

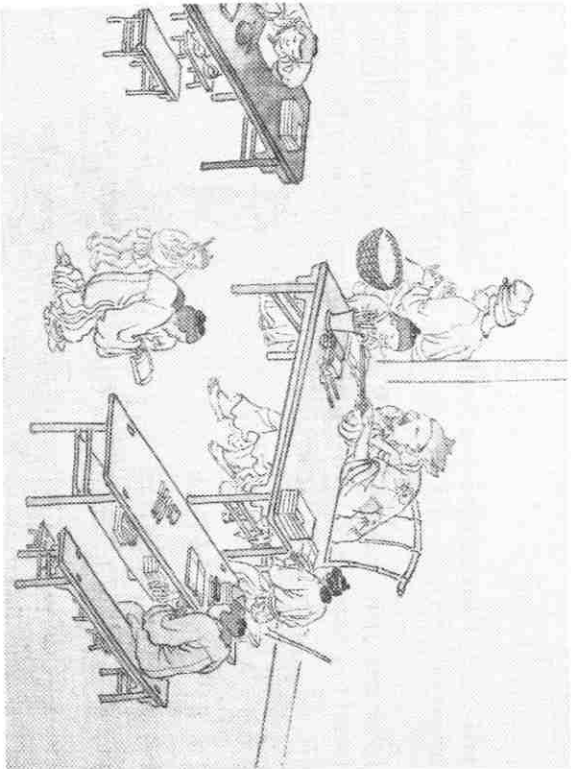


Fig. 1 A Village School, by Zhang Hong, dated 1649. From James Cahill, *The Restless Landscape: Chinese Painting of the Late Ming Period* (Berkeley: Chinese Art Museum, 1971).

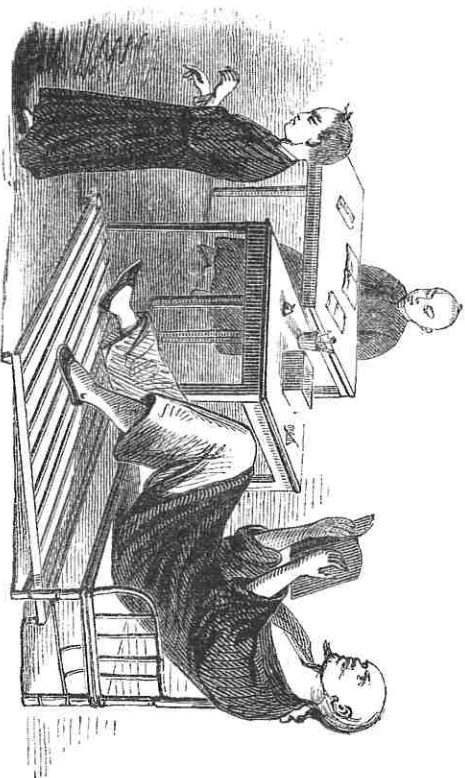


Fig. 2 Backing the Book. From Justus Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese: With Some Account of Their Religious, Governmental, Educational and Business Customs and Opinions*. (New York: Harper & Bros., 1867).

INTRODUCTION

THE FOUR BOOKS IN CHINESE SOCIETY

You are a Chinese boy aged seven, born into a family intent on your receiving an education. The year could be any between 1200 and 1900. Your family, if an especially prosperous one, may have engaged a private tutor to teach you at home, perhaps in an elegant study overlooking a tranquil garden with a small pond. More likely, however, your family has but meager resources and has arranged for you to go to the local village school. The school, no larger than a room or two, is dingy and cramped, run by a teacher whose youthful hope of becoming an official has died (Fig. 1). Teaching, for him, is little more than a means of survival. His pay is limited, as is his dedication.

But whether your education takes place in idyllic surroundings with a private tutor or in a squalid schoolroom with a teacher eking out a livelihood, the texts at the center of your studies will be the same: the Four Books. For at least the next eight years—assuming you continue with your education—you will devote yourself to learning the *Great Learning*, the *Analects*, the *Mencius*, and *Main-taining Perfect Balance*. The process will be arduous and not necessarily intellectually challenging or stimulating. Most of your time will be spent in rote memorization, in the exercise of “backing the book.” You will approach the teacher’s desk, and with your back to him you will recite aloud, from memory, the line or lines he has asked you to prepare from the book he holds in his hands (Fig. 2). If your recitation is flawless, you will return to your desk and begin work on the next line in the text; forget a word or confuse word order and, with the thwack of a bamboo rod, you will be ordered back to your seat to continue with the memorization efforts. This

learning regimen ensures that by the time you are fifteen you will “know” the Four Books; you will be capable of reciting each of them front to back, line by line, without error.

But your knowledge and capability will go further still. You will be able to recite line by line the extensive interlinear commentary prepared for each by the great *Daoxue* 道學 (lit., “school of the Way”; commonly translated as Neo-Confucianism) scholar of the Song dynasty, Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200). It is his commentary that the political and intellectual elite agree best captures the significance of the Four Books, and so it is his commentary that will appear in your editions of the books and will serve as the basis of your understanding of them. When asked by a teacher to explain the meaning of a passage in the Four Books, your explanation will be expected to echo that of Zhu Xi.

Come age fifteen, if your talent is sufficient and if your family’s financial resources hold out, you will likely continue with your education, focusing your aim on the civil service examinations—a series of examinations in which success in the first stage, at the district level, entitles one to move on to the examination in the provincial capital; success there, in turn, qualifies one to sit for a set of examinations at the imperial capital, the last one presided over by the emperor himself. The competition in these exams, even at the local level, is fierce, but success in them seems to justify the investment of sweat and resources, both yours and your family’s. What is required to advance successfully from the district exam to the provincial exam, and then from the provincial exam to the metropolitan exam, is precisely what has brought you acclaim from teachers and family members since the age of seven: knowledge of the Four Books and their commentaries (Figs. 3 and 4).

Passing the final stage of the examinations at the capital and acquiring the *jinsshi* 進士 (“presented-scholar”) degree all but guarantee you will achieve high official position and win status, reputation, and influence for your family for years to come. The day the results of the examination are announced, your name will be written on a placard and posted in the capital; you will be paraded around on a horse or litter decorated in gay red ribbons; and imperial

runners will be sent from the capital to your local village to proclaim to one and all the spectacular success of one of its native sons (Fig. 5). Because you are a winner of the *jinsshi* degree, prominent families will now compete to marry their daughters to you; rich merchants will be eager to lend you and your relatives money at highly favorable terms, perhaps even interest free; and local gentry will send gifts of livestock, books, food, and even cash in celebration of your great achievement.

In short, no texts had greater presence or power in later imperial China than the Four Books. Just as knowledge of the Bible among literate people was assumed in Europe in medieval and early modern times, so was knowledge of the Four Books assumed in China. These books were considered sacred texts, for they were the direct words and teachings of the great sages of antiquity, men whose exemplary wisdom and virtue served as an eternal model for the ages. Similarly—as the Bible in the West—passages, paragraphs, lines, and terms from these books became part of the *lingua franca* in China, used referentially in speech and writing by literati who could be confident that there existed a shared cultural inheritance.

If these Four Books were endowed with so much power, how had that come to be? Since the second century BCE, the intellectual and political elite had singled out certain texts within the tradition as being especially worthwhile, especially significant. These texts they called *jing* 經, conventionally translated as “classic” or “canon.” The first texts to be so designated, in the Early Han (206 BCE–9 CE), were known collectively as the *wujing* 五經, or Five Classics:

The *CLASSIC OF CHANGES*, a text that in its earliest portions is a divination manual enabling users to foretell change in the universe and, based on such knowledge, to act prudently; later portions of the text are treatises elaborating on the early cosmological views of the Chinese.

The *BOOK OF ODES*, a compilation of over three hundred odes made roughly in the middle of the first millennium BCE that

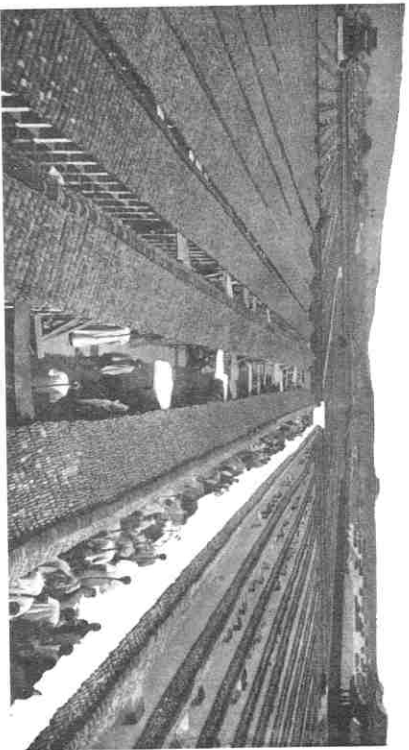


Fig. 3 Examination Hall, Nanjing. From Arthur Judson Brown, *The Chinese Revolution*. (Student Volunteer Movement: New York, 1912).

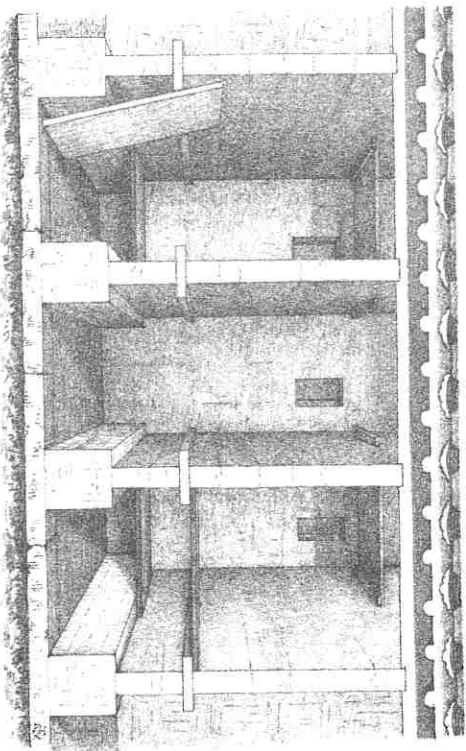


Fig. 4 Individual Examination Cells, Nanjing. From Etienne Zi, *Pratique des examens littéraires* (Shanghai: Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique, 1894).

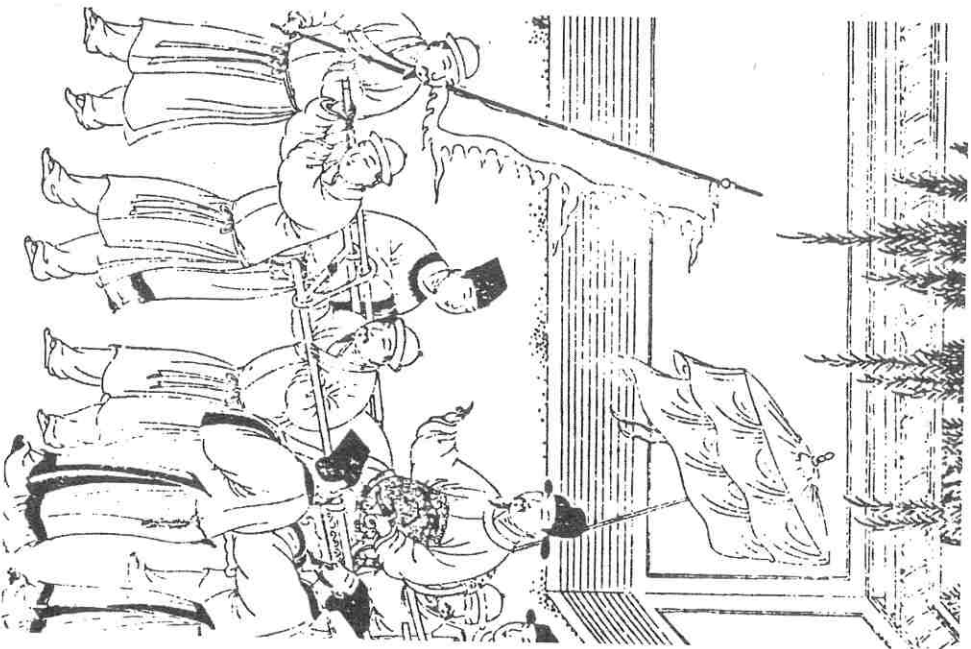


Fig. 5 Celebrating a Winner of the *Jinshi* degree. From Ming Zhanyuan, edited by Gu Dingchen. (Beijing: Zhongguo Shidian, 1999).

includes folk songs, festive ballads, odes of lament, court poetry, and dynastic hymns.

The *BOOK OF HISTORY*, a collection of documents, speeches, and pronouncements all on the general theme of governance, the earliest of which purports to deal with the reign of the legendary sage-king Yao.

The *BOOK OF RITES*, a compendium of rituals and rules of etiquette, the mastery of which is necessary for the maintenance of a harmonious society.

The *SPRING AND AUTUMN ANNALS*, a chronicle of events occurring in or affecting the state of Lu, the native state of Confucius, during the period from 722 to 481 BCE.

These Five Classics constituted the curriculum in the newly established (124 BCE) Imperial Academy; students who at the end of the year demonstrated mastery in one or more of these texts and familiarity with the commentaries that had grown up around them would become expectant officials, filling positions in the bureaucracy as they became vacant.

From the Han period through the early years of the Song (960–1279), the canon grew from the foundational five to thirteen. Many of the additional texts marked for inclusion in the canon were just commentaries or glosses on the original five: the *Zuo Tradition* (which was incorporated into the *Sung-shu Autumn Annals*), the *Gongyang Tradition*, and the *Guliang Tradition* were viewed as commentaries on the *Spring and Autumn Annals*; the *Rites of Zhou* and the *Book of Etiquette* as supplemental to the *Book of Rites*; and the *Erya* dictionary as an aid to understanding the archaic language of the classics. Others, however, were included in the canon because they were thought to provide important elaborations of truths in the original five. These were the *Andecti*, a record of conversations between Confucius (551–479 BCE) and his disciples; the *Mencius*, the writings of Mencius (fourth century BCE) in which he describes his personal audiences with the rulers and ministers of the feudal states and his

conversations with his disciples; and the *Classic of Filial Piety*, an account of a dialogue between Confucius and a disciple on the subject of the central virtue of filial piety. But even as the canon filled out to become the Thirteen Classics, the Five Classics remained the central texts. They continued to be the ones to be read first, and the ones to serve as the basis of the civil service examinations until the early years of the fourteenth century.

The Song, a period renowned for its intellectual and cultural vitality generally, proved to be an especially energetic time for classical studies. Literati turned to the classics with an almost missionary commitment. Fervent in the belief that the canon was the repository of truth, the embodiment of all that the great Chinese culture valued, the foremost intellectuals of the early centuries of the Song all dedicated much of their lives to studying the classics and writing commentary on them.¹

The passion and zeal with which these men and others approached the canon can be accounted for, at least in some part, by the political and intellectual circumstances of the time. To them, the Chinese order, the Chinese way of life, was under threat. The Tang (618–907) empire had collapsed only recently, leaving a once unified realm in a state of fragmentation. The Song, to be sure, had begun the task of rebuilding, but since the founding of the dynasty the Chinese state had been repeatedly invaded and occupied by “barbarian” neighbors to the north and northwest. Just south of the Great Wall, the Song had ceded to the Khitan people and their Liao dynasty (907–1119) sixteen prefectures of Chinese territory in the vicinity of present-day Beijing; in the northwest, the Tangut had established the Xi Xia state (1038–1227), controlling much of Gansu province and the Ordos region south of the Yellow River. (See map on p. xx.) The weakness of the Chinese political and social order thus appeared very real to statesmen and thinkers of the day, who came to trust that a return to right principles, institutions,

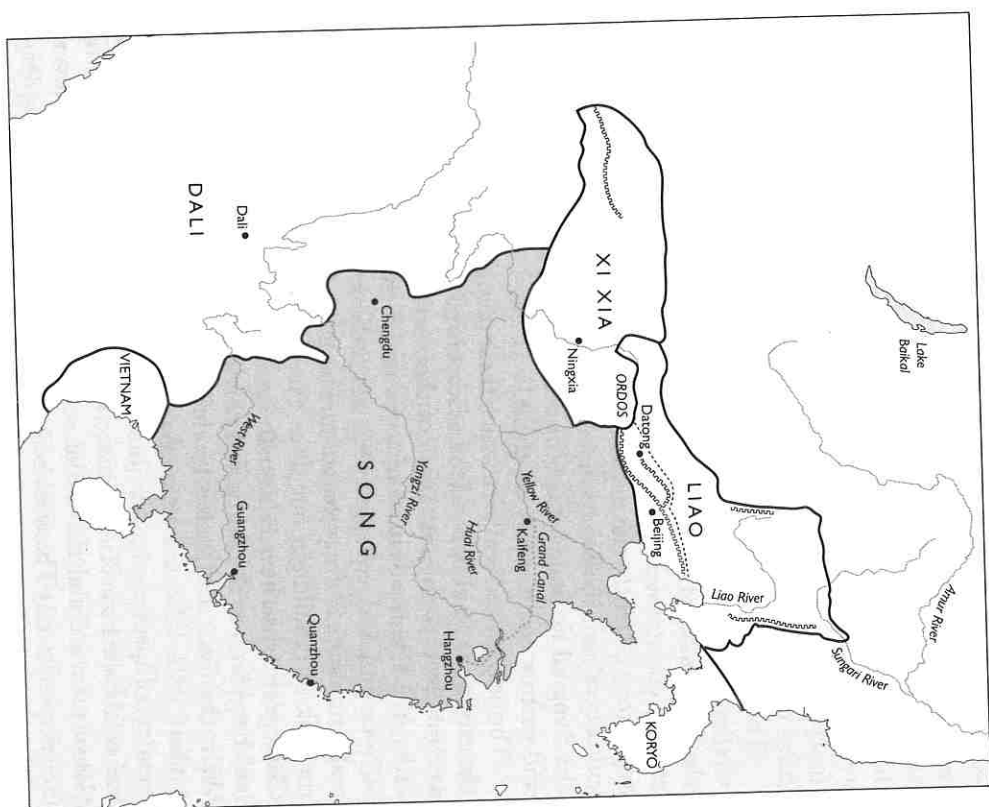
1. Fan Zhongyan (989–1052), Hu Yuan (993–1059), Ouyang Xiu (1007–1072), Sima Guang (1019–1086), Zhang Zai (1020–1077), Wang Anshi (1021–1086), Cheng Hao (1032–1085), Cheng Yi (1033–1107), and Su Dongpo (1036–1101), to name but a few.

techniques of governing, and rites—transmitted in all the writings of the sages—would bring renewed strength to the empire and revitalize the Chinese way of life.

A “barbarian” presence was felt in the intellectual realm as well. Buddhism, which had gained widespread popularity in the Tang, continued to exert influence among all levels of Chinese society. Song literati, echoing the earlier anxiety of the great prose stylist Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824), expressed concerns that Buddhist teachings were tearing asunder the social and moral fabric of the Chinese people. They were especially disturbed by what appeared to be the growing appeal of Chan Buddhism among the intelligentsia, the very people expected to be the defenders of the traditional Confucian order and the leaders of the Chinese state. The persistent and urgent calls by Song literati for the Chinese people to reject the foreign teachings of Buddhism and embrace anew the cherished values of the native tradition did much to fuel the contemporary interest in classical studies.

In the early years of the Song, literati studied and commented extensively on the entire canon of thirteen, giving particular attention to the original five. By the mid-Song, however, their focus began to narrow. They singled out certain texts from among the thirteen: the *Analekts* and the *Mencius*, two of the Thirteen Classics, and the *Great Learning* and *Maintaining Perfect Balance*, two brief chapters from the classic *Book of Rites* became, for the literati, an intellectual preoccupation. These were the texts in the canon they found to be especially significant and meaningful, the texts that resonated most strongly with their concerns. By the end of the Song period, these four texts had come to constitute a collection, the Four Books, and had displaced the Five Classics as the authoritative, central texts within the canon. In the early fourteenth century, they would be officially recognized as the basic texts in the civil service examinations, a status they would maintain until the abolition of the examination system in the twentieth century.

This shift from the Five Classics to the Four Books speaks to an essential point: the canon of Thirteen Classics is full of variety. Much as the Bible, with its assortment of books—both in the Old and New Testament—offers a range of teachings with varying



emphases that invite readers to take away a variety of meanings, so too does the Chinese canon include multiple writings with different contents and emphases. The Five Classics and the Four Books may share a fundamental moral, social, and political vision, but the expression of that vision takes rather different forms in the two collections. To generalize, the Five Classics illustrate Confucian morality using concrete examples and lessons from history; set out ideal institutions and methods of governance drawn from the past; describe in detail how one should conduct oneself in life's various, objective situations; and prescribe at length the ritualistic practices for maintaining a well-ordered society. From these texts the ruler learns how to rule; the minister learns how to administer the realm, father and mother learn how to parent, children learn how to express filial devotion, older and younger learn how to show mutual respect, and friends learn how to be friends. The Four Books tend to be less historical, descriptive, and concrete; concerned principally with the nature of man, the springs or inner source of his morality, and his relation to the larger cosmos, they are considerably more discursive and abstract than the Five Classics.

This move away from the Five Classics to the Four Books thus represents an "inward" shift on the part of literati toward texts in the canon that treat more deliberately the inner realm of human morality. This textual shift can no doubt be tied in part to a growing perception among statesmen and thinkers alike that despite the most earnest attempts during the eleventh century by activist statesmen such as Fan Zhongyan 范仲淹 and Wang Anshi 王安石 to introduce specific political and social reforms, to advance practical measures intended to address the most pressing political, military, and economic problems facing the dynasty, the empire was nonetheless still in danger. In the late eleventh century and the early twelfth century, the barbarian menace to the north continued to loom large, now in the form of the Jurchen tribespeople. The country's economy remained weak and overburdened, and the Chinese bureaucracy was embroiled in a bitter, paralyzing factionalism. Looking at the failed practical attempts at social and political reform, thinkers concluded that too little attention had been paid by men like Fan and Wang to the inner sphere, to matters of personal morality, and that

political and social action without a strong moral foundation was simply bound for failure. These thinkers believed that progress in political and social affairs depended on prior progress in the inner sphere of moral self-cultivation. Only good men, only those with the right moral inclinations in the first place, it was supposed, could truly bring about political and social reform that would benefit the people. Given this attitude, it is natural that many literati of the day, studying the classical canon, found themselves attracted to those texts in it that focus on the inner sphere and give priority to the self-cultivation process. It is also natural that, with this inward shift, the study of the classics became more philosophical—and less explicitly "results-oriented."

I do not wish to suggest that Confucian literati of the late eleventh century were pushed into this inward shift by political and social realities—or at least the perception of those realities—alone. They were intellectually receptive to the shift in the first place. The writings of Buddhists, especially of the Chan school, had long been addressing such philosophical concerns as human nature, the mind, self-realization, and man's relation to the cosmos—concerns typically associated with the branch of philosophy known as metaphysics. And whereas Confucians had been challenging Buddhists, often fiercely, on particular positions since the Tang dynasty, they nonetheless found the general philosophical concerns raised by Buddhists profoundly appealing and meaningful. By the Song, fruitful and congenial dialogue between Buddhists and Confucians had become commonplace. Indeed, a number of the greatest Confucian literati of the Song not only counted Buddhists among their close acquaintances but themselves had studied Buddhist teachings.² In short, many Song Confucians were philosophically predisposed to confront questions about human nature, the source of human morality, self-realization, and the place of man in the cosmos. They were poised for the shift inward.

Like earlier Song literati, Zhu Xi was attracted to the *Analects*, the *Mencius*, the *Great Learning*, and *Maintaining Perfect Balance*. So

² For instance, Ouyang Xiu, Wang Anshi, Su Dongpo, Zhou Dunyi (1017–1073), Zhang Zai, Cheng Yi, Cheng Hao, and Zhu Xi.

full of meaning were they for him that from 1163 until his death in 1200 he devoted his intellectual energy to preparing, reworking, and refining interlinear commentaries for each of them. During Zhu's lifetime, work on these texts never ceased. Indeed, his traditional biography tells us that three days before his death on April 23, 1200, he was still revising his commentary on the *Great Learning*, a draft of which he had completed as early as 1174. Despite the interest these four texts had generated among literati in the first two centuries of the Song period, Zhu was the first to conceive of them as a coherent collection and publish them together in 1190 as the Four Masters. He was also the first to make the explicit call that they be read before all other classics in the canon, including the long-authoritative Five Classics,³ thereby heralding a transition from the age of the Five Classics to the age of the Four Books, as the Four Masters would come commonly to be known.

In the Four Books, Zhu Xi believed he had found a subset of classical texts that could constitute an effective "core" curriculum in the Confucian tradition. These Four Books were characterized by, in his words, an "ease, immediacy, and brevity" that ensured that the essential teachings and truths of the Confucian tradition would reach the widest audience possible.⁴ To restore the Way (*dao* 道)—socially, politically, and intellectually—the Way had to be made accessible. In his opinion, the full corpus of Thirteen Classics was simply too unwieldy, and the original Five Classics were too lengthy, linguistically archaic and challenging, and, in places, almost incomprehensible. Over and over again in writings and in conversations with disciples and friends, Zhu Xi exhorts students to begin their study of the Way with the Four Books, turning to the Five Classics only once the four had been thoroughly mastered.

Not only did these core texts have an "ease, immediacy, and brevity" that recommended them, but they were also possessed of an authorial pedigree that could not but inspire genuine awe and

³ *Zhuzi yulei* (The Conversations of Master Zhu, Arranged Topically) 14.249, i.e., Chapter 14, p. 249. Hereafter the work will be referred to as YL.

⁴ *Huì'ān xīnshèng Zhū Wéngōng wénjī* (Collected Literary Works of Master Zhu) 82.26a.

respect. Arguing that the *Great Learning* was a work in two parts, a classic portion by Confucius and a commentary portion by one of his favorite disciples, Zengzi 曾子, and that *Maintaining Perfect Balance* was the work of Zisi 子思, Confucius' grandson, Zhu Xi created for the Four Books an unbroken line of transmission from the great Sage himself to Zengzi, from Zengzi to Zisi, and finally from Zisi to Mencius (hence Zhu's title for the collection, the Four Masters). Whereas Zhu's attribution of authorship, especially in the case of *Maintaining Perfect Balance*, certainly has not gone unquestioned, the Chinese tradition has generally accepted it since the Song dynasty. Thus, in Zhu's hands, the collection came to represent the distilled embodiment of the Sage's teachings and to promise direct access to the minds of the greatest sages of China's past.

In presenting the Four Books in this order—the *Great Learning*, the *Analects*, the *Mencius*, and *Maintaining Perfect Balance*—I am keeping to the particular order prescribed by Zhu Xi and adhered to by the Chinese tradition itself until the twentieth century. Just as Zhu insisted that the Four Books be read first, before the Five Classics and other canonical texts, he insisted, too, that there was a right sequence for reading the Four Books themselves:

I want men first to read the *Great Learning* to fix upon the pattern of the Confucian Way; next the *Analects* to establish its foundations; next the *Mencius* to observe its development; and next *Maintaining Perfect Balance* to discover the mysteries of the ancients. The *Great Learning* provides within its covers a series of steps and a precise order in which they should be followed; it is easy to understand and so should be read first. Although the *Analects* is concrete, its sayings are scattered about in fragments; on first reading, it is difficult. *Mencius* contains passages that inspire and arouse men's minds. *Maintaining Perfect Balance*, too, is difficult to understand; it should be read only after the other three books.⁵

⁵ YL 14.249

One important pedagogic principle governing this sequence is already familiar to us, for it is one that governed Zhu's decision to privilege the Four Books over the Five Classics: the more accessible privilege the Four Books over the Five Classics: the more accessible text should be read before the less accessible one.

Zhu's pedagogic concerns went beyond telling students what to read and in what order; he was just as anxious that they cultivate the right way to read. To get at the true intentions of the sages, students had to do more than simply pass their eyes over the canonical texts. They had to read each text over and over until they were able to recite it front to back from memory. To read a text fifty or even a hundred times thus was not too many, according to Zhu.⁶ He cautioned, however, that the repeated readings must never be allowed to become rote; only if the readings were slow and deliberative, penetrating ever deeper layers of significance, could students "savor" the true flavor of the text and come to appreciate its true taste. In conversation Zhu once described good reading as follows: "You must constantly take the words of the sages and worthies and pass them before your eyes, roll them around and around in your mouth, and turn them over and over in your mind."⁷ His hope then was that students would "experience the text personally,"⁸ as he was fond of saying, embodying its words and making the sages' teachings their own. He remarked on one occasion: "In reading we must first become intimately familiar with the text so that its words seem to come from our own mouths. We should then continue to reflect on it so that its ideas seem to come from our own minds. Only then can there be real understanding."⁹

The canonical texts, of course, could be difficult to understand, written as they were in an antiquated Chinese, with frequent references to shadowy or unfamiliar people, events, and institutions from China's past. As early as the Han dynasty, scholars perceived the need to provide assistance to students of the classics and began the practice of writing interlinear commentary on them. In this

6 YL 10.168.

7 YL 10.162.

8 E.g., YL 10.165, 11.181.

9 YL 10.168.

sort of commentary, they would "interrupt" the classical text, placing elucidating remarks at the end of lines, paragraphs, and passages—wherever they thought it useful or appropriate. The remark might be a simple phonetic or philological gloss on a particular character or two, or it might be a lengthier explanation of the meaning of an entire line or of the philosophical significance of a paragraph or even a chapter. In any event, from the second century BCE on, it became standard practice to read a canonical text with the aid of an accompanying interlinear commentary (see Fig. 6).

Accordingly, the reader here will find that I have interrupted the translation of the Four Books interlinearly, placing commentary at the end of many, if not most, passages. This commentary is largely a summary and explanation of Zhu Xi's understanding of the passages offered in his commentary; it was his understanding, after all, that was declared the standard one by the state in the fourteenth century and as a consequence was required reading for every student of the Four Books. My commentary weaves together a few different types of remarks, all intended to convey to the reader how Zhu—and thus the later Chinese tradition—would have understood these texts. Included are direct citation from and close paraphrase of Zhu's commentary; summary of philosophical points and interpretive exegesis presented by Zhu in his commentary; synthesis of philosophical assumptions and beliefs that implicitly informed Zhu's reading of a passage and are helpful, if not necessary, context for our appreciating his reading of that passage; and my own comments, the purpose of which is to offer interpretive insight into the Four Books, Zhu's standard reading of them, and the *Daoxue* tradition.

The inclusion of commentary in this translation replicates, even if only dimly, the reading experience of the typical Chinese reader. His reading of a canonical text would be constantly interrupted—and informed—by interlinear commentarial remarks. That is, he would read a line of classical text, move to commentary, and, having processed that commentary, proceed to the next line of classical text. This, of course, suggests that the particular commentarial "voice" would shape, rather significantly, the reader's reading and understanding of the classic. By including a commentary that summarizes and explains Zhu's commentary, I hope to show how the genre of

commentary in general operated in the Chinese classical tradition and, more importantly, how Zhu's commentary on the Four Books in particular shaped the post-1300 literati reading of the Confucian tradition.¹⁰

Zhu's commentary clearly went a long way in shaping the later imperial Confucian intellectual tradition. Indeed, it shaped the education of every boy aspiring to literacy, of every young Chinese student who ever dreamed of sitting for the civil service examinations. Its influence is hard to overstate. But there is another important reason for including Zhu's commentary in this study of the Four Books: it is in commentary on the Thirteen Classics—especially, of course, on the Four Books—that Zhu is given to the most serious philosophical reflection. It is here that he engages in a sort of dialogue with the great sages of the past. Reading Zhu's commentary enables us to witness his lifelong “conversation” with the venerable teachings of the past and to observe him in the process of meditating on their relevance for him and his contemporaries. Indeed, his commentarial efforts exemplify nicely the sort of fully engaged reading of the writings of the sages that he expects generally of students of the canon. In any event, from this dialogic endeavor comes the unfolding of Zhu's philosophical system known as the “learning of the Way” (*Daoxue*). Often referred to as Neo-Confucianism, it would come to dominate the intellectual landscape of China until the twentieth century.

Thus, through the Four Books and commentary on them by Zhu Xi, readers of this book will be introduced to the central texts in the Chinese tradition for the six-hundred-year period from the fourteenth century to the twentieth century. They will also be exposed to the orthodox reading of these texts during this period, as well as to the dominant values and beliefs of the culture, as embodied in these sacred texts; the standard curriculum in schools and the civil service examinations through the early decades of the

¹⁰ For an extended discussion of the role that commentary plays in the Chinese intellectual tradition, and especially its role in shaping the reader's reading of a canonical text, see Daniel K. Gardner, “Confucian Commentary and Chinese Intellectual History.”

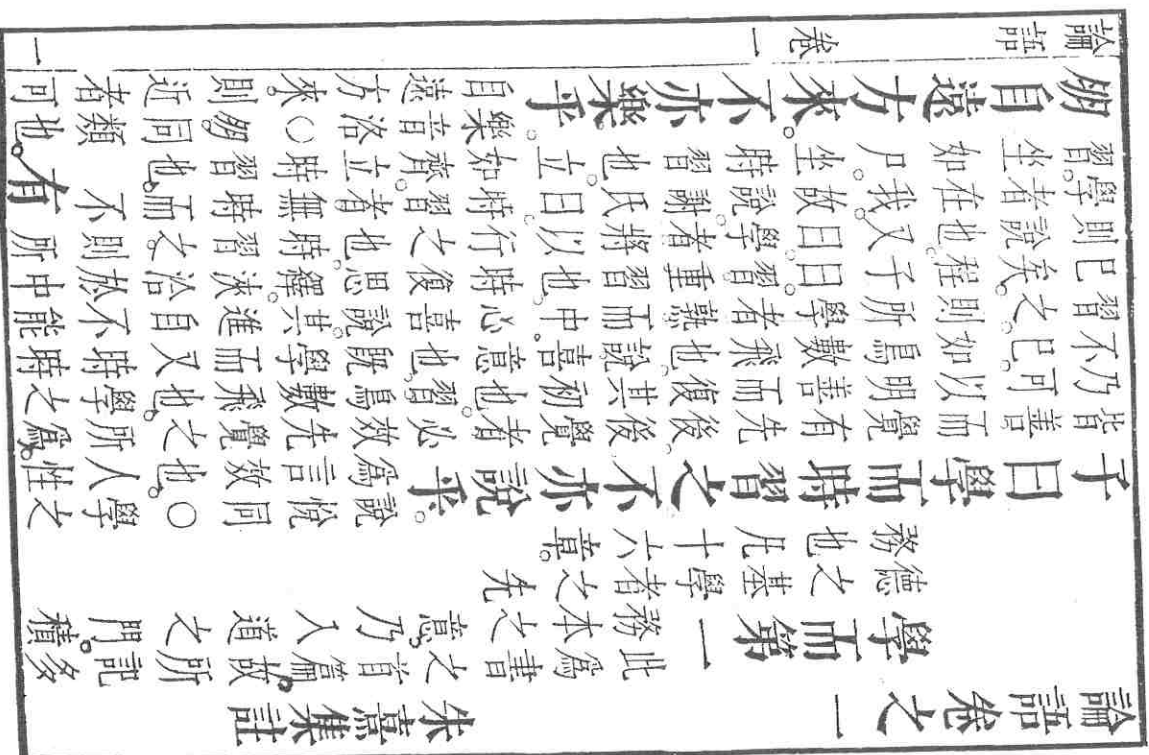


Fig. 6 Opening page of the *Analekts* with Zhu Xi's Commentary. From Zhu Xi, *Sishu jiangju jizhu*.

twentieth century; and the philosophical ideas of China's most influential and commanding thinker since the thirteenth century.¹¹

In the translation of the Four Books that follows I have selected passages for inclusion based on three criteria: (1) Is the passage famous? (2) Is the passage, in the judgment of the later Chinese intellectual tradition, essential to the significance of the text? (3) Is the passage, in *my* judgment, central to how we are to understand the later Chinese intellectual tradition? These three criteria often clearly overlap, but a passage need meet only one of them to be included here.

I have based my translation of the Four Books on the Sishu Jizhu (Sibu beiyao edition).

THE GREAT LEARNING

¹¹ This introduction has touched on issues taken up more fully in some of my earlier work. The interested reader may refer to "Principle and Pedagogy: Chu Hsi and the Four Books," "Transmitting the Way: Chu Hsi and His Program of Learning," "Confucian Commentary and Chinese Intellectual History," *Learning to Be a Sage*, and *Zhu Xi's Reading of the Analects: Canon, Commentary, and the Classical Tradition*.