

VIII. The Crossroad of Traditions

1. T'ien, Heaven

a. Confucian Heaven

There is no general agreement on whether Confucius should be regarded as an agnostic or a religious man or something in between. However, certain of Confucius's personal attitudes concerning Heaven can be seen in the Analects.

According to the Analects, in the past the legitimation of the king's authority was originated by Heaven: it was transcendental. Confucius's own virtue, Te, also had a transcendental origin and foundation, which resulted in protective and powerful Te.

Confucius personalized the culture inherited from king Wen in himself. Heaven did not want to destroy the culture, and so Confucius, too, was safe.

It was important for Confucius's self-identity that he is recognized by Heaven. His studies are a tool to strengthen his transcendentially based sense of identity.

In addition to the fact that Confucius's self-identity had a clear heavenly or transcendental dimension, he had developed himself as a moral agent towards autonomy and freedom.

Confucius had a calling from Heaven, an active mission to introduce his doctrines to those in power. Confucius was fully conscious of this mandate and this knowledge led to an awe-inspiring attitude towards it. Confucius, however, had not received the heavenly mandate in the same way as the kings. His relationship towards the mandate was to know it as a task given to him by Heaven.

When he experienced disappointments because his doctrines were not accepted by the rulers, Confucius neither deplored inexplicable Heaven, nor started to consider whether his personal virtue had any fault in it. He only wanted to pursue his studies with the aim of being recognized by Heaven.

When he encountered the disfavor of Heaven, Confucius did not start to ponder the reasons for such actions by Heaven. He simply submitted himself to Heaven's will.

In Confucius's mind prayer is a delicate matter. The relationship towards Heaven has to be ethically spotless, otherwise prayer is impossible.

Confucius believed that there is Heaven, which is the ultimate basis of things in the natural world, and which also maintains the whole of this world. This same Heaven is also the ultimate basis of Confucius himself and for what he is doing. However, Confucius did not define this Heaven more clearly. It was a knowledge of Heaven's existence and influence, a strong feeling of personal dependency from Heaven, but it was not a philosophical or theological system of thought about Heaven and about the essence of Heaven.

To a large extent Confucius was silent about Heaven, but this silence did not mean

denial; it meant approval.

Of the greatest importance seems to be Confucius's personal identity which was strongly based on Heaven. This identity did not lead to detailed and well articulate knowledge about Heaven. This identity, however strong it may have been, left a certain space for intellectual agnosticism for not knowing much about Heaven.

In metaphorical terms, one may say that Confucius was like an intellectual tree, which knows that it grows in soil and that the soil is necessary for its existence and well being, and that the soil has given it the task of growing and of giving life to other trees as well, but that the tree does not know what the qualities of the soil it is growing in are.

b. The Distribution of Characteristics of T'ien in the Analects

Characteristic, Number of the book

Confucius's attitude towards the spirits 1, 11, 6

Heaven and the past

Old mythical kings and Heaven.

Yao has Heaven as a standard 8

Shun is ordained by Heaven 20

Confucius's heavenly identity and confession, favorable Heaven.

Confucius's protective Te is from Heaven 7

Heaven protects Confucius and the culture of Wen Wang 9

Heaven knows Confucius 14

The call or task of Confucius and Heaven

Heaven uses Confucius as a sage and a "wooden bell" 9, 3

Heavenly mandate and Confucius 2, 16

T'ien Ming

A Gentleman, a small man and T'ien Ming 16

Life and death are a matter of Destiny 12

Ming: death and illness; fate 6, 6, 9,

Providence 12, 17

Unfavorable Heaven and Confucius

Confucius is not employed, but is known by Heaven 14,

Confucius submits himself to that wrong action evokes heavenly anger 6

Yen Yüan died, Confucius said: "Heaven has bereft me" 11

Communication with Heaven

Guilt against Heaven prohibits prayers 3

Prayer 7, 9

Heaven does not speak 17

Confucius says little about the way of Heaven 5

The table shows that all the main characteristics except that of prayer appear to a greater or lesser extent both in the reliable and less reliable parts of the Analects. Confucius's personal attitude towards Heaven is well established in the reliable strata of the text.

The less genuine parts of the Analects are comparatively little concerned with developing the doctrines about Heaven. "To be known by Heaven" and heavenly providence and "Heaven has bereft me" are from the less reliable parts. The former is closely related to Confucius's call or task and the latter to wrong action evoking heavenly anger. These are well established also in the more reliable strata of the text.

The corresponding list about T'ien in Shu Ching, p. 223 of part I of the present study, shows that the Chou-ideology was well established in the early Chou documents. "Heavenly characteristics and functions which concern Chou in particular, its specific administration and its specific legitimization, such as Heaven's punitive actions against Chou, the doctrines regarding the mandate legitimizing Chou government and Heavenly democracy, are not distributed equally throughout Shu Ching, but are clearly recorded in the early strata. These characteristics may be the clearest innovation in Chou ideology as compared with the earlier tradition. They gradually disappeared later and the historically stronger more general features were left. This is just one theory, which may be confirmed or disproved by facts brought to light by further research on Chou thought."⁵⁷⁰

The Analects does not advocate Chou, which speaks about heavenly punishments used to correct the faulty regime. One would expect that there could be a certain correspondence between the Analects and the later parts of Shu Ching. The only such correspondence seems to be the above mentioned Chou ideology, which can be seen less in the later strata than in the earlier ones in Shu Ching and even less in the Analects.

If we compare the corresponding list of T'ien in Shih Ching⁵⁷¹ we can easily see that the latest section of Shih Ching, Kuo Feng, speaks very little about T'ien. However, this section mentions heavenly disfavor concerning an individual and an official's relation to Heaven. Both these topics appear in the Hsiao Ya section, but not in the earlier ones. As topics, these are rather important in the Analects as well: Confucius's own experiences of heavenly disfavor in the form of sickness and the death of Yen Hui and Confucius's personal relationship to Heaven through his identity linked with Heaven, especially receiving the virtue of Te and call or task of spreading his teaching.

The table does not show any other clear similarities between the topics in specific strata of the texts. Prayer in connection with Heaven, which in the Analects appears only in the more reliable parts, is situated in Shih Ching in other sections than in the most recent section of Kuo Feng.

⁵⁷⁰ NIKKILÄ 1982, p. 228.

⁵⁷¹ NIKKILÄ 1982, pp. 230,231.

c. T'ien of Confucius and of Shu Ching

In Shu Ching Heaven rewards a virtuous person and gives him the mandate to rule and to be the king. Heavenly favor means also grace and blessing, taking care of the well-being of the people. Heaven punishes by taking the mandate away from the king. A minister, too, could have a mandate to do his task. In the Analects the ideal kings of antiquity had a heavenly mandate, but for Confucius the heavenly favor was his mandate, the intellectual task and mission to spread his doctrines and his virtue, Te which protected him in danger. Heaven would not take the mandate away from him. Even when losing his office, Confucius was able to keep his mandate as a moral teacher. The purpose of his teaching was to consolidate the mandate of the king, the same task as that of a good minister in office. For the gentleman in the Analects the knowledge of his mandate helped him to succeed.

Confucius designed his doctrines, including his doctrine of the mandate, for the helpers and ministers of the ruler. However, for these the relationship with Heaven was not as important as for the ruler, Son of Heaven. Because of this, Confucius did not concentrate to any great extent on the divine or heavenly matters, although he took the existence and importance of transcendental entities as granted.

Shu Ching and the Analects regard Heaven as a preserving power which maintains the natural world, and in the case of the Analects, even the culture.

In Shu Ching the ethical basis of Te is that man must qualify in front of Heaven, but in the Analects these qualifications are knowledge and learning, which are to be developed and are thus consequently incomplete. Te cannot be based on man, as is the case in Shu Ching, but Heaven favors those people who want to learn.

For Confucius the loss of his favorite disciple was a heavenly severity, but he did not examine himself for a fault, as he would have done if he had been a follower of the strict Chou ideology of Shu Ching.

Confucius continued the secular trend of thought which can already be seen to a small extent in Shu Ching. He wanted to serve men more than Heaven. However, he continues the theme of Shu Ching that the ruler and Heaven use officials, and he is one of these with his personal mission. From this background he built an ideological basis for the rising shih-class.

In Shu Ching people are important in the heavenly democracy, according to which the people could exercise power over the king on the authority of Heaven. Confucius did not advocate democratic ideas in this context.

Confucius did not regard Heaven as an all-determining entity which leaves no space for human intellectual effort to solve the basic questions of the way of life and ethics. In Shu Ching the ethical behavior of the king and officials is always reflected to Heaven, to transcendence. Confucius freed ethics from the bondage of educative punishments from Heaven. He left a space free for an independent autonomous ethical agent, especially for himself as such an agent.

d. T'ien of Confucius and of Shih Ching

The Analects follows Shih Ching by emphasizing the ancient legendary kings and their Heavenly Mandate. Neither Confucius nor Shih Ching speak about Heaven removing the mandate in order to punish the unvirtuous king. Shih Ching speaks about good and bad officials, and criticizes the latter. Confucius has a similar polarity: Gentlemen, and Small men.

Confucius does not speak about Heaven as creator, as Shih Ching does, but according to both Heaven maintains the natural world.

The transcendental foundation of the virtue, Te, is not a Confucian invention, since it is apparent in Shih Ching. Here Confucius follows the Shih Ching but not Shu Ching.

Shih Ching connects learning with Heaven and virtue, but this is so small a step towards intellectualism that Confucius's teaching about learning and knowing cannot be regarded as repetitions of this, but as a Confucian innovation.

In Shih Ching Heaven favors the king, but in the Analects Heaven favors Confucius.

In Shih Ching inexplicable Heaven directs its severity towards individuals and collectives. This is an inclination towards determinism. The Confucian themes of despair and skepticism resemble this. However, since both given value to prayer, both also understand that one can influence the transcendental power by prayer, and the determinism is not whitewashed.

Heaven was equally important for Confucius's personal self awareness or identity as for many individuals mentioned in Shih Ching.

The following points connected with Heaven which are important in Shih Ching are absent from the Analects: the role of woman, the esteem of married life, the cosmological frame of reference, the uncertainty of keeping the mandate, the collective punishments of Heaven, the king as a connecting agent between transcendence and immanence.

Most of the Confucian ideas in connection with Heaven follow the traditional lines more or less. There was a certain intellectual climate which Confucius did not negate. In this climate Heaven was important, as it was for Confucius.

A new theme in the Analects in the context of Heaven is intellectualism. The ethical agent is autonomous, free to use his intellectual ability in morals and to adapt himself to whatever situations may arise. This attitude prepared an area for moral principles rather than lists of practical dos and don'ts. However, it is worth noting that the idea of general principles before practical more detailed application or description already exists in Shih Ching. For Confucius this was a philosophic stance which involves understanding the general principles, the great lines, first.

Confucius did not speak much about Heaven, but enough to show that Heaven was important for him and that his own identity was anchored in Heaven. In this sense he was a religious man, and intellectually he was a theologian. It was from this standpoint that he developed further a value theory, which is reflected in the ethical terms he uses.

e. T'ien of Confucius and of Lao Tzu

The statements about T'ien in Lao Tzu are vaguer and fewer and the meaning of the term is less definite than in the Analects.

Heaven in Taoism is a part of creation or nature and not a creative power like Tao or the mysterious female. In Confucius's thinking Heaven is a being upon whom Confucius is dependent.

The withdrawing attitude of the sage is an ethical polarity corresponding to the feminine root of heaven. Heaven and earth are neutral and act naturally, according to the virtue of non-contention, or refraining from unnatural action. Close to this is the idea of retiring, which can be found in Confucianism as well.

The Analects follows the questions about Heaven being positive or negative in its actions towards Confucius; Heaven providing a mandate; the historical perpetuity; a person having a personal relationship with Heaven; and Heaven being a supreme functioning subject. Lao Tzu does not follow this. In his cosmological hierarchy heaven is not supreme; it is subordinated under Tao. Heaven's attitude towards men is not discussed in detail, and the relationships between heaven and man in the past and present is not regarded as an important question. In place of these there is the T'ien Tao as a basis of moral and political actions, which is neutral and has no favorites. This is not discussed in depth the Analects.

Communication with Heaven both in the Analects and in Lao Tzu is little developed. In this, both have broken the traditional attitude expressed in Shu Ching.

In all, in Taoism Tao is the supreme and heaven is inferior with a small initial letter. This difference is not only conceptual, for, Tao represents an entirely different basis for everything that Heaven is in Confucius's teaching.

f. T'ien of Confucius and of Mo Tzu

Mo Tzu's methods differ from those of Confucius, who does not refer to such methods. Mo Tzu legitimates ethics through Heaven, and also the heavenly actions are human-centered, performed for the sake of the people. The motivation of ethics in Confucius is education centered, whereas Mo Tzu regards the virtues as coming from the transcendence.

In the attitude towards transcendence, Confucius regards Heaven as an independent unity, directly communicating with a human being. Mo Tzu has added to the transcendence the spirits, who are between man and heaven. The human being honors heaven, just as in Confucius, but does not have such a personal relationship towards Heaven. The human being according to Mo Tzu can communicate with the spirits instead.

Mo Tzu says much more about transcendence than Confucius, but he speaks about them as if they were everyday matters. Confucius seems to have adopted a more personal and meaningful relation to Heaven. He does not speak much about it, but feels that his personal identity depends heavily on Heaven.

2. Te, Virtue

a. Te of Confucius

The Te of the ruler is the universal regulating personal charismatic attribute of the king which helps him to govern in a non-coercive way, to exercise his traditional royal authority, and to unite the country, and to keep it in peace and harmony without propagating or without advertising his royal superiority. This Te is inherited from the past.

The Te of the people includes respecting the dead, the "middle use" and is rare among the people. Favor spoils it. Te of the "Small people" implies the obedience to superiors.

The Te of Confucius has come from Heaven. It has a divine, transcendent characteristic, but its influence is also immanent, since it is a protecting force against an enemy. Te requires activity, since it can be enlarged. However, Confucius had chosen not to cultivate it properly, but this did not nullify it. This personal Te of Confucius had two main elements which have some tension between each other: The rational or ethical Te which could be cultivated by personal effort and Te produced by Heaven, a mysterious protective force of Te which despite Confucius's personal negligence of the ethical Te, was active.

Te also has some general definite characteristics. Tao, Jen and the arts are to be recommended for a person who is Te or virtuous. Te as an object can be respected by having loyalty and good faith. Te also includes Pao and to perform things profoundly or to be attentive to hidden or not publicly seen parts of actions when doing them. Powerful words are compatible with Te, but not clever talk. Wealth does not mean that one is Te.

b. The Distribution of the Characteristics of Te in the Analects

Characteristic	Number of the book
Te of a Ruler	
"Pole star", ruling through inactivity	2
Te is more effective than law, harmony	2, 14
Te works as a uniting power	6, 12
The ideal of antiquity, humbleness	8
Te of Chou	8
Te of the People	
Te of the common people	1

- Te of common people and Middle Use 6
- The respect towards the dead 1
- To spoil the virtue 17

- Te of Confucius
- Confucius received Te from Heaven, Te as a protecting force 7
- The Agent's activity, cultivation of Te 19, 7
- Te of Confucius had dwindled, criticism 18

- The Definitive Characteristics of Te
- Tao, Jen, arts 7
- To venerate Te 12
- Loyalty and good faith 12, 12
- To esteem the deeds of ancient heroes 14
- Way of speaking 15, 17
- One should be genuine 17
- To have words is not necessarily Te 14
- Reciprocity 14
- To be wealthy is not necessarily Te 16
- Essential things must be done 13
- Latitude or flexibility is allowed in lesser matters 19

The table shows one quite clear statistical position of dependence: almost all the definitive characteristics appear in the less reliable parts of the text. This speaks against the conception that Confucius was a philosopher. In addition, the Te of a ruler and the people are concentrated mostly in the older parts of the Analects. The philosophically important notions about the administration of a state and the origins of virtue are in the more reliable parts of the text. This in turn strengthens the view that Confucius was a philosopher.

According to this result, the development of ideas after Confucius may have affected the definition of the term Te; especially its relations to other terms may have been formulated to a great extent after Confucius. When comparing Te with earlier traditions, the definitive characteristics of Confucian Te hardly can be regarded without question as genuine Confucian innovations. The possible Confucian innovations may be found in the Te of a ruler, of people and of Confucius, if at all.

The corresponding list of Te in Shu Ching⁵⁷² shows that the characteristics of Te are distributed quite evenly throughout Shu Ching. The definitive characteristics of Te, which in the Analects are concentrated to the later strata of the text, are almost non-existent in Shu Ching, the only exception being one identification of Te with Chi, reaching the highest point.⁵⁷³ This absence strengthens the conclusion drawn above.

The list of Te in Shih Ching⁵⁷⁴ shows the concentration of Te to be in the Ta Ya

⁵⁷² NIKKILÄ 1982, pp. 225,226.

⁵⁷³ NIKKILÄ 1982, p. 132.

⁵⁷⁴ NIKKILÄ 1982; pp. 231,232.

section. The definitive characteristics are absent. The only occurrence of Te and T'ien related to each other, Te as heavenly favor or grace, appears in the oldest Sung section. This provides an early parallel for the Confucian doctrine of Confucius's personal Te given to him by Heaven.

c. Te of Confucius and of Shu Ching

Although the Analects is more present-time oriented than Shu Ching, Confucius still shared the opinion that the good and ideal rulers of the golden past were essentially virtuous. Confucius includes humility in this retrospective Te, whereas in Shu Ching more points of view are included into it, such as its relation to harmony, as a principle in punishments, and to the notion of criticism. Aside from these qualitative features Te also has a quantitative dimension which is included in its protective effect. A similar protective effect is also in Confucius's personal Te, which is given to him by Heaven.

In both sources Te is a ruler's power and authority. Shu Ching has a milder and more severe way of exercising this authority. Confucius selected the milder way, a non-coercive method of governing. In his mind Te was an attractive and uniting power of the ruler who did not need to use compulsion when ruling.

Confucius combined the ethical qualities of Te with the divine ones. These characteristics can also be seen in the concept of Te in Shu Ching, especially in the Te of man pleasing Heaven in order to arouse Heavenly favor. Confucius's Te starts from Heaven and is exercised by man as a feedback to Heaven. "Gratia infusa" is followed by human response to Heaven; this response is the cultivation of virtue. Heaven as an originator of Te is not totally absent from Shu Ching: Heaven has adjusted or determined the virtue of the people. However, both sources are dissatisfied with the virtue of the people because its stability or reliability is problematic. However, Shu Ching values it as a good example to all, even to the rulers and officials.

In Shu Ching the people's Te refers to the goodwill between the ruler and the people. The Analects omits this but describes the ideal religious Te of the people: proper respect to the dead. As a contrast to this, Shu Ching connects the people's Te with their moderate material needs. The Te of Confucius, which is originated by Heaven, somewhat resembles the Te of the people in Shu Ching, because the latter is determined by Heaven. Here Confucius places himself closer to the people than to the king, whose virtue in Shu Ching was originally from the king himself. Another resemblance is that Confucius had left his Te untended and that therefore it had dwindled. This corresponds to the uncertain characteristic of the Te of the people in Shu Ching.

In Shu Ching and in the Analects the virtue of the people is less important than the virtue of the rulers.

Shu Ching related Te directly only to Chi, reaching to the highest point. The Analects show much richer lines of thought in this respect by giving definitive descriptions and by relating it to some other concepts, thus developing the term in a logical direction. Confucius developed the "Embryonic form of rationalist thought"⁵⁷⁵ of Shu Ching.

⁵⁷⁵ SHIGEZAWA 1961, pp. 79-82. NIKKILÄ 1982, pp. 132,133.

However, these definitive characteristics of Te are mostly found in the less reliable parts of the Analects.

It seems that Confucius's Te was quite close to the preceding tradition. If we look only at his concept of Te, Confucius can hardly be recognized as a philosopher compared with Shu Ching. However, he discussed Te without the framework of Chou ideology and had a more rationalistic element in Te.

d. Te of Confucius and of Shih Ching

Shih Ching refers to the Te of the ancient kings. Quantitatively these references are closer to the Analects than to Shu Ching.

The Confucian non-coercive method in governing resembles the Shih Ching tradition which does not speak directly about punishments in connection with Te, but regards taking care of the people, filiality and sacrifices and being a good model as important. However, in Shih Ching Te refers also to the reforms in law enforcement and the prevention of crime. This may indicate severer methods of dealing with crime.

Te is a uniting power in Shih Ching, not in government as in the Analects, but in the relation between husband and wife.

Both sources include reciprocity or paying back in Te.

Upon the change of the dynasty, God, Ti, transferred Te from Yin to Chou. This denotes the divine origin of Te in Shih Ching. The Analects is on similar lines, as we have seen above. But Shih Ching lets one understand, like Shu Ching, that the king needs Te in order to gain Heavenly blessing. Another detail which Shih Ching and the Analects have in common is that the Analects have Te of the people where the dead are respected. This aspect belongs to the royal Te in Shih Ching.

Shih Ching has some themes of Te which are not included in Te of the Analects. These themes are filiality and sacrifice, the importance of the external behavior of the king and the gentleman, Te in the relationship between man and woman, the Te of woman, the idea of not getting drunk. Shih Ching also expresses Te as a type of original virtue of man in connection with creation. In addition, the difficulty of gaining Te is mentioned.

In general, Shih Ching does not place Te into a strict ideological context. It apparently represents a more common usage of the term and uses it more freely than Shu Ching. The Analects follow this freedom. Shih Ching applies Te more widely and expresses several applications of Te which do not appear in the Analects. In the logical relations the Analects shows a more rational tendency, and more complex thinking about what is Te and what is not, showing a greater tendency toward philosophical thinking, and trying to formulate Te more clearly than in the common usage. However, the difference is so small that Te cannot be regarded as a central term for Confucius's philosophy and as a term in which the possible Confucian innovative teaching is concentrated. We should also note again that the rationalism of Te appears mostly in the less reliable parts of the Analects.

If Te were to be accepted as a central concern of Confucian philosophy, then Shih

Ching should also be regarded as a philosophical work, at least to some extent. However, Te in Confucius can contain parts of his philosophy if the main thrust of his philosophy is elsewhere and shows greater independent formation of thinking compared with the traditions in Shu Ching and Shih Ching.

If we try to identify Confucius as a philosopher using only Te, and comparing this concept in Confucius and in Shih Ching, we cannot find a philosopher, but rather a traditional thinker who may have changed Te towards a somewhat more rational direction.

e. Te of Confucius and of Lao Tzu

In Lao Tzu, Tao, in the ontological sense is superior to the sustaining or preserving force of Te. Moreover in the ethical sense, which is not clearly separated from the ontological sense, Tao is primary to Te. Te can be obtained through Tao. The constant virtue is to find a balance between two opposite phenomena. Te can be obtained by treating as good those who are good and also those who are not good. The ideal of Te is to return to being a baby, to the state in which one is protected against dangers and suffering and will have strength and harmony.

Confucius's Te as a protective power originated from Heaven, resembles this Taoist conception. However, Confucius's Te is more ethical than in Taoism.

Taoism related Te to non-action. Sensual perception is against the virtue of emptiness. When one succeeds in becoming free from knowing and desire, one returns to the original Te of life. In the Analects the Te of the ruler resembles the Taoist conception of non-action. However, for Confucius Te is an area of activity, but to neglect its cultivation does not make it ineffective. Confucius hovers between two philosophical attitudes, Te which depends on human effort and transcendental Te which depends on Heaven and in Taoism on Tao.

In terms of the history of ideas the heavenly origin of Confucius's Te is not rooted back in the Shih Ching tradition, even though Te as grace in Shih Ching is from Heaven. However, the transcendental characteristic of Confucian Te is closer to that of Taoism than of the Shih Ching tradition. Apparently Confucius adapted these characteristics of the traditions close to Taoism.

In the ethical Te, Taoism teaches that malice should be repaid by Te, but Confucius criticizes this by asking how one can repay good deeds. However, this can be understood as a Taoist method of persuasion.

In Confucianism and Taoism Te appears as a substitute for law and as a coercive power to rule the country. However, in the Analects the Te of a ruler is more emphatic than in the Tao Te Ching. Te in governing according to Lao Tzu is mysterious, sustaining and nurturing and demanding nothing in return. This Te, which functions in the ruling of the empire, is close to the Tao which is called a mother.

Compared with Taoism, the Confucian Te is more practical and more "ethical". The Analects list certain kinds of ethical actions which are included in Te, Lao Tzu leaves these out and only concentrates on the more ontological and "great" features of Te.

f. Te of Confucius and of Mo Tzu

For Mo Tzu and Confucius, Te is an important quality of the ruler, it constitutes his power over the ruled. Mohism applies Te more closely to the ideal antiquity. For Mo Tzu it is the ruler's given characteristic, but Confucius defines it in a more sophisticated manner. Both mention the term in connection with peace, but Mo Tzu is clearer in this respect.

The social aspect of the term can be seen in both. In Confucius Te does not dwell in solitude, but brings neighbors. Te is static and an end in itself. One has Te and neighbors, and it is good as such. Mo Tzu is not satisfied with this. In his thought the king uses the Te of others. This royal team-work aspect is absent from Confucius's thinking.

Both connect Te with a dynasty. Mo Tzu is closer to the Chou ideology, legitimatizing a good, virtuous new dynasty to overcome the old.

For Mo Tzu the virtuous people are a resource for the king to use; Confucius does not have such an instrumental overtone.

Mo Tzu does not consider the definitive characteristics of Te, but regards Te more as a given and unproblematic concept which is generally understood. For Confucius it is important to define Te as an ethical concept, to discover what belongs to it and what does not. In this way Confucius is more "philosophical" because he sees problems in Te to be solved. Te in Mo Tzu's works is not a specific technical carrier of Mohist ideas and not a key term as it is in the Confucian Analects.

3. Tao, Way

a. Tao of Confucius

"General Tao" of Confucius is defined in relation to other Confucian ideas and concepts. This Tao of the ancients is a model for the contemporary people. A filial son continues his father's Tao without changing it. These retrospective features of Tao reflect its continuity and conservatism. There is a tension between Tao and the will of a man who desires high station and dislikes poverty. One must have a total commitment to Te and Tao. Tao has an ethical connotation in connection with Te, Jen and the 'arts' and especially with 'loyalty and consideration'.

Tao involves being loyal to superiors and keeping one's position on the one hand, and following the "Golden rule" on the other. These two together are the ideal standard which is to be the guiding and controlling factor in moral experience, exposing the center of the Confucian system, and being the very nature of Confucian Tao.

Tao also expresses intimacy in the social process.

Tao is closely related with man, it is rooted in man. It is the entity which grows out of man's activities and is the harmonizing subject of his person and will. Its function is the ennoblement of one's person and self and will to act in accordance with Tao. One's own activity is needed in order to broaden Tao.

Confucius's Tao is the only right Tao, to be distinguished from other Taos. However, one may have an exchange of ideas with the supporters of other Taos to a certain extent. Confucian Tao is of the utmost importance. It is the goal of life; one is ready to die after being told about the way.

"Universal Tao" is Tao which prevails in the country or in the whole empire. It means that everything in the governmental administration functions harmoniously and well. Every official has his own task to perform. The riches must not be accepted against Tao, when Tao does not prevail. To accomplish great tasks is far more important than short-sighted small gains. When Tao prevails, Confucius's ideas are welcomed.

"Tao of ruling" is a principle of government administration used by kings and ministers. The old kings gave an excellent example of Tao of ruling. This Tao requires one to rule by using Te and Li. Those who do not have Tao must not be killed by the ruler. But an officer or minister should retire if he is not allowed to exercise his principles of ruling.

"Tao of the gentleman" is acquired through learning and by association with those who already have it. Tao grows in attending to the root, which refers to filiality and obedience. Tao is the most important thing for a gentleman, and not the material amenities. Modesty in appearance is an essential part of this Tao, but it is not the only sufficient requirement.

A gentleman who has Tao has no worries about the future, is decisive, reverent to superiors, generous in caring for the common people, just in employing their services, not violent, trustful in appearance, not boorish or unreasonable in speech.

A gentleman loves his fellow men, and the small man is easy to command. The gentleman is pleased when he is served according to the Way. The small man is his opposite in this respect.

Tao of an officer or shih also entails modesty and the heaviness of his duty.

b. The Distribution of the Characteristics of Tao in the Analects

Characteristic	Number of the book
General Tao	
Antiquity	1, 3, 15
Filiality	1, 4, 19
Wealth and poverty	4
Yi helps one to extend Tao	16
Te, Jen, arts	7
Loyalty and consideration, reciprocity	4
Degree of intimacy in the social process	9
Man broadens Tao	15
Intercourse between people	16, 15
Tao for Confucius, other Taos	6
Tao and death	4

Universal Tao
Heaven determines whether Tao prevails 14
The authority of the emperor 16
Tao not prevailing, Confucius as "Wooden bell" 3
Tao, holding office or quitting 8, 5, 14, 15
Tao prevailing and the personal economy 8, 4, 13
Near to being attained 6

Tao of ruling
Building a state 1, 2
A king must not kill those who do not have Tao 12
The duke may not have a Tao 14
The ideal of the kings of antiquity 1, 19, 3,
The officer retires if it is not possible to serve the lord according to Tao. 11, 5, 5.

Tao of the gentlemen
Perfection through learning 19
A good example 1
Filiality 1
"Small Tao" 19
Tao is the most important thing in life 15, 14
Enumeration of characteristics of Tao 14, 5, 8
Studying Tao and loving 17
To please the gentleman by following Tao, to please the small man by not following
Tao 13
Knight and Tao, benevolence is a burden 4, 8
Tao of a judge 18
Tao meaning an ordinary road 9, 17
Way of doing something 15
Lead or to guide 19

The table shows that none of the main topics of Tao is concentrated in a specific part of the Analects. However, the idea of actively promoting or developing one's own Tao is located in the less genuine parts of the Analects. The topics related to this idea are: Yi helps one to extend Tao; man broadens Tao; the gentleman perfects his Tao through learning. These located in the following chapters: 16, 15, 19. This shows slightly that one's own learning activity in connection with Tao has been emphasized by the early Confucians more than by Confucius himself.

Tao in Shu Ching appears mostly in the old strata of the text and in Shih Ching the weight is on the later parts.⁵⁷⁶ Taking into account the relatively few occurrences of the term in Shu Ching and Shih Ching, no clear statistical relationships between the characteristics in the different strata of the text and in the Analects can be seen in the lists.

⁵⁷⁶ NIKKILÄ 1982, pp. 226,232.

c. Tao of Confucius and of Shu Ching

The conception of Tao in both sources has a transcendental dimension. Confucius developed this universal Tao further by discussing whether it prevails or not and what the implications are for those responsible for governing.

Shu Ching and the Analects place Tao in a retrospective environment. In Tao of ruling both sources are conservative, regarding the continuation of tradition as important. The Analects develop the notion further by stating that the old kings ruled by goodness and not by force. Here Confucius has a principle of automatic control in government and automatic improvement of the ethical behavior of the people. To some extent this grows from the idea in Shu Ching which speaks about the smooth and easy king's Tao, which is objective and non partial, and stimulates men to follow it.

Tao of the Gentleman in the Analects can be compared with Tao of Chou Kung, which was to prolong or continue the "serene King's virtue" in Shu Ching. In the place of this retrospective motive, Confucius regards the correct way as being learning and following the example of those who possess Tao, and not being too much concerned about personal economy. In addition, the Analects lists different characteristics of the Tao of the gentleman.

In Shu Ching Tao was transmitted to the highest levels of governmental administration. This is natural because Shu Ching reflects the official Chou propaganda of the Chou ruling class. The Analects brings Tao down to a lower level of administration.

Tao of ruling in the Analects is more advanced than in Shu Ching. Its relations to Te and Li, its legal usage and the idea of retiring are all new. Although Tao in Shu Ching is less developed, one still finds there a concrete and a more abstract Tao. The Analects has developed its abstract meaning, although it uses the term also to mean an ordinary road.

d. Tao of Confucius and of Shih Ching

The main meaning of Tao in Shih Ching is the ordinary road. In the Analects the term appears in this sense in two occurrences.

Tao in Shih Ching does not bear any special rationalistic or ideological connotation.

The comparison shows that of the earlier traditions, it is Shu Ching which shares some common ground with the Analects. Shih Ching speaks mostly about a concrete road, whereas Shu Ching speaks about Tao at a higher level of abstraction. Confucius has used this higher level of abstraction by applying Tao in several usages and giving some definitive attributes for it. However, Confucius's thought cannot be described as a Tao philosophy, which would center on Tao. This is so even though Tao touches the core of Confucian thinking.

e. Tao of Confucius and of Lao Tzu

Lao Tzu has very little to say about what ethical areas belong to Tao, whereas the Analects spend some time on the ethical characteristics of Tao. Rather, Tao is not a concept which could first be analyzed into elements and then put back together to form a Tao. For Lao Tzu Tao is a wide, vague, all embracing concept, a monistic unity. It should be conceived of as a whole and not as certain parts.

In Taoism we cannot speak about ethics as such, but we can speak about ethics as Tao, connected with ontology. When one acts naturally according to Tao, one does not follow Tao as an imitator, but one is in Tao. If ethics were something like virtues which could be learned and performed, this would, according to Taoism, be outside Tao. For Confucius ethics is a value in itself. Pure goodness is a sufficient motive to be good. However, for Lao Tzu ethics is an anti-value, anti Tao. Ethics, morals, is valueless as such. The only value is Tao, which is more the natural course of everything that happens and is.

Learning is important for the Confucian ethics, whereas Lao Tzu does not value it at all. In addition, virtues such as benevolence and rectitude, and even the rites are not Tao. This criticism includes two things. Firstly, Tao is not something to be learned and to be divided into rules of action or behavior. Secondly, learning, creating ethical rules and attempting to follow certain principles strenuously is unnatural and against Tao.

In contrast with this general stance in opposition to Confucianism, Lao Tzu does have one remarkable thing in common with Confucianism. This is Tao used in ruling and honoring the ancients. According to both philosophies, the modest and simple style of life is suitable for the ruler. One may suggest that this is the Confucian fingerprint in Tao Te Ching. However, one should consider that in Shih Ching the abstraction of the concept Tao was highest in connection with the ruling of the country. Tao in this connection, including honoring the ancients, does not necessarily need to be a Confucian trademark, it may possibly be from an older common source, which both Confucianism and Taoism have adopted into their own system. Moreover, in this context both have their specific points of view. The Analects include in this the Rites whereas Tao Te Ching stresses pacifism.

Lao Tzu avoided using Tao in the meaning of ordinary road, way of doing and to lead, to guide. The usage of Tao is thus strictly confined to its monistic meaning.

f. Tao of Confucius and of Mo Tzu

The Mohist Tao is commensurate with that of Confucian Tao. Both regard the ancient mythical kings as a good example for Tao in the present day. Both see filiality as important. Material well being is an important motive in Mohist Tao, but not in the Confucian Tao. Mo Tzu regards Tao as given, or generally understood, without seeing problems in it. Confucius is more rational, because he sees problems to be discussed in Tao. Confucius is quite exclusive. There are other Taos, but the Confucian Tao is the only right one. For both Confucius and Mo Tzu Tao is important.

In the universal Tao, Tao prevails if the emperor has the authority, in Confucius's opinion. A similar idea is to be found in Mo Tzu when he speaks about identification with the superior, according to which the Tao of the ruler follows Heaven, and the Tao of the lower administrators is identified with that of the emperor. The attitude to this universal Tao differs. When Tao prevails in the empire, both see that it is worthwhile to serve. When Tao does not prevail, Confucius wants to withdraw and keep silent. In this situation Mo Tzu is more aggressive. He wants to serve and will not keep quiet, hoping that this will help the Tao to start to prevail again.

In the Tao of ruling, both see the economy as important, but Mo Tzu is more utilitarian. In Confucius's opinion Te and Li are important. Mo Tzu wants to see punishments and encouragements as important in the Tao of ruling.

In the Tao of the gentleman, Confucius regards it as being important never to worry. Mo Tzu wants to teach that feelings must not overrule ethical considerations. Confucius continually emphasizes the importance of Li, whereas Mo Tzu overlooks this almost totally.

Mo Tzu is more critical than Confucius, criticizing Confucianism and his time, whereas Confucius pays more attention to presenting his ideas without reflecting them to some other traditions of thought than his own. However, Mo Tzu is less philosophical and more ideological, because he does not see so many problems in his own ideas as Confucius does.

4. Li, Rites

a. Li of Confucius

The materials show that Li falls into several classes. First it is an instrument in governing the people and as such performs the task of the law. Li is necessary in government. Li is important for the ruler personally. Li of the gentleman has a socially uniting influence. The gentleman knows Li and has to study Li.

In Li one has to be economical, Li was not a strict formal law, a certain latitude was allowed by Confucius. Confucius evaluated the different aspects of Li, such as tradition, being pragmatically economical and sentimental, and selected the most valuable factors and allowed changes in the formal realization of Li in order to promote more important and essential elements of Li. Here Confucius had a choice in the realm of Li. This can be called a rational philosophy of Li.

Ritual and music are important for an ideal moral agent. Due ordering of Li and music serve utilitarian considerations through hedonism. They serve as a coercive power and have a deeper inner content than the outer appearance. Music, too, has been evaluated as higher than Li in the development of a man.

Li and music contribute towards harmony in society and nature, the society being more emphatic.

Li is directly related to Yi, which is a kind of inner element of Li and Tao are related to each other only collocatively, and Jen and Li three times directly.

This summary shows that Li reflects certain philosophical phenomena in Confucian thinking. Li is instrumental in governing the country. The instrument can be obtained by human effort; it does not grow itself, but it must be learned.

Different characteristics of Li can be evaluated and can be placed in a certain rank order. These different characteristics and their influence form a network of effects on different matters. Confucius has to choose certain elements which he thinks are more valuable than other elements of Li.

The philosophy of Li also includes an element of ethical gradation: Li is a characteristic of an ideal ethical agent. Its relation to Music is also discussed. Li also has an inner content and external appearance; there is another choice to make between these.

In this philosophy there are mainly two matters which provide general principles concerning Li: the choice between different characteristics of Li and the philosophy of inner and outer in Li.

b. The Distribution of the Characteristics of Li in the Analects

Characteristic	Number of the book
Li in Governing	
Legitimation of Li as an instrument in governing	4
Li in the task of law, Te, music	2, 13, 15
The necessity of Li in governing	15
Tao and Li	16
Employment of ministers must be according to Li	3
Li of the Ruler and Gentleman	
The necessity of Li for the ruler	12, 14, 4
Gentleman, Li and Yi	15
Li unites, deeds do not suffice without Li	12, 17
To know Li, to study, the Songs, culture	7, 3, 16, 20, 6, 8, 8, 1
Li and choice	
Economy	9, 3
The importance of the inner meaning of Li	3
Evaluating and selecting different factors of Li	3
Li and Historical Continuity	
Traditional Chou pronunciation used in Li	7
Dynasties, rectification of names and Li of Chou	2, 3, 3
Historic continuity and religious ceremonies	3
Alleged "agnosticism"	11
Ancestors	3
Reverence	3, 10

Treatment of parents, mourning 2, 17

Li, Music and Harmony

Li and music, assimilation 3

Li and music should be studied 11

They belong to a "real gentleman" 11

Rites and music as an aesthetic element in morality 14

Li, music produce pleasure for the purpose of profitability 16

Li and music as a corrective power 13

Li and music have a deeper content than just the outer appearance 17

Music in a higher position than Li 8

Harmony, and Li 1

"Inner" reverence 17

Li and Other Key Terms

Yi is the inner element of Li 15

Relation to Tao only collocatively 16, 6

Li and Jen 3, 12, 15

The table does not show a clear concentration of characteristics of Li in certain parts of the Analects, except that book 3 has a great deal to say about Li. The relationship of Li with other concepts is weighted more to the less authentic parts of the Analects. However, the rationalistic sophistication is well rooted in the most reliable parts of the Analects. The legitimation of Li, studying of Li, Li and choice, relation to music and harmony are well established in the most reliable parts of the Analects. This philosophic sophistication can be regarded as genuinely Confucian. However, it is safer to regard his "agnosticism" as unreliable as far as it is based on AN. 11:11.

In the less reliable parts of the Analects the ideas of 'inner' and 'outer' have been further developed compared with the more reliable parts, the clearest passage being AN. 17,11 and 12. However, this idea can be detected in connection with Li already in AN. 3:4.

A great part of the rationalistic development of the genuine Confucian thought can be called Li-philosophy, described in the summary at the end of the chapter about Li.

The table of Li in Shu Ching with its not very many occurrences shows a concentration in less reliable documents with the exception of the characteristic "Chous using Yin rites."⁵⁷⁷ Here we can see a starting point for the Confucian doctrine of Li and historical continuity, unless even this is a later Confucian reflection in the documents.

The table of Li in Shih Ching shows even fewer occurrences than above, with no concentration in specific parts of the Odes.⁵⁷⁸ It is not possible to make any statistical conclusions about the characteristics of the term.

⁵⁷⁷ NIKKILÄ 1982, pp. 226,227.

⁵⁷⁸ NIKKILÄ 1982, p. 232.

c. Li of Confucius and of Shu Ching

Li in Shu Ching and in the Analects share the following similar topics: it is important in the governmental affairs, it has been related to Te. Li is historical: Li of Yin is mentioned. This historical Li is connected with the harmonious function of the universe; more clearly in the Analects. The rites and music are related to each other. The Analects is more "ritualistic" because it describes more how to perform Li and what the right attitude towards Li is.

In the Analects Li is important for the ruler and personally but in Shu Ching Li is outside of the person to be 'directed' especially on certain occasions, such as sacrifice according to the rites of Yin. The Analects have widened Li to concern the everyday behavior of the gentleman. Because of this wider application of Li certain problems in economy and practical inconveniences arose, if one wanted to perform the rites strictly. Because of this, Confucius had to consider which elements of Li were essential and in what way one has to take economy into account. This led Confucius to choose between different more or less important characteristics of Li. He had to solve these problems and to develop philosophical thought about utility, economy and choice.

In Shu Ching, the king performed important rites on special occasions to guarantee the frictionless functioning of the universe. In this way the king exercised his power obtained from Heaven. The Analects loosened Li from this original 'higher' cosmological context between the king and Heaven, to the 'lower' level of the ruler and ministers governing the people. In this context Li has the role of law.

Shu Ching relates rites and music with each other by mentioning two different ministers, the minister of rites and the minister of music. For Confucius every minister should be a minister of Li. He puts rites and music into the same category and develops their functions further. He handles the questions of hedonism, profitability, utilitarianism, the purpose of music and the rites, their mutual relationships and their inner qualities. These issues are new compared with Shu Ching.

Shu Ching handles the concept Li in an unproblematic way, without discussing its closer characteristics. Li for Confucius was not a given, strictly defined thing, it was a practice which included problems and could be modified according to different requirements. This led to rational thinking about Li.

d. Li of Confucius and of Shih Ching

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

In Shih Ching Li means sacrifices and ceremonies performed to one's ancestors.

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

Compared with Shu Ching, Li has a wider usage in Shih Ching, which is similar to that in the Analects.

e. Philosophy of Li

Confucius constructed a new system of thought connected with Li, a way of rational thinking, which considers the practical situation, allows criticism and a certain flexibility to the traditional rules, takes the question of choice seriously by selecting between traditional, pragmatic, economic, utilitarian and sentimental considerations. This rational method connected with continuous learning is simple and to a large extent self evident. However, it is important against its background, where no such attitude and thinking can be found. It is a step away from given rules and beliefs to an independent thinking which does not necessarily follow the traditional beliefs. As this is connected with Li, this can be called a Confucian philosophy of Li.

f. Li of Confucius and of Lao Tzu

Because Li has so few appearances in Tao Te Ching and because Lao Tzu opposes the whole idea of Li, and does not even want to understand it, Li is by no means a central term in Lao Tzu's thinking. In his gradation of the Confucian ethical key terms Li appears on the very lowest level. In Confucian thinking Li is placed together with harmony, but in Lao Tzu Li contributes to disorder. It is noteworthy that although Lao Tzu opposed Li, he did not simply concentrate on apology of his own doctrines compared with Confucianism. Mostly he proclaimed his own ideas and only to some extent did he relate them to the ideas of other schools.

g. Li of Confucius and of Mo Tzu

Mo Tzu regarded Li governing the relationships between the male members of the family as important. The absence of this Li is a part of the general disorder in the whole society. However, Li does not form a constructive part in the system of Mo Tzu. It mainly appears in the criticism of Confucianism, which in Mo Tzu's opinion is too

"ritualistic". According to Mo Tzu the Confucian Li contributes nothing to the needs of society.

Mo Tzu wants to oppose, on the grounds of economy, the strong Confucian emphasis on decorum and minute rules of how to behave in certain situations of everyday life. This criticism does not try to understand the Confucian attitude towards Li, but simply ignores the Confucian discussion about economy.

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

4. Yi, Righteousness

a. Yi of Confucius

The gentleman is the main agent of Yi. He is neutral in his emotional attitudes to other people. The ethical environment is important for Yi. If the circumstances do not allow one to realize Yi, then the circumstances should be changed to make it positive for Yi. For Confucius, the ethical principles, axioms, axiology is far more important than deontology, the tasks required by one's station and duties. Confucius prefers to solve this dilemma by leaving the duties, by resigning the office.

The gentleman uses Yi when he deals with the people. One aspect of Yi is to be trustworthy in word. In this way Yi gives authority to the gentleman, and awakens respect for him in others.

The Gentleman should not refuse to serve his country. To accept remuneration against Yi is strictly prohibited: however, some reward is allowed if it can be according to Yi. The normative Yi suggests here that the rewards should be refused and the variable conditioned Yi suggests that one can accept the rewards under certain conditions. The agent of Yi can be a utilitarian egoist if this attitude does not change the reply to the question: "What ought I to do?" The Confucian attitude is a balanced neutralism with an egoistic overtone. One can accept profit to oneself, if this does not harm others.

Confucius regards the "small shrewdness" as the opposite of Yi. Yi relates to Tao as an instrument to extend the influence of the Way, Tao. To be influential in governing the country, one has to love Yi and to examine other men's words. It is courageous to carry out Yi when one sees it. This courage is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for Jen. Li is the method of realizing or carrying out Yi.

b. The Distribution of the Characteristics of Yi in the Analects

Characteristic	Number of the book
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Yi and the Gentleman	
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Yi is important for the Gentleman	17
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Courage and Yi	2
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The rarity of Yi 7
Gentleman is neutral 4
The environment is important 12, 18
Yi and Li 15
The gentleman treats the people with Yi 5, 6, 13
Yi includes trustworthiness in word 1
One does not refuse to serve one's country 18

Yi and profit
Profit, Gentleman, the small man 4
Gentleman and profit, Confucius and profit 19, 16, 7
Kung-ming Chia, an ideal person in this 14

Yi and other concepts
"Small shrewdness" and Yi 15
Yi as an instrument to extend Tao 16
Yi as an instrument to be influential 12
Yi, courage and Goodness 2
Yi and Li 15

The instrumental Yi and mainly the topics of profit and Yi and the environment and Yi appear in the less authentic parts of the Analects. The early Confucianism after Confucius may have developed the term in these directions.

The list of Yi in Shu Ching does not show a clear statistical concentration. However, the features of "Prince follows the Yi of the king", in less reliable parts and "Advisors of the king are Yi" in the reliable Western Chou documents⁵⁷⁹ resemble the Yi of the Gentleman in the Analects. Yi in Shih Ching, appearing only three times in the Ta Ya section shows that it was not an important term in the tradition of Shih Ching. Because of this, Confucius could not base his conception of the term on Shih Ching.

c. Yi of Confucius, of Shu Ching and of Shih Ching

Yi in Shu Ching appears in the Chou religio-ideological context, whereas in the Analects the term is discussed in a more philosophical framework. In this framework the Analects raise the issues of ethical neutrality, the environment, utility and the flexibility of Yi in new circumstances. Although Yi in Shu Ching has more ethical agents than in the Analects, it is more sophisticated in the Analects than in Shu Ching, which really does not take up almost any issues of moral value theory.

Confucius's conception of Yi resembles Shu Ching more than Shih Ching, where it is very rare. It reflects Confucian ethical thinking as a part of his philosophy. In this respect the term is mostly an innovation compared with Shu Ching and Shih Ching.

⁵⁷⁹ NIKKILÄ 1982, p. 227.

d. Yi of Confucius, of Lao Tzu and of Mo Tzu

Lao Tzu did not respect the Confucian Yi. He regarded righteousness as a weak substitute for Tao. In the scale of evaluation of the Confucian ethical terms, Yi is before Li, which is last in the scale. Yi is outside of the philosophy of Lao Tzu.

Both Confucius and Mo Tzu, regard Yi as an important characteristic of the gentleman. In both Yi is a preservative of the order in the society. Also both regard Yi as including the idea of impartiality. However, Mo Tzu criticizes the gentlemen of his time and is not satisfied with simply presenting some ideal concept of Yi. Mo Tzu does not relate Yi to Li, as Confucius does. Both also agree that accepting rewards, or material profit are not acceptable according to Yi. Confucius who had to face this problem more seriously, allows one to accept rewards according to Yi.

For Mo Tzu Yi is quite central, but it serves his favorite doctrines. This instrumental Yi can also be seen in Confucius's teaching, when he puts the term to the service of Tao or to the service of getting influence and prominence in order to gain office. Of these six Confucian key-terms, Yi is closely related by Mo Tzu especially to T'ien, Heaven and also to Jen. Confucius related Yi especially to Li, Rites and Tao, Way, and Jen, Goodness.

As in the other concepts too, Mo Tzu is more "religious" minded, because Yi is strongly related to Heaven and also to spirits to a certain extent whereas Confucius is more rational.

Confucius has a psychological insight when he stresses the importance of the environment to the gentleman. Mo Tzu does not take up the issue in this context.

6. Jen, Goodness

a. Jen of Confucius

Since the Small man is not an agent of Jen, but the Gentleman can be, the difference between the gentleman and small man is ethical. For the knight, Jen is an important ideal to be struggled for. The common people as Jen show that Jen is not limited only to the nobility. Those in the past who were ready to suffer for noble reasons were regarded as Jen, but martyrdom was not a necessary condition for Jen. Here Confucius approaches situation ethics, which was needed in the political changes taking place during Confucius's lifetime. Confucius did not regard himself as Jen, nor any other living person, except his favorite disciple Hui whom he as a master had led to this standard. Jen was not an extreme ideal principle, since it could be attained by Hui.

The attitude to one's parents that is connected with Jen means that one is filial and fraternal and takes care of the obligation to keep the mourning period for one's parents and by this gratitude return the services to them. When one shows good personal morality in honoring one's parents, this will create a good social morality.

Li and Jen are regarded as being very close to each other. Despite this, Li is a

necessary but not a sufficient condition for Jen. When one pays close attention to the inner qualities of Li, then Li and Jen are in balance. A further connotation of Jen with another concept is that one is 'loath to speak', because it is so difficult to be Jen. The most often quoted connotation is that Jen is 'to love your fellow men'. Ethics and politics are interwoven with each other; a good ruler loves men. To promote oneself, one has to promote others. This egoistic attitude of the ruler is for the good of the ruler and the ruled. The "golden rule" means negatively to avoid harming others and positively helping others in the sense mentioned above. No wonder that Confucius speaks about wisdom with Jen. This shows that Jen in essence is wisely calculated egoistically motivated altruism directed towards the good of the ethical agent and towards the good of the object of the ethical behavior.

As an inclusive virtue, Jen includes qualities like lustlessness, resoluteness, simplicity, reticence, good manners in the broadest sense, good faith, diligence and clemency. In the context of governing, especially governing the barbarians, Jen means that the ruler has to honor them as human beings who in time can become Chinese. Other inclusions illustrate that good and positive qualities are part of the content of Jen. In relation to wisdom Jen is traditional, conservative emphasizing the continuity of the ideal past. Here is a link with the Chou ideology. To be wise is to be more active and innovative. Jen also includes negative matters, such as faults. These faults tend to be an overworking of virtue, or faults attributable to virtue. Moreover, a certain latitude is allowed in Jen, and the result of a course of action is important. Some defects do not contribute to whether someone is Jen or not, such a defect is to be a poor talker for example. There are good qualities which do not necessarily earn one the quality of Jen. Although latitude in Jen is allowed, the end does not justify the means: clever talk and a pretentious manner are seldom found in the Good. Outer appearances are unimportant in Jen. Anxiety and to have an ability and not to use it are excluded from Jen.

The correct attitude of a gentleman to Jen is to value it. In this he is a good example to his inferiors. For the "determined scholar" Jen is more important than life itself. Life serves Jen. Jen is of ultimate value. This is the correct principle, but in practice there have been no martyrs because of loyalty to Jen. Jen appears very seldom because the people cannot strive for it and do not even want to strive for it. Concerning the attitude to Jen, Confucius admonishes us to lean upon Goodness and to seek the intimacy of the Good, among other things. This shows that the exercise of one's own will in Jen is important. The wrong attitude to Jen is to "assure the appearance of Jen" but to oppose it by one's actions.

Jen can be used as an instrument in order to gain fame, prosperity, or benefit, but these usages of Jen are wrong. However, Jen can be used as an instrument in order to be able to endure adversity and to enjoy prosperity.

Jen may imply some negative consequences; it is a burden for the knight of the way. The Good can endure great sufferings without rebelling. Jen includes the idea of loyalty, and suffering.

Positive consequences are: courage, never being unhappy, being free from anxieties and from evil, "Goodness gives to a neighborhood its beauty," "The Good man rests content with Goodness." Here Goodness is an end in itself. The good one can like and

dislike other men. This antipathy toward the wicked does not imply that a Good person is evil, on the contrary, through this antipathy he motivates the wicked to become better.

In obtaining Jen one must do the difficult first, but this is not enough. Learning is the best way of getting Jen. The student must be well motivated to learn. The goal of the teacher is to lead the student to a higher level than himself. Education is not a mechanistic determinism, but rather the students contribute to the educational encounter. The social environment is important for obtaining Jen. To become Jen one has to seek the company of suitable people and to avoid those whose attitudes do not promote Jen. Here the gentleman has the responsibility as a leader in the social contacts. The goodness of the gentleman incites the common people to Jen. A Kingly Man would cause Jen to prevail within a single generation. The ruler should submit himself to Li and then all would respond to his Jen. The Ruler is a good example for the people to emulate. In this way Jen is the uniting bond of the empire.

Generally, Jen is difficult to achieve, including an elaborate process of teaching and learning and requiring the influence of a good social environment and good rulers. In this process one has to wish for or seek Jen. For example "sought Jen and got Jen" sounds easy, but it refers to the whole process of obtaining Jen.

The "golden rule" reflects Jen in practice. Good behavior is followed; it spreads. In practice the Good man acts according to common sense. Certain rules normally belonging to Jen must not be followed if the consequence or result is harmful. Here the ethical agent has to assess different results and to choose the best way of action in the ethical dilemma. Thus, in history, the opposers of the last Yin-tyrant were regarded as Jen. Confucius valued profit least, fate more and Goodness most.

b. The Distribution of the Characteristics of Jen in the Analects

Characteristic	Number of the book
Ethical agents of Jen	
The Good one	4, 6, 9, 14,
The relationship between a Gentleman and the Good one	14
Knight, Jen is a matter of struggle and highly important	8, 15
Common people	8
Historical persons	18,
Confucius did not know whether certain persons were Jen, they hardly were	5, 5,
Hui was Jen	6
Confucius himself was not Jen	7
Identification of Jen with other Concepts	
Attitude towards parents; paying back their services	17, 1
Li	12

Li is not a sufficient condition for Jen 5
Jen is necessary for Li 3, 3
Loath to speak 12
Love 12
Reciprocity, "golden rule", negative 12
and positive 6

The Inclusive and exclusive Jen

Positive things 13, 17, 13, 6
Good is brave, brave is not necessarily Good 14
Relationship between the wise and the Good 6
Faults are allowed in Jen 4, 5
Difficult things are done, but still the epithet Jen is withheld. 5, 5
Clever talk and a pretentious manner are mostly excluded from Jen 1, 17
Not to use one's ability is excluded 17
Anxiety and unhappiness are excluded 9

Attitude towards Jen

A Gentleman values Jen 4
Jen is the ultimate value 15
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This list shows that Confucian discursive thinking in connection with the ethical agents, i.e. whether someone is Jen or not, appears in the genuine parts of the Analects. This discussion in connection with the agents was not developed any further in the later strata.

The important ethical rationalizations, the relationships between Jen and Li and also the "Golden rule" in a positive form appear in the authentic parts of the Analects. This is the locus, where Confucius started rational ethics or value theory on Chinese soil. This theory is continued by considering which things are included in or excluded from Jen. The question of necessary conditions and not necessary conditions are discussed. This early theory implies also that certain defects is allowed. These characteristics are not developed significantly further in the later strata.

Jen is valued in the genuine parts, but in the later strata it is valued even more highly, to the ultimum. The emphasis of an instrumental Jen appears in the later strata. A very interesting passage of rational argument concerning Jen in order to endure and enjoy appears in the genuine parts.

The implications of Jen with the exception of the psychological notions of courage, unhappiness and anxiety are to be found mostly in the genuine parts of the Analects, especially in the Jen- chapter four. These to some extent follow the tradition in Shih Ching emphasizing sociality and difficulties, or suffering. The implications in the later strata do not follow this tradition.

The process of learning Jen is mostly to be found in the less genuine parts of the Analects.

Due to the very few occurrences of Jen in Shu Ching and Shih Ching, it is not possible to make a statistical comparison of the characteristics of Jen between these sources and the Analects.⁵⁸⁰ However, a non-statistical comparison can be made, of Jen as well as of the other terms.

c. Jen of Confucius, of Shu Ching and of Shih Ching

This important Confucian concept of Jen was not important in Shu Ching or in Chou ideology. In Shu it has a transcendental dimension, because it concerns the king's

⁵⁸⁰ NIKKILÄ 1982, pp. 227,233.

qualities in Heaven. In the Analects Jen does not refer to transcendence.

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 Te is the most sophisticated of the ethical concepts.

In Shih Ching Jen is an attribute of the ideal man. Shih Ching includes an aesthetic and probably also an ethical value in Jen. Confucius's Jen resembles this in the fact that it is an ethical quality of an ideal man. Compared with Jen in Shih Ching, Jen in Confucius is almost a totally Confucian innovation.

d. Jen of Confucius and Te of Shu Ching and of Shih Ching

Te in Shu Ching and Shih Ching has many points in common with Jen in Confucius. It seems that during Confucius's time there was a common understanding of virtue and ethics generally. Confucius's Jen grows from this common ground, but as a concept it is an innovation.

The Confucian innovations in Jen are not only some fairly new emphases, but in addition to the similarities with tradition, he took up a number of new issues.

Confucius was several times unsure about whether someone could be called Jen or not. This attitude of ignorance was new. In the ideological thinking all questions got a reply. Those questions which it was not possible to reply to, were not asked. Confucius removed this barrier of not asking unsuitable questions. This opened the way for thoughts to travel in new directions and to develop rational independent thinking in order to acquire new knowledge.

Because Confucius had adopted a new concept, it became necessary to define it: how does Jen relate to better known concepts.

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 to others what you would not like done to yourself. Another type of definition is the inclusive and exclusive Jen. These definitions are lists of characteristics, which represent sets of moral qualities included in Jen or excluded from it.

In the traditions of Shu Ching and Shih Ching ethics was mainly instrumental, for administering the state. Confucius elevated ethics from this instrumental usage to an ultimate value in itself, although he too saw Jen as an instrument in certain circumstances.

He made his Jen a human value obtainable by human effort and possibly to be understood by rational activity. He advocated this without opposing the previous ultimate value, Heaven and Heaven's will, but he only rarely said anything about Heaven. Confucius rationalized and humanized ethics. He also took the ideological aspects out of ethics and studied ethics as such. This can be seen in the concept of Jen, but not so much in Te in the Analects.

Many songs in Shih Ching describe feelings. Confucius brought the questions about emotions, such as antipathies, sympathies, satisfaction and even aesthetics, into the realm of ethics. Here Confucius to some extent touches the hedonistic points of view.

Learning and education are Confucian innovations in the ethical context. The social environment and personal motivation or will are important in learning of Jen.

In Jen the "Golden rule" is a Confucian innovation. This rule arises more or less from the background of repaying expressed in Shih Ching. In addition, the dilemma situation, where one needs a choice, is new, as well as the acceptance of critical questions about Jen.

e. Jen of Confucius and of Lao Tzu

Jen is not a key term in Tao Te Ching. Lao Tzu criticizes Confucius's Jen in which, from Lao Tzu's point of view, the kind people, who are Jen, must have an action. As such it is, in Lao Tzu's opinion, higher than the Confucian virtues Yi and Li. Jen is not to be recommended according to Lao Tzu, whereas according to Confucianism it is highly recommendable, even necessary for the sage. In one instance Lao Tzu regards Jen as a good virtue.

f. Jen of Confucius and of Mo Tzu

Confucius handles Jen on a more personal level than is done in the Mohist writings. Mo Tzu does not discuss whether he himself or persons close to him are Jen, as Confucius does. Both Confucius and Mo Tzu refer to legendary persons of antiquity. Mo Tzu wants to criticize the Confucian view and to reveal some 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 Mohist favorite doctrines as a necessary component. This explains, the exaltation of the virtuous as a necessary measure or precondition if the ruler wants to do Goodness. Jen relates to the universal love through utility for the world and through preventing calamities. In this respect, condemnation of the offensive war belongs to Jen. Mo Tzu rejects music as useless; those who are Jen do not practice it. He also rejects the fatalists as not Jen.

The Confucius view of the importance of and the influence on 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 legendary kings as important good examples of Jen. However, Mo Tzu, or Mohism, in its criticism of Confucianism stresses that adherence to the old ideals does not necessarily 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 in its criticism does not try to understand the Confucian position, but rather deliberately to misinterpret it. However, the Confucian idealism which is included in Jen may in its time have changed to some

outer rituals without inner contents, a situation which was not supported by Confucius. This phenomenon was the stimulus for the Mohist criticism, especially some time later when the less reliable chapters were formed in the Mohist writings.

Mo Tzu does not reject the concept of Jen in itself as a Confucian poison to be opposed, but accepts the term and gives 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 with one another.

Confucius limited Jen to a special area, whereas Mo Tzu related the universal love to many other phenomena through argumentation and application. It seems that Confucius's Jen has more connections with the human mind and inner qualities of the human being, whereas the concept of universal love in Mo Tzu is more limited to practical or pragmatic applications, to be realized in relation with other doctrines of Mo Tzu.

In his argumentation Mo Tzu tries to introduce a kind of logical method, which is mostly left aside by Confucius. This can be understood in the context of Mo Tzu's motive, which was to criticize Confucianism and create an apology for his own ideas. During Mo Tzu's time there was a clear system to start from and to criticize, the system of Confucius. When Confucius started to develop his ideas, historically, there was no similar well articulated system of thought available to him. However, the Taoist tradition was known, but apparently it was not as well formed as Confucianism during early Mohism. It is also noteworthy that Mohism does not criticize Taoism but takes a stand as if there were no Taoism. It may be that in the ruling circles Taoism was not important and that the Confucian ideas were openly debated during Mo Tzu's time. However, it has been seen that Confucius was aware of the Taoist tradition and Taoism was aware of the Confucian tradition.