

VII. JEN, GOODNESS

1. The Ethical Agents of Jen

Jen 仁 is the most central and important ethical concept in the Confucian Analects. It appears 109 times in 52 different passages.⁴²⁷

The characteristics of the term may be divided into several categories or sub categories: the ethical agent of Jen, identification, inclusion, exclusion, latitude, the attitude towards Jen, Jen as an instrument, the implications of Jen, obtaining Jen, Jen in practice. These different characteristics are studied below.

The most common agent of Jen is 仁者 the Good one, or a man of Goodness. This refers to anyone who is Jen.⁴²⁸ This definition of an agent does not provide us with much information as it is a tautology. A more useful definition is the specified, quite common agent of Jen, Chün tzu 君子 a gentleman. Logically, a gentleman is not self evidently Good, and Goodness is not a necessary condition for a gentleman. However, the small man 小人 is never Good.⁴²⁹

Shih, 士 a knight, also appears as an agent of Jen. In this context Jen has been described as a heavy burden upon the knight. It is heavy, because he wants to do his best to be Jen.⁴³⁰ For Shih, Jen is of the utmost importance, "he would rather die so that the principle of Jen may be brought to perfection."⁴³¹ These two passages show

⁴²⁷ A CONCORDANCE TO THE ANALECTS, pp. 183, 184. Grimm has calculated Jen in the following way: "Wir finden in den ersten Kapiteln, also der einen Hälfte des Textes, die vermutlich die ältere ist, insgesamt 28 Aussagen über JEN. Davon sind 10 positiv, 5 negativ, 13 indirekt unschreibend. Gegenüber diesem etwas über einem Drittel liegenden Anteil von positiven Aussagen finden wir unter den insgesamt 30 Aussagen der Kapitel 11-20 genau die Hälfte als positive Aussagen, ihr Anteil hat also zugenommen. Entsprechend sinkt der Anteil von negativen plus indirekt unschreibenden Aussagen von 64% in der ersten Hälfte auf 50% in der zweiten." GRIMM 1976, pp. 13,14.

⁴²⁸ AN. 4:6, 6:21, 24, 29, 9:28, 14:5, pp. 103, 120, 180. LEGGE 1969, pp. 167, 192-194, 225, 276.

⁴²⁹ AN 14:7, p. 181. LEGGE I 1969, p. 277. According to Tung Jen has a class characteristic here. TUNG Shu-yeh 1962, pp. 18, 19. Chün tzu are those who exploit the people and the "small men" are the exploited ones. CHÜ Tsai 1962, p. 135. See also FUNG Yu-Ian 1962, p. 87, STAIGER 1969, p. 59. Chiu refutes this claiming that: "The basic difference between Chün Tzu and Hsiao Jen in the sayings of Confucius is not class nor rank in society, but moral qualities and the lever of nobility." CHIU 1984, p. 259. Kramers says about AN. 14:7, "Erklärt man den Gegensatz rein soziologisch, so kann man mit Yang interpretieren: unter den Sklavenherren mag es solche geben, die nicht jen sind (Und damit meint Konfuzius u. a. wohl Herrn Chi-sun, der 'die Produktionsweise änderte'), aber unter dem ausgebeuteten, werktätigen Volke könne es keinen geben, der Jen, Menschlichkeit, besitzt. Eine solche Erklärung jedoch ist nach wie vor unwahrscheinlich, weil so viele andere Stellen den 'gemeinen Mann' im moralischen Sinne interpretieren." KRAMERS 1979, p. 65. See also SMITH 1968, p. 42. For translations of the 'small man' WANG, Shu-ling 1974, p. 335.

⁴³⁰ AN. 8:7, p. 134. Waley translates shih as "The true knight of the Way." WALEY 1964, p. 134.

⁴³¹ AN. 15:8, p. 195. "The Master said, 'A determined shih or a man of jen principle will never save his own life at the expense of injuring the principle of jen, but he may sacrifice his life to bring the principle of jen to perfection.'" In the Tun-huang Manuscript, 志士仁人 Chin shih jen jen' were written as '士志於人 shih chih yu jen'. Therefore, a second translation of this chapter is 'A shih whose will is set upon the principle of jen will never cling to his life at the expense of the principle of

that Jen is a constant struggle for the knight. This is because Jen is the human ideal for the knight.⁴³²

Min, 民, the common people, also appear as an agent of Jen: "When gentlemen deal generously with their own kin, the common people are incited to Goodness."⁴³³ This shows that Jen is not limited to the upper class only. "As the general virtue, Jen is no longer a special moral characteristic of rulers but a quality applicable to all human beings. This is another important contribution Confucius made to the evolution of the concept Jen." This is a revolutionary step in the history of Chinese ethics.⁴³⁴

Waley claims that in the earliest Chinese Jen 人 means freemen, men of the tribe, as opposed to min 民 'subjects', 'the common people'. Jen 人 written with a slight modification 仁 means 'good' in the most general sense of the word, that is to say, 'possessing the qualities of one's tribe'. When the old distinction between jen and min, freemen and subjects, was forgotten, and jen became a general word for 'human being', the adjective jen came to be understood in the sense 'human' as opposed to 'animal', and to be applied to conduct worthy of a man, as distinct from the behavior of mere beasts. Of this last sense there is not a trace in the Analects. Confucius's use of the term, a use peculiar to this one book, stands in close relation to the primitive meaning.⁴³⁵

According to Chao "men" 人 and "people" 民 refer to two different distinct classes, the first is the governing class and the second the common people. From this Chao draws the conclusion, that the humanity (仁) which Confucius interprets as "to love all men", refers only to the ruling class.⁴³⁶

jen. But, if circumstances demand, he should rather die so that the principle of jen may be brought to perfection." WANG Shu-ling 1974, p. 335. See also CH'EN Mu 1976, p. 216 and 1978, p. 82, CHU Hsi 1952, p. 107. NEEDHAM 1956, p. 11. SMITH 1968, p. 42. CUA 1972, p. 130.

⁴³² FINGARETTE 1972, p. 39. KRAMERS 1979, p. 68.

⁴³³ AN. 8:2, p. 132. See also CH'ENG Shu-te 1965, pp. 446, 447.

⁴³⁴ CHAN Wing-tsit 1964, p. 298, 299, 319. Graf refers to the opinions of Chan in stating that the Chinese and western sinologists confirm that "JEN kein einziges Mal als die Spezialtugend des Fürsten erscheint. Sie ist ihm ausgesprochenerweise die Tugend des Menschen als Mensch." GRAF 1970, p. 66. Tong emphasizes that Jen is a moral ideal to be striven for all men. TONG 1969, p. 528.

⁴³⁵ WALEY 1964, pp. 27, 28.

⁴³⁶ STAIGER 1969, pp. 60, 80, CHAO Chi-pin 1962, pp. 7-28. Chao Chi-pin finds the following two reasons in the text of the Analects for distinguishing jen 人 from min 民 as two different classes: firstly the attitude of the rulers towards the jen 人, men, is love 愛; however, secondly towards the min, the people, the right attitude consists in employing 使 them.

Nowhere in the Analects is love conferred upon the people 民, it only exists among men 人, who Chao proves to be the ruling class, whereas the people 民 are employed by the upper class to work in the fields. A further difference is in the fact that in the Analects the object of Chiao 教 is always people, min, 民, and never men 人 jen. On the other hand, the object of hui, 誨 is jen 人 and never min 民. In addition, "knowing" was something that only men 人 did. Referring to AN. 2:20, 7:24, 13:4, 9, 29, 15:38 Chao points out, that chiao in the Analects does not mean educate, but rather military training or drill, whereas the pictograph hui 誨 means education.

The purpose of the virtues of the people 民德 is to make them obedient and respectful towards the ruling class, whereas Chao interprets jen 人 in Confucius as a means of reconciling the contradictions within the class of the jen 人, men, or the ruling class. CHAO Chi-pin 1962, pp. 7, 8, 11-14, 17-28. See the summary of on Chao's work in STAIGER 1967, pp. 22, 23. On Chao's method see also STAIGER 1969, pp. 60, 80, 104-106. For an exposition of the research into the

A specific, named person appears very seldom as an agent of Jen. In Yin there were three Good men who tried to advise the tyrant but were made to suffer because of it. This is close to the idea of martyrdom.⁴³⁷ However, this ideal was not required by Confucius in all circumstances. An active prime minister could be regarded as Jen even though he did not give his life to save the prince.⁴³⁸ This shows that Confucius was not strictly normative, but applied his ethical principles according to the requirements of the circumstances. This indicates a movement towards situation ethics.

The legendary brothers Po I and Shu Ch'i were also regarded as Jen. "The Master said, They were good men 賢人 who lived in the days of old. ... They sought Goodness and got Goodness." 求仁而得仁。⁴³⁹

Waley elucidates the situation of these brothers: When the Yin-ruler "was attacked by the Chou tribe, the brothers refused to take up arms against their sovereign, despite his great wickedness. Their lack of *yüan* ('rancour') was a classical theme."⁴⁴⁰ This loyalty from on the one hand and their lack of rancor after their act of cession on the other, earned them the title of Jen. By emphasizing their loyalty to the wicked Yin-ruler, Confucius deviates from a strictly understood Chou-ideology.⁴⁴¹ However, their lack of rancor in this situation and their loyalty to the new ruler fits in very well with Chou thought. This clearly reveals the ideal of how one should behave when the dynasty is changing and of how one should adapt oneself to the changing historical situation.

Confucius was asked whether his disciples Tzu-lu 子路, Ch'ih 赤 and Ch'iu 求 who was qualified to be a warden in a city of a thousand families are virtuous 仁. Confucius did not know. A similar kind of reply was given concerning the minister Tzu-wen, who lived in the middle of the seventh century B.C. Nor did Confucius know whether his disciple Yung was virtuous, although Jen does not presuppose readiness of tongue 佞.⁴⁴² Thus we see that a living person could hardly ever be identified as an agent of Goodness with any certainty according to Confucius.

Concerning the people of his own time, Confucius accepted only his disciple Hui as Jen: "The Master said, Hui is capable of occupying his whole mind for three months on end with no thought but that of Goodness. The others can do so some for a day, some even for a month; but that is all."⁴⁴³

history of philosophy in China, see OMMERBORN 1987, pp. 56-153.

Liu stresses the class characteristic of Jen. LIU Hsi-ch'en 1988, p. 96. See also LIU, Weihua 1986, pp. 82-89.

⁴³⁷ AN. 18:1, p. 219. "Although Confucius reveres the Zhou, he does not discuss the transfer of rule except to say that the wronged ministers Wei Zi, Ji Zi and Bi Gan were the 'three humane men' of Yin." ALLAN 1981, p. 130. See also TYNG 1934, p. 67.

⁴³⁸ AN. 14:17, 18, pp. 184, 185. See also CHAN 1964, p. 311.

⁴³⁹ AN. 7:14, pp. 125, 126. AN. 5:22, p. 113.

⁴⁴⁰ WALEY 1964, pp. 113, 126. The lack of rancour "was shown by their attitude after each in turn had resigned his rights of accession to the rulership of the small state to which they belonged. Having proposed this act of 'cession' (jang), they carried it out loyally and uncomplainingly." WALEY 1964, p. 113.

⁴⁴¹ NIKKILÄ 1983, pp. 84-88.

⁴⁴² AN. 5:7, 18, 4, pp. 108, 111, 107. LEGGE I 1969, pp. 174, 175.

⁴⁴³ AN. 6:5, p. 116. "Three months" means "a long time". CHU Hsi 1952, p. 35. TSENG Chao-hsi 1982, p. 190. Waley says: "There is nothing to indicate whether this was said before or after Yen Hui's

Confucius was very chary of attributing the quality of Jen to himself, and in fact never did so.⁴⁴⁴ However, Confucius says: "If we 我 really wanted Goodness, we should find that it was at our very side."⁴⁴⁵ We may infer from this that it is one's motive for trying to become Jen that is important, but Confucius did not regard himself as Jen. This could be because he regarded Jen as such a high ideal that it was unattainable or perhaps because he just did not want to promote himself. However, Hui, whom, as we have seen, he regarded as Jen, was his disciple. The honor of the Master consisted in the fact that he could lead his disciple to a higher standard than himself. This is Confucian Jen in the Master - disciple relationship.

On the basis of his not attributing Jen except to Hui, Confucius can be identified as a representative of ideal ethics in connection with the concept of Jen, rather than a pragmatist.⁴⁴⁶ However, this does not indicate extreme idealism, since Hui was capable of being Jen, for some time at least.

2. Identification of Jen with Other Concepts

In the concept of Jen itself, the attitude towards parents is important. One should repay one's the parents for taking care of one as a child by having a three years mourning premature death." WALEY 1964, p. 116.

Dawson says: "Confucius is depicted as extremely reluctant to ascribe this quality to any given individual. Indeed he expresses doubt that anyone is capable of concentrating his whole effort on humanness for a single day (A 4.6). This reluctance to admit that anyone attains to *jen* is due to the fact that it is the quality of ideal human nature. On the other hand, since *jen* is an essential ingredient of the human being, not something which depends on anything outside himself, it should in theory be easily trainable, if men were true to their natures. 'Is humaneness really so far away', he asks. 'If we really wished for it, it would come' (A 7.29). In fact the passage expressing doubt whether anyone was capable of concentrating on humaneness for a single day is directly contradicted by another passage claiming that the Master's favorite disciple Yen Hui was capable of having nothing contrary to humaneness on his mind for three months at a stretch (A 6.5). Although these discrepancies may be due to the composite nature of the work, it is consistent with Confucius's apparent attitudes to suppose that in the case of *jen* there was a difference in the Master's mind between the ideal manifestation of the virtue as attained only in the Golden Age of antiquity and the striving towards it which could be attributed to some of his contemporaries even in the decadent times in which he lived." DAWSON 1981, pp. 39, 40. See also CHEN, Li-fu 1986, p. 106, WANG, Shu-ling 1974, p. 334. Fung explains Jen in this context rather as a mental condition of Hui than an ethical concept. FUNG Yu-lan 1989, p. 3

⁴⁴⁴ AN. 7:33, p. 130. See also FINGARETTE 1972, p. 39 and ROSEMONT 1976, p. 472.

⁴⁴⁵ AN. 7:29, p. 129. LEGGE I 1969, p. 204. Concerning the goodness of human nature according to Confucius and Mencius, Hwang writes: "It is well known that Mencius' philosophy is built on his theory that man is originally good. His whole philosophy can indeed be summarized in one sentence: Every man should do his best to develop or cultivate his original good nature to the utmost, and if he loses it, he should also do his best to recover it... It is generally believed, however, that there is little or no difference between Confucius and Mencius on the problem of human nature. Confucius was truly a philosopher of human nature as much as was Mencius. The only difference is that while Confucius implicitly believed in the original goodness of human nature, Mencius explicitly stated and expanded this position by supplementing his master's view on human nature. I wish to challenge this interpretation of Confucius and to propose an alternative view, namely, that, unlike Mencius, Confucius was not interested in a speculative theory of human nature and that in this sense he was radically different from Mencius in his basic attitude toward human beings." HWANG 1980, p. 45.

⁴⁴⁶ STOCKER 1990, p. 105.

period when one's parents die. A person who does not do this is "inhuman" 不仁. On a wider scale, the returning of parents' services may be called 'gratitude', which is an obligation or a duty. Lemmon makes the following difference between these two terms in this context of taking care of one's parents.

"If we regard it as a duty to help our parents, we are thinking rather of our special relationship to them, our status as children. If, on the other hand, we think of ourselves as under an obligation to our parents, it is surely in virtue of what they have done for us in the past, when we were children, that we are under this obligation - that is, it will be a case of our having been put under an obligation in some way by them. This difference in the mode of thought becomes clear if we vary the example slightly. Suppose they turn out to be not parents but foster parents. Then we may well feel that our duty is less because the relationship is less close, but our sense of obligation may be no less great in view of what they have done for us."

Confucius said in connection with the three years mourning period: "Only when a child is three years old does it leave its parents' arms. The three years' mourning is the universal mourning everywhere under Heaven." From this we can see that in this context the mourning was an obligation based on returning the services back to the parents rather than a duty based on the special relationship between a child and the parents.⁴⁴⁷

"Master Yu said, Those who in private life behave well towards their parents and elder brothers, in public life seldom show a disposition to resist the authority of their superiors. And as for such men starting a revolution, no instance of it has ever occurred. It is upon the trunk that a gentleman works. When that is firmly set up, the Way grows. And surely proper behavior towards parents and elder brothers is the trunk of Goodness?"

This passage handles the relationship between social and personal morality. According to the view expressed in this passage, these two aspects of morality are strongly interconnected. The personal morality in private life is primary and if the general level of this is high, it will contribute towards a good social morality in the society.⁴⁴⁸ However, Dawson points out that the authenticity of this passage is problematic. Consequently it is perhaps wise to give little weight to this passage, at least as an expression of Confucius's ideas.⁴⁴⁹ But nevertheless this passage does show the depth

⁴⁴⁷ AN. 17:21, pp. 214, 215. YANG, C.K. 1973b, pp. 291-309. ROSS 1987, p. 89. LEMMON 1987, p. 104. Lemmon says further: "Duty-situations are status-situations while obligation-situations are contractual-situations. Both duties and obligations may be sources of 'ought's', but they are logically independent sources. And a third source, independent of the other two, is that it is right to do something in view of a moral principle." LEMMON 1987, p. 104.

⁴⁴⁸ AN. 1:2, p. 83. KEKES 1989 p. 50. See also MAO Tzu-shui 1975, p. 3.

⁴⁴⁹ AN. 1:2, p. 83. Roberts suggests that here Jen has a diachronic or vertical dimension. Roberts connects to this AN. 6:21, *Jen che shou* 仁者壽 and translates this "(The) JEN is (are) immortal." He says: "*Shou* has been persistently construed as 'longevity'." But Yen Hui, whose 'heart did not turn from Jen for three months' (LY 6.5) died young. 'JEN is immortal' means that the power of transference of JEN continues after death through above all, ti-tzu, disciples or 'steps-sons' - a spiritual posterity. The deathbed cry which Ssu-ma Ch'ien attributes to Confucius in his *shih chia* expresses this: *Mo neng tsung yü*, 'There is none who can make me an ancestor.' ROBERTS 1968, p. 768. See also ROBERTS 1966, p. 37.

Cua discusses the notions of being a father and brother and refers to the works of A.I. Melden and Arthur F. Murphy. A father is 'a male parent who plays his social and moral role with respect to his offspring in the circumstances of family life' (Melden) and according to Murphy 'being a brother' is a term of commitment to mutual help. In AN. 1:2 "Hsia and t'i are normative specifications of the terms 'father' and 'brother' which are invested with moral import." CUA 1979, pp. 59, 60. Ch'eng regards 仁 being the same as 人 CH'ENG Shu-te 1974, p. 11.

The passage is quite often quoted in the literature. See CHIU 1984, p. 253. DAWSON 1981, p. 38.

of Jen over time. The concept starts from the ancient ideal persons who are Jen and continues in the observance of the mourning period and in being fraternal as well as in more everyday filial acts which also have an ethical import.

Another identification is that Li and Jen are identified: "He who can himself submit to ritual is Good." Despite this, Li cannot be regarded as a sufficient condition for being Jen. Fu clarifies the tension by translating An. 12:1 "Self-restraint and submission to *li* - that is *jen*". The primary emphasis is placed on self-restraint, "that is, on overcoming one's selfish desire, egoistic thinking, personal weakness, etcetera, rather than on *li*." That is why Confucius immediately added, "The realization of *jen* depends on oneself, not on others."⁴⁵⁰ This means that 'submission to ritual' alone is not identified with Jen, but 'conquering oneself and returning to the rites' is identified with Jen.⁴⁵¹

Jen, however is a necessary condition for Li. "A man who is not Good, what can he have to do with ritual? (Li) A man who is not Good, what can he have to do with music?" The rituals had deteriorated to outer procedures. Confucius emphasized to the inner qualities of the rites and wanted to restore and harmonize the balance between Li and Jen.⁴⁵²

GRAF 1970, p. 68. CREEL 1964, p. 170. KRAMERS 1979, p. 73. CHEN, Li-fu 1986, p. 109. HSÜ Fu-kuan 1975, p. 74. TANG Tuan-cheng 1959, p. 32. SHIH 1970, p. 494. TAI Ch'ao-fu 1986, pp. 179, 180.

Dawson says about the authenticity of AN. 1:2: "...the words are attributed not to Confucius but to his disciple Yu Tzu, and they appear in the first book, which gives a disproportionate amount of attention to filial piety and probably belongs to a later stratum of the book compiled when that virtue was in the ascendant." DAWSON 1986, p. 131.

⁴⁵⁰ AN. 12:1, p. 163. "In short, where reciprocal good faith and respect are expressed through the specific forms defined in *li*, there is *jen's* way." FINGARETTE 1972, p. 42.

Maspero says on this passage: "The way of attaining Altruism (= Jen) consists essentially in 'conquering oneself and returning to the rites'. Conquering oneself means suppressing in oneself the love of superiority over others, boasting, resentment, and greed - and even this, though very difficult, is perhaps not enough." MASPERO 1978, p. 292. See also LAU 1979, p. 112.

On AN. 12:1 see also LESLIE 1962, p. 9. LIU Shu-hsien 1971, p. 160. LENZ 1983, pp. 126, 202. KRAMERS 1979, p. 67. CHAN, Wing tsit 1970, p. 38. TS'AO Wen-wei 1969, p. 48.

ROBERTS 1966, p. 37, 39. Jen here has a class characteristic: CHÜ Tsai 1962, p. 135. CHÜ Tsai 1962a, p. 163. YÜ Ying-shih 1987, p. 35. TS'AI Jen-hou 1987, p. 51.

Confucius replied in different ways to different people asking CHEN, Li-fu 1986, p. 105.

AN. 5:18, p. 111. ROSEMONT 1976, p. 472. Cf. FINGARETTE 1972, p. 42.

FU 1978, p. 188.

⁴⁵¹ See Maspero's translation, footnote 259. See also LEGGE I 1969, p. 250, which says: 克己復禮為仁 To subdue one's self and return to propriety is perfect virtue (= Jen). See also LAU 1979, p. 112. It seems that Waley's translation cannot be regarded as correct, since to submit oneself to ritual is not the only sufficient condition of Jen, and the sentence clearly includes two conditions for Jen as Maspero, Legge and Lau interpret it.

⁴⁵² "The Master said, 'What can a man do with the rites who is not benevolent? (Jen) What can a man do with music who is not benevolent?'" AN. 3:2, p. 94. LAU 1979, p. 67. YANG Hui-chieh 1975, pp. 23,24.

Cua says: "Without *jen*, *li* may degenerate into a mere requirement of formal conformity. For *li* to be morally significant, it must presuppose a moral intent expressed by *jen*. From the point of view of *jen*, the significance of *li* lies in its ideal focus, and in providing a concrete context for the successful execution of *jen*-actions." CUA 1975, p. 4. On Jen and Li, see also CUA 1979, pp. 55-67, CUA 1972, pp. 125-140. ROBERTS 1966, p. 39. ROBERTS 1968, pp. 765-771. FENG Yü-lan 1987, p. 16.

Gurdak says: "*Jen* and *li* are conceptually different, making reference to totally different qualities of

This shows that "Confucius was far from having an *ex opere operato* theory of the efficacy of ritual."⁴⁵³ This also shows that Jen is more essential than li; Li is a subsequent thing."⁴⁵⁴

Jen refers to more essential 'inner' qualities, whereas Li is more 'outer'. Tu says that the Confucian answer to the elimination of the conflict between Jen and Li is to maintain a creative tension between the two and to engage in moral self-cultivation. Schwartz explains the relationship between Jen and Li as follows: "Acting according to the civilized practices of the normative tradition is a necessary ingredient of Jen, and making one's Jen manifest through the Li is the only way in which Li can be brought to life." Schwartz compares this with some Western philosophers, claiming that here we have a sharp divergence from Socrates. He was seeking to establish the good by a method of dialectic inquiry. He places this dialectic reason above all tradition and custom. This does not mean that he necessarily rejects all established morality as wrong.

"No established belief or practice could be considered right or wrong till it had withstood the test of his clarifying dialectic and his search for true definitions. For Confucius on the other hand, there had emerged within the history of the civilized world a universal and tested body of what might be called in Hegelian terms an 'objective ethical order' embodied in the rites, practices, and basic institutions of the Tao of the three dynasties. While in Hegel's world the subjective morality of individuals (*Moralität*) and the historically realized objective ethical order (*Sittlichkeit*) would be harmonized only in the final epiphany of the modern state, in Confucius what might be called the normative objective sociopolitical order, including the system of li, had, in its broad outlines, already been realized in human experience and had also been lost."⁴⁵⁵

Another identification of Jen is with being "loath to speak" 其言也詘。 Confucius said: "The mark of the benevolent man is that he is loath to speak." Upon being asked, Confucius explained this: "When to act is difficult, is it any wonder that being. They can, therefore, neither be joined, separated, or held in creative tension. Each has its distinctive place in the Confucian perspective, the blending of the two apparently contradictory terms occurring not directly, but only in so far as each contributes to the whole." GURDAK 1976, p. 203. Rowley refers to *Li Chi* in this context: "With a superior man the use of ceremonies is to give proper and elegant expression to the feelings." Rowley continues: "Confucius valued not the ceremony alone, but the life and character of the man who offered it, and the spirit with which he came to it." ROWLEY 1956, pp. 104, 105.

On AN. 3:2, see also T'UNG Shu-yeh 1962, p. 16, JEN Chi-yü 1962, p. 153. HSÜ Fu-kuan 1975, pp. 69. WANG, Shu-ling 1974, p. 332.

⁴⁵³ NEEDHAM II 1956, p. 13. TS'AI Shang-szu 1989, pp. 10,11.

⁴⁵⁴ AN. 3:8, pp. 95, 96. GURDAK 1976, pp. 279-282.

⁴⁵⁵ About 'inner' and 'outer', see SCHWARTZ 1975, p. 8. LIU, Shing-i 1983, p. 88.

Tu translates AN. 12:1 "To conquer yourself and return to Li is Jen." Tu's discussion about the creative tension between Jen and Li, see TU, Wei-ming 1968, pp. 29-38. See also TSAI Ming-tien 1984, p. 4.

See also DAWSON 1986, pp. 123,124. About the relationship between Jen and Li and the comparison with Western philosophy, see. SCHWARTZ 1985, p. 77. The issue "inner and outer" is also important in the European ethical theory, see KANT 1987, p. 35, which says: "Duties in accordance with juridical legislation can be only external duties, since this legislation does not require that the inner Idea of the duty be of itself the ground determining the agent's choice; and since it still needs a motive appropriate to the law, it can connect only external motives with the law. But ethical legislation, while it makes inner actions duties as well, does not exclude external actions: it is concerned with all duties in so far as they are duties. But just because ethical legislation includes in its law the inner motive of the action (the idea of duty), which must not be considered in outer legislation, it cannot be outer legislation (not even that of a divine will). It does, however, admit into itself duties which are based on another (outer) legislation, by making them, as duties, motives in ethical legislation."

one is loath to speak", ⁴⁵⁶ "for fear that one may be unable to live up to one's words."⁴⁵⁷

Probably the most often mentioned identification or assimilation of Jen with some other concept is the saying: Fan Ch'ih asked about benevolence (Jen). The Master said, 'Love your fellow men.' 愛人. This "Jen may be defined as dealing with other human beings as a man ideally should" or "perfecta humana caritas". Wu says: "Loving your fellow men also means the love of human life. Human life was cheap. Therefore Confucius taught his pupils to love fellow men and value life."⁴⁵⁸

The context of this passage shows also that "there was no distinction between ethics and politics. If the prince was virtuous the people would also be virtuous. And there was to be no equivocation about what virtue, peace and justice really were."⁴⁵⁹ In this way the early Confucianism is rooted in the Chou ideology.

This characteristic of Jen is elucidated by the following anecdote from the Analects: "Jan Jung asked about Goodness, the Master said, behave when away from home (in handling public affairs) as though you are in the presence of a important guest. Deal with the common people as though you were officiating an important sacrifice. Do not do to others what you would not like yourself. Then there will be no feelings of opposition to you, whether it is the affairs of a State that

⁴⁵⁶ AN. 12:3, p. 163. LAU 1979, p. 112. LEGGE I 1969, pp. 251, 252.

⁴⁵⁷ LAU 1979, p. 112. 詡 = 言難出, "the words coming forth with difficulty" LEGGE I 1969, p. 252, CHU Hsi 1952, p. 79. 詡 is phonetically identical with 仁 jen, which is also a homophone of 刃 jen, but with a different tone. CHU Hsi 1952, p. 79, WALEY 1964, p. 163, MATHEW'S 1969, pp. 464, 467. About speaking, see AN. 4:22, 24, p. 106.

⁴⁵⁸ AN. 12:22, p. 169. LAU 1979, p. 116. LEGGE I 1969, p. 260. See also TONG 1969, p. 527. WEI 1947, p. 59. DAWSON 1981, p. 38. CHOW 1957, pp. 113-119.

"Perfekta humana caritas, quae omnes alias virtutes contineat. Perfekta humana caritas in sensu Confuciano non est aliqua virtus individua, sed significat totam perfectionem. Inde perfekta humana caritas sensu Confuciano dici potest, perfekta virtute seu summa virtute seu ipsa perfekto. Hic sensus latus est similis sensui caritates christianae, quam Christus ipse hominibus inculcavit: "Diligite Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, et in tota anima tua, et in tota mente tua. Hoc est maximum et primum mandatum. Secundum autem simile est huic: Diliges proximum tuum, sicut teipsum. In his duobus mandatis universa lex pendet." (Mtt. 22, 37-40.) Perfekta humana caritas continet totam doctrinam Confucii, est centrum totius ethicae Confucii, i.e. tota ethica Confucii pendet ab hac perfekta humana caritate, sicut universa christiana lex pendet a duobus mandatis amoris, quorum unum tendit ad Deum, alterum ad homines." CHOW 1957, p. 113. See also WU, Teh Yao 1989, p.13.

"Die 'Humanität' bezieht sich also von vornherein auf ein zwischenmenschliche Verhältnis kann durch die 'ren' (jen) (Humanität) eine 'Partnerschaft' darstellen, in der die Menschen 'Einander nahestehen' bzw. 'einander lieben' würden." SONG 1983, p. 57.

On An. 12:22, see also: CREEL 1932, p. 77, SMITH 1968, p. 42. CHAN Wing-tsit 1970, p. 40. CH'EN Mu 1975, p. 48 and 1977, p. 10. CHEN, Li-fu 1986, p. 105. FUNG Yu-lan I 1967, pp. 69, 70. HSÜ Fu-kuan 1975, p. 91. WANG, Shu-ling 1974, p. 340.

⁴⁵⁹ NEEDHAM II 1956, p. 9. Needham continues: "Basing themselves upon certain passages in the Analects (12:11, 17, and 13:3 has long been suspected of being a late interpolation.) later (but still pre/Han) Confucians developed a doctrine of the 'rectification of names' (*cheng ming*), i.e. the precise definition of actions and relations." NEEDHAM II 1956, pp. 9, 10. According to Waley, this refers to a Good ruler who loves men. The passage continues after Confucius had replied to a question concerning what is a wise ruler that "He knows men": "When Shun had all that is under Heaven, choosing from among the multitude he raised up Kao Yao, and straightway Wickedness 不仁 disappeared. When T'ang had all that is under Heaven, choosing room among the multitude he raised up I Yin; and straightway Wickedness 不仁 disappeared." WALEY 1964, pp. 169, 170. See also ALLAN 1981, p. 130.

Jen in this context of 'love' has also been interpreted as a class term. See STAIGER 1969, pp. 79-84. CHAO Chi-pin 1964, pp. 73,75,76. LENZ 1983, pp. 108,109,126,202, FUNG Yu-lan 1978, pp. 59,60.

you are handling or the affairs of a Family (A ruling clan, such as that of the Chi in Lu)."⁴⁶⁰
"As for Goodness - you yourself desire rank and standing; then help others to get rank and standing. You want to turn your own merits to account; then help others to turn theirs to account - in fact, the ability to take one's own feelings as a guide - that is the sort of thing that lies in the direction of Goodness."⁴⁶¹

These passages show the idea of reciprocity 恕 positively in the latter quotation and negatively in the former. Both relate Jen closely to the political affairs of the state, showing that ethics has often been employed in the service of politics. The passages also show the idea of reverence 敬 included in Jen.⁴⁶² Suzuki explains:

"The feeling of fellowship is the primary altruistic instinct of man, which in spite of his innate egoism drives him out of his narrow selfish limitations, and which seeks its own satisfaction through a negation, as it were, of himself. Confucianism does not believe in the innate baseness of human nature, that is, in its absolute egoism; but it asserts the existence of an altruistic impulse in every human heart. The latter is not a modified development of egoism, but is inherent in humanity."⁴⁶³

The Confucian "Golden rule" has most often been quoted in its negative form: "Do not do to others what you would not want other to do to you." Tu suggests a reason for this: "The recognition that the best way for me is not necessarily the best for my neighbor is a psychology essential for the peaceful coexistence of different and even conflicting beliefs in East Asian society and culture." In other words, this negative golden rule is the fundamental basis of the pluralistic society.⁴⁶⁴

In some passages Jen is used together with Chih, 知, wise. Tu explains this relationship:

"Whether Jen and Chih are like 'two wings, one supporting the other' in the Confucian ethical system, the two frequently appear as a pair... It is true that the contrast between mountain, tranquillity,

⁴⁶⁰ AN. 12:2, p. 163. See also AN. 15:23, and 5:11, pp. 198, 110.

⁴⁶¹ AN. 6:28, p. 122. Fung says about the passages AN. 12:2 and 6:28: "Thus the practice of jen consists in consideration for others. 'Desiring to sustain oneself, one sustains others; desiring to develop oneself, one develops others.' In other words: 'Do to others what you wish yourself.' This is the positive aspect of the practice, which was called by Confucius chung or 'conscientiousness to others.' And the negative aspect, which was called by Confucius shu or 'altruism,' is: 'Do not do to others what you do not wish yourself.' The practice as a whole is called the principle of chung and shu, which is 'the way to practice jen.'" Fung adds that this principle was known by some of the later Confucianists as the "principle of applying a measuring square." That is to say, it is a principle by which one uses oneself as a standard to regulate one's conduct. FUNG 1966, p. 43. Chao quotes Fung, see CHAO 1974, pp. 86,87. It should be noted, however, that conceptually Chung and Shu are connected in Tao and not Jen. This does not change the fact that Jen includes the positive and negative aspects of reciprocity. WU 1974, p.10. See the chapter on Tao in the present work. Conceptually it is safer not to link Tao with Jen by using these terms Chung and Shu, since the Analects do not have this link for example by connecting Chung and Shu with Tao on one side and to Jen on the other.

In terms of philosophical meaning, the terms Chung and Shu, 恕 忠, may be related to Jen, especially in the light of later history. This is especially true if we accept that Chung means "conscientiousness to others", the positive side of altruism and Shu means "altruism", or the negative side of it, refining from harming others. If Chung and Shu are related through their philosophical meaning to Jen in the Analects, then one has to take Tao into consideration, because Chung and Shu are related directly to Tao. Cf. CHAO 1974, pp. 86-89. See also LIU, Shu-hsien 1986a, pp. 5,6.

⁴⁶² See LEGGE I 1969, p. 251. CHU Hsi 1952, p. 78. NEEDHAM II 1956, p. 7. Graf handles the 'Golden rule' in a wider context, see GRAF 1970, p. 67. See also FUNG Yu-lan 1978, p. 66. HAMBURGER 1959, p. 242. WANG Gung-hsing 1946, p. 22. YANG, Lien-sheng 1973, p. 302.

⁴⁶³ SUZUKI 1914, p. 52. "As Schopenhauer made sympathy (Mitleid) the foundation of his ethics, so the Confucians consider the feelings of fellowship as the prime principle on which the grand edifice of human society is built." SUZUKI 1914, p. 53.

⁴⁶⁴ TU, Wei-ming 1981a, p. 265. See also GEERTZ 1981, p. 271.

and longevity symbolizing the man of Jen on the one hand, and water, movement, and happiness symbolizing the man of Chih, in the other, does give one the impression that Jen and Chih seem to represent two equally significant styles of life. Confucius' preference, however, becomes perfectly clear when he asserts that without Jen, a man cannot for long endure either adversity or prosperity and that those who are Jen rest content in Jen; those who are Chih pursue Jen with facility... The necessity for Jen to sustain Chih and the desirability for Chih to reach Jen is shown in a crucial passage that 'even if a man's Chih is sufficient for him to attain it, without Jen to hold it, he will lose it again.'⁴⁶⁵

3. Inclusive and Exclusive Jen

Many authors maintain that Jen is an inclusive virtue⁴⁶⁶ Seiichi says: "Many scholars try to explain it in the context of love, care and perseverance. I agree that all these virtues are included in *Jen*, but none alone can represent what *Jen* stands for, however important each virtue may be... *Jen* was the embodiment of all virtues integrated together."⁴⁶⁷

The Analects itself has some passages which include certain ethical concepts in Jen: 剛，毅，木，訥，近仁。Lustlessness, resoluteness, simplicity or "tree-like", reticence are all close to Jen.⁴⁶⁸ Fung translates AN. 13:27 and explains this as follows: "The firm of spirit, the resolute in character, the simple in manner, and the slow of speech are not far from *jen*". The persons characterized in this quotation "have a simplicity and straightforwardness which show them to be of genuine nature, so that they 'are not far from *jen*'"⁴⁶⁹

Another list of things included in Jen is: "He who could put the five into practice everywhere under Heaven would be Good." The five are: 恭，寬，信，敏，惠。Courtesy, breadth, good faith, diligence and clemency. This is followed by an explanation: "He who is courteous is not scorned, he who is broad wins the multitude, he who is of good faith is trusted by the people, he who is diligent succeeds in all he undertakes, he who is clement can get service from the people."⁴⁷⁰

⁴⁶⁵ AN. 4:2, 6:21, 9:28, 12:22, 15:32, 14:30, 6:21, pp. 102, 120, 144, 169, 102, 199. TU, Wei-ming 1981, pp. 49,50. Tu quotes CHAN, Wing-tsit 1970, p. 30. A discussion of the grammatical relations in AN. 6:21, "The Good man delights in mountains," is to be found in HARBSMEIER 1985, p. 101.

⁴⁶⁶ CHAN 1964, p. 298. CUA 1972, p. 130. LIU Shu-hsien 1971, p. 160. SMITH 1968, p. 43. SONG 1983, p. 58. TONG 1969, p. 528. TUNG Shu-yeh 1962, p. 18.

⁴⁶⁷ SEIICHI 1973, p. 36. Liu says: "Confucius was the first Chinese philosopher to give *jen* a new meaning and make it the primary virtue, the foundation of all other virtues. The Neo-Confucian philosophers showed the same commitment to and faith in *jen* ." LIU, Shu-hsien 1986, p. 444. See also TU, Wei-ming 1981, p. 48.

⁴⁶⁸ AN. 13:27, p. 178. For the translations see CH'ENG Shu-te 1974, p. 817. LAU 1979, p. 123. WALEY 1964, p. 178. "Mästaren sade: De principiellt orubbliga, de beslutsamma, de trohjärtade och de i sitt tal ödmjuka, dessa har nära till den sanna dygden." HENRIKSON HWANG 1987, p. 90. For the text see LEGGE I 1969, p. 274.

⁴⁶⁹ FUNG Yu-lan I 1967, p. 69. See also CH'EN Mu 1978, p. 80. WANG Shou-ch'ang 1987, p. 139. According to Wing-tsit Chan this passage reflects the view that the "scholar-gentleman is one of courage and strength" rejecting the idea that *ju* was to be weak. CHAN Wing-tsit 1964, pp. 310,311. On An. 13:27 see also SONG Yong-bae 1983, p. 58. CHEN, Li-fu 1986, p. 11.

⁴⁷⁰ AN. 17:6, p. 211. Most of the explanation appears in Shu Ching 20:1. WALEY 1964, p. 211. For the text see LEGGE I 1969, p. 320.

In governing the people, especially the barbarians, Jen includes the following things: "In private life, courteous, in public life, diligent, in relationships, loyal." 居處恭，執事敬，與人忠，⁴⁷¹ Creel offers an explanation for this: "The fact that the barbarians did not at once adopt Chinese culture was deplored, of course, but in time it came to be felt that they were, at any rate, human beings who were capable of becoming Chinese. Confucius was an outstanding advocate of this view."⁴⁷²

Other inclusions are: "A good man will certainly also possess courage 勇，but a brave man 勇者 is not necessarily Good."⁴⁷³ "The wise man 知者 delights in water, the Good man 仁者 delights in mountains. For the wise move; but the Good stay still. The wise are happy; but the Good, secure."⁴⁷⁴ These two passages, which also contain a comparison, define Jen more clearly than the lists of things included in Jen. The lists may be regarded as illustrations which stress that everything good and positive is included in Jen. It has been said of "The Good stay still" that it "looks suspiciously Taoist and probably is corrupt"⁴⁷⁵ Positively interpreted Jen can be regarded as more traditional, conservative, emphasizing the continuity of the ideal past,⁴⁷⁶ whereas "wise" compared with Jen is more active, finding new ideas, and new developments. Although Jen is to a great extent a Confucian invention, still it includes this conservative emphasis in it, and in this way has a link with the Chou ideology.

Although good and positive qualities are included in Jen, Jen also includes faults 過. "Every man's faults belong to a set. If one looks out for faults it is only as a means of recognizing Goodness."⁴⁷⁷ Fung explains this as follows: "The manifestations of a man's true nature may go too far and become faults, but nevertheless they remain manifestations of truth, and so by observing them one may know the virtues as well."⁴⁷⁸

Confucius's idea here might have been that the faults included in Jen are in a way an overworking of the virtue Jen, in other words, faults which are attributable to virtue. Secondly, these faults may be overlooked because they take the general situation into account. Thus, a certain latitude in Jen is allowed in order to achieve a good result. The

⁴⁷¹ AN: 13:19, p. 176. LEGGE I 1969, p. 271. See also YANG I-feng 1963, p. 2. CH'ENG Shu-tse 1974, p. 845. CH'EN Mu 1978, p. 80.

⁴⁷² CREEL 1970, p. 226. See also AN: 9:13, p. 141, 15:5, p. 194.

⁴⁷³ AN: 14:5, p. 180. Fingarette says: "Courteous, 'diligent', 'loyal', 'brave', 'broad', 'kind', (13:19; 14:5, 17:6) - these are traditional virtues which give us no insight or other help." FINGARETTE 1972, p. 41.

⁴⁷⁴ AN: 6:21, p. 120. LEGGE I 1969, p. 192. This passage primarily describes Goodness and wisdom in terms of metaphors taken from nature. The main purpose is not to describe the aesthetic enjoyments of nature, although the aesthetic choice in Confucius's mind apparently indicates whether a person is primarily Good or wise. Cf. HU Chien 1989, p. 57. See also MA Ch'iu-fan 1987, pp. 241-248. CH'AO Yüeh 1987, pp. 435-446.

⁴⁷⁵ FINGARETTE 1972, p. 41. WALEY 1964, pp. 120, 29.

⁴⁷⁶ See footnotes 439, 440, 459.

⁴⁷⁷ AN: 4:7, p. 103, LEGGE I 1969, p. 167. Wang translates this as: "Men's faults are typical. By observing men's faults, you may know whether or not they are jen." Wang gives an alternative translation: "The shortcomings of the common people are distinctive. By observing their shortcomings, you may know what type of men they are." This translation is based on the fact that in Han Shu, the word 仁 was written as 人, meaning man. WANG, Shu-ling 1974, pp. 333, 334. See also LAU 1979, pp. 73, 234, and YANG Pe-chün 1965, p. 39. HENRIKSON, HWANG 1987, p. 27.

⁴⁷⁸ FUNG Yu-lan I 1967, p. 70.

virtue Jen also takes the ultimate outcome of a course of action into account and is not just a list of qualities and rules of behavior regardless of what the final result may be. In this case, some distance in history or time is needed in order to be able to judge whether one is Jen or not.⁴⁷⁹ Thirdly, it is allowed for people to have a few defects; this does not contribute towards whether someone is Jen or not. Such a defect is to be a poor talker.⁴⁸⁰

In opposition to this, certain good things do not necessarily earn one the quality of Jen. "Of the saying 'He upon whom neither love of mastery vanity, resentment nor covetousness have any hold may be called Good,' the Master said, such a one has done what is difficult; but whether he should be called Good I do not know."⁴⁸¹ In addition to having positive qualities, one may accomplish important things and yet still the epithet Jen may be withheld.⁴⁸² Apparently Confucius did not know whether the persons in question had all the qualities required of a Jen-person.⁴⁸³

Although a certain latitude in Jen was allowed, and the outcome of any given action was also important, Jen is by no means a virtue in which the end justifies the means. This becomes clear in the passage: "Clever talk and a pretentious manner are seldom found in the Good." 巧言令色，鮮矣仁。 These concern the outward appearance.⁴⁸⁴ And in Confucius's thought the outward appearance was not of primary concern.

Confucius was criticized because he did not use his ability to serve the common good. It is not enough simply to have a certain ability in order to be classed as Jen, one has to put it to use. One has to take responsibility and serve as one can.⁴⁸⁵ Moreover, it is impossible to be Jen if one is unhappy or anxious 憂.⁴⁸⁶

⁴⁷⁹ AN. 14:17, 18, pp. 184, 185. 4:23, p. 106. CHAN, Wing-tsit 1964, p. 311.

⁴⁸⁰ AN. 5:4, p. 107.

⁴⁸¹ AN. 14:2, p. 180. See also MASPERO 1978, p. 292. FUNG I, Yu-lan I 1967, p. 70.

⁴⁸² AN: 5:7, 5:18, 19, pp. 109, 112. TSENG Chao-hsü 1982, p. 208.

⁴⁸³ Confucius uses the phrase 不知也。 "I do not know" concerning Tzu-lu's qualities. However, he uses the phrase 不知其仁也。 concerning Tzu-lu Chi'iu and Ch'ih in An 5:7. See LEGGE I 1969, p. 175. The people in question were Confucius's disciples. Harbsmeier writes: "How precisely does the ancient Chinese concept of knowledge differ from ours? When and why precisely does yi 義 come to mean 'meaning?' Or When Confucius says: *bu zhi gi ren* 不知其仁, does he mean 'I am not acquainted with his goodness' which would presuppose that the man was good?!" HARBSMEIER 1985, p. 254. The context of the passage shows that the phrases are synonymous, since both phrases are used about Tzu-lu: the first phrase is used first and after repeating the same question the second phrase is used. The phrase 不知其仁, means "not know him Jen", and not "not know his Jen". HSIEH Ping-ying 1976, p. 94.

⁴⁸⁴ AN. 1:3 and 17:17, pp. 84, 213. LEGGE I 1969, pp. 139, 326. CH'ENG Shu-te 1974, p. 14.

⁴⁸⁵ AN. 17:1, p. 209.

⁴⁸⁶ AN. 9:28, 14:30, pp. 144, 188. LEGGE I 1969, pp. 225, 286. "He that is really Good can never be unhappy. He that is really wise can never be perplexed. He that is really brave is never afraid." 知者不惑，仁者不憂，勇者不懼。 In An. 9:28 the wise are mentioned first, but the order should probably be as in An. 14:30. See WALEY 1964, p. 144. Ch'eng sees some legitimation for the fact that the wise are mentioned first. CH'ENG Shu-te 1974, p. 542.

4. The Attitude towards Jen

Confucius also teaches what the right attitude towards Jen is. The gentleman 君子 has to value Jen: "The gentleman who ever parts company with Goodness does not fulfil that name. Never for a moment (literally, 'for as long as it takes to eat one bowl of rice') does a gentleman quit the way of Goodness. He is never so harried but that he cleaves to this; never so tottering but that he cleaves to this." In displaying this attitude the gentleman became a good example to his inferiors.⁴⁸⁷ For the "determined scholar" 志士 and the man of virtue 仁人 Jen is more important than even life itself. "They will even sacrifice their lives to preserve their virtue 仁 complete."⁴⁸⁸ This shows that the ultimate value is Jen and not life. Life serves Jen and not vice versa.

Although in principle Jen is more important than life, the practice is in fact different. There have been cases of martyrdom because of loyalty to religious faith, but not because of loyalty to Jen.⁴⁸⁹ The rarity of Jen in practice is made plain when Confucius says that he has never yet seen one who really cared for Goodness and really abhorred wickedness 仁不. He had not seen anyone who had managed to do Good with his or her whole might even for as long as the space of a single day.⁴⁹⁰ All this means that Jen appears very seldom, because the people are not able to strive for it and do not even want to strive for it. Dawson says that Confucius is depicted as extremely reluctant to ascribe the quality of Jen to any given individual.

"Indeed he expresses doubt that anyone is capable of concentrating his whole effort on humaneness for a single day. (A 4.6). This reluctance to admit that anyone attains to Jen is due to the fact that it is the quality of ideal human nature. On the other hand, since Jen is an essential ingredient of the human being, not something which depends on anything outside himself, it should in theory be easily attainable, if men were true to their natures. 'Is humaneness (Jen) really so far away?', he asks. 'If really wished for it, it would come' (A 7.29). In fact the passage expressing doubt whether anyone was capable of concentrating on humaneness for a single day is directly contradicted by another passage claiming that the Master's favorite disciple Yen Hui was capable of having nothing contrary to humaneness on his mind for three months at a stretch (A 6.5). Although these discrepancies may be due to the composite nature of the work, it is consistent with Confucius's apparent attitudes to suppose that in the case of Jen there was a difference in the Master's mind between the ideal manifestation of the virtue as attained only in the Golden Age of antiquity and the striving towards it which could be

⁴⁸⁷ AN. 4:5, pp. 102, 103. See also KARLGREN 1964, p. 94, 1983, p. 57. HENRIKSON, HWANG 1987, p. 26. FINGARETTE 1979, pp. 134, 139. Collocatively Jen and Tao are close to each other in this passage. Chiu says: "One can see from this passage that Confucius regarded acting according to the virtue of Jen or humanity is in itself following the Tao." CHIU 1984, p. 255.

KRAMERS 1979, p. 68.

⁴⁸⁸ AN. 15:8, LEGGE I 1969, p. 296.

⁴⁸⁹ AN. 15:34, LEGGE I 1969, p. 304. Legge refers to Chu Hsi: "The want of fire and water is hurtful only to man's body, but to be without virtue is to lose one's mind (the higher nature), and so it is more to him than water or fire." See also CHU Hsi 1952, p. 111. WALEY 1964, p. 200. Kramers refers to Yang's version and concludes, that the people do not have Jen. KRAMERS 1979, p. 65. Waley explains the situation. The passage is "Goodness is more to the people than water and fire. I have seen men lose their lives when 'treading upon' water and fire; but I have never seen anyone lose his life through 'treading upon' Goodness." "A symbolic 'treading upon fire' is still used in China as a rite of purification. According to the Lun-heng (P'ien 45) a processional wading along the river was part of the rain-making ceremony. Confucius says that Goodness (on the part of the ruler) is a greater and safer purifier than even water or fire." WALEY 1964, p. 200. DAWSON 1986, pp. 132, 133.

⁴⁹⁰ AN. 4:6, p. 103.

attributed to some of his contemporaries even in the decadent times in which he lived."⁴⁹¹

Confucius gave a number of pieces of advice concerning the correct attitude towards Jen, for example: "Set your heart upon the way support yourself by its power, lean upon Goodness, seek distraction in the arts."⁴⁹² Another of his exhortations is: "A young man's duty is to behave well to his parents at home and to his elders abroad, to be cautious in giving promises and punctual in keeping them, to have kindly feelings towards everyone, but seek the intimacy of the Good 而親仁. If, when all that is done, he has any energy to spare, then let him study the polite arts."⁴⁹³

The wrong attitude to Jen is to "assure the appearance of Jen", but to oppose it by one's actions. Chu Hsi explains that it is wrong if one is Jen only outwardly, but not inwardly and yet satisfied with oneself.⁴⁹⁴

Jen can be used as an instrument for the gaining of certain ends. The wrong attitude towards Jen, mentioned above, makes one famous.⁴⁹⁵ Clearly this is not to be recommended. Another case in which Jen is used as an instrument for a certain purpose is: "He whose wisdom brings him into power, needs Goodness to secure that power... and dignity wherewith to approach the common people, if he handle them contrary to the prescriptions of ritual, is still a bad ruler." Waley says: "This paragraph with its highly literary, somewhat empty elaboration, and its placing of ritual on a pinnacle far above Goodness, is certainly one of the later additions to the book."⁴⁹⁶

It is quite evident that Confucius's definite intention was not to use Jen as an instrument for these purposes. Rather Jen can be regarded as a final goal in itself. Confucius says: "He that is merely wise pursues Goodness in the belief that it pays to do so."⁴⁹⁷ Here too, Confucius does not give any value to Goodness as an instrument for prosperity. However, in the same passage he says: "Without Goodness a man Cannot for long endure adversity, Cannot for long enjoy prosperity." In order to be able to endure or enjoy these things, Goodness can be used as an instrument and as a quality of the right mental attitude towards success or adversity.

⁴⁹¹ KRAMERS 1979, p. 65. See also FINGARETTE 1979, p. 39. SMITH 1968, p. 42. P'ANG PU 1978, p. 51. Graf pays attention to the fact that sometimes Confucius regards Jen as very difficult to reach, in 4:6 and 6:28, 15:8 and sometimes as easy to reach, 7:29, 7:14, GRAF 1970, p. 69. DAWSON 1986, pp. 132,133. AN. 4:6, 7:29, 6:5, pp. 103,129,116.

⁴⁹² AN. 7:6, p. 123. See also JAO Tsung-i 1978, p. 509. "While Confucius was an arch champion of individual perfection, he did not think of an individual as isolated from his fellow beings. In the Confucian scheme of things, not only does an individual necessarily exist in society, but his perfection cannot be achieved except within society." CHAN 1964, p. 311.

⁴⁹³ AN 1:6, p. 84. See also CHIEN Mu 1975, pp. 73, 74.

⁴⁹⁴ AN. 12:20, p. 168. CHU Hsi 1952, p. 84.

⁴⁹⁵ AN. 12:20, p. 168.

⁴⁹⁶ AN. 15:32, p. 199. See WALEY's 1964 footnote on p. 199. Roberts refers to this passage, but does not touch the problem of the primacy of Li over Jen. Roberts says that here knowledge is described as a probing, fluid principle, and in contrast, Jen is a stable principle. ROBERTS 1966, p. 35.

⁴⁹⁷ AN. 4:2, p. 102.

5. The Implications of Jen

Although Jen cannot be accepted as an instrument for certain ends, it does have some clear consequences or implications which follow from it. Some implications can be described as negative or such which are not very commonly liked, whereas others look more positive and could be welcomed by anyone. The former kind of implications can be listed as follows: Jen is a burden for the knight of the way 士 "Only with death does his journey end."⁴⁹⁸ The Good can endure great sufferings without rebelling.⁴⁹⁹

The more positive implications of Jen are as follows: A Good man possesses courage,⁵⁰⁰ he is never unhappy and is free from anxieties⁵⁰¹, is free from evil.⁵⁰² "Goodness gives to a neighborhood its beauty". This links Jen with Confucian aesthetics so that Goodness produces or is the source of beauty.⁵⁰³ "The Good man rests content with Goodness." 仁者安仁，知者利仁。 Chan remarks that this is one of the few aphorisms which refer to the individual in isolation.⁵⁰⁴ This saying confirms the fact that Jen is not only the means to some other ends, but also a goal in itself. When this goal has been reached, one can be content.

Both positive and negative implications of Jen can be seen in the following passages: "It is only the benevolent man who is capable of liking or disliking other men." "If a man sets his heart on benevolence, he will be free from evil." 子曰，惟仁者，能好人，能惡人。子曰，苟志仁矣，無惡也。⁵⁰⁵

⁴⁹⁸ AN. 8:7, p. 134.

⁴⁹⁹ AN. 8:10, p. 134.

⁵⁰⁰ AN. 14:5, p. 180.

⁵⁰¹ AN. 14:30, p. 188. LEGGE I 1969, p. 286. See CHANG Carsun 1964, p. 298.

⁵⁰² AN. 4:4, LAU 1979, p. 72.

⁵⁰³ AN. 4:1, p. 102 See also SMITH 1968, p. 42. YANG Pe-chün 1965, p. 37. On the Chinese aesthetics, see HU Chien 1989, pp. 51-57. MA Ch'iu-fan 1987, pp. 241-248. CH'AO Yüeh 1987, pp. 435-446. SCHARFSTEIN 1986 pp. 104,105. WU, Kuang-ming 1989, pp. 237-264.

⁵⁰⁴ AN. 4:2, p. 102. Waley translates "The Good man rests content with Goodness; he that is merely wise pursues Goodness in the belief that it pays to do so." WALEY 1964, p. 102. Legge translates this as: "The virtuous rest in virtue; the wise desire virtue." LEGGE I 1969, p. 165. Maspero explains: "And the wise man perceives very well in what respects he is lacking: 'The Altruist trusts Altruism; the wise man desires Altruism.'" MASPERO 1978, p. 292. Chen translates the passage as: "The benevolent rest in benevolence; the wise are benefited by benevolence." CHEN Li Fu 1986, p. 108. And Chan translates it as: "The man of *jen* is naturally at home with *jen*." CHAN, Wing-tsit 1964, p. 311.

⁵⁰⁵ AN. 4:3, 4, LAU 1979, p. 72. Waley translates these two passages as: "Of the adage 'Only a Good Man knows how to like people, knows how to dislike them', the Master said, He whose heart is in the smallest degree set upon Goodness will dislike no one." WALEY 1964, p. 103. Fingarette comments: "One passage seems to say that only the *jen* know how to love men and how to hate them (4:3), whereas those who sincerely strive to become *jen* abstain from hatred. (4:4) The text is obscure on this latter point, and Waley renders the passage so as to give an essentially opposite meaning. When opposite interpretations can be given to a passage on such a central question, it becomes all too evident that the concept *jen* is obscure." FINGARETTE 1972, p. 40. Wang writes: "There are two interpretations here 1) only the man with the principle of *jen* can like or dislike people, for he is without selfishness; 2) only a man of *jen* principle can like what people like and dislike what people dislike, for he knows the likes and the dislikes of the people." WANG Shu-ling 1974, p. 332, 333. See also CHIEN Mu 1978, p. 76.

TAI Ch'ao-fu 1987, p. 197. One of the constructive principles of this book four is that almost all

Maspero says:

"Altruism is not undifferentiated; it is not a love encompassing all humankind, without distinction between those closely related and those quite unconnected to us. (In this it is distinguished from the universal love which Mo-tzu was to preach a little later.) On the contrary, the Altruist, jen-che, must have strongly marked sympathies for the good and antipathies for the wicked."

Tu explicates the passage, stating that the tenderness of Jen is closely linked with such virtues as "bravery", "steadfastness", and "resolute".

"Accordingly only those of *jen* know how to love men and how to hate them (4:3), for the feelings of love and hate can be impartially expressed as fitting responses to concrete situations only by those who have reached the highest level of morality. This is predicated on the moral principle that those who sincerely strive to become *jen* abstain from evil will (or, if you wish, hatred) (sic); as a result, they can respond to a value-laden and emotion-charged situation in a disinterested but compassionate manner. The paradox, rather than obscurity, is quite understandable in terms of Confucius' characterization of the hyperhonest villager as the spoiler of virtue (17:13). A man of *jen* refuses to tolerate evil because he has no evil will toward other; his ability to hate is thus a true indication that he has no penned up hatred in his heart."⁵⁰⁶

This antipathy, however, does not imply that a Good person is evil.⁵⁰⁷

It is even possible that the passage in the Analects we are discussing could have the underlying motive or idea that in certain situations where there is a moral dilemma, one has to dislike or harm one person in order to earn a great benefit to another person. In the literature of moral philosophy this situation has been illustrated by the following story:

"In Europe, a woman was near death from cancer. One drug might save her, a form of radium that a druggist in the same town had recently discovered. The druggist was charging \$2000, ten times what the drug cost him to make. The sick woman's husband, Heinz, went to everyone he knew to borrow the money, but he could only get together about half of what it cost. He told the druggist that his wife was dying and asked him to sell it cheaper or let him pay later. But the druggist said, 'No.' The husband got desperate and broke into the man's store to steal the drug for his wife. Should the husband have done that?"⁵⁰⁸

Starting from the Confucian idea that the benevolent man is capable of disliking other men, the Confucian reply would be in the affirmative.

Confucius continues: "I for my part have never yet seen one who really cared for Goodness, nor one who really abhorred wickedness. One who really cared for Goodness would never let any other consideration come first. One who abhorred wickedness of the chapters contain two things which have a certain relation to each other. Chapter three contains the concepts 好人 and 惡人 as opposites. Chapter four does not include two concepts which would clearly relate to each other as opposites or as a dual pattern. However, chapter four has been placed purposively here in order to show the difference between 惡 and 惡人. According to these two chapters it should be possible that a Good person can 惡人 and 無惡 simultaneously. For Fingarette there seems to be two things in contradiction with each other here. In this context 好 and 惡 are opposites, like and dislike, both having an object 人, man. In the fourth chapter 惡 appears alone as a general ethical attitude, hatred. A Good person likes and dislikes a man in order to motivate him to be also *jen*. In doing this he has no hatred against anyone. 惡人 is in harmony with 仁, 惡 as a general ethical attitude is the opposite of 仁 *jen*. This implies that 惡人 and 惡 as a general ethical attitude are opposites of each other and 好人 and 惡人 are in unison having the same purpose as ways of realizing 仁. These concepts show a certain sophistication in Confucius's thought, which Legge, at least, seems to have understood. See LEGGE I 1969, p. 166.

⁵⁰⁶ MASPERO 1978, p. 292. TU, Wei-ming 1981, p. 49. Tu says: "Thus I cannot go along with Fingarette's observation that 'it becomes all too evident that the concept Jen is obscure.'" TU, Wei-ming 1981, p. 54, FINGARETTE 1972, p. 40.

⁵⁰⁷ See footnote 502, AN. 4:6, p. 103.

⁵⁰⁸ FRIEDMAN 1985, p. 33.

would be so constantly doing Good that wickedness would never have a chance to get at him." Here Confucius stresses the importance of the ability to distinguish good and evil. It is clear that the Good person has such an ability, but it is equally clear that this ability is rare.⁵⁰⁹

6. Obtaining Jen

There are certain conditions which it is necessary to meet in order to obtain Jen: "Goodness cannot be obtained till what is difficult has been duly done. He who has done this may be called Good."⁵¹⁰ Because obtaining Jen is difficult, one is "chary of talking about it."⁵¹¹ However, difficult things as such are not sufficient preconditions for Jen: Confucius did not know whether a person over whom "neither love of mastery, vanity, resentment nor covetousness have any hold" can be called Good, although such a person has done something that is difficult.⁵¹² One can see that there is some tension between the different sayings referred to above.

Because Jen is so difficult, this raises the question of how can one become or obtain it. What actually is the 'difficult' thing which provides one with Jen? The Analects have 14 passages which touch upon this question to a greater or lesser degree.

The most obvious method of getting Jen is through learning. "Tzu-hsia said, 'There are (1) learning extensively, and (2) having a firm and sincere aim; (3) inquiring with earnestness, and (4) reflecting with self-application: - virtue is in such a course."⁵¹³ This passage shows four things related to learning. One must not think of any other things, but these four things only. In this way good things mature in the heart and Jen is in them.⁵¹⁴

Confucius himself says that love of Goodness without love of learning degenerates into silliness:

"Love of Goodness without love of learning degenerates into silliness. Love of wisdom without love of learning degenerates into utter lack of principle. Love of keeping promises without love of learning degenerates into villainy. Love of uprightness without love of learning degenerates into harshness. Love of courage without love of learning degenerates into turbulence. Love of courage without love of learning degenerates into mere recklessness."

According to Waley "learning" 學 here refers to learning the Way 道 of the ancients. Here Confucius clearly expresses that one should not emphasize one aspect only, but should balance between all the necessary categories. This in a way may be an

⁵⁰⁹ AN 4:6, p. 103. WANG Min 1988, p. 221.

⁵¹⁰ AN. 6:20, p. 120.

⁵¹¹ AN. 12:3, p. 163, FINGARETTE 1972, pp. 38, 39.

⁵¹² AN. 14:2, p. 180. AN. 19:15, p. 227. FINGARETTE 1972, p. 39.

⁵¹³ AN. 19:6, LEGGE I 1969, p. 341. There is some disagreement over how to translate this passage. The passage ends: 仁在其中矣. Waley translates this as: "-such a one will incidentally achieve Goodness," and explains that this is an idiom which can never be translated literally. It is used of results that occur incidentally without being the main object of a certain course of action. WALEY 1964, pp. 225, 235. Cf. LAU 1979, p. 153, WANG Shu-ling 1974, p. 345. On learning in the Analects, see TAI Ch'ao-fu, 1987, pp. 189-213.

⁵¹⁴ CHU Hsi 1952, p. 132. HSÜ Fu-huan 1975, p. 96. WANG, Ching-dao 1913, p. 19.

allusion to the doctrine of the Middle use, although the text itself does not mention this principle.⁵¹⁵

In the process of learning Jen is an intensely personal relationship between student and teacher. When practising Jen one should not give precedence to one's teacher.⁵¹⁶ The student may be better in this respect than the teacher,⁵¹⁷ and this apparently is the goal of the teacher, to lead the student to a higher level than himself. Confucius himself did not claim to be Jen, but he said: "As for unvarying effort to learn and unflagging patience teaching others, those are merits that I do not hesitate to claim. Kung-hsi Hua said, The trouble is that we disciples cannot learn!"⁵¹⁸ Knowing Confucius's ambition to lead his students to Goodness, the statement by Kung-hsi Hua must certainly have been a disappointment to him.

The social environment is regarded as very important for obtaining Jen. When Tzu-kung asked how to act out Jen, Confucius replied: "A craftsman, if he means to do good work, must first sharpen his tools. In whatever State you dwell, Take service with such of its officers as are worthy, Make friends with such of its knights as are Good."⁵¹⁹

Education that we see in Confucius does not mean that he holds a mechanistic view that the disciples are some kind of raw material which will be civilized by education to become Jen. According to Schwartz Confucius does not follow this kind of "educational determinism". He says: "Confucius is convinced that the education of his young disciples who are already self-aware adults is wholly dependent on what the disciples bring to the educational encounter. 'Only one who bursts with eagerness do I instruct.'" This, and Confucius's own history of being best on learning already at the age of fifteen, refer to a moral choice; in other words, one may choose learning or not.⁵²⁰

In Master Tseng's opinion Chang was self-important. "It is hard to become Good when working side by side with such a man."⁵²¹ In this social environment the central person is the gentleman: "Master Tseng said, The gentleman by his culture collects friends about him, and through these friends promotes Goodness." 曾子曰，君子以文會友，以友輔仁。⁵²² This shows that in order to become Jen, one has to seek the company of suitable people and to avoid those whose attitudes or behavior do not promote Jen. In this the gentleman has the main responsibility as a leader in social contacts. To a certain degree this resembles the Aristotelian civic friendship

⁵¹⁵ AN. 17:8, p. 211. See also SHIH 1970, p. 493. WANG Shou-ch'ang (1987, p. 139) relates this to the Way of Middle Use.

⁵¹⁶ AN. 15:35, p. 201, LAU 1979, p. 137.

⁵¹⁷ AN. 6:5, p. 116.

⁵¹⁸ AN. 7:33, p. 130.

⁵¹⁹ AN. 15:9, p. 195. Hobbesian egoism regards peaceful interpersonal relations as important. These relations "can help to achieve the best that each agent can expect, given the interest of other individuals, and can help each agent to do better than she would do in their absence." GOLDMAN 1988, p. 33. Confucianism does not represent egoism, but seems to take certain egoistic considerations into account. See this in connection with Yi in the present study.

⁵²⁰ SCHWARTZ 1985, pp. 79,80, AN. 7:8, p. 124, Cf. FINGARETTE 1972, p. 34

⁵²¹ AN. 19:16, p. 227.

⁵²² AN. 12:24, p. 170. LEGGE I 1969, p. 262. See also AN 1:1, p. 83.

which is a "character-friendship between virtuous men."⁵²³

Not only through social relations, but also generally the Gentleman effects the dissemination of Jen: "The Master said, When gentlemen deal generously with their own kin, the common people are incited to Goodness." 則民興於仁。⁵²⁴ Here the "gentleman" is not necessary a minister or an official. It is also noteworthy that Jen according to this passage is a quality of the gentlemen 君子 as well as of the common people 民。⁵²⁵

Confucius emphasizes how important the role of a leader who has Jen is to the spreading of Jen throughout the community: "If a Kingly Man 王人 were to arise, within a single generation Goodness would prevail."⁵²⁶ Confucius also said: "If (a ruler) could for one day 'himself submit to ritual,' everyone under Heaven would respond to his Goodness. For Goodness is something that must have its source in the ruler himself; it cannot be got from others." Here the ruler is a perfect example for the people, who emulate the model of their ruler. In this way Jen works as a uniting bond or element in the empire. Jen and Li are related closely to each other in this passage, being almost regarded as one and same thing.⁵²⁷

Although Jen has been described above as difficult to reach by an elaborate process of learning and the influence of a good social environment and good rulers, the Analects also has a tradition of a kind of "easy Jen": "The Master said, Is Goodness indeed so far away? If we really wanted Goodness, we should find that it was at our very side." 子曰，仁遠乎哉，我欲仁，斯仁至矣。 Roberts says that this strongly suggests that Jen comes from human nature.⁵²⁸ According to Confucius, Po I and Shu Ch'i "sought Goodness and got Goodness." 求仁而得仁。⁵²⁹ If Jen is

⁵²³ KEKES 1989, pp. 52-57. Kekes quotes Aristotle: "Community depends on friendship; and when there is enmity instead of friendship, men will not even share the same path. (Politics, 1295b23-25.) According to Stocker the social environment effects the immorality. STOCKER 1990, pp. 22,23.

About the interpretation of the virtuous men as a class in the society and their friendship, see CHAO Chi-pin 1962, pp. 7-49. Staiger criticizes Chao's uncritical attitude towards the text of the Analects STAIGER 1969, pp. 97,98.

⁵²⁴ AN. 8:2, p. 132. LEGGE I, p. 208.

⁵²⁵ CH'ENG Shu-te 1965, pp. 446, 447.

⁵²⁶ AN. 13:12, p. 174. LEGGE I 1969, p. 267. 王者 refers to a saviour king who rules by Te. WALEY 1964, p. 49. CHU Hsi 1952, p. 89.

⁵²⁷ AN. 12:1, p. 162. Lau understands the meaning differently: "To return to the observance of the rites through overcoming the self constitutes benevolence. If for a single day a man could return to the observance of the rites through overcoming himself, then the whole Empire would consider benevolence to be his. However, the practice of benevolence depends on oneself alone, and not on others." LAU 1979, p. 113. See also LEGGE I 1969, p. 250. Neo Confucianism developed the universalistic tone of Jen further: "A man of humanity regards Heaven, Earth and myriad things as one body." HSÜ, Fu-kuan 1986, p. 44.

⁵²⁸ AN. 7:29, p. 129. LEGGE I 1969, p. 204. Fingarette regards this "easy Jen" compared with the difficult one as problematic. FINGARETTE 1972, p. 38. Fung relates this passage with the decree of Heaven and to atheism. FUNG Yu-lan 1978, pp. 88, 89. According to Munro this passage shows that Jen could be a quality of all men. MUNRO 1969, p. 72. For more information on this passage see also CREEL 1951, p. 141, CH'EN Mu 1978, p. 78, CHEN Li-fu 1986, pp. 104, 109. ROBERTS 1966, p. 36. In the same passage Roberts refers to Te in An. 7:22. It is not methodically correct to assimilate Te and Jen. Chu Hsi regards Jen as being a virtue in the heart. CHU Hsi 1952, p. 47.

⁵²⁹ AN. 7:14, p. 125. See ALLAN 1981, p. 130. CHAN 1964, p. 311. RUBIN 1986, pp. 164,165. See also AN. 20:2, p. 233.

an inborn quality, then it is useless to waste time trying to learn it. However, even in connection with this so called "easy Jen" Confucius uses the concepts 欲 and 求 want or wish to be Jen or seek Jen. These concepts include the whole process of learning with all the social requirements necessary to become Jen. We may therefore argue that the "easy Jen" is not really easy at all, it is only expressed in an easy looking way, in reality it is the same as the "difficult Jen".

7. Jen in Practice

The Analects also have passages which clarify how Jen functions in practice. The so called "golden rule" is practical. In this context Jen has been defined in relation to a higher quality than Jen: Holy 聖 or Divine Sage. This kind of person is a ruler who "not only conferred wide benefits upon the common people but also compassed the salvation of the whole State." In this context, Goodness refers to the following: "you yourself desire rank and standing; then help others to get rank and standing. The ability to take one's own feelings as a guide - that is the sort of thing that lies in the direction of Goodness." This suggests the general notion that "ethics rests on the emotional inability to bear the sufferings of others, that it is a common experience of feeling that undergirds morality."⁵³⁰ It seems clear that in practice Jen means that good behavior is followed and that it therefore spreads wider in the community. When the way of jen is very successful, it is Sheng 聖⁵³¹

The following example is given of the reciprocity or "golden rule" in practice: "Tsai Yü asked saying, I take it a Good Man, even if he were told that another Good Man were at the bottom of a well, would go to join him" The master said, Why should you think so? 'A gentleman can be broken, but cannot be dented; may be deceived, but cannot be led astray.'" Waley paraphrases this as: "Tsai Yü, half playfully asked whether, since the Good always go to where other Good Men are, a Good Man would leap into a well on hearing that there was another Good Man at the bottom of it. Confucius, responding in the same playful spirit, quotes a maxim about the true gentleman, solely for the sake of the reference in it to hsien, which means 'throw down' into a pit or well, but also has the sense 'to pit,' 'to dent.'⁵³² The sense of this passage is that a Good man uses his common sense. However, Confucius does not regard this question only as a practical one. If it had been only a practical question, he could have solved this by suggesting that the Good Man should help the other Good Man from the well,

⁵³⁰ AN. 6:28, p. 122. See footnotes 460-462 of the present work. Bornemann says: "Denn wenn auch die Aufgabe, alle Menschen zu erlösen, nur einem göttlichen Herrscher gelingen kann, so ist es doch jedem möglich, seinerseits Sittlichkeit zu üben, wofern man nur der Selbstsucht entsagt und in der Wirklichkeit des Daseins nach klaren, allgemeingültigen Grundsätzen lebt. BORNEMANN 1922, p. 34. See also WILHELM 1950, p. 93. CREEL 1954, p. 53. XING Yue 1984, p. 53. GEERTZ 1981, p. 271. T'ANG I-chieh 1987, p. 73.

⁵³¹ LIU Pao nan 1973, p. 134.

⁵³² AN. 6:24, p. 121. 井有仁焉 Chu Hsi regards 仁 as meaning 人 CHU Hsi 1952, p. 39. Legge follows Chu. LEGGE I 1969, p. 192. Hsü is also of this opinion. HSÜ Shih-ying 1963, p. 166. However, Ch'eng does not accept this. See CH'ENG Shu-te 1974, pp. 361, 362. Waley follows Ch'eng. WALEY 1964, pp. 121, 255.

by using a rope for example. Now Confucius has accepted the dilemma included in the question. This dilemma has two solutions, not to jump into the well and to neglect the Good Man on the one hand, and to jump into the well and to perish on the other. These alternatives are incompatible and the results are contradictory. One cannot meet the Good Man at the bottom of the well and survive at the same time. The Analects show here the ability to compare events and to recognize that they are incompatible. In addition to this, the question was a test for Confucius as to whether he overvalues Jen, disregarding all other considerations.⁵³³ It is also noteworthy that a gentleman 君子 and a Good person 仁者 have been regarded as identical here.

In history, those who had courage to oppose the last tyrant of the Yin-dynasty were regarded as Jen.⁵³⁴ Politically, Jen serves the Chou power here, and in this way follows the Chou ideology. It is noteworthy that Confucius here moves from the realm of the ideological "Heavenly democracy", well documented in Shu Ching, to the realm of moral philosophy. He does not seek his legitimation from Heaven or religion, but links the opposition of the corrupt government with the concept of Jen. In doing this, he actually constructs a dilemma by finding that the courageous men were free to oppose the corrupt Yin, and this freedom is included in Jen.⁵³⁵

Confucius's own attitude towards Jen, apart from his own appraisals of whether he is Jen or not, is mentioned in only one passage: "The Master seldom spoke of profit or fate or Goodness." 子罕言，利，與命，與仁。⁵³⁶ This is probably the most problematic passage of all of the Analects, since Jen is the major term in Confucian thinking. Wang gives seven different translations:

- 1) The Master seldom spoke of profit, destiny or Jen
- 2) The Master explicitly spoke of profit, destiny and Jen.
- 3) The Master scarcely spoke of profit but he praised the decrees of Heaven and the principle of Jen.
- 4) The Master rarely spoke of profit and destiny but he praised Jen.
- 5) The Master seldom spoke of advantage, fate or the principle of Jen positively.
- 6) Confucius spoke of profit and hardly accorded either fate or Jen to men.
- 7) The master seldom spoke of profit, scarcely praised destiny and hardly accorded the word Jen to men.

Wang points out that the Chinese word 與 yǔ' has several meanings. In this chapter it may mean 'and' or 'or'. For some commentators, however, it has the meaning of 'to grant,' 'to accord,' 'to concede to.'⁵³⁷

Bodde follows Shih Sheng-tsu, who is a follower of Wei Liao-weng (1178 -1237) "Who is noted as being the founder of a school of classical criticism continuing the Confucian teachings of Chu Hsi (1130 -1200), and gives a translation: "The Master rarely spoke of profit. (But) he gave forth (his ideas concerning) the appointments (of

⁵³³ HARDING 1985, p. 52. See also HARE 1981, p. 28. HARE 1987, pp. 205-207. MILO 1984, p. 190. About overvaluing, see STOCKER 1990, pp. 41,42.

⁵³⁴ AN. 18:1, p. 219. See also AN. 20:1, p. 231.

⁵³⁵ HARDING 1985, pp. 53,54. TSENG Chao-hsü 1982, p. 47.

⁵³⁶ AN. 9:1, p. 138, LEGGE I 1969, p. 216.

⁵³⁷ WANG, Shu-ling 1974, pp. 345, 346.

Heaven), (and also) gave forth (his ideas concerning) perfect virtue." Bodde adds: "This is not only grammatically correct, but gives a translation thoroughly in accordance with the spirit of the *Analects* as a whole."⁵³⁸ Bodde identifies yü 與 with hū 許. This is criticized by Laufer who proposes a translation: "The Master rarely discussed material gain compared with the will of Heaven and compared with humaneness (subjects which he discussed frequently)."⁵³⁹

Ch'eng lists different interpretations given by several older commentators. These interpretations need not be compatible with each other. The interpretations are as follows:

- 罕 means 希 scarcely; 利 is a combination of 義 yi. 命 means a mandate. 仁 refers to the best possible behavior. All these are things which are difficult to obtain or do. Thus Confucius scarcely spoke about them.

- Confucius says that a man at a certain time is 仁人 a virtuous man. But he does not say whether that man is Jen or not as regards his character.

- Confucius says little about profit. This is correct. The first four words make up one sentence. Ming and Jen are frequently mentioned by Confucius. This interpretation is followed by Bodde above.

- 利 means "to reach the material". During Ch'un Ch'iu time 利 meant "one's own profit". In the Book of Changes 義 was used to interpret 利. Anciently 利 equated 義. The meaning of the passage is that Confucius spoke little about profit in connection with fate and Goodness.

- The use of 罕 to mean "Scarcely" is late, appearing only after the Han dynasty. Here it means 顯 hsien, to manifest, to display, evident, to seem, to appear. The passage would be "Confucius clearly spoke about profit, fate and Goodness." Ch'eng elucidates the phonetic reasons for this by examples from several texts.

- Confucius did not regard himself as Jen. Confucius himself did not want to speak about these, unless he was asked by the disciples.⁵⁴⁰

In addition to these, Ch'eng Ta Ch'i explains that yü appears both as a conjunctive, question particle and also as a verb. In the *Analects* yü appears as a verb in the following passages: AN. 19:3 可者與之，其不可者拒之。"Associate with those who can *advantage you*. Put away from you those who cannot *do so*." Here 與 is opposite to 拒 and means 'to draw near'. Waley translates "Go with those with whom it is proper to go; Keep at a distance those whom it is proper to keep at a distance." The second case is AN. 11:25 吾與點也。"I give my approval to Tien." Here yü means 'to agree'. The third passage is AN. 18:6, 鳥獸不可與同群，"It is impossible to associate with birds and beasts, as if they were the same with us." Here yü means 'to be in the same flock'.

According to Ch'eng Ta Ch'i, if yü is regarded as a verb in AN. 9:1, this is consistent with the three cases mentioned above. The attitude of Confucius towards

⁵³⁸ BODDE 1933, pp. 347-351.

⁵³⁹ LAUFER 1934, p. 83. Laufer refers to the usages of yü in the Gabelentz' grammar and says: "Shi is right only in the one point that *yu* in this passage has the function of a verb, but there is no reason for identifying it with 許 hū, as there is no other example known where 許 would represent 與." See GABELENTZ 1953, pp. 299-304. See also DOBSON 1974, pp. 813-815.

⁵⁴⁰ CH'ENG Shu-te 1974, pp. 489-492.

Goodness and fate on one side and towards profit from the other side is very different, almost opposite. Confucius disregards profit, but regards fate as important and Goodness as the most important. AN. 9:1 may be divided into two sentences. The first sentence would be 子罕言利, "The Master did not speak greatly about profit," and the second 與命與仁。 "but depended on fate and depended on Goodness." This interpretation is not in conflict with Confucius's thinking.⁵⁴¹

The advantage of Ch'en's interpretation is that he takes the meaning of yü from the Analects and not from other literature.

Confucius's attitude towards profit was that it was not important for him. Fate can be regarded as important for Confucius and Goodness is the most important thing of all for him. The passage presumably includes this gradation of Confucius's attitudes towards profit, fate and Goodness.

Boltz sets out various different interpretations of the passage and includes also the comparatively recent interpretation by Malmqvist, who maintains that in this sentence the first occurrence of yü is a conjunction and the second occurrence means 'to compare with'. The translation then becomes: "The Master spoke more rarely of profit and (first yü) human destiny than (second yü) of humanity;" Showing a good linguistic instinct and understanding, Boltz criticizes this and says that taking yü in two different senses in a single line of no more than eight characters is intuitively not especially satisfying, and moreover we still have the first yü translated as 'and', where Classical Chinese syntax does not call for any word at all.

Boltz himself follows William Hung, who "explains the yü as meaning not simply 'and', but 'together with', and suggests the line is concerned not with three separate things, but only two: li 'profit' IN CONNECTION WITH ming 'fate', and li IN CONNECTION WITH jen." According to Boltz yü here means 'together with', or 'in conjunction with, linked up with'. Thus the sentence means that Confucius rarely linked profit either to fate or to Goodness. Boltz discusses this solution methodically and comes to the conclusion that the textual and etymological facts support this translation.⁵⁴² This interpretation of Boltz's follows one of the interpretations by the older commentators given by Cheng Shu-te above.

8. Early Confucian Jen and Jen in Shu Ching

In Shu Ching Jen is needed by a king when his ability to perform his task in Heaven after this life on earth is measured alongside that of the other kings already in Heaven.

⁵⁴¹ CHEN Ta-chi 1967, pp. 153-157. LEGGE I 1969, pp. 248,249,334,340. WALEY 1964, p. 224.

⁵⁴² BOLTZ 1983, pp. 261-271. See also WANG Ming-sun 1986, p. 201.

Grimm notes that positive statements about Jen increase in chapters 11-20 compared with the first ten chapters of the Analects, and that negative and neutral statements decrease in the latter part. Grimm says: "Wenn wir als Regel anerkennen können, dass bei der Konstituierung eines neuen Wertbegriffes die positiven Aussagen erst verhältnismässig spät in Worte gefasst werden, dann wäre der Befund ein indirekter Beweis für die These des späteren Zustandekommens der Kapitel 11-20. If we follow this, AN.9:1 becomes understandable, as does the fact that in AN.5:5, 5:8, 5:19, Confucius is reluctant to give the epithet Jen to a person in question. GRIMM 1976, pp. 13,14. See the first footnote of this chapter as well.

It is Jen which provides the king with his competence to serve the spirits in Heaven. If Jen expresses the harmonious relation of the king to the universe, such a feature seems to be useful in Heaven, too, and indeed especially there. This important Confucian concept of Jen was not of great importance in Shu ching. It is not particularly evident in Chou thought either. In Shu it has a transcendental dimension, because it concerns the king's qualities in Heaven.⁵⁴³

This single appearance of Jen in Shu Ching does not provide a sufficient basis for comparison with the Analects. However, it can be said that in the Analects, Jen does not have a transcendental overtone. In the Analects it is connected purely with ethics and with behavior of the Gentleman and through this with politics, or the ruling of the country. Although it does not relate conceptually to the terminology in Shu Ching its philosophical contents may be compared with the Chou ideology, which is clearly apparent in Shu Ching. In this ideology the concept of Te 德 is the most sophisticated of the ethical concepts.

In Shu Ching the concept of Te coincides with the concept of Jen in the Confucian Analects in the following ways:

- Both work as a uniting element in the empire, or the cohesive power of the society.
- Both are used in governing.
- Both ethical qualities are to disseminated everywhere and transmitted to the people.
- The ruler, nobility and common people appear as agents in both. In Shu Ching Te belonged to the king, and to his ministers and officials and also to the common people. The widening of Jen to apply also to the common people has above been regarded as a "revolutionary step in the history of Chinese ethics." This applies only to the concept Jen, but not to ethics generally.
- Shu Ching includes a consideration of the issue of faults when speaking about old kings and the Te of the people. This question appears in the Analects also, but as overworking Jen.
- The idea of antiquity appears in both. In Shu Ching this idea is more elaborate than in the Analects. The latter mentions the "three Good men of Yin" and the brothers Po I and Shu Ch'i, describing their loyalty and ability to adapt themselves to the new historical situation. In the Analects Jen also represents the continuity of the ideal past. The richer retrospective element of Te in Shu Ching is divided into several topics: filiality, the initiative dynamic of the universe, a harmonizing element, a legal concept and a concept which includes criticism.
- Both include a discussion of practical skills as inferior to the ideal ethical principle.
- In the Analects the Gentleman is a good example to his inferiors; he incites the people to Jen, the ruler who submits to Li causes everyone to respond to his Jen. In Shu Ching the "small people" imitate the virtuous king.
- Both consider the issue of material wealth. Shu Ching seems to be more flexible in Te, in that it allows the connotation of people acquiring wealth. According to the

⁵⁴³ NIKKILÄ 1982, pp. 150-152. SHU Kin t'eng v. 6, pp. 31, 34:35. KARLGREN 1970 (1948), pp. 252, 253. SUN Hsing-yen 1976, p. 242. TS'ENG Yün-ch'ien 1976, p. 141. CH'Ü Wan-li 1972, p. 68. WU Yü 1977, p. 89. LIU Feng-lu 1974, p. 376. TAKEUCHI 1965, pp. 72-74. GABELENTZ 1864, no. 1, p. 186, no. 2, p. 84.

Confucian Jen, wealth can be accepted only in certain circumstances.

-The instrumental usage of Te in Shu Ching is quite clear; it was used in putting the universe in order and in governing. The instrumental usage of Jen in securing the power of the ruler in the Analects is mentioned, but it is uncertain whether this is an original Confucian idea. It may be a reflection of a traditional understanding of ethics, which is represented by Te in Shu Ching.

The following main themes of Te in Shu Ching are not emphasized in Jen of the Confucian Analects:

- Te connected with Heaven, rites and offerings.
- Te and punishments.
- The quantitative Te. However, Te in the Analects includes this issue.
- Making Virtue bright, the cultivation of Te. The Analects emphasizes the learning of Jen.
- Not drinking wine.

The following issues in Jen in the Analects are mainly new compared with Te in Shu Ching:

In the ethical agents of Jen:

- A specified person seldom appears as an agent of Jen.
- A person's (Confucius's) own attitude towards Jen.
- Jen as a burden

In the identification with other concepts:

- The relationships with other concepts are more highly developed in the Analects; the relationships to Li, inner qualities, speaking, love, wisdom.

In the inclusive and exclusive Jen:

- The lists of characteristics, courage, but a brave man is not necessarily Good, the Good stay still, secure. The faults are more sophisticated than in Shu Ching: allowed defect: poor talker, characteristics of the faults.

- The whole idea of ignorance about whether someone is Jen or not.

In the attitude towards Jen:

- The great value accorded to it, as more important than life. Shu Ching expresses the value of Te by the term "bright virtue" and "great virtue", but the Analects express this value very much clearer.

In the implications of Jen;

- The aesthetic characteristics of Jen.
- The psychological issues: emotional satisfaction gained from Jen, liking and disliking.

In obtaining Jen:

- The whole issue of learning and education, although some small idea of it can be discerned in Shu Ching.
- The difficulties in getting the virtue.

In Jen in practice:

- "The Golden rule" in both its positive and negative senses, the dilemma situation which requires one to choose between two alternatives which both have a bad outcome.

9. Early Confucian Jen and Jen in Shih Ching

In Shih Ching Jen is an attribute of the ideal man. "It seems safest to suppose that in Shih Ching it refers to the ethical qualities of a man instead of his outer appearance merely, although presumably it can also convey overtones relating outer appearance as well. The meaning may well have been quite wide without any need for a strict definition one way or the other." Shih Ching includes an aesthetic value in Jen.⁵⁴⁴

Confucius's Jen resembles this in the fact that it is an ethical quality of an ideal man. However, Confucius does not attach to it any attributes about outward appearances, but he does have an aesthetic value as an implication which follows from Jen. Compared with Jen in Shih Ching, Jen in Confucius is almost a totally Confucian innovation. More light may be thrown on this matter if Jen is compared with other ethical terms in Shih Ching.

Although Te of Shih Ching is an entirely different concept from Jen in the Analects, it nevertheless has some ideas in common with the latter. Confucius emphasizes loyalty and suffering connected with Jen. Suffering appears even more clearly in Shih Ching where the innocent have to suffer the heavenly severity. One has to be loyal to the bad officials, the "noxious insects." The heavenly severity does not appear in the oldest sections of Shih Ching. Confucius mentions the ancient ideal heroes, as does Shih Ching.

The main points which Confucian Jen and Te in Shih Ching have in common are as follows:

- Both have the idea of reciprocity, where Shih mentions Pao 報 and the Analects the "golden rule".
- Both regard it as being important to perform the services to one's deceased parents and take this as an obligation to return services to the parents.
- Both include filiality. In Shih this relation is more collocative, whereas in the Analects this is included more strictly in Jen.
- In Shih Ching Te is used to promote kingly authority over the people. The virtuous ruler is a pattern and model for the people. In the Analects Jen also serves political affairs; the Gentleman is a good example to his inferiors.
- In both cases even common people can be the agent.

⁵⁴⁴ NIKKILÄ 1982, p. 197. See also TAKEUCHI 1965, pp. 60-67,71,72. CHU Hsi 1972, p. 33, CHÜ Wan-li 1974, p. 57. CH'EN Huan 1975, p. 254.

- Both have the idea of disseminating the ethical quality. In Shih Ching the king spreads Te, in the Analects the gentleman encourages the common people to Jen.

- In both the ethical quality is a uniting element of the empire.

- Of the legendary heroes, Confucius regards Jen as a virtue of Po I and Shu Ch'i because they were loyal to the wicked Yin-ruler and were ready to be loyal to the new regime. In Shih Ching Te is regarded as a virtue of Wen Wang as a condition for obtaining the Heavenly mandate T'ien ming 天命 Confucius does not relate Jen to the heavenly mandate of the king.

- In Shih Ching "A proper virtue is really difficult to attain. Only Chung Shan-fu can help the king, the Son of Heaven, to be virtuous." In Shih Ching Heaven also causes difficulties. Confucius also saw clearly the difficulties in obtaining Jen and spoke about Jen as a burden. The obtaining of Te in Shih Ching is dealt with very briefly, whereas Confucius elaborates the ideas of obtaining Jen. Obtaining Te in Shih Ching is a kind of transcendental movement from Chung Shan-fu to the present king without reference to learning and other difficulties.

-The aesthetic implication, which follows from Jen in the Analects. The aesthetic value is included in Jen in Shih Ching and in the term "beautiful virtue".

Shih Ching has Te in the following contexts, in which the Confucian Jen does not appear: Heavenly mandate, outward behavior, man-woman relationship, woman's virtue.

The following issues are in the Analects but not in Shih Ching:

Those marked with an asterisk * do not appear in Shu Ching either.

In the ethical agents of Jen:

*A specified person seldom appears as an agent of Jen.

*A person's (Confucius's own) attitude towards Jen.

In the identification with other concepts:

*The relationships with other concepts are more highly developed in the Analects, the relationships to Li, inner qualities, speaking, love, wisdom.

In the inclusive and exclusive Jen:

*Lists of characteristics, The faults. Shih Ching mentions some characteristics, outward deportment, military skill. Connected with Wen Wang Shih Ching mentions obedience to the ancestors, taking care of the people, being energetic, eager to acquire ideas from others.

*The whole idea of ignorance about whether someone is Jen or not.

In the attitude towards Jen:

* High esteem of Jen as an ultimate value, being even more important than life itself. Shih Ching expresses the value of Te by the terms "bright virtue", "good virtue", "beautiful virtue". The Analects express this value accorded to Jen as greater and decisively clearer. Jen has also been used as an instrument, as Te has in Shih Ching.

In the implications of Jen:

-The difficulties in Jen, Jen as a burden.

*The psychological issues: emotional satisfaction gained from Jen, liking and disliking other people. Many songs describe feelings.

In obtaining Jen:

*The whole issue of learning and education.

In Jen in practice:

*"The Golden rule" in both its positive and negative senses, the dilemma which requires one to choose between two alternatives which both have a bad outcome.

What the above shows is that conceptually the Confucian Jen was a total innovation. Before Confucius, Jen was a very little used concept, and was more or less obscure.⁵⁴⁵ Confucius adopted it as a central concept of his thinking.

The number of similarities between Jen in the Analects and Te in Shu Ching and Shih Ching and their quality shows that they cannot be totally incidental. However, it is clear that Confucius did not simply take some characteristics in Te of Shu Ching and Shih Ching and construct his Jen. He rather attended to the general conception of ethics used among people and in serving the country. It is useful, in addition to the summary of Confucian Jen above, to see what kind of set of ideas his innovations of Jen are. These are those marked with and asterisk * in the list above.

10. The Confucian Innovations of Jen

After comparing Confucian Jen with Te in the traditions of Shu Ching and Shih Ching, we can see they have many points in common. It seems that during Confucius's time there was a fairly wide area of agreement within the society concerning virtue and ethics. This can be seen especially in the concept Te in Shu Ching and Shih Ching. Confucius's Jen grows from this common ground. As a concept it is an innovation. Because of this one is easily misled into believing that Confucius was more of an innovator in the field of ethics than he was in fact. And, in the present work only Shu Ching and Shih Ching represent the older traditions. If one were to include more sources in the study, one could possibly find even more similarities. Another factor which may mislead us is that the literature on ancient moral thinking in China concentrates primarily on Confucius and largely ignores the ethical thinking before him. Confucius's thinking was more cultivated than the thinking in Shu Ching and Shih Ching. This bias

⁵⁴⁵ Hsiao thinks that Confucius derived the beginnings of his doctrine of Jen from the Yin government, because according to Hsiao he "discovered in the lenient and simple government of the Yin, the principle of benevolence and love, which he combined with the rites and institutes of Chou." Hsiao also says: "Since Confucius was a Yin descendant and furthermore was 'devoted to antiquity and diligent in his study of it' AN. 7:19, he must of necessity have been profoundly aware of the traditional view that the Yin government had been lenient and magnanimous." HSIAO 1979, pp. 106,107. This may be the case. However, this proof is not very convincing. It is hard to prove the opinion right or wrong.

in the literature is the reason why it is easier to find "first important ethical notions" in the Confucian Analects than in Shu Ching and Shih Ching. The literature shows such notions in the Analects but not in Shu Ching and Shih Ching, although they might be there as well. One example of this is the fact that the ideal ethical quality belongs to the common people already before the Confucian Analects as was argued above.

Another source of misjudgment could be that the similarities between the Analects and Shu Ching and Shih Ching are just later Confucian reflections in these sources which were made by the editors. If this had been the case, surely the editors would have made terminological similarities as well, but this is not the case. There is a great terminological difference between Jen in Shu Ching and Shih Ching on the one hand, and in the Analects on the other, because Jen appears very seldom in the former and very often in latter. Confucius took a new term, but filled it to a large part with old contents.

The list above shows that Confucian innovation in Jen is not simply a matter of gaining a new emphasis to an old concept, but that he made genuine new changes in the concept. In the agents of Jen, Confucius several times claimed to be ignorant as to whether someone could be called Jen or not. This attitude of ignorance was entirely new. In the older ideological thinking, questions always have an answer. Questions which it was not possible to answer, were not asked. Confucius removed this barrier of not asking unsuitable questions. Any question can be asked, and ignorance has to be admitted. This method does not look very advanced, but if we see it against its background, it is important. It allowed thoughts to travel in new directions and thus encouraged the development of rational independent thinking to acquire new knowledge.

In the identification with other concepts, the Analects attempts a simple definition of Jen by using the help of other concepts than Jen itself. Because Confucius had adopted a new concept, this became necessary: it was necessary to define how Jen related to other concepts which were generally known during that time.

Confucius's definitions are often pragmatic. He says what a person who is Jen, does or does not do: Love your fellow men. Do not do others what you would not like yourself. Other types of definitions are to be found in the inclusive and exclusive Jen. These definitions are lists of characteristics, which represent sets of moral qualities included in Jen. This thinking in sets approach logical thinking. However, the lists of different characteristics could be later additions, a later method of presentation which was applied by the editors. One indication of this may be the fact that they appear in the latter parts of the Analects. This does not, however, detract from the fact that the Analects shows a development in ethical thinking. The sentence "A good man will certainly also possess courage but a brave man is not necessarily Good," shows a development towards logical thinking. Moreover, this sentence appears in the latter parts of the Analects.

In the traditions of Shu Ching and Shih Ching ethics was almost purely instrumental, mainly used for administering the state. Confucius elevated ethics from this instrumental usage. Although he was aware that Jen could be used as an instrument, he made it into an ultimate value in itself. Confucius valued Jen extremely highly, and not even the value of life could overcome it. He made his Jen a human value obtainable by human

effort and possible to be understood by rational activity. He advocated this without overtly opposing the previous ultimate value, Heaven and Heaven's will, but simply by not saying much about Heaven. Confucius rationalized and humanized ethics. He also took the ideological aspects out of ethics and studied ethics as a subject in its own right. This can be seen very well in the concept Jen, but less well in Te in the Analects.

Although the psychological issues are connected with ethics for the first time, many songs in Shih Ching describe feelings. Confucius brought questions about emotions, such as antipathies, sympathies, satisfaction, and even aesthetics, into the realm of ethics. Here Confucius comes close to the hedonistic point of view to some extent.

An important Confucian innovation connected with ethics is learning and education. In learning the social environment is important, including the personal will to become an agent of Jen. Confucius does not represent a ready-made, closed system of thought, rather he is an advocate of a dynamic process of thinking. This appears very clearly in his ideas on how to obtain Jen.

In Jen in practice the "Golden rule" is a Confucian innovation. The "Golden rule" to some extent arises from the background of repaying which is clearly expressed in Shih Ching. Also, the dilemma situation, where one needs to make a choice, is entirely new. It is totally new that Confucius replies to a question which poses a rational problem. According to the "Golden rule" one should save the good man in the well, but the helper would perish himself and could really not help. If Confucius had been an ideologist, this type of critical question would have been unacceptable.

11. A Comparison with Lao Tzu's Concept of Jen

There are very few occurrences of Jen in Tao Te Ching. The first of them is: "Heaven and earth are ruthless, not Jen, 不仁 and treat the myriad creatures as straw dogs; the sage is ruthless, not Jen, and treats the people as straw dogs." Lau says that the straw dogs were treated with the greatest deference before they were used as an offering, only to be discarded and trampled upon as soon as they had served their purpose. The criticism against Confucianism here is that, from Lao Tzu's point of view, the kind people, who are Jen, must have an action. Wang Pi explains:

"Heaven and earth follow nature. Without action or creation, all things rule each other by themselves. Therefore they are without kindness. Kindness creates, upholds, administers, and changes, with grace and action. Created, upheld, administered, and changed, things will lose their true nature. With grace and action, things cease to co-exist. If things cease to co-exist, then there is not enough to support them all. The earth does not grow straw for the beasts, but the beasts eat the straw. (The heaven) does not produce dogs for man, but man eats the dog. Inaction in regards to all things means to let them do as they should. Then they will be self-sufficient. If one has to use wisdom, it will not work."

Schwartz explains this further:

"Heaven and earth do not concern themselves with the weal or woe of individual humans or of other creatures. One indeed may say that Lao-tzu's nature is an order that runs spontaneously and without deliberate planning or premeditation... The Taoist sage (here the sage ruler) somehow embodies within himself the power (*te*) of the *tao* is here depicted as a ruler who does not deliberately concern himself - in busybody fashion - with the individual fates of his subjects. In true cosmomorphic fashion the sage is himself 'modelled' on the mystery of the *tao*. He is not intentionally 'good'. He simply makes it possible for the spontaneous *wu-wei* forces of the *tao* to work their way in human affairs. He himself sees the human world from the point of view of the *tao*. He removes the obstacles to the free operation

of the *tao*."⁵⁴⁶

In Confucian thinking a sage is Jen⁵⁴⁷ and must have the action. From Lao Tzu's point of view Jen is not a characteristic which one should cultivate, whereas according to Confucianism it is highly recommendable, even necessary for the sage.

We can see a different view of Jen in Lao Tzu's thinking in the following: "In a home it is the site that matters; In quality of mind it is depth that matters; In an ally it is benevolence, Jen, that matters; In speech it is good faith that matters; In government it is order that matters; In affairs it is ability that matters; In action it is timeliness that matters." If taken conceptually, Lao Tzu values Jen here, which is not consistent with his views as we have seen them above. Here however one can see some agreement with Confucianism. Creel harmonizes Lao Tzu's attitude: "Lao Tse's program for 'doing nothing' is an exacting one. One must have few interests and few desires; he must shun luxury; he must be guided by charity, simplicity, humility; he must be equally benevolent to the good and to the bad, and must trust the insincere as implicitly as he trusts those who have proved faithful."⁵⁴⁸

The following passage reflects the genuine attitude of Lao Tzu towards Jen, which is critical: "When the great way falls into disuse There are benevolence, Jen, and rectitude, Yi." This negative attitude towards Jen and Yi is repeated in the following statement: "Exterminate benevolence, Jen, and rectitude, Yi, And the people will again be filial."⁵⁴⁹

In the gradation of virtues, Jen as a matter of fact has quite a high position, although it is not valued: When the way, Tao, and virtue, Te, were lost, there was benevolence, Jen. After this in the scale come rectitude, Yi, and rites, Li. This shows that from Lao Tzu's point of view, Jen is the highest Confucian virtue, but it is below Tao and Te. It may even be that in Lao Tzu's opinion, the Confucian virtues refer rather to the lowest virtue, which means to act and still to leave things undone.⁵⁵⁰

The above shows that Jen is by no means a key term in Tao Te Ching. The materials show that the author of Tao Te Ching was well aware of this Confucian concept and had a definite attitude towards it. It is noteworthy that Lao Tzu ranks Jen as the highest virtue of Confucianism below Taoist concepts. This shows that the Confucian virtues were known in Taoism, which did not concentrate on criticizing Confucian Jen, but only mentioned it some times and took up a definite critical stand towards it. The one case in Tao Te Ching which can reflect some Confucian attitude in connection with Jen, may be present due to text deterioration. Another possibility of interpretation would be that Tao Te Ching has several authors and several traditions, which could be possible

⁵⁴⁶ LAO TZU 5:14, p. 61. LAU, D.C. 1974, p. 61. WANG PI 1975, p. 13. LIN 1977, p. SCHWARTZ 1985, pp. 201,202.

⁵⁴⁷ T'ANG Chün-i 1959, p. 33.

⁵⁴⁸ LAO TZU 8:21, p. 64. CREEL 1929, p. 97. Chang translates: "Kindness is good in relationships." CHANG, C. C. 1972, p. 21. In the silk manuscripts the concept Jen does not appear at all in this context. The corresponding passage is translated by Lau: "In giving it is being like heaven that is valued." LAU 1982, pp. 276,277. MA WANG TUI 1982, p. 115. HENRICKS 1979, pp. 187, 188. The silk text, solves to certain extent the contradiction between the different conceptions of Jen in Lao Tzu.

⁵⁴⁹ LAO TZU 18:42, 19:43, pp. 74,75.

⁵⁵⁰ LAO TZU 38:82,83, p. 99. See also WATTS 1975, p. 109. WULFF 1942, p. 69.

even if there is only one author, as discussed in the introduction. The Confucian attitude in this case would only reflect some tradition in Tao Te Ching which is closer to Confucianism than the main Tao Te Ching tradition.

12. A Comparison with Mo Tzu's Concept of Jen

Jen appears in Mo Tzu's writings quite often. A chapter "On the Necessity of Standards" is a summary of the main themes on "Universal Love" and "Will of Heaven". The chapter has 9 occurrences of Jen, the main idea being a contradiction of the requirement that one should follow or imitate one's parents, teacher and the ruler. The contradiction comes if those whom one should follow are not Jen, then how could one be Jen and still follow them? Mo Tzu solves this contradiction by stating that neither the parents nor the teacher nor the ruler should be accepted as the standard in government, but following Heaven is the standard to be recommended.⁵⁵¹

Mo Tzu connects Jen with his favorite doctrines. He regards the exaltation of the virtuous as a necessary measure or precondition, if the ruler wants to propagate Goodness.⁵⁵²

Jen is connected with the doctrine of universal love in the following way: "The purpose of the Good lies in procuring benefits for the world and eliminating its calamities". In saying this Mo Tzu clothes Jen into a utilitarian garment. Universal love 兼愛 may be Jen and Yi and it can be realized through the historical argumentation, which Mo Tzu emphasizes in this context. This reflects the Mohist pragmatism as well. Hu says about this pragmatism: "Moh Tih's main position is this: that the meaning of every institution lies in what it is good for, and that the meaning of every conception of belief or policy lies in what kind of conduct or character it is fitted to produce." The main motive of Jen according to Mo Tzu then is that it positively produces benefits for the world and is also a force which eliminates the calamities of the world by preventing them.⁵⁵³

In his idea of eliminating the calamities Mo Tzu relates Jen to his doctrine of condemning the offensive war. Although Mo Tzu has been regarded as a pacifist, there are instances in which he himself went to the defence of small states which were being unjustly attacked. He saw how constant warfare impoverished the common people whom he loved, and brought calamity to the whole land, which he believed to be an expression of the anger of Heaven.⁵⁵⁴

⁵⁵¹ MO TZU pp. 13,14.

⁵⁵² MO TZU p. 53,54.

⁵⁵³ MO TZU pp. 87,88,92,206. See GEISSER 1947, pp. 44,45. SJÖHOLM 1982, pp. 87,104. CHOU Ch'ang-yao 1977, pp. 51-65. HU, Shih 1968, p. 65. Hu uses the following quotation from Mo Tzu to summarize Mo Tzu's pragmatic attitude: "Any principle which can elevate conduct should be perpetuated. That which cannot elevate conduct should not be perpetuated. To perpetuate anything that cannot elevate conduct is nothing but waste of speech." Hu contrasts the Moist pragmatism with the Confucian idealism. HU, Shih 1968, pp. 64,65. Confucius was certainly an idealist compared with Mo Tzu, but whether he was an idealist in something like the Platonic sense, as Hu comes close to claiming, is another question.

⁵⁵⁴ SMITH 1968, p. 62.

The sufferings caused by war to the people are not Jen, inhumane. Mo Tzu regards the condemnation of offensive war as the necessary precondition of Jen and also refers to the old sage-kings as good examples from history in this respect.⁵⁵⁵ However, arguments based on examples from history have also a negative side, namely, that the wicked old kings were not Jen because they hated and oppressed the people and incurred punishment from Heaven.⁵⁵⁶

In the doctrine that funerals should be simple Jen is used in the following way: The ruler who is Jen takes care of the people like a filial son takes care of his parents. The ruler enriches the empire and puts everything in order. According to Mo Tzu's conception of history, when the sage kings of the Three Dynasties had passed away, two groups of gentlemen were formed. One group regarded elaborate funerals and extended mourning as Jen, whereas the other group regarded these as not Jen. Both groups condemned each other and both regarded themselves as being the followers of the sage-kings. Mo Tzu maintains that in fact, anciently the funerals were relatively simple, and they should be kept as such and people's wealth should not be wasted because of funerals. Mo Tzu is often, as here, very much concerned for the basic needs of the people, such as food, clothing and shelter. Mo Tzu concludes: "If the gentlemen of the world really want to practice righteousness, Yi, and magnanimity, Jen, and to seek to be superior men, desiring to attain the way, Tao, of the sage-kings on the one hand and to procure blessings for the people on the other, they cannot afford to neglect the principle of Simplicity in Funeral in government." Here too the Mohist utilitarian attitude is clearly to be seen. Schwartz characterizes this utilitarianism:

"All the virtues are, in effect, outer-oriented dispositions oriented toward achieving results in the world 'out there' and never, as Graham points out, 'directed toward the subjective side of experience.' This does not mean that there is no affective side of experience or that feelings do not affect the world, but the Confucian focus on the inner - the entire brooding on purity of motivation - is a useless diversion from the overwhelming task. Mo-tzu here seem to share the pathos of both the modern radical and the modern technocrat."⁵⁵⁷

Mo Tzu links Jen to his doctrine about the Will of Heaven, too, and says that the will of Heaven is the origin of Jen and Yi. In this connection Jen also includes a meaning of ethical duty. Heaven loves the whole world and everything is prepared for the good of man "Even the tip of hairs is the work of Heaven". In this situation Mo Tzu says: "Yet there is no service in return. And they do not even know this to be unmagnanimous and unfortunate." This is not Jen, just as if the son does not return any love to his father after growing up, that is not Jen either.⁵⁵⁸

Mo Tzu, although he understands the aesthetic values, does not advocate music, for example. It wastes the time and energy of the people, yet creates nothing tangible. And so, mainly on these grounds, Mo Tzu was of the opinion that those who are Jen will not practice music. In the chapter on Esteem of Righteousness the Mohist Jen does not include feelings, but prefers a kind of apathy: "Pleasure, anger, joy, sorrow love (and hate) are to be removed and magnanimity, Jen, and righteousness, Yi, are to replace

⁵⁵⁵ MO TZU pp. 98,99,116.

⁵⁵⁶ MO TZU p. 148.

⁵⁵⁷ MO TZU pp. 123-125,130,131,134. SCHWARTZ 1985, pp. 151,147.

⁵⁵⁸ MO TZU p. 143-146,150.

them."⁵⁵⁹

Mo Tzu condemns the fatalists as being not Jen, because on the basis of their doctrine the people are kept away from their work. When this doctrine is followed everything is at a standstill in a stalemate situation; nothing can be changed because fate has ordered the status quo.⁵⁶⁰

Although the chapter on "Anti Confucianism" is from a later date, it may be worthwhile examining some of its ideas concerning Jen. According to the view in this chapter, the Confucianists were old fashioned and conservative, making conservatism a virtue. Mohism wants to reject this as a virtue noting that the so-called ancient speech and dress were all modern once. When the ancients used that speech and wore that dress, they would not be superior men, according to the Confucianist view, because they were modern. Then it is asked: "Do you therefore mean to say that one has to wear the dress of the non-superior man and speak the speech of the non-superior man before he can be Jen?"⁵⁶¹

This criticism against Confucianism can be understood, because the Analects describes the outward appearance of the superior man and gives detailed rules how he is supposed to behave in certain everyday situations. However, Jen in itself is not a manifestation of outward modes of behavior, speech and clothing. In this respect the criticism does not hit its target. The criticism does show however that the early Confucians gave the impression that the outer old fashioned speech, clothing and outward behavior were matters of primary concern. It also shows that in their practice the Confucianists deviated from the ideals which were laid down by their Master.

The Mohists criticize the Confucianist conservative attitude, maintaining that the Confucianists says: "The superior man conforms to the old but does not make innovations." The Mohist criticism is that some of those old personages which are followed by Confucianists, were in fact innovators.⁵⁶²

According to the Confucianist view, in Mohist opinion, "When the superior man is victorious he does not pursue the fleeing enemy. When the enemy is kept at bay he does not shoot. When the enemy retreat he will help them pushing their carts." Mohism notes that this will lead to the situation where "The wicked men will thus be set free and the curse of the world will not yet be removed. This is to harm the parents of the multitudes and greatly to ruin the world. Nothing can be more unrighteous."⁵⁶³

In the Mohist interpretation, the Confucianist official is a kind of humble, obedient servant: "Again the Confucianist says: The superior man is like a bell. It will sound when it is struck. It will remain silent when it is not struck." The Mohist reply is that the Good man in serving his superior should be loyal, and in serving his parents should be filial. However, in Mohist opinion a minister should warn his master about a danger even though he has not been asked. In this Mohism advocates a more active mode of

⁵⁵⁹ MO TZU p. 175, CREEL 1975, pp. 72,224.

⁵⁶⁰ MO TZU p. 182.

⁵⁶¹ MO TZU pp. 200,203.

⁵⁶² MO TZU pp. 203,204, AN. 7:1, p. 123.

⁵⁶³ MO TZU p. 204.

administration and not the idea of retiring.⁵⁶⁴

Mohism also offers a severe criticism of the Confucian way of administering the country. In Mohist opinion, Confucius acted in a destructive way:

"Now, this man Confucius with elaborate plans conspired with the rebels and with devious plots committed depravity. To persuade the subordinates to plot against their superior and tell the ministers to assassinate their lord is not the conduct of a virtuous man. To enter a country and join with its traitors is not akin to the righteous. To urge those who are known to be disloyal to revolt does not fit the way of the magnanimous, Jen."

This criticism is based on distorted historical facts and deliberately tries to misunderstand the Confucian view.⁵⁶⁵

Confucius discusses Jen on a more personal level than Mohist writings do. Mo Tzu does not consider whether he himself or persons close to him are Jen, as Confucius does. Both Confucius and Mo Tzu make reference to old legendary persons. Mo Tzu's intention is to criticize the Confucian view and to reveal the contradictions which in his opinion underlay the Confucian principles of Jen. Mo Tzu regards Jen as originally from Heaven, whereas Confucius does not pay attention to the transcendental beings or phenomena in connection with Jen. Confucius's Jen is an inclusive virtue, whereas the Mohist Jen is just one concept which itself is included in the favorite Mohist doctrines as a necessary component. The Confucian view of the importance of and the influence to social contacts in connection with Jen is not discussed by Mo Tzu. In obtaining Jen, beside social contacts, Confucius regards learning as important, whereas Mo Tzu passes the issue by. Both Confucius and Mo Tzu regard the old legendary kings as important good example for Jen. However, Mo Tzu, or Mohism, in its criticism against Confucianism stresses that adherence to the old ideals does not need to mean a stalemate conservatism. The old kings were innovators in their time, and not advocates of stiff conservatism.

Mohism represent a kind of "opposite" party, which sometimes does not try to understand the Confucian position, but rather to misinterpret it. However, the Confucian idealism included in Jen may over time have changed to some outer rituals without inner content, a situation which would not have been supported by Confucius. This may have been the origin of Mohist criticism, especially some time later when the less reliable chapters of the Mohist writings were composed.

It is also noteworthy that Mo Tzu does not reject the concept of Jen in itself as a Confucian poison to be opposed. Mo Tzu accepts the term and gives to it a meaning which fits in with Mohist doctrines.

In addition to the conceptual comparison of Mohist and Confucian Jen, it is useful to throw some light on how the Mohist doctrine of Universal Love and the Confucian Jen relate to each other.

Geisser points out that, in his doctrine of the universal love, Mo Tzu used an argument based in history, stressing that the ancient rulers had this love. Secondly he had a pragmatic-utilitarian argument which refers to the practicability and usefulness of his doctrine. Thirdly, he had the "metaphysical" argument stressing the loving Heaven

⁵⁶⁴ MO TZU p. 205.

⁵⁶⁵ MO TZU pp. 206,207. See also Meis's remark, footnote 3, MO TZU p. 206. See also MO TZU, p. 225.

who also requires love from men.⁵⁶⁶ These typical Mohist arguments are absent from the Confucian Jen, of course.

Creel sees a great deal similarity in both doctrines. He says that the differences between the doctrines of love in Confucius and Mo Tzu are difficult to detect, "unless one concern himself with very nice shades of emphasis indeed." Both have the same motive: desire to promote social cooperation and to reduce friction and war within the Chinese world. Creel says:

"The formula for Mo Tzu's pragmatism ran somewhat as follows: The doctrines and practises of the ancient sage-kings were a perfect expression of the will of Heaven. The will of Heaven is that the people shall be peaceful, prosperous, and happy. Therefore, if (as is often the case) the doctrines and practices of the ancient sage-kings are in some doubt, it is only necessary to find out what will make the people peaceful, prosperous, and happy in order to recover the ways of the ancient sage-kings in their pristine purity."

However, Mo Tzu was a traditionalist, believing in the perfection of the sage-kings. He did not, however, appeal to the same traditions as Confucians did, for example he did not approve the three year mourning period. He followed an antiquity even more remote than the Confucianists did. The practical conclusions drawn from this antiquity were different than those of Confucianists and so the enmity between them was apparent.⁵⁶⁷

Graham sees the Mohist doctrine of universal love in the following way:

"The Mohists' deepest objection to the aristocratic moral code is that it is divisive, that it requires the gentleman to put his duties to his family and his lord before the interests of anyone else. The result is that each family and state is entitled, and indeed obliged, to prefer itself to others and be drawn into war with other, a war in which whoever wins or loses the common people are always the suffers. The Mohist sees that a morality which will not sacrifice him to his social superiors has to be one unified by a single principle applying to all. It is the principle of 'loving another as you love yourself... having as much regard for father and elder brother and for lord as for yourself... having as much regard for younger brother and son and for vassal as for yourself... having as much regard for others' families as for your own... having as much regard for others' states as for your own'. He calls it *兼愛*, which we can hardly avoid translating as 'loving everyone' or 'universal love', although this may give the false impression that he is interested in the warmth of the sentiment rather than the equality of the concern... One has the impression that Mohists were not people with warm sympathies towards everyone, but people whose personal affections are disciplined by a stern sense of justice."⁵⁶⁸

Chan regards the main issue when comparing the Mohist universal love and Confucian Jen with each other as being, whether in the application of love there should be a definite order, gradation or distinctions. According to Chan, in the Confucian view, there should be a gradation of love so that the application of love varies according to one's relationship, and it is only natural that love should start with those nearest. Another difference is, that Mohism stresses utility in this context, whereas Confucianism does not.⁵⁶⁹

It can also be added that Confucius did not use a metaphysical argument, because Jen does not have a relation to Heaven in Confucius's thought. Confucius limited Jen to a special area, whereas Mo Tzu related the universal love to many other phenomena

⁵⁶⁶ GEISSER 1947, pp. 44,45,48,51,54.

⁵⁶⁷ CREEL 1929, pp. 107-110.

⁵⁶⁸ GRAHAM 1978, p. 12.

⁵⁶⁹ CHAN 1964, pp. 301,302. Mo Tzu stresses that the love should not be partial; everyone should be loved in a similar way. This would guarantee the major benefits to the world, harmony and the prevention of calamities. MO TZU pp. 85,86. See also LIU Che-chih 1988, p. 57.

through argumentation and application. It also seems that Confucius's Jen has more connections with the human mind and inner qualities of human beings, whereas Mo Tzu's concept of universal love is more limited to practical or pragmatic applications to be realized in relation with other doctrines. In the argumentation Mo Tzu tries to introduce a kind of logical method, which is largely left aside by Confucius.

Mo Tzu's motive was to criticize Confucianism and to write an apology for his own ideas. During Mo Tzu's time there was a clear system which could be the starting point and criticized, the system of Confucius. When Confucius started to develop his ideas on the other hand, a similar well articulated system of thought was not available. However, the Taoist tradition was known, but apparently it was not as well formed as Confucianism was during early Mohism. It is also noteworthy, that Mohism does not criticize Taoism. Mo Tzu takes a stand as if there were no Taoism. It may be that in the ruling circles Taoism was not important but that the Confucian ideas were the centre of attention during Mo Tzu's time. However, we have seen that Confucius was aware of the Taoist tradition and that Taoism was aware of the Confucian tradition. Mohism seems to have an attitude only to Confucianism, and what is more, this attitude is the strongest of these three schools towards any other school.