

V. LI, RITES

1. Li in Governing

Li appears in the Analects 72 times. It is related to many topics, of which the most numerous is the governmental affairs.

Li is an instrument in governing the people. Or rather, Li is legitimized by this instrumental function: "If it is really possible to govern countries by ritual (Li) and yielding, there is no more to be said. But if it is not really possible, of what use is ritual (Li). Schwartz translates the passage: "If one is able to rule a state by Li and the spirit of yielding (Jang) (appropriate to it) what difficulty will there be? If one is not able to rule a state by Li and the spirit of yielding, of what use is Li?" Schwartz says that according to Confucius, in this disposition toward yielding we find the underlying "spirit of Li" which ought to be intimately associated with every "concrete act" of Li.³¹⁵

Li as an instrument in governing resembles Te, but it is differentiated from it by the following statement about governing the people: "govern them by moral force (Te), keep order among them by ritual (Li) and they will keep their self respect and come to you of their own accord".³¹⁶ Here Li performs the task of the law. Hsien writes: "This statement by Confucius well represents the attitude of his school, which at all times opposed the application of a rigid code of laws as the policy of 'rule by power', because it provides sanctions only after the perpetration of a crime. Under their ideal of 'rule by benevolence' *li* is used to prevent crime before its inception. While law is imposed from above *li* grows out of the dominant attitudes in the community. In fact, *li* has a coercive power almost as great as law... In cases when the imperial code lacked proper provisions, it was considered correct to draw upon *li* in judging crimes."³¹⁷

In governing the country Li is a necessary element; to contradict it turns the ruler

³¹⁵ AN. 4:13, p. 104. Roberts calls this a "political or social mode of action." ROBERTS 1966, p. 18. See also DAWSON 1981, p. 26. ROUSSELLE 1934, p. 4. SCHWARTZ 1985, p. 73. YAO Tsung-i 1978a, p. 122.

³¹⁶ AN. 2:3, p. 88. 道之以德，齊之以禮，有恥且格。 Lau translates: "Guide them by virtue, keep them in line with the rites, and they will, besides having a sense of shame, reform themselves." LAU 1979, p. 63. See also LEGGE I 1969, p. 146., and BOODBERG 1964, p. 327. Boodberg translates this passage as: "The Master said, 'Lead the way for them with (coercive) regimen, and compose them with (corporal) compagination, and the people will shirk and have no sense of shame. Lead the way for them with (arrective) Enrectitude, and compose them through (corporate) Form, and they will have a sense of shame and will thus be brought to pattern.'" BOODBERG 1964, p. 327.

Fingarette explains the philosophy of this passage: "Confucius characteristically and sharply contrasts the ruler who uses *li* with the ruler who seeks to attain his ends by means of commands, threats, regulations, punishments and force. (2:3) The force of coercion is manifest and tangible, whereas the vast (and sacred) forces at work in *li* are invisible and intangible. *Li* works through spontaneous coordination rooted in reverent dignity. The perfection in Holy Rite is esthetics as well as spiritual." FINGARETTE 1972, pp. 8, 9, 29. And see also FEHL 1971, p. 88.

AN. 13:3, pp. 171, 172 says: "If what is to be done cannot be effected, then rites and music will not flourish. If rites and music do not flourish, then mutilations and lesser punishments will go astray."

³¹⁷ HSIEN, Chin-hu 1948, pp. 53,54. See also WRIGHT 1962, p. 8. CHANG, Chin-tsen 1960, p. 2.

into a bad one, no matter how good he is in other respects.³¹⁸

If the Way prevails, the orders concerning ritual, music and punitive expeditions are issued by the Son of Heaven. If the Way does not prevail, the orders are issued by the feudal princes and so the dynasty will fall in ten generations.³¹⁹ A ruler should employ his ministers according to Li.³²⁰

According to Confucius, Li is very important in governmental affairs. De Groot says that in Confucian thinking there is no government without Li.³²¹

2. Li of the Ruler and the Gentleman

Ritual is especially important for the ruler. Even one day's submission to Li would cause the people to respond to the Te of the ruler. The ruler should not look at anything, listen to anything or stir a hand of foot in defiance of ritual.³²² "So long as the ruler loves Li, the people will be easy to handle."³²³ Waley says that despite the influence of the ruler who rules by Li on the common people 民 as described above there does not need to be anything magical in Li. The correct practice of ritual by 'those above' exercises a profound influence upon the populace.³²⁴

Ritual is important for a gentleman 君子 together with righteousness 義. Li is the guide in putting what is right into practice.³²⁵ Li of the gentleman has a socially uniting influence: "If a gentleman attends to business and does not idle away his time, if he behaves with courtesy to others and observes the rules of ritual, then all within the Four Seas are his brothers." "He hates those who love deeds of daring, but neglect ritual." De Bary says: "The saying 'all men are brothers' truly expresses the Confucian sense that family relations and a spirit of intimacy or kinship should provide the basis for the conduct of social relations at large."³²⁶

The gentleman knows the rites 知禮 This presumably means that he knows the 3,300 injunctions. Waley remarks that early Confucianism was not so much interested

³¹⁸ AN. 15:32, p. 200. Waley regards this passage as a later addition to the book. WALEY 1964, p. 200.

³¹⁹ AN. 16:2, p. 204. Fung explains: "Such things as following the rites, composing music, and sending troops to battle are decided by the highest ruler, the son of Heaven... If the world is in order, the country's political power will never fall into the hands of the ministers. If the world is in order, ordinary people will not discuss the country's politics." According to Fung, Confucius defended the "slave owners and the aristocratic class of the Western Chou dynasty." FUNG, Yu-lan 1978, pp. 15, 16.

³²⁰ AN. 3:19, pp. 98, 99.

³²¹ DE GROOT 1918, pp. 25, 26. "...it is upon observance of ritual that the governance of a State depends." AN. 11:25, p. 161.

³²² AN. 12:1, p. 162. According to Fung, Confucius emphasized the Rites of Chou. FUNG, Yu-lan 1978, pp. 26, 27. Creel says that both courtesy and moral duty were included in Li. CREEL 1975, p. 46. Li is here a "mode of action." ROBERTS 1966, p. 18

³²³ AN. 14:44, p. 191. See also DAWSON 1981, p. 30. AN. 4:13, p. 104.

³²⁴ WALEY 1964, p. 66. Cf. FINGARETTE 1972, p. 6.

³²⁵ AN. 15:17, p. 197.

³²⁶ AN. 12:5, pp. 163, 164. AN. 17:24, p. 216. De BARY 1986, p. 118.

in the details of Li. However, Confucius asked everything in the Grand temple.³²⁷

The gentleman has to study 學 Li in order to be able to "take his stand" 立 on public occasions.³²⁸ This is an appeal to an individual to activate his will to learn Li.³²⁹ "The Master said, He who does not understand the will of Heaven, 知命, cannot be regarded as Gentleman. He who does not know the rites, 知禮, cannot take his stand. He who does not understand words, 知言, cannot understand people." The concepts "understanding the will of Heaven", "knowing the rites" and "understanding words", which means to grasp the deeper meaning beneath the surface, are collocatively related to each other, and can be regarded as necessary for the gentleman.³³⁰

Confucius also relates the learning of letters to Li: "A gentleman who is widely versed in letters and at the same time knows how to submit his learning to the restraints of ritual is not likely, I think, to go far wrong."³³¹ The study of a ritual is a part of the process towards perfection: "Let a man be first incited by the *Songs*, then given a firm footing by the study of ritual, and finally perfected by music."³³² Yen Hui, Confucius's

³²⁷ AN. 7:30, pp. 129, 130. WALEY 1964, p. 67. Waley mentions one of the injunctions as an example: "If when you are calling on another gentleman, he begins to yawn and stretch himself, twiddles his hair pins, fiddles with the knob of his sword, shuffles his feet and asks how the time is going, you will not be at fault in proposing to retire." WALEY 1964, p. 67. Confucius said quite realistically: "Were anyone to-day to serve his prince according to the full prescriptions of ritual, he would be thought a sycophant." AN. 3:18.

AN. 3:15, pp. 97,98. There are so many things to do and to know in the Grand Temple, that Confucius could not know it all. He was not ashamed of not knowing the things and of not being able to do everything. CH'ENG Shu-te 1974, p. 162. This is according to the Confucian theory that knowing consists in knowing that one does not know. AN. 2:17, p. 91. See also FEHL 1971, p. 87.

Confucius demanded a certain standard before he could admit that one knew the ritual. AN. 3:22, pp. 99, 100. See also WU 1974, p. 13.

³²⁸ AN. 16:13, p. 208, AN. 20:3, p. 233. 立 apparently refers to certain behavior in certain situations. See also YANG I-feng 1967, p. 26. AN. 11:1, p. 153.

Fingarette says: "One has to labor long and hard to learn *li*." "*Jen* comes 'after what is difficult is done,' i.e., after one has mastered the skills of action required by *li*. Learning the skills of civilized intercourse is indeed difficult. It takes persistence, however, rather than supernormal strength. *Li* must be learned, but *jen* is immediately at hand if desired." FINGARETTE 1972, pp. 6, 51, 52.

³²⁹ "It is true that I and only I can will *my* will, but it may be that *what* I will is what is called for by the *li*, or by *jen*, or *chung*, or *shu*, or *i*, or - to put it most generally - by the *tao*, and that my reason for so willing is precisely that this *is* what the *tao* calls for." FINGARETTE 1979, pp. 134, 135.

³³⁰ AN. 20:3, p. 233. YÜ Ying-shih 1987, p. 39.

³³¹ AN. 6:25, p. 121, AN. 12:15, p. 167.

"Psychiatrists say that our education, although it cultivates the intellect to a high degree, often fails signally to discipline the emotions... Confucius considered intellectual cultivation to be of little worth if it were not accompanied by emotional balance; to produce such balance he depended upon education in *li*. The learning of the gentleman, he said, must be 'disciplined by means of *li*'; one thus prepared to meet the world is strengthened, he believed, to hold true to his principles through any crisis and in the face of every temptation." CREEL 1954, p. 46.

³³² AN. 8:8, p. 134. The *Songs* reflect personal feelings, *Li* cannot be overstepped. The rites regulate human actions. Music refers to harmony, personal feeling and peace. This is long lasting. CH'ENG Shu-te 1965, p. 459. According to Yang Tsu-han learning in AN 1:1, p. 83, "To learn and at due times to repeat what one has learned, is that not after all a pleasure?" 學 especially refers to learning the Rites and Music. YANG Tsu-han 1982, p. 95. Tu says: "The pleasure that one enjoys in perfecting a skill by repeated practice can be seen as much in the radiant smile of an infant who has just negotiated his or her first steps as in the joy of a virtuoso lute player who has mastered a difficult score. The happiness evident in both cases has to do with the sense that what has been learned is not merely something external, something apart from the learner, but a feature of of the learner's expanded

disciple said "He has broadened me with culture restrained me with ritual."³³³ This means that a person can be instructed by another person in the rites, in other words, to learn Li is not by self practice or by self study only. Confucius gave value to studying the ritual.³³⁴

3. Li and Choice

It is right for one to perform the rites economically. Because of economy, some changes to Li are possible. Confucius wanted to follow the prescriptions of ritual, even when these were contrary to the general practice, if the general practice was not more economical than the original prescription.³³⁵ For Confucius the inner meaning of the rite was more important than its outer, careful and detailed performance. This is made clear especially in the mourning rites.³³⁶ When Tzu kung wanted to save a sheep 羊 used traditionally in the offering for the first day of the month, Confucius preferred to offer the sheep. In Lu this ceremony had lost its meaning, and so Tzu kung made his proposal. Legge explains that Confucius thought that while any part of the ceremony was retained, there was a better chance of restoring the whole.³³⁷ All this shows that Confucius did not want to regard Li as strict law, but wanted to apply it in a flexible way according to the practical situation.

"Confucius insisted, however, that the observance of li should be neither perfunctory nor rigid and inflexible, but should be in keeping with circumstances and also with that spirit of reverence and respect for others which the ceremonies or rules of conduct were meant to embody. By showing their intrinsic significance, he attempted to reassert the value of these traditional forms at a time when they were increasingly neglected or performed as mere pretense."³³⁸

He had to select between traditional, pragmatic, economic and sentimental considerations. Sometimes it was necessary to allow changes to performances of Li because of economy or because of sentimental reasons. The latter is clear in the case of mourning rites. Sometimes Confucius could not allow short cuts in Li in order to preserve something valuable. Confucius had to evaluate these different factors and to choose his attitude to vocabulary of self-expression. What has been learned is an aspect of the learner's personhood." TU, Wei-ming 1989a, pp.32,33.

³³³ AN. 8:10, p. 140.

³³⁴ AN. 1:15, p. 87. WRIGHT 1962, p. 7.

³³⁵ AN. 9:3, p. 138. See also GURDAK 1976, pp. 276-278. DAWSON 1981, pp. 33, 34.

³³⁶ "In ritual at large it is a safe rule always to be too sparing rather than too lavish; and in the particular case of mourning-rites, they should be dictated by grief rather than by fear." AN. 3:4, p. 94.

Here 易 is used for 惕 fear. WALEY 1964, p. 253. According to Chu Hsi, 易 refers to 治 CHU Hsi 1952, p. 13. It seems that Chu Hsi's interpretation is more logical: the grief is more important than doing the rite, or as Legge explains: "it is better that there be deep sorrow than a minute attention to observances." LEGGE I 1969, p. 156. See also CH'ENG Shu-te 1965, pp. 127, 128. TANG Yung-tung 1947, p. 157. YANG Hui-chieh 1975, p. 24. HU Chien 1989, p. 51.

³³⁷ AN. 3:17, p. 98. LEGGE I 1969, p. 161.

See Dubs who says: "But this saying indicates merely an antiquarian interest on the part of Confucius. He cared so much for the ancient practices supposedly inaugurated by the Duke of Jou (who has the most ancient spirit worshipped in this temple) that he did not want to change one jot or little of what was done there." DUBS 1958, p. 251.

³³⁸ De BARY, CHAN, WATSON 1967, p. 28.

Li according to the most valuable factors.

Schwartz says that the prescriptions of Li are rules of life which, despite their extreme importance, hardly "cover" all life situations. In this context, Schwartz believes that the concept Yi, righteousness, is also present. Yi in his reading seems to refer specifically to right behavior in the vast sea of unique life situations where more often than not there is no simple "covering" rule of Li. "There is no reason to doubt the sincerity of the Master's self-assessment, when he tells us that he is unable to attain the noble man's ideal of being 'wise without perplexity'. There are, indeed, examples in the text of such perplexity." Schwartz criticizes Fingarette, who maintains that "the problem of genuine choice among real alternatives never occurred to Confucius, or at least never clearly occurred to him as a fundamental moral task," and continues: "In Fingarette we find no allusion to such inner state of perplexity or dilemmas involved in the choice of lesser evils. Confucius and his disciples constantly confront choices." Fingarette's opinion has to some extent been taken as a basic dogma, a fixed premiss, on which to build. Rosemont says:

"I suspect that many people will wish to dispute this reading of the Lun Yu, because if there is neither a concept of freedom nor a concept of choice in the text, then it follows that Confucius could not have been a moral philosopher, for how can one do moral philosophy without speaking of free choice? In modern western terms you cannot, and therefore I want to maintain that it is fundamentally misguided to see Confucius as a moral philosopher. On the contrary, a different reading of the Lun Yu raises a challenge, a highly salutary challenge, to the entire realm of modern Western moral philosophy, along with its presuppositions of an individual self. That challenge is not simply with respect to moral principles themselves, but to the foundations of moral principles as well."³³⁹

Cua has two concepts, externalism and internalism. He says that what he calls externalism, as the term suggests, construes the connection between morality and human nature as essentially an external affair. On this view, morality is in some sense alien to human nature. Externalism is associated with the conception of man as in some basic sense bad, aggressive and destructive. Cua says that as opposed to this view, what he calls Internalism construes the connection as an intimate and internal one. On this view, morality is in some sense inherent in human nature. Internalism is often and perhaps more frequently, associated with the conception of man as naturally good, compassionate, and cooperative. As according to the externalist view, man is a kind of a self-seeking or self-interested animal, and men are impelled to compete against one another, this condition necessitates some form of regulation of human behavior. Cua says that morality in this light is a regulative system. In one Chinese form of externalism, it is Li or rules of proper conduct that regulate human strife.³⁴⁰ If we consider the position of Confucius from this point of view, we see that Confucius wanted morality to be deeper in human nature than just regulating laws imposed from outside to be followed rigorously. Because of this in his view rites should be adopted to the situation, as a kind of set of tools to be used to enhance morality, and not as outer motives of morality.

By his attitude towards Li, in addition to showing the importance of choice according

³³⁹ SCHWARTZ 1985, p. 79. FINGARETTE 1972, pp. 22, 23. See also ROSEMONT 1976, pp. 468-470. AN. 14:30, p. 188: "The master said, the Ways of the true gentleman are three. I myself have met with success in none of them. For he that is really Good is never unhappy, he that is really wise is never perplexed, he that is really brave is never afraid. Tzu-kung said, That, Master, is your own Way!" ROSEMONT 1986, p. 205. See also CASEY 1984, pp. 392,393.

³⁴⁰ CUA 1982, pp. 279-281. See also TU 1979, p. 10.

to certain practical criteria, Confucius also places some distance between himself and the idealistic doctrines. By his conception of Li, he adheres more to the practical-minded ethics, in which the strict requirement to stand up for ideals and principles does no good.³⁴¹

4. Li and Historical Continuity

Although Confucius allowed a certain latitude in Li, he had a strong antiquarian or retrospective interest. "The occasions upon which the Master used correct pronunciation were when reciting the *Songs* or the *Books* and when practicing ritual acts. At all such times he used the correct pronunciation." Confucius did not want to restore the correct Chou pronunciation to the Lu dialect which he used in daily life.³⁴²

Confucius describes Li and historic continuity: "We know in what ways the Yin modified ritual when they followed upon the Hsia. We know in what ways the Chou modified ritual when they followed upon the Yin. And hence we can foretell what the successors of Chou will be like, even supposing they do not appear till a hundred generations from now."³⁴³ Another passage is: "The Master said, how can we talk about the ritual of the Hsia? The state of Ch'i supplies no adequate evidence. How can we talk about the ritual of Yin? The State of Sung supplies no adequate evidence. For there is a lack both of documents and learned men. But for this lack we should be able to obtain evidence from these two States." Confucius confirmed that he himself followed Chou. Hsiao tries to discover reasons for this. He notes first:

"From the incomplete documentary evidence that exists to day, we can conclude that in all places where Confucius' political thought touches upon questions of institutions there are extremely few elements of the Yin rites. It is possible that his motive in promoting ideas leading to the breakdown of rich social classes (i.e., the aristocracy established by the Chou following their conquest of the Yin) may have been to liberate the Yin descendants."

Hsiao suggests three reasons for this conclusion: 1), "The civilization of Yin apparently had reached only a very low level of development." 2) "Confucius, in following the Chou, was only indirectly adopting the rites of Yin. He was not simultaneously drawing on two distinct institutional systems and working out their synthesis." 3) "Confucius was not entirely consistent in the way he accepted or rejected the rites and cultural practices of the Yin." He deviated from the "Yin people's shamanistic practices of consulting spirits." Schafer points out that the shamanistic practices were continued during Chou as well. Hsiao says further: "Although Confucius was conscious that he was a man of Yin, in his own service to the State of Lu he had acknowledged Chou political authority." Hsiao tries to show that "Confucius' political attitude was that of a compliant Chou subject, and his political views were conservative."³⁴⁴

³⁴¹ About practical and ideal ethics, see STOCKER 1990, pp. 105-110.

³⁴² AN. 7:17, pp. 126, 127. HSIEH Ping-ying 1976, p. 113. WALEY 1964, p. 126. See also FEHL 1971, p. 89. YIN Meng-lun 1987, pp. 338-351.

³⁴³ AN 2:23, p. 93. See also SHAUGHNESSY 1985, p. 190.

³⁴⁴ AN. 3:9, p. 96.

Roberts studies AN. 2:23 and AN. 3:9: "Returning to LY 2.23, there is good philological reason to think that Confucius is not speaking of *some* successor of the Chou but of a true successor *to* the

The Li of Chou were "not limited to the details of ceremonial acts and the ritual forms of the capping ceremony, of marriage, or burial, and of the sacrifice and the like. The rites were in fact the whole corpus of the society's institutions; and if man could 'overcome himself and submit to the rites,' then 'everything under Heaven should be restored to benevolence (jen).'" These Chou institutions of Li are expressed by Confucius in the doctrine of the rectification of names: "Duke of Ch'i asked Master K'ung about government. Master K'ung replied saying, let the prince be a prince, the minister a minister, the father a father and the son a son." Hsiao explains this passage in connection with the rectification of names and Li:

"To set forth more what Confucius intended by this passage, if persons who were rulers or minister, fathers or sons, would consider these words and reflect on their significance, in each case fulfilling to the limit the responsibilities attendant upon their designated position in society, and employing only those material things which were properly to be used by them, then order would be perfectly achieved, thereafter all manner of commerce could be conducted, and all the people could live together in peace. For when cornered vessels no longer have corners, the state is no longer a state."³⁴⁵

Chou, whose filiality will guarantee, even for one hundred generations, the continuity of the *Li*, the 'corpus' of the heritage of the Great Line from Yao to Confucius." The 'Philological reason' follows Chu Hsi: 有繼周而王者。 "Whomsoever may succeed Chou and rule by the Tao' Confucius is not referring to those who may succeed the Chou in time but to those who shall be heir to the Chou heritage. Thus, *chi*, I feel, should be interpreted here to mean 'to succeed legitimately'. The terms *chi* refers to filial succession (an institution that competed with and finally overcame fraternal succession 尸). In AN. 2.24 Confucius is not speaking of familial piety, but of great or spiritual filial piety, the carrying on of the great tradition of Yao, Shun, Chou Kung, etc." Roberts continues on AN. 3:9: "Chi and Sung were small states which performed ancestral rites of homage to the departed Hsia and Yin dynasties as their symbolic blood descendants. Taken together with LY 2.23, this passage suggests a contrast between those genetically but not morally qualified ('inadequate in heritage and achievements') to succeed the great dynasties, and the outsider, the great dynasties, and the outsider, the cruel conquering Chou, who took from the Yin what they (the Chou) called the Sonship of Heaven, claiming a higher ancestral fealty, their virtue not their blood legitimizing the conquest as attested by Confucius's statement that they 'based themselves on the *li* of the Yin.' Thus they were 'transmitters and not makers'. LY 3.9 reinforces the view that LY 2.23 is not a confident projection of the future, but, even more than a reminder to the Chou of its past, a daring insinuation about the eventual death of the Chou and their obligation for having true 'sons' to guarantee their continuity." ROBERTS 1968, p. 776. ROBERTS 1966, p. 20. CHU Hsi 1952, p. 12. Cua says: "The notion of *li* indicates the agent's tie to his cultural tradition... the *li* criterion may be regarded as a limit imposed by the tradition." CUA 1975, p. 4.

About AN. 3:9 see also CREEL 1951, pp. 145, 146.

Fung explains AN. 3:14: "Confucius thought that the rites of Chou were the most complete rites he said: 'Chou has the advantage of viewing the two past dynasties, How complete and elegant are its regulations! I follow Chou' 子曰，周監於二代，有有乎文哉，吾從周。

He meant that the Chou dynasty had observed the two dynasties of Hsia and Shang and had established the rites of Chou on the basis of those two dynasties' slave systems. It had, therefore, reached the peak of social development, and he wanted to follow it. But at that time, following the collapse of the slave society the rites of Chou had started to decline. This was what Confucius really meant when he said that 'the wrong principles prevail in the world.'" FUNG Yu-lan 1978, p. 24. Fung quotes LEGGE I 1969, p. 160. See also TS'AI Jen-hou 1987, p. 51. HSIAO, Kung-chuan 1979 pp. 93-96. T'ANG I-chieh 1987, pp. 73,76-79.

Hsiao refers to AN. 9:15, 11:11, pp. 142, 155, on the Doctrine of the Mean, Chung Yung, LEGGE I 1969, p. 423. Despite the problems of the authenticity of the Doctrine of the Mean, that Confucius followed the Chou rites is clear already on the basis of the Analects. HSIAO 1979 pp. 94-98. SCHAFFER 1951, pp. 156,157.

³⁴⁵ HSIAO 1979, p. 100, AN 12:1, p. 162, LEGGE I 1969, p. 250. About the rectification of names, see AN 12:11, p. 166, HSIAO 1979, pp. 99,100. HU 1968, pp. 23-25. WU Kuang 1989, p. 14. YIN Meng-lun 1987, pp. 339-341.

About the cornered vessel, see AN. 6:23, LEGGE I 1969, p. 192. See also CHAO 1974, p. 180,

Hu Shih explains the Confucian doctrine of the rectification of names means that the use of names according to their natural and ideal meaning was essential to the moral reformation of society and the state.

"The problem of Confucianism, therefore, was one of establishing an ideal world, a world of universals of ideal relations, for the real world to imitate and approximate to. Accordingly, early Confucianism busied itself with two tasks; first, to teach the judicious use of the written word, as exemplified in the Chun chiu, and, secondly, to edit and codify and elaborate the customs, moral precepts, rituals, ceremonies, etc., into a system of li (禮) which can best be translated by the German word *Sittlichkeit* in the Hegelian sense. The object of the li was to furnish men with a code of ideal relations for the regulation of individual conduct and social intercourse. But the li in its exaggerated form became an intolerably elaborate code of rules, prescribing with rigidity and minute detail every phase of human conduct including eating, drinking, clothing, sitting, standing, walking, cooking, talking... etc." "The Confucian doctrine of ideas (hsiang) had held that things and institutions originated in ideas which were afterwards embodied into utensils and institutions and principles. According to this logic, in order to grasp the meaning of the real things of the present, it is necessary to go back to the original ideas, to the ideal meanings, of the names by which these things are now known."³⁴⁶

This explanation of Hu resembles the doctrine of Platonic ideas, although Hu does not mention Plato in this context. The doctrine of ideas is nowhere in the Analects as clearly expressed as in the philosophy of Plato. However, to some extent the doctrine of the rectification of names presupposes an ideal division of duties between different bodies in government and family. In this way the name ideally corresponds to the fact behind the name.³⁴⁷

The historical continuity of religious ceremonies was important for Confucius. Rowley says:

"It is hard not to feel that Confucius loved religious ceremonies for their own sake, provided they conformed to the pattern laid down in the past. He said that he had no wish to look on at the great sacrifice after the pouring out of the libation, and it would appear that something in the ceremony offended his sense of propriety. When asked the meaning of this sacrifice, he avoided the question."

This certainly appears to indicate an agnostic attitude on Confucius's part, which becomes clearer in the following passage which, however, has a problem of authenticity. When Confucius was asked about serving the spirits, he replied: "Till you have learned to serve men, how can you serve ghosts?" When his questioner asked about the dead, he answered: "Till you know about the living, how are you to know about the dead," (whether they are conscious).³⁴⁸ While loving the ceremony for its own sake Confucius who says: "The meaning of Li as used in ancient China, in addition to its present-day definition 'courtesy' 'politeness' signifies the entire body of usage and customs, political and social institution."

³⁴⁶ HU 1968, pp. 63,64. These prescriptions of behavior are described in book 10 of the Analects. However, it is not said that these are Li, but only descriptions of how Confucius and the gentleman behaved in certain instances.

³⁴⁷ WANG Pang-hsiung 1982, p. 301. "I will argue that there is indeed no Platonic Realism in ancient China (also no theory of abstract sets or classes)," HANSEN 1983, pp. vii, 72-77.

³⁴⁸ ROWLEY 1956, p. 102. AN. 3:10, 11, p. 96.

AN. 11:11, p. 155. This passage is one of the frequently quoted passages of the Analects. This passage does not follow the general theme of book 11; it is the only clear exception to the common theme, which is appraisals of different people or groups of people. It is possible that this chapter on "Confucian agnosticism" is a later addition, or included by some editor who did not realize the common theme of the chapter. It is also possible that the compilers thought it to be suitable to place this chapter after several chapters dealing with Yen Hui's death, despite the fact that it deviates from the common theme of the book.

On Confucius "agnosticism", see DUBS 1958, pp. 249, 250, 251. FUNG Yu-ian 1931, p. 343.

declined to commit himself as to the survival of the ancestors. We are told that he sacrificed to the dead as if they were present, and that he considered his absence from the ceremony as if he did not sacrifice.³⁴⁹

Li is important in the treatment of parents 孝. One must not disobey, and this means that when the parents are alive, "serve them according to ritual. When they die, bury them according to ritual and sacrifice to them according to ritual." 'Disobey' here apparently means to disobey the rituals.³⁵⁰ However, there is a problem, if the gentleman suspend their practice of rites for the three years' mourning period "the rites will certainly decay; if for three years they make no music, music will certainly be destroyed." In principle, however, Confucius demanded the three years' mourning period.³⁵¹

5. Li, Music and Harmony

In the passage above Li and music were placed in the same category. This similarity appears also in the following: "A man who is not Good, what can he have to do with ritual? A man who is not Good, what can he have to do with music?" Goodness is the necessary qualification to be able to practice ritual and music.³⁵² Both of these should be studied³⁵³ and they belong to a "real gentleman".³⁵⁴ Ritual and music also appear as common denominators or coordinative elements of some virtues represented by named ideal persons. When the virtues are with ritual and music, this will be the ethical characteristic of "a perfect man" 成人.³⁵⁵ Li and music appear as important elements

³⁴⁹ AN. 3:12, p. 97. Fingarette explains this: "The truly ceremonial 'takes place'; there is a kind of spontaneity. It happens 'of itself'. There is life in it because the individuals involved do it with seriousness and sincerity. For ceremony to be authentic one must 'participate in the sacrifice'; otherwise it is as if one 'did not sacrifice at all.' To put it another way, there are two contrasting kinds of failure in carrying out *li*: the ceremony may be awkwardly performed for lack of learning and skill; or the ceremony may have a surface slickness but yet be dull, mechanical for lack of serious purpose and commitment. Beautiful and effective ceremony requires the personal 'presence' to be fused with learned ceremonial skill." FINGARETTE 1972, p. 8. See also FUNG Yu-lan 1931, pp. 339-344, WONG 1984, p. 154.

Confucius also says: "...ritual performed without reverence 為禮不敬。 the forms of mourning observed without grief - these are things I cannot bear to see!" AN. 3:26, p. 101. This is partly explained by: "When presenting ritual-presents, his expression is placid." 享禮，有容色。 AN. 10:5, p. 147.

³⁵⁰ AN. 2:5,7 p. 29. See also Waley's interpretation, WALEY 1964, p. 89, and SCHWARTZ 1975, p. 21. Liu says about the passages of AN. 2:5 and 7: "Die kindliche Liebe gegenüber den Eltern ist nach dem Konfuzianismus eine in der Natur des Menschen begründete Verpflichtung. Die Pietät verlangt nicht nur die äusserlich zu leistende Pflege der Eltern, sondern vor allem auch eine von innen kommende Ehrerbietung. Wenn man seine Eltern unterhält, aber ihnen nicht die gebührende Ehrfurcht erweist, so unterscheidet man sich nicht von Hunden und Pferden. Die Fürsorge für die Eltern erstreckt sich nicht nur auf die Lebenszeit der Eltern, sondern auch über den Tod hinaus, indem für Bestattung und Verehrung durch Opferzeremonie nach der Li-Norm gesorgt werden muss." LIU, Shing-i 1983, p. 90.

³⁵¹ AN. 17:21, pp. 214, 215. The chapped shows signs of a late date WALEY 1964, p. 215 and p. 21.

³⁵² AN. 3:3, p. 94.

³⁵³ AN. 11:1, p. 153.

³⁵⁴ AN. 11:21, pp. 159, 160. Li and human nature, CHANG 1954, p. 101.

³⁵⁵ AN. 14:13, p. 183. To what extent Confucius himself really required these things from 'a perfect

in the ideal moral agent. Through Li and music Confucius certainly understands the role of aesthetics in connection with moral behavior. Kainz says: "...there is indeed a large area of human behavior which is very much in line with our aesthetic orientations, and also converges with what is generally called 'moral' behavior." Li is connected with morality in such a way that, concerning Confucius's thinking, the term 'moral sense' could be used in the meaning which describes the human faculty for combining aesthetic and moral judgement.³⁵⁶

Due ordering of ritual and music produces pleasure. This hedonism is not a goal in itself, but has a further purpose, a profitability. Confucius places hedonism at the service of profitability or utilitarian considerations. He does not value pleasures which do not serve this purpose.³⁵⁷ Music together with rites work as a coercive power.³⁵⁸ Both are more content than just the outer appearance.³⁵⁹

In a way, music has been placed higher than Li: "The Master said, Let a man be first incited by the *Songs*, then given a firm footing by the study of ritual, and finally perfected by music."³⁶⁰ Huang explains this passage:

"Little is known about the music of the times of Confucius, but it is evident that it was both instrumental and vocal, and dancing was often associated with it. Ancient Chinese music was 'a mixed art' and not a 'pure art', since it was intended to be sung and as an accompaniment for poetry. The two arts are closely related, but, according to Confucius, there is a difference between them. The primary man' remains unclear, since there is no agreement as to who the speaker in different parts of the chapter was. The chapter allows a certain latitude in the requirements of a perfect man: "But perhaps today we need not ask all this of the perfect man." See CH'ENG Shu-te 1974, p. 844. According to this Tzu-lu asks, Confucius replies, the part quoted above is stated by Tzu-lu and Confucius speaks from 見 onwards. Another explanation is that Confucius spoke the part quoted above also. HSIEH Ping-ying 1976, p. 183.

The whole chapter is as follows: "13. Tzu-lu asked what was meant by 'the perfect man.' The Master said, If anyone with the wisdom of Tsang Wu Chung, the uncovetousness of Meng Kung Ch'o, the valour of Chuang Tzu of P'ien and the dexterity of Jan Ch'iu, and had graced these virtues by the cultivation of ritual and music then indeed I think we might call him 'a perfect man'.

He said, But perhaps today we need not ask all this of the perfect man. One who when he sees a chance of gain, stops to think whether to pursue it would be right 見利思義; when he sees that (his prince) is in danger, is ready to lay down his hand when the fulfillment of an old promise is exacted, stands by what he said long ago - him indeed I think we might call 'a perfect man.'"

³⁵⁶ KAINZ 1988, p. 15. Kainz refers to Aristotle's definition of moral happiness, Eudaimonia, which regards aesthetic considerations as important. He quotes Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1'7' 1098a, 1099b, 1101a. See KAINZ 1988, pp. 1,2.

Kainz reviews the concept 'moral sense' in the meaning used above: This was first used by Anthony Ashley Cooper, the Earl of Shaftesbury (1671-1713). From him the term was adopted by the Scottish philosopher Francis Hutcheson (1694-1746). The Scottish philosopher David Hume (1711-1776) also used a similar idea. KAINZ 1988, p. 17

³⁵⁷ This becomes apparent in the following passage: "There are three sorts of pleasure that are profitable, and three sorts of pleasure that are harmful. The pleasure got from the due ordering of ritual and music 樂節禮樂, the pleasure got from discussing the good points in the conduct of others, the pleasure of having many wise friends is profitable. But pleasure got from profligate enjoyments, pleasure got from idle gadding about, pleasure got from comfort and ease is harmful. AN. 16:5, p. 205. Legge translates: "樂節禮樂" "To find enjoyment in the discriminating study of ceremonies and music." According to him 節 is a verb 'to discriminate' 'to mark the divisions of.' LEGGE I 1969, p. 312. All that is done is according to Rites and music. HSIEH Ping-ying 1976, p. 211.

³⁵⁸ AN. 13:3, pp. 171,172. See DAI 1962, pp. 9-24.

³⁵⁹ AN. 17:11, p. 212. HSIEH Ping-ying 1976, p. 220. See also YANG Pe-chün 1965, pp. 192,193.

³⁶⁰ AN. 8:8, p. 134.

function of poetry is to supply listeners and readers with ideas; knowledge is a result of studying poetry. Music without words offers listeners no definite knowledge as poetry does, for it is a temporal art and contains feelings which are expressed in a mere succession of tones. But when music is composed for poetry the hearer is provided with both knowledge and musical sound. When tones and words are blended, the combination is superior to either one alone."³⁶¹

Chu Hsi understands the primacy of music here, that its structure forms a harmony for song and dance. In order to be mature in Goodness and Righteousness and in good conduct, one has to learn music.³⁶² According to Huang music and rites are closely related to each other. Although they perform different functions both serve the purpose of securing social harmony and order.³⁶³

There is a clear passage on ritual and harmony: "Master Yu said, in the usages of ritual it is harmony that is prized; the Way of the Former Kings from this got its beauty. Both small matters and great depend upon it. If things go amiss, he who knows the harmony will be able to attune them. But if harmony itself is not modulated by ritual, things will still go amiss." According to Waley, harmony in this context means harmony between man and nature; playing the musical mode that harmonizes with the season, wearing seasonable clothes, eating seasonable food, and the like.³⁶⁴

Dawson says that Confucius understood that ritual was a powerful device for securing the harmonious human order which he craved; so he constantly stressed the important role of ritual in government."³⁶⁵ Fingarette says: "since *li* is that structure of human conduct that harmonizes the doings of all men and establishes their well-being as men, it is clear that he who is fully established in *li* is living a life that is perfectly organized and is entirely conducive to the flowering of human existence."³⁶⁶

According to Levenson, when Chu Hsi was "interpreting in a dialogue with his

³⁶¹ HUANG Siu-chi 1963, pp. 50, 51. Huang, however, does not pay attention to the primacy of Music compared with Li in this passage. See also WILHELM 1950, p. 162, and SMITH 1973, p. 72. RUBIN 1976, pp. 11-13. DAI, Shen-yu 1962, pp. 9-24. TONG 1969, p. 526.

³⁶² According to Chu Hsi music has 5 sounds and 12 keys which form the harmony 和 . CHU Hsi 1952, p. 52. Five sounds 五音 refers to the pentatonic characteristic of the music. However, the 12 keys 十二律 were also known. 十二律 were "a series of standard bamboo pitch-pipes used in ancient music; the twelve semi tones represented by these pitch-pipes." See MATHEWS 1969, p. 607. For further explanation on Chinese music, see CH'ENG Shu-te 1965, p. 459.

³⁶³ HUANG Siu-chi, 1963, p. 51.

³⁶⁴ AN. 1:12, p. 86. WALEY 1964, p. 86. See also CHU Hsi 1952, p. 5. CH'ENG Shu-te 1965, p. 41. TONG 1969, pp. 524, 525.

³⁶⁵ DAWSON 1981, p. 29. See also SCHWARTZ 1975, p. 9. Roberts says: "Li as a mode of action is the way in which man harmonizes the tension between present and past." ROBERTS 1966, harmonizes the tension between present and past." ROBERTS 1966, p. 17. "The model of influence and response forms the background conception for the Confucian vision of central harmony." CUA 1975, p. 3. See also CUA 1972, p. 133.

³⁶⁶ FINGARETTE 1972, p. 47. Rouselle says about the harmony in cosmos and rites: "Jeder an seinem Platz im Cosmos und in der Menschenwelt hat die ihm zustehenden Riten plichtmässig auszuüben, dann kommt und bleibt die Welt im Gleichgewicht ihres rhythmischen Geschehens, der ganze Cosmos wird so zu einem sakralen Gewebe durchzogen von den Einflüssen, die Riten ausstrahlen." ROUSSELLE 1954, p. 27.

Harmony is apparently related to Li also because it regulates the five relations, which are: relations between prince and minister, father and son, husband and wife, relations between brothers and relations between friends. CHANG 1960, p. 1. This conclusion can be drawn at least implicitly from the following chapters in the Analects: AN. 2:5, pp. 88,89, 3:19, pp. 98,99, 13:4, p. 172, 17:21, pp. 214,215.

disciples the *Lun-yu* phrases, 'Li chih yung ho wei kuei!' 禮之用，和為貴， (AN.1:12) he treated the *yung* of the passage as establishing the functional tie of *ho*, harmony.... to *li*, the principle of ordered human relationships. He held that *li* became manifest in the production of *ho*. The existence of *ho* was the outer test of the existence of *li* (the inner core of *li* was *ching*, 'reverence'); if *li* was really in being, the operation of *ho* was naturally, necessarily implied.³⁶⁷ According to this view, the most central or inner sphere is the 'reverence'. Then follows the rites, and the outermost sphere is harmony. The following passages to this are related: "Ritual, ritual! Does it mean no more than presents of jade and silk? Music, music! Does it mean no more than bells and drums? The Master said, to assume an outward air of fierceness when inwardly trembling is (to take a comparison from low walks of life) as dishonest as to sneak into places where one has no right to be, by boring a hole or climbing through a gap".³⁶⁸

6. Li and Other Key Terms

Li has also been related to Yi 義.³⁶⁹ "The gentleman who takes the right 義 as his material to work upon and ritual 禮 as the guide in putting what is right into practice, who is modest in setting out his projects and faithful in carrying them to their conclusion, he indeed is a true gentleman."³⁷⁰ Here Li has been regarded as a kind of method of

³⁶⁷ LEVENSON I 1972, p. 66. Levenson quotes Chu-tzu ch'üan-shu (Complete works of Chu Hsi), ed. Li Kuang-ti (1714), 10.37-8.

³⁶⁸ AN. 17:11, 12, pp. 212, 213. Karlgren says about the 'inner' and 'outer': "Den vanliga människan får underkasta sig långvariga och allvarliga studier, särskilt med ledning av den kinesiska antiken och dess stora dygdemönster för att komma till klarhet om det rätta handlandet i alla situationer, särskilt då ur synpunkten av hennes plikt som medmänniska. Har hon nått detta vetande, då blir hon *den*, "god mot nästan", och *Yi*, "rättfärdig" i alla livets skiften. Följden av denna inre luttring och förfining blir ett motsvarande yttre gentlemanskap, hon kan ofelbart uppfylla vad *li*, "riterna, normerna för det skickliga och passande", kräva i varje situation, hon blir föredömet för det tillbörliga, det höviska." KARLGRÉN 1964, pp. 88, 89.

"The polarity of self-cultivation of society concerns the ideals of the superior man - his life aims. The polarity of the 'inner' (*nei*) and 'outer' (*wai*) concerns the two realms of reality which bear most immediately on the achievement of these ideals. The two polarities are intimately related, but their relationship is complex. One cannot assume that even those overwhelmingly concerned with self-cultivation will be exclusively concerned with the 'inner' realm, or their adversaries with the 'outer'. The first elucidation of this polarity can be found in the famous debate of Mencius and Kao-tzu which appears in Book VI of *Mencius*. The key problem is the relation of the 'inner' realm to the 'outer' in accounting for the bases of human culture. Both realms are touched on in the sayings of Confucius, but nothing is said of the relation between them... The outer realm is the objective social and cultural order, and in the first instance, the *li*, the binding tissue of objective prescriptions, rites, and mores which holds that order together." SCHWARTZ 1975, pp. 7, 8. MENCIUS, LEGGE II, pp. 394-421. See also LEVENSON 1972, p. 56.

"I would like to suggest that the Confucian concept of *li* or propriety is to be regarded as such an external criterion of the morality of *jen* in the sense that it is a criterion that governs the concrete expression of *jen*." CUA 1972, p. 132. See the discussion about inner and outer in FINGARETTE 1972, p. 47, ROSEMONT 1978, p. 518, and SCHWARTZ 1985, p. 73.

³⁶⁹ CH'EN Ta-chi 1967, p. 72.

³⁷⁰ AN. 15:17, p. 197. Roberts has concentrated on studying the relations between Li and Yi. According to Roberts, Li and Yi stand in a kind of dialectical relation. "On the one hand, Yi is in a

carrying Yi out. In this context Yi is the inner element of Li, and Li is the outer realization. There are no other passages which directly elucidate the relationships between these two concepts.

The relationship between Tao 道 and Li is expressed only twice collocatively.³⁷¹ The relation of Li to Jen 仁 has been expressed three times, but these will be dealt with in connection with Jen.³⁷²

7. Early Confucian Li and Li in Shu Ching

Simply, the frequency of occurrences of Li in Shu Ching, 12 times, and in the Analects, 72 times show that the Analects is more "ritualistic" than Shu Ching.

In Shu Ching, just as in the Analects, Li has a clear relation to governmental affairs. In both, Li has been related to Te. Both are interested in historical Li, especially mentioning the Yin rites. Both pay attention to the way one has to perform rites. In both, rites and music are mentioned as being related to each other.

However, the mentioned similarities are more or less of a topical character. Although the topic is similar, the content of the concept even under these similar topics has important differences.

In Shu Ching, Heaven, T'ien regulates the rites belonging to the king and the dignitaries subordinate to him. In the Analects, Li is not related to T'ien in this way, although this possibility is not denied in the Analects. Shu Ching rather speaks about certain kinds of Li which take place in various areas and may also have a cosmological character.

In the Analects, Li is important for the ruler personally, and Li of the gentleman has a socially uniting influence. Shu Ching has not personalized the rites as characteristic of a person. In Shu, Li is something outside of a person to be performed or to be 'directed'. In Shu there is a minister who has specialized in Li, in the Analects every minister is a kind of minister of Li.

state of tension with Li as a form of history because Yi represents a step forward and so a step beyond the total achievement of the past. On the other hand, Yi cannot be proclaimed or acted upon in an arbitrary way but must find a socially reasonable form of expression, namely, Li as a mode of action. (This seems to correspond with AN. 15:17 above, although Roberts does not refer to this passage here.) In this way Yi moves from a state of tension with (but not negation of) the past to a re-incorporation with and enhancement of the past; i.e., Li as a form of history. Thus, Li as a mode of action is the way in which man harmonizes the tension between present and past." Later Roberts interprets AN. 15:17, p. 197: "'Yi is basic, Li is the means to make [Yi] functional.' This suggests that Yi is the content of a living Li. To be right is basic, but to carry the right out, to make it 'work', requires a socially reasonable form of expression." Roberts says further: "The development in the Analects of a 'living' ethic must be considered in connection with a worldview which embraces the past and the present-future in a theory of change and continuity. It was shown in the dissertation that the terms Li and Yi served to express such a theory. Li represents both the great heritage of the past and a mode of social expression which gives form and acceptability to new 'rights'. Yi refers to the new ethic which man must create in the context of emerging realities. It was further suggested that the Li/Yi dialectic was conceived as applicable in two kinds of time, day to day or 'shallow' time, and historical or 'deep' time; hints in the Analects of an ultimate metaphysical reference were also explored." ROBERTS 1966, pp. 17, 21, 106, 107. See also CREEL 1951, p. 145.

³⁷¹ AN. 16:2, 6:22, pp. 204, 120.

³⁷² AN. 3:3, p. 94, 12:1, p. 162, 15:32, pp. 199, 200.

In the Analects the contents of the concept has been widened to concern the everyday behavior of the gentleman. In Shu Ching, Li is more emphatically seen as restricted to the performance of rites on certain special occasions, such as sacrifice according to the rites of Yin. The rites pertaining to the king and the officials below him may include the underlying notion of Li to be applied more widely than just on special occasions. The development of Li from Shu to the Analects seems to have been that at first the rites were used on special important occasions, such as sacrifices, enfeoffing, and the king acting according to the rites of the points of the compass at certain times. In Shu, the rites belonged exclusively to the rulers, and are closely related to T'ien, as the ruler is 'son of Heaven'. In the Analects, Li has been widened to concern the behavior of the rulers and ministers and gentleman almost always, not only on certain occasions. This may not be a Confucian innovation, but the general development had widened the usage of Li in this way. Confucius advocated this development.

When Li reached every sphere of life of the gentlemen, there were certain problems in economy and possible practical inconveniences, if one wanted to perform the rites strictly. Because of this, Confucius had to consider which elements of Li were essential and in what way one has to take economy into account. Shu Ching does not have this problem. This change also explains why Li was not an important term in Shu Ching and why it is so central in the Analects. Because Li had become more common, it had to be discussed. This development led Confucius to choose between different more or less important characteristics of Li, as noted above. The sophistication of Li forced a solution to these problems to be sought, and it also gave an impetus to the development of philosophical thought about utility, economy and choice.

The Analects have a strong antiquarian interest. In connection with Li this interest was centered on the continuity of Li from one dynasty to another, especially from the Yin dynasty to the Chou dynasty. Confucius does not concentrate on the positive and negative phenomena during dynasties. He does not follow the problems of dynastic oscillation exposed by the Chou ideology. He stresses rather the importance of historical continuity from earlier times to the present of his own time.

Shu Ching associates the historical Li to the harmonious function of the universe by speaking about the enfeoffing rite attended by Shun and the rites which are to take place on different mountains and rivers. Confucius has a similar idea, except that it is expressed in a clearer way than in Shu Ching. Confucius connects the way of the former kings and the ritual with this harmony.

Shu Ching says very little about how to perform Li. In this respect the Analects is much more 'ritualistic'. According to Shu Ching the king was advised not to perform rites "in familiarity". This may be regarded as a 'root' of the Confucian thought of the 'inner' and 'outer' of Li.

Another development compared with Shu Ching is that the Analects relate Li to the law. In Shu the 'root' of this idea can be found in the fact that the king performed important rites on special occasions to guarantee the frictionless functioning of the universe and in this way the king exercised his power obtained from Heaven. The Analects loosened Li from this original 'higher' cosmological context between king and Heaven, to the 'lower' level of the ruler and ministers governing the people.

Shu Ching relates rites and music with each other by mentioning two different ministers, the minister of rites and the minister of music. Confucius puts rites and music into the same category. He develops their functions further. He deals with the questions of hedonism, profitability, utilitarian considerations, the purpose of music and the rites, their mutual relationships and their inner qualities. These issues are completely new compared with Shu Ching.

Generally speaking, the concept of Li is unproblematic in Shu Ching, which therefore does not discuss its characteristics closely. Confucius has taken a step further from here. In the Analects, the way Li is presented shows that Confucius had in mind several central issues of value theory, and even aesthetics. The practical problems, when he applied Li, or when Li had been spreading to almost all spheres of life, entitled him to consider these issues and to provide some kinds of answers to them or to state some kinds of principles to be followed. Li for Confucius was not a given, strictly defined thing, it was a practice which included problems and could be modified according to different requirements. This led to rational thinking about Li.

8. Early Confucian Li and Li in Shih Ching

Confucius regards a study of the Shih Ching as a starting point for studying the rites. Music is a way towards human perfection. From this one can see that Shih Ching was an important starting point for Confucius when he formed his conception of Li.

In Shih Ching, Li is comparatively rare, occurring only ten times, but it has important common points with the Analects. Shih agrees with the 'lower' characteristics of Li regarding it as of utmost importance to a man generally.

Shih Ching speaks about Li in connection with law as a consensus of ruler and ruled on what the individual can and cannot do. The Confucian Li in governing starts from this background letting Li perform the task of law. In the Analects, Li connected with governing is more advanced than in Shih Ching, because it pays attention to its necessity and its relation with Te and Tao.

In Shih Ching, Li means sacrifices and ceremonies performed to one's ancestors. These religious ceremonies are also important for Confucius. Shih Ching regards their correctness as important. Confucius faced this demand of correctness. For him the outer performance of the rite was not the essential thing. Because of practical and economic reasons Confucius allowed a certain flexibility in Li. This leads him to a rational consideration of how Li has to be applied in different situations. In this he deviated from the strict requirement to follow rules, as expressed in Shih Ching. On the other hand, however, Confucius was interested in the details in the temple and highly valued studying the ritual. In this way he realized the idea in Shih Ching that the rites are conducted according to the rule.

The following topics are in the Analects only: Li of the gentleman, the studying of Li, economy and Li, different aspects of Li to be chosen among, the relationship between Li and music, the philosophy of inner and outer, five rites.

Compared with Shu Ching in Shih Ching Li seems to have a wider usage in the fashion of the Analects.

There are very few topics connected with Li in Shih and Shu which are not mentioned in the Analects: both mention Li and sacrifice in the temple, whereas enfeoffing rites, and rites to be performed at various places at different times are found only in Shu. Both Shih and Shu refer to many kinds of rites, but Confucius has here emphasized the way of mastering or learning them and has also rationally considered the different characteristics of Li to choose from. In addition, the relationships of Li to other concepts is more sophisticated than in Shu and Shih. Altogether, Confucius has developed the concept of Li in a more rational direction and to some extent loosened its ties from the cosmological framework clearly seen especially in Shu Ching. In his consideration of Li, Confucius has distanced himself from the Chou ideology and moved towards a more rational direction. This can be called a move from ideology towards philosophy.

Li in the Analects does not clearly follow either Shu or Shih. It rather has its roots in both traditions, and the Confucian development to the term is fairly clear, as seen above. Li is a more important concept in the Analects than in Shu or Shih, in which it cannot be said to be a central concept.

9. Philosophy of Li

When comparing Confucius's conception of Li and especially his attitude to it with the traditions in Shu Ching and Shih Ching, it becomes clear that Confucius employed rational thinking when he was dealing with this concept. He was forced into this because of practical reasons. The practice showed that the performers of Li in Confucius's mind performed it like outsiders: minute attention to the rules will suffice. In practice he also saw certain uneconomic situations, which really did not serve the inner realization of Li. When he saw this, he had to face traditional, pragmatic, economical, and sentimental considerations. The motive for the rational thinking in connection with Li was mostly practical. Even the emphasis on the importance of inner qualities in Li arose from the historical fact that often the rites were regarded only as outer superficial ceremonies with no deeper sense in them. Confucius wanted to correct this deviation. In this way the philosophical thinking connected with Li was awakened by the practical requirements.

The materials show that in connection with Li Confucius constructed a new system of thought. This system is a way of rational thinking, which considers the practical situation, allows criticism and a certain flexibility in the traditional rules, and takes the question of choice seriously by selecting between traditional, pragmatic, economic and sentimental considerations. This also implied an assessment of which of these considerations should be regarded as more important than the other. Also, Confucius's requirement that morality had to be deeper in human nature than just outer regulating laws to be followed rigorously, was mainly a new principle of morality. In Shu Ching and Shih Ching this distinction is not discussed. In these, Li was taken simply as regulations to be followed, and not as something about which it was appropriate to consider whether one side of them was more important than the other. This naturally led to the attitude that Li is satisfactory when it is "entirely according to the rule" or when "the rites have no error." Confucius's new philosophy was not satisfied with

this, but wanted in a way to find the essence of Li.

In connection with Li Confucius's philosophy reveals itself as a rational method. It is elementary and simple and rather self-evident. However, it is important against its background, where no such attitude and thinking can be found. It is a step from the given rules and beliefs to an independent thinking which does not necessarily follow the traditional beliefs.

Confucius's rational thinking, together with continuous learning, is his philosophical method. Since this method is clearly revealed in connection with the concept of Li, this can be called a Confucian philosophy of Li. This is a Confucian innovation compared with the traditions in Shu Ching and Shih Ching.

10. A Comparison with Lao Tzu's Concept of Li

Li appears in Tao Te Ching five times. The first and second appearances are in the same chapter, 31. The authenticity of this chapter has been doubted, and it has been regarded as a later addition to the work, because it does not have a commentary in the existing Wang Pi version. Especially that part of the chapter where Li appears twice seems to be a later addition. The military ranks mentioned in the chapter did not appear until Han times.³⁷³

The text in chapter 31 is:

"On occasions of rejoicing precedence is given to the left; on occasions of mourning precedence is given to the right. A lieutenant's place is on the left; the general's place is on the right. This means that it is mourning rites that are observed. When great numbers of people are killed, one should weep over them with sorrow. When victorious in war, one should observe the rites of mourning."

In this passage the mourning and the general represent the right side, which is the symbol of evil omens. Rejoicing and the lieutenant represent the left side, which is the symbol of good omens. The general and left side correspond to the victory in the war and many killed people, which leads to the rites of mourning. Although the victory as such may be good, it is bad because people are killed. Because of this the war is bad even if it is victorious. The main emphasis in this passage is in the war and people killed and not in the mourning rites. This passage shows quite a strong condemnation of war. This is consistent with the traditions of the Confucianists and the Mohists.³⁷⁴

The remainder of the Li terms all appear in chapter 38.

"A man of the highest virtue does not keep to virtue and that is why he has virtue. A man of the lowest virtue never strays from virtue and that is why he is without virtue. The former never acts yet leaves nothing undone. The latter acts but there are things left undone. A man of the highest benevolence acts, but from no ulterior motive. A man of the highest rectitude acts, but from ulterior motive. A man most conversant in the rites, Li, acts, but when no one responds rolls up his sleeves

³⁷³ Lau says that the text of this chapter is obviously in disorder and needs rearrangement. Lau says about the fact that the chapter is without commentary in Wang Pi's version: "Some think that this means that this chapter is a later interpolation. Others think that Wang's commentary has become mixed up with the text. Still others think that this means at least that Wang suspected the authenticity of the chapter and showed this by leaving it without commentary." LAU 1974, p. 89. LAU 1982, pp. 314,315. KARLGREN 1975, p. 6. LIN, Paul J. 1977, p. 57. WANG PI 1975, p. 64. CHAN, Wing-tsit 1963, p. 155.

³⁷⁴ CHAN, Wing-tsit 1963, pp. 154,155.

and resorts to persuasion by force. Hence when the way was lost there was virtue; when virtue was lost there was benevolence; when benevolence was lost there was rectitude; when rectitude was lost there were the rites, Li. The rites, Li, are the wearing thin of loyalty and good faith And the beginning of disorder."³⁷⁵

Here the sentiment is exactly opposite to the Confucian Li. According to Confucius, Li is joined with harmony, but in Lao Tzu Li contributes to disorder. In Lao Tzu's gradation of the Confucian ethical key terms Li appears on the very lowest level. Lao Tzu's criticism against Confucianism can be seen clearly in the term Li.

Because Li has so few appearances in Tao Te Ching and because Lao Tzu opposes the whole idea of Li, and does not even want to understand it, Li is by no means a central term in Lao Tzu's thinking. It is noteworthy, that in connection with this term, although Lao Tzu opposed the idea, he did not really formulate a consistent apology for his own doctrines compared with Confucianism. Mostly he was content to proclaim his own ideas and only to some extent related them to the ideas of other schools.

11. A Comparison with Mo Tzu's Concept of Li

Li appears very seldom in the works of Mo Tzu. In the second version of the "Identification with the Superior", Mo Tzu describes the ancient times when the society was in disorder. Mo Tzu says:

"The disorder in the (human) world could be compared with that among birds and beasts. The lack of regulations governing the relationships between ruler and subject, between superior and subordinate, and between elder and younger; and the absence of rules (=Li, Rites) governing the relationships between father and son and between older and younger brothers, resulted in disorder in the world."

This allows one to see that Mo Tzu valued Li as governing the relationships between the male members of the family highly. The absence of this Li is a part of the general disorder in the whole society.³⁷⁶

The next appearance of Li comes in the chapter "Economy and Expenditures", version two. This describes the way of life of the ancient king Yao. In his eating habits he was undemanding using simple food and earthenware dishes. Mo Tzu continues: "With the ceremonies of bowing and stretching and courtesies and decorum, Li, the sage-king had nothing to do."³⁷⁷ Here Mo Tzu wants to oppose the strong Confucian emphasis on decorum and minute rules governing how to behave in certain situations of everyday life. Mo Tzu opposes these of economic grounds.

The next three appearances of Li are in the chapter entitled "Anti Confucianism", the second version. Any conclusions made according to these appearances are not likely to be valid because of the problems concerning the genuineness of the chapter. Here the Mohist criticism against Confucian Li continues. Li means the mourning procedure for dead persons. The gradation of love expressed in the mourning rites is criticized here.³⁷⁸ The criticism continues later in a utilitarian mood: "Moreover, the Confucianism glosses

³⁷⁵ LAO TZU 38:82-84, p. 99. See KARLGREN 1975, p. 7 and KARLGREN 1964, p. 53, item 12554.

³⁷⁶ MO TZU p. 59, See the original text, A CONCORDANCE TO MO TZU p. 16, row 5.

³⁷⁷ MO TZU p. 121.

³⁷⁸ MO TZU p. 200.

over the elaborate ceremonials, Li, and music to make man extravagant; he extends mourning and pretends grief to cheat his parents. He introduces fate and causes poverty, and lives in idleness.³⁷⁹

Confucius is criticized because he dresses elaborately, promotes music and dancing to attract multitudes, performs elaborate ceremonies, Li, of going up and coming down the steps, and practises the etiquette of rushing and soaring thus imitating the bird, to dazzle the multitudes. "With all his extensive learning he cannot plan for the world; with all his laborious thought he cannot help the people. A whole lifetime cannot exhaust his learning; the grown man cannot observe his ceremonies, Li, and even the wealthy cannot enjoy his music."³⁸⁰

The above shows that Li does not form a constructive part in the system of Mo Tzu. It mostly appears in the criticism of Confucianism, which in Mo Tzu's opinion is too "ritualistic" being too much centered around Li. According to Mo Tzu, Li contributes nothing to the needs of society.³⁸¹

In the general attitude towards Li, Mo Tzu shares the opinion of Lao Tzu, although naturally his reasons are linked with his own system of thought.

Confucius widened the usage of Li to concern almost all of the behavior of the rulers and ministers and gentlemen, not only on certain important festive occasions. When Li reached every sphere of life of the gentleman, this caused economic problems and practical inconveniences. These were criticized by Mo Tzu. However, the early Confucianism took these views into account by considering which elements of Li were most important and in what way the economy has to be taken into account. These problems are not expressed in the Shu Ching tradition.

Li in the function of Law does not appear in Mo Tzu.

The Mohist criticism does not try to understand the Confucian attitude towards Li, because it does not note the Confucian discussion about economy. However, the Confucian opinion about economy may not be genuine, but a reflection of criticism given by Mo Tzu or someone else. In exaggerating the usage of Li with its expensive accessories, the criticism on grounds of economy is quite natural; one does not need to be a philosopher to do that. So Mohist thought may here represent a popular opinion against excessive rituals.

³⁷⁹ MO TZU p. 202.

³⁸⁰ MO TZU pp. 207,208.

³⁸¹ SCHWARTZ 1985, p. 153.