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The Fuyang *Zhou Yi* and the Making of a Divination Manual

Over the course of his distinguished career, Michael Loewe has studied virtually every topic in the institutional and intellectual history of the Han dynasty. However, two topics in particular have consistently attracted his interest: documents written on bamboo strips and divination.¹ Thus, it seems appropriate in a volume designed to show our esteem for Michael to consider some Han-dynasty bamboo strips bearing divination texts.

THE DISCOVERY OF THE FUYANG TOMB

Tomb 1 at Shuanggudui 雙古堆, Fuyang 阜陽 (Anhui), ranks as one of the more important among the many notable discoveries in the 1970s of tombs containing texts. Excavated in 1977, the tomb has many parallels with the more famous Mawangdui 馬王堆 tomb 3 at Changsha 長沙 (Hunan), discovered just four years earlier. The two tombs are very close in date and both were tombs of local rulers. Tomb 1 at Shuanggudui was the tomb of Xiahou Zao 夏侯灶, the second-generation lord of Ruyin 汝陰, who died in 165 BC. The Fuyang tomb was almost as well supplied with books as was that at Mawangdui. At least portions of the following texts have been identified: *Zhou Yi* 周易, *Shijing* 詩經, *Zhuangzi* 莊子, *Chu ci* 楚辭, *Cangjie pian* 倉頡篇, *Wan wu* 萬物, two differ-

¹ The military records written on wooden strips and discovered in the first third of the twentieth century in Gansu province were, of course, the topic of Michael's doctoral dissertation, published as *Records of Han Administration*, in 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1967). After that publication, he continued to update the Western scholarly community on the discoveries of tomb-texts being made in China, such as his "Manuscripts Found Recently in China: A Preliminary Survey," *TP* 63.2-3 (1977), pp. 99-136. As for his interest in divination, one could mention not only the book *Divination and Oracles* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1981) that he edited together with Carmen Blacker, but also his collection of essays *Divination, Mythology and Monarchy in Han China* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1994). On a personal note, I might mention that I first met Michael at the conference "Divination and Portents," held at the University of California at Berkeley in June of 1983, and discussed with him there my own master's thesis, a translation of the "Gui ce liezhuan" 龜策列傳 ("Biographies of Turtle-shell and Stalk [Diviners]") chapter of the *Shi ji* 史記, and so I am particularly delighted now, twenty years later, to be able to explore with him again a similar sort of divination text.


ent annals extending from the Western Zhou until the Han, a text for officials that the excavators refer to as “Zuo wu yuan cheng” 作務員程 (“Duties for Officials Responsible”), a text for assessing the qualities of dogs entitled *Xiang gou jing* 相狗經 (*Classic for Physiognomizing Dogs*), a physiological text referred to as “Xing qi” 行氣 (“Moving the Vapors”), and divination materials similar to the *Xingde* 刑德 and *Rishu* 日書 texts known from other tombs.²

One difference between the two tombs is that whereas most of the texts at Mawangdui were written on rolls of silk, all of those discovered at Fuyang were written on strips of bamboo. The bamboo strips had been carefully placed inside a lacquered bamboo hamper (as at Mawangdui), which was in turn placed inside the coffin chamber. However, toward the end of the Western Han period this tomb was robbed, the shafts dug by the robbers apparently causing the coffin chamber to collapse. Many of the most “valuable” grave goods must have been removed from the tomb by these robbers, and even those goods that they overlooked, including especially the texts, were damaged and disordered. The bamboo strips of the texts then sustained even more damage when the tomb was excavated in 1977. Discovered accidentally during construction work on a nearby airport, the excavation took place during a driving rainstorm. The excavators used a pump to remove mud that had filled the coffin chamber, in the process pumping out also the bamboo strips of the texts, which the long submersion in muddy water had turned into paper-thin sheets, fused together into clumps by ground pressure. Just the separating of the surviving fragments took almost a year of concentrated work at the Bureau of Cultural Relics in Beijing. To give some idea of the difficulties encountered, in some cases as an individual strip was peeled off the clump to which it had fused, the ink of the text written on the strip below it adhered to its back, and then had to be read there as a mirror image. That any of the texts have been reconstructed, even in part, is perhaps more surprising than the more than twenty years’ wait for some to be published.

² For a concise account of the tomb’s discovery and contents, see Pian Yuqian 駢字騫 and Duan Shu’an 段書安, eds., *Ben shiji yilai chutu jianbo gaishu* 本世紀以來出土簡帛概述 (Taipei: Wanjuanlou tushu youxian gongsi, 1999), pp. 60–64, which also includes bibliographic citations for reports issued through 1988. For a valuable overview of the materials in the tomb related to divination, see Hu Pingsheng 胡平生, “Fuyang Shuanggudui Han jian shushu shu jianlun” 阜陽雙古堆漢簡數術書簡論, *Chutu wenxian yanjiu* 出土文獻研究 4 (1998), pp. 12–30.

THE GENERAL STRUCTURE OF THE FUYANG ZHOU YI

The *Zhou Yi* materials constitute far and away the largest single text among the Fuyang strips, with 752 fragments identified as belonging to the text.³ What is noteworthy about this text is that unlike the *Zhou Yi* manuscript found at Mawangdui, which first presents in an integral fashion the hexagram and line statements of the text itself, and then follows that with various types of commentarial texts, the Fuyang *Zhou Yi* combines the hexagram and line statements together with such formulaic divination statements as are found in the Daybooks (*rishu* 日書) that have been discovered in many early tombs or in the “Gui ce liezhuan” 龜策列傳 (“Biography of Turtle-shell and Milfoil [Diviners]”) chapter of the *Shiji* 史記, both of which sources have been studied by Michael Loewe.⁴ The “Hexagram Statement” of the hexagram named “Da you 大有” (“Great Possession”; number 14 in the *Zhou Yi*’s traditional sequence) provides a simple example of this sort of combination.

Strip no. 64:  大有元亨卜雨不雨

“Great Possession”: Prime receipt. In divining about rain, it will not rain.⁵

In the received text of the *Zhou Yi*, this Hexagram Statement reads simply:

 大有元亨

“Great Possession”: Prime receipt.

³ The first published account of this text was Hu Pingsheng, “Fuyang Han jian Zhou Yi gai-shu” 阜陽漢簡周易概述, *Jianbo yanjiu* 簡帛研究 3 (1998), pp. 255–66. A complete transcription, together with hand drawings of some of the strips, can be found in Han Ziqiang 韓自強, “Fuyang Han jian Zhou Yi shiwen” 阜陽漢簡周易釋文, *Daojia wenhua yanjiu* 道家文化研究 18 (2000), pp. 15–62. Also included in the same issue of *Daojia wenhua yanjiu* is a lengthy study of the text by Han Ziqiang: “Fuyang Han jian Zhou Yi yanjiu” 阜陽漢簡周易研究 (pp. 63–132). It has not been possible to reconstruct even a single complete strip. However, on the basis of comparisons of various strips, it appears that the strips were originally 26 cm long, which is 1.2 Han *chi* 尺 or “feet,” and about 1 cm wide. They were bound with three binding straps, the top and bottom straps placed about 1.5 cm from the ends of the strips, and the middle one centered. This information was presented by Hu Pingsheng, co-leader of the team responsible for editing the Fuyang texts, in a lecture at the University of Chicago, November 20, 2001.

⁴ For the *rishu*, see “The Alamanacs (*Jih-shu*) from Shui-hu-ti: A Preliminary Survey,” *AM* 3d ser. 1.2 (1988), pp. 1–27, rpt. in *Divination, Mythology and Monarchy*, pp. 214–35. For the “Gui ce liezhuan,” see “Divination by Shells, Bones and Stalks during the Han Period,” *TP* 74 (1988), pp. 81–118, rpt. in *Divination, Mythology and Monarchy*, pp. 160–90, esp. p. 184 in the reprinted version.

⁵ All transcriptions given here will be those of Han Ziqiang; this one is found on p. 24 of “Fuyang Han jian Zhou Yi shiwen.” The entry numbers are not archaeological entry numbers but rather are based on ordering the strips according to the text of the *Zhou Yi*.

The Fuyang text's "In divining about rain, it will not rain" 卜雨不雨 represents additional material.⁶ Of the 3,119 characters on the strips, 1,110 belong to the *Zhou Yi* itself, including five different hexagram pictures 卦畫, with passages from 170 or more hexagram or line statements in 52 different hexagrams.⁷ The remaining 2,009 characters belong to these sorts of divination statements, which concern personal topics like the following:

someone who is ill 病者,
one's residence 居家,
marriage 取婦 (or 嫁女),
someone who is pregnant 孕者,
and births 產子;

administrative topics, for example:

criminals 罪人,
jailings 繫囚,
someone who has fled 亡者,
military actions 攻戰 (or 戰鬥);

work related topics such as:

serving a lord 事君,
taking up an office 居官,
performing some service 舉事,
traveling 行,
hunting and fishing 田魚;

and also, of course, the weather:

whether it will be fine 晴 [written on the strips as 星],
will rain 雨,
or if the rain will stop 齊.


While the bamboo strips are too fragmentary to allow any single hexagram text to be reconstructed in its entirety, much less any two in sequence (and, thus, these materials do not provide any information regarding the sequence of the sixty-four hexagrams), by piecing together

⁶ Fuyang Strip no. 268 shows that the "卜雨不雨" formula here should be understood as a topic and result (or verification) rather than as a positive-negative question (i.e., divining about whether it will rain or not rain): see no. 268 "利貞卜雨不雨有求弗得" ("Beneficial to divine." In divining about rain, it will not rain; about having that which you seek, you will not get it").

⁷ A few fragments which would be appropriate at two or more points in the *Zhou Yi* text (such as those containing only the formulaic divination terms *ji* 吉 "lucky" or *xiong* 凶 "ominous" that end many line statements) have been placed at their first possible occurrence. Other fragments that contain only numerical tags for lines (e.g., *chu liu* 初六 "First Six" or *jiu er* 九二 "Nine in the Second") or only divination statements have been arbitrarily listed at the end of the transcription.

various of the fragments it is possible to determine the basic structure of the text. As seen above in the case of the Hexagram Statement of “Da you,” each hexagram text apparently began on a new bamboo strip, with the hexagram picture coming at the top of the strip, followed by a blank space, the hexagram name, the Hexagram Statement and the divination statements attached to it (usually introduced by the word *bu* 卜, “to divine”). This unit is then normally followed by a black circle that served as a dividing mark, and then the numerical tag “First Six” (*chu liu* 初六) or “First Nine” (*chu jiu* 初九) of the first line statement, the line statement itself, the divination statements attached to it, and then another black circle dividing this unit from that of the second line statement, and so on. This structure can be demonstrated in part by the eleven strips that pertain to the Hexagram Statement and five of the six line statements of “Tongren 同人” (“Together with People”; no. 13 in the traditional sequence). To give some sense of the process involved in reconstructing the text, I first present as individual lines all eleven strips in Chinese and then follow that with an English translation that is separated into the hexagram and various line statements of the *Zhou Yi*, supplying text from the received text as needed in parentheses and highlighting the divination statements in italics.⁸

STRIP NO.	STRIP TEXT
53	同人于野亨
54	君子之貞
55	●六二同人于宗吝卜子產不孝吏
56	三伏戎于
57	興卜有罪者凶
58	戰鬥敵強不得志卜病者不死乃癘●九四乘 高唐弗克
59	有爲不成●九五同
60	人先號
61	後笑大師
62	相遇卜繫囚
63	九同人于鄙無悔卜居官法免

 Together with people in the wilds; receipt. (Beneficial to ford the great stream. Beneficial) for the lord’s son to divine.

...

Six in the Second: Together with people at the ancestral temple;

⁸ Where archaic versions of characters can be converted unproblematically to standard equivalents, I do so silently. For instance, *ye* “wilds,” written in what came to be standard Chi-

stingy. *In divining about a son being born, it will not be filial; in de-puting ...*

(Nine) in the Third: Crouching belligerents in the (grass: Ascending its high hillock, For three years not) arising. *In divining about one who is guilty, it will be ominous; about doing battle, the enemy will be strong but will not get its way; in divining about one who is ill, if he does not die then he will be exhausted.*

Nine in the Fourth: Riding its high wall: it cannot be (attacked; lucky.) ... *there will be something done that will not be completed.*

(Nine in the Fifth: Together with) people first crying (out) and later laughing: The great armies (can) meet each other. *In divining about tying up the prisoner ...*

(Top) Nine: Together with people in Hao; no regret. *In divining about occupying office, you will be dismissed.*⁹

Despite the fragmentary nature of these bamboo-strip texts, two things are clear: first, the text of the Fuyang *Zhou Yi* corresponds very closely with that of the received text;¹⁰ and second, each hexagram and line statement was furnished with at least one divination statement, and some (such as the Nine in the Third line here) had multiple divination statements. The relationship between the Fuyang *Zhou Yi* text and the divination statements is less clear, but their pairing would seem not to have been random. Thus, it seems appropriate that the apparently ominous but inconclusive line statement for Nine in the Third, “Crouching belligerents in the grass: Ascending its high hillock, For three years not arising,” should give rise to a divination statement such as “in divining about doing battle, the enemy will be strong but will not get its way.” In the following section, I examine several more examples of Fuyang *Zhou Yi* line statements and divination statements, and subsequently draw some implications for the appearance of similar divination statements in the received text of the *Zhou Yi*.

nese orthography as 野, is written on strip no. 53 as 埜, which was the standard ancient form (*guwen* 古文) of the word; for a discussion of this equivalence, see Qiu Xigui, *Chinese Writing*, trans. Gilbert L. Mattos and Jerry Norman (Berkeley: The Society for the Study of Early China and the Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 2000), p. 222.

⁹ The interpretation of 法免 as *fei mian* 廢免, “to be dismissed,” is suggested by Han, “Fuyang Han jian Zhou Yi shiwen,” p. 52, n. 5.

¹⁰ For a listing of *variora* between the Fuyang text and both the received text and also the Mawangdui manuscript, see *ibid.*, pp. 127–32.

THE NATURE OF THE DIVINATION
STATEMENTS AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO
THE HEXAGRAM AND LINE STATEMENTS OF THE *ZHOU YI*

The divination statements in the Fuyang *Zhou Yi* text are usually differentiated from the *Zhou Yi* text itself by the introductory verb *bu* 卜, “to divine.”¹¹ However, as suggested above, the contents of the statements are often similar to those of the hexagram or line statement to which they are attached. Consider, for instance, the following several examples, which illustrate different types of relationships. (See, above, the conventions used to highlight divination statements and the words supplemented from the received *Zhou Yi*.)

Strip no. 98: ●初九屢校滅
Strip no. 99: 繫囚者桎梏吉不兇●六二筮膚滅

First Nine: The ankles are shackled and cut (are the feet); (no trouble). (*Divining about*)...? ... *tying up a prisoner, fetters and handcuffs will be lucky and not ominous.* ●

Six in the Second: Biting the skin and cutting ...

This divination statement is attached to the First Nine line of “Shike 噬嗑” (written 筮闢 on the Fuyang strips) (“Biting and Chewing”; no. 21 in the traditional sequence). It is easy to see that the divination statement about shackling prisoners corresponds exactly with the contents of the line statement.

Strip no. 120: 六二休復吉卜
Strip no. 121: 出妾皆復●六三頻

Six in the Second: A fine return; lucky. *Divining about ... ? ... the departed consorts all return.* ●

Six in the Third: Frequent (returns; danger, no trouble).

In this case, the Six in the Second line of “Fu 復” (“Returning”; no. 24), whatever the specific meaning of “a fine return” may have been (and it may not have had a specific meaning), the prognostication that “departed consorts all return” is obviously related to the major theme of “returning.”

Strip no. 212: 取婦嫁女不吉田不得●上九翰音
(Nine in the Fifth: There are hostages bound together; no trouble. *Divining about ...*)? ... *taking a wife or marrying off a*

¹¹ Ibid., p. 74, cites two examples where the divination statements follow immediately after the line statement without an introductory *bu*, and makes the observation that these could easily have been confused with the line statements themselves.

daughter, it will not be lucky; about hunting, you will not make a catch. ●

Top Nine: The wings' sound ...

Although the line statement to which this divination statement would have been attached is not extant among the Fuyang strips, the line statement that continues after it “Top Nine: The wings' sound,” the first words of the Top Nine line of “Zhong fu 中孚” (“Inner Hospitality”; no. 61), shows that it must have been the Nine in the Fifth line of that hexagram. While the image of the line statement, “hostages bound together” 有孚攣如 may not be obviously related to divinations about marriage or hunting (though the ominousness of the image might certainly give rise to the unhappy prognostications), some of the other lines in the same hexagram do seem to concern these topics.¹² Perhaps they had some residual influence on the sort of divination statements with which this line was associated as well.

If we now consider one final example, I think it may be possible also to draw some inferences about how the original line statements of the *Zhou Yi* came to be formed. Fuyang strips no. 18 and no. 19 correspond to the Nine in the Second line of “Meng 蒙” (“Blind”; no. 4).

Strip no. 18: 老婦吉子克

Strip no. 19: 家利嫁

(Nine in the Second: Embracing the blind: lucky.) The old lady is lucky,¹³ the son can form a family. *Beneficial to marry off a daughter ...*

Given the relationship between the divination statements and hexagram or line statements suggested above, it is easy to see a relationship between the divination statement “beneficial to marry off a daughter” and the line statement “the son can form a family.” Indeed, lacking a “divining about” to divide the two statements,¹⁴ it would be easy to read the divination statement here as part of the line statement.

¹² The Top Nine line of “Zhong fu” mentions a “game-warden 虞,” and the Nine in the Second line is the well-known arousal (*xing* 興) verse “A calling crane in the shadows, / Its babe harmonizes with it; / We have a fine chalice, / I will drain it with you” 鳴鶴在陰，其子和之；我有好爵，吾與爾靡之。Of course, the degree of intertextuality among the line statements of a single hexagram is a matter of some debate.

¹³ The *Zhou Yi* received text reads *na* 納, “to take in,” rather than the *lao* 老, “old,” of the Fuyang text (the Mawangdui manuscript reads *ru* 入, “enter,” cognate with *na*).

¹⁴ It is also possible that these two strips have been erroneously rejoined by the editors. While the first character of strip no. 19, “family” (*ja* 家), neatly completes the Nine in the Second line of “Meng” hexagram, not only is it also the last word of the Top Nine line of “Sun 損” (“Decrease”; no. 41): “Top Nine: Not decreasing but increasing it; no trouble. Di-

One of the most frequent formulas in the line statements of the *Zhou Yi* begins with the word “beneficial” (*li* 利): the phrases “beneficial to see the great man 利見大人,” “beneficial to ford the great stream 利涉大川,” and “beneficial to have somewhere to go 利有攸往” each occur numerous times, while “beneficial herewith to punish the man 利用刑人,” “beneficial to ward off robbers 利禦寇,” “beneficial herewith to invade and attack 利用侵伐,” “beneficial herewith to move armies 利用行師,” “beneficial herewith to make an offering 利用享祀,” and numerous others each occur once or twice. The divination statement “beneficial to marry off a daughter” would seem to be no different in kind from all of these “beneficial” formulas of the *Zhou Yi*. It is easy to imagine that, but for a different divination official responsible for the final editing of the received text of the *Zhou Yi*, this Fuyang phrase, or one much like it, could have come to be attached at the end of the Nine in the Second line statement of *Meng* hexagram.

It is also easy to imagine that the formulas that did make their way into the *Zhou Yi* derived originally from the same sort of divination context as that which produced the Fuyang text. In an important study first published in 1947, Li Jingchi 李鏡池 suggested that *Zhou Yi* line statements are typically composed of different sorts of textual material.¹⁵ He identified three different types, or components, of complete line statements:

1. “image prognostications 象占之辭,” by which he meant such images as the various dragons 龍 of “Qian 乾” (“Vigor”; no. 1), or the phrase “the withered poplar grows a sprout” 枯楊生稊 of the Nine in the Second line of “Daguo 大過” (“Great Passing”; no. 28);
2. “narratives 敘事之辭,” by which he seems to have meant especially such statements involving human action as “beneficial to see the great man 利見大人” of the Nine in the Second line of “Qian” or “the old man gets a maiden wife 老夫得其女妻” of that same Nine in the Second line of “Daguo”; and
3. “divinations and portents 貞兆之辭,” by which he meant the various formulaic divination terms so ubiquitous in the *Zhou Yi*: *ji* 吉, “lucky”; *xiong* 凶, “ominous”; *li* 厲, “dangerous”; *lin* 吝, “stingy”; *hui*

vining, auspicious; beneficial to have someplace to go; getting a servant without a family” 上九: 弗損益之, 無咎. 貞吉, 利有攸往; 得臣無家, but it is also a word found with some frequency among the Fuyang divination statements themselves, and thus might be instead the last word of a preceding divination phrase. Despite these two alternative possibilities, the example here seems sufficiently plausible (especially considering the precedents noted above, n. 11) to warrant consideration.

¹⁵ Li Jingchi, “Zhou Yi shi ci xu kao” 周易筮辭續考, *Lingnan xuebao* 嶺南學報 7.1 (1947), pp. 1–66; rpt., with an added postscript dated October 10, 1962, in idem, *Zhou Yi tanyuan* 周易探源 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1978), pp. 72–150.

悔, “regret”; *hui wang* 悔亡, “regret gone”; *wu jiu* 無咎, “no trouble”; *wu you li* 無攸利, “nothing that benefits”; *wu bu li* 無不利, “nothing not beneficial”; *li zhen* 利貞, “beneficial to divine,” and so on.

Although some of Li’s examples would seem to need revision,¹⁶ and the names he gave to his three categories could probably be improved, nevertheless his insight that line statements were the result of a multi-step process seems to find corroboration in the Fuyang *Zhou Yi* divination statements. Consider the following line statements or parts of line statements.

屯六二：... 女子貞不字，十年乃字。

“Stockpiling”: Six in the Second: ... the maiden divining about not giving birth, in ten years then she will give birth.

豫六五：貞疾恆不死。

“Surplus”: Six in the Fifth: Divining about illness, it will be long-term but you will not die.

隨初九：官有渝貞吉出門有功。

“Pursuit”: First Nine: The divination about the office being changed is lucky; about going out of the gate, there will be merit.

隨六三：係丈夫失小子隨有求得利居貞。

“Pursuit”: Six in the Third: Tying the old man, but losing the young son; pursuing that which you seek, you will get it; beneficial to divine about residing.

復上六：迷復，凶；有災眚，用行師，終有大敗，以其國君凶，至于十年不克征。

“Returning”; Top Six: A confused return; ominous; there is disaster and calamity; herewith moving armies, in the end there will be a great defeat; together with the lord of state it will be ominous, reaching until ten years, it will not be possible to campaign.

遯九三：係遯；有疾厲，畜臣妾吉。

¹⁶ For instance, there seems to be no reason to differentiate such similar formulas as “beneficial to see the great man” and “beneficial to divine” on the basis of subject matter. In my own study of the *Zhou Yi*, I proposed four different components of a line statement: a Topic, by which I meant more or less the same as Li Jingchi’s “image prognostication”; an Injunction, by which I meant the various statements of advice usually beginning with the word *li* 利, “beneficial”; a Prognostication, which I restricted to just the words *ji*, *xiong*, *li*, and *lin*, often following immediately after the word *zhen* 貞, “to divine”; and a Verification, a different group of divination terms including *wu you li*, *wu bu li*, *wu jiu*, *hui*, and *hui wang* (terms that do not ordinarily occur together with the verb *zhen*); see Edward L. Shaughnessy, “The Composition of the ‘Zhouyi’” (Ph.D. diss.: Stanford University, 1983), pp. 136–58.

“Piglet”: Nine in the Third: Tying the piglet; there is illness, danger; about keeping servants and consorts, lucky.

Having examined these rather obvious cases, if we return now to the Fuyang *Zhou Yi* text to consider one final example, we might be able to hazard a guess as to why some such divination formulas were incorporated into the *Zhou Yi*'s final editing. Text on four separate fragments corresponds to the Nine in the Second line statement of “Daguo,” two parts of which were mentioned above in the discussion of Li Jingchi's analysis of the constituent parts of a *Zhou Yi* line statement.

<i>Strip no. 140:</i>	得之●九二枯楊
<i>Strip no. 141:</i>	生蕘老夫得
<i>Strip no. 142:</i>	女妻無不利卜病者不死戰鬥
<i>Strip no. 143:</i>	適強而有勝有罪而遷徙

get it. ●

Nine in the Second: The withered poplar grows a sprout, The old man gets a maiden wife; nothing not beneficial. *Divining about one who is ill, he will not die; about battling, the enemy is strong but there will be victory; about having guilt, one will be able to transfer and move.*

It is easy to see how the image of this line, a withered tree growing a new sprout and an old man taking a young bride, would suggest the formula “nothing not beneficial.” There is nothing intrinsically different about that formula and the three Fuyang divination statements except perhaps their degree of specificity; it may have been nothing more than its all-encompassing generality that won the inclusion of “nothing not beneficial” into the received text of the *Zhou Yi*. But perhaps there was one other feature about the phrase that made it especially appropriate: the rhyme (or near-rhyme) among the following three end-words:

ti 蕘 (*diad), “sprout”;
qi 妻 (*tshiad), “wife”; and
li 利 (*ljadh), “beneficial.”¹⁷

A comparison of this line with the parallel Nine in the Fifth line of the same hexagram supplies further evidence of this literary quality.¹⁸

九五：枯楊生華，老婦得其士夫：無咎無譽。

Nine in the Fifth: The withered poplar grows a flower, The old lady gets her young man; no trouble, no praise.

¹⁷ These archaic reconstructions are those of Li Fanggui 李方桂, as presented in Axel Schuessler, *A Dictionary of Early Zhou Chinese* (Honolulu: U. of Hawaii P., 1987).

¹⁸ This line is not among the Fuyang fragments.

Whether the equivocation of this prognostication is only incidental or if it perhaps reflects some gendered criticism of an older woman who takes on a young lover is hard to say, but especially in comparison with the Nine in the Second line it seems likely that part of the prognostication's appeal lay in the rhyme among the end-words:

hua 華 (*gwrag), “flower”;
fu 夫 (*pjag), “man”; and
yu 譽 (*ragh), “praise.”

In conclusion, the Fuyang *Zhou Yi* divination statements allow us to see how the *Zhou Yi* as we know it was used as a divination manual in the second century BC. Perhaps more important, it also suggests some of the ways in which divination may have produced the manual itself, or at least aspects of it. Barring the discovery of a manuscript much earlier than that of the Fuyang *Zhou Yi*,¹⁹ attempts to reconstruct the process by which the *Zhou Yi* came into being are likely to remain hypothetical. But paleographic sources such as this Fuyang *Zhou Yi* provide invaluable evidence with which to render these hypotheses ever more concrete.

¹⁹ The *Zhou Yi* as we now know it was certainly in circulation no later than 300 BC, as shown both by the description Du Yu 杜預 (222–284) gave of a manuscript version found in 279 AD in the tomb of King Xiang'ai of Wei (r. 318–296 BC) (for Du's statement, which describes the manuscript as “just the same 正同” as the received text, see *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi* 春秋左傳正義 (SBBY edn.), “Houxu 後序,” p. 1a, and more recently, by the manuscript of the *Zhou Yi* stored in the Shanghai Museum; for the first publication of this manuscript, see Liao Mingchun 廖名春, “Shanghai bowuguan cang Chu jian Zhou Yi guankui” 上海博物館藏楚簡周易管窺, *Zhou Yi yanjiu* 周易研究 2000.3, pp. 21–31.