LEGGE'S AND WILHELM'S PRESENTATION OF THE I CHING: A COMPARATIVE LITERARY-HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

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by
David Crozier-Organ

University of Winnipeg/University of Manitoba
Joint Master's Program
Winnipeg, Manitoba

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PREFACE

The I Ching or Classic of Change had its origins in the divining practices of prehistoric China. Prior to ca. 6th-century B.C.E. the text seems to have been strictly in the form of a diviner's handbook. In early competition with other divination systems, the I Ching had triumphed by the middle of the Chou era (ca. 1027-256 B.C.E.).

As the sole method of divination, the I Ching increased in importance. By the time of the late Chou, attempts had been made by scholar-officials to understand the manual in terms of the dominant philosophical orientations of the day. Commentaries were written on the I Ching from various points of view and with various aims in mind. During the later Han era (25-220 C.E.) some of these commentaries were incorporated in the text. Other and later commentaries were written, but they were never incorporated into the text itself. The incorporated commentaries called the "Ten Wings", along with earlier divination material, the 'Basic Text', formed a compound text that became fixed and known as the I Ching.

The Basic Text has four elements: a set of 64 hexagrams or six-lined figures (e.g. ) composed of divided and undivided lines, a descriptive term or phrase naming the hexagram, a paragraph incorporating the hexagram's name and adding a divinatory judgment, and a set of six short paragraphs

addressing each of the lines constituting the hexagram.

The hexagrams, 64 in all, are each characterized by a descriptive term or phrase: for example, "Decrease" names a situation intended to characterize the overall context for the divinatory judgments.

Following the hexagram-name appears a paragraph addressing the hexagram as a whole. The T'uan, as it is called in Chinese, comments on the situation as characterized by the hexagram-name, then offers divinatory advice (e.g., "perseverance furthers", or "slight humiliation"). Each line constituting the hexagram is then addressed individually in six short paragraphs, collectively called the Hsiao-t'zu or 'Line Texts'. The language of the Hsiao-t'zu is often highly ambiguous and expresses ideas by way of allegory or metaphor. The connection between the Hsiao-t'zu text and the hexagram is neither articulated nor apparent in what is said. It was the task of later commentaries to offer both the symbolic terms and interpretive principles required to establish any pattern of connection.

The "Ten Wings" actually comprise only seven separate units. Tradition, however, divided the first three into two unequal halves. While there has been much speculation on the underlying reason for this division, no single view has been granted consensus.

The first of the units is the T'uan Chuan ('Commentary

on the T'uan'). It is divided roughly in half and composes the first two Wings. It analyzes the imagery of the hexagram in an attempt to explain and account for the T'uan or Judgment Text.

Next follows the second unit, called the Hsiang Chuan ('Commentary on the Symbols'). It is divided into two portions - the Ta-hsiang Chuan ('The Greater Images') and the Hsiao-hsiang Chuan ('The Lesser Images'). These represent the third and fourth Wings. The Ta-hsiang Chuan touches on some major imagery of the hexagrams and then offers moral injunctions tailored to the situation. The Hsiao-hsiang Chuan is a line-commentary on each of the 384 lines that collectively make up the 64 hexagrams.

The next unit is called the Ta Chuan or 'Great Treatise' and is also divided roughly in half, representing the fifth and sixth Wings. It is the major systematizing text and is composed of a diverse collection of essays on the nature and origin of the I Ching. It provides a unifying philosophical framework, expressing a view of an underlying system for the I Ching. It is a late Chou text (ca. 3rd-century B.C.E.) and reflects the philosophical concerns of that age.

The seventh Wing, is called the Wen-yen Chuan or 'Commentary on the Words of the Text'. It is actually a series of four commentaries on the first two hexagrams of the I Ching. It tends to relate the imagery of the hexagram to the human

condition.

The eighth Wing is called the Shuo-kua Chuan or 'Discussion of the Trigrams'. The first two chapters are short essays after the fashion of the Ta Chuan. The following chapters are glosses on the symbolism of the "trigrams". The trigrams are three-line figures (☲ , ☵ , ☳ , ☶ , etc.) that can be seen by dividing the hexagram in half (e.g., ☲ upper and ☳ lower = ䷔). In this Wing, the trigrams are symbolically described and each is correlated with a set of natural objects, life-forms, psychological states, and the like.

The ninth Wing, is called the Hsü-kua Chuan or 'Sequence of the Hexagrams'. It is a series of glosses on the names of the trigrams together with a short statement relating each hexagram to each of the others in sequence.

The final Wing is called the Tsa-kua Chuan or 'Miscellaneous Notes on the Hexagrams'. It is a series of short glosses on the names of the hexagrams.

The Ten Wings have been intermingled with the Basic Text in some Chinese editions of the book, and other editions have left them separate as appendixes. By the Later Han dynasty, the I had the fixed content, but without a fixed organization, that has survived to the present as the received text.

A number of English translations of the I Ching have been published. Most of the more recent ones are designed to make it readily available to a general audience as a divination book.

The two that are recognized by scholars and most widely used in popular editions, however, are those of James Legge (1882) and Richard Wilhelm (German edition, 1924; English rendering by C. F. Baynes, 1950).

Since Legge's and Wilhelm's translations first appeared, further printings in various editions have been released. The I Ching continues to be of interest with the Legge and Wilhelm translations dominating.

The two translations are substantially different in organization, phrasing, and commentary. Scholars in related fields and students relying on either of the translations for their studies would be better equipped if they understood: 1) what the differences were with some precision, 2) what generated them, and 3) what effect the differences might have on an appreciation and understanding of the text.

There has been no systematic treatment of these issues. This study is a response to this gap in I Ching scholarship and takes the form of a comparative textual analysis of the two translations.

For the purposes of this study, I have chosen to use the third edition of the Wilhelm/Baynes translation (published in 1967). It is by far the most popular and widely used English rendering of the I. Cary F. Baynes took a great deal of trouble and care in rendering Richard Wilhelm's German original into English. I have regarded the Wilhelm/Baynes text as an English

translation reflecting Richard Wilhelm's aims and translation decisions.

I have treated the 'Preface' to this edition, written by Richard Wilhelm's son, Hellmut Wilhelm, the 'Forward' by Carl G. Jung, and the 'Translator's Note' by Cary F. Baynes as secondary sources. I have focused on the Richard Wilhelm portion alone for the purposes of comparison.

In such a study as this, where the analysis of a translator's aims sometimes leads to a close scrutiny of the exact words chosen to render the original into the language of the translation, I have returned to the German version in order better to facilitate the process of distinguishing between Baynes and Wilhelm. In general, it was a relatively easy matter to do so.

Between the publication of Legge's translation in 1882 and the Wilhelm/Baynes rendering in 1950, a change occured in the system of romanization used to transliterate the Chinese into English. Both used the most widely accepted system of their day, but the differences tend to be confusing. In Legge, for instance, we read 'Khien' and 'Khuăn' where Wilhelm has 'Ch'ien' and 'K'un'.

In order to facilitate comparison, then, I have decided to use the same system of romanization throughout. This nowhere affected the study and rendered comparison and discussion clearer. I have relied upon Raymond Van Over's edition of

Legge's translation (1971) as my source for the Wade-Giles transliteration - this is the same system employed in the Wilhelm text. Beyond this limited use of the Van Over text, however, I have favoured the facsimile reproduction of Legge's second edition, published by Dover Publications, Inc. (paperback ed., 1963). The second edition represents Legge's final version and is the one most widely used today.

My method for this study has been to focus on the two translations themselves, and such biographical detail as was germane. By comparing translation choices, textual organization, forms of expression, content of the commentary, and expressed aims, methods, and overall conceptions, I have identified the differences between the two translations and proposed reasons for the differences.

The various aspects of each text were correlated in order to determine continuity of theme or the influence of overall conceptions upon each aspect. In this way, each aspect of the text was related to the others in an effort to discover meaningful patterns. Discovered patterns were then compared across translations to determine their impact and significance. Negative or positive judgments on the part of the translator were noted, along with expressed opinions, questions, and explanatory remarks. Internal relationships and the preponderance of pattern, then, were the main interpretive foci of this study.

The translation itself was compared with the Chinese

original in order to determine patterns of choices in rendering it into the language of the translation. These choices, in each case, were then compared in order to determine meaningful relationships with other aspects of the text and determinations already generated by the study. Discovered patterns and relationships were then compared across translations to determine their impact and significance.

Biographical details were helpful in suggesting the presence of certain aims, outlooks, and biases. Such details were also occasionally supportive of conclusions respecting the objectives of the translators. At no time, however, has this data been the sole base for a conclusion. Biographical data remains throughout informative and supportive, but never central or decisive.

In determining the possible effects of the differences between the two translations on an appreciation and understanding of the text, I have focused on what each text expresses rather than the ambiguities of reader reaction. Nevertheless, the two translations do present different images of the I. I have been satisfied to determine what those images are and what effect those images have on a determination of what the I means.

For students and scholars not versed in Archaic or Classical Chinese, yet wanting to study the text in translation, this study may function as a research aid. In any case, it is in-

tended to fill a gap in current research concerned with the I Ching. In treatment of the issues involved, the aim of this study has been to answer the question: "What is the foundation for, and the significance of, the differences between the two translations?"

I wish to thank my advisor, Tom Graham, for translating the Table of Contents to Salome Wilhelm's Richard Wilhelm, der Geistige Mittler zwischen China und Europa (Dusseldorf-Cologne, 1956).

CHAPTER ONE

HISTORICAL PRELIMINARIES

A. James Legge

1. Biographical Sketch

James Legge was born in Scotland on December 20, 1815. As a youth he demonstrated a remarkable academic ability and showed a particular facility in learning languages.

His family belonged to the non-conformist Church. It was the first group in Scotland to sponsor missionary activities abroad. In 1837 Legge applied for entrance to their training school, the Highbury Theological College. Upon completing the course he decided to offer his services to the London Missionary Society.

He married Miss Mary Morrison in 1824 and immediately embarked for Malacca. He arrived in 1840 and took over the mission there. His training in Chinese had been weak and his first efforts were directed toward improving his skill.

The objectives of the mission at Malacca were to disseminate the Christian Gospel and train Chinese students for Christian Service in their home communities. Legge recognized that a location in China itself would be superior to Malacca. His opportunity came with the First Opium War. In 1842, the British

opened a colony on the island of Hong Kong and the London Missionary Society decided to move their mission there. On the 5th of July 1843, the Rev. Legge, together with his wife and children arrived in Hong Kong.

Legge was first and foremost a missionary. In Hong Kong he established the first non-denominational Protestant Church under the direction of the London Missionary Society. "Legge remained its minister throughout his service in Hong Kong and justly earned the title, 'Father of the Union Church'."[1]

In addition to his work as a preacher, Legge also became actively involved in educational work. He laid the foundations for the Colony's Department of Education and worked hard in the cause of primary schools in Hong Kong, establishing the Victorian Free School.

Poor health forced the Legges to return to England in 1845. They took with them three of their Chinese students for education in Scotland. On the 22nd of July, 1848, Legge and his family returned again to Hong Kong. Poor health continued to be a problem, however, and on the 10th of September, 1848, their fourth, and youngest, child died. Several years later, in 1852, Legge's wife also died and, in the following year, after having been sent back to Scotland by her father, the third child died. Legge, as a result, "sought solace more and

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[1]This and all other notes will be found at the end of the Chapter in which it is made. Numbering begins anew with the first reference for each Chapter.

more in his mission work and in his Chinese studies."[2]

"Hong Kong gave Legge the opportunity of becoming acquainted at first hand with all the many aspects of Chinese scholarship; it further enabled him to travel to Canton and to mix with officials of many grades and to see their examination system."[3] He was greatly impressed by what he saw and realized the great degree to which the ancient classics were responsible for the Chinese orientation to life - their personal behaviour, attitudes, thoughts, social and governmental forms, and spiritual focus. It was this recognition that lead Helen Legge, his daughter, to observe about him:

> He saw too that the manners and customs of the people were regulated to an unheard of extent by precepts of their ancient books. He who would understand the Chinese nation, then, must know its classical literature. In Dr. Legge's mind, consequently, there arose the conviction that 'he should not be able to consider himself qualified for the duty of his position until he had mastered the Classical Books of the Chinese, and had investigated for himself the whole field of thought through which the Sages of China had ranged.'[4]

In this respect Legge decided to be a missionary to his own people and translate and explain the learning of the East for the scholars and missionaries of the West. Legge had begun this monumental task of translating the Chinese classics while at Malacca. He continued his work in Hong Kong and, as its importance became clearer, made arrangements for the publication of his work. In 1861 the first edition of the first volume was

published in Hong Kong.

In 1865 Legge's health began to show signs of strain and overwork:

> The immensity of his programme is shown by the fact that while taking his full share of the teaching and administration of the College, Legge filled the pulpit at the Union Chapel and discharged the pastor's duties amongst all the families, he visited jails and military hospitals regularly in the role of Chaplain, he was an indefatigable worker in almost every aspect of the social services...; in addition to all that, he took a leading part in developing the policy of the Government regarding the education of the local Chinese.[5]

Accordingly, in January 1867, he wrote the Society Board in London advising them of his decision to withdraw from missionary service by the end of the year. He realized that he would need to return to Hong Kong to complete the publication of his classics, but stressed that he would not return as a missionary. He journeyed to England that same year in 1867.

Legge returned once more to Hong Kong, in 1870, and by 1872 had completed the publication of the Confucian Classics in a five volume edition. Upon completion of the Classics Legge returned to England in 1873, saying farewell to Hong Kong thirty years after his first arrival in that port.

Legge's work was not over, however, for on the 27th of October, 1876, he became the first Professor of Chinese at the University of Oxford. During his Oxford days and in addition to his lecturing duties, Legge contributed six volumes to

Professor Max Muller's series of the Sacred Books of the East.

Legge continued to publish translations and studies until his death. He died at the age of 82 in November, 1897, and was buried in the Oxford Corporation Wolvercote Cemetery on the third of December.

2. Legge's Historical Context

The China of the 1800's was firmly based on Confucian principles and there was a tradition in China of anti-Christian sentiment going back to the 17th century. "The Chinese long before the coming of Christianity, possessed a well-established cultural category which they used to label teachings and practices that deviated from a particular ideal or norm."[6] This category was designated by a variety of words, all of which shared the common negative meaning - "different from the way of the sages". The Chinese clearly thought that Christianity had little to offer them and they were suspicious of the imperialistic plans of the European powers that had been already demonstrated throughout the rest of Asia. In any case, any doctrine "different from the way of the sages" was regarded with deep suspicion and distaste.

After the 1840's the tensions between Europeans and Chinese became tense. This period marks the opening of the Opium Wars, during which European forces soundly defeated the Chinese army and received a variety of concessions from the Manchu government. One of these concessions was the opening

of ten Treaty Ports and the acquisition of the island of Hong Kong by the British. Europe, therefore, had forced itself into China. And, of course, opium continued to be thrust upon the Chinese public by European traders.

Western arrogance naturally tended to annoy the Chinese. The Europeans were limited to treaty ports and missionary activity outside of these specified areas was initially prohibited. Legge's contact with the Chinese, then, from his center in Hong Kong, was hampered by the ill-feeling existing between the two groups. Legge, of course, was not alone in this situation as all missionaries were faced with the same difficulties:

> Christian missions could not but suffer very serious hindrance by the course of events from 1820 to 1858. The disgraceful opium war left a lasting reproach on the name of England, and associated the name of Christian with an act worthy of the worst of barbarians. For years, the British persisted in flooding the country with this Indian drug.[7]

With the Chinese defeat, the Manchu government was forced to take the invaders with extreme seriousness. Up to that time, western culture had been generally ignored. The military defeat underlined an apparent superiority in the foreign powers. For the first time the Chinese were forced, on a massive scale, to re-evaluate seriously what their cultural attainments had been able to do for their country; their Confucian heritage was tested by the military engineering feats of 19th-century Europe. It is difficult to appreciate the traumatic shocks

that the military defeats of the Opium Wars caused. Not only had the Chinese been forced to accept opium but they had to accept military inferiority. This deeply injured their pride and self-confidence.

The seriousness with which the foreigner had to be regarded, along with the possibility that Europe had developed learning superior to Chinese attainments, sparked a variety of movements and secret societies, all addressing the question of what China's response to the new challenges should be. Some were so enthusiastically enamoured of the West that they were willing to disengage themselves from their heritage and embark on a mission of Westernization. Some felt that some combination of Chinese tradition and Western science was possible. Still others hated the Westerner's arrogance, found Western culture barbarous, European morality appalling, and military superiority a matter of rectifiable technicalities: technology was something that could easily be learned and was not of any ultimate significance. This latter position was the official stance of the Manchu government until its overthrow in 1911.

To the Europeans, the Chinese seemed to have been mysteriously frozen at a relatively underdeveloped cultural and industrial phase. As Britain had emerged from the Napoleonic Wars, it had become the foremost leader in industry, commerce, and overseas possessions. The mid-19th century Victorians were highly concerned with moral issues (many disdained the Opium

Trade) and had developed a deep sense of responsibility for the ills of "backward" nations. This accorded well with the early missionary objectives of Christian conversion, care for the needy, and the spread of "superior" cultural forms.

By 1850, for instance, the Industrial Revolution had been underway for well over a century, primarily in Great Britain. Even by Legge's day, major developments had taken place in production and technology. To many Victorians, scientific and technological progress indicated human progress. They were convinced that scientific advances and improved living standards were steps towards a higher civilization and that they were dutybound to carry the light to all nations - China included.

The social and intellectual climate, then, that was James Legge's background, was dynamic and, we might well judge, outrageously self-satisfied. It is clear from Helen Legge's biography, for instance, that her father, while respecting and honouring the Chinese a great deal, nevertheless thought England to be visibly superior in every way, the Opium Trade being the only black mark.[8]

Legge, in this and other respects, was very much a Victorian Scotsman. He respected rationality, common sense and a strong will. When faced with Chinese philosophy, for example, he endeavoured to understand it from a point of view logical to the European mind. He did not take occult or metaphysical explanations seriously and he preferred Chinese commentators

who rendered logical seemingly mystical texts. For Legge there were no cultural or temporal boundaries to what he understood as rationality.

3. Legge as Translator

During his stay in Hong Kong, Legge acquired the assistance of a Chinese refugee trained in the Confucian classics, Wang T'ao. Wang T'ao had been a supporter of the T'ai P'ing Rebels (an anti-Manchu revolutionary group) and, after their defeat by government forces, had been exiled to Hong Kong.

Wang T'ao was of considerable help to Legge during his initial efforts in Hong Kong. The classics were almost incomprehensible to the Western reader lacking detailed knowledge of Chinese history and familiarity with the massive commentary tradition that had grown around them. Wang not only advised Legge with respect to the meaning of individual words, but also instructed him on the wider interpretive framework resulting from centuries of Chinese literary criticism and commentary. Wang worked very closely with Legge during the translation of the Confucian classics. Without Wang's help, it is doubtful that Legge could have accomplished nearly as much as he did.

Wang's education had been cut off by his exile to Hong Kong. His bitterness with the Manchu government and awe over Western science, greatly tempered his enthusiasm for the classics as the expression of contemporary Chinese values. These attitudes merely reinforced the doubts of the already scepti-

cal Legge. The classics were open to question and had to be evaluated in the light of Western reason.

It seems, then, that Legge's exposure to the Chinese was conditioned in part by Wang's rationalism, traditional Chinese distrust of Christian views, and the general disdain of foreigners eminating from the surrounding countryside. Chinese xenophobia was at a peak during this period, and although Legge adapted well to Chinese conditions and respected their vast literature and educational achievements, he always remained an outsider.

Legge's translation of the Chinese classics was intended to open traditional Chinese learning to western missionaries faced with the general atmosphere of ill feeling. Legge's purpose in China had always been the spread of Christianity. In all his work he continually compared the ideas he was translating with western culture and Christian doctrine. He was charmed when he was able to see evidence of "civilization", moral sentiments, and religious feelings comparable with his own Christian context. He was annoyed, however, with anything that tended to either challenge Christian doctrine or seemingly show the Chinese in poor cultural light.

Legge took his task and duties as a translator with deep seriousness. It was crucial for missionaries to come to a correct understanding of the classics; accuracy, therefore, was essential. For instance, Legge wrote in the preface to

the first volume of the 1882 edition of his translation of the Chinese Classics (always referring to himself in the third person):

> The author has carefully gone over the text of the translation and notes. He is glad to have found occasion but rarely for correction and alteration of the former. He thought indeed at the time of recasting the whole version in a terser and more pretentious style. He determined, however, on reflection, to let it stand as it first occurred to him, his object having always been faithfulness to the original Chinese, rather than grace in composition. Not that he is indifferent to the value of an elegant and idiomatic rendering in the language of the translation, and he hopes that he was able to combine in a considerable degree correctness of interpretation and acceptableness of style.[9]

Lindsay Ride, Legge's biographer, quoted a writer in the China Review as remarking, after commenting on Legge's fidelity as a translator, that

> This does not mean as a rule he has translated verbatim. Sometimes he may have done so in defiance of English idiom. But more frequently, especially in the later volumes, he has expanded a single Chinese word into a whole line of English, thus giving the resultant of endless Chinese speculations on Classic enigmas. If, hereafter, sceptical critics should seek to go behind Dr.. Legge, they will find that they must go... behind the best Chinese commentators as well. We have therefore represented to us in these translations what their Classics have been to the Chinese themselves.[10]

We can see from these two viewpoints, that of the translator and that of a contemporary commentator, that considerable thought went into the interpretive choices Legge made with res-

pect to his translation. Legge's effort was to render intelligible the Chinese text in a form understandable to the reader, who was apt to be a young, inexperienced missionary or someone wholly unacquainted with China or its literature. He chose not to translate verbatim, but expand his rendering in order to reflect better the critical wisdom of centuries of Chinese commentary.

When he came to translate the I Ching, Legge was in England. He no longer had the help of Wang T'ao, who had stayed behind in Hong Kong. This is not to say that Wang's rationalism had had no influence on Legge, but simply to stress that Legge's translation of the I Ching was done without his assistance.

Legge did not approach the process of translation with a single rigid formula in mind. His experience, generally, and his knowledge of ancient Chinese thought and history, in particular, proved to be the decisive elements in his ability to interpret a text. Again in his preface in the first volume of the Chinese Classics, Legge wrote:

> He has seen it objected to his translations that they were modelled on the views of the great critic and philosopher of the Sung Dynasty, the well known Chu Hsi.[11] He can only say that he commenced and has carried on his labours with the endeavour to search out the meaning for himself, independent of all commentators. He soon became aware, however, of the beauty and strength of Chu's style, the correctness of his analysis, and the comprehension and depth of this thought.[12]

Legge's point was that he investigated the meaning for himself and found corroboration in Chu Hsi's commentaries.

Legge retained this attitude in his rendering of the I Ching. Throughout his commentary one finds reference to Sung commentators, but they never dominate Legge's own analysis. Rather than treating the I Ching as a mystical or metaphysical text projecting profound wisdom, he saw in it the ethical reflections of two early Chinese gentlemen. For Legge, the hexagrams were emblematic starting points for a series of 64 morality-laden paragraphs. He saw the hexagram-lines as keys unlocking a story in the minds of the two original authors. His translation reflected this view.

Any segment of the I that could not be interpreted within the rationalistic framework that Legge assumed was viewed by him to be ridiculous or silly. It was the I's task to demonstrate to Legge the merits of its offerings: any segment that did not measure up to his standards was rejected outright and warmly criticized in his commentary. This is not to say, though, that he did not attempt an accurate rendering of those segments he disliked. It means simply that he refused to take into serious consideration those aspects of Chinese thought that did not concur with the respected and honoured views central to his Victorian orientation. As much as Legge came to love the Chinese, he remained always a 19th-century Scottish gentleman and missionary.

B. Richard Wilhelm

1. Biographical Sketch

Richard Wilhelm was born in Stuttgart, Germany, May 10, 1873. Wilhelm showed strong academic abilities and followed his formal education process through to the university level. He was a man of strong artistic sensibilities and broad interests. Early in his life he had set his heart towards the ministry in the German Protestant Church and never lost sight of his religious goal throughout his long years of schooling.

Wilhelm had intimate contact with the Blumhardt family. Both Blumhardts - father and son - were rather controversial and stormy figures in the Church. The Blumhardts had started a faith-healing clinic in their home and accepted the ability of people to be a channel for God's power on earth. In this sense the Blumhardts represented a quasi-mystical strain within the conservative German protestantism. The Blumhardts had an open sense of how God made Himself known and felt in the world. The clinic was so successful that even sceptics among the German people were forced to admit that people were cured by the methods employed by the Blumhardts. Wilhelm was to marry the daughter of the younger Blumhardt, Salome, thus reinforcing the tie between himself and the Blumhardts.

Wilhelm formed early in his life a sense of the spiritual potential of human beings. His contact with the Blumhardts

placed him in contact with a wide range of German intellectuals, one of whom was Herman Hesse. Later, Wilhelm's contacts were to include Martin Buber, Rudolph Otto, Max Scheler and Carl Jung. Wilhelm became involved in a wider intellectual enterprise devoted to the love of wisdom and the exploration of humankind's potential in all areas of life.

Wilhelm was ordained in the German Protestant Church in 1895 and became a pastor at a small church. In 1897, the same year James Legge died, Germany occupied Chiao-chou in China and developed a major center in Shantung province. Wilhelm decided to serve his Church in the missionary field in China, and joined the Allgemein Protestantischer Missionsverein. He arrived in Shantung in 1899 and was married to Salome Blumhardt shortly thereafter, beginning what was to be a 25 year stay in China.

When Richard Wilhelm first arrived in China his missionary work was of the traditional evangelical variety. Shortly after his arrival, however, there erupted in China what is known to the West as the "Boxer Rebellion", organized by the Society of Religious and Harmonious Fists. The rebellion took place during the years 1900-1901 and brought to the surface the strong anti-foreign sentiments among the Chinese. It was clearly not possible to maintain the traditional missionary approach. The tactics were changed and European missions decided to supply what the Chinese seemed most eager to receive -

Western scientific education. Accordingly, Richard Wilhelm soon found himself teaching courses in the sciences and translating textbooks into Chinese.

Wilhelm, like Legge, took up the task of translation, rendering a great number of Chinese classics into German. He also wrote several historical works and commentaries on Chinese philosophy and religious tradition.

In 1914 the Great War began and interrupted Wilhelm's work in China. The province of Shantung was invaded by the Japanese and Tsing Tao, the port city where Wilhelm was then located, was surrounded and occupied. When the war ended in 1918, Germany was not as it had been; the defeated nation was plunged into chaos and accelerating inflation.

Wilhelm continued his work in China in spite of increasing economic pressures on the mission. He finally returned to Germany in 1920 and stayed until 1922. During his stay in Germany he attended Count Keyserling's School of Wisdom at Darmstadt, where he met Herman Hesse, Albert Schweitzer, and C. G. Jung, who invited him to come and speak on the I Ching in Zurich.[13]

In 1922, Wilhelm returned to China as an advisor in Peking and professor at the University. He finished his translation of the I Ching, which he had started in 1913 under the watchful eye of a Chinese friend, in 1923 and published it in Germany in 1924. Wilhelm left China for Germany the same year

his translation of the I Ching was published.

The reason for Wilhelm's final return to Germany was the opening of the China Institute in Frankfurt, a project sponsored by himself and Rudolph Otto. The Institute attracted Germany's best sinologists and intellectuals of the time. In 1928, for instance, the German philosopher Max Scheler attended:

> There he hoped to learn more about the eastern methods of meditation and self-control that had fascinated him for many years. All in all, Frankfurt was a stimulating cosmopolitan city with an exciting Jewish intellectual community, an excellent theatre and music...[14]

During the years 1924-1930 Wilhelm and Carl Jung formed a firm bond and close friendship. Jung had been impressed by the degree to which Wilhelm had been able to transform himself, empathetically, into a Chinese person. Jung remarks in his autobiography:

> Wilhelm was a truly religious spirit, with an unclouded and far-sighted view of things. He had the gift of being able to listen without bias to revelations of a foreign mentality, and to accomplish that miracle of empathy which enabled him to make the intellectual treasures of China accessible to Europe. He was deeply influenced by Chinese culture and once said to me, 'It is a great satisfaction to me that I never baptized a single Chinese!'[15]

Wilhelm was not of the view that cultures could be borrowed or mechanically mixed. He did not, in short, envision a world where differences had been obliterated by some sort of cultural universal language. He did, however, think that

the wisdom of different cultures could be productively shared. In Germany, Wilhelm often found himself on the lecture circuit. In his lectures he extracted themes from the I Ching and elaborated upon them within the context of modern Europe, with particular reference to the troubled post-war German scene.

During his final years, Wilhelm collaborated with Jung on a translation and commentary for The Secret of the Golden Flower, a Chinese Taoist treatise. It was their view that it represented a practical guide towards the integration of personality. It was published in the autumn of 1929, and on 1 March 1930, at the age of 57, Richard Wilhelm died after a lengthy illness.

2. Wilhelm's Historical Context

The atmosphere in Germany during the late 19th-century and early 20th was one of growing enthusiasm and a greater sense on the part of its people of its status as a world power. From a German point of view the English and Dutch were their main competitors in national expression of pride and achievement. Like other European nations, acquisitions abroad were interpreted as status symbols and part of the national wealth. This general European interpretation of national prestige as being a "World Power" continued well into the 20th-century and certainly was very much a fabric of the Germany of Wilhelm's boyhood.

In China, the climate was different from that of Legge's

day. Many Chinese still hated the foreigner (the Boxer Rebellion of 1900-1901 was an anti-foreign eruption) and foreign treatment of the Chinese reinforced this feeling. Nevertheless, the Chinese had had to recognize the importance of Western technology and science.

During the period of 1862 to 1874 there had been an attempt by the Chinese to bring about what was termed a 'Restoration'. In their writings, the men of the Restoration argued that their agrarian empire could not survive the drastic changes suggested and promoted by the Europeans. It was with this view that they took their stand.[16] The spirit of the Restoration was syncretic in form, preserving the moral and philosophical ideas of Sung neo-Confucianism with the addition of Western technology and science. The efforts of the Restoration scholars fitted the contemporary I Ching ideology of 'tradition combined with change' and captured the hearts of many scholars in China.

By the 1890's, European attitudes had come full circle. Europe had begun in the early 1800's with the attitude that China was a heathen, backward, primitive country of whose institutions no serious account need be taken.[17] During the Restoration period the foreign governments had been prepared, for the purpose of their own best interests, to support the Chinese government in its efforts to restore its traditional strength. When restoration attempts collapsed:

> ...most of Britain's merchants in China and many British missionaries were once again committed to the old view that the Chinese

> government was essentially an enemy, ever ready to perpetrate outrages of all kinds and responsive only to the deterrent of brute force.[18]

The predominant European view of the late 1800's was that they could do a better job than the Chinese government at bringing China into the modern world. If natural birth was not possible, surgery was the only alternative.

While Germany shared in the general European arrogance, and had joined the collective optical illusion that China was not civilized, as a new land-holder in China they were more concerned with maintaining a modicum of good relations with the Chinese government. When, in the early 1900's, the Chinese government embarked on a new educational policy in its desperate attempt towards modernization, Germany opted for co-operation.

> The educational facilities which the Germans established for the Chinese in leasehold were...of high quality. Both the missionaries and the navy believed that the provision of good education for the Chinese would not only further the development of the leasehold but would also win support for the Reich in Shantung. Therefore, particularly after 1906, when China increased the pace of her own program of educational reform, the Germans tried to organize their educational activities in the leasehold so as to complement the Chinese efforts in the interior and to contribute to the development of the province.[19]

Chinese political activity during these years (1899-1920) was energetic, multifarious and charged with a highly desperate atmosphere. The Chinese attempted to come to grips with the foreign challenge. In 1912, after years of intrigue, the

traditional Chinese form of government was replaced by Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Republic.

The China of Wilhelm's day, then, was one of political revolution and a desperate search for an ideology and political system that would give them both the power to face foreign military strength as well as a restored sense of self-respect and dignity. China needed to discover a "Chinese" place in the modern world, a place that allowed them to have pride in their heritage and in being Chinese. Wilhelm was in the center of the Chinese political-intellectual quest for identity and tended to favour the Restoration ideals of the late 19th-century.

3. Wilhelm as Translator

After his arrival in China, Wilhelm met a Chinese scholar with whom he was to become close friends - Lao Nai-Hsuan (1843-1921). Lao was a traditionally-minded scholar who had left the interior of China during the Boxer Rebellion and moved to Shantung. He favoured the Restoration ideals of Tseng Kuo-fan and the Ch'eng-Chu school of neo-Confucianism. Lao focused on moral teaching, world affairs, and the psychological implications of the classics.[20] Adopting Chu Hsi's eclectic metaphysics, heavy emphasis was placed on mind and the psychological contents of traditional wisdom. It was Lao who introduced Wilhelm to Taoist Yoga and to the I Ching. Lao favoured an attitude that straddled the pursuit of wisdom as an endeavour of the intellect and the expression of wisdom as a function of

the soul. Accordingly, he practiced "the doing" of thought and wisdom - the intellectual realization of Truth coupled with corresponding praxis.

In his personal development Wilhelm had demonstrated a remarkable ability to achieve empathetic understanding. His association with the Blumhardts had prepared him for a wider sense of the possibilities of the human spirit. And certainly his contacts with Rudolph Otto and Herman Hesse reinforced an enthusiasm for the learning offered by the East. It was with enthusiasm, then, that Wilhelm opened his mind and heart to the wisdom that Lao offered. Wilhelm became convinced that Chinese wisdom had much to offer Germany. At the same time, Lao felt that traditional Chinese wisdom had much to offer modern China in its struggle for dignity.

Accordingly, in 1913 Lao and Wilhelm began translating the I Ching as both a divination manual and a metaphysical treatise. Lao produced a multi-volume set with his personal commentary, called, Chou-i Tsun Ch'eng; Wilhelm produced his own German version. Both regarded the text with deep respect and reverence.

Lao and Wilhelm actually read together all of the classics and during this time (1913-1920) Wilhelm generated German translations of some of the major classical writings. Work on the I Ching was temporarily interrupted at the outbreak of war in 1914, but was resumed before the war's end.

After the war, while Germany was experiencing harsh

economic and political difficulties, the intellectual atmosphere (perhaps somewhat paradoxically) thrived:

> Germany in the later twenties was politically and socially unstable, but intellectually exciting and stimulating. It was a time of scholarship and art, literature and music, and, above all, an openness to other places and peoples.[21]

With people like Hesse, Buber, Jung and Wilhelm, interest and openness to foreign ideas was at an unparalleled level in Germany and the rest of Europe.

To a considerable degree, Wilhelm preached a gospel based on I Ching themes when he arrived back in Germany in 1924. Whether the topic was "The Spirit of Art According to the Book of Changes,"[22] or one concerning social policy, Wilhelm was able to utilize the images of the I Ching as metaphorical springboards for wide-ranging discussions.

Wilhelm had left Germany in 1899 a Christian missionary to China; he had returned to Germany in 1924 as a Chinese missionary preaching a social-psychology of I Ching wisdom.

Wilhelm had had these general objectives in mind when he started his translation of the I Ching. The neo-Confucian perspective favoured by Lao had led Wilhelm to understand the I Ching in terms of the psychological theories of the unconscious popularly known in Europe. And while the specifics of Taoist Yoga, with which Wilhelm was very familiar, were directed towards immortality, the unification of opposities involved in the yogic methods reminded Wilhelm of the need for Germans to

balance their aggressive and critical faculties with the responsive and artistic capacities possible to the human spirit.[23]

Wilhelm's hopes for the reception of Chinese wisdom in Germany reflected Europe's post-war Zeitgeist of optimistic inquiry and openness, and influenced his work as a translator. Above all else, the contents of the I Ching must be made available and meaningful to the general public:

> To-day...when in Europe itself the Christian symbol shows such weakness that even the Buddhists consider this the right moment for sending missions to Europe, it is Wilhelm representing as he does the soul of Europe, who brings us new light from the East. He had realized how much the East could give for the healing of our spiritual distress.[24]

4. Jung and Wilhelm

Wilhelm first met Carl Jung in the early 1920's. As Wilhelm's familiarity with Jung's ideas increased, he tended more and more to interpret Chinese concepts in Jungian terms. This was not so much a change for Wilhelm as a continuance of the psychological direction he had initiated in China. Jung's psychology offered Wilhelm a more sophisticated set of categories through which to express the wisdom contained in the I Ching. It would, however, be a mistake to think that Jung had had an influence on Wilhelm's translation.

Most of the translation of the I Ching was complete before Wilhelm met Jung and their friendship did not really develop until after the publication of the I Ching in 1924. Many of Jung's major contributions to psychology were not formulated

until after the initial 1920's meeting and his early publications were hardly intended for general consumption.

Thus, while Jung's interest lent both credibility and sophistication to Wilhelm's endeavour to spread I Ching wisdom within Germany and the rest of Europe, the translation itself was the result of the collaboration between Lao Nai-hsuan and Wilhelm. Further supportive evidence for this conclusion can be ascertained from the simple observation that neither Wilhelm nor Jung speak of "mutual influence" before the 1924 publication of the I Ching - and then it is Jung who speaks of being influenced.[25]

C. Comparative Summary

Legge's aim in translating the I Ching was to render the text clear under a general program to translate all of the Chinese Classics. His main purpose in doing so was to provide a strong informational base for missionaries to China.

Legge is best understood as a 19th-century Christian missionary. While coming to love the Chinese a great deal, he never attempted to question or alter his Christian/British framework. Chinese thought was not a profound inspiration to him. It was up to whatever Chinese text he was reading to prove to him its merits against the background of his European standards and biases.

In these respects, Legge reflected his general historical context and, more specifically, reflected the influence of his

Chinese associate, Wang T'ao. Wang was not a scholar of the old school. He was, rather, a sympathizer with anti-government revolutionaries, greatly enamoured of Western technological achievements. He was somewhat of an iconoclast in these respects and also despised religious orientations in general. He was ripe for a critical re-evaluation of the classics within the framework of Western learning.

The British stance in China was arrogant and domineering; Legge's mandate was to convert the heathen to Christianity and acquaint them with superior cultural forms; the Chinese were xenophobic and not generally interested in sharing their cultural achievements; and Wang T'ao was a radical and a positivist. Combined, these factors supported a fairly aggressive and argumentative reading and consequent rendering of the I Ching into English.

Wilhelm's aim in translating the I Ching, on the other hand, was to render sensible its wisdom for popular consumption in Germany. Like Lao Nai-hsuan, he felt that some combination of the deep cultural wisdom of the Chinese people and the technological achievements and scientific advancements of modern Europe would result in general improvement for both.

He did not recommend cultural syncretism, but fully expected the Chinese to maintain their traditional culture and to adopt those aspects of European technology deemed productive and useful. At the same time, he thought that Europe should

retain its predominant cultural forms, but modified and newly inspired by the wisdom that he brought home from China. To attain his purpose Wilhelm saw the need to retain the I Ching's distinctive archaic Chinese atmosphere. This "atmosphere" would provide a context within which to present his interpretation. He then simply had to provide a commentary intended to make the text personally and culturally meaningful to German citizens: he translated the I Ching into European meaning; it was the duty of Europeans to translate this meaning into life.[26]

Wilhelm, like Legge, then, seems to reflect his context and the influence of his Chinese associate and friend. Lao Nai-hsuan was no Wang T'ao, but a firmly committed neo-Confucian scholar-official devoted to the ancient Classics as scripture. Lao was a believer in Restoration ideals and had no doubts about the value of ancient Chinese wisdom. The German stance in Shantung was cooperative; Wilhelm's mandate in China was primarily educational and supportive; the Chinese were xenophobic but also aggressively interested in Western technology; Lao Nai-hsuan was an old-school traditionalist. Combined, these factors supported a fairly sympathetic and sensitive reading and consequent rendering of the I Ching into German.

Legge and Wilhelm shared the general aim of making available to the West the contents of the I Ching. In this regard, they were both successful. Legge and Wilhelm grew up in different environments and their general historical context also

differed a great deal. Their experiences at home and in China differed and their Chinese aides were ideologically miles apart. It is no wonder, then, that as translators, Legge and Wilhelm reflected different interpretive frameworks. Legge was after strict accuracy and critical commentary; Wilhelm was after mood, tone, and a commentary that expressed Chinese wisdom in a form suitable and agreeable to modern German readers. One remained a Christian missionary; one became an I Ching advocate. As Irene Eber noted in the Introduction to her translation of some of Wilhelm's German lectures,

> To read a text because it justifies all there is, and to read a text in order to find whether it justifies all there is, are two different activities. That Wilhelm infused his translation and interpretation of the I Ching with a living reality, as such communicable to the west, may in part, at least, reflect Lao's position.[27]

The main focus must always be on the translations themselves, however, for an appreciation of differences and evaluation of their significance. Biographical and historical detail provides a rational context for understanding Legge and Wilhelm as men and the background to the translation decisions, with respect to the I Ching, that they made. We must, though, move on to the decisions themselves, taking up in detail, in the following chapter, the structure and organization of the two translations.

NOTES

CHAPTER ONE: HISTORICAL PRELIMINARIES

[1]James Legge, trans., The Chinese Classics, with a Translation, Critical and Exegetical Notes, Prolegomena, and Copious Indexes, 7 vols., 2nd ed. rev., Vol. 1: Confucian Analects, The Great Learning, and the Doctrine of the Mean (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1893; reprint ed., with a 'Biographical Note' by Dr. L. T. Ride, Hong Kong: China Translation & Printing Services, 1970), p.7.

[2]Ibid., p.9.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Helen Edith Legge, James Legge: Missionary and Scholar (London: Religious Tract Society, 1905), p.29.

[5]Legge, Chinese Classics, p.12.

[6]Paul Cohen, China and Christianity: The Missionary Movement and the Growth of Chinese Antiforeignism, 1860-1870 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1963), p.4.

[7]Rev. Arthur T. Pierson, The Crisis of Missions, or, The Voice Out of the Cloud (New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1886), p.91.

[8]Helen Legge, p.226.

[9]Legge, Chinese Classics, p.x.

[10]Ibid., p.20.

[11]see Richard Wilhelm's critical remark regarding Legge: Richard Wilhelm, trans., The "I Ching" or "Book of Changes", trans. by Cary F. Baynes, 3rd edition, Bollingen Series XIX (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), p.257, n.2.

[12]Legge, Chinese Classics, pp.x-xi.

[13]William McGuire, "The I Ching Story: An Ancient Text Becomes a Publishing Phenomenon," Princeton Alumni Weekly (May 7, 1974): 12.

[14]John Raphael Staude, Max Scheler (1874-1928): An Intellectual Portrait (New York: The Free Press, 1967), p.249.

[15]Carl G. Jung, Memories, Dreams, Reflections, Recorded and edited by Aniela Jaffe, translated by Richard and Clara Winston, revised edition (New York: Vintage Books, 1965), p.375.

[16]Mary Clabaugh Wright, The Last Stand of Chinese Conservatism: The T'ung-Chih Restoration, 1862-1874 (New York: Atheneum, 1966), p.ix.

[17]Ibid., p.37.

[18]Ibid., p.28.

[19]John E. Schrecker, Imperialism and Chinese Nationalism: Germany in Shantung (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1971), p.242.

[20]Howard L. Boorman, ed., Biographical Dictionary of Republican China (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), S.v. Lao Nai-hsuan.

[21]Wilhelm, Constancy and Change, p.xii.

[22]Ibid., pp.43-84.

[23]Ibid., pp.3-42.

[24]Richard Wilhelm, trans., and C. G. Jung, com., The Secret of the Golden Flower, augmented and revised edition, rendered into English by Cary F. Baynes (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1962), p.144.

[25]Wilhelm and Jung, Golden Flower, pp.138-140.

[26]Ibid., p.145.

[27]Richard Wilhelm, Lectures on the "I Ching": Constancy and Change, translated by Irene Eber, Bollingen Series XIX:2 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), p.xv.

CHAPTER TWO

ORGANIZATION OF THE CONTENTS OF EACH TRANSLATION

A. The Chinese Text

A brief overview of the contents of the Chinese text has already been presented in the Preface to this study, but will be discussed here in considerably more detail. The I Ching is really a collection of several texts reflecting diverse authorship, dates of composition, and objectives. How the diversities of this collection are handled is a significant factor in determining the translator's image of what the I Ching is thought to communicate, collectively and in its parts. The purpose of this chapter is twofold: to determine how each translator organized the contents of his translation and to discuss the significance of these organizational choices.

The I Ching is composed of two primary parts: a Basic Text and Appendixes or the 'Ten Wings' (usually dated from 400 B.C.E.).

The Basic Text of the I Ching is usually dated within the range of 1000-600 B.C.E. It is composed of hexagrams, a text explaining it, and a series of comments addressing the meaning of the individual lines. The portion commenting on the meaning of the hexagram as a whole has been traditionally

ascribed to King Wen, the founding ruler of the Chou dynasty, and is called the T'uan (Judgement of Decision Text). The series of texts dealing with the individual lines of the hexagrams have been traditionally ascribed to King Wen's son, the Duke of Chou, and are termed the Hsiao-t'zu or Hsi-t'zu (Line Texts or Appended Judgements).

Scholars have not been able to determine the authorship of the T'uan and Hsiao-t'zu. Neither King Wen nor the Duke of Chou are historically verifiable figures and most scholars are loath to grant the traditional story any credibility. The most popular modern theory is that a redactor or redactors compiled a body of already existent folk, omen and divination material and divided them among the hexagrams, already in use by a priestly class of diviners. F. M. Doeringer writes in an article concerned with I Ching redaction:

> Most of the contents...[of the Basic Text] show the characteristics of popular 'wisdom literature' designed to preserve beliefs and morals. It is entirely possible, therefore, that the oracle texts were fabricated by instituting divination terms and formulas into a diverse body of folk literature in order to bring out an already latent concern with omens of fate. The patent incorporation of many proverbs in the texts seems to strengthen this conjecture.[1]

In any event, many of the images found in the Basic Text layers of the I Ching were taken from contemporary events and it is quite probable that other sources, such as the contemporary social structure, political world, dreams, myths, and

poetry, were also involved.[2] The Basic Text, then, presents a complex set of materials of uncertain date and origin.

The first of the appendixes is called the T'uan Chuan (Commentary on the 'Decision', or T'uan). It tends to reflect two methods of interpretation: 1) treating the hexagram as a whole, and 2) treating the hexagram as a composite of two three-lined trigrams. It seems highly possible that the two methods of interpretation derive from two different schools of I Ching thought.[3] In structure, it reproduces phrases from the T'uan and offers a commentary on them.

The second appendix is called the Hsiang Chuan (Commentary on the Symbols). The appendix is divided into two sections called respectively the Hsiao-hsiang Chuan (Lesser Images) and the Ta-hsiang Chuan (Greater Images). The Ta-hsiang Chuan employs a trigram method of interpretation and is composed of three parts: 1) two sets of trigram images or their correlations, 2) the name of the hexagram, and 3) a moral message, often framed in terms of the activity of the "Superior Man". The Hsiao-hsiang Chuan is a line-commentary on each of the 384 lines collectively making up the 64 hexagrams. It repeats a portion of the line text from the Hsiao-t'zu and offers a brief comment on it. Gerald Swanson, in his dissertation on the Great Treatise, has observed that the commentary parts, when gathered together and considered as a whole, form a long 384 line poem.[4] It is possible that this poem existed apart from

the I Ching in a unified form, simply as poetry. In any case, it seems quite possible that this section served a mnemonic function.

The third appendix is called the Ta Chuan (Great Treatise). Swanson dates the text around the third century B.C.E.[5] In his view, the Great Treatise was compiled from among a diverse collection of essays by a group of scholars with three aims in mind. The first aim was toward systematizing the text, providing all the details necessary for a myth accounting for the origins of Chinese culture and establishing a line of transmission for this mythical account from sage-king to sage-king to their own day. As their second aim they attempted to preserve and synthesize two early schools of I Ching interpretation - the hexagram and the trigram schools. The hexagram school used the imagery of the hexagram as a whole for its line of interpretation. The trigram school used the imagery of the component trigrams in its interpretive efforts. Swanson notes that, with the exception of the T'uan Chuan, no other appendix attempts a synthesis of the two orientations.[6] Their last aim was to place the older layers, the T'uan and Hsiao-t'zu, into a consistent metaphysical context involving the Yin-Yang and Five Elements theories.

The Yin-Yang theory was the ideology of complimentary opposites. A common analogy used by the early Chinese to describe what was intended was to compare Yang with the sun,

represented by an undivided line, and Yin with the moon, represented by a divided line. Yang is the strong and creative function initiating life and Yin is the nourishing and fulfilling receptivity that ensures the endurance of that which has begun. Together these bi-polar forces are the foundation of reality and the fundamental principles of change and duality.

In the Five Elements theory, Fire, Wood, Metal, Water, and Earth constitute the basic energies underlying the formation and material existence of the cosmos. In an original unity, these elements or energies separated thereby creating and accounting for the Universe in all its particulars.

These two ideologies, the Yin-Yang and Five elements theories, were not originally compatable. The scholars behind the authorship of the Ta Chuan were able to establish a working syncretism, providing a metaphysical framework for I Ching interpretation.

The fourth appendix is called the Wen-yen Chuan (Explanation of the Sentences or Commentary on the Words of the Text). This is a commentary on the first two hexagrams and is probably older than the Ta Chuan. The main objective of the commentary is to relate the first two hexagrams, 'The Creative' and 'The Receptive', to the human condition. Traditionally there were considered to be three powers in the universe: Heaven, Earth, and Man. The first hexagram represents Heaven,

the Creative Power, by the presence of six yang lines. The power of Earth is represented by the second hexagram, "The Receptive", symbolized by six yin or divided lines. The appendix, then, in taking up in discussion these two hexagrams, is completing a traditional group of "three powers" by consistently relating them to the third power - Man (Humankind).

Many scholars have thought that this commentary is fragmentary and had continued for all of the hexagrams. This seems unlikely as the first two hexagrams, together with a critical discussion of the third power, complete the full triad. The commentary is really an essay about the three powers, using the first two hexagrams as two corners of the discussion. By relating the meaning of the hexagrams to the human condition, however, the author(s) of this appendix provided a method for doing the same with the other hexagrams.

The next appendix is called the Shuo-kua Chuan (Discussion of the Trigrams). This commentary is composed of ten short chapters. The first two chapters are similar in style and content to the Ta Chuan and refer to the I Ching as a whole and to the fundamental principles underlying it. The remaining eight chapters are glosses providing correlations to each of the eight trigrams. Each of the eight trigrams is taken up and a list of correlations presented, such as, various sorts of horses, directions, seasons, types of weather, varieties of vegetation, and so on. It is likely that these cor-

relations were intended to recall images that could develop a deeper sense of the symbolism of the trigram. Also, as the entire cosmos was seen to be related in an organic and dynamic fashion, these correlates were images connecting the physical universe to the symbolism of the I Ching. In this model of the universe everything was related to everything else and patterns of the material world were duplicated in the spiritual realm. This appendix was intended to catalogue correlates and facilitate the broader application of I Ching symbolism.

The sixth appendix, the Hsu-kua Chuan (Sequence of the Hexagrams or Treatise on the Ordinal Sequence of the Hexagrams) is a series of glosses on the names of the trigrams, together with short statements showing how each hexagram relates to the immediately preceding one. The order of hexagrams presented in this commentary differs from that in the Basic Text. Why this would be so is an issue that has sparked much speculation but for which no final answer had been established. The current consensus is that it was merely intended as a mnemonic aid for students of the I and was never intended as a philosophical analysis. Scholars holding to this view note, by way of support, that the reasoning presented for the order of the hexagrams is so clearly artificial and contrived that it is highly doubtful that it could ever have been seriously presented as an explanatory commentary.

The final appendix, the Tsa-kua Chuan (Miscellaneous Notes on the Hexagrams), is quite short and contains a series of glosses on the names of the hexagrams.

In his doctoral dissertation, Iulian Shchutskii, a Russian Sinologist writing in the 1920's and 30's, has dated the appendixes in the following ascending sequence: 1) certain portions of the Wen-yen Chuan, 2) the Ta-hsiang Chuan, 3) the T'uan Chuan, 4) the Hsiao-hsiang Chuan, 5) the Ta Chuan, the first three paragraphs of the Shuo-kua Chuan, and the Hsu-kua Chuan, and 6) the Shuo-kua Chuan beginning with the fourth paragraph, the glosses of the Wen-yen Chuan, and the Tsa-kua Chuan.[7] While some may dispute Shchutskii's findings it is amply clear that the Wings are a collection of commentaries of diverse origin, created over a considerable time span, representing a variety of philosophical and religious orientations.

The Basic Text of the I Ching is traditionally divided into two segments. The first segment contains the first 30 hexagrams and the second segment contains the remaining 34. There has been no satisfactory explanation for this division. In any case, the T'uan Chuan, Hsiang Chuan, and Ta Chuan are also divided into two segments. The remaining appendixes are not divided so that the total number of "Wings" equals ten.

Shchutskii suggests that, even overlooking the apparent arbitrariness of the divisions into two segments of the first three appendixes, the division of the material is wrong. He

notes that the organization of these commentaries is incongruous and arbitrary. Portions within each Wing appear to belong more properly elsewhere and some Wings contain such diverse material that it is difficult to understand the organizing principle. He theorizes that these parts were arbitrarily divided by tradition, without any necessary internal connection between each of the parts.[8] As a whole or in its parts, then, the I Ching is a varied text, expressing no unified or consistent point-of-view.

No definite tradition developed as to how the commentaries were to appear in the classic. In fact, beyond the early, and apparently false, ascription of the commentaries to Confucius, we do not really know why these commentaries and not others were to become part of the established canon. A standard had developed over the organization of the Basic Text; an ordering for the hexagrams with the textual strata of the Basic Text distributed among them, was determined by the middle of the Chou era (ca. 600 B.C.E.). When it came to the inclusion of the appendixes, however, some Chinese editions separated the Ten Wings completely from the Basic Text and presented them together at the end of the Classic, others divided two or three of the Wings among the hexagrams; and still others divided all but two of the Wings (Ta Chuan and Shuo-kua Chuan) among the hexagrams. While the latter organizational choice seems to have been the most common, the other arrangements were also acceptable.

In deciding upon an organization for their translations Legge and Wilhelm faced a complex and varied collection of parts together constituting the I Ching. No standard model was available for them to follow; their choices were wholly their own.

B. Legge's Textual Organization

After lengthy consideration, during which time Legge struggled with difficulty to make sense of the I Ching, he finally discovered a clue as to how to unlock its meaning. Legge noted in the Preface to his translation:

> ...I now perceived that the composition of the Text and of the Appendixes, allowing the Confucian authorship of the latter, was separated by about 700 years, and that their subject-matter was often incongruous. My first step towards a right understanding of the I was to study the Text by itself and as complete in itself. It was easy to do this because the imperial edition of 1715, with all its critical apparatus, keeps the Text and the Appendixes separate.[9]

Regarding the subject matter of the Text, Legge concluded that it consisted of 64 short essays by the Chou dynasty ruler, King Wen, followed by 64 sets of commentaries by his son, the Duke of Chou. The Duke's commentaries took up each line of the hexagram and offered an emblematic illustration by way of exposition.

The short essays by King Wen were enigmatically and symbolically expressed. King Wen took up each hexagram in turn

and gave its overall significance, "...occasionally with some indication of the action to be taken in the circumstances which he supposes them to symbolize and whether the action will be lucky or unlucky" (Legge, p.10).

Immediately following King Wen's commentary were the Duke of Chou's thoughts concerning each of the individual lines. He began with the first or bottom line and expressed, "...by means of a symbolical or emblematical illustration, the significance of each line, with...[an] indication of the good or bad fortune of the action taken in connexion with it" (Legge, p.10).

Legge thought that his interpretation of the Text, and of the hexagrams, was in substantial agreement with those given by the most noted commentators from the Han dynasty down to the present (Legge, p.xiv). With his approach apparently thus confirmed, Legge decided to organize his translation in such a manner so as to minimize potential confusion on the part of students and young missionaries.

In his presentation of the I Ching, then, since he had himself encountered problems when the Appendixes were intermingled with the Text, Legge decided that it was important that his edition keep separate the Text from the Wings. He explains:

> ...during that long period of between six and seven centuries [between the composition of the Text and the Appendixes] changes may have arisen in the views taken by thinking men of the method and manner of the I;

> and I cannot accept the Text and the Appendixes as forming one work in any proper sense of the term. Nothing has prevented the full understanding of both, so far as parts of the latter can be understood, so much as the blending of them together...The common editions of the book have five of the Appendixes (as they are ordinarily reckoned) broken up and printed side by side with the Text; and the confusion thence arising has made it difficult, through the intermixture of incongruous ideas, for foreign students to lay hold of the meaning. (Legge, p.8)

Legge's decision to separate the Wings completely from the Text reflected a considered plan. He regarded the Text and Wings as separate works, reflecting different aims and basic assumptions.

In Legge's reckoning and in his presentation, therefore, the I Ching is an arbitrary amalgam of two quite separate works. And although some of the commentaries are very helpful, the Text must be understood apart from any of the views they express.

C. Wilhelm's Textual Organization

Wilhelm wanted a translation that reflected an understanding of the book among the Chinese intellectuals of his time for whom the I Ching was sacred literature. Wilhelm was interpretively honest in keeping within and staying true to the commentary tradition favoured by Lao. Iulian Shchutskii commented that Wilhelm

> ...based his translation, first, on the oral tradition which was taught him by

> his teacher, Lao Nai-hsuan, for whom the Book of Changes is above all 'the sacred text', suspicion of which, as of tradition in general, was not tolerated; and secondly, on the later eclectic commentary Chou I che-chung,[10] which, despite all its eclectism, basically comes from Chu Hsi's [1130-1200 C.E.] commentary Chou I pen-i.[11]

Wilhelm was, above all else, devoted to the I Ching's potential to improve Western man spiritually. The symbolic character of the text was emphasized, with the aim of underlining its human significance as a source of wisdom and as a lure for feeling. Its special character as a divination text, as well as its symbolic richness, came to be accented in Wilhelm's search to express its significance. From Wilhelm's point of view what the text might come to mean was more interesting and more meaningful than anything the text may have meant in the distant past; its contemporary value and meaning in China was extrapolated to suggest its future potential in Europe and America.

The ultimate aim for text and commentary (Text, Wings, and Wilhelm's digests) was the presentation of genuine Chinese thought throughout.[12] To the translation of the Text and Wings, then, Wilhelm added his own commentary by way of elucidation. This commentary is interspersed throughout the translation.

Wilhelm included, thus, his own commentaries to explain or draw out the meaning of the text; he arranged the material of his book "...to make it as easy as possible for the layman

to understand..." (Wilhelm, p.xii). Wilhelm's arrangement is composed of three "Books" and reflects his desire for clarity and ease of understanding.

The 64 hexagrams, along with the T'uan (The Judgement), Hsiao-t'zu (The Lines), Ta-hsiang Chuan (The Image) and Wilhelm's commentary digests are presented in Book I.

Wilhelm's commentary reflects the general aims of Book I - to introduce the reader to the oldest layers of the I Ching along with the basic philosophy of life which it expresses. The commentary, in other words, is at the level of general and popular philosophy and reflects a desire to communicate the meaning of the text to a general audience seeking wisdom and advice.

The T'uan and Hsiao-t'zu express two responses to the situation represented by the hexagram. The Ta-hsiang Chuan is not a commentary on the Text, but expresses a third, independent approach. Even though of a later and more sophisticated orientation, Wilhelm included it in Book I because he wanted to expose his readers to the basic interpretive approaches in the first Book.

Book II contains translations of the more systematic of the Wings, the Shuo-kua Chuan and the Ta Chuan. Wilhelm titled Book II, "The Material", and presented in it the theoretical core of the I Ching. Both Wings tend to approach the I Ching from the point of view of metaphysics and express an under-

lying system for the older layers. The translation of these Wings is framed by an introductory section explaining the general purpose of Book II and a closing section titled "The Structure of the Hexagrams", explaining how the hexagrams may be interpreted so that they result in the T'uan and Hsiao-t'zu judgements. The latter section is based largely upon the translated text but also reflects later commentary analyses.

Book III, titled "The Commentaries", is arranged in the sequence of the hexagrams. It repeats the Text portion of Book I and organizes under them those passages from the Wings considered commentary to the Text. In other words, the remaining Wings (including the Ta-hsiang Chuan) are divided among each respective hexagram. Again, Wilhelm's commentary is added to the translations, "...dealing in this case not so much with general considerations as with technical and systematic aspects, the principles and concepts of which [were] ...discussed in the...essay on 'The Structure of the Hexagrams'" (Wilhelm, p.xx).

Wilhelm thought that it would afford the reader a better understanding of the Wings if they were broken down and oppor-tioned to the hexagram-text to which they referred.

Respecting the purpose of the second and third books, Wilhelm explains:

> Here the material essential to an understanding of the structure of the hexagrams has been brought together, but only so much

> of it as is absolutely necessary, and as far as possible only the oldest material, as preserved in the Ten Wings, is presented. (Wilhelm, p.lxii)

Wilhelm's choice of phrasing is significant. His priority is to render the Text meaningful and understandable. Any other commentary of value that helps explain the Text, Wilhelm is prepared to use. And, in fact, he does. The "nuclear trigrams" which Wilhelm employs in his commentaries in Book III, for instance, actually derive from Ching Fang (77-37 B.C.E.)[13] and not from the Wings or the Text.

Two Appendixes appear at the end of Wilhelm's translation. The first Appendix presents the method of using the oracle that was developed during the Sung dynasty. The second Appendix briefly cites the eight constituting trigrams and then reproduces the "House" arrangement of the hexagrams developed by Ching Fang. Ching Fang doubled each of the trigrams producing eight "pure" hexagrams. He then organized the remaining hexagrams under the eight "pure" hexagrams, forming what he termed, 'hexagram houses'. Both of Wilhelm's appendixes, then, reflect later material and orientations.

D. Comparative Summary

Legge was largely interested in what the Text of the I Ching originally meant. To facilitate his purpose he separated the Ten Wings from the Text and dealt with both as independent units. The reader is not presented with a single work,

but two quite separate units functioning independently. The interpretive framework expressed or presupposed by one, cannot be used in understanding the other.

Wilhelm was primarily interested in presenting a meaningful text for lay readers. Unlike Legge, Wilhelm saw no basic contradiction between the Text and the Wings. While fully aware that the Wings represented the work of a variety of authors over a span of time, the earliest of which was separated from the Text by some 600 years, Wilhelm was interested mainly in the help the Wings might offer toward a better understanding of the I Ching. In relying on the two main systemmatizing Wings for his primary philosophical orientation, Wilhelm demonstrated his basic underlying assumption - that the Text and Wings could function and be understood as a homogeneous whole.

Both Legge and Wilhelm wanted to offer a translation that could be understood by the average educated European reader. To facilitate this purpose, both chose their arrangements carefully and according to a considered plan. Both translators tended to place emphasis on the Text. But the separation of Wings and Text in Legge's case, and the mingling of commentary traditions with the Text in Wilhelm's case, resulted in two different understandings of what the I Ching meant. Legge was grappling with the original, pre-Wing, meaning; Wilhelm was attending to the cumulative understanding in

the China of his day, responding to the I Ching as contemporary scripture and reflecting his response in his translation. In this respect, Legge and Wilhelm were over two thousand years apart.

NOTES

CHAPTER TWO: ORGANIZATION OF THE CONTENTS OF EACH TRANSLATION

[1]F. M. Doeringer, "Oracle and symbol in the redaction of the I Ching," Philosophy East and West 30 (April, 1980): 197.

[2]Hellmut Wilhelm, "Image and concept," in Heaven, Earth and Man in the Book of Changes": Seven Eranos Lectures (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1977; paperback ed., 1979), pp.190-221.

[3]Gerald Swanson, "The Great Treatise: Commentary Tradition to the Book of Changes," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1974, p.5.

[4]Ibid., p.6.

[5]Ibid., pp.9-10.

[6]Ibid., p.12.

[7]Iulian Shchutskii, Researches on the "I Ching", Translated by William L. MacDonald and Tsuyoshi Hasegawa with Hellmut Wilhelm, Introduction by Gerald Swanson, Bollingen Series LXII:2 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), p.185.

[8]Shchutskii, pp.158-165.

[9]James Legge, The "I Ching": The Book of Changes, 2nd edition, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XVI (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1899, Dover paperback ed., 1963), pp.xiii-xiv. All further references to Legge's translation of the I Ching refer to this edition and will be noted parenthetically within the study - e.g.: (Legge, pp.xiii-xiv).

[10]The Chou I Che chung is a large collection of commentaries on the I Ching compiled by a group of scholars headed by Li Kuang-ti by order of the Kang-hsi Emperor in 1715. The collection has a strong neo-Confucian bias.

[11]Shchutskii, p.46.

[12]Richard Wilhelm, trans., The "I Ching" or Book of Changes, rendered into English by Cary F. Baynes, 3rd edition, Bollingen Series XIX (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), p.lxii. All further references to Wilhelm's translation (English rendering) of the I Ching refer to this edition and will be noted parenthetically within the study - e.g.: (Wilhelm, p.lxii).

[13]Douglas Alan White, "Interpretation of the Central Concept of the I Ching During the Han, Sung, and Ming Dynasties," Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1976, pp.8-16.

CHAPTER THREE

LEGGE'S AND WILHELM'S INTERPRETIVE ORIENTATIONS

To their translations of the I Ching, both Legge and Wilhelm added a Preface and an Introduction. In these sections they both described the stages through which they passed on their way toward translating the I. They also discussed the history of the I, its contents, and the traditional lore respecting its origins. In addition to these historical and preliminary matters, however, Legge and Wilhelm also presented their opinions concerning the I's purpose and value, as well as their general orientations towards an understanding of the text. The arrangement that each translator chose for the contents of his translation both expressed and presupposed his orientation. The purpose of this chapter is to explore these interpretive orientations focusing on the introductory material of the translators. The contents of their commentary remarks and matters concerning the translation of the Chinese text will be taken up in the following two chapters.

A. Legge's Interpretive Orientation

1. Legge's Chinese Sources

Legge's primary sources were the Yu Chih Jih Chiang I Ching Chieh I ("Daily Lessons on the I Ching"), prepared by

the Han Lin College in 1682, and the Chou I Che Chung, a collection of Sung commentaries on the I Ching edited and compiled by Ch'ing dynasty scholars. The Chou I Che Chung is based largely on Chu Hsi's (1130-1200) I Hsueh Ch'i Meng, a collection of I Ching commentaries and his Chou I pen-i, another collection of I Ching commentaries.

Legge's original intention was to append to his translation of the I, translations from Chu Hsi and other Sung writers. He did not have the space, however, and simply remarked:

> Those intended translations therefore are reserved for another opportunity; and indeed, the Sung philosophy did not grow out of the I proper, but from the Appendixes to it, and especially from the third of them. It is more Taoistic than Confucian. (Legge, p.xvi)

In spite of Legge's objective recognition of Sung bias he stressed his obligation to the Chou I Che Chung, commenting that "[t]heir numerous discussions of the meaning, and ingenious decisions, go far to raise the interpretation of the I to a science" (Legge, p.xxi).

Where portions of the I Ching, or selections that he was quoting from the commentary portion of the Chou I Che Chung, did not measure up to his personal standards of reasonableness, Legge normally included a critical note expressing his negative view. Legge's stance, even when reproducing Chinese commentary material, was to remain "objective", that is, remain true to the standards of rational argument and reasonableness out of which he lived as a 19th-century Christian, Scottish missionary.

In addition to the Chinese texts, Legge also noted as a source the marginal notes written by an unknown scholar on his second-hand copy of the "Daily Lessons on the I Ching".

> It was possible, from his punctuation, interlineations, and many marginal notes, to follow the exercises of his mind, patiently pursuing his search for the meaning of the most difficult passages. I am under great obligations to him... (Legge, p.xxi)

Legge does not detail in what respects he feels obligated to the unknown scholar. I would conclude, on the basis of his comment, that Legge found clues to the meaning of the text which helped him in his own thinking. We already know of the influence of Legge's Hong Kong advisor, Wang T'ao.

The significance these points have respecting Legge's sources, is to underline his reliance on outside sources for interpretative clues. There is a difference between investigating the meaning completely on one's own and responding to the interpretive clues provided by already formulated understandings. While the interpretive clues may meet with one's approval, thereby settling the point at issue, further investigations may not be initiated that may have yielded a different result. In other words, we cannot accept Legge's claims of objectivity at face value, but must consider for ourselves the content of what he expressed.

2. Legge's Response to the Chinese Commentaries

Legge does not distinguish between commentary-eras. He says in his Preface:

> ...I was delighted to find that there was a substantial agreement between my interpretations of the hexagrams and their several lines and those given by the most noted commentators from the Han dynasty down to the present. (Legge, p.xiv)

This comment is baffling. Legge does distinguish the Text from the first commentary-era expressed by way of the Ten Wings. We know that Legge's arrangement reflects and expresses this distinction. And we also know that Legge was aware of the particular biases underlying the Sung commentaries. Nevertheless, he did not distinguish commentary traditions when it came to their analyses of the I's symbolism.

Legge had found it necessary to add his own commentary, "...illustrating the way in which the teachings of King Wen and his son are supposed to be drawn from the figures and their several lines..." (Legge, p.xvi). The purpose of his commentary to the Text, then, was to demonstrate the connection between it and the symbolism of the hexagrams. Legge drew on the full range of resources available to him and was pleased to see his speculations corroborated (Legge, p.xvi).

The edition Legge was using as the source for the Chinese commentaries was the Chou I Che Chung, whose editors quoted widely, though with the particular aim of corroborating and perpetuating Chu Hsi's neo-Confucian framework. Accordingly, it was hardly possible for Legge to distinguish commentary-eras when his source did not. The editors of the Chou I Che Chung had carefully selected their material from among the available

literature in order to emphasize Chu Hsi's conceptual framework; Legge was working with a source that had been carefully shaped to express a consistent viewpoint.

The corroboration that Legge found, therefore, with respect to his own analysis, was a corroboration seated firmly in Sung neo-Confucianism. The Chinese commentaries to which he was exposed were tailored to express a unified point of view by the K'ang-hsi editors responsible for the Chou I Che Chung.

3. Legge and the Wings: General Considerations

Although Legge regarded the Appendixes as an obstacle to understanding the Text, there was information in them that he found helpful: "...they may be legitimately employed in illustration of what were the prevailing views on various points connected with the I" (Legge, p.3).

Legge takes his views concerning the authorship and date of the Text from the Ta Chuan, paragraphs 49 and 69. From these paragraphs Legge determines the authorship of the T'uan to reside with King Wen, and the authorship of the Hsiao-t'zu to lie with the King's son, Tan, the Duke of Chou.

Legge also relies on the Ta Chuan for its account of the origin of the hexagrams. He compares Section II, paragraph 11, with paragraphs 2, 70-71, and 73 of Section I (see Legge, pp.382-383; and p.348, 373-374.). He notes that they represent different accounts of the origin of the hexagrams but finally decides to accept the account in Section I, paragraphs

70-71 (see Legge, p.373).

Legge admired the mathematical logic and simplicity of the account of the origin of the hexagrams that he accepted - in fact, that is why he did accept it. The other accounts seemed too far-fetched. In one account, for instance, a dragon-horse emerges from the Yellow River with a symbolic representation of the I on its back. Legge remarks by way of criticism: "...its object, no doubt was to impart a supernatural character to the trigrams and produce a religious veneration for them" (Legge, p.17).

"Supernatural" claims, when they are part of the fabric of faith out of which an individual lives in response to transcendence, are not truth-functional, but responses of faith. The dragon-horse story is a sacred myth accounting for the origin of an important Chinese scripture. In his translation of the I, Legge often criticized religiously-motivated explanations or metaphysical statements (for example, see Legge, p.406). Legge did not set out to appreciate how the I Ching functioned as a part of the conceptual framework out of which the Chinese lived. He was not primarily concerned with how they responded to its call as scripture or how it shaped their lives. Legge rejected the whole scriptural orientation to the I Ching. To him, the I was simply a historical document from China's past of which a good deal too much had been made:

> If, after all, [the reader should]... conclude that in what is said on the

> hexagrams there is often 'much ado about nothing', it is not the translator who should be deemed accountable for that, but his original. (Legge, p.xvi)

According to the version he accepted there were originally in use only a divided and undivided line (reflecting a negative or positive answer to a diviner's question). As the diviner's needs became more complex, a third line was added, producing eight trigrams. These trigrams were doubled forming the 64 hexagrams. This simple addition and combination of lines and trigrams struck Legge as the most rationally plausible. In this he was probably right, but sacred stories are never matters of "belief" (in the modern western sense) or "rational plausibility". Faith is not a collection of rationally probable assertions about reality that have a "convincing ring to them." Faith is an activating orientation that presupposes a conceptual framework, myth and scripture being part of that world-view. Legge, however, approached the I as objective data, a document expressing views that needed to be tested against the cold light of reason. The Wings were often his data base.

4. The Myth of King Wen and the Duke of Chou

In the traditional account, which Legge accepts, the Shang Kingdom was in utter chaos. The ruler of the Shang peoples was a cruel and wicked tyrant and felt threatened by the Chou peoples who lived to the west of his kingdom. In 1143 the wicked ruler captured King Wen, the lord of the Chou people,

and imprisoned him for three years. Meanwhile, terrible battles took place and many cruel and disturbing things were reported.

During his prison term the king occupied himself with the lineal figures or hexagrams. Legge speculated that

> Possibly it occurred to him that nothing was more likely to lull the suspicions of his dangerous enemy than the study of the figures; and if his keepers took notice of what he was doing, they would smile at his lines, and the sentences which he appended to them.
>
> I like to think of the lord of Chou, when incarcerated in Yu-li, with the 64 figures arranged before him. Each hexagram assumed a mystic meaning, and glowed with a deep significance. He made it tell him of the qualities of various objects of nature, or of the principles of human society, or of the condition, actual and possible, of the kingdom. He named the figures, each by a term descriptive of the idea with which he had connected it in his mind, and then he proceeded to set that idea forth, now with a note of exhortation, now with a note of warning. It was an attempt to restrict the follies of divination within the bounds of reason. (Legge, p.21)

This statement embodies the key to Legge's understanding of the Text. The lord occupied himself with the hexagrams in order to throw his captors off the scent - he did not want them to know that he was reflecting on social and political concerns. Since whenever "mystical" sources for wisdom are mentioned in the text, Legge reacts negatively, the "mystic meaning" Legge speculates that each hexagram assumed for the lord of Chou, can only refer to the activity of the imagination rather than

to an experience of the holy.

The lord's response to the symbolism of the hexagrams was to record the results of his contemplations. The paragraphs he wrote to each hexagram expressed moral and political lessons. The lord wrote after the fashion of the diviners in order to mislead his captors, and because the divination genre was the usual one for giving advice. He was not divining himself, although his words became oracles to subsequent ages (c.f. Legge, p.10).

The T'uan, then, were written by an imprisoned ruler who had every reason, during his depressing captivity, to give deep consideration to the ills of the world, and the problems confronting his people. The hexagrams were the symbolic foci for his moral and political lessons.

The lord's son Tan, the Duke of Chou, was a patriot, hero, legislator, and philosopher according to the traditional story. Legge accepts the traditional view that he carried on the work of his father, taking up each line and interpreting it. As with his father's essays, the Duke's commentaries presented lessons along the same general lines:

> ...his method strikes us as singular. Each line seemed to become living, and suggested some phenomenon in nature or some case of human experience, from which the wisdom or folly, the luckiness or unluckiness, indicated by it could be inferred. (Legge, p.22)

Legge remarks that the Duke's commentaries make uninspired reading - they are "dryasdust, grotesque" (Legge, p.22).

Legge thinks that, again like his father, the Duke was forced by the political exigencies of a war-torn China and the force of tradition to write after the manner of the diviners. Because of this Legge ignored the "genre" and focused on the intended content to determine the meaning. In whatever form they chose to communicate their advice, the content of their message was a moral and political lesson. With respect to the Duke's commentary, Legge noted that it took up the action implied by the hexagram's theme outlined and identified by King Wen, and went through it step-by-step. Each step along the way signified to the Duke a lesson which he communicated by way of allegory and metaphor.

To Legge, therefore, the Text was not "mystical" or inexplicable once one understood it to be a collection of the moral and political reflections of two men at specific points in history. Legge did not approve of the style through which the lessons were conveyed, although he found their content "good and striking" (Legge, p.25). It was Legge's opinion that the T'uan and Hsiao-t'zu were valuable for their practical insights but were not "...drawn up from an abysmal deep of philosophical speculation" (Legge, p.26). However unusually difficult the genre, no great mystery could be ascribed to the Text.

5. Legge's Consideration of the Appendixes: Specifics

The first issue Legge takes up with respect to the Appen-

dixes is the question of their Confucian authorship. He discusses at some length the possibility that they were composed by Confucius, having assumed it earlier merely for the purposes of discussion, but finally rejects that opinion (Legge, pp.30-31). Most of the Appendixes were not written in a style suitable to that of the Confucian school and Legge finds no defensible evidence or reasons for accepting a Confucian authorship for any of them, although this conclusion did not alter his general sense for when the Appendixes were produced. Legge goes on to say that, because of this, they are not automatically worthy of reverence and "...we shall feel entirely at liberty to exercise our own judgement on their contents, and weigh them in the balances of our reason" (Legge, p.28). Legge overlooks the possibility that orientations other than the Confucian might be worthy of reverence or respect.

Legge takes up in discussion in his Introduction each of the Wings and outlines their various purposes.

For the first Appendix Legge noted that its general intent was to interpret the paragraphs of the Text written by King Wen. The purpose of the writer of this appendix was

> To show the process of King Wen's thoughts... how he looked at the component trigrams with their symbolic intimations, their attributes and qualities, their linear composition, till he could not think otherwise of the figures than he did. All these considerations are sometimes taken into account, and sometimes even one of them is deemed sufficient. (Legge, pp.31-32)

In regarding this Appendix, Legge noted that there were contradictory attributes suggested for the trigrams when compared with the fifth Appendix. He also noted that the author of the first Appendix had a strong sense of the harmony between the spiritual world (heaven) and the natural world (earth), and their interaction and change at the level of phenomena.

Legge suggested the possibility, in remarking on the second Appendix, that it grew out of a classroom situation where students recorded the explanatory remarks of an instructor. This possibility aside, Legge points out that there were two parts to the Appendix which seem mutually incongruous in style and level of sophistication.

The first division of this Appendix, the Ta-hsiang Chüan, Legge translates as the 'Great Symbolism'. The Great Symbolism takes up the trigrams composing the hexagram and notes how they go together to form them and how their blended meaning appears in the institutions and proceedings of the great men and kings of former days, and of the superior men of all time (Legge, p.36).

Legge notes that, given this interpretation of the trigrams, no great mystery or deep intention can be ascribed to them. They simply were intermingled such that their blended symbols suggested the appropriate behavior of kings and sages. The trigrams are simply keys which unlock further sources of

inspiration from the hexagrams. It is Legge's view that given this, there is no indication "...that they should serve as the basis of a philosophical scheme concerning the constitution of heaven and earth and all that is in them" (Legge, pp.37-38). While there is ingenuity and instruction according to Legge, the writer of this Appendix has simply moralized from the trigrams in an edifying fashion.

It was Legge's understanding that the Ta-hsiang Chuan was the source for the view held by the Chinese of his day that the I contained, in essence, all of western science. By demystifying the intent of this section, Legge was directly attacking the presuppositional base of those who held that there was a metaphysical justification in the I for its extrapolation to the realm of modern science. Legge comments:

> The vain assumption thus manifested is childish; and until the Chinese drop their hallucination about the I as containing all things that have ever been dreamt of in all philosophies, it will prove a stumbling block to them, and keep them from entering on the true path of science. (Legge, p.38)

In discussing the third Appendix, the Great Treatise, Legge takes the general position that it is neither deep nor abstruse - he finds many of the paragraphs extravagant. He notes that the Great Treatise is primarily about the ever-changing phenomena of nature and experience. He stresses, however, that neither creation nor cosmogony were on the minds

of those responsible for the treatise's contents. He points out that those sections of the treatise which deal with the divination aspect of the I are without common sense and are hardly to be taken seriously:

> Occasionally, in the field of Chinese literature, we meet with doubts as to the efficacy of divination, and the folly of expecting any revelation of the character of the future from an old tortoise-shell and a handful of withered twigs; but when this Appendix was made, the writer had not attained so much common sense. (Legge, p.41)

Legge does not dwell on the remaining Appendixes. He simply notes that the fourth Appendix is concerned with the first and second hexagrams, responding to a sort of formal need to address the last of the 'Three Powers' - Heaven, Earth, and Man. In his view this Appendix adds nothing and seems to be the result of an afterthought. The fifth Appendix is in 22 paragraphs, most of which Legge viewed as nonsensical and silly (Legge, p.53) or "mere drivel" (Legge, p.54). There were, however, three paragraphs (8, 9, & 10) which Legge considers an elevation of thought. Not too surprisingly, these paragraphs mentioned and praised the work of God within the world and correlated the trigrams to God's various activities. The remaining two Appendixes Legge passes quickly over, simply suggesting that nothing of any value can be learned from them.

C. Wilhelm's Interpretive Orientation

1. Wilhelm's Chinese Sources

Wilhelm writes in his Introduction:

> A very good edition was arranged in the K'ang Hsi period [1662-1722], under the title Chou I Che Chung; it presents the text and the wings separately and includes the best commentaries of all periods. This is the edition on which the present translation is based. (Wilhelm, p.lxi)

Wilhelm collaborated with his teacher, Lao Nai'hsuan, in his translation of the I. The only Chinese source he mentions is the Chou I Che Chung. With respect to this text, then, Wilhelm shared with Legge a common source, one with a strong neo-Confucian bias.

2. Wilhelm's General View of the I and its Contents

Wilhelm opened his Introduction to his translation by saying: "The Book of Changes - I Ching in Chinese - is unquestionably one of the most important books in the world's literature" (Wilhelm, p.xlvii). He goes on to add that

> Nearly all that is greatest and most significant in the three thousand years of Chinese cultural history has either taken its inspiration from this book, or has exerted an influence on the interpretation of its text. Therefore it may safely be said that the seasoned wisdom of thousands of years has gone into the making of the "I Ching". (Wilhelm, p.xlvii)

The "I Ching" to which Wilhelm refers, is not the early Chinese text ascribed to King Wen and the Duke of Chou, but a book rep-

resenting the culmination of "thousands of years" of seasoned Chinese wisdom. The Chinese text is the same, but Wilhelm is here wanting to emphasize the current understanding - the I as a contemporary phenomenon.

At the same time, however, in order to know what the I actually is,

> We must hold...to the fundamental principle that [it]...is to be explained in the light of its own content and of the era to which it belongs. (Wilhelm, p.xlix)

The I Ching is a book from a definite time and is, accordingly, best understood in its original context.

Two programs are being developed by Wilhelm - one historical, the other scriptural.[1] Within the historical framework Wilhelm wanted to trace the I's early development, understand how the text was put together, determine how many sources of authorship were involved, who the contributors may have been, when they wrote, what their intentions and presuppositions were, and what processes of compilation were involved. All of these factors together reflect on Wilhelm's historical program - to ascertain what the text meant when it was written.

Wilhelm's second program involves considering the I as it came to be regarded, understood, and related to by Chinese scholars throughout the history of its transmission. Chinese people had variously and dynamically directed their capacity to become religiously involved to it, not only in its role as one of the Five Classics,[2] but also independently as a sym-

bolically rich orientation to the Transcendent. "It is the faith of men and women that elevates a system of symbols to the religious level. Without this human involvement, the system would remain inert."[3] Wilhelm wanted to understand and communicate what the I Ching meant in the lives of the Chinese intellectuals of his day - how they responded to its call and through it became creatively involved in life.

With the historical program, Wilhelm determined what the I Ching factually was - the data of objective knowledge.[4] With the scriptural program, Wilhelm determined how it had functioned in the lives of many Chinese persons and been interpreted historically. Wilhelm's primary aim was to communicate as best he could what life can mean, and has meant, in the light of the I Ching as scripture. In the closing sentence to his Introduction, Wilhelm wrote:

> It is my firm conviction that anyone who really assimilates the essence of the book of Changes will be enriched thereby in experience and in true understanding of life. (Wilhelm, p.lxii)

3. The I Ching as a Book of Oracles

In discussing the origin of the divided and undivided lines, Wilhelm settled for the same basic explanation that Legge had adopted with some slight modification. In its origins the divided and undivided lines were used to represent, respectively, 'no' and 'yes' answers. As time went on, a need for greater differentiation resulted in a doubling of the

lines. Finally a third line was added resulting in trigrams. These trigrams, according to Wilhelm,

> ...were conceived as images of all that happens in heaven and on earth. At the same time, they were held to be in a state of continual transition, one changing into another... Here we have the fundamental concept of the book of Changes. The eight trigrams are symbols standing for changing transitional states; they are images that are constantly undergoing change..... The eight trigrams are not representations of things as such but of their tendencies in movement. (Wilhelm, p.1)

That Wilhelm makes this philosophical observation at all, already sets him apart from Legge. Wilhelm's appraisal of what the early Chinese were philosophically capable of thinking, differed from Legge's more limited estimations.

After the trigrams were formed, and in order to achieve a still greater multiplicity, the hexagrams were formed. They symbolically represented situations or states of change that human beings might encounter in the world. Each line of the hexagrams was thought capable of changing to its opposite and thus each hexagram could potentially change into any of the remaining sixty-three. Changing yang or undivided lines were termed 'lao yang' ('old yang'); changing yin or divided lines were termed 'lao yang' ('old yin'); non-changing yang lines were termed 'shao yang' ('young yang'); and non-changing yin lines were termed 'shao yin' ('young yin'). A divinatory system determined which lines of a hexagram would be changing

and which would be non-changing. [5]

In Wilhelm's view, what elevated the I from a mere text of augury was its advice as to the proper action to be taken with respect to any given situation. Wilhelm, like Legge, ascribed the elevating counsels to King Wen and the Duke of Chou. In Wilhelm's view the hexagrams enabled the person to recognize situations in their germinal phases, before they fully matured and completed their development. In this way Wilhelm considered that a person could intervene decisively at this early stage and shape the development of the situation. Where Legge saw only moral and political lessons, Wilhelm expressed a philosophically oriented divinatory conception.

Also unlike Legge, who rejected the possibility that any cosmic or metaphysical ideas could properly be attached to the lines, Wilhelm was of the view that the hexagrams and lines in their movements and changes mysteriously reproduced the movements and changes of the macrocosm (Wilhelm, p.liv). In this regard, Wilhelm seems to have accepted the metaphysical interpretations of the Sung dynasty commentators as the correct ones. He did not reject the broader aspects of the Ta Chuan as Legge did, but took them over and adopted them for a general philosophical system for the I. In Wilhelm's view, the metaphysical understanding of the lines and hexagrams was an early development presupposed by King Wen and the Duke of Chou. Consequently he had no difficulty in accepting a more complex

approach to an understanding of the I, adopting a fairly sophisticated understanding of the Ta Chuan and Shuo-kua Chuan as his focus.

4. The I Ching and Confucius

It was Wilhelm's view that Confucius edited and augmented the received version of the I. The effect of this view was to move the commentaries into the sphere of the Confucian tradition and lend to them an added air of authority. Also, Wilhelm would not have seen fit to ascribe portions of the Wings to a Confucian authorship, and to his circle of students, if he were not convinced that in quality and philosophical perspective they were in concordance with the views expressed in the standard Confucian works (c.f. Legge, p.31).

5. Wilhelm's I Ching Psychology

Wilhelm reasoned that there was a psychological basis for the divination process that took the oracle out of the realm of the unbelievable. In the Introduction Wilhelm writes about using the I as an oracle:

> The only thing about all this that seems strange to our modern sense is the method of learning the nature of a situation through the manipulation of yarrow stalks. This procedure was regarded as mysterious, however, simply in the sense that the manipulation of the yarrow stalks makes it possible for the unconscious in man to become active. All individuals are not equally fitted to consult the oracle. It requires a clear and tranquil mind, receptive to the cosmic influences hidden in the humble divining stalks. (Wilhelm, p.liv)

According to Wilhelm, if one were sincere, reverent, possessed of a clear and tranquil mind, and intuitively receptive, then the oracle could properly be used. A clear and tranquil mind, when receptive opened the diviner to unconscious facts. The complex manipulation required by the divination procedure occupied the full attention of the consciousness, allowing the subconscious to express itself.

Sigmund Freud's The Interpretation of Dreams was first published in 1899 and The Philosophy of the Unconscious was published by Edward Von Hartmann in 1893. Both works aroused controversy and became well known. The idea of an unconscious was well known to educated Europeans of the late 19th-century. Many speculated that the subconscious knew things - the past and future, things about other people. Most everyone felt they had dreams which informed them about something which happened to another person. It is no wonder, then, that Wilhelm saw in the unconscious the key to the I's oracular powers. He comments:

> The person consulting the oracle formulates his problem precisely in words, and regardless of whether it concerns something distant or near, secret or profound, he receives - as though it were an echo - the appropriate oracle, which enables him to know the future. This rests on the assumption that the conscious and the supraconscious [Überbewusstes] enter into relationship. The conscious process stops with the formulation of the question. The unconscious [das Unbewusste] process begins with the division of the yarrow stalks, and when we compare the result of this division with the text of the book, we obtain the oracle. (Wilhelm, p.314)

The I Ching reaches down into the regions of the subconscious, thereby eliminating space and time (Wilhelm, p.316). Paragraph 4 of Chapter X of the Ta Chuan reads:[6]

> The Changes have no consciousness, no action; they are quiescent and do not move. But if they are stimulated, they penetrate all situations under heaven. If they were not the most divine thing on earth, how could they do this? (Wilhelm, p.315)

Wilhelm comments that

> The way in which the book of Changes works can best be compared to an electrical circuit reaching into all situations. The circuit only affords the potentiality of lighting; it does not give light. But when contact with a definite situation is established through the questioner, the 'current' is activated, and the given situation is illumined. Although this analogy is not used in any of the commentaries, it serves to explain in a few words the entire meaning of the text. (Wilhelm, p.315)

The subconscious, when activated by the conscious processes of a questioner, illumines a definite situation outlined by the text of the I Ching. Contact, once established, affords the questioner with the key to proper behavior in the hexagram-situation illuminated through the divination procedure. The hexagrams, in this light, are ways of analysing ambiguous situations confronted in daily life. What the unconscious has perceived subtly and in its incipient stages, the hexagrams and Text symbolize and expose to conscious differentiation. The oracular method, then, is a method of exposing unconscious contents for conscious use. Wilhelm's I Ching psychology

was an attempt to explain the oracular function as a psychological event and, therefore, reasonable to our modern sense.

6. Wilhelm's Philosophical Orientation

Wilhelm was not interested in expressing a few philosophical comments in sporadic and fragmented form. He saw the I as a unified whole, both presupposing and expressing a sophisticated philosophical system. In his Introduction, then, he made a point of discussing the I Ching as a book of wisdom and sought to express its underlying system. His discussion suited well his second program, accenting the I's scriptural aspect, and also fitted his historical analysis of how the I was regarded in its contemporary context.

"If we inquire as to the philosophy that pervades the book we can confine ourselves to a few basically important concepts" (Wilhelm, p.liv). Those concepts are: 1) the idea of change, 2) the I's theory of ideas, and 3) the judgements.

There is an immutable, eternal principle at work in all change, namely the Tao. Tao is variously defined as: a road; a way; a path; the primal unity; the uncarved block; the ultimateless; the undifferentiated, and so on (Wilhelm used the German word 'Sinn' for Tao). The Tao is nature, it is Heaven, Earth, and Humankind. The Tao is the order and harmony of all things and the source of all correspondences. The Tao is before existence, yet exists. The Tao is nothing, yet lives; it is without Being, but is all Being. Tao is the power of

Creation and its Master. It is the primal energy and the source of Human Nature. Tao is the seat of justice and virtue. Tao is all these things and is beyond them.

In Wilhelm's view 'Tao' was an early philosophical concept that foreshadowed the system of the I. But early Chinese thinkers also thought polarity to be a fundamental principle. The Tao was differentiated into the light and dark, the intermingling of which accounted for all phenomena and their changes. Later this theory developed into the yin/yang doctrine of the Warring States and Han dynasties (481 B.C.E. - 220 C.E.). The principle of polarity is at the root of the symbolism of the I.

The duality on which the I was based, however, was not an interaction of opposites, but the mutual interrelationship, dynamically, of two unique but complimentary metaphysical functions. On the one hand, according to Wilhelm, there was the creative, responsible for the generative process of Heaven, Earth and Humankind. On the other hand, that which was created needed duration to exist. Nothing could become manifest unless nourished and sustained. Thus, in early times a complimentary function between cosmic or metaphysical dualities was seen to be operational.

In other words the early distinction between light and dark, strong and weak, forceful and receptive was expanded in philosophical terms to represent cosmic principles, the alteration of which accounted for all existence and change. The unifying reality through which the two bi-polar complimentaries

functioned was the Tao, the root of all change.

The second concept Wilhelm focused on was the I's theory of ideas. Every event in the phenomenal world was the result of an "image" - that is, an idea in Heaven:

> ...everything that happens on earth is only a reproduction, as it were, of an event in a world beyond our sense perception; as regards its occurrence in time, it is later than the suprasensible event. The holy men and sages, who are in contact with those higher spheres, have access to these ideas through direct intuition and are therefore able to intervene decisively in the events in the world. Thus man is linked with heaven, the suprasensible world of ideas, and with earth, the material world of visible things, to form with these a trinity of the primal powers. (Wilhelm, p.lvii)

The I shows the archetypal images of events or situations and the unfolding process through which events come into being and progress to their completion. Wilhelm stresses that the hexagram-archetypes allow us to discern the seeds of things to come, thus serving as patterns for appropriate action in the situations indicated. Wilhelm goes on to note that

> an interesting attempt is made to trace back the origin of all the practices and inventions of civilization to such ideas and archetypal images. Whether or not the hypothesis can be made to apply in all specific instances, the basic concept contains a truth. (Wilhelm, p.lvii)

Later, after Wilhelm and Jung had met and became acquainted with each other's thought, Wilhelm referred to this "Heavenly contact" as the awareness or experience of the "col-

lective unconscious" - the realm of archetypes held within humankind's subconscious and expressed through a wide variety of psychological or physical phenomena.

Wilhelm did not interpret the Chou Weltansicht in supernatural terms. He considered so-called "supernatural" understandings the product of the superstitious and occult-oriented Ch'in and Han scholars.

> In the course of time, owing to the great repute for wisdom attaching to the Book of Changes, a large body of occult doctrines extraneous to it...have come to be connected with its teachings. (Wilhelm, p.xlviii)

Wilhelm did not consider his psychological/philosophical interpretation of the I's theory of ideas to be the result of a demythologization process. Rather he felt he had recovered the true sense, rescuing Chou thought from the Ch'in and Han mystifiers. Behind the hexagram images lay a psychological realm of archetypes, open to the intuitively perspicacious. That this realm might also have metaphysical dimensions Wilhelm was prepared to accept.

The final concept Wilhelm focused on was that of "judgement". The T'uan and Hsiao-t'zu offered judgements, indicating whether an action would bring good fortune or misfortune, remorse or humiliation. Such advice allowed one to escape the tyranny of events through the appreciation of situations in their germinal phases and knowledge of the correct human response as indicated by the judgements.

Wilhelm understood the I, then, in philosophical terms, as well as psychologically. He saw the I as presupposing and expressing a unified philosophical orientation that could be summarized by touching on three main concepts. Wilhelm regarded his philosophical analysis as a true reflection of Chou meaning and by-and-large found the underlying system of the I rationally comfortable.

D. Comparative Summary

In Legge's view, the I was the recorded practical lessons on matters moral and political of two historical figures. A selection of some commentaries, written some 700 years later, was appended to the original Text. By-and-large these appendixes are of a straight forward character and a good part of what the latter half of them have to offer is inconsequential and of no value in understanding the content of the Text. Legge rejects religious or metaphysical explanations, considering the former mere superstition and the latter beyond the depths of the early Chinese, and happily opts for a non-philosophical, non-mystical interpretation of the I.

In Wilhelm's view, the I was profound scripture. He set out to determine what the I, factually, was (his "historical program") and communicate its depths to western humankind. Wilhelm wanted to share the wisdom of the I with the west, not so much for approval of its truth or falsity as for the creative transformation of our view of reality and our relation to it.[7]

For this aim, Wilhelm saw the I as the culmination of thousands of years of criticism and reflection:

> In its judgements, and in the interpretations attached to it from the time of Confucius on the Book of Changes opens to the reader the richest treasure of Chinese wisdom; at the same time it affords him a comprehensive view of the varieties of human experience, enabling him thereby to shape his life of his own sovereign will into an organic whole and so to direct it that it comes into accord with the ultimate tao lying at the root of all that exists. (Wilhelm, pp.lvii-lviii)

In his "scriptural program" Wilhelm provided digests of the most important Chinese commentaries (Wilhelm, p.lxi), thus reflecting a synthesis of Chinese responses to the I's call as scripture. Two influences shaped Wilhelm's synthesis, that of his teacher, Lao Nai-hsuan, and that of his Chinese text, the Chou I Che Chung. The Chou I Che Chung "...contains quotations from the commentaries of 218 scholars, covering, more or less closely, the time from the second century B.C. to our seventeenth century" (Legge, p.2), and reflects a strong neo-Confucian bias; Lao Nai-hsuan was a traditional scholar of the Ch'eng-Chu school, a school rooted in the neo-Confucian orientations of Chu Hsi, Ch'eng I and Ch'eng Hao - that is, rooted in the same biases as the Chou I Che Chung. In Wilhelm's scriptural program, then, a neo-Confucian orientation predominated -

> One of the major starting points for the Sung Neo-Confucian movement was to develop a cosmogony or metaphysics based on the Book of Changes, especially drawing upon the Appendices and certain

> favourite hexagrams, as their sourcebook. Essentially what took place was a revival of Confucian thought with emphasis on its metaphysical aspects...[8]

Wilhelm stressed the philosophical system of the I, its wide influence, its human value, its psychological underpinnings and its worthiness to be included among the best of the world's literature. In this he differed starkly from Legge, for whom the I was a practical lesson-book of moral and political advice, with a few mostly misplaced commentaries appended.

In their own commentaries to the text of the I, both made use of the material available in the Chou I Che Chung. Legge found some comfort there by way of confirmation, yet seems to have rejected its metaphysical orientation. In the next chapter the contents of each translator's personal additions will be considered. The main focus will be on the commentaries themselves - their content, purpose, and effect.

NOTES

CHAPTER THREE: LEGGE'S AND WILHELM'S INTERPRETIVE ORIENTATIONS

[1]For a treatment of the historicist and scripturalist orientations to I Ching scholarship in the west, see David Crozier-Organ, "A Hermeneutic Battleground: The Story of the I Ching," paper presented at the 1982 annual meeting of the Canadian Society for the Study of Religion, Ottawa, Ontario, 3 June 1982.

[2]The Five Classics were sacred books of great antiquity. At least part of their sacred quality derived from the tradition that Kung-fu-tzu (Confucius), holding them in high regard, edited them and wrote some commentaries for at least one of them - the I Ching. The sacred status of the Classics extended beyond the ranks of followers of Kung-fu-tzu's teachings, embracing wide and diverse sectors of Chinese religious life.

[3]Wilfred Cantwell Smith, Faith and Belief (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), p.4.

[4]Wilhelm based his work on the best scholarship then available. That some of his conclusions are now dated is no fault of his. The same statement can be made with respect to Legge's work, which is even more dated in many respects.

[5]Shih-chuan Chin, "How to Form a Hexagram and Consult the I Ching," Journal of the American Oriental Society 92 (April, 1972): 237-249.

[6]Legge translates this same passage as follows:

> In (all these operations forming) the I, there is no thought and no action. It is still and without movement; but, when acted on, it penetrates forthwith to all phenomena and events under the sky. If it were not the most spirit-like thing under the sky, how could it be found doing this? (Legge, p.370)

For Legge, it is not the I that is without thought and action, but those who contrived it (see his comment, Legge, p.371).

[7]The substance of this sentence, from the comma on, is due to Barry A. Woodbridge, "An Assessment and Prospectus for a Process Hermeneutic," Journal of the American Academy of Religion 47 (March, 1979): 125.

[8]White, "Interpretation of the Central Concept of the I-ching," p.53.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONTENT AND PURPOSE OF LEGGE'S AND WILHELM'S COMMENTARY TO THE TEXT

The main function of many of the commentaries attached to the I, and those of later eras, was to render the relation between the judgements of King Wen and the Duke of Chou and the symbolism of the hexagram systematically clear. The Text did not itself comment on how its ideas were derived from or related to the six-line figures. The authors of the various commentaries, therefore, attempted to discover the origins of the metaphors, allegories, images, and judgements of the Text from the structure of the hexagrams and their symbolism.

The Chinese commentators developed a set of interpretive principles, or "decoding keys", which they applied in an effort to decipher the meaning of the Text in all its varied dimensions. Scrutiny of their efforts suggests that the keys did not function as a block but functioned as independent units much like the tools in a carpenter's tool box. They were all available for use, and it was simply a matter of knowing which ones were suitable for the immediate task at hand.

Both Legge and Wilhelm make use of these tools in their commentary remarks. Where they differ is in their evaluations of

them.

In the sections that follow, then, particular attention will be placed on the "decoding keys" applied by Legge and Wilhelm in their commentaries. In addition to this, their attitudes toward these interpretive principles will be discussed.

A. Legge's Commentary: Contents and Purpose

In his introduction Legge takes time to outline the decoding keys that he sees operating through the more important Chinese commentaries (Legge, p.16).

Legge first defines the principle of "correctness" with respect to the lines. There are six "places" in a hexagram into which either a divided or undivided line may be inserted. However, each place has an ideal line which is meant to fill its emptiness. The 1st, 3rd, and 5th places are all ideally filled by undivided lines; the 2nd, 4th, and 6th places are ideally filled by divided lines. When an undivided line is in a place meant for it, it is called "correct". The same is true for the divided lines. The correctness or incorrectness of a given line becomes an important device for the interpretation of the hexagram as a whole and the meaning of the text associated with the line being considered.

Legge notes the importance of the "nature of the lines" themselves. An undivided line is determined to be strong and

may also indicate creativity, vigor, authority, or command. A divided line, on the other hand, is weak and may also indicate feebleness, submission, obedience, or receptivity. Any of these characteristics may become a factor in the interpretation of the hexagram or individual line.

In addition to the "correctness" and "nature of a line", Legge also noted that the trigrams that made up the hexagram could play a part in interpretation. The Ta-hsiang Chuan, for instance, makes explicit use of the trigrams as interpretive devices. Each of the trigrams has its own nature, which may be characterized in several ways, and also a set of correlations related to it.

Legge notes as another decoding key that of "proper correlation". The lines in the hexagram are related to each other by position. A relationship exists between lines 1 and 4, 2 and 5, and 3 and 6. Legge terms these related lines 'correlates'. A correlation between lines, in itself, does not often account for the significance given any particular line. However, Legge further introduces a concept of correlation which he terms 'proper correlation'. Legge noted that when the correlated lines were opposite to each other, namely, when a divided line could be correlated with an undivided line a "proper correlation" existed. Lines correlated in this way were deemed to be in a helping relationship and the outcome of their relationship was likely to be positive. If, however, a "proper correlation" did not exist then a negative result might pertain.

The middle lines of the two constituting trigrams, that is, lines 2 and 5, are of particular value and force (Legge, p.16). Legge does not, in his Introduction, go on to add exactly what value and force he had in mind. It is clear from his commentaries, though, that the 2nd and 5th lines were deemed rulers of their respective trigrams, thereby denoting an auspicious circumstance. Should lines 2 and 5 also be in the relation of proper correlation, an added auspiciousness may be adduced. In characterizing these two lines, Legge noted that the fifth was often called the 'sovereign' and the second a 'minister' or 'superior officer'.

In concluding his summary of these concepts, Legge noted that

> It is specially important to have a clear idea of the name of the hexagram, and of the subject or state which it is intended to denote. The significance of all the lines comes thus to be of various application, and will differ in different hexagrams. (Legge, p.16)

In other words, the general situation suggested by the hexagram name sets the stage for interpretation. The other interpretive considerations have their specific application within the context of a definable situation. The "situation", then, is the main interpretive context within which the other interpretive principles are adapted to the need at hand.

Legge recognized that the mass of details required in the interpretation of the hexagrams might be wearying to the reader,

although he saw their necessity:

> ...my position is like that of one who is called on to explain an important monument of architecture, very bizarre in its conception and execution...the architect had his reasons for the plan and style which he adopted...we must not grudge the study necessary to detect his processes of thought, nor the effort and time required to bring the minds of others into sympathy with his. (Legge, p.17)

In other words, Legge thought that the "structural analysis"[1] of the hexagrams was a necessary evil for those who would (or, at least, would attempt to) understand the steps King Wen and the Duke of Chou took in order to arrive at the images and judgements they recorded under each hexagram. The 'decoding keys' help unravel the thought processes of the I's originators.

Legge's analysis in his Introduction, however, is far from exhaustive. A careful reading of his commentary to the Text reveals an interpretive complexity that goes far beyond the brief outline in his Introduction - a complexity Legge obviously was aware of to a large degree. The purpose of his introductory outline was to highlight the main features of interpretation and not to provide an exhaustive survey. While other elements may come into play from time to time, the most decisive rules for interpretation were as outlined.

Legge's strategy in his commentary to the Text was to expose what Tradition had determined to be the considerations or circumstances within the hexagram itself which had suggested

to the Duke of Chou and King Wen the ideas underlying their images, metaphors, allegories, and judgements. Legge chose to highlight those keys that struck him as the least contrived and that could be applied fairly consistently in the interpretation of the hexagrams.

An example of the interpretive function of the keys is easy to find. We may, for instance, turn to the fourth line-text of the 28th hexagram (Ta Kuo or 'Excess'). The Hsiao-t'zu text reads:

> The fourth line, undivided, shows a beam curving upwards. There will be good fortune. If (the subject of it) looks for other (help but that of line one), there will be cause for regret.[2] (Legge, p.117)

The questions a reader might ask are: Why is the image of a beam coupled with this line? Why is its curve significant and on what grounds is a judgement of "good fortune" founded? Why will there be regret if help is looked for? And why did Legge add a reference to "line one" in expansion of the text (see my comment in 'note 2' at the end of this chapter)?

Legge's commentary to the Text reads:

> Line 4 is near 5, the ruler's place. On its subject devolves the duty of meeting the extraordinary exigency of the time; but he is strong [i.e., line 4 is an undivided line]; and, the line being in an even place, his strength is tempered [i.e., the 4th place is ideally suited to a divided line]. He will be equal to his task. Should he look out for the help of the subject of 1 [1 is the correlate of 4], that would affect him with another element of weakness [line 1 is divided

(weak) and in a place ideally suited to an undivided line]; and his action would give cause for regret.[3] (Legge, p.118)

In analysing Legge's commentary, we can see that he made reference to the "nature of the line", the matters of "correlation", "correctness", and "Line 5" as the ruler. These keys were used to account for the Hsiao-t'zu text. Because the 4th line is near the ruler, a position of "particular value and force" (the 5th line, also, is strong and in a "strong" place - therefore, especially powerful and auspicious to be close to), "he will be equal to his task." His (line 4) strength also is supportive - that is, being an undivided line is of help. But his position is "incorrect" which "tempers" his strength, hence the imagery of a beam, ideally straight in its strongest state, "curving upwards".

In this particular case, there seems to be a contradiction between Legge's translation of the Hsiao-t'zu text and his commentary on it. Legge translates: "If (the subject of it) looks for other (help but that of line one), there will be cause for regret" (Legge, p.117). But in his explanation, Legge says that if the subject of line 4 looks out for help from line 1, there will be cause for regret (Legge, p.118). The only sense that I can make of this, is that Legge translated correctly and expanded the expressed concern of the Text in his commentary. That is, line 4 cannot properly look for help from a place other than line 1, since only 1

can be a "proper correlate". His translation reflects this interpretive consideration. In his commentary, he finds even further cause "for regret", namely that line 1, even though a "proper correlate", is "weak" and "incorrect" - therefore, not in a position to help or give of itself.

One matter that Legge assumes, but does not explicitly refer to in this commentary, is the special relationships existing between the 5th, 4th, and 2nd lines. Chinese scholars had discovered a pattern existing that accounted for some of the images and judgements in the Text. Identifying the 5th line with the ruler, the 4th line with his minister of state, and the 2nd line as a feudal lord or special advisor, Chinese commentators were able to characterize a pattern of line-relationships that were of particular value and force. A close relationship was seen to exist between '5 and 4' and '5 and 2'. For the particular example under consideration, being near the ruler brought the "duty of meeting the extraordinary exigency of the time". That is, the "minister of state" is duty-bound to obey the "ruler" and face danger - suggested by the situation represented by the hexagram as a whole and denoted by the name, Ta Kua.

In this one example, then, we see not only the operation of some of the keys Legge highlighted in his Introduction, but the operation also of a new interpretive consideration not originally highlighted. The aim of these considerations is to help in understanding the content of the Text and its de-

rivation from the symbolism of the hexagrams.

On the importance of these interpretive considerations to a proper understanding of the I, Legge quotes the editors of the Chou I Che Chung:

> 'There is no passage in the appendix more full and clear than this [Chapter XII, paragraph 69-70] on the five points in regard to the lines which the student of the I has to attend to. Those points are: - their time, position, quality, mutual nearness, and respective relation. It is by a consideration of the two latter points, moreover, that he must form his judgement on their appropriateness or inappropriateness in the three others.' (Legge, p.407)

Here again, we find the expression of a key that Legge did not highlight, namely, the relation of "mutual nearness". Legge has occassion to use this key in numerous parts of his commentary to the Text, so that he was hardly unaware of its operation. In brief, two lines, side by side, may influence each other, helping or hindering, depending upon the situation as a whole and on the requirements of the interpreter. In any case, Legge clearly understood the purpose of the interpretive rules and employed them extensively in his commentary to the Text.

Legge's attitude towards the keys he outlined in his Introduction suggests that he expected them to be uniformly applied in every case - rather than take a "tool box" approach to the keys, he adopted a fairly rigid application. A number of examples found in his commentary suggest that he expected

them to function as "rules", having the same role to play in every case and being applied to every case. For instance, in his commentary to Hexagram 44 (Kou or 'encountering') Legge remarks:

> Kou is defined as giving the idea of suddenly and casually encountering or meeting with. So does the divided line appear all at once in the figure. And this significance of the name rules in the interpretation of the lines, so as to set on one side the more common interpretation of them according to the correlation; showing how the meaning of the figures was put into them from the minds of Wen and Tan in the first place. The sentiments of the Text are not learned from them [that is, from the hexagrams]; but they are forced and twisted, often fantastically, and made to appear to give those sentiments forth of themselves. (Legge, p.156)

Legge, in other words, clearly recognized that the keys were not a priori to the Text but, rather, followed upon it much as musical theory followed musical practice: "...musical theory is not a set of directions for composing music. It is rather the collected and systematized deductions gathered by observing the practice of composers over a long time, and it attempts to set forth what is or has been their common practice."[4] The keys were deductions gathered by observing patterns of correspondence between the Text and the symbolism of the hexagrams.

Much of the "symbolism" associated with the hexagrams and lines actually represents a first commentary phase. No explicit reference to the symbolism occurs in either the T'uan

or Hsiao-t'zu. The symbols, as well as many of the decoding keys outlined by Legge, first appear with the Wings.[5] As the keys rely on the "symbolism" for their content, they may be regarded as a second commentary phase. Assuming that King Wen and the Duke of Chou did write the T'uan and Hsiao-t'zu, and assuming that their work really was derived from meditations on the hexagrams, two possible sources for the symbolism associated with the hexagrams can be noted. In the first instance, as the hexagrams pre-dated the T'uan and Hsiao-t'zu, there may have been a long oral tradition associated with the hexagrams and responsible for the symbolism. The function of the Wings in this case would have been, at least partly, to preserve oral tradition. In the second instance, the symbolism may have originated as interpretive hypotheses, slowly developed by the experience of Chinese scholars involved in a long-standing interpretive enterprise. In any case, Legge approached the keys with caution and scepticism, recognizing them as the speculative reconstructions of the thought processes of two historical figures.

Legge responded to the "interpretive rules" much as a music student responds to music theory. A music student has the expectation that an individual composition will respond well to an analysis based upon the principles of music presented by the theory; Legge expected the Text to respond well to an analysis based upon the principles of interpretation

presented by the Chinese commentators. He stresses pointedly:

> ...that an ordinary rule for interpreting the lineal indications may be thus over-ruled by extraordinary consideration, shows how much of fancy there is in the symbolism or in the commentaries on it. (Legge, p.159)

The ordinary rules overruled were that the line under consideration was: 1) weak, 2) in the wrong place, that is, "incorrect", and 3) without a "proper correlate". Here, however, the theme of the hexagram, 'Gathering Together', took precedence and the line was seen to be possessed by a degree of eagerness to "gather together" with the sixth line, over-riding the standard rules.

As a result of "discrepancies" in what Legge regarded a "theory of interpretation", he came to consider the interpretation of the symbolism arbitrary. He says, for instance, in his remarks to the 5th line of Hexagram 56: "...it will be seen how the idea of the fifth line being the ruler's seat is dropt here as being alien from the idea of the hexagram, so arbitrary is the interpretation of the symbolism" (Legge, p.190).

Nevertheless, the bulk of Legge's appended remarks to the Text are derived from the Chinese commentaries and rely extensively on the keys; he first presents his synthesis of the classical analysis of the Text and occasionally, if he regards it as especially "fanciful", adds his own critical remarks on the commentary. His strategy is primarily to

reproduce traditional Chinese commentaries and remark on their value as he sees fit in each individual case. By-and-large, we find Legge critical of any explanation that seemingly contradicts or displaces the "normative" considerations that he set out in his Introduction.

The Text was the result, first, of King Wen's meditations inspired by the hexagrams, and secondly, the Duke of Chou's further reflections, about the meaning of each line within the broader context of the hexagram. The speculative attempts of the Wings and later commentaries to unravel the thinking processes of the two sages, Legge regards as largely unsuccessful. He understood the interpretive considerations to represent a list of rules, a kind of "grammar", that ought to function with regularity and without exception. This being his criterion for reliability, he rejected the keys as arbitrary and unsuccessful commentaries of later Chinese scholars. Nevertheless, in order to translate the text, Legge required some understanding of the intended meaning and had to fall back often on the very commentaries he found so questionable.

Legge set out to bring his mind en rapport with King Wen and the Duke of Chou. Accordingly he had to engage in the same speculative adventure as the Chinese commentators. The main thrust of his translation effort was to expose the hidden moral and political advice lying behind the frequently obscure

passages. He did not think that either King Wen or the Duke of Chou interpreted the hexagrams according to rules, but merely responded freely and imaginatively to the hexagrams as the moment dictated. The secret of interpretation, then, lay in flexibility, dealing with each hexagram as an isolated case. He knew that a moral or political lesson was intended and this helped in unravelling obscure imagery and difficult wording. But that there was any "system" with respect to either interpretation or philosophical framework, Legge felt to be impossible. His commentary, then, images the I as a disconnected set of moral and political lessons, perhaps inspired, but not dictated, by the hexagrams.

B. Wilhelm's Commentary: Contents and Purpose

The section Wilhelm devoted to a consideration of the interpretive keys is considerably longer than the space Legge devoted to the same discussion. Where Legge spent one page outlining interpretive "rules", Wilhelm devotes a little over nine pages. Wilhelm's discussion also includes more interpretive keys. As remarked earlier, Legge's summary in his Introduction did not reflect the actuality of his commentary to the Text. There one found numerous additional resources for textual interpretation. Wilhelm appears, however, more interested in penetrating the complexity and expressing a more comprehensive picture.

In Wilhelm's presentation of his remarks regarding "the structure of the hexagrams" (see Wilhelm, pp.356-365), he begins by noting that the 'Discussion of the Trigrams' (Shuo-kua Chuan) and the 'Great Treatise' (Ta Chuan) - that is, his Book II - supplies most of what is necessary for an understanding of the hexagrams. Wilhelm goes on to add:

> Here there follows a summary regarding their structure. This will enable the reader to perceive why the hexagrams have precisely the meaning given them, why the lines have the often seemingly fantastic text that is appended to them - indicating, by means of analogy, what position the line holds in the total situation of the hexagram, and to what degree it therefore signifies good fortune or misfortune. (Wilhelm, p.356)

Wilhelm completes a structural analysis of the hexagrams, then, after the fashion of the Wings and later Chinese commentaries.

Wilhelm does not expect uniformity in the application of the 'decoding keys'; he always takes the hexagram-situation as the primary framework with respect both to the use of the other interpretive keys and to the organization of his translation. The entire text of the I, including all but two of the Wings (the Shuo-kua Chuan and Ta Chuan), is organized around the individual hexagrams, which remain interpretively primary for Wilhelm.

Wilhelm recognized that there was a lack of consistency with respect to which keys were to be used to interpret a hexagram and how they were to function in the specific exigencies of the situation.

> Obviously in a work like the Book of Changes there is always a non-rational residuum. Why, in a particular instance, one given aspect is stressed, rather than some other that might just as well have been, can no more be accounted for than the fact that oxen have horns and not upper front teeth as horses have. It is possible only to give proof of the interrelations within the framework of what is posited; to sustain the analogy, it is like explaining to what extent there is an organic connection between the development of horns and the absence of upper front teeth. (Wilhelm, p.356)

Wilhelm takes as fundamental and given the Text attached to the hexagram and the interpretation offered by the Wings. That there has not been consistency in what keys could be applied to a given hexagram in order to render the Text meaningful is of no concern to Wilhelm. 'Continuity', 'regularity', 'uniformity', or 'consistency' were not criteria for Wilhelm to employ in considering the merits of the interpretive analyses offered by the Wings and later Chinese commentaries. The keys were simply tools to be employed as the situation or interpretive circumstance demanded, not interpretive "rules"; there was not a single I Ching "grammar". Rather, a different "grammar" existed for each hexagram situation. There was an organic connection between the hexagram and the Text pertaining to it, one simply paid attention to the interrelations within the posited framework.

In the interpretation of the hexagram, Wilhelm notes that the constituting or "primary" trigrams "...play a part according to the various aspects of their character - first accord-

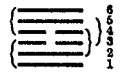
ing to their attributes [devotion, dangerous, standstill, etc.], then according to their images [heaven, thunder, mountain, etc.], and finally according to their position within the family sequence [father, mother, oldest son, etc.]" (Wilhelm, p.357).

In addition to these aspects of the trigram, Wilhelm also noted that, especially with regard to interpreting the individual lines, Chapter III of the Shuo-kua Chuan provided supplementary correlations that could be used in interpretation.

Another factor to take into consideration with respect to the eight trigrams was their position in the hexagram. The lower trigram could be considered "below", "within", or "behind"; the upper trigram could be regarded as "above", "without", or "in front". Lines forming the lower trigram could be regarded as "coming"; lines forming the upper trigram could be regarded as "going". In some instances being "below", "within", or "behind" could be auspicious or inauspicious depending on the situation and the same was true with respect to the characteristics of the upper trigram. Wilhelm noted (Wilhelm, p.357) that the interpretation of the hexagrams on the basis of the various symbolic dimensions of the primary trigrams was already in use in the 'Commentary on the Decision' (T'uan Chuan).

In addition to the primary trigrams, Wilhelm introduces the concept of "nuclear trigrams" (which originated with Ching

Fang, 77-37 B.C.E.)[6] as a further interpretive consideration. The nuclear trigrams are composed of the middle four lines of the Hexagram, that is, lines 2 through 5. Lines 2, 3 & 4 form one trigram and lines 3, 4 & 5 form another. "The structure of the hexagrams, therefore, shows a stage-by-stage overlapping of different trigrams and their influences:"

 (Wilhelm, p.358)

The 1st and 6th lines belong to one trigram only, that is, to one of the primary trigrams. Lines 2 and 5 belong each to two trigrams, and lines 3 and 4 belong each to three trigrams.

> The result is that the beginning and top line tend in a sense to drop out of connection, while a state of equilibrium, usually favourable, obtains in the case of the second and the fifth line, and the two middle lines are conditioned by the fact that each belongs to both nuclear trigrams which disturbs the balance in all except particularly favorable cases. These relationships correspond exactly with the evaluations of the lines in the appended judgements. (Wilhelm, p.359)

The nuclear trigrams do not absolutely determine the reason why in any hexagram certain lines will have an auspicious or inauspicious judgement. They are, however, important tools in the interpretor's tool box.

A further consideration in analyzing the hexagram is "The Time". The "time" of a hexagram is determinative for the meaning of the situation as a whole, on the basis of which the lines receive their meaning (Wilhelm, p.359). The situa-

tion may be characterized in a variety of ways depending on the particular hexagram in question.

> In hexagrams in which the situation as a whole has to do with movement, 'the time' means the decrease or growth, the emptiness or fullness, brought about by this movement. Hexagrams of this sort are: T'ai, PEACE (11); P'i, STANDSTILL (12); Po, SPLITTING APART (22); Fu, RETURN (24).
>
> Similarly, the action or process characteristic for a given hexagram is called the time, as in Sung, CONFLICT (6), Shih, THE ARMY (7), Shih Ho, BITING THROUGH (21), and I, PROVIDING NOURISHMENT (27).
>
> In addition, the time means the law expressed through a hexagram, as in Lu, TREADING (10), Ch'ien, MODESTY (15), Hsien, INFLUENCE (31), and Heng, DURATION (32).
>
> Finally, the time may also mean the symbolic situation represented by the hexagram, as in Ching, THE WELL (48), and Ting, THE CALDRON (50). (Wilhelm, p.359)

The time is a complex of hexagram-relative determinations, characterizing the general meaning symbolically imaged by the lineal figure as a whole. In Wilhelm's interpretive theory, the time is the deciding feature or framework within which everything else is determined and relative to which the other keys function.

Wilhelm then goes on, after considering "the time", to a discussion of "the place". He notes that the 1st and 6th places are not often taken into account in considering overall situations, but that places 2 to 5 are active within the situation. In characterizing the places, Wilhelm introduces the term 'correctness', referring to the appropriateness of a line to its place.

In his discussion of "the place", Wilhelm notes that the places may be filled with either divided or undivided lines and then goes on to characterize their usual appellation in terms of Chinese social structure: the 5th line is often called the "prince" or "husband" and is related to the 2nd line; the 2nd line is usually called the "official in the country" but may also be called the "first son" or the "wife"; and the 4th line is called the "minister" or "wife", being close to the ruler and therefore very influential. The 1st line is outside of the situation or at the beginning of some process; the 6th line is either outside of the situation or at the end of some process. The 3rd line is considered transitional and the highest line of the lower primary trigram. Wilhelm notes further that often the 3rd place is considered to be at the exhausted extreme of whatever situation the lower trigram denotes. The 4th place, being so close to the ruler, often means danger, hence a warning is often found appended to the Hsiao-t'zu judgement. And occasionally, the 6th place is thought to represent the completion or fulfillment of the situation or theme that has been progressing through the five previous lines. The main source for this analysis of the places is Chapter IX (Part II) of the Ta Chuan, which Wilhelm takes over with no alteration.

Wilhelm then goes into a discussion (Wilhelm, pp.360-361) of the character of the lines. The lines may be firm or

yielding, and accordingly regarded as favourable or unfavourable according to the requirements of the "time". If the time calls for firmness, for instance, a firm line will be favourable. Lines 2 and 5 are considered "central" as they appear in the centre of the two primary trigrams. Wilhelm notes that this is often a favourable characteristic. Occasionally, the fact that a line is not central is mentioned as a consideration in understanding its unfavourableness. Often, however, another reason for unfavourableness can be adduced without the mention of its non-centrality.

Returning to the concept of "correctness", Wilhelm, like Legge, addresses the correctness of a line, noting that the 1st, 3rd, and 5th places are ideally meant for undivided lines and that the 2nd, 4th and 6th places are ideally meant for divided lines. Correctness or incorrectness may be a factor in determining a favourable or unfavourable judgement. Wilhelm notes, however, that being "correct" may not always be an advantage if the "time" calls for yielding and the line happens to be a firm line in a firm place. In circumstances like this, being "incorrect" may be considered advantageous.

Again like Legge, Wilhelm takes up the relationship of the lines to one another. There are two sorts of relationships, however, which Wilhelm explicitly discusses. The first relationship is that of "correspondence", which parallels Legge's discussion under the same heading. The second relationship

is called "holding together", a relationship which Legge utilizes in his commentary but fails to discuss in his Introduction.

"Correspondence" exists, generally, between firm and yielding lines of the 1st and 4th place, 2nd and 5th place, and the 3rd and 6th place. Wilhelm notes that the most important correspondence is that between the 2nd and 5th lines and adds that it is usually favourable if the 2nd line is firm and the 5th line is yielding, while not nearly so favourable a judgement can be found for the reverse case. Occasionally, the other corresponding lines are considered. When they are, a weak 4th line corresponding to a strong 1st line often connotes a favourable situation. Whereas, a strong 4th line with a weak 1st line is unfavourable. These considerations, of course, obtain only when called upon for the hexagram-situation at hand. Wilhelm notes that the correspondence between the 3rd and 6th lines is hardly ever used. In concluding his discussion of 'correspondence' Wilhelm adds that:

> Of course when a line is a ruler of a hexagram, there occur relationships of correspondence that are independent of these considerations, and the good fortune or misfortune implied by them is determined by the time significance of the hexagram as a whole. (Wilhelm, p.362)

The second relationship between lines that Wilhelm discusses is that of "holding together". When Legge encountered this interpretive key later along in his commentary to the Text he referred to this relationship as "contiguity" (Legge,

p.389). The relationship exists between two adjacent lines of different character and may or may not obtain depending on the needs of the interpreter. In a relationship of "holding together" the lower line is understood to be "receiving" while the upper line is "resting upon". Wilhelm notes that the relationships between line 1 and 2, 2 and 3, and 3 and 4 are very seldom referred to, and when they are associated or paired in any way the signification is "danger". It seems that the relation of "holding together" obtains primarily between lines 4 and 5 and lines 5 and 6. Where the key of "holding together" is used with respect to lines 4 and 5 a strong 5 with a yielding 4 more often than not connotes a favourable circumstance, while the inverse refers to an unfavourable one (Wilhelm, p.361). The same situation holds true also for the relationship between lines 5 and 6. In concluding his discussion of "holding together", Wilhelm notes that "in dealing with lines that are rulers of their hexagrams, correspondence and holding together are taken into account regardless of the places" (Wilhelm, p.363).

The last interpretive device which Wilhelm considers is the ruler of the hexagram. Wilhelm distinguishes between what he terms a "constituting ruler" and a "governing ruler". A line, regardless of how it has been morally characterised, which gives the hexagram its characteristic meaning, Wilhelm terms a "constituting ruler". A "governing ruler" is <u>always</u>

of good character and becomes a ruler by virtue of its position and the meaning of the general situation. Wilhelm notes that the governing ruler may usually be found in the 5th place but that, in any case, it can always be determined from the 'Commentary on the Discussion' (T'uan Chuan). Wilhelm notes that if the trigram has been thought to have been produced by the interpretation of the images of the primary trigrams, the two central lines of each trigram are rulers. In Legge's commentary, he often utilized this concept of "the ruler" - without so naming it - in his analysis of the hexagram name and the situation. The rulers are seldom used in discussing the individual lines, but are often important when describing the situation as a whole. It must be emphasized, however, that the utilization of any of the structural indications depends solely on the hexagram-context. Only "the time" finds universal application within the givenness of the I's symbolism.

In Wilhelm's view the I is a concrescence of symbols of mutually affecting import, expressing a coherent and activating relation to transcendence - a relation energized by the faith of Chinese men and women throughout the long history of its transmission. Within this understanding, the keys form an ensemble which is orchestrated around each hexagram-theme after the fashion of a symphonic poem. The "time" not only sets the "Story-theme" of the hexagram, but also determines which keys are to be used and their specific application.

In giving proof of the interrelationships within the framework of what was posited by the hexagram, T'uan, Hsiao-t'zu and Ta-hsiang Chuan, the keys are of decisive importance. They collectively express the interpretive architecture of the I by explaining the organic connection between the hexagrams and the words of the text of Book I. Each line is considered in its specific circumstances. The "time" characterizes or determines the situation, the lines reflect specific moments within the time.

Wilhelm did not regard the keys as arbitrary impositions of later ages. In fact, he found their decoding value clear and unquestionable. When Wilhelm took up in discussion the matter of interpretive considerations, his emphasis differed from Legge's. Legge was outlining a set of rules, Wilhelm was discussing observations of patterns of interrelationships under specific headings - "The Eight Trigrams and Their Application", "The Time", "The Places", "The Character of the Lines" and "The Relationships of the Lines to One Another". Wilhelm saw the keys as interpretive factors which were used in understanding the connection between text and hexagram. That there was a meaningful connection, Wilhelm accepted as given.

Wilhelm's vision of the I, "presents a complete image of Heaven and Earth, a microcosm of all primal relationships, it enables us to calculate the movements in every situation to which these relationships apply" (Wilhelm, p.293). There is

no basic incongruity between the Text and the Wings; the I expresses a unified philosophical system. Under his historical program, Wilhelm fully recognized different textual layers, varying authorship and dates. The originators of the I were expressing their philosophical orientation, presupposing the basic metaphysical and sacred concepts and experiences of their day. The Wings focused on the elucidation of the same symbolism with which the Text also dealt. They accordingly shared the same conceptual heritage.

For Wilhelm, then, the symbolism attached to the lineal figures was presupposed by the originators of the I, however unconscious they may have been about their own conceptual framework. So fundamental to the early Chinese world view were the concepts underlying the Text that they were taken for granted and left unarticulated by King Wen and the Duke of Chou. What the former age took for granted and left implicit, later ages made explicit according to the interests of their day. The Wings, in other words, articulated the system presupposed by the earlier sages. Even if some portions of the Wings were not explicit statements of presupposed ideas, they were fair and proper extrapolations rendering the Text more meaningful.

From the perspective of Wilhelm's scriptural program, different ages saw different things and responded to the I's call uniquely. Each epoch of response offered something further toward a fuller, more comprehensive understanding of

the I Ching: "The Book of Changes is a work that represents thousands of years of slow organic growth, and that can be assimilated only through prolonged reflection and meditation" (Wilhelm, p.256). Wilhelm rejected the primarily astrological uses to which the I was put by the later Han writers (Wilhelm, p.lx) and favoured the metaphysical orientation of the Sung scholars. Like the Sung philosophers, Wilhelm placed a good deal of emphasis on the Ta Chuan, by isolating it from most of the other Wings, adopting its metaphysical understanding, and accepting its structural regard for the hexagrams.

In Book I Wilhelm's commentary strategy was to take up each line in the translated text and paraphrase it in clear language, usually explaining its meaning as well. In reviewing the paragraphs of commentary which routinely follow each portion of the text, one notices that explicit reference is made to each segment of the text. Often the text is not taken up in the order given in the translation. Nevertheless, regardless of where in the commentary-paragraph it appears, each line of the text finds elucidation. The commentaries usually infer philosophical values and tend to express philosophically or psychologically potent advice.

The theoretical basis for Wilhelm's commentary in Book I is almost wholly derived from the text of Book II and the structural analysis expressed in Book III. The philosophical framework of the Wings, in other words, becomes the basis for Wil-

helm's remarks on the Text.

Wilhelm's strategy in Book II is to render the concepts expressed clear and to elucidate the I's underlying system. And even though the contents of both of the Wings translated in Book II vary in authorship and date, Wilhelm considered them to reflect a unified approach to the I. Fragment by fragment, paragraph by paragraph, and chapter by chapter, Wilhelm pieced together a fairly coherent expression of a view of reality that renders the I meaningful on the human and cosmic levels.

The text of Book II is not systematic in its presentation and one rather gets the impression that Wilhelm is attempting to put a jig-saw puzzle together from numerous philosophical pieces. Besides the philosophical underpinnings of the I's system, Book II also contains material addressing its divine origins, its place in the origins of culture, individual comments upon selected lines from the hexagrams, and various trigram correlations and organizations. Wilhelm attempts to make the rather mottled appearance of Book II orderly by providing organizational headings for each chapter and being at pains in his commentary to relate similar fragments from diverse positions in the Text. The result is to leave a reasonably consistent and systematic picture of its contents. From Wilhelm, in his commentary to Book II, we find that the I is a profound metaphysical system with psychological credibility :

from Legge's commentary to the same Wings, we find that the expressed silliness is incongruous with the basic moralistic intents of the king and duke.

Regarding the meaningful correspondence said to occur between changes in the lines and the operations of nature - as expressed in the Ta Chuan - Legge remarked that this was "...merely an amusement of the fancy" (Legge, p.351). On exactly this same fragment of text Wilhelm remarks: "This section shows the extent to which the content of the Book of Changes reproduces the conditions of the world" (Wilhelm, p.289).

Wilhelm takes up in rendering and discussion the remaining Wings in Book III. His commentary does not express a philosophical mood, as it does in Book I, but rather addresses the structure of the hexagram. Wilhelm places a fair amount of emphasis on relating the imagery expressed in the text to the interpretive framework divulged by the keys. The lines are characterized as having sensation, psychological responses and attitudes, human goals, qualities, and feelings. They may also express cosmic dimensions of time and space. For example, the text to the third line of the 12th hexagram reads: "They bear shame." Wilhelm's commentary reads:

> The third line is weak in the strong place of transition. This is an incorrect place for it, hence the idea of humiliation. Because the line is at the top of the lower trigram K'un, it is the one that supports and bears with the lower ones. Here the

> beginning of a change for the better is indicated [the upper trigram is the trigram for strength or power - Ch'ien]... (Wilhelm, p.449)

The third line's "incorrectness" and nature (weakness) combine to suggest the idea of shame. Wilhelm gets the idea of "bearing" from the imagery of the trigram, K'un, (the Earth, the receptive) and its position "underneath" the upper trigram. Wilhelm sees a change for the better coming. He derives this from the presence of Ch'ien (Heaven, the Creative) as the upper trigram, the bottom line of which is the next after the third line.

Wilhelm's strategy in his commentary, then, throughout his translation, is to render the text of the I "meaningful" - in the full sense of the word. The main feature of his commentary is the primacy of the hexagram, the situation it symbolizes and flexibility with respect to the use of the interpretive keys. One finds in his commentaries that the Chinese text remains given with his personal additions supportive rather than negatively critical. In presenting an extensive section on the "Structure of the Hexagrams", Wilhelm emphasizes the complexity of interpretation. This complexity never succumbs, however, to incoherency. Wilhelm's commentary images the I as a unified philosophical system expressing cosmic archetypes of metaphysical and psychological dimensions. He accepted the keys as interpretively correct; the a priori structure of the cosmos expressed in the symbolism of the I

was "given", the keys merely recognized the existing interrelationships.

C. Comparative Summary

Legge and Wilhelm responded differently to the interpretive framework provided by the tradition of Chinese commentaries to the Text.

Divination was foreign to Legge's Christianity and its methods opposed to the experimental sciences beginning to flourish in the Europe of his day. The interpretive keys offered by some of the Wings functioned as a structural analysis of the symbolism of the hexagrams from which Legge expected regularity and predictability. The keys were found by Legge to be inadequate and to have irregular application. He judged them to be arbitrary and sought no deeper explanation. It was hardly necessary to search further, in any case, as the Text was never intended as deep metaphysical speculation, but rather the musings of two early historical figures on politics and moral behaviour. The Wings merely reflected the interests and prejudices of their day, and offered little of value for a proper understanding of the I.

Wilhelm regarded the Wings as the explicit statement of what the Text presupposed and took for granted. Unlike Legge, Wilhelm saw the I as primarily a philosophical system with divinatory dimensions which he rooted firmly in a theory of the

unconscious. Each hexagram symbolized a fundamental archetype of cosmic and human dimensions. Rather than being unconnected pieces of moral and political advice, with some rather unfortunate material appended by way of the Wings, the I expressed the network of Reality - a complete Chinese Weltanschaung symbolically expressed. Each archetype expressed its own "story" with its own "grammar" - the "story" derived from the hexagram's name and general symbolism; the "grammar" derived from its story-relative context.

For Wilhelm, the I was both a book of divination and a wisdom text. It reflected a unified metaphysics and had credibility within a modern context by way of his psychological explanations. Under Wilhelm's scriptural program, the I resonated with sacred response, collectively expressing a rich and dynamic orientation toward life and toward the understanding of its symbols. Historically understood, the I presupposed philosophical concepts of profound depth and universal applicability. Variant authorship and dates, while worthwhile noting, hardly altered the final outcome. In any case, the Wings were the product of Confucius and his students and thus reflected a unified conceptual framework. The interpretive keys collectively expressed the interrelationships existing between the hexagrams and the text: each hexagram represented an interpretive eco-system founded on a priori relationships between Text and symbol.

In the 12th chapter in Section II of the Ta Chuan, the sages who are said to have composed the I are regarded as having special intuitive insight into the nature of reality and, therefore, could actualize this insight in their symbols and commentaries. With respect to these comments, Legge remarks:

> It is absurd, not to say blasphemous [underlining mine], to assume that the sages that made the I had the knowledge and ability here ascribed to them; but the theory of the I as containing a scheme for the discovery of the future necessitated the ascribing such attributes to them. (Legge, p.406)

Wilhelm, commenting on this same chapter, merely paraphrases the text in somewhat clearer language. Numerous other examples throughout the Ta Chuan (and remaining Wings) could be cited where Legge rejected and criticized the text. Wilhelm, on the other hand, neither rejects nor criticizes. His aim is to organize, clarify, and defend - that is, Wilhelm wants to present the philosophy behind the I in as convincing, attractive, and favourable a light as possible.

Wilhelm presupposed system, then, and Legge rejected it. Legge was firmly convinced that the Chinese were not capable of metaphysical thought at the time King Wen and the Duke of Chou were writing. He was also convinced that their intent was to leave behind moral and political advice for their troubled countrymen. The fact that the "rules for interpretation" could not be regularly applied, confirmed for Legge his suspicion that the hexagrams were merely lures for the imagination -

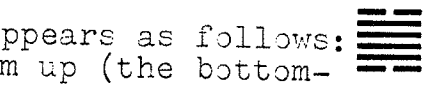
suggestive but hardly significant in any wider sense. Wilhelm, on the other hand, was firmly convinced of the metaphysical capacities of the early Chinese and saw the I as a reservoir for cosmic archetypes, resonating with mystic depths. In the next chapter, the translation of the Chinese text itself will be considered in order further to determine the differences between Legge's and Wilhelm's understanding and rendering of the I.

NOTES

CHAPTER FOUR: CONTENT AND PURPOSE OF LEGGE'S AND WILHELM'S COMMENTARY TO THE TEXT

[1]The phrase "structural analysis" does not refer to the "Structuralism" of modern hermeneutics, but is to be taken at face value - the structure of the hexagrams was considered and interpretive patterns developed as aids to comprehension.

[2]The material in round brackets represents Legge's expansion of the translation, which reflects his understanding of what the text means but goes beyond what the text says.

[3]The figure for Hexagram #28 appears as follows:  The lines are counted from the bottom up (the bottom-line is 1, the top line is 6).

[4]Walter Piston, Harmony, 3rd edition (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1962), p.ix.

[5]Other keys were developed and posited by later commentaries.

[6]White, "Interpretation of the Central Concept of the I-ching," p.16.

CHAPTER FIVE

COMPARISON OF LEGGE'S AND WILHELM'S TRANSLATION OF THE CHINESE TEXT

A. On the Nature of Classical Chinese

Classical Chinese texts, and the I Ching in particular, present formidable difficulties to the translator. Chinese characters may represent several distinct and mutually exclusive ideas or words. The character or ideogram for "classic", for instance, may also signify the wholly different idea - "to hang or strangle one's self". Needless to say, context is the key factor for determining meaning. Consequently, a translator has ample room for developing his or her own interpretation.

Other problems face the translator. Distinctions or nuances found in one language may be lacking in the other so that one-to-one correspondences are not possible between them. The character hou, 禍, for instance, may be equivalent to the English "disaster", "calamity", or "misfortune". Each one of these English words expresses a different ambience and degree of "bad effect", yet the Chinese character does not make or express these distinctions. In choosing one or the other of the possible English "equivalents", then, some sacrifice is made. Again, the overall context and aim of the selection

to be translated must be taken into consideration in determining which English word suits the linguistic situation best.

Chinese characters do not normally specify tense, number, voice, sentence part or person, and may function as several different parts of speech.

> The Chinese language is ideographic and pictographic, each word forming a picture, but lacking inflectional elements to denote grammatical classifications. Sentence structure relies exclusively on word order and context. The subject-predicate syntactic structure so basic in English and other Indo-European languages is non-existent in ancient Chinese; furthermore there are no punctuation marks in ancient Chinese manuscripts. Thus a subject or verb may be missing or the end of a sentence unclearly marked. To identify the subject, predicate, and grammatical relationships, one must study the syntax and word order. To identify the speaker and his audience, one must know syntactic, logical, and even metaphorical relationships.[1]

Context helps, in most Chinese texts, in determining these matters, but adequate context is often lacking in the I Ching.

Chinese ideograms often function in a fashion similar to English words in that one ideogram may express several senses or different usages. Just as one may find in a dictionary that a given English word has several different senses as defined by usage, so a Chinese character may express several alternate senses within the general idea it connotes. The ideogram, ch'i 戚, for instance, has four different senses: 1) 'to grieve, to pity', 2) 'fearful', 3) 'relatives' and 4) 'battle-ax'. Some of these senses are obviously derived

meanings reflecting a process of increasing abstract representation. Nevertheless, these senses are all expressed by a single character and may all be intended if the character is used poetically or quasi-poetically, as in magical incantation. Thus, one must choose among the alternatives by reflecting upon the context within which one finds the ideogram.

B. Translation Strategies

John Blofeld, who has written several books dealing with various Buddhist and Taoist topics, remarked in the Introduction to his own translation of the Text of the I:

> [The I Ching's] ...exceedingly terse style in many places justifies a number of widely varying translations; nor is it unlikely that in some passages several simultaneous meanings were deliberately implied. Moreover, the Chinese text includes hardly any pronouns at all, so that my arbitrary inclusion of them for the sake of reasonably good English puts a quite artificial limitation on the meaning .....
> .....
> Usually, the context of a sentence in an ordinary Chinese book makes it quite clear as to what pronouns and tenses are intended; but in the case of the I Ching, there are many isolated phrases with no context to help us.[2]

These facts must be kept in mind in dealing with the translation strategies chosen by Legge and Wilhelm. Often one needs to struggle with an entire paragraph or chapter before especially troublesome ideograms begin to make sense. And often the choices one makes are sufficiently speculative to be open to challenge in favour of equally sensible alter-

native renderings.

Legge regarded the Chinese text as expressing the ideas of its authors in symbolic form. "It is vain therefore for a translator to attempt a literal version. When the symbolic characters have brought his mind en rapport with that of his author, he is free to render the ideas in his own or any other speech in the best manner that he can attain to" (Legge, p.xv). Legge understood the characters to be symbolic expressions of thought and not linguistic expressions of what the author would say. Accordingly, Legge thought it necessary, in order to render the text meaningful, to add within brackets numerous expansions to the text. In this respect, Legge's translation closely reflects his overall understanding of the text. He could not extrapolate and expand upon the terse textual core without a concept of what the authors intended or thought.

Legge's translation strategy was to translate the Chinese text by rendering it as far as possible into idiomatic English, making full sentences out of what otherwise would have been fragments or incoherent strings of words. For example, Legge translates "Stepping tiger tail not bite man development" as "(Le suggests the idea of) one treading on the tail of a tiger, which does not bite him. There will be progress and success" (Legge, p.78).

Wilhelm, on the other hand, wished to transmit the archaic flavour of the original and thus kept his translation

terse. Wilhelm did not, however, attempt a one-to-one correspondence between the German and Chinese versions. A Chinese character is not equivalent to a German or English word, but reflects different ranges of nuance and plays quite different roles within the sentence. Hence, expansion beyond a one-word equivalency is necessary. The question the translator must entertain is to what extent he or she wishes to expand the translation to accommodate the shift between language worlds.

C. Comparison of Translations and Analysis

Written Chinese and, in particular, the Chinese of the I Ching, offers the translator a choice range in determining the meaning of the text. Beyond stylistic differences, specific choices may result in quite different renderings. But even when the choice seems fairly clear, subtle differences can appear in what is expressed. Translation choices reflect the interpretive frameworks of the translators and are valuable clues to their image of the I.

In what follows, the Chinese text of the T'uan and Hsiao-t'zu to the tenth hexagram will be given. The choices available to the translator will then be listed and the specific choices made by several translators will be set out. The focus will be on Legge and Wilhelm and their choices will be analysed in order to determine the significance of their render-

ing of the text.[3]

T'uan: 履虎尾 不咥人亨.
Li hu wei pu hsi jen heng.

Hsiao-t'zu (line #1): 初九 素履往无咎
Chiu chiu, su li wang wu chiu.

(line #2): 九二 履道坦坦
Chiu er, li tao t'an t'an
幽人 貞 吉
yu-jen chen chi.

(line #3): 六三 眇 能 視 跛
Liu san, miao neng shih po
能 履 虎尾 咥 人
neng li hu wei hsi jen
凶 武人 爲 于大君.
hsiung wu-jen wei yu ta chun.

(line #4): 九四 履虎尾 愬
Chiu ssu, li hu wei su
愬 終 吉
su chung chi.

(line #5): 九五 夬 履 貞 厲
Chiu wu, kuai li chen li.

(line #6): 上九 視 履 考 祥
Shang chiu, shih li k'ao hsiang
其 旋 元 吉.
ch'i Hsuan yuan chi.

Available Choices and Translations

Judgement Text (T'uan)

Li	Hu	Wei	Pu
A Shoe; to walk; actions; conduct ceremonies	tiger; brave; cruel	A tail; the rear; behind; an extremity; to follow; a promontory	Not; no; a negative

hsi	jen	Heng
a loud laugh; to gnaw; to bite	man; mankind; others	to persuade; to be successful; to persevere; to boil.

(F. M. Doeringer, p.198)[4] "You tread on the tail of a tiger that doesn't eat people. Good fortune - an advantageous omen."

(J. Legge, p.78) "(Li suggests the idea of) one treading on the tail of a tiger, which does not bite him. There will be progress and success."

(R. Wilhelm, p.44) "Treading. Treading upon the tail of the tiger. It does not bite the man. Success."

(I. Shchutskii, pp.152,154)[5] "Stepping. Step on a tiger's tail; if he does not bite [you] - accomplishment."

Line Texts (Hsiao-t'zu)

(Line #1)

Ch'u	Chiu	Su	li
The beginning The first	nine	simple; ordinary; usually; commonly; as a rule	walk, conduct, etc.

Wang	Wu	Chiu
To go towards, to depart	Without, not	Blame, error, fault

(F. M. Doeringer, p.198) "A first line nine: pay heed where you tread that you may depart; no misfortune."

(J. Legge, p.79) "The first line, undivided, shows its subject treading his accustomed path. If he go forward, there will be no error."

(R. Wilhelm, p.45) "Nine at the beginning means: Simple conduct. Progress without Blame."

(Line #2)

Chiu	Er	Li	Tao	T'an
Nine	Two, second Twice	Walk, conduct, etc.	A road; a way; a path; doctrine; principle; reason; truth.	Level, smooth; satisfied; peaceful; To lay bare, open.

T'an	Yu-jen	Chen	Chi
level, smooth, etc.	(as a compound) a recluse (or separately) dark man gloomy mankind secret others retired lonely subtle	to inquire by divination; lucky; the lower trigram of a hexagram; upright; correct; pure virtuous, chaste. four.	Lucky, happy, auspicious.

(F. M. Doeringer, p.198) "A nine in the second place: may the way you tread be ever smooth; omen for a recluse - auspicious."

(J. Legge, p.79) "The second line, undivided, shows its subject treading the path that is level and easy; - a quiet and solitary man, to whom, if he be firm and correct, there will be good fortune.

(R. Wilhelm, p.46) "Nine in the second place means: Treading a smooth, level course. The perseverance of a dark man brings good fortune."

(Line #3)

Liu	San	Miao	Neng	Shih
six	three, third	having one eye smaller than the other, one-eyed, to take aim, gazing into the distance. Subtle, minute, insignificant.	Able to, may, can. Power, talent, ability	To look at, to regard, to inspect.

Po	Neng	Li	Hu	Wei	Hsi
To walk lame. To lean on, to be partial.	(as before)	Walking, conduct etc.	Tiger, etc.	Tail, etc.	To gnaw; a good laugh, etc.

Jen	Hsiung	Wu-jen	Wei
man, etc.	Cruel, unfortunate, sad. Next	(as a compound) a warrior, hero, athlete. (separately) military man warlike etc. fierce firm violent	To be, to do, to make, to practice, to act out, to cause. For because of, on account of, By, to, wherefore.

Yu	Ta	Chun
To proceed; On, to, with, from, etc.	Great, big, tall, vast, extensive, noble, high of rank, very much full-grown, to make great.	a chief, a sovereign, a ruler. A gentleman.

(F. M. Doeringer, p.198) "A six in the third line: the one-eyed may see, the lame walk, but if they tread on the tiger's tail, he'll eat them: calamity - warrior posing as a great lord."

(J. Legge, p.79) "The third line, divided, shows a one-eyed man (who thinks he) can see; a lame man (who thinks he) can walk well; one who treads on the tail of a tiger and is bitten. (All this indicates) ill fortune. We have a (mere) bravo acting the part of a great ruler."

(R. Wilhelm, p.46) "Six in the third place means: A one-eyed man is able to see, A lame man is able to tread. He treads on the tail of the tiger. The tiger bites the man. Misfortune. Thus does a warrior act on behalf of his great prince."

(Line #4)

Chiu	Ssu	Li	Hu	Wei	Su
Nine	Four	Walk, conduct etc.	tiger, etc.	Tail, etc.	To tell, to inform, to state, to accuse, to complain, slander

Su	Chung	Chi
To tell, etc.	The end, finally Death, the whole of, after all, still.	Lucky, auspicious, etc.

(F. M. Doeringer, p.198) "A nine in the fourth line: when treading on the tiger's tail, take care! In the end - auspicious."

(J. Legge, p.79) "The fourth line, undivided, shows its subject treading on the tail of a tiger. He becomes full of apprehensive caution, and in the end there will be good fortune."

(R. Wilhelm, p.46) "Nine in the fourth place means: He treads on the tail of the tiger. Caution and circumspection lead ultimately to good fortune."

(Line #5)

Chiu	Wu	Kuai	Li	Chen	Li
nine	five	Parted, to fork, certain, secret signs made with the fingers.	Walk, conduct, etc.	Lucky, pure, correct, etc.	A whetstone, to grind; thus, to discipline, harsh, severe, stern. To oppress. Cruel. Oppressive. To cross water clothed.

(F. M. Doeringer, p.198) "A nine in the fifth line: a broken tread; omen - bad."

(J. Legge, p.79) "The fifth line, undivided, shows the resolute tread of its subject. Though he be firm and correct, there will be peril."

(R. Wilhelm, p.47) "Nine in the fifth place means: Resolute conduct. Perseverance with awareness of danger."

(Line #6)

Shang	Chiu	Shih	Li	K'ao	Hsiang
Top	Nine	To look at, regard, etc.	Tread, walk, conduct, etc.	To examine, to test.	Happiness, good look, a good omen, a sacrificial service for deceased parents

Ch'i	Hsuan	Yuan	Chi
his, her, it, this, their, that	To revolve, to come back, to orbit. Thereupon, forthwith, subsequently.	The first, the head, chief, the eldest, the principal, good, large, great, the Mongol dynasty.	Lucky, auspicious, etc.

(F. M. Doeringer, p.198) "A nine in the top line: look wherever you tread, and you will discern signs; turnabout - eminently auspicious."

(J. Legge, pp.79-80) "The sixth line, undivided, tells us to look at (the whole course) that is trodden, and examine the presage which that gives. If it be complete and without failure, there will be great good fortune."

(R. Wilhelm, p.47) "Nine at the top means: Look to your conduct and weigh the favorable signs. When everything is fulfilled, supreme good fortune comes."

Not all of the listed "available choices" are actual possibilities in view of the context and order of the characters within the sentence (syntax). Nevertheless, we can clearly see the operation of choice and the role it plays in the translation of the Text.

In the first line-text (the Hsiao-t'zu to the first line), for instance, Legge takes su to mean "accustomed" or "ordinary", li to mean "treading" or "walking", and wang to mean "walking forward". Wilhelm, on the other hand, takes su to mean "Einfaches" (simple), li to mean "Auftreten" (treading or conduct - here "conduct" seems to be the intended sense), and wang to mean "Fortschreiten" (progress). The resultant difference in meaning between the two translations is significant, although not altogether contradictory.

In the Hsiao-t'zu to the second line we have an example of the operation of choice: yu and jen may be considered separately, but also form a compound phrase - yu-jen. Wilhelm decides to consider the two separately and renders yu jen as - "dark man." His choice seems to be conditioned by his interpretation of the Hsiao-hsiang commentary (Wilhelm, p.437). The Hsiao-hsiang quotes the latter portion of the Hsiao-t'zu text ("...yu jen chen chi") and then adds the explanatory comment: the second line is "Central and does not get confused." Wilhelm interpreted this explanatory comment to mean that the second line is light "but occupies a dark place, hence the

image of a dark man. However, since he walks in the middle of the road - the line is central - he does not meet with danger" (Wilhelm, p.438).

But yu jen is also a compound phrase, meaning - "a recluse." Without Wilhelm's explanation of the imagery, his choice of rendering would not have communicated much to his readers. Legge did not take up the attributes of the lines in his translation choice, and decided in favour of the compound-phrase, rendering yu-jen as: "a quiet and solitary man" (Legge, p.79).

Examples of this nature abound. Legge almost always accepts a rendering based on a straight-forward appraisal of what is immediately in front of him; Wilhelm often digs into the wider symbolism for his interpretive context. This is consistent with Legge's policy of separating the appendices, both physically and mentally, from the content and intent of the Text. Wilhelm, on the other hand, organized as many of the commentaries as he could around each of the hexagrams, clearly indicating his intent that the reader utilize the commentaries in the analysis of the Text. The emphasis of Wilhelm's translation is on the Hexagrams; the emphasis of Legge's is on the Text.

In translating the text of the Wings, both Legge and Wilhelm relied heavily on Sung criticism.[6] Legge took a less metaphysical or philosophical approach to the translation of

the text than did Wilhelm - it was Legge's view, for example, that a theory of primary matter did not develop in China until well into the Sung dynasty (Legge, p.44). In choosing among possibilities, then, Legge was apt to ignore the later, derived, senses of the ideograms or characters. An example from the Ta Chuan will illustrate the point:

I. Legge, p.389: The sun goes and the moon comes; the moon goes and the sun comes; - the sun and moon thus take the place each of the other, and their shining is the result. The cold goes and the heat comes; the heat goes and the cold comes; it is by this mutual succession of the cold and heat that the year is completed. That which goes [wang che] becomes less and less, and that which comes [lai che] waxes more and more; - it is by the influence on each other of this contraction and expansion that the advantages (of the different conditions) are produced.

II. Wilhelm, p.338: When the sun goes, the moon comes; when the moon goes, the sun comes. Sun and moon alternate; thus light comes into existence. When cold goes, heat comes; when heat goes, cold comes. Cold and heat alternate, and thus the year completes itself. The Past [wang che] contracts. The future [lai che] expands. Contraction and expansion act upon each other; hereby arises that which furthers.

Legge translates wang che, 往者 as "that which goes" and lai che, 來者 as "that which comes." Wilhelm, on the other hand, takes wang che to mean "the past" and lai che to mean "the future" (Die Vergangenheit and Die Zukunft).

Legge does not explicitly comment on this portion of the translated text, but several possible senses can be ascribed to the passage as he rendered it. When someone walks away,

for instance, and disappears over the horizon, he or she appears to diminish in size; when someone approaches from some point over the horizon, he or she appears to grow or expand in size. Alternatively, the change of seasons, the changes in the appearance of the moon throughout the month, and the 'sunrise-day-sunset' developments all can be seen as gradual change and can be interpreted as expansion and contraction, coming and going.

Wilhelm opts for the derived meanings of 'past' and 'future'. In his commentary to this portion of the text, Wilhelm remarks:

> ...in connection with the course of the day and the year, we are shown how past and future flow into each other, how contraction and expansion are the two movements through which the past prepares the future and the future unfolds the past (Wilhelm, p.339).

Wilhelm's interpretation is philosophical; Legge's is not.

Wilhelm's commentary to the Ta Chuan expands upon the Chinese text and presents a fairly sophisticated conception of the underlying philosophy of the I Ching. Modern critics are in agreement that Wilhelm's commentary reflects Sung dynasty developments.[7] It is clear, however, that Wilhelm expects his readers to accept his commentary as thoroughly Chinese and to gain a great deal from a careful study of it (Wilhelm, pp.xlvi and lxii). In this respect, Wilhelm's commentary not only expresses genuine Chinese criticism, it also carries Wilhelm's stamp of approval.

While Richard Wilhelm regarded his commentary "...as genuine renditions of Chinese thought" (Wilhelm, p.lxii), the reader must regard it as also expressing Wilhelm's understanding and opinion (see Wilhelm, p.xviii).

One of the views expressed by Wilhelm in his commentary to the Ta Chuan is that the hexagrams represent the kernels of developing situations. The human subconscious, aware of these incipient manifestations of archetypal events, could communicate to the practitioner, by way of the divinatory processes, the appropriate hexagram-subject (see Wilhelm, pp.280-290). One of the important philosophical claims posited as underlying this process was the 'expansion' and 'contraction' of past and future - past and future are not separate in Reality, both rest one within the other:

> When the trigrams intermingle, that is when they are in motion, a double movement is observable: first, the usual clockwise movement, cumulative and expanding as time goes on, and determining the events that are passing; second, an opposite, backward movement, folding up and contracting as time goes on, through which the seeds of the future take form. To know this movement is to know the future. In figurative terms, if we understand how a tree is contracted into a seed, we understand the future unfolding of the seed into a tree. (Wilhelm, p.267)

Given this philosophical framework, Wilhelm's commentary and translation of wang che and lai che as "the past" and "the future", makes perfect sense. But remarking on the dominance of theory with respect to translation Achilles Fang wrote, with respect to this same passage, that "amateur Sinologists

whose obsession with their pet theories is as great as their veneration of dictionaries tend to lose sight of context."[8] Fang wrote further:

> It is almost unbelievable that the translator took 往者 and 來者 as 'the past' and 'the future'. The third strophe means that the sun, the moon, heat, and cold go because they have to stoop (lit. 'bend') before the cyclic law, and come because they are allowed to have their due (lit. 'unbend') in the cyclic system. That che here serves the function of quotation marks can be seen by anyone who has examined the context.[9]

Fang labels Wilhelm's "error", whom he never names - but the reference is unmistakable, as that of "oversophistication".[10] Regardless of the acceptability of Fang's negative judgement, his point is well made. Wilhelm translated according to the demands of his wider philosophical framework. Although modern critics agree that Wilhelm and Legge shared much the same commentary data, Legge rejected the deeper philosophical speculation whereas Wilhelm expanded upon it.

One more short example will help to illustrate the philosophical trend of Wilhelm's translation choices as opposed to the more literal approach of Legge; that is, the desire to render the text without metaphysical "complications".

The Chinese name given to the 61st hexagram is Chung Fu, 中孚, which Wilhelm and Legge translate differently. Chung may mean: "The middle; Among, within, in, between." Fu may mean: "To brood over eggs; To trust in; To have con-

fidence in; Sincere." Among these choices, Legge chose: 'Inmost Sincerity' (Legge, p.200). Wilhelm, on the other hand, chose to translate Chung Fu as 'Innere Wahrheit' (Inner Truth - Wilhelm, p.235). "Sincerity" and "Truth" are not far apart and yet the tonal difference between them is considerable. Legge's "Sincerity" is certainly different from Wilhelm's almost mystical 'Innere Wahrheit'.

The difference ramifies once the reader encounters the translator's commentaries to the text. Legge stays close to the theme of sincerity. As may be expected, Wilhelm elucidates the text using 'Inner Truth' as the core theme. Legge speaks of a person's "sincerity" whereas Wilhelm speaks of "the echo awakened in men through spiritual attraction" or the intensification of "the power of inner truth" (Wilhelm, pp.237 and 238). The distinction is obvious. Legge chooses a rendering characteristically in line with his overall sense that King Wen and the Duke of Chou were expressing moral, social, or political advice - human rather than philosophical sentiments were the focus. Wilhelm, on the other hand, regards the hexagrams as metaphysical archetypes, reflecting natural as well as psychological, social, political and spiritual phenomena. His text reflects, among other things, a desire to open the meaning to the widest possible philosophical and spiritual dimensions. We can see this aim exemplified in his choice of terms, such as 'Innere Wahrheit' over other

possible options.

D. Comparative Summary

In summary, then, we can see that the terse Chinese original left very real difficulties to the translator. Legge and Wilhelm responded differently to this challenge. Legge attempted to supply the reader with an intelligible rendering in good 19th-century English, a rendering that would not require extensive commentary in order for it to be understood.

Wilhelm wished to retain the archaic flavour of the original and, therefore, rendered the text in correct but terse German, often choosing among his options the more philosophically oriented and speculatively open phrasings. The resulting interpretive flexibility reflected that of the Chinese original to a considerable degree - prompting John Blofeld to remark in his Introduction to his own translation: "Another difference between the two versions is that my translation usually makes some kind of sense, whereas many passages in Wilhelm's make none."[11] Of course, Wilhelm's purpose was not so much to render the text intelligible as to duplicate the archaic Chinese flavour and flexibility found in the original.

NOTES

CHAPTER FIVE: COMPARISON OF LEGGE'S AND WILHELM'S TRANSLATION OF THE CHINESE TEXT

[1]Paul J. Lin, trans. A Translation of Lao Tzu's "Tao Te Ching" and Wang Pi's "Commentary", Michigan Papers in Chinese Studies, No. 30 (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Center for Chinese Studies, The University of Michigan, 1977), p.xiii.

[2]John Blofeld, trans. "I Ching": The Book of Change" (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1965; Unwin paperback ed., 1976), p.17.

[3]The Chinese text used throughout is: Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series Supplement 10: A Concordance to "Yi Ching" (Taipei: Harvard-Yenching Institute, 1966), S. V. Hexagram No. 10.

[4]Doeringer, "Oracle and symbol" - all further references to Doeringer's translation refer to this article and will be noted paranthetically in the text of this study.

[5]Shchutskii, Researches - page references as indicated in the text of this study.

[6]Swanson, "Great Treatise", p.1.

[7]See Arthur Waley, "The Book of Changes," Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities 5 (1933): 121-142; Shchutskii, Researches; Hellmut Wilhelm, Heaven, Earth and Man; Swanson, "Great Treatise"; Joseph Needham, Science and Civilization in China Vol.2: History of Scientific Thought (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1962).

[8]Achilles Fang, "Some Reflections on the Difficulty of Translation", in Studies in Chinese Thought, edited by Arthur F. Wright (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1962), p.284.

[9]Ibid.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] Blofeld, "*I Ching*", p.17.

CHAPTER SIX

COMPARATIVE SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The I Ching is a Chinese scripture. Chinese men and women have variously and dynamically directed their capacity to become religiously involved to it, finding in its richly symbolic orientation to transcendence, inspiration and life. The I was an integral part of the world-view out of which the Chinese lived; it has been of decisive and activating importance throughout the history of its transmission.

Legge and Wilhelm responded differently to the I Ching, both as a document from ancient times and as scripture. Legge's aim in translating the I was to render it clear in service to future Christian missionaries needing to grasp the conceptual framework of the Chinese heathen. Legge's stance was that of a 19th-century Christian missionary. He regarded the scriptural dimensions of the I as mere superstition that occasionally entered the realm of blasphemy.

In his stance Legge remained an outsider, conceptually removed from the world view presupposed by the Wings and later commentators. To a large degree, Legge shows the influence of his Chinese friend, Wang T'ao, who was taken with the technology of the West and modern positivism. Wang was an icono-

clast and supported Legge's appraisal of Chinese texts from the Western viewpoint.

Wilhelm's experience in China was different from Legge's. His mandate was more support-orientated, conversion lower on the priority scheme than secular education. Lao Nai-hsuan was a scholar of the old school for whom the I was sacred scripture. Wilhelm was later pleased that he did not convert a single Chinese, and reflected the Restoration ideals favoured by his Chinese master, Lao. Together they worked on the I and both offered their own translations based on their collaborative efforts.

In his stance Wilhelm became an insider, empathetically stepping into Chinese shoes and attempting to see the world through their eyes, especially Lao's. Wilhelm's aim was to render the I scripturally potent to a western audience, first in German, later in English (see Wilhelm, p.xl). In this respect, he returned to Germany as an I Ching missionary, committed to the spread of Chinese wisdom in Europe, with special attention directed toward the I.

The two men tended to reflect their historical experience, both with respect to their European context and with respect to their Chinese environment. Whom they met, came to trust and respect, from whom they accepted advice, and what events of history they experienced, affected their stance as interpreters. Legge remained a 19th-century Christ-

ian, Scottish gentleman; Wilhelm accepted the conceptual framework of the Chinese intellectuals of his day.

Legge's attitude about the I Ching as scripture was sceptical. When living out of the tradition of the scripture, one expresses its orientation to reality as a fabric of one's own personality. When, however, one asks - as Legge did - the scripture to prove its worth, the text remains "the outsider", scrutinized for rational acceptability from the point-of-view of one's conceptual framework.

If a questioner from "outside" should happen to reflect a high degree of openness and imagination, he or she may engage in dialogue with the text. In Wilhelm's case, he was living in China and experiencing firsthand its culture. He was also taught by a Chinese scholar for whom the I was sacred scripture. The material was intimately available, in other words, for Wilhelm's leap of empathy into the Chinese frame of reference to which he was exposed.

Wilfred Cantwell Smith has stressed -

> It is extremely difficult to transcend the culture and the age in which one lives, to any but a minor degree. Even in studying other cultures and ages, the impulse to order their new data under the rubrics and categories of one's own, to interpret them in terms of one's prior preconceptions, is strong. It is a true feat of rationality, of disciplined imagination, of self-criticism, of creative realism, and of a certain humility, to apprehend intellectually a different outlook; and even more, one's own. Yet one can try. [1]

Wilhelm did try and the results of his efforts lie with his translation of the I. He attempted to see the world through Chinese eyes and reflected their vision of the world in his rendering. In this respect, Wilhelm went past the point of intellectual apprehension, but went so far as to defend the framework represented through the I. He wanted to present the Chinese version in such a way that modern Europeans could understand and wish to make use of its wisdom.

In this latter respect - the creative transformation of the European mind - the dialogue between the text and reader can be seen to have advanced to the point where both text and reader have been altered in the encounter through the accomodation of each other's differences. A text in this regard is always a living lure to dialogue and personal growth - the "outsider" and text are mutually transformed into a new creative unity. This was the result Wilhelm was aiming at in his translation and subsequent promotion of the I.

If, however, the critical framework is particularly rigid as it appears to have been in Legge's case, then "dialogue" tends to lose its dynamic potential and is transformed into "argument" - the reader argues with the text and accuses it of falsehood and the text responds with cold unadaptibility. In commenting upon a fragment of the Text for Hexagram #57, Legge remarks that "...the writer of the Text believed of course in divination and exorcism: which was his misfortune

rather than his fault or folly" (Legge, p.192). Legge rejects the I as a book of divination; he continually argues with this aspect of the text, rejecting any orientation that responds to the I as sacred scripture.

Legge recognized that the Wings were composed approximately 600 years after the Text was written. In his analysis of their content he took the position that they were open to question and criticism. His conclusion was that the concepts presented in the Wings were incongruous to the intent of the Text of the I.

In Legge's vision of the I, the Text was an arbitrary and unconnected collection of moral and political advice written by King Wen and the Duke of Chou. The Wings, written some considerable time later, reflected the concerns of late Chou scholars who largely re-interpreted the Text to suit their own purposes. Legge finds some limited portions of the Wings helpful, but by-and-large rejects them as silly, preposterous, or outright blasphemous.

With regard to level of sophistication, Legge did not see the early Chinese as capable of complicated metaphysical concepts. He suggested, for instance, that the Chinese did not develop the idea of primary matter until Sung times. Legge took the stand, therefore, that there were no deep, dark mysteries hidden in the Text and that a proper understanding of the I had been barred heretofore by the intermixture of con-

cepts unrelated to the designs of the king and duke. The I was simply an unconnected string of moral and political advice perhaps inspired, but not dictated, by the hexagrams. The Wings were, for the most part, rather unfortunate appendages of irrelevant material.

Legge's translation was a presentation of two quite separate works: the Text of the I and the first phase of commentary-responses to it, as recorded in later Chou and early Han times.

Wilhelm's vision of the I was wholly different from Legge's and based upon different understandings. First, Wilhelm thought the early Chinese fully capable of profound wisdom and philosophical discrimination. He was at pains in his Introduction to set out the early Chinese world view. Second, Wilhelm regarded the Wings as the product of Confucius or his circle and therefore worthy of respect. He also saw the Wings as making explicit what the former sages took for granted and presupposed. The Wings and Text were, therefore, a complex unity. Third, the Duke of Chou and King Wen were expressing philosophical ideas in response to a set of fundamental, metaphysical archetypes they were collectively responsible for developing.

The I, then, was the complex expression of a metaphysical view of reality reflecting a concrescence of archetypes having cosmic, worldly, and human dimensions. Each hexagram presented its own symbolic environment: there was an integral,

organic connection between the unique symbolism of each hexagram and the text associated with it. As long as the interrelationships between Text and symbol could be described, Wilhelm was satisfied. He accepted the contents of the I as given, not any more open to question than the fact of animal anatomy as an organic fact or reality.

Wilhelm was not standing outside of the I asking it to prove its worth. Wilhelm took its worth for granted and attempted to render it meaningful within a European context. In his vision, the I presupposed and expressed a unified philosophical system of multiple dimensions. In his arrangement Text and Wings are intermingled.

The principles behind Wilhelm's arrangement are wholly different from those behind Legge's. Book I expresses the philosophical content of the Text, Book II exposes the I's metaphysical concepts and interpretive framework, and Book III takes up the technical matters concerning the interrelationships existing between the Text and the hexagrams. Legge's divisions merely separate, physically and conceptually, the material of the Text from the material of the Wings. The Wings are not divided among the hexagrams but are presented as units. Legge was not interested in their interpretive value and merely presented them as commentaries traditionally (though mistakenly) appended to the I proper. Legge's arrangement, therefore, was intended to magnify the separation of the Wings from the Text. Wilhelm's arrangement separated

the philosophical matter (Book I) from the technical discussions (Book III), with the presentation of the systematizing texts in the middle (Book II). His arrangement was intended to magnify the I as a systematic expression of Chinese philosophy and metaphysics.

Wilhelm saw the text as both a divination manual and a book of wisdom. Presenting a theory of the unconscious, Wilhelm argued that the divination aspect had credibility within a European framework. As a wisdom text, its underlying philosophy was accented, with special attention paid to the concepts expressed in Book II.

Neither Legge nor Wilhelm had sufficient information to reconstruct what the original characters in the I must have meant in the time in which they were written - Legge did the best he could; Wilhelm was more concerned to provide a translation that reflected the culmination of centuries of Chinese criticism and thought. On this point, the well-known Sinologist and translator, Arthur Waley, remarked in the Preface to his translation of the Tao Te Ching:

> The most perfect example of a scriptural translation is the late Richard Wilhelm's version of the Book of Changes. Many critics condemned it, most unfairly in my opinion, because it fails to do what in fact the author never had any intention of doing. It fails of course to tell us what the book meant in the 10th century B.C. On the other hand, it tells us far more lucidly and accurately than any of its predecessors what the Book of Changes means to the Far Eastern reader today [ca. 1950's].[2]

In Waley's terms, a 'scriptural' translation aims at telling the reader what the text means to those who use it today.[3] Scriptures are collections of symbols, variously responded to throughout the history of their transmission - "their peculiar characteristic is a kind of magical elasticity."[4] A translation that sets out to discover what a particular scripture meant to start with, Waley terms 'historical'. Using Waley's terminology, Legge's translation was exclusively 'historical', whereas Wilhelm's was both 'scriptural' and 'historical'. It should be emphasized that Wilhelm did not regard his translation less true to the original meaning than Legge's - in fact, the opposite was the case (see, for example, Wilhelm, p.257, n.2).

Nevertheless, Legge was self-consciously determined to reflect the original authors' thoughts and he was at pains to understand their historical context and probable motivations for writing as they did. Wilhelm was more interested in the philosophical dimensions of the work, the neo-Confucian understanding of its meaning as a work of profound spiritual depths and metaphysical implications. Wilhelm writes in his commentary to Part I, Chapter IV of the Ta Chuan:

> If we ask how the Book of Changes can be a reproduction of the cosmos, the answer is that it is the work of men with cosmic intelligence, men who have incorporated their wisdom in the symbols of this book. Hence it contains the standard of heaven and earth. (Wilhelm, p.293)

In characterizing Wilhelm's translation, then, it might be said that he was, sentimentally, a 'scripturalist'. He was profoundly convinced of the correctness of contemporary understanding and saw no basic contradiction between his aims and those of 'historicists' - it was the Truth of the I Ching he was after, not history-bound literalness. What the early Chinese presupposed and took for granted later ages developed, articulated, and extrapolated from. The sophisticated philosophy of the Sung scholars was merely a footnote to the original wisdom and profound depths of the I.

Legge conceived of the text differently and attempted a "historical" rendering which he considered honest, fair, and consistent with that phase of thought and knowledge according to which the early Chinese wrote; Legge translated the text in accordance with the objective standards of the best available scholarship.

Wilhelm's main design was to present authentic Chinese wisdom. In translating the text, therefore, he opted for a terse rendering, reflecting the archaic impression of the original. In this respect, the ideograms expressed what the author said (and meant) and could be rendered in equally terse language. He opted for the more derived meaning (philosophically more potent) and attempted to capture the ambiguity and interpretive flexibility present in the original. This afforded him the opportunity in his commentary to express the

meaning of the text with philosophically and psychologically potent concepts. Where Legge's rendering resulted in a readable, clear, and fairly straight-forward text (without mystical or philosophical undercurrents), Wilhelm's rendering resonated with mystical depths and philosophical implications. In its terseness, it could not stand on its own but required an extensive commentary.

Wilhelm had two programs: one historical, the other scriptural. Under his historical program he wanted to set out what the world view of the early Chinese was, identify textual strata, and determine what the I originally meant. Under this program Wilhelm could have ended up saying much the same things as Legge did - Legge's aim was wholly historical. But Legge and Wilhelm did not agree in their answers to basic historicist questions.

In judging the merits of Legge's or Wilhelm's work as to the I's original meaning, therefore, the modern scholar must answer for him -or herself these questions: what textual layers make up the I? What are their respective dates? Who is responsible for each textual segment? What were their sources? Were all of the texts written for the occasion or do some of them derive from an earlier omen literature? What was the conceptual framework of the early Chinese? Did the Wings simply salvage a long-standing oral tradition or do they offer new material? Does the material in the Wings reflect the explicit statement of what the Text took for granted

and presupposed or is it new? If it is new, is it a fair extrapolation from the Text or does it reflect a radical departure - as in Legge's judgement? What were the presuppositions or conceptual frameworks of each contribution in the I?

These are the questions that Legge and Wilhelm had to answer in order to form the judgements with respect to the I's meaning that they did. Both translators had recourse to the best scholarship then available. Legge was suspicious of the I's worth and found little hard evidence to dissuade his generally critical biases. Wilhelm approached the issue of the I's original meaning with opposite set of biases - he respected the I's sacred and metaphysical function within Chinese life. The I did not need to demonstrate its philosophical nature "beyond reasonable doubt"; the early Chinese did not need, "on the balance of probabilities", to demonstrate their profound awareness and deep insight - Wilhelm found ample material to express a philosophically oriented world view and assumed that the Duke of Chou and King Wen presupposed it.

Modern scholars must re-ask themselves all of the pertinent questions to determine what the I originally meant, relying on the best scholarship currently available. Little doubt can be left as to the image of the I respectively projected by Legge and Wilhelm but the matter is far from settled. Further study must proceed before an intelligent choice can be

made between them, or some other possibility posited.

Wilhelm's translation also reflects a scriptural program. This is a radical departure from Legge - in this regard Legge and Wilhelm are thousands of years apart.

For Wilhelm, the scriptural response offered a profound interpretative orientation. Thousands of years of response had gone into the fabric of Chinese culture and intellectual development and into the interpretation of the I. Collectively, these responses culminated with the modern era in the person of Lao Nai-hsuan. For Lao, and for Wilhelm, the I was the major metaphysical document of an entire ancient civilization and was intended for the benefit of all humankind.

The power of scripture resides in its relation to human beings, how it shapes their lives, offers guidance, inspiration, and wisdom. Wilhelm wanted the I to function in this way for Europeans. The Chou I Che Chung offered digests, selected out of a strong neo-Confucian bias. This was the textual source for Wilhelm's commentary digests.

Under the scriptural program, then, the I was viewed as the result of thousands of years of Chinese commentary. Wilhelm had in mind the tradition of response running through Chu Hsi and Cheng I, and was emphasizing the neo-Confucian pattern established during the Sung dynasty. Wilhelm saw an interpretive continuity between the I and its interpreters, reflecting a unified approach to understanding the book as

both divination manual and wisdom text. It was the view in his day that the Sung scholars had merely, with finer philosophical discriminations, exposed the true meaning presupposed in the conceptual framework taken for granted by King Wen and the Duke of Chou - the wisdom of later ages were but footnotes to the ancient sages. As living scripture in the China of his day, Wilhelm responded with a faith-commitment that the I expressed true insight into the nature of reality and the human psyche - he was activated through his relation to it.

The result of Wilhelm's scriptural program resides with the commentary digests throughout Books I, II, and III. But, also, Wilhelm's attempts to present an acceptable theory substantiating the process of divination by rooting it in the unconscious, reflects his scriptural orientation. Wilhelm took the I seriously and made an effort to present its concepts in a way attractive and believable to his contemporary European brothers and sisters. This second program, therefore, not only influenced the content of his commentary-digests, but also the manner of his personal additions. Wilhelm responded to the I as scripture and endeavoured to share his response with others - he became an I Ching missionary to Germany.

Iulian Shchutskii, writing in the 1920's and 1930's, noted the absolute need for some sort of interpretive orientation, as grounded firmly in a selected Chinese commentary tradition, in order to render an intelligible translation.[5]

Wilhelm opted for the oral tradition passed on to him by Lao; Legge attempted to reconstruct the thought of King Wen and the Duke of Chou and adapted portions of the Wings and later commentaries to his needs. Wilhelm saw the I as the culmination of centuries of Chinese thought, each age bringing out to the light of reason varying aspects of the I's profound depths. Legge saw the interpretation of the I current in his day as the culmination of centuries of Chinese befuddlement, the result of a mistaken apprehension of the relationship between the Text and the Wings.

Within his scriptural framework, Wilhelm's response represents a perfectly valid orientation and faith-committment. To understand better the I's role as scripture in China, however, the modern scholar would be further ahead if he or she were to choose a commentary era (or select one Chinese scholar for whom the I was scripture), and study that response historically; that is, determine its role within their conceptual framework and how in its light they lived and felt and thought. Systematic study along these lines has not been done, though introductory surveys have been completed.[6] The area, in other words, is currently wide open for further work and is the appropriate response to Wilhelm's scriptural program, the next phase in the study of the I as scripture.

Legge's translation represents the presentation of two quite separate works: 1) the Text of the I, being the uncon-

nected, and not terribly profound, collection of moral and political advice of two historical figures; and 2) an appended collection of arbitrary interpretations offered by a later age and having little if anything to do with the I's intended meaning. Wilhelm's rendering represents the presentation of the I as a profound metaphysical document, having divinatory and wisdom-literature dimensions. Wilhelm images the I as presupposing and expressing a philosophical system that is credible within the modern European context. In its original meaning or in its contemporary vision, the I reflects a network of metaphysical archetypes of great human worth. Which vision of the I a potential reader wishes to adopt depends upon his or her answer to the same set of questions that had to be answered by Legge and Wilhelm. Critical self-awareness of bias and of one's own conceptual framework, together with an awareness of the questions to be asked, are the critical requirements of I Ching scholarship.

NOTES

CHAPTER SIX: COMPARATIVE SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

[1]Wilfred Cantwell Smith, Belief and History (Charlottesville, Virginia: University Press of Virginia, 1977), p.37.

[2]Arthur Waley, Trans. The Way and Its Power: A Study of the "Tao Te Ching" and Its Place in Chinese Thought (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1958), p.13. Wilhelm also had an historical program which Waley does not mention. The historical program does not contradict the aims generated under Wilhelm's scripturalism, however, in that he saw later scriptural adaptions as fair and reasonable articulations (or extrapolated deductions) of the conceptual framework presupposed by the original authors of the I. The Sung critics, in other words, had a correct understanding of what the original thought of the I contained (either incipiently, intuitively, or explicitly - as consciously formed principles).

[3]Ibid.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Shchutskii, Researches, pp.224-225.

[6]White, "Interpretation of the Central Concept of the I-ching."

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