7 | From philology to philosophy: Zhu Xi as a reader-annotator

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Eleventh- and twelfth-century China witnessed the maturation of Neo-Confucianism. It distinguished itself from the previous Confucian tradition with a new ultimate concern of searching for the Way (*dao*; interchangeable with principles [*li*]). This philosophical redefinition excluded Han (202 BCE–220 CE) classicists and Tang (618–907 CE) essayists from the Confucian tradition on the grounds that the former focused on etymology and philology and the latter on compositional skills only.[1] The Classics remained the textual foundation for all Confucian doctrines and sociopolitical activities in these two centuries,[2] but Neo-Confucians reinterpreted these texts following a new hermeneutics they assumed to be universally valid. This hermeneutics was largely initiated by Cheng Yi (1033–1107), who played a pivotal role, along with his brother Hao (1032–85), in the formation of Neo-Confucianism. Zhu Xi (1130–1200) then codified the Cheng brothers' teachings and reworked them into his own philosophical program.[3]

Commentary still functioned as a main medium of Neo-Confucian philosophical expression,[4] as we can tell from Zhu's *Collected Commentaries on the* Analects (*Lunyu jizhu*. 1177). In his commentary, Zhu provided his philological studies of the classical text before presenting his philosophical reading with supportive citations (see Figure 7.1). Alluring here is how Zhu, in his commentarial practice, read his philosophy into the Classic, or how he textually practiced the transition from philology to philosophy.

Intellectual historians have discussed at length Zhu's hermeneutic theory in philosophical transcendence, his commentarial assumptions, and how his commentary shaped Neo-Confucian orthodoxy and changed the meaning and role of the Classics.[5] Instead, this chapter aims to reconstruct Zhu's

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[1] Bol 2008, pp. 79–80; 1992; Kuhn 2009, chs. 1, 5–6, for the formation of Neo-Confucianism.

[2] Kuhn 2009, ch.3; Yu 2004, pp. 184–327.

[3] Van Zoeren 1991, p. 154; Graham 1958 for the Cheng brothers; Chan 1987 for Zhu Xi.

[4] Makeham 2003, pp. 3–5.

[5] Yü 1986, pp. 237–41; Henderson 1991; Van Zoeren 1991; Gardner 1998; Huang 2001, ch.8; Makeham, 2003, chs. 6–8.

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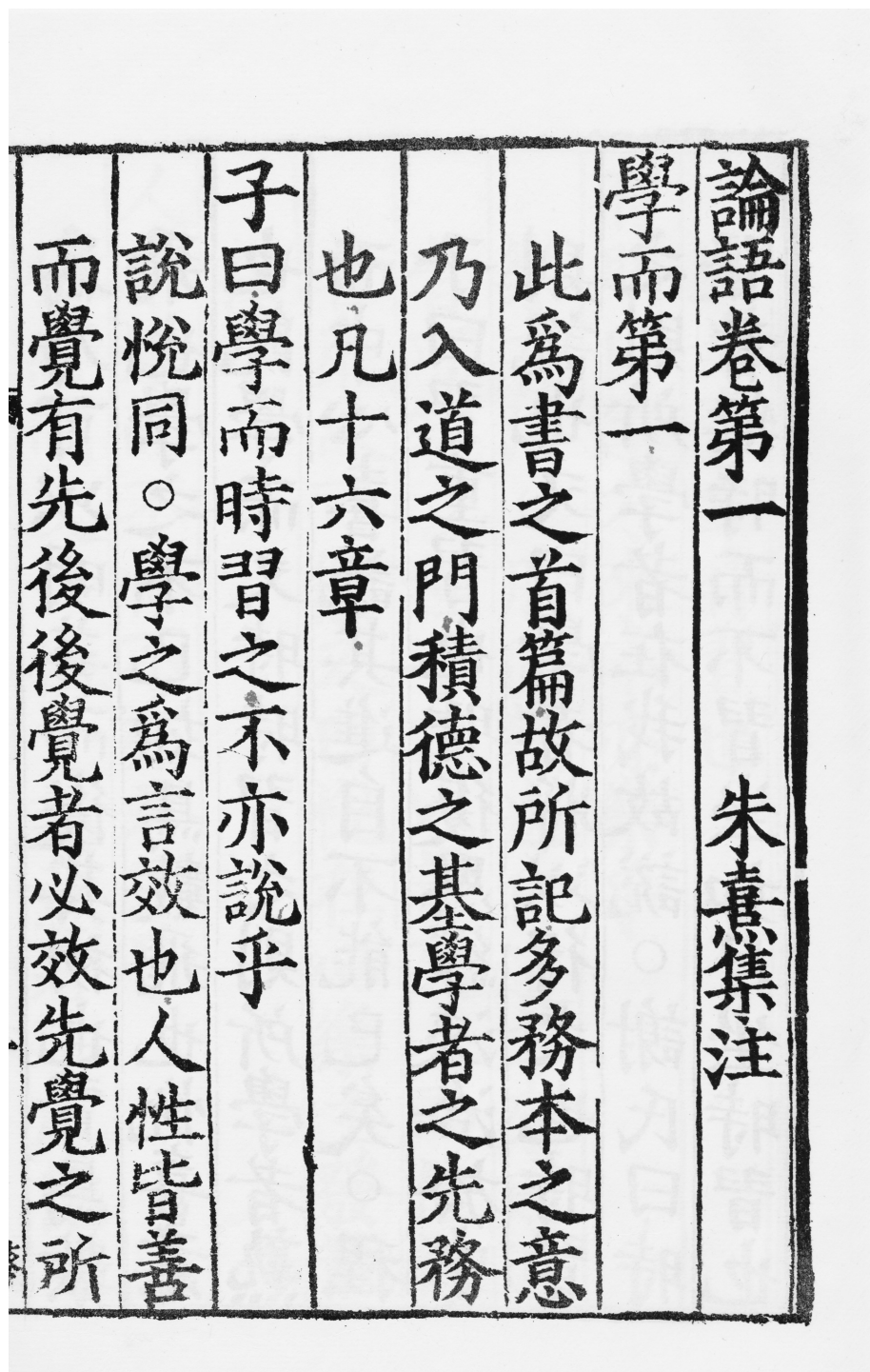
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Figure 7.1 *The Collected Commentaries on the* Analects (*Lunyu jizhu*, 1217; reproduced in the *Zhonghua zaizao shanben* [Zhu Xi 2006b]): the *Analects* 1.1. National Library of China, Beijing.

hermeneutic practice with a deconstructing case study of his commentary on the *Analects* 1.1. As his commentary was an extension of his textual criticism, before turning to the central question of how Zhu transited from philology to philosophy, I discuss his thesis about the role of the classical texts in philosophical pursuits, his approach to them, and his pattern of textual criticism, all of which he applied to his hermeneutic practice.

1. Return to the classical texts

Textual practices begin with reading. Yet in twelfth-century China, the role of reading in moral improvement was controversial. There was a tendency to downplay reading among Neo-Confucians of different philosophical stances, since cultivating the mind was considered an alternative approach to moral advancement. Zhu developed his theory of reading as a response to this emerging scholarly fashion, assuming a close affinity between the sages' written texts and the Way and advocating a return to the Classics, their textual meaning, and the sages' intentions.[6] For Zhu, learning was more than book learning, but without reading the student would be ignorant of the pathway toward the pursuit of learning.[7] Furthermore, he related reading to philosophical adventure: "With regard to the way of learning, nothing is more urgent than a thorough study of principles," he wrote in 1194. "And a thorough study of principles must of necessity consist in book-learning."[8] Principle (*li*), a central Neo-Confucian category, means how a thing is made into the kind of thing it is. The ultimate principle of Heaven (*tianli*, hereafter the Principle) governs the world and is manifested in individual things. A given thing manifests a particular principle that organizes elements into this thing. The text, as a corollary, is composed following certain principles as textual manifestations of the Principle. Thus both the Principle and its particular aspects are prescriptive and normative, present in and providing proper standards for all things while guaranteeing their naturalness. Comprehending the Principle is gradual and accumulative, however. One should investigate one thing after another (*gewu*) to master particular principles till grasping the Principle as the sages have done.[9] Reading in Zhu's theory was a

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[6] Levey 2000, p. 255.
[7] Zhu Xi 1532, "Da Zhu Pengsun" 60.1a.
[8] Translation quoted from Yü 1986, p. 233.
[9] Chan 1969, pp. 45–87; 1989, pp. 138–43; Ivanhoe 2000, pp. 46–47.

main way of investigating things and cultivating what is moral; even his philosophical rival Lu Jiuyuan (1139–92), who pioneered the Philosophy of Mind, recognized reading as an aspect of learning.[10] Accordingly, Zhu suggested that his disciples read widely.

Reading widely did not mean that all texts were equal. Zhu's well-known order of reading stipulated mastering the basic texts of Neo-Confucianism before approaching other Confucian Classics, standard histories, and philosophical writings. All texts to be read could be listed in a sequence from the easy to the difficult and then from the core to the periphery: *Elementary Learning* (*Xiaoxue*), *Reflections on Things at Hand*,[11] the Four Books (the *Great Learning*, the *Analects*, the *Mencius*, and the *Doctrine of the Mean*), the Five Classics (the *Changes*, the *Songs*, the *Documents*, the *Rites*, and the *Spring and Autumn Annals*), and lastly the standard histories and philosophers. In this curriculum, Zhu unsurprisingly designated the Confucian Classics as the core. All these texts, especially the Classics, were coherent for Zhu in the very same Principle, as other Confucian exegetes had assumed.[12]

Zhu was the first to integrate the *Great Learning*, the *Analects*, the *Mencius*, and the *Mean* into a textual cluster as the Four Books. These were the core of his classical exegesis, and stepping-stones to the Five Classics. Even within the Four Books, the texts were to be read in the proper order: First came the *Great Learning*, then the *Analects*, the *Mencius*, and finally the *Mean*. Theoretically this sequence was not to be altered.[13] Zhu repeatedly justified this sequence in his instructions and conversations with his disciples.[14] He viewed the *Great Learning* as an outline, a route book for the pursuit of learning and self-cultivation;[15] he himself devoted most of his time to its exposition.[16] The *Analects* used concrete examples to teach the reader proper conduct, while the *Mencius* provided theoretical elaborations.[17] The *Mean* was too abstract for the beginner to understand; it could be apprehended only after the other three texts had been mastered.[18] Until completion of these four

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[10] Ivanhoe 2000, pp. 43–58; 2009, p. 80; Dai 2012, pp. 103–05, for more details.
[11] Kelleher 1989 for the *Elementary Learning*; Zhu Xi and Lü Zuqian 1967, p. xx, for the *Reflections*.
[12] Gardner 1990, pp. 37–42; Henderson 1991, pp. 106–21, 146–68.
[13] Zhu Xi 1532, "Shu Linzhang suokan Sizi hou" 82.26a–b; Li Jingde 1986, 14.249.
[14] For instances, see Gardner 2007, p. xxv; 1986, pp. 5–6.
[15] Gardner 1986, p. 4.
[16] Gardner 1986, p. 3.
[17] Li Jingde 1986, 19.429, 430.
[18] Li Jingde 1986, 62.1479.

texts, the reader was not capable of using other texts.[19] With respect to self-cultivation and apprehending principles, the Four Books embraced the Principle in a simple and illuminating style. By comparison, reading the Five Classics was not as urgent for self-cultivation because of their obscurity. The reader needed to bring to the Five Classics the principles he first apprehended from the Four Books.

This sequence of reading the Four Books meant not merely a pedagogical order but a philosophical genealogy. The Tang essayist and Confucian Han Yu (768–824) enunciated the earliest lineage of the "true" Confucian Way, from the legendary ancient kings and sages to Confucius (551–479 BCE), who in turn transmitted the Way to his grandson Zisi (ca. 481–402 BCE); Zisi's follower Mencius (ca. 372–289 BCE) was the last true interpreter of Confucius's wisdom. This Transmission of the Way (*daotong*) was then interrupted from the Han until the Tang, according to Han Yu, as classical scholarship had neglected the sages' intentions embedded in the texts. More than two hundred years later the Cheng brothers employed Han Yu's view to legitimate their philosophical invention in the Confucian tradition.[20] Around 1172 Zhu affirmed this transmission, suggesting that Confucius's wisdom was perpetuated through Mencius down to the Cheng brothers, whose philosophy Zhu himself inherited as their fourth-generation disciple.[21] This imagined genealogy corresponded to the assigned authorial pedigree of the Four Books: Traditionally Confucius was responsible for the *Analects* and Mencius for the *Mencius*; the *Mean* was considered to be Zisi's work; and the *Great Learning*, in Zhu's view (see Section 3), was an annotated recollection of Confucius's words by his immediate disciple, Zeng Can (505–435 BCE), and Zeng's protégés.[22]

Zhu's curriculum also implied a hierarchy between branches of knowledge, corresponding to his textual hierarchy.[23] As core texts, the Four Books provided the philosophical foundation for classical learning and Neo-Confucian textual practices. He expected adherents of Neo-Confucian principles to ground their repertoire of knowledge and writing in an understanding of the classical texts, exclusively emphasizing the superiority of Neo-Confucian principles over all other branches of knowledge.

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[19] Li Jingde 1986, 14.249.

[20] T. Wilson 1995, pp. 77–83, 158–59; Chan 1989, pp. 320–35; Bol 1992, p. 302.

[21] Makeham 2003, pp. 176–77, 188, 400–01.

[22] Gardner 2007, pp. xxiv–xxv; 1986, pp. 37–43.

[23] Dai 2012, pp. 73–84.

2. Evidential approach to the classical texts

Unlike Cheng Yi, who decried philologists and etymologists as obstinate (*qian*),[24] Zhu strongly advocated an etymological start to reading the Classics, and he employed the philological tradition of classical exegesis in his philosophical enterprise. He considered textually groundless speculations to be more disastrous for pursuing the Way than purely philological exegeses could be.[25] Before discerning the larger meaning inherent in the Classics, readers should understand words and sentences, each of which Zhu believed embraced the sage's intention and a particular principle.[26] Both the meaning and the pronunciation of each character should be clarified in the textual context.[27] The character's form and pronunciation might be secondary to the Principle, but knowledge of them would facilitate the comprehension of the text and authorial intention.[28] Philology prepared the ground for Zhu's textual criticism and philosophical program.

Zhu employed both etymology and phonology in his classical exegeses. He declared this philological and evidential approach to be a fundamental rule for his expositions of the *Analects* and the *Mencius* and expected his disciples to pay particular attention to his explanations of words.[29] In 1163 he completed a primer of the *Analects* for children, in which he based his etymological explanations of words on early commentaries and rectified characters' pronunciations by referring to the philologist Lu Deming's (556–627) dictionary of ancient texts.[30] The same approach was continued in his *Collected Meanings of the* Analects *and the* Mencius (*Yu Meng jiyi*, 1172), with reference to many commentators from the Han period down to his own time. Classicists prior to the mid-third century, for Zhu, contributed much to the study of phonology, etymological explanations, and evidential studies of ancient institutions and things, without which it would not be possible to understand ancient texts.[31] His philological practice, together with that of others before him, constituted a root of the evidential scholarship that would characterize the eighteenth-century intellectual world.[32]

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[24] Cheng Hao and Cheng Yi 1981, p. 1185.
[25] Zhu Xi 1532, "Zhongyong jijie xu" 75.29b.
[26] Li Jingde 1986, 124.2978–79.
[27] Zhu Xi 1532, "Da Xiang Pingfu" 54.8b; "Yu Wei Yingzhong" 39.33a.
[28] Zhu Xi 1532, "Da Yang Yuanfan" 50.1b.
[29] Li Jingde 1986, 11.184, 191, 72.1812.
[30] Zhu Xi 1532, "Lunyu xunmeng kouyi xu" 75.8a; Makeham 2003, pp. 398–99.
[31] Zhu Xi 1532, "Yu Meng jiyi xu" 75.21a, 22a; Makeham 2003, pp. 404–05.
[32] Elman 1984, pp. 40–41, 213–15.

Zhu set a philosophical goal for evidential reading, but its first outcome
was his textual criticism. Collation was obviously motivated by his concern
with the authenticity of the text, which would ensure a proper understand-
ing of the authorial intention. He fully demonstrated his textual criticism
when editing and publishing the Cheng brothers' writings.[33] To keep an
open mind free of preconceptions was indispensable to collation. Any pre-
conceived ideas threatened the comprehension of the text and would mis-
lead the editor into changing whatever he pleased.[34] Minor textual errors
might be corrected with caution, but any major changes or questioning of
texts ought to be carried out in full conformity with principles.[35] More spe-
cific rules, Zhu added, should be followed in collation: (1) Minor variations
in phrasing could influence the expression of principles and intentions;
thus, when referring to other versions, the author's words should be kept
unaltered with textual variants noted. (2) Any necessary change of phrase
should accord with the purpose of the text (a manifestation of the Principle
and textual principles in Zhu's view). The collator should treat the text with
modesty and reverence; he should not impose his own idea upon the author
just as the reader should not read his preconceived idea into the text.[36] Any
unreasonable change could turn out to be an obstruction to apprehending
the author's true intention.

When collating, Zhu asked that several readers work together in a
cross-examination of the text so that all parts of it could be checked several
times.[37] One collator would read aloud while the others listened, comparing
and marking the variants; after a session they would switch their roles.[38] The
reader and corrector collaborated in an oral-aural way as described in the
Introduction to this volume. In this process, the reader-collator should also
keep his mind open to reasonable words from any source. "If commend-
able, even the commoner's words should not be disregarded," Zhu wrote. "If
questionable, even those words reportedly from the sages and the worthies
should be examined and cited with caution."[39]

So far Zhu's evidential approach and the manner of textual criticism based
on it sound cautious and impartial. He tried to preserve the objectivity of

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[33] Cf. Ichikawa Yasuji 1966, emphasizing the philosophical implication of Zhu Xi's theory of
      collation.
[34] Zhu Xi 1532, "Da Liu Gongfu" 37.12b–13b.
[35] Zhu Xi 1532, "Yu Zhang Qinfu" 30.22b.
[36] Zhu Xi 1532, "Da Hu Guangzhong" 42.6b.
[37] Zhu Xi 1532, "Da Xu Shunzhi" 39.19b–20a.
[38] Zhu Xi 1532, "Da Lü Bogong" 33.20a.
[39] Zhu Xi 1532, "Da Zhang Jingfu" 31.10a–b.

the text and its meaning, upon which the legitimacy of his commentary and philosophical interpretation would be grounded. However, he had to make a final choice between his philological and philosophical identities in textual criticism and commentarial practice. What made his choice controversial was his concern with the Principle, the central Neo-Confucian category.

3.   Applying Principles to Textual Criticism

Zhu considered comprehending the Principle to be the goal of textual criticism, similar to the objective of finding God in geometric studies of the central Middle Ages (ca. 950–ca. 1350) in Europe. He also emphasized the Principle as the ultimate governing rule. The text became what it ought to be in its author's hands only when he properly understood and applied the Principle and its textual manifestations. Zhu employed this rule both in his textual criticism and in his commentarial practice.

In addition to editing and publishing the Cheng brothers' writings, Zhu applied principles he understood in editing their disciple Xie Liangzuo's (1050–1103) recorded conversations. In 1159 he obtained a printed version of this collection. When editing it, Zhu removed more than fifty entries from the final edition, since after examining them with Xie's theory of the Principle, he believed that those entries were not Xie's own words or his meaning.[40] In 1168 he happened to read a collection of another Neo-Confucian's conversations, in which he found all of the passages he had removed from Xie's work. This experience strongly supported the judgment he had made ten years before.[41]

Not all of his judgments, however, were as well received as his editing of the Cheng brothers and Xie. His investigation of the variants in Han Yu's writings was not a part of his philosophical pursuit but purely textual scholarship that he produced as an enthusiast of Han's literary creations. Zhu appreciated Han's defense of Confucian orthodoxy against Buddhism but decried his elaboration and practice of the Way. In Zhu's view, Han "had not probed the Principle but devoted himself to literary composition."[42] Zhu had enjoyed Han's literary writings since his teenage years, however. This

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[40]   Zhu Xi 1532, "Xie Shangcai yulu houxu" 75.3a–4a.

[41]   Zhu Xi 1532, "Xie Shangcai yulu houji" 77.14a–b.

[42]   Li Jingde 1986, 137.3276.

enduring interest made him wish for an authentic version of Han's writings, since he was not satisfied with any of the editions available to him.

Around 1192 Zhu began to draw up his rules for collating. He preferred to place the variants from different editions right after the relevant word extracted from the original text, so that his judgment could be demonstrated but at the same time his reader could understand the merits and demerits of different versions. Even when the collator made a mistake, the recorded variants would help the reader judge for himself.[43] This collational formula remained unchanged in the 1197 final appearance of this project, for which Zhu claimed cautiousness in calling his judgments "reasonable and logical." He discriminated the rights or wrongs of the noted variants and justified his judgment among them. When evidence was insufficient, he simply supplied a brief note "without making a judgment."[44] The collection of textual variants implied the objectivity of the text, which its reader should respect. In his process of discrimination, selection, and justification Zhu utilized his evidential approach. Without understanding individual words and phrases in Han's writings, he insisted, the reader could not apprehend Han's meaning and intentions.[45]

Zhu's *Examination of Variants in Han Yu's Writings* (*Changli xiansheng ji kaoyi*) was originally published apart from Han's collection. The 1229 edition that one of Zhu's disciples collated and printed is widely recognized as reliably presenting his intention in both text and style. In this edition, the original phrase of Han's in question was transcribed as the entry heading in large characters, followed by Zhu's note in small ones. Those headings came mainly from a widely circulated Directorate of Education edition (*Guozijian ben*).[46] In his note Zhu usually first listed all variants of the phrase from all known editions, then his judgment, and then the justification for his judgment, with a circle separating the variants and his judgment from his justification (see Figure 7.2). In his notes, Zhu mentioned at least twenty-four editions, although he did not see most of them.[47] Among them, three (the 1009 Hangzhou, and the Palace [*guan'ge*] and Shu editions, both dated to the mid-eleventh century) had been esteemed as authoritative before Zhu's project. The rubbings and transcriptions of some of Han's pieces from

43   Zhu Xi 1532, "Ba Fang Jishen suojiao Han wen" 83.4a–b.

44   Zhu Xi 1532, "Yu Fang Bomo" 44.27a–b.

45   Zhu Xi 1532, "Han wen kaoyi xu" 76.29b–30a.

46   Zhu Xi 1532, 44.27a; Liu Zhenlun 2004, pp. 285–90, and Hartman 1976, pp. 96–97 n. 24, for the Directorate of Education edition.

47   Liu Zhenlun 2004, pp. 146–75.

年歲選詩徙

倚恒漏窮

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惟得之而不能天之生我必有所用何不力慕古曰

人如傳說之徒而獨惆悵於無位邪惟或者苟得乃

其位而不能追配古人但如二鳥之空被榮寵乃

於是鬼神之所戲耳故幸年歲之末晚而庶幾不能者慕

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Figure 7.2 *Examination of Variants in Han Yu's Writings* (*Changli xiansheng ji kaoyi*, 1229; reproduced in the *Zhonghua zaizao shanben* [Zhu Xi 2006a]). National Library of China, Beijing.

stele inscriptions, called "stele editions," had also been considered reliable because they were closer to Han's times.[48]

Zhu was critical of all those editions, however, and for him they were subject to examination using his evidential approach. When collating, he remained cautious, using the three authoritative editions and the stele editions on the grounds that any stage of production could cause variants. The Palace edition, though of official origin, was not always textually reliable. "Generally the imperial holdings just come from the populace," Zhu wrote in a note. "Imperial scholars collated texts simply to meet their regular career evaluations. How could all of their collated copies be of the finest of quality and much better than the private editions are?"[49] Neither could the stele editions be authoritative, as there were variants among them. In producing an inscription, both its transcriber and its carver could make mistakes, as could those who copied and circulated it.[50] Even a manuscript left from Han's contemporaries, dated 870, could be erroneous.[51]

Actually, the eleventh- and twelfth-century Chinese intellectual climate anticipated Zhu's mistrust of the official editions of Han Yu's works. Both traditional and institutional authority over texts and interpretations were seriously challenged, not only in classical exegeses, but also in receptions of nearly all canonical texts. While attacking the integrity and credibility of the government published texts, critical scholars tended to determine by themselves what a text should be and how to read it.[52] In his collation project, Zhu aimed to produce his critical edition of Han's collection mainly based on his own judgments of textual variants. Traditional and institutional authority gave way to his own understanding of the Principle and its textual manifestations. He weighted variants according to the literary principles and textual meaning that he believed Han employed in writing. "If a variant is right," he claimed, "I will adopt it even though it is from a new insignificant commercial edition; otherwise, I will reject it even though it comes from an official edition, an old edition, or a stele edition."[53] Right variants had to accord with compositional principles, the context, and Han's style, while the wrong did not.

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[48] Hartman 1976, pp. 93–95.
[49] Zhu Xi 2006a, 4.13b; Zhu Xi 1532, "Han wen kaoyi xu" 76.29b; translation modified from Hartman 1976, p. 97.
[50] Zhu Xi 2006a, 6.5b, 6.6a–b, 4.13b.
[51] Zhu Xi 2006a, 5.7b; Hartman 1976, p. 95, for the date of the Tang manuscript.
[52] Cherniack 1994, pp. 22–27, 57–73; Van Zoeren 1991, p. 151.
[53] Zhu Xi 2006a, 1.1a–b; Zhu Xi 1532, "Han wen kaoyi xu" 76.29b.

Han's literary principles were largely manifested in his uses of words, his style of phrasing and organizing, and his intentions.[54] Zhu singled out two dominating stylistic features of Han's writing: "removal of old clichés" and adoption of "fluid and apt" diction in response to the context. But it was necessary to balance these two features in order to make a proper judgment of variants.[55] Han tended to quote, adapt, and echo ancient texts. This literary classicism made his style striking and his meaning obscure, but in some contexts his phrases were simpler and clearer than might be thought. Neither feature should be overemphasized. After examining the variants in question against the allusions and source texts that Han could have used, Zhu decided which variant would be the best for conveying what Han intended.[56]

Zhu's knowledge of Han's stylistic features sounds mysterious, yet he justified his judgments in the context of Han's work as a whole. The evidence could be etymology, grammar, compositional style, literary tradition, the specific mechanism of a genre, textual meaning, authorial intentions, social and political milieus, or Han's life and philosophy. Zhu alerted himself to the need for caution when facing insufficient evidence – he did not "dare to re-create the text" at his own will.[57] His evidence for a judgment might, as noted, be anything except particular physical editions or early texts. An edition and text could be erroneous, but the Principle and its literary manifestations were infallible. Here are some examples of Zhu's collation, preceded by the particular principles he applied (Han's words in italics and the abstracts of Zhu's justifications in roman type):

- Coupling in poetry

> "Poem of the Two Birds" ("Shuang niao shi")

The Lord of Heaven accused the two birds / And Kept them captive apart from each other. / Then the race of insects and the family of birds / All began to sing – chirrrrup, chirrrrup.[58]

"Family of birds" (*bai niao*) was changed to "seven birds" (*qi niao*) in the three authoritative editions. Zhu confirmed the former, which actually resonated to an earlier line, "*the entire race of birds fluttered and soared*," in the same poem. Moreover, "seven birds" and "race of insects" could not be coupled in poetry.

[54] Qian Mu 1971, vol. V, p. 237.
[55] Zhu Xi 1532, "Han wen kaoyi xu" 76.29b–30a; Hartman 1976, p. 97; 1986, p. 250.
[56] For examples, see Zhu Xi 2006a, 2.4a–b, 7.2a.
[57] Zhu Xi 2006a, 6.2b.
[58] Translation quoted from J. Schmidt 1989, p. 154.

The cause for this variant, Zhu thought, lay in the visual similarity between *bai* (hundred) and *qi* (seven) in the cursive style of writing.[59]

- Etymology, allusion, and rhyme

> "Poem on the Sagacious Virtue of Primal Harmony" ("Yuanhe shengde shi")

When our August Thearch [i.e., the Xianzong emperor (r. 805–20)] *mounted along the eastern steps, / … Some* [rebels] *followed him* [i.e., Liu Pi (d. 806)] *who feared his violent rage, / others his cajolery enticed; / … rules and guides were set for* [the Tang imperial soldiers'] *advance and retreat:/ be not in battle too eager for kill, / nor yet let swell the number of captives. / Then they came at last to Liu Pi himself, / terror-stricken, his sweat flowed down in streams.*[60]

Zhu confirmed "mounted along the eastern steps" (*ji zuo*) and rejected "ascended the throne" (*ji zuo*) on the grounds that etymologically the first *zuo* made more sense than the second in spite of their phonetic identity and visual similarity. "Violent rage" (*xiong*) was miscopied as "breast" (*xiong*) in some earlier editions, as in the case of *zuo*. As for "swell the number of captives" (*lanshu*), this phrase was transcribed in all editions but one into "torn and ragged clothes" (*lanlü*) because of their visual and phonetic similarities; the latter was unreasonable in this context. Zhu supported his judgment with a quotation – "declared the number of his prisoners" (*shu fu*) – from the *Zuo Commentary on the* Spring and Autumn Annals.[61] "Sweat flowed down in streams" (*han ru xie*) had a variant, "sweat flowed down like raining" (*han ru yu*). Both made sense, but Zhu preferred *xie* over *yu* because the former shared a rhyme with other lines.

- Historical dress codes and rhetoric

"Preface to the Linked Verse on a Stone Cauldron" ("Shiding lianju xu")
He was very ugly, with a white beard and dark complexion, long neck, and prominent Adam's apple. Moreover he spoke with an accent of the Chu dialect.[62]

In most editions, this sentence reads, "He was very ugly, with … long neck and big hair-coil ..." The same character, *jie*, can mean both Adam's apple and hair-coil. Zhu here preferred the former over the latter on the grounds that Daoist monks in Han's times were supposed to use caps rather than wear their hair coiled, and in the textual context a long neck would make the Adam's apple more remarkable.[63]

- Historical stories

"Discourse on Teachers" ("Shi shuo")

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[59]   Zhu Xi 2006a, 2.8b.
[60]   Translation modified from de Bary et al. 1999, pp. 575–78.
[61]   Zhu Xi 2006a, 1.5a–b; the *Ch'un Ts'ew with the Tso Chuen*, in Legge 1960, pp. 511, 515B.
[62]   Translation modified from Hightower 1984, p. 17.
[63]   Zhu Xi 2006a, 6.15b.

A sage has no constant teacher. Confucius acknowledged Tanzi, Chang Hong, Shi Xiang, and Lao Dan as his teachers, although Tanzi and his like were surely not so wise as Confucius.[64]

Most editions prior to Zhu's collation read: "A sage has no constant teacher. (Tanzi,) Chang Hong, Shi Xiang, Lao Dan, Tanzi and their like were surely not so wise as Confucius." With the less-noticed variant "*Confucius acknowledged Tanzi*" in mind, Zhu briefly reconstructed Confucius's meetings with his teachers, among whom Tanzi was the first. He accordingly added this variant to the passage and combined it into a complete sentence with "Chang Hong, Shi Xiang, Lao Dan."[65] (In classical Chinese, "his like" and "their like" share the same compound, *zhi tu*.)

- Authorial intentions

  "Essentials of the Moral Way" ("Yuan dao")

  What Way is this? It is what I call the Way, not what the Daoists and Buddhists have called the Way.

  This being so, what can be done?[66]

  Zhu realized that Han intended the first quotation to consist of a question and his answer and the second to be another question. Some other collators did not think so. They read the first segment as "What a Way this is! It is the Way that I meant" or "What a Way this is! It is just my Way." Neither accorded with the textual context. Regarding the second quotation, they read it as "This being so, it is so great," after changing the questioning *he er ke ye* into an exclamatory *he qi ke ye*.[67]

- Etymology and grammar

  "An Inquiry on Human Nature" ("Yuan xing")

  Now to say that [human] *nature is good at first but subsequently becomes evil, or bad at first and subsequently becomes good, or mixed at first and is now either good or evil, is to mention only the medium grade and leave the superior and inferior grades out of account ...*[68]

  Before Zhu's collation, this sentence read, "Is that nature good at first but subsequently evil? Or, is it bad at first and subsequently good? Or, is it mixed at first and now either good or evil? All these cases mention only the medium grade and leave the superior and inferior grades out of account ..." Different readings resulted from the uses of *yu* ("and"); sometimes it could be used as an alternative form of another phonetically similar *yu* that commonly served as an interrogative sign to end questioning.[69]

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[64]   Translation modified from de Bary et al. 1999, p. 583; cf. Hartman 1986, p. 164.
[65]   Zhu Xi 2006a, 4.:6a–b; for Confucius's teachers, see Hartman 1986, p. 331 n. 84.
[66]   de Bary et al. 1999, p. 573.
[67]   Zhu Xi 2006a, 4.1b–2a.
[68]   Translation modified from Chan 1963, p. 452.
[69]   Zhu Xi 2006a, 4.:2b.

- Author's life and social network

    "Letter to Minister Meng" ("Yu Meng shangshu shu")

I conversed with him [i.e., Buddhist monk Dadian (732–824)] *and, although I could not understand everything, most important was to eradicate impediments and obstacles from one's thoughts. I consider this difficult to achieve, so I associated with him.*[70]

   "To eradicate impediments and obstacles from one's thoughts" (*xiongzhong wu zhiai*) was removed in the three authoritative editions. As a result, for Zhu, the text became unintelligible. Because of his defense of Confucian orthodoxy against Buddhism, Zhu pointed out, Han's friendship and intellectual exchanges with this Buddhist monk were taboo for some Confucian scholars. It had been common to conceal Han's praise of Dadian when collating, so that the consistency of his ideas could be underscored. Zhu insisted on restoring this phrase. Han's Confucianism, Zhu noted, emphasized just the function of the Way in daily life to the neglect of its substance. Because of this ontological failure, Han could not apply the Way to his moral cultivation, as a pure Confucian should do, but simply lived as a man of letters who enjoyed himself. Once frustrated in his exile (804–06), Han unsurprisingly enjoyed philosophical revelations even though they came from the Buddhism that he ideologically condemned. Han's praise of the Buddhist monk, Zhu argued, was historically accurate, and to retain it did not mean any contradiction with his Confucian attitude toward Buddhism.[71]

Zhu used the Directorate of Education edition as a baseline perhaps simply because of its circulation, which was wider than that of the three authoritative editions. More readers thus could benefit from his separately published *Examination of Variants*, which prepared the way for an ideal edition. The classical Anglo-American concept of copy-text – the choice of a base text to follow for "substantives" and "accidentals" – was quite alien for Zhu. Analytical bibliographers considered copy-text a fulfillment of the authorial intention and close to the authorial usage of scripts or signs,[72] while Zhu remained critical of all editions, referring for his scholarly editing to as many editions of the text and as many external resources as he could access. This methodological eclecticism, however, accompanied editorial conservatism. As we can see in his collation of Han Yu's writings, he concisely and carefully recorded all variants and doubts in the historical circulation of the text or its fragments, thereby creating for readers a sort of "synoptic apparatus." His critical edition appears not as an "ideal

[70] Translation quoted from Hartman 1986, p. 95.
[71] Zhu Xi 2006a, 5.21a–b; for Han Yu and Dadian, see Hartman 1986, pp. 93–99.
[72] Greetham 1994, pp. 362–67; Williams and Abbott 2009, pp. 90–103; for the classical concept of copy-text, see W. W. Greg, "The Rationale of Copy-Text," in Greg 1998, pp. 213–28.

text" produced on the Alexandrian principle of analogy to fulfill its autho-
rial intention, as Anglo-American textual scholarship expects; nor is it the
"best text" selected among extant editions on the Pergamanian principle of
anomaly, which means accepting all extant readings of this still-corrupted
text, with the editor's critical judgment suspended. (Both principles origi-
nated in ancient Greek textual criticism, and their polarities have shaped
the history of Anglo-American and Continental textual scholarship.)[73]
Instead Zhu's edition is an open text, with his synoptic notes inviting read-
ers to reconstruct the text as it varied in transmission.

The critical intellectual climate finally developed into one of skepticism
and iconoclasm in classical exegesis,[74] in the name of probing the Principle.
Zhu warned his followers against too much engagement in philological
studies, which could only distract them from philosophical distillation of
texts.[75] Defining an authentic text was absolutely not the end of his textual
practices, but rather contributed to the foundation of his philosophy. When
he had to make a choice between his philological studies and philosophical
commitment, Zhu cleaved to the latter at the expense of the former.

A good example is his editing of the *Great Learning*. After dividing this
text into two parts – the Classic proper and commentary on it – he pro-
ceeded to reason how to assign authorship. The Classic proper, in Zhu's own
words, "may be taken as the words of Confucius, transmitted by Master
Zeng [Can]. The ten chapters of commentary contain the ideas of Master
Zeng, recorded by his disciples."[76] Zhu could not provide any corroborative
evidence other than "Master Zeng said," which is in the sixth commentary.
Just following the Transmission of the Way that we have mentioned, Zhu
believed that only Confucius could be the author of the main text on the
grounds that he was the only sage capable of embracing the Principle in
succinct phrases.[77] More controversial was Zhu's reorganization of the text
and amendment of the commentary. The *Great Learning* was originally a
section of the *Book of Rites*. The version transmitted down to the eleventh
century was edited in the first century BCE.[78] For the Cheng brothers, this
version was in disarray from textual corruptions. So Zhu edited it into a
new version. He reorganized the sentences and paragraphs of the Classic
proper and the commentary. In this new organization, the Classic proper

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[73] Greetham 1994, pp. 298–301; see also Greetham 2012, pp. 18–24.
[74] Makeham 2003, pp. 174–77.
[75] Li Jingde 1986, 84.2181, 86.2204–05.
[76] Translation modified from Gardner 1986, p. 94.
[77] Translation modified from Gardner 1986, pp. 41–42.
[78] Legge 1885, vol. XXVII, pp. 1–9, 53–54; vol. XXVIII, pp. 411–24; Gardner 1986, ch. 2.

defines Confucian moral and sociopolitical goals and the eight procedures
for achieving them, while the commentary elucidates both the goals and
the steps. Zhu found that the edited commentary explained six procedures
only, and he "made bold to use the ideas of Cheng Yi" to fill in the lacunae
in the other two, namely the "investigation of things" (*gewu*) and "extension
of knowledge" (*zhizhi*) (see Figure 7.3), two basic concepts from which Zhu
developed his philosophy. To investigate things, in Zhu's understanding,
meant to "reach to the utmost principle in affairs and things,"[79] and this
was the first step toward and the foundation of moral cultivation. In terms
of revealing Confucius's intention, Zhu denied that his rearrangement and
supplement violated the text, as he carefully noted where his editing and
additions differed from the original. He based his work on his understand-
ing of Confucius's principle, and he intended to provide a clearer and more
legible text in order to illuminate it.

In his reorganization, Zhu established a structural and doctrinal pat-
tern of reading the *Great Learning*, which in turn led to an interpretation
that differed from previous ones and remained controversial among later
generations.[80] Although his editing was more philosophically motivated
and teleological than his collation of Han Yu's writings, both textual prac-
tices shared the philological rules that we have discussed thus far: (1) an
evidential approach to the text for the sake of unbiased reading and objec-
tive textual meaning, and (2) contextualizing textual variants according to
principles before judging which one to use.

4. Hermeneutic strategies in Zhu's commentarial practice

Zhu unfolded his philosophy in his commentaries on the Four Books.
Gratuitously introducing his concept of the Principle in the *Collected
Commentaries on the* Analects,[81] Zhu made it clear that he esteemed the
Cheng brothers as orthodox, citing them and their disciples much more
than early Confucians, especially when it came to their investigations of
principles.[82] Zhu still cited more than thirty commentators from the Han
to the Song (960–1279), firmly basing his interpretation on etymological
explanations from early scholias and Lu Deming's dictionary.[83] Between

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[79] Gardner 1986, pp. 33–37 (quotations from p. 37); for Zhu's amendment, see p. 55.
[80] Gardner 1986, ch.4; Chow 1999.
[81] Makeham 2003, pp. 193–95.
[82] Gardner 2003, esp. pp. 162–79.
[83] Qian Mu 1971, vol. IV, p. 189.

此章舊本通下章誤在經文之

下

聞嘗竊取程子之意以補之曰所

謂致知在格物者言欲致吾之知

在即物而窮其理也蓋人心之靈

莫不有知而天下之物莫不有理

惟於理有未窮故其知有不盡也

是以大學始教必使學者即凡天

Figure 7.3 *The Great Learning in Chapters and Verses* (*Daxue zhangju*, 1252), in which Zhu Xi clearly noted his amendment to the commentary. National Library of China, Beijing.

his philology and philosophy lay his interpreting strategies, as we find in the following deconstruction of his commentary on the *Analects* 1.1, which physically is typical of his practice with this text.

The first passage in the *Analects* consists of three sentences:

The Master said, "Is it not pleasant (*yue*) to learn (*xue*) with a constant perseverance and application (*xi*)?"

"Is it not a delight (*le*) to have friends (*peng*) coming from afar?"

"Is he not a man of complete virtue (*junzi*), who feels no discomposure (*yun*) though men may take no note of him?"[84]

In his commentary, Zhu noted the pronunciations of the phonetically questionable characters before explaining key words etymologically. All these explanations were cited from ancient dictionaries, other classical texts, and Han–Tang classical exegeses.[85] What distinguished his commentary from Han–Tang ones was his philosophical presumption and interpreting strategies.

Zhu, in his commentary on the first sentence, adopted as his philosophical presumption Mencius's theory that human nature is good. Then he cited Cheng Yi six times and Cheng's immediate disciples Xie Liangzuo and Yin Dun (1061–1132) once each. These citations accord with Transmission of the Way. The Transmission regulated Zhu's paradigm of classical exegesis, which in Chinese was called *jiafa*, literally meaning the discipline of a school of scholarship. A core concept in Chinese academic tradition, *jiafa* not only demarcated the disciplinary boundaries of a school but viewed the school as an extension of family, which is precisely what *jia* means. The pioneer and his leading successors to the paradigm enjoyed their patriarchy within this "family." Members in the same scholarly genealogy were trained in the same paradigm and were required to adhere to it.[86] A shared scholarly discipline strengthened the members' social affinity when the sociopolitical involvements of a few prominent members called for the support of their "family." A scholarly school thus transformed into a disciplining sociopolitical group, which in turn regulated its members' scholarly practices, as the formation and growth of Zhu's intellectual community illustrated.[87] Zhu himself respected paradigms and even suggested that candidates for the civil examinations who majored in the Classics follow a proper interpretative

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[84]   Translation modified from Legge 1960, vol. I, p. 137; see also Gardner 2003, pp. 31–32.
[85]   Pan Yantong 1891, vol. I, pp. 1a–2a; Ōtsuki Nobuyoshi 1976, pp. 3–5; Makeham 2003, pp. 189–91.
[86]   Nivison 1966, pp. 64, 171–73; Nakayama 1984.
[87]   Chan 2007, Ichiki Tsuyuhiko 2002.

pattern. In practice, he had a partisan preference for the classical scholarship within the Transmission of the Way, especially the tradition developed by the Cheng brothers.[88] His reference matter excluded Confucian exegeses outside this genealogy, let alone Buddhism and Daoism, which Neo-Confucians viewed as heterodox. As the Cheng brothers and their followers philosophically used the *Analects* and other Classics as pretexts, Zhu's reference to them introduced a commentarial style and task essentially different from the philological tradition of classical exegesis.[89]

Zhu remained selective and critical even with respect to Neo-Confucian interpretations, including those of the Cheng brothers, for the sake of the Principle. Elsewhere, he explicitly explained why he adopted one interpretation of a key word and rejected others in his commentary, as his continuous work on the *Analects* divulges.[90] The only standard was whether or not the interpretation precisely conveyed Confucius's meaning and principles as Zhu understood them.[91] Zhu adopted (and sometimes adapted) Cheng Yi's reading more than that of others simply because, in his view, this chosen master grasped the Sage's meaning in the text.[92] Principles for phrasing and organizing the text, as well as its internal logic, obtained again in Zhu's examination of an interpretation. *Analects* 1.1, in his reading, was organized according to a clear thread, which ran from "emulation" through "constant perseverance and application" to "internal pleasure," "external delight," "no discompose," and "complete virtue." This sequence represented the logical procedures of learning, from knowledge acquisition to its applications, and from its applications eventually to moral cultivation. Those interpretations that violated internal logic and textual principles were disregarded. Readings other than those he adopted, Zhu argued, were imprecise and pointless. With examples, he exposed the flaws of those interpretations that he disregarded. They were (1) unrelated to the textual meaning, (2) self-contradictory, (3) inadequate and lacking in cogency, (4) inconsistent within the argument, (5) simply begging the question, (6) plagiarized, (7) showing an unclear line of thought, (8) an over-reading, (9) self-important, (10) oversimplifying, or (11) citations of heterodox ideas

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[88] De Weerdt 2006, pp. 373–74.

[89] Gardner 2003, pp. 162–79.

[90] For the evolution of Zhu's work on the *Analects*, see Yoshiwara Fumiaki 2002, pp. 147–330, esp. pp. 281–308; see also Makeham 2003, pp. 397–406.

[91] Even in citing orthodox Neo-Confucians before him, Zhu sometimes tailored their language into his own philosophical system, with misreadings of earlier interpretations; see, for example, Fujitsuka Chikashi 1949, pp. 261–73.

[92] Li Jingde 1986, 20.456–57.

or texts.[93] In short, they failed to follow the interpreting principles and to elucidate the principles Confucius intended in the text.

Zhu frankly recognized his philosophical interventionism and utilitarianism in citing the Classics and earlier interpretations. Valuable for him was the originality of what the reader drew from the text. "Once one has formed his own understanding [from reading]," Zhu said, "he can appeal to the Classics for support; otherwise he cannot use them to establish himself," because such uses would not make any sense.[94] Thus an authentic text, evidential reading, and proper uses of other texts constituted Zhu's textual production circuit, which was governed by the Principle embedded and manifested in the Classics. Both the Transmission of the Way and his school's paradigm instructed him in how to use selected texts.

Zhu's commentary on the *Analects* 1.1 aimed to uncover its implication and hidden details, answering three implied questions: Why is it a pleasure to learn with a constant perseverance and application? Why is it a delight to have friends coming from afar? Why does a man of complete virtue feel no discomposure though men may take no note of him?[95] The first question was so fundamental that Zhu repeatedly highlighted the key words "learn" (*xue*), "constant" (*shi*), and "perseverance and application" (*xi*) in his conversations with disciples. "To learn with a constant perseverance and application" launched learning and would eventually lead to moral cultivation. Scholars should focus their efforts on this task.[96] Zhu established a logic connecting these three key words and others, mainly through (1) etymological definitions and (2) contextualization both in the text and according to his philosophical predisposition.

With constant perseverance and application, the student became cognizant of what he had not known and capable of doing what he had not been able to do heretofore. Such progress in learning, Zhu said, would please the student.[97] Citing an ancient dictionary, Zhu defined this pleasure (*yue*) as internal as a matter of psychology; it is internal also because learning, as he assumed, benefits the learner first before benefiting others.

This definition prepared his explanation of delight (*le*) as external in the second question, which quotes Cheng Yi rather than any ancient dictionaries or the Classics. It was delightful for the scholar to extend his knowledge and capability to others and to convince and convert as many as he

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93   Zhu Xi 2002, pp. 609–11.
94   Zhu Xi 2002, p. 610.
95   Li Jingde 1986, 20.455.
96   Li Jingde 1986, 20.450, 20.451.
97   Zhu Xi 1983, p. 47; Gardner 2003, p. 31; Zhu Xi 2002, p. 607; Li Jingde 1986, 20.447, 450.

could.[98] This explanation came largely from contextualizing "like-minded from afar" and "delight" by using the entire analect as context. As the first sentence describes the student's internal intellectual and psychological changes caused by learning and related practices, the second should discuss something external. Cheng Yi obviously had his perception of why the like-minded came from the remote – they came for learning. The more disciples came for learning and were converted, the more successful and powerful the master's learning was, and the more delighted he became; he should be delighted to share with others anything good that he had learned whenever he was asked.[99] In this sense the master's delight became external following upon his persuasive extension of principles to others.

A similar contextualization occurred in his commentary on the third sentence, which focuses on why a man of complete virtue (*junzi*) feels no discomposure (*yun*). Zhu made the literal meanings of *junzi* and *yun* clear enough by citing early uses. Confusing, however, was the rationale for connecting moral achievement with the controlled anger caused by frustrated propagations of principles. It was against the ritual hierarchy in the Confucian tradition for the master to visit his prospective disciples in person to teach them.[100] This is why the second sentence does not suggest the master going to teach but mentions students coming to learn. Zhu must have acknowledged that learning could convince and convert only some people, while others ignored it. Citing Yin Dun, he defined the first goal of learning as not to be known by others but to cultivate oneself. He then cited Cheng Yi to explain how frustrations occurred in extending benefits to others. For Zhu, it was "challenging and difficult" to keep calm while being ignored. The master, who would enjoy convincing and converting others naturally and easily, would not be able to deal with such frustration without having perfected virtue. Moral improvement could be obtained only with correct learning, repeated rehearsals, and profound enjoyment.[101] Zhu thus clarified the internal logic and textual principles of *Analects* 1.1 in a rather philological and formalist manner.

His commentarial purpose was philosophical, however. "To learn with a constant perseverance and application," Zhu told his disciples, was Confucius's prescription. This prescription directed scholars along the path toward the Way and served as the foundation of moral cultivation.[102] Zhu's

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[98]   Zhu Xi 1983, p. 47; Gardner 2003, p. 31.

[99]   Zhu Xi 2002, p. 608; Li Jingde 1986, 20.451–53.

[100] Li Jingde 1986, 20.451; Legge 1885, vol. XXVII, p. 63 (5.12).

[101] Zhu Xi 1983, p. 47; Gardner 2003, p. 32; Li Jingde 1986, 20.453–54; Zhu Xi 2002, p. 608.

[102] Zhu Xi 1983, p. 47; Li Jingde 1986, 20.447.

definition of learning is widely considered a part of his epistemology.[103] In terms of commentarial practice, his definition resulted from his hermeneutic strategies. His philosophical identification of Mencius and the Transmission of the Way paradigm legitimated his introduction of new categories, to which he related and with which he enriched those passages just mentioned in the Classic proper.

The first key word, *xue* (to learn), etymologically means *xiao* (to emulate). Zhu cited Mencius to justify the epistemological significance of emulation. It was Heaven's plan in the production of mankind, Mencius said, that "they who are first informed should instruct those who are later in being informed, and they who first apprehend principles should instruct those who are slower to do so."[104] Thus, Zhu inferred, the later and slower could emulate those first enlightened to understand their merits (*shan*) and, in doing so, restore their own good nature. Mencius apparently inspired Zhu to moralize learning and to justify its moral goal. This inspiration also justified students' pursuit of learning and the master's religious commitment to propagate it, as the second sentence suggests.

Other new categories successively emerged from his citations and etymological interpretations of key words. "Mind" (*xin*) was introduced in explaining internal pleasure. Citing Mencius, Zhu held the object of learning to be "to seek for the lost mind."[105] Just following the Principle, all minds can spontaneously develop their innate merits.

Learning with ceaseless rehearsals would make possible the integration of mind and principles as an experience of profound pleasure.[106] Zhu obviously meant to introduce the categories "knowledge" (*zhi*) and "action" (*xing*) into his definitions of "learning" and "perseverance and application." He thought both Cheng Yi and Xie Liangzuo provided biased interpretations, the former overemphasizing comprehension of principles through pondering the text, the latter overemphasizing continuous exercises in order to obtain the practical ability to act. Zhu quoted both interpretations to underscore the significance of both knowledge and action, both of which should be learned and rehearsed.[107] He related "delight" to "public/impartial" and "discomposure" to "personal/selfish" in the context of propagating principles. The man of complete virtue was committed to publicizing the Principle that was supposed to belong to the public. If a master resented

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[103] E.g., Gardner 2003, pp. 29–51; 1990; Bol 1989; Yü 1986.
[104] *The Mencius*, in Legge 1960, vol. II, p. 363.
[105] *The Mencius*, in Legge 1960, vol. II, p. 414; Li Jingde 1986, 20.446–47.
[106] Zhu Xi 1983, p. 608; Li Jingde 1986, 20.446–47.
[107] Li Jingde 1986, 20.448–49; Gardner 2003, p. 31.

others' ignorance of his learning, Zhu believed, he was too selfish to be a true Neo-Confucian.[108]

Although he set up learning as a moral goal, Zhu's definition of learning was definitely more than moral. It was inclusive, containing all knowledge and practical skills ranging from principles embedded in the Classics to medicine and sorcery.[109] He elucidated learning's epistemological, social, and moral significance by connecting the essential concepts in the Classic with each other and introducing new categories into his commentary. Philological studies of key words and categories thus helped him establish a rationale among them and integrate them into his philosophical reading of the text.

Editorial conservatism thus eventually becomes subjugated to hermeneutic activism in Zhu's philological-philosophical mission. In the name of restoring and transmitting the Sage's intention, Zhu expressed his Neo-Confucian philosophy, the Learning of the Way, or the Learning of Principle … Pursuing the Principle that was often variously defined motivated his scholarly editing, while its textual manifestations governing genres and writing prepared his evidential method of criticism. His controversial application of principles, however, intensified the tension between his reading and the authorially intended meaning of the text. Principles were not only inherent in the linguistic features of the text but also implied by what the author meant. Both the linguistic features of the text and the authorial intention were subjects of critical editing, and the authorial intention could not be revealed until the text was linguistically recovered into the original form that its author allegedly intended. Obviously this is a case of circular reasoning, since the text and the authorial intention were supposed to represent and configure each other and the judgment of one part would depend upon the evaluation of the other. This approach allowed for a more active role in editing and more intrusions of the editor's predispositions, either aesthetic or philosophical, into the critical edition and commentaries. And so the outcome was not what the author meant but instead a brand new text that the editor created.

5. Conclusion

Zhu's version of the Four Books and his commentaries on them were imperially designated as textbooks for the civil examinations from 1313 through

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[108]   Li Jingde 1986, 20.453–54.
[109]   Li Jingde 1986, 20.447, 448; Bol 1989.

1905. All candidates were required to study and master these texts as the chief legitimate evidence for their written answers.[110] Zhu's pattern thus was institutionalized in classical learning and orthodox philosophical inquiry. Texts remained the foundation of intellectual and moral advancement, and the evidential approach was commonly employed in reading the Classics.[111] In the sixteenth century Zhu's philosophy was systematically challenged by the flourishing Philosophy of Mind, yet all involved scholars consented in appealing to the classical texts and earlier commentaries as their final evidence.[112] Traditional philosophical inquiry commonly began with philological study of the Classics.

Through an evidential approach, textual meaning was treated as objective, as were the sages' intentions embraced in the Classics. This does not mean that philosophical readings became less controversial. Philosophical interventionism was just one of the causes of controversies and debates. The school paradigm and understandings of principles remained obligatory for hermeneutic practices. Restricted to a particular paradigm, a Neo-Confucian could introduce only selected concepts and categories from the established sources into his interpretation; discovered connections among them made a new philosophical discourse possible. The Neo-Confucian goal was to comprehend the Principle, whose manifestations were in turn employed in textual criticism. In his collation and commentaries, Zhu remained critical of earlier texts and editions but emphasized and applied principles for textual formation and transmission. Principle(s) eventually, for him, took the place of traditional and institutional authority over textual practices. His textual criticism and classical exegesis thus presented a circular movement of philology and philosophy, the tension of which remained dominant in Chinese scholarship till the eighteenth century.[113] This tension impels us to explore how this circular movement worked in the textual practices of later generations.

Glossary

bai niao 百鳥	family of birds
bai 百	hundred
Chang Hong 萇弘 (fl. 6th century BCE)	court musician of the Zhou dynasty who taught Confucius musicology

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[110] Elman 2000.
[111] Dai 2012, ch.4.
[112] Yü 1996, pp. 128–29.
[113] Elman 1984; cf. Yü 1989 and Quirin 1996.

Changli xiansheng ji kaoyi 昌黎先生集攷異	*Examination of Variants in Han Yu's Writings*, a critical edition of Han Yu's collection by Zhu Xi
Cheng Hao 程顥 (1032–1085)	Neo-Confucian philosopher
Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033–1107)	Neo-Confucian philosopher
Dadian 大顛 (732–824)	Buddhist monk in Chaozhou, Guangdong
dao 道	the Way, a central category of traditional Chinese philosophy referring to the rule governing the world and things
daotong 道統	Transmission of the Way, an imagined genealogy of Confucian wisdom from ancient sages to Confucius to Mencius
Daxue zhangju 大學章句	*The Great Learning in Chapters and Verses, one of the Four Books commentated by Zhu Xi*
gewu 格物	investigation of things, a step toward moral cultivation regulated in the *Great Learning*
Guange ben 舘閣本	the Palace edition
Guozijian ben 國子監本	the Directorate of Education edition
han ru xie 汗如寫	sweat flowing down in streams
han ru yu 汗如雨	sweat flowing down like raining
Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824)	essayist, poet, and Confucian scholar
Hang ben 杭本	the Hangzhou edition
he er ke ye 何而可也	what can be done?
he qi ke ye 何其可也	it is so great
jiafa 家法	discipline of a school of scholarship
jie 結	Adam's apple/hair-coil
ji zuo 即祚	to ascend the throne
ji zuo 即阼	to mount along the eastern steps
junzi 君子	man of complete virtue
lanlü 襤褸	torn and ragged clothes
lanshu 濫數	to swell the number of captives
Lao Dan 老聃 (ca. 6th century BCE)	also known as Laozi, pioneer of philosophical Daoism
le 樂	external delight
li 理	Principle/principles

Liu Pi 劉闢 (d. 806)	military commissioner of today's Sichuan who rebelled against the Tang court
Lu Deming 陸德明 (556–627)	classist and philologist who compiled a dictionary of ancient Chinese texts
Lu Jiuyuan 陸九淵 (1139–1192)	philosopher of mind, rival of Zhu Xi's philosophy
Lunyu jizhu 論語集注	*Collected Commentaries on the Analects*, one of the Four Books commentated by Zhu Xi
qi 七	seven
qian 牽	obstinate
qi niao 七鳥	seven birds
shan 善	merit, goodness
shi 時	constantly
Shiding lianju xu 石鼎聯句序	"Preface to the Linked Verse on a Stone Cauldron"
Shi shuo 師說	"Discourse on Teachers," an essay by Han Yu
Shi Xiang 師襄 (fl. 6th century BCE)	musician in ancient China, one of Confucius's teachers
Shuang niao shi 雙鳥詩	"Poem of the Two Birds"
Shu ben 蜀本	the Shu edition
shu fu 數俘	to declare the number of his prisoners
Tanzi 郯子 (fl. the 6th century BCE)	ruler of the Tan state and scholar who taught Confucius ancient history
tianli 天理	the ultimate principle of Heaven
xi 習	to persevere and apply
Xianzong 憲宗 (r. 805–820)	emperor of the Tang dynasty
xiao 效	to emulate
xiaoxue 小學	Elementary Learning
Xie Liangzuo 謝良佐 (1050–1103)	Neo-Confucian scholar, disciple of Cheng Yi's
xin 心	mind
xing 行	action
xiong 兇	violent rage
xiong 胸	breast
xiongzhong wu zhiai 胸中無滯礙	to eradicate impediments and obstacles from one's thoughts

xue 學	to learn
Yin Dun 尹焞 (1061–1132)	Neo-Confucian scholar, disciple of Cheng Yi's
yu 歟	interrogative sign to end questioning
yu 與	and
Yuan dao 原道	"Essentials of the Moral Way"
Yuan xing 原性	"An Inquiry on Human Nature"
Yuanhe shengde shi 元和聖德詩	"Poem on the Sagacious Virtue of Primal Harmony" (807), dedicated by Han Yu to the Xianzong emperor
yue 悅	internal pleasure
Yu Meng jiyi 語孟集義	*Collected meanings of the Analects and the Mencius* edited by Zhu Xi
Yu Meng shangshu shu 與孟尚書書	"Letter to Minister Meng" (820), from Han Yu to Meng Jian (d. 824)
yun 慍	discomposure
Zeng Can 曾參 (505–435 BCE)	Confucius's immediate disciple
zhi 知	knowledge
zhi tu 之徒	his like/their like
zhizhi 致知	extension of knowledge, a step immediately after "investigation of things" toward moral cultivation regulated in the *Great Learning*
Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200)	Neo-Confucian philosopher
Zisi 子思 (ca. 481–402 BCE)	Confucius's grandson traditionally accredited with the authorship of the *Doctrine of the Mean*, one of the Four Books