




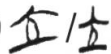


156 Shaughnessy 1996: 139 translates 復浴 as “Returning to the bath”.

157 Jì Xùshēng 2014: 907–908. As Jì notes, Xǔ Shèn’s *Shuōwén jiězì* (Zāng Kèhé 2002: 13.900) analyzed 坤 as a combined-meaning pictograph, whereas Qīng philologists, for instance Wáng Yún 王筠 (1784–1854), understood *tǔ* 土 as the signifier and *shēn* 申 as the phonophore, which Jì cautiously supports. Current reconstructions of Old Chinese (Minimal), however, do not agree: *shēn* 申 (OCM *m-lin)/*kūn* 坤 (OCM *kūn).

158 Jì Xùshēng 2014: 907.

159 See the discussion in Shàng Bǐnghé 2016: 2. 22–24.



that 𪛗 (川) should either be read as it is written or as a phonetic loan for *shùn* 順. The adoption of this name for the pure yīn trigram/hexagram is an alternative to 坤. The ingenuity of the words 𪛗 (川), 順, and 坤 is that they all fit into one prescriptive sound mould.¹⁶⁰

The combination 土 and 申 appears to have been a Hàn modification—a specialized form for *Changes* use, to a pre-existing graph.¹⁶¹ The ‘earth’ signifier in 坤 seems moreover to have been designed to match trigram Kūn’s association with earth in the *Changes* tradition more broadly.¹⁶² The ‘earth’ 土 signifier in 坤, written in archaic scripts variously as  (Shāng) and  (Warring States), could plausibly have emerged from of a shape resemblance with the lower half of the graph lì 立 ‘stand’, written  (Western Zhou)  (Warring States), which is intimately connected, in script, with the graphically similar 大 (dà 大) ‘adult man’.¹⁶³ I am somewhat daringly making this claim because it has only recently been recognized that the same word written 坤 in Hàn script was written  (坤), with the elements 立 and 申, in Warring States script;¹⁶⁴ and written still earlier, in Western Zhōu script, as 𪛗 (與), with the elements 大 and 申.¹⁶⁵ The graph listed in Sòng dynasty paleographies of *gǔwén* lists the Warring States form of 坤 as ,¹⁶⁶ and I propose that this compound is a graphic corruption deriving from 申

160 Jì Xùshēng 2021: 576–577 refers to this characteristic in Chinese as 有音無字 “having a (fixed) sound but no (fixed) graph to write it”. We might say that in the early *Changes* traditions the names of the eight trigrams developed an ‘aural fixity’ but remained ‘semantically fluid’. This approach can further be used to examine variation among hexagram names and lexical words in early versions of the *Zhōu Yǐ*, and in comparing *Changes* manuals and related literature across early traditions more broadly.

161 坤 occurs in Hàn recensions of Warring States texts, either in reference to the name of the pure yīn trigram and hexagram in the *Zhōu Yǐ*, or in its derived sense of ‘feminine’, and it also occurs in Eastern Hàn inscriptions, but it has yet to appear in the paleographic record prior to the Eastern Hàn; Jì Xùshēng 2021: 574–575.

162 Xǔ Shèn’s *Shuōwén jiězhì* defines it as ‘earth’ 地; he explains the compound as having a combined sense of 土位在申 “Earth’s position at Shēn”. (*Shēn* 申, one of the twelve earthly branches, refers to direction southwest.) Defining 坤 as ‘earth’ seems based on the signifier 土 in the graph’s composition and the image of Kūn as earth in pre-Hàn *Changes* study. “Earth’s position at Shēn”, furthermore, seems a product of or at least to have been influenced by Hàn *xiàngshù* systems of *Changes* study; Liào Míngchūn 2000, Jì Xùshēng 2021: 571.

163 A similar interchange of the signifiers lì 立 and tǔ 土 occurs in variant forms of dì 地 ‘earth’ in Warring States scripts:  (*Gǔxǐ huìbiān* 古璽匯編 # 2259 (Jìn 晉))  (*Bāoshān*, slip 149 (Chǔ)). The phonophore tā 它 remained stable.

164 Jì Xùshēng 2014: 907–908; *Gǔxǐ huìbiān* 古璽匯編 # 1263 (Jìn 晉).

165 *Yàn Gōng dǐng* 雁公鼎, early Western Zhōu, *Yīn Zhōu jīnwén jíchéng* 殷周金文集成 2553–2554; Róng Gēng 容庚 (1894–1983) 1985: 696 reads it yǎn 奄. Lǐ Xuéqín 2006: 291, casting doubt, proposes to read it as an early form of the same word later signified 坤.

166 *Hàn jiǎn* 汗簡 6.43a.

(𡗗) over 大 (大). Theoretically, 𡗗 would have also been written in a horizontal orientation as *坤. The identification of 𡗗 is crucial for not only tracing the origin of 坤 to Western Zhōu script, but also as it concerns the identification of the graph writing the pure even-numbered trigram in the *Shǐfǎ*, which I will discuss at the end of this section.

Here is what I suggest happened in creating the specialized *Changes* graph 坤. 坤 emerged from 𡗗, which derived from 𡗗/𡗗. The phonophore 申 has remained stable throughout the graph's various written instantiations, and was retained to make the newly formed graph more palatable, particularly for communities outside of the one that fashioned it.¹⁶⁷ The 'earth' signifier in *kūn* 坤 was crafted out of a shape resemblance with the 'false' signifier 立 in 𡗗; ('false' because it was a graphic corruption deriving from *dà* 大 'big'.) From a Warring States emic perspective, and if thinking about expertise in recognizing images in the *Changes* tradition more broadly, there is an obvious resemblance between the shape of the bottom half of the pictographic 𡗗 (立) and the shape of the pictographic 土 (土). 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. Such an image resemblance would have been ripe for a late Warring States-Western Hàn (?) *Changes* user (: community) to create a specialized form of this word to signify the pure even-numbered yīn trigram. 'Earth' 土, however, was not just any graph randomly selected out of a resemblance with 立. It was of course consciously selected for use because the pure even-numbered yīn trigram had the long-standing image of 'earth' in the *Changes* tradition more widely.

In summary, the evolution of the 'earth' 土 signifier in *kūn* 坤 appears to have originated with *dà* 大 'big' in Western Zhōu script, became interchanged with the graphically similar 立 'stand' by or during the Warring States, and intentionally evolved into 土, already a prime image of trigram Kūn, by or during the Hàn. The use of the sound element 申 was stable in the graph's written instantiations, but we should not rule out that it carried a semantic charge; (that is, the phonophore was not simply selected for its sound value.)¹⁶⁸ 申 was retained in the newly

¹⁶⁷ See Galambos 2017: 33–60 for a data-driven analysis of the stability of phonophorics in graphic variation in Warring States writing.

¹⁶⁸ In archaic script 申 depicts lightning; it is the ancestral form of *diàn* 電. A derivative meaning is to 'extend'. 申 is the ancestral form of *shēn* 伸 'extend, open up, stretch out'. Line 2 of *Kūn* portrays characteristics of the earth as *zhí fāng dà* 直方大 "straight, square, and great". 直 and 伸 (< 申) are synonymous in later exegetical traditions; see Zōng Fúbāng, Chén Shìnáo, and Xiāo Hǎibō (ed.) 2003: 101.4. The meaning of 申 (> 伸) fits neatly into Kūn's image program in the *Yijing*. Adding an 'earth' signifier would seem to make it a specialized form referring to the entirety of the subcelestial realm.

formed 坤, based primarily on scribal practice, but also in order to keep the compound recognizable and to make it more palatable for those anticipated to encounter it.




The *Shifǎ* writes the word 坤 with the previously unknown graph . The element at the top, a solid circle and left and right hands in a downward motion, is undoubtedly the sound value, but I would, again, also suggest that it has a semantic charge. Paleographers have identified this element either as a variant of *shēn* 申 (申) or as a variant of *kūn* 昆 (*kūn* 昆) 'numerous, swarm'.¹⁶⁹ At present, the former explanation seems more convincing given both the evolution of the graph that I have put forth above, especially considering the integrity of the phonophore 申, in addition to what we know about how circles became straight lines in the evolution of ancient script (f.i., *tǔ* 土, *dīng* 丁, *chéng* 成, *zhèng* 正, *tiān* 天, *sī* 亼, etc.). The element at the bottom is easily identified as the signifier 大, and it corresponds to the signifier used to write 與 in Western Zhōu script. Whether intentional or not, the shape of the graph used to write the name of the pure even-numbered trigram in the *Shifǎ* resembles the image of Kūn's 'body' in the configuration 6-6-4 (Table 9).

Table 9: The shape of the graph writing the name of trigram Kūn in the *Shifǎ* compared with Kūn's 'body' in the configuration 6-6-4.

	
6-6-4 (reconstructed)	Kūn in the <i>Shifǎ</i>

Xǔ Shèn's definitions of 坤 as 'earth' and 'Earth's positions at Shēn' seems overly influenced by Hàn use of the *Changes*. Earlier variation in writing the same word with signifiers meaning 'big' and 'stand' (< 'man standing with arms outstretched and straight') and the phono-semantic 申 'extending, spreading out' affords a new

¹⁶⁹ Lǐ Xuéqín 2006: 291 is a proponent of the former interpretation; Chéng Yàn 程燕 2014, Lǐ Shǒukuí 李守奎 2014: 58–62 and Jì Xùshēng 2021: 576 are proponents of the latter. If the top element is indeed 昆 (OCM *kūn), the selection of this graph as the sound value seems intentional and designed to carry with it a semantic undertone as well. 昆 means 'descendants' 後 and 'masses' 眾, as in the compound word for insects *kūnchóng* 昆蟲; these meanings also fit neatly into Kūn's image program in the *Yijing*.

way of thinking about the meaning of the word before it developed into what appears to be its specialized *Changes* form written with ‘earth’, as an adroit substitution.

12 Conclusions

The image programs of trigrams Kūn and Qián are far more complex than the other six ‘mixed’, secondary trigrams. Remnant images of Kūn collated by Qīng dynasty scholars from Yú Fān’s *Yìjīng* commentary amount to approximately three hundred. Statistics further indicate that Yú Fān made the most image associations with trigram Kūn, Kūn’s remnant images comprised almost one quarter of his total amount, and four out of every ten remnant images that he identified were matched to either Kūn or Qián. The continued development and enlarging of image programs based on earlier *Changes* instruction like the *Shuō guà* and *Shìfǎ* seems reflective of Hàn *xiàngshù* traditions more widely. The *Xìcí* says that Qián and Kūn as a unified pair are the gateway into the *Changes*, and this is another way of saying that trigram interaction starts with pure Qián and pure Kūn. The images of these two trigrams are foundational knowledge for comprehending and using the source texts.

This paper has focused on establishing a clear model of trigram Kūn’s images in the *Yìjīng* and related early *Changes* literature, with a starting point being the image program listed in the *Shuō guà*. Specialists in *xiàngshù* hermeneutics since at least the Warring States period have applied keys like the *Shuō guà* to read *Changes* manuals, and ‘schools’ or ‘traditions’ developed unique and innovative strategies to further elucidate meaning production with the singular goal of trying to better understand how hexagram pictures correlated to word-images in the statements, and how these word-images correlated with injunctions and predictions. The argument from a *xiàngshù* perspective is that the *Changes* cannot be read coherently without foreknowledge that the lexical words in the texts, as ‘images’, originated in trigram and hexagram pictures.

One reason lexical words in the *Zhōu Yì* and *Guīcáng* are generally considered so enigmatic is due in part to the subjective nature and specific divinatory context from which these image associations were observed in the first place. The core texts with its fantastic imagery does not come with explanatory notes or rules. Later canonical commentaries, from an emic perspective, have proven their use and maintained their value by (re)-

constructing rules and principles with ingeniously designed interpretive systems. Some of these systems work for large parts of text yet no one system, regardless of its complex architecture, has been able to adequately unlock and lay bare everything. This includes a principle of pictographic image recognition.

The recovery of the *Shìfǎ* in the Qīnghuá 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 substantiates that user communities were keenly aware of the integral relationship between numbers and images. We have long known from anecdotal records in the *Zuǒ zhuàn* and *Guó yǔ* how diviners read and interpreted hexagrams but having an authentic Warring States period divination guidebook like the *Shìfǎ* simply transforms what we know about the subject and confirms the popularity of using *xiàngshù* methods to read the *Changes*. The *Shìfǎ* confirms that individual line numbers were not pictorially meaningless, which of course now leads to us knowing that lines in combination forming numerical trigram and hexagram pictures were impregnated with pictorial meaning. I have attempted in this research paper to elucidate how Kūn's 'body', in its many appearances, came to be associated with such a dynamic mass of imagery and meaning.

The only thing *Changes* diviners and users needed to observe an image was the hint of a shape that resembled an object or its graphic representation, whether it was right side up, upside down, or on its side. The *Xìcí* states it quite directly that the *Changes* are images, and that images are resemblances. This is the reason why modern *Changes* specialists of the *xiàngshù* tradition like Shàng Bǐnghé and Yú Xǐngwú, as a rule, applied a principle that all lexical words were images. Yú was keen to point out resemblances between lines in combination and real objects, and lines in combination and the graphic representations of these objects—as *resemblances*. Remarkably, he only did so with flat yīn and yáng lines. A missing link to *xiàngshù* reading strategies and image recognition since at least the Eastern Hàn has been a foreknowledge that images were observed not in four (6, 7, 8, 9) but seven numbers (1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9), and that images originated from numbers individually and in their myriad combinations.

The 'bodies' of the eight trigrams as we have known them for more than a millennium had configurations and appearances that we are now in a better position to reimage and reimagine.

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Appendix 1: Kūn's 'body' in 27 changes (坤經卦卦體 27 變)

四為上爻 (4 at the top)	444	446	448	464	466	468	484	486	488
六為上爻 (6 at the top)	644	646	648	664	666	668	684	686	688
八為上爻 (8 at the top)	844	846	848	864	866	868	884	886	888

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