THE BOOK OF MASTER MO

Translated and edited with Notes by Ian Johnston
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MASTER MO (Mo Zi, Mo Di) lived through the last three-quarters of the fifth century BCE and established a social philosophy which, if implemented, would, he thought, remedy the ills of the turbulent and chaotic times. This was the Warring States period, during which a number of independent states struggled in China either to maintain their independence or to gain control of other states. As was the common practice among itinerant philosophers of the time, he travelled from state to state, trying to find a ruler who would implement his policies. But, unlike other philosophers, he had a second string to his bow – he was also an expert in defensive warfare. Although his school did not survive the Qin unification (221 BCE), when Legalism became the dominant political philosophy, the book bearing his name has fortunately survived as an important document from the great flowering of Chinese philosophy.

IAN JOHNSTON has had a lifelong interest in ancient languages beginning in his days as a medical undergraduate at the University of St Andrews. Despite a busy medical career he found time to pursue his studies of language,
obtaining a PhD in Chinese and an MA in Latin from the Sydney University and a PhD in Greek from the University of New England, New South Wales. On his retirement as Associate Professor of Neurosurgery at Sydney University in 1999, he moved to South Bruny Island off the southern coast of Tasmania and now devotes his time to reading and translation. He has published two books of translations of early Chinese poetry (Singing of Scented Grass and Waiting for the Owl), which include some poems of his own in response to his reading of early Chinese philosophy, and two translations of early Chinese philosophical works – the Mozi and the Daxue and Zhongyong (the latter in collaboration with Wang Ping) – both in bilingual form. His Greek studies have focused on the remarkable second-century-CE doctor Galen, who exerted a profound and long-lasting influence on both Western and Arabian medicine. He has published a translation of Galen’s four fundamental treatises on the nature of diseases and symptoms and the first complete English translation of one of his major works Method of Medicine, in a bilingual form for the Loeb Classical Library (in collaboration with Greg Horsley). In 2011 he was awarded the New South Wales Premier’s Prize and the PEN medallion for translation.
Note on the Translation

There have been very few translations of the *Mozi* into Western languages and most of these have been partial only. This neglect is due first to the extraordinary and sustained lack of interest in Master Mo, his school and his book, which extended from the Han period to the mid-Qing period, and secondly, to the fact that although three of the five parts (I, II and IV) are written in standard classical Chinese (*wenyan*) – a form of literary language that remained remarkably constant over the years and is quite accessible to readers of Chinese today – the other two parts (III, V) present a number of specific problems – a significant scattering of unknown characters, lacunae, textual degradation, not to mention unfamiliar content and methods of presentation. In view of these factors, I have included a brief introduction before each of these sections and have an embedded commentary to clarify particularly difficult passages.
Sections of the text were translated into English, German, Dutch and French in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but it wasn’t until 1922 that Alfred Forke published his almost complete translation into German. Shortly after, Yipao Mei produced two complementary books on Master Mo in English: a general study of the philosopher and his philosophy, and a translation of the text that completely omitted Parts III and V.\(^1\) After a lapse of more than three decades, two important partial translations were published: by Burton Watson into English,\(^2\) and by Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer into German.\(^3\) More recently, in a compendium of early Chinese philosophy, Philip J. Ivanhoe has included complete or partial English translations of eight of the Core Doctrines chapters.\(^4\) Important English translations of the difficult sections – Parts III and V – are those of A. C. Graham and R. D. S Yates, respectively. The present translation is based particularly on the modern Chinese edition of Wu Yujiang (Mozi Jiaozhu), first published in 1943 and reprinted in two volumes in 1993. Among other modern editions, those of Li Yushu, Zhou Caizhu and Qi Ruiduan, and Li Shenglong were particularly helpful. In addition, the earlier editions by Bi Yuan, Sun Yirang and Zhang Chunyi were frequently consulted, as were other works included in MZJC.
The translation of the *Mozi* (*The Book of Master Mo*)\(^5\) which appears here is essentially that of the bilingual edition published by the Chinese University Press of Hong Kong in 2010. However, in providing this English-only edition for Penguin Classics, I have gone over the entire translation sentence by sentence and have made a number of relatively minor changes. In this endeavour I have benefited from the comments of several reviewers of the bilingual edition, in particular Carine Defoort, Chad Hansen, Hui-Chieh Loy, Jeffrey Riegel, Karel van der Leeuw and Zhao Lu. I have continued to adhere to the rather austere and somewhat repetitive style of the original which has attracted strong criticism from some noted Western translators. Watson, for example, wrote of Mo’s ‘pedestrian and uninspired’ language,\(^6\) while Graham commented on ‘the notoriously graceless style of early Mohist writing, ponderous, humourless, repetitive’.\(^7\) But this imperfection is limited to just Part II and is integral to the presentation of its arguments, as Han Fei originally pointed out.

One other change I have made from the 2010 edition is to the two important ethical terms *ren* and *yi*, which I had translated as ‘benevolence’ and ‘righteousness’, respectively, following long-established convention. Neither rendering really does justice to the scope of these terms, a matter which I have discussed elsewhere. In the
present translation I use ‘love, kindness, humaneness and benevolence’ for *ren* and ‘right action, righteousness and justice’ for *yi*, with the transliterated Chinese term also being given, and used alone after the first occurrence in a chapter. I have retained ‘universal love’ as the translation of the key Mohist term *jian ai* in the face of modern attempts to render this as ‘impartial caring’ or ‘impartial concern’. The problem with the former is that ‘impartial’ completely fails to indicate the scope of the love. ‘Care’ and ‘concern’ are unsatisfactory because they entirely fail to convey the strength of feeling (made a point of in several places in the *Mozi*), and ‘care’ doesn’t do justice to the force of *ai*, which is equated with *ren* in the Part III Canons. As Master Mo describes *jian ai*, it is an extension of the love one has for oneself or one’s parents to a universal loving kindness directed at all mankind without partiality or gradations.

The hope is, of course, that this English-language edition will make the work – one of critical importance for an understanding of early Chinese philosophy – available to a wider range of readers. It is also pleasing to be able to continue the association between the Chinese University Press and Penguin Classics. Of the five early Chinese philosophical works already published by Penguin Classics, four have also been published as bilingual editions by the Chinese University Press: *The Analects of Confucius*, *The
Mencius and Lao Tzu: Tao Te Ching (all translated by D. C. Lau), and Daxue and Zhongyong\textsuperscript{8} or Ta Hsüeh and Chung Yung – The Highest Order of Cultivation and On the Practice of the Mean (translated by Andrew Plaks).

NOTES

For bibliographical details, see Further Reading and Selected Bibliography.


2. Burton Watson, Mo Tzu. The translation includes at least one example of each of the ten triads of the Core Doctrines chapters, together with the chapter ‘Condemning Confucianism’. There are two chapters on ‘Exalting Worthiness’, ‘Moderation in Use’ and ‘Heaven’s Intention’.

3. Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer, Mo Ti – Schriften, 2 vols. (Dusseldorf/Köln, 1975). This includes most of the first two parts.

4. Philip J. Ivanhoe, Mozi.

5. The Book of Master Mo is referred to as Mozi in the Comments and Notes for the sake of brevity.


7. Graham, Disputers of the Tao, p. 34.

Table of Equivalences for Weights and Measures

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$1 \text{ li} = 0.576 \text{ km (variable)}$ ($1 \text{ li} = 300 \text{ paces}$)

Taken from Yates (T), which is based on M. Loewe, *Records of Han Administration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), vol. 1, p. 161, with the addition of liang and li. The latter is taken from the *Dictionnaire Ricci* where the distance, although given precisely, is noted as variable.
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10 Exalting Worthiness III
11 Exalting Unity I
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13 Exalting Unity III
14 Universal Love I
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16 Universal Love III
17 Condemning Offensive Warfare I
18 Condemning Offensive Warfare II
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20 Moderation in Use I
21 Moderation in Use II
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25 Moderation in Funerals III
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Introduction

There is very little biographical information on the early Chinese philosopher, Master Mo (Mo Zi, Mo Di), or on members of his school (the Mohists), which flourished during the Warring States period (475–221 BCE) immediately preceding the Qin hegemony. There is also very little known about the extant work which bears his name (the *Mozi*) – in particular, who wrote it or when it was written or compiled. What is clear is that Master Mo and his school were major participants in the great flowering of Chinese philosophy from the sixth through the third centuries BCE. Mohism provided the first and most direct opposition to Confucianism as presented in the *Analects*. In doing this the *Mozi* represents the first use in Chinese philosophy of systematic argumentation employing criteria of validation to support its theses. It contains the earliest speculations on the natural sciences and several key aspects of philosophy – for example, epistemology, logic and philology. It contains a detailed exposition of the
methods of defensive warfare, so important in such turbulent times. Above all, it contains the reasoned presentation of the ten ‘core’ doctrines which comprise Master Mo’s social and political philosophy. To summarize, these ten doctrines may be reduced to five groups:

1. The fundamental doctrine of love for all people without partiality towards individuals or groups; this love becomes manifest in the exchange of mutual benefit.

2. Establishment of a multilevel, hierarchical administrative structure, with selection based on moral worth and general ability, and on a uniformity of core beliefs extending down from the Emperor, the Son of Heaven, to ordinary men and women.

3. Recognition of a system of supramundane surveillance involving Heaven, ghosts and spirits capable of observing human activities and responding by rewarding goodness and punishing evil.

4. A policy of restraint and moderation in the use of materials and wealth.

5. Rejection of the idea of fate as instrumental in the lives of people.

Master Mo’s overriding justification for his system was that it made for a better functioning and happier society, especially compared to the chaos that prevailed at the time, but also generally and eternally – that is, it worked to everyone’s advantage.

Despite the undoubted merits of the Mohist doctrines and the importance of the school at the time of its flourishing, Mohism largely died out with the progressive
entrenchment of Confucianism as the ‘state’ philosophy during the Han Dynasty (206 BCE–221 CE). The book itself (Mozi) was largely neglected during the ensuing centuries until it was rediscovered by scholars of the evidential research school in the Qing Dynasty (1644–1911) – men who were prepared to grapple with the textual difficulties and re-establish an interest in Mohism, even if only from historic and philological standpoints. It was, then, due to their efforts that the Mozi came into focus again, and attracted interest from scholars in the early twentieth century, such as Liang Qichao and Hu Shi, who sought to find in early Chinese philosophy evidence of interest in natural science and branches of philosophy including logic, language and epistemology – subjects extensively studied by Western (Greek) philosophers active at the same time. The Mozi also provided unique information on early Chinese military technology. As a result of all this there has been an increasing realization that a knowledge of Mohism is absolutely essential to an understanding of the dynamic interplay between schools which characterized early Chinese philosophy. And this is not to mention the intrinsic interest of the key doctrines themselves, some of which have a surprising modern resonance.

Master Mo’s importance is becoming increasingly recognized among Western scholars. For example, Chad
Hansen, in the opening to his chapter on Mo Zi, writes:

He is *the most important* philosopher in the early half of the classical period. Analysing his thought carefully gives us a more accurate view of the direction of philosophical thought in China … Writing argumentative essays and engaging in philosophical reflection both start with Mo Zi. He distinguishes between traditional mores and morality proper. He formulates a unique version of utilitarianism and argues for that theory and for an explicit political theory. He offers an interesting version of a state of nature justification for social organisation. He works out a coherent pragmatic epistemology and both an operational and a historical theory of language. *And* he gives arguments!²

**MASTER MO – THE MAN**

His significance notwithstanding, Master Mo, as he is recurringily referred to in the work bearing his name, remains a shadowy and mysterious figure. In fact, the most basic details of his life are shrouded in uncertainty. Even the usual historical sources are disappointing, as exemplified by the extremely brief and rather offhand piece about him in the *Historical Records* (*Shiji*), an important source of information on Chinese history prior to the Han period. Although other philosophers of the period receive substantial entries, his simply reads: ‘Regarding Mo Di, he was a great officer of Song. He was skilled in defensive measures and was moderate in use. Some say he lived at the same time as Confucius, some say he was later.’³ There is even uncertainty and contention
about his name. The most common view on this is that Mo was his family name and Di his given name (Zi being his title as ‘Master’ or ‘Philosopher’). Others are that Mo was a descriptive term, referring to a countenance blackened by the sun, or to the colour of a carpenter’s string, or to the branding or tattooing suffered by convicts – all taken as indicating a base rather than noble origin.

On the matter of Master Mo’s place and date of birth, the consensus is that he was, like Confucius, a native of the state of Lu. The main support is from internal evidence provided by the Mozi itself. Zhang Chunyi, an important twentieth-century commentator on the Mozi, in examining Master Mo’s reported travels to other states, concludes that his base, at least, was in Lu. Evidence for the other two possible states of origin (Song and Chu) is, by comparison, very flimsy; he seems to have spent some time in both and probably held office in the former.

There is also no clear and direct evidence from which to determine the dates of his birth and death. Estimates are based, first, on internal evidence from the Mozi, predominantly the Dialogues chapters (46–50), in which he is reported to have had dealings with several historical figures, most notably the rulers of states for whom dates are relatively well established. Secondly, there is evidence from other works – those in which he is mentioned and
those in which he is not – but these sources are open to doubt, depending on the reliability of the report of the supposed meeting, and on the vagaries of reference in early Chinese works, respectively. There is broad agreement that his life occupied the major part of the fifth century BCE.\(^4\) He must have lived after Confucius himself (551–479 BCE) since much of his teaching concerns Confucian doctrines. And he must have lived prior to the later Confucians: Mencius (372–289 BCE), who clearly articulated his opposition to Master Mo, and Xun Qing (Xun Zi, 298–238 BCE), who gives considerable attention to his opposition to Mohist views. It is possible that Mo Zi’s life may have overlapped to some extent with either Confucius (as the *Shiji* speculates) or Mencius.

On Master Mo’s background and education, there is again a paucity of information. The widespread view, certainly in the West, is that he came from the artisan class, based on the following, rather flimsy, evidence: the questionable evidence of his name considered above; his documented involvement with technical matters and the making of devices, including those for the defence of cities; his rejection by King Hui of Chu,\(^5\) probably because of his low social standing; and the supposed pedestrian and unadorned nature of the writing in the *Mozi*, that is, the lack of the style that would distinguish a man of the educated
class. However, against these points, we must set two important facts. First, whatever may be said about the literary style of the *Mozi*, Master Mo himself appears to have been conversant with Confucian doctrines and with the other significant literature available at the time (e.g. the Five Classics – *Changes*, *Odes*, *Documents*, *Book of Rites* and *Spring and Autumn Annals*) which would be characteristic of someone from the educated class. This much is clear from the Core Doctrines chapters. Secondly, he was almost certainly given high office by at least one ruler and appears to have followed the life of an itinerant scholar, also characteristic of members of the educated class at that time.

With respect to his supposed origin from the artisan class, there is speculation that ‘he was a craftsman, skilled in the uses of tools’.

Some have ventured more specific suggestions – for example, that he was a wheelwright, a carpenter or carriage-maker. Fung Yu-lan (Feng Youlan) describes him as a craftsman who rose to the rank of *shi* (officer, knight errant). Whether he actually practised a trade, and if so what trade, is in fact unknown. On the other hand, there is some evidence that he acted as an adviser to rulers – the most notable example is his role in Song – and also that he travelled to Chu, presumably for the purpose of proselytizing. There is also the internal evidence of the
Mozi that he was engaged in placing disciples in official positions.

But we know very little about how Master Mo actually spent the greater part of his life. What we do know is gleaned mostly from the Dialogues chapters of the Mozi and from the few reports in other early works which give some attention to his activities as opposed to his teachings. There is also a suggestion that he spent time in prison, which might reflect the vagaries of life as an itinerant adviser dispensing political or military advice in such turbulent times. Nothing is known about the end of his life.

THE MOHIST SCHOOL

There does seem to be general agreement that Confucianism and Mohism were the two main – and, to a significant degree, contending – schools, continuing the teachings of their founders during the two centuries prior to the Qin hegemony. There is also evidence that the followers of Master Mo were a relatively well-organized sect or school with an established leader or leaders and an orderly transmission of authority. That there were two or more separate schools of Mohism is found in two pre-Han writings, and some modern scholars have attempted to link the supposedly separate schools to specific components of Mohist doctrine. Such attempts must be viewed with
circumspection, given the lack of any detailed evidence about the schools – how separate they actually were and whether any separation that did exist was based on doctrinal disparity or merely contingent factors such as geography or the effectiveness of a particular leader in attracting followers.

Another issue is who the followers of Mohism actually were – that is, who the individuals were, what range of social backgrounds they came from and how they organized themselves into a cohesive group. As with other aspects of Mohism, it is very difficult to get any significant information: the names are most easily discovered from the Mozi and from other works, and scholars have compiled lists that include the names of 34 to 39 possible Mohists. In broad terms, these references are to those who engaged in debate with Master Mo, took up official positions organized by him, were involved in defensive measures and were identified as Mohists in other works – for example, Yi Zhi in the Mencius. On the question of background, A. C. Graham suggests that we should think of the Mohist movement ‘as a confluence of merchants, craftsmen and déclassé nobles, briefly emerging as a power in the cities as the feudal order disintegrates, but soon to be thrust back by the new bureaucratised Empire into the station which it has pleased Heaven to decree for them’. However, there is
very little real evidence to support this claim. In short, we know next to nothing about the type of men who became part of the Mohist movement during the two centuries or so it flourished.

To summarize, it seems reasonable to regard Mohism as a well-defined movement continuing after Master Mo’s own death into the early part of the Western Han period. It appears to have been a movement which attracted loyal adherents organized into a relatively rigid hierarchical structure, and to have constituted the main organized opposition to Confucianism during these years. The details of how the Mohists were divided into separate schools, how many such schools there were and what basis underlay any divisions are few and insubstantial.

MOZI – THE BOOK

(I) Structure

The extant version of the Mozi consists of 53 chapters (pian), compared to the 71 chapters listed in the Han Shu (History of the Former Han Dynasty). The latter presumably describes the intact work as it existed at the end of the Warring States period. The 53 chapters are arranged in 15 books (juan) as indicated in Table 1 below, a division preserved by some modern editors. What is
generally accepted is the functional division into five parts based on subject matter.

**Part I.** Epitomes: ¹⁰ Seven short essays on various subjects, some of which are related to the core doctrines. They are quite different in style from **Part II.**

**Part II.** Core Doctrines: The ten core doctrines, summarized below, are set out in 23 of the 24 chapters (7 others have been lost). Six doctrines have a triad of essays/chapters, one (‘Moderation in Use’) has two essays, and three (‘Moderation in Funerals’, ‘Percipient Ghosts’, ‘Condemning Music’) have a single essay. This gives a total of 23 of the presumed original 30 chapters on the assumption that originally all ten doctrines had a triad of essays. The 24th essay, ‘Against the Confucians’, seems to have one missing chapter, and it is clearly different in form from the rest of this part. It deals in a non-systematic way with Master Mo’s objections to Confucianism, including criticism of Confucius himself.

### Table 1. The Arrangement of the *Mozi* into Books and Chapters

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<td>2–9</td>
<td>8–39</td>
<td>The triads of the 10 core doctrines (7 chapters missing); ‘Against the Confucians’ (1 chapter missing)</td>
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Part III. Dialectical Chapters: Also called the Logic Chapters, these comprise the two Canons and their Explanations (C&Es, 40–43) and the two Choosings (Greater and Lesser, 44–5). The C&Es have a distinctive form: a brief statement on a particular topic (C) followed by a longer explanation (E). They cover a wide range of subjects, some unusual (or even unique) in early Chinese philosophy. Tan Jiefu, in his detailed modern study of the Canons and Explanations, gives these twelve categories: maxims (*mingyan*), natural science (*ziran*), mathematics (*shuxue*), physics (*lixue*), optics (*guangxue*), epistemology (*renshi*), disputation (*bianshu*), dialectics (*bianxue*), politics (*zhengfa*), economics (*jingji*), education (*jiaoxue*) and ethics (*lunli*). The two Choosings are both named from statements in the respective texts: the ‘Greater Choosing’ (*Daqu*) is devoted in part to arguments related to the core doctrines, while the ‘Lesser Choosing’ (*Xiaoqu*) deals with processes of
reasoning and argumentation, particularly as they pertain to Mohist doctrines.

**Part IV. Dialogues:** The five dialogues, likened to the Confucian *Analects* by several commentators, are of particular interest: first, they provide a lively alternative statement of the core doctrines (they are undoubtedly the most readable of all the *Mozi*), and secondly, they provide almost all the internal evidence on the details of Master Mo’s life.

**Part V. Defence of a City:** These, like **Part III**, are bedevilled by textual difficulties. Of the eleven chapters (nine others are lost), the first seven deal with specific defence methods, while the final four deal with more general aspects.

*(I) Origins*

No individual can be identified as having written any particular part of the *Mozi*, including Master Mo himself. It is a composite text compiled by an unknown number of authors between the later part of the fifth century and the early part of the third century BCE, or possibly even later for the Defence chapters. The five parts are likely to have had different authors coming from different strata of the Mohist school and quite possibly represent different times.
and different interests. Some views on the authorship of the different sections are as follows.

The Epitomes: These essays are quite possibly the latest component in composition and are questionable in their authority. According to Stephen W. Durrant, they are ‘linguistically separate’ from the remainder of the text. 13 There is no evidence as to who may have written them. Mei describes the first three as ‘utterly spurious’, while Hu Shi suggests that the final four may comprise fragments of otherwise lost material.

The Core Doctrines: There is no evidence that these chapters were written by Master Mo himself, and it is most likely that all were written by his followers. Quite why they were presented in triadic form is unclear: some scholars have proposed that the material was presented in different ways because it was intended for different audiences, such as ministers of state or fellow thinkers; 14 others have suggested that the differences are chronological, and that three sets of authors wrote the essays at different times. 15 Another theory is that not all the core doctrines were presented in triadic form in the first place; some of the ‘missing’ chapters may never have actually existed. 16

The Dialectical chapters: They are generally attributed to an ill-defined group called Later Mohists, and no individual author has been connected with any of them. Hu Shi, in his
modern study of these chapters, suggests that the group functioned between 325 and 250 BCE and wrote them partly in defence of the core Mohist doctrines, partly in response to the School of Names (a somewhat disparate group of philosophers from the pre-Qin period who were concerned particularly with the relationship between names and entities) and partly for other reasons.

The Dialogues: The most common view is that these chapters are the work of the first generation of Master Mo’s disciples. Fraser has suggested that they date from the middle to late part of the fourth century BCE.\textsuperscript{17}

The Defence chapters: There is again nothing to link any individual with their composition, although Qin Guli, one of Master Mo’s disciples, is mentioned by name in several. They may contain material that is later in composition than the middle three sections of the \textit{Mozi}.

\textit{(III) History}\textsuperscript{18}

Assuming that this composite text of uncertain authorship containing the doctrines and ideas of the Mohist school was completed by 221 BCE, and in Han times comprised 71 chapters (\textit{pian}), what was its subsequent fate? Very little is certain about the two thousand or so years that passed between the establishment of the Qin Dynasty and the first modern edition of the \textit{Mozi}, prepared by Bi Yuan (1730–
97), and published in 1783. After being listed in the *History of the Former Han Dynasty* (*Han Shu*) the next known record of the *Mozi* is found in Gao You’s commentary on the *Lü Shi Chunqiu* (c. 210 CE): ‘Mo Zi, surnamed Di, was a man of Lu and wrote a book in 72 pian.’

There is also the preface to a commentary on the Dialectical chapters by Lu Sheng (c. 300 CE), which is preserved in the *History of the Jin Dynasty* (*Jin Shu*), and reference to an abridged version with a commentary prepared by Yue Tai, which is thought to have been pre-Tang (i.e. pre-seventh century). Finally, there is a brief entry in the *History of the Sui Dynasty* (*Sui Shu*), which lists a work in 15 books (juan) ‘compiled’ by the great officer (daifu) Mo Di.

The four earliest surviving texts are from the Ming Dynasty: the two most important of these are the *Daoist Patrology* (*Dao Zang – DZ*) text dating from 1445, and the Tang Yaochen text dating from 1554. It was these texts that were used by Qing scholars in their rediscovery and detailed textual work. Although the labours of these and other scholars were absolutely critical in making the *Mozi* available in a relatively reliable and accurate text, this represented a narrow scholarly interest. Putting this into perspective is Faber’s preface to his translation (1897) of a distillation of Mohist thought:
It is somewhat surprising that the doctrine of Micius (Mo Zi) has for centuries, so to speak, vanished in China. Mencius being promoted to the standard classics and everywhere committed to memory, his pernicious criticism naturally so worked on the masses of the Chinese that no one cares to look at such an arch-heretic who – according to Mencius – does not recognise a father. For this reason, the works of Micius are very scarce. I sought for more than ten years in all China without finding a copy. Dr Legge accidentally found a copy once with a peddler, which I had copied. This is the edition by Peh Yun (Bi Yuan). There is a Japanese edition in 6 vols, but without any explanation. In a large Taoist collection there are two editions of Micius with commentary, but they have never come under my observation. This collection is also very scarce. A complete copy was to be had some years ago in North China for 200 Taels.\textsuperscript{22}

The \textit{Mozi} then is a pre-Han text which, although largely neglected for many centuries, somehow survived, albeit with loss of chapters (possibly up to eighteen) and textual degradation. It was preserved in the four Ming Dynasty manuscripts, and was worked on by a number of Qing and post-Imperial scholars.\textsuperscript{23}

\textbf{THE CORE DOCTRINES – A SUMMARY}

Exalting Worthiness: The principle is to advance those who are worthy and able and to reject those who are not. The administration of the state will then achieve wealth, a large population and good order for that state. Worthiness is moral worth defined in terms of \textit{yi} (right action,
righteousness and justice). The justification of the principle of exalting worthiness is, however, its efficacy and not worthiness per se. Evidence comes from historical examples of sage kings promoting lowly people who were worthy and could be of benefit to the empire.

Exalting Unity: The principle is that society should be bound together by a unity or uniformity of beliefs and ideas, especially ethical principles, extending through all its strata. This is achieved by having a hierarchy of leaders who strongly adhere to these ideas and beliefs themselves and maintain unity throughout the population by rewards and punishments, determined by conformity or otherwise with these common ideas and beliefs. Again, the justification is efficacy and the evidence comes from historical examples.

Universal Love: The principle is that for a truly harmonious society, people should love one another without partiality or discrimination and that this love should be universal (jian ai). It is essentially an expression of ren (love, kindness, humaneness and benevolence), which encompasses everyone and is manifest in practice by everyone striving to benefit others as well as themselves. The justification is again efficacy. Master Mo counters the objection that it is difficult to achieve universal love by providing historical examples of rulers who persuaded
people en masse to achieve difficult things. The method is to reward and praise those who do practise universal love and to punish and denounce those who transgress the principle.

Condemning Offensive Warfare: The principle is to eschew altogether any form of warfare other than defence of the state or punitive campaigns against those who deserve punishment in certain instances. The position is essentially anti-imperialist. The justification is moral (if killing one person is wrong then surely killing a large number of people in an imperialist war is much more wrong and contrary to ren and yi); war is socially disruptive, needlessly destroying people and resources; and it brings no benefit to Heaven, ghosts, spirits or ordinary people – in fact, quite the reverse.

Moderation in Use: The principle is simple and timeless: the use of resources to provide a society with housing, clothing, means of transportation and materials for defence should be limited to preparing what is strictly necessary. There should be no excessive elaboration and no wastage. The people will not then be overburdened by labour and heavy taxation. Again, the justification is efficacy and the evidence comes from historical examples.

Moderation in Funerals: This is essentially a special case of moderation in use. Elaborate funerals and prolonged
periods of mourning, as practised by Confucians particularly, are wasteful of resources and contrary to *ren* and *yi*, despite the claims of those who advocate such practices. Master Mo provides examples of strange and undesirable practices that have been sanctioned by custom and have become inappropriately regarded as conforming to *yi*. He also gives his own specific procedure for the conduct of burial and mourning.

Heaven’s Intention: Heaven has an intention or plan for the world and its inhabitants: *yi*, *ren* and *jian ai* should be practised everywhere without partiality or discrimination. Its implementation is to be effected by leaders at all levels of society from the Son of Heaven (Emperor) down. If Heaven’s intention is realized then society as a whole will be harmonious and individual states are likely to be prosperous and well ordered. Heaven is seen as being able to recognize whether its intention is being realized or not and is able to reward with favourable natural circumstances for the growth of crops and domestic animals and with the absence of disease, pestilence, famine and other natural disasters, while non-compliance is met with the reverse. Master Mo takes Heaven’s intention, as defined by himself, to be his standard by which to judge the conduct of regimes and individuals. Supporting evidence is provided by historical examples.
Percipient Ghosts: The disorder of the times is attributable to the loss of yi and this loss is, in significant part, due to a loss of belief in the existence of ghosts and spirits as agents who can reward goodness and punish badness. Master Mo offers three kinds of evidence for their existence: the ears and eyes of the people; the actions of the sage kings regarding sacrifices to ghosts and spirits; and the role of ghosts and spirits in the overthrow of bad rulers (specifically Jie and Zhou). In advocating a belief in ghosts and spirits, Master Mo claims that no one anywhere can do anything that they are not aware of, and that no mortal means can prevent their punishments. However, he says that even if ghosts and spirits don’t exist, a belief in them is worthwhile in so far as ceremonies and sacrifices to them bring people together in harmonious collective action.

Condemning Music: Another special argument for moderation in use. Master Mo doesn’t deny that music is pleasing to the ear, but argues that it is wasteful: first, the preparation of musical instruments and other things associated with performances use material resources that might otherwise be used for more essential things, and secondly, making musical instruments and giving performances deflect people from their proper tasks and
against fate (fatalism): there is no actual evidence for the existence of fate determining human affairs. moreover, a belief in fate (fatalism) is, in fact, detrimental to the proper conduct of affairs, being inimical to yi and to diligence generally. he uses his concept of criteria in assessing the theory of fatalism: for any theory, one must examine its foundation, its source or origin and its application or use. he concludes that there is no foundation for a belief in fate in the observations of ordinary people, in the words of feudal lords or in the actions of the sage kings; that the concept originated with the cruel and tyrannical kings of the three dynasties to explain their downfall and was perpetuated by poor people to excuse their poverty; and that in the conduct of affairs at all levels of society, a belief in fate results in a loss of diligence and a ready acceptance of failure.

relationship of mohism to other philosophers and schools of the pre-han period

the response of master mo and the mohists to other philosophers and schools, and the converse, must obviously be considered in relation to this formative period of early chinese philosophy, which is summarized in table 2.
As would be expected from this chronology, the only philosopher referred to in the *Mozi* is Confucius. He and his followers come in for some very strong criticism on a number of counts, although references are confined to *Mozi* 39 (‘Against the Confucians’), 46 and 48, and some brief references in Part III which are neither very informative nor of certain textual source. The key points of Confucianism which are opposed are as follows:

The partiality which Confucians show towards relatives. Both Confucius and Master Mo give considerable weight to the virtues of ren and yi. Master Mo equates ren with ai (love) and yi with li (benefit), and his fundamental doctrine, set out in the jian ai (Universal Love) chapters (*Mozi* 14–16), is that these virtues should extend to all people.
universally, without partiality or gradations, as distinct from the primacy given to family members advocated by the Confucians.

Confucian failure to accept the existence of ghosts and spirits and their putative role in human affairs.

The Confucian acceptance of fate as determining such things as life expectancy, good and bad fortune, wealth and poverty.

Confucian practices of elaborate funerals and prolonged mourning which contravene the Mohist doctrine of moderation in use.

The Confucian belief in the importance of music, which also, in being put into practice, contravenes the Mohist doctrine of moderation in use.

Furthermore, Confucians are criticized for their failures as advisers to rulers, and for their odd and self-defeating attitudes in battle. Finally, Confucius himself is criticized on the grounds that there were instances where his conduct was not consistent with his own doctrines and that on occasion his political advice was directed at fomenting unrest rather than bringing about order (Mozi 39.9, 10).

The later Confucians, Mencius and Xun Qing, responded vigorously to Master Mo’s attack on their founder and his doctrines and were strongly critical of Mohism generally. In the Mencius, the three references to Master Mo all express trenchant opposition to his doctrine of universal love: he is twice linked with the philosopher Yang Zhu (who has been variously described as an egoist, a hedonist and a Chinese Epicurean).
the words of Yang Zhu and Mo Di fill the Empire. The teachings current in the Empire are those of either the school of Yang or the school of Mo. Yang advocates everyone for himself, which amounts to a denial of one’s prince. Mo advocates love without discrimination, which amounts to a denial of one’s father. To ignore one’s father on the one hand, and one’s prince on the other is to be no different from beasts …

If the way of Yang and Mo does not subside and the way of Confucius is not proclaimed, the people will be deceived by heresies and the path of morality will be blocked. When the path of morality is blocked, then we show animals the way to devour men, and sooner or later it will come to men devouring men. Therefore, I am apprehensive. I wish to safeguard the way of the former sages against the onslaughts of Yang and Mo and to banish excessive views. Then advocates of heresies will not be able to rise. For what arises in the mind will interfere with policy, and what shows itself in policy will interfere with practice.  

The crux of Mencius’ objection to Mohist universal love (which Mencius calls ai wu cha deng, love without difference of degree) is that it is contrary to human nature.  

In the other Confucian work that mentions him, the Xunzi, there are eleven references to Master Mo or Mohism more generally. The relatively detailed attack on Mohist doctrines in Xunzi 10.8 is clearly the most important. It is too long to quote, but in essence Xun Qing’s criticism begins by claiming that the teachings of Master Mo focus too narrowly on the world’s suffering from the hardship of inadequate supplies. This is not real, says Xun Qing, it is ‘a hardship private to Mo Zi’s
exaggerated reckoning'. The real problem is social disorder and dislocation. This is, of course, also Master Mo’s primary focus. How can order be re-established in a disordered world? In Xun Qing’s view, Master Mo’s theories will only exacerbate the problem: he is more a cause than a cure, particularly through his doctrines of ‘Condemning Music’ and ‘Moderation in Use’. Other references direct particular attention to Master Mo’s opposition to ritual and music. Master Mo’s philosophy is categorized as being applicable only in times of chaos, as the following verse from Xunzi 25.17 indicates:

An age that lacks a True King
will impoverish worthy and virtuous men.
Violent men will eat grass- and grain-fed animals;
humane men will eat only dregs and husks.
Ritual and music will be destroyed and not used.
Sages will go into hiding and sequester themselves away,
so the methods of Mo Di will be put into practice.

In the Daoist work in Table 2, the Zhuangzi, the opposition between Confucianism and Mohism, and the futility of adhering to either doctrine, is brought out: ‘When the Way relies on little accomplishments and words rely on vain show, then we have the rights and wrongs of the Confucians and the Mohists. What one calls right the other calls wrong; what one calls wrong the other calls right. But if we want to right their wrongs and wrong their rights, the best thing to
use is clarity.’ Further, the most detailed and informative reference to Mohism in all pre-Han writing is found in *Zhuangzi* 33. Overall, Master Zhuang is critical of Master Mo and his doctrines:

He condemns singing when there is singing, he condemns weeping when there is weeping, and he condemns music when there is music – is this really human? His is a life of labour and a death of parsimony. It is a way of great abstemiousness. It causes people sorrow and sadness and, what is more, it is difficult to practise. I am afraid his Way cannot be regarded as that of a sage. It runs contrary to the hearts of all under Heaven and cannot be borne by them. Even if Master Mo himself was able to bear it, how could the rest of the world do so? It is set apart from the world and is far removed from the [way of] kings.

However, he concludes with a favourable comment: ‘Nevertheless, Master Mo was genuine in his love for the world but he failed to achieve what he sought. And yet, although withered and worn, he never gave up. Truly, he was an officer of ability!’ Han Fei, the third-century advocate of Legalism, an important political philosophy at the time, described Mohist doctrines in the *Hanfeizi* as impractical and claimed that its theories, ‘being roundabout, profound, magnificent, and exaggerating, were not practised’. He also argued that, along with Confucianism, Mohism relied too heavily on the authority of the ancient sage kings. Since the latter’s ways could not be known with any certainty, Han
Fei reasoned that the issues between Mohists and Confucians could not be decisively resolved. As an example, he gives an account of their opposing positions on funerals and mourning, contrasting Mohist frugality with Confucian excess. But who is to say which is right? Finally, the *Hanfeizi* includes an interesting comment, attributed to Tian Jiu during a discussion with the King of Chu, which bears on Master Mo’s alleged deficiencies in literary style:

> The teachings of Mo Zi convey the principles of the early kings, theorise the words of the saintly men, and thereby propagate ideas among people. If he made his phrasing eloquent, he feared people might remember the literature but forget the utility, that is to say, he might injure the utility with the literature … Therefore, for the most part, the sayings of Mo Zi were not eloquent.  

31

**CONCLUSION**

It must be conceded that very little is known about the historical Master Mo and the school he founded. On the other hand, there is no doubt that Mohism as a body of doctrine disseminated by its adherents, whoever they were and however they were organized, did flourish during the Warring States period and offered the main doctrinal alternative to Confucianism. Although these two schools were seen as opponents at the time, and there were clearly significant doctrinal differences, their ultimate aim was the same: the creation of a just, humane and harmoniously
functioning society that was politically well ordered and stable. Nevertheless, despite its vigour during this early period, Mohism was eclipsed by the time of the early part of the Western Han period, whereas Confucianism flourished during the Han period and over the succeeding centuries.

Why Mohism proved so ephemeral, that is, why it declined and disappeared, is a subject that has occasioned some speculation, but the main reasons are probably not hard to identify. First, it was opposed by a very strong alternative in Confucianism which by its nature must have held a greater appeal for the ruling elite. Moreover, Mohism was a doctrine that could not exist on an equal footing with Confucianism in the way that Daoism could (and did). Secondly, it was a relatively complicated and idealistic philosophy which was personally and intellectually demanding. Thirdly, since it was never implemented by a state whose ruler espoused its doctrines, it never achieved vindication by practice. Finally, Mohism must have lost its relevance to a significant degree as a doctrine to resolve the destructive struggles between states that characterized the Warring States period when this came to an end with the formation of a unified empire, and skills in defensive warfare at a practical level were then no longer at a premium.
Still, with no small measure of good fortune, the book containing the doctrines of Mohism did survive, albeit in a rather dilapidated state. This allowed, and even encouraged, its ‘rediscovery’, initially by a series of Qing scholars who were particularly interested in textual issues, and later by early-twentieth-century scholars who saw in the work (especially the Dialectical chapters) evidence of interest in logic and science – areas which were otherwise largely neglected in early Chinese intellectual history. Whatever the motivation, the work of a substantial number of scholars has brought this seminal text rightfully back into focus more than two millennia after its initial compilation. It is not only a work of great intrinsic interest: it is also of critical importance for an understanding of Chinese philosophy’s initial brilliant flowering in the ‘axial period’, when great advances were made worldwide in philosophy.\(^{32}\) Last, and by no means least, a number of the ideas it articulates have an enduring relevance; indeed, in some cases even a particular relevance in the modern world, their demanding and idealistic nature notwithstanding.\(^{33}\)

NOTES

For bibliographical detail, see Further Reading and Sources in the Notes.

1. There have been many translations of the *Analects* (*Lunyu*). One of the best is that by D. C. Lau, which is available as a Penguin Classic and also as a bilingual
Master Mo’s proper name in Chinese is 墨翟 which is romanized in standard pinyin as Mo Di, Mo being the surname and Di the given name. A common alternative is 墨子, romanized as Mo Zi. He is characteristically referred to in the book as 墨子, which is translated as Master Mo here. In older forms of romanization, Di may be written Ti and Zi may be written Tzu or Tse. A latinized form is Micius but this is not used now. The book is entitled 墨子 which may be romanized as Mozi, Motzu or Motse as an italicized single word.


3. *Shiji* 74 (vol. 7, p. 2350). One of the most detailed and informative statements on Master Mo and Mohism in early writings is in the *Zhuangzi* 33.

4. Different specific dates have been given by scholars: 468–376 (Sun Yirang, MZJC 12–15); 500/490–425/416 (Hu Shi); 479–381 (Qian Mu); 473–390 (Feng Youlan); 490–403 (Fang Shouchu, MZJC 45). The variation is obviously quite slight and all agree he had a long life.

5. See Mozi 47.3.


7. These are the long passage on Master Mo and his school in the *Zhuangzi* 33 and the relatively brief statement in the *Hanfeizi* 19.2. They are not entirely consistent, although both refer to three Mohist schools.

8. Sun Yirang has compiled a list which includes 36 definite and 3 possible Mohists, divided into disciples (19), Neo-Mohists (9), Elder Masters (4) and ‘Miscellaneous Mohists’ (4). See vol. 15 of Yan Lingfeng (MZJC), pp. 989–1017. Mei has reproduced this list in tabular form: see Mei, *Motse*, pp. 174–5. Alfred Forke also provides a list, divided more simply into disciples and Later Mohists, comprising 34 names: see *Me Ti des Sozialethikers und seiner Schüler philosophische Werke* (Berlin, 1922), pp. 76–81.

10. This is Durrant’s term (‘An Examination of Textual and Grammatical Problems in *Mo Tzu*’, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Washington, 1975) and is adopted by Lowe (*Mo Tzu’s Religious Blueprint for a Chinese Utopia*, p. 56). It is probably as good a collective term as any.


15. See Fraser, ‘Mohism’. Differentiation on chronological grounds has also been proposed by Karen Desmet in ‘The Growth of Compounds in the Core Chapters of the *Mozi*’, *Oriens Extremus* 45 (2005/6), pp. 99–118.


19. Cited by Durrant, ‘An Examination’, p. 48, note 20. The view advanced by Sun Yirang (and widely accepted) is that the additional *pian* was the table of contents.

20. Both these texts are available in Yan Lingfeng’s compilation of Mohist writing, MZJC.

21. The Tang Yaochen text is preserved in the *Sibu Congkan* (SBCK) and in MZJC. The other two Ming texts, neither of which is generally available, are the Wu Kuan text, named after its compiler, the scholar Wu Kuan, and the Zhi Cheng text, named after the place of its printing in 1552; see Lowe’s comments on them (*Mo Tzu’s Religious Blueprint*, pp. 52–3). All four Ming texts were
consulted by Wu Yujiang in the preparation of his outstanding modern edition (*Mozi Jiaozhu*).


23. For editions, see Further Reading; all are included with writings on the *Mozi* (including Cen Zhongmian’s detailed study of the problematic Defence chapters) in MZJC.

24. The table is restricted to philosophers whose works are extant (with the exception of Hui Shi). Most dates are provisional: I have largely followed Fung Yu-lan (Feng Youlan), *History of Chinese Philosophy*, trans. Derk Bodde (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952), vol. 1. A number of notable philosophers of the period have not been included because of the paucity of information about them and/or the lack of a genuine extant work. Also important is the uncertainty surrounding the dates of composition of the listed works – how much is attributable to the nominal author and how much is due to later contributors.

25. There is no extant work attributed to Yang Zhu. In the third of the references to the *Mencius*, he is contrasted with Master Mo; ‘Master Yang chooses selfishness; if he could benefit the world by plucking out one hair of his head, he would not do it. Master Mo was concerned for everyone; if he could benefit the world by shaving all his hair from crown to heels, he would do it’ (Lau, *Mencius*).


32. The term was coined by the German philosopher Karl Jaspers and describes the period 800–200 BCE.
33. Notably, on the importance of not wasting resources and the folly and immorality of war.
Part I

THE EPITOMES
1

Being Sympathetic to Officers
(Qin Shi)¹

1.1 To take control of a state and not be sympathetic towards its officers leads to loss of the state. To see someone who is worthy and not be anxious [to use him] leads to neglect of its ruler. If someone is not worthy, don’t be anxious [to use him]. If someone is not an officer, don’t plan affairs of the state [with him]. There has never been anyone who disregarded worthiness and neglected officers but was still able to preserve his state.

1.2 In earlier times, Duke Wen had to flee, and yet he came to govern the world. Duke Huan was forced to leave his state, and yet he became hegemon over the feudal lords. The King of Yue, Gou Jian, met with humiliation at the hands of the King of Wu, and yet later he was held in awe
by the worthy rulers of the central states. These three men were all able to achieve success and fame in the world because they endured repression and great disgrace in their own states. It is best by far not to fail, but next best is to find in failure the way to success. This is called making proper use of the people.

1.3 I have heard this said: ‘It isn’t that there is no peaceful place to dwell; it is that my heart is not at peace. It isn’t that there is not enough wealth; it is that my heart is not enough.’ This is why the noble man is hard on himself but easy on others, whereas the ordinary man is easy on himself but hard on others. When a noble man takes office, he does not lose his ideals. When he goes into retirement, he considers the circumstances. Even if he is mistaken for an ordinary man, he never feels resentment because he has confidence in himself. This is why those who undertake what is difficult inevitably achieve what they desire. You never hear of those who do what they like avoiding what they dislike. For this reason, powerful officials harm the ruler and fawning subordinates damage their superiors. A ruler must have officials who will stand up to him. A superior must have subordinates who will be plain speaking. If those who engage in open debate adhere to their views and those who advise privately are bold in their censure,
then the lives [of the people] can be prolonged and the state protected. If officials and subordinates attach importance to their rank and position and don’t speak out, if close advisers are silent and more distant officials sigh, if resentment builds up in the hearts of the people, if toadying and flattery are all around or if wise counsels are obstructed, the state is endangered. Did Jie and Zhou\textsuperscript{3} not fail to make use of the world’s officers? They themselves were slain and they lost all under Heaven. Therefore, it is said that making a gift of the state’s treasures is not like recommending the worthy and promoting officers.

1.4 Now if there are five awls, the sharpest is certainly the first to be broken. If there are five blades, the keenest is certainly the first to be dulled. In the same way, the sweetest well is the first to be exhausted and the tallest tree the first to be felled. [Likewise,] the efficacious tortoise is the first to be burned and the magical serpent the first to be dried in the sun. Thus, Bi Gan’s death was due to his opposition; Meng Ben’s death was due to his bravery; Xi Shi’s drowning was due to her beauty; and Wu Qi’s being torn asunder was due to his conduct of affairs.\textsuperscript{4} These examples show that there are few whose deaths are not attributable to what distinguishes them. Thus it is said: ‘The more egregious one is, the more difficult it is to survive.’
Even a worthy ruler will not look kindly on an official without merit, and even a compassionate father will not look kindly on a son without promise. This is why a man who occupies a position for which he is not competent is not the man for that position. Likewise, a man who receives emolument for a rank he does not merit is not the man to have that emolument. A good bow is hard to draw but it can reach the heights and penetrate the depths. A good horse is hard to ride but it can bear a heavy load and travel far. Men of great talent are difficult to direct but they can serve the ruler and be respected. Great rivers do not resent the little streams that fill them because these streams are what can make them great. In affairs, the sage does not shirk his responsibility and does not go against things. Therefore, he can be a utensil of the world. Thus, the waters of a great river do not flow from one source, nor does a fur garment worth a thousand gold pieces come from the white fur of a single fox. How can a ruler not select those who follow an agreed course and select instead those who agree with him? This is not the way of an impartial king.

Heaven and earth are not perpetually refulgent; great waters are not always turbulent; great fires are not continuously blazing; great virtue is not unfailingly lofty. The leader of a thousand [men], be he as straight as an
arrow and as smooth as a whetstone, is not sufficient to cover the ten thousand things. This is why narrow streams quickly dry up, why shallow waters are quickly exhausted and why barren lands do not nourish. If a ruler’s genuine beneficence does not go beyond the confines of his palace, it cannot spread throughout the state.\textsuperscript{5}
2

Cultivating the Self

(Xiu Shen)

2.1 For a noble man, although there is strategy in warfare, it is courage that is fundamental; although there is ritual in mourning, it is grief that is fundamental. In being in office, although there is learning, it is right conduct that is fundamental. If the root is not secure, there is no way for the branches and leaves to flourish. If one does not cherish those who are near, one cannot induce those from afar to come. If one does not cherish one’s own family, one cannot devote oneself to outsiders. If one does not have an end and a beginning in the conduct of affairs, one cannot complete many undertakings. If one is obscure in raising something, one cannot be widely heard. This is why former kings, in bringing order to the world, certainly examined the near and solicited the distant. A noble man is one who examines
the near and cultivates the self. If he sees conduct that is not cultivated, or if he is vilified, he reflects on his own mistakes. In this way, resentment is minimized and [right] conduct is cultivated. If slanderous and vilifying words do not enter his ears, if critical and offensive sounds do not issue from his mouth, if he doesn’t harbour thoughts of killing and maiming in his heart, then even if there are people who would slander and accuse him, they would have nothing to rely on.

2.2 Thus a noble man’s exertions daily grow stronger, his aspirations daily grow higher and his accomplishments daily grow more flourishing. The Way of the noble man is this: when poor to display honesty and when rich to display right action, to show love towards the living and to show pity towards the dead. These are four matters in which there is no place for him to be false; they are matters on which he must examine himself. What is stored in his heart is inexhaustible love. What is manifest in his behaviour is inexhaustible reverence. What comes forth from his mouth are words of inexhaustible refinement. If virtue extends to his four limbs, inheres in the flesh of his body and is not abandoned, even to the extreme of age, he is indeed a sage.
2.3 In one whose will is not strong, wisdom is not far-reaching. In one whose words are not trustworthy, conduct is not efficacious. One who has wealth but cannot share it with others is not worth befriending. One whose adherence to the Way is not genuine, whose view of things is narrow and not broad, whose discrimination between right and wrong is not perspicacious, is not worth having as a comrade. When the root is not secure, the branches are inevitably endangered. When there is bravery without cultivation, there is inevitably indolence. When the source is turbid, what flows is not clear. When conduct is not trustworthy, reputation is inevitably damaged. Reputation is not born out of nothing. Praise does not grow of its own accord. If merit is achieved, reputation follows. Reputation and praise cannot be empty and false. These are matters that should be looked at in oneself.

2.4 One who devotes his attention to words but is tardy in conduct will certainly not be listened to, even though he argues well. One who expends a lot of energy but brags about his achievement will certainly not be chosen, even though he works hard. One who is wise discriminates in his mind, but does not complicate his words. Exert strength, but do not brag about achievement. In this way, reputation and praise spread through the world. In speaking, devote
attention to wisdom and not to amount; devote attention to clear analysis and not to eloquence. Not to be wise and not to analyse clearly, but to be indolent in oneself is to take the opposite road. Goodness that is not paramount within the mind is not enduring. Conduct that is not debated within oneself is not established. Reputation cannot be treated lightly and still be achieved. Praise cannot be sought cunningly and still be established. A noble man must match his words with his deeds. Nobody who concentrates on seeking profit and carelessly disregards his reputation can ever be deemed an officer by the world.
3
Dyeing
(Suo Ran)

3.1 Master Mo told how he sighed when he saw someone dyeing silk, and said: ‘When something is dyed by blue [dye], it becomes blue. When it is dyed by yellow [dye], it becomes yellow. What [the dye] enters changes in that its colour changes. Five entries [of dye] create five [different] colours. Therefore, dyeing must be given careful attention.’

3.2 This doesn’t only apply to the dyeing of silk. States have ‘dyeing’ too. Shun was ‘dyed’ by Xu You and Bo Yang; Yu was ‘dyed’ by Gao Yao and Bo Yi; Tang was ‘dyed’ by Yi Yin and Zhong Hui; King Wu was ‘dyed’ by Tai Gong and the Duke of Zhou. What ‘dyed’ these four kings was fitting; therefore they ruled all under Heaven, they were established as Sons of Heaven (emperors) and their achievements and fame extended throughout Heaven and
When the topic of men illustrious in the world for ren (loving kindness and humane conduct) and yi (right action and justice) are brought up, these four kings are invariably spoken of. Jie of Xia was ‘dyed’ by Gan Xin and Tui Duo; Zhou of Yin was ‘dyed’ by Chong Hou and Wu Lai; King Li was ‘dyed’ by Duke Chang Fu of Li and Rong Yizhong; King You was ‘dyed’ by Duke Yi of Fu and Duke Gu of Cai. What ‘dyed’ these four kings was not fitting; therefore their countries were destroyed, they themselves died and were despised throughout the world. When the topic of men reviled in the world for the absence of yi (right action, righteousness and justice) and for shameful conduct is brought up, these four kings are invariably mentioned.

3.3 Huan of Qi was ‘dyed’ by Guan Zhong and Bao Shu; Wen of Jin was ‘dyed’ by Jiu Fan and Gao Yan; Zhuang of Chu was ‘dyed’ by Sunshu and Shenyin; Helü of Wu was ‘dyed’ by Wu Yun and Wen Yi; Gou Jian of Yue was ‘dyed’ by Fan Li and Zhong Dafu. What ‘dyed’ these five rulers was fitting; therefore they ruled over the feudal lords and their achievements and fame were handed down to later generations. Fan Jiyi was ‘dyed’ by Zhang Liushuo and Wang Sheng; Zhonghang Yin was ‘dyed’ by Jiqin and Gao Qiang; Fu Chai of Wu was ‘dyed’ by Wang Sunluo and Chief
Minister Pi; Zhi Boyao was ‘dyed’ by Zhi Guo and Zhang Wu; Zhongshan Shang was ‘dyed’ by Wei Yi and Yan Chang; Kang of Song was ‘dyed’ by Tang Yang and Tian Buli.\(^2\) What ‘dyed’ these six rulers was not fitting; therefore their countries were destroyed and lost, they themselves were punished and disgraced, their ancestral temples were ruined and destroyed, their descendants were completely wiped out, their princes and ministers were set aside and scattered, and the people were dispersed and lost. When the topic of those in the world who were avaricious and cruel, troublesome and vexatious is brought up, these six rulers are invariably mentioned.

3.4 What is it that rulers in general use to bring about peace? They act according to principle. And this acting according to principle stems from proper ‘dyeing’. Therefore, rulers who are skilled [in ruling] take great pains in selecting officials, but use a light touch in controlling them. Rulers who are without ability harm their bodies and waste their spirits; they have anxious hearts and troubled minds, their states are increasingly endangered and they themselves are increasingly humiliated. With these six rulers, it was not that they did not consider their states important and did not cherish their own persons, but that they did not know the essential elements [of ruling]. And
they did not know these essential elements because what ‘dyed’ them was not fitting.

3.5 It is not only countries that have ‘dyeing’; it is officers too. [With the latter,] if their friends all love ren (love, kindness, humaneness and benevolence) and yi and are honest, cautious and law-abiding, then each day their families will prosper, each day they themselves will be at peace, and each day their names will be honoured. If they hold an official position, they abide by its principles. The associates of Duangan Mu, Qin Zi and Fu Yue were like this. If, on the other hand, their friends all love to brag, are impetuous and form cliques, then each day their households will decline, each day they themselves will be in danger, each day their reputations will deteriorate, and, if they hold an official position, they will neglect its principles. The associates of Zixi, Yi Ya and Shu Dao were like this. In the Odes it says: ‘One must choose what one is steeped in; one must pay close attention to what one is steeped in.’ This is what has been said.
4

Standards and Rules

(*Fa Yi*)

4.1 Master Mo said: ‘Those who work in the world cannot do so without standards and rules. Nobody has been able to accomplish anything without standards and rules. Even those officers who are generals and ministers all have standards. Even the hundred craftsmen in doing their work all have standards too. They make what is square with a square, make what is round with compasses, use a straight edge to establish what is straight, determine the horizontal with a water level and the vertical with a plumb line. Whether craftsmen are skilled or unskilled, they all take these five things as standards. Skilled craftsmen are able to comply with these standards naturally; unskilled craftsmen, even if they are unable to comply with them naturally, will still surpass themselves if they follow them in their work.'
Thus the hundred craftsmen all have standards as a basis for their work. Nowadays, the greatest [achievement] is to bring good order to the world and the next greatest is to bring good order to a large state, but to attempt these things without reliance on standards is to compare unfavourably with the hundred craftsmen in terms of wisdom.

4.2 This being so, what can be taken as a standard for bringing about good order? Would it be fitting if everyone took their parents as the standard? There are many parents in the world, but only a few who are ren (loving, kind, humane and benevolent). If everyone took their parents as the standard, this would be a standard without ren. A standard without ren cannot be taken as a standard. Would it be fitting if everyone took their teachers as the standard? There are many teachers in the world, but only a few who are ren. If everyone took their teachers as the standard, this would be a standard without ren. A standard without ren cannot be taken as a standard. Would it be fitting if everyone took their rulers as a standard? There are many rulers in the world, but only a few who are ren. If everyone took their rulers as the standard, it would be a standard without ren. A standard without ren cannot be taken as a standard. Therefore all three – parents, teachers and rulers
cannot be taken as standards for bringing about good order.

4.3 This being so, what can be taken as a standard for bringing about good order? It is said that there is no standard like Heaven. Heaven is broad and unselfish in its actions, and acts generously without considering itself virtuous. Its brightness is long-lasting and does not decay. Therefore, the sage kings\(^1\) made it their standard. If Heaven is taken as the standard, then all one’s actions must be measured against Heaven. What Heaven desires should be done; what it does not desire should not be done. This being so, what does Heaven desire? What does Heaven abhor? Undoubtedly what Heaven desires is for there to be mutual love and mutual benefit among people. What it does not desire is for there to be mutual hatred and mutual harm among people. How do we know that Heaven desires mutual love and mutual benefit among people and does not desire mutual hatred and mutual harm among people? We know because it is without partiality in loving and benefiting them. How do we know that Heaven is without partiality in loving and benefiting them? We know because it is without partiality in possessing and feeding them.
4.4 Nowadays all the countries under Heaven, whether large or small, are Heaven’s countries. People, whether young or old, whether noble or base, are all Heaven’s subjects. This is why there are none who don’t provide fodder for their oxen and sheep, who don’t feed their dogs and pigs and who don’t meticulously prepare the vessels for the sacrificial wine and millet to honour the actions of Heaven. Is this not because Heaven is without partiality in possessing and feeding them? If Heaven possesses and feeds them without partiality, how can we say that it doesn’t want mutual love and mutual benefit among people? This is why I say that Heaven will certainly bring good fortune to those who love and benefit people and will certainly bring misfortune to those who hate and harm people. I also say that those who kill the innocent will meet with disaster. How can it be said that Heaven will bring misfortune to those who kill others? Because Heaven desires mutual love and mutual benefit among people and does not desire mutual hatred and mutual harm among people.

4.5 In ancient times, the sage kings, Yu, Tang, Wen and Wu, loved the ordinary people of the world, leading them to venerate Heaven and serve ghosts; their benefiting people was very great. Therefore, Heaven brought them good fortune, established them as Sons of Heaven, and the feudal
lords of the world all respected and served them. The tyrannical kings, Jie, Zhou, You and Li hated the ordinary people of the world indiscriminately, leading them to revile Heaven and insult ghosts; their harming of people was very great. Therefore, Heaven brought them misfortune, causing them to lose their states and households, and to be slaughtered and held in contempt in the world so that posterity continues to vilify them right to the present day. Therefore, those who were without goodness and so suffered misfortune were Jie, Zhou, You and Li. Those who loved and benefited people and so attained good fortune were Yu, Tang, Wen and Wu. So there are those who attain good fortune through loving and benefiting people, and there are also those who suffer misfortune through hating and harming people.
5

The Seven Misfortunes
(Qī Huān)

5.1 Master Mo said: ‘A state has seven misfortunes. What are these seven misfortunes? When the city walls and moats cannot be kept in good repair but palaces and dwellings are well maintained – this is the first misfortune. When enemy states approach the frontiers and neighbouring states don’t come to one’s aid – this is the second misfortune. When the strength of the people is exhausted beforehand in useless undertakings, but material rewards are given to those without ability, when the people’s strength is dissipated without result, but goods and valuables are wasted in entertaining guests – this is the third misfortune. When officers are concerned about safeguarding their salaries, when travelling scholars are fond of fraternizing, when the ruler frames laws to punish
officials, and when officials fear punishment and do not dare to oppose him – this is the fourth misfortune. When the ruler considers himself to have the wisdom of a sage and doesn’t ask about affairs, when he regards himself as secure and strong and makes no preparations for defence, and when the four neighbouring states scheme and he doesn’t realize that he should take precautions – this is the fifth misfortune. When those who are trusted are not loyal and those who are loyal are not trusted – this is the sixth misfortune. When the stored and planted pulses and grains are not enough to provide food, when great officers are not adequate to carry out affairs, when rewards and gifts cannot bring happiness and when penalties and punishments cannot bring fear – this is the seventh misfortune. If the seven misfortunes exist in a state, there will surely be loss of that state. If there are the seven misfortunes in guarding a city, the state will be overthrown when an enemy comes. If the seven misfortunes prevail, a state will certainly meet with disaster.

5.2 ‘In general, the five grains\(^1\) are what the people rely on and what the ruler takes as his support. Therefore, if the people have nothing to rely on, the ruler has no means of support. If the people have no food, they cannot conduct their affairs. Thus food must be taken as fundamental, land
must be worked and there must be moderation in use. When the five grains are all gathered, the five tastes are all offered to the ruler; when they are not all gathered, the five [tastes] are not all offered. When one of the grains is not harvested, it is spoken of as a dearth. When two of the grains are not harvested, it is spoken of as a scarcity. When three of the grains are not harvested, it is spoken of as a misfortune. When four of the grains are not harvested, it is spoken of as a failure. When five of the grains are not harvested, it is spoken of as a famine. In a year of dearth, officers from grand masters down should all suffer a reduction in salary of one part in five. In a year of scarcity, they should suffer a reduction of two parts in five. In a year of misfortune, they should suffer a reduction of three parts in five. In a year of failure, they should suffer a reduction of four parts in five. In a year of famine, they should have no salary at all, only an allowance of food. When misfortune occurs in a state, the ruler should reduce the food for the sacrificial vessels by three parts in five. Grand masters should do away with musical instruments. Ordinary officers should not enter the schools. The ruler’s ceremonial garments should not be renewed. Guests of the feudal lords and messengers from the four neighbouring states should have prepared food, but it should not be abundant. Six-horse teams should be reduced to two-horse
teams. Paths should not be repaired, horses should not eat grain, and servants and concubines should not dress in silk, thus indicating the extreme degree of insufficiency.

5.3 ‘Now if a mother who is carrying her child on her back while drawing water lets the child fall into the well, she will certainly follow and drag her child out. But if there is a disastrous year of famine, with people hungry and starving by the roadside, this is a much greater source of distress than dropping a child into a well. Can this not be recognized? Thus, if the seasons of the year are good, the people are ren (generous) as well as good. [Conversely,] if the seasons of the year are disastrous, the people are parsimonious as well as bad. Is the nature of people not constant in this respect? If there are few people who produce food, but many who eat, it is not a year of abundance. Therefore it is said that if materials are insufficient, attention should be directed to the seasons; if food is insufficient, attention should be directed to use. The people of ancient times used the seasons’ production for the creation of resources. With this as the firm foundation for their use of resources, they were sufficient. Even if earlier times had sage kings, how could they ensure that the five grains were always harvested and that droughts and floods did not occur? Nevertheless, there were no
people who froze or starved. How was this so? They worked hard in accord with the seasons and were frugal in their own lives. So the *Xia Documents* states: “Yu had floods for seven years” while the *Yin Documents* states: “Tang had drought for five years.” This shows they encountered disaster and famine to an extreme degree. Nevertheless, the people did not freeze or starve. How was this so? It was because the production of resources was substantial, but their use was moderate.

5.4 ‘If granaries are not supplied with grain, it is impossible to deal with disaster and famine. If armouries are not supplied with weapons, even if there is *yi* (right action and justice), it is impossible to prepare troops against those who act wrongly and are unjust (not *yi*). If inner and outer walls are not completely maintained, it is impossible for a city to defend itself. If the mind is not prepared beforehand, it is impossible to respond to crises. An example is Qing Ji whose mind was not prepared for going away so he was unable to escape easily. Jie made no preparations against Tang and so was banished. Zhou made no preparations against Wu and so was killed.² Jie and Zhou were both ennobled as Sons of Heaven and were rich, possessing all under Heaven, yet both were brought to ruin by rulers of small (hundred *li*) states.³ How was this so?
They may have been rich and noble, but they were not prepared. Therefore, being prepared is important for a state. Food is a state’s treasure. Weapons are a state’s claws. Walls are a state’s means of defending itself. These three things are “instruments” of the state.

5.5 ‘Therefore, I say that if [in a state] its great rewards are conferred on those without merit, if its storehouses and armouries are emptied in the preparation of carriages and horses and exotic garments and furs, if hardship is inflicted on servants and foot soldiers by building palaces and houses of fine appearance, if in death the inner and outer coffins are thick and the garments and furs are numerous, if in life towers and pavilions are built, if in death graves and tombs are maintained, the result is that the people suffer without and the storehouses and armouries are exhausted within. Those above are not satisfied with their pleasures and those below cannot endure their hardships. Therefore, the country suffers from bandits and enemies and so is damaged. The people experience calamity and famine and so perish. These are all faults due to not being prepared. Moreover, food is what sages value. Thus the *Zhou Documents* says: “If a state does not have food for three years, then it is no longer a state. If a household does not have food for three years, then the children are no longer
its children.” This is what is meant by a state being prepared.’
6

Eschewing Faults

(Ci Guo)

6.1 Master Mo said: ‘In the times when the people of old did not yet know how to make dwellings, they lived near hills and mounds and in caves where the moisture and dampness beneath harmed them. Therefore, the sage kings created dwellings and houses. As to their method of building dwellings, they said that a house should be high enough to escape moisture and dampness, the external walls sufficient to withstand wind and cold, the roof sufficient to withstand snow, frost, rain and dew, and the internal walls high enough to maintain the proper separation of men and women. There should be careful attention to these requirements and nothing more, so that, in general, waste of materials and expenditure of strength that did not bring added benefit was avoided. People may
labour in their regular employment and in maintaining their city walls, and yet not be harmed. They may have expenditure due to their regular levies and the collection of rents and taxes, and yet not be distressed. It is not these things that cause the people to suffer. Excessive demands are what cause suffering among the common people. That is why, when the sage kings made dwellings, they made them suitable for living in but not to be pleasing to the eye. When they made clothes, garments, belts and shoes, they made them suitable for the body but not to be strange and exotic. Thus, they were frugal in themselves and instructive to the people, so the people of the world could be provided for and brought to order, and could get enough materials to use.

6.2 ‘Now in their making of palaces and dwellings, the rulers of the present time are different. They invariably make heavy tax demands on the common people, cruelly seizing their materials for clothing and food in order to make dwellings, towers and pavilions of intricate appearance, and to adorn them with green and yellow engravings. And in making their palaces and dwellings like this, their assistants will all imitate them. This is why their resources are insufficient to deal with calamity and famine, and to give relief to orphans and widows, so the state is
poor and the people difficult to govern. If rulers really want the world to be well ordered and find its disorder abhorrent, it is proper that the palaces and dwellings they make cannot be other than moderate.

6.3 ‘In the times when the people of old did not yet know how to make clothes and garments, they wore coverings of skins tied with grasses. In winter, these were not light and warm; in summer, they were not light and cool. The sage kings thought this did not accord with the people’s conditions, so they taught women to make silk and hemp, and to weave cotton and light silk to make clothes for the people. Their rules for making clothes and garments were as follows: in winter the inner garments should be of woven silk, enough to be light as well as warm, and in summer the inner garments should be of fine linen, enough to be light as well as cool. They were careful about this and went no further. Thus, the sages made clothes and garments that were comfortable for the body and in accord with stature – that was enough. They didn’t make clothes and garments to delight the senses and be looked at by fools. At that time, strong carts and fine horses were not regarded as valuable. Carvings and engravings, ornaments and adornments were not regarded as pleasurable. How so? It was because the leadership was as it was. How was it that every family had
enough resources for clothing and food to deal with drought and flood, disaster and famine? It was by having conditions that enabled them to maintain themselves and not be affected by what was external. In this way, the people were frugal and easy to govern while the ruler was moderate in his use of resources and could easily provide [for them]. Storehouses and granaries were full enough to anticipate adverse circumstances. Weapons and armour were not in disrepair. Officers and people were not worn out. This was enough to subjugate recalcitrant states. Therefore, the work of the hegemonical king could be carried out in the world.

6.4 ‘In their making of clothes and garments, the rulers of the present time are different from this. They all already have what is light and warm in winter and what is light and cool in summer, and yet they invariably make heavy tax demands on the ordinary people, cruelly seizing their materials for clothing and food to make elegant, embroidered, ornamented, coloured and beautiful clothes. Gold is used to make hooks, pearl and jade to make girdle ornaments, female artisans make patterns and colours and male artisans make carvings and engravings, all as clothes for the body. Such things cannot be said to increase warmth or coolness. They simply use up resources and exhaust
strength, and all to no avail. Looked at from this viewpoint, they don’t make clothes and garments for the sake of their bodies, but to look good in all cases. As a result, the people will be dissolute, mean and difficult to rule and their rulers will be wasteful, extravagant and difficult to restrain. Now if wasteful and extravagant rulers are attempting to bring good order to dissolute and mean people, it is unreasonable to expect the state to be without disorder. If rulers really want the world to be well ordered and find its disorder abhorrent, it is proper that in making clothes and garments, they cannot be other than moderate.

6.5 ‘In the times when the people of old did not yet know how to make drink or food, they ate simply and lived separately. Therefore, the sages gave instruction, teaching men to plough, cultivate and plant so as to provide enough food for the people to increase their spirits, fill what was empty, strengthen their bodies and satisfy their bellies – that was all. And so their use of resources was moderate and they themselves were frugal, the people were made rich, and the country was well ordered. Nowadays it is not like this. Heavy taxes are imposed on the ordinary people to provide fine food and delicacies, steamed and roasted fish and turtles. Great countries prepare hundreds of dishes and small countries prepare tens of dishes, spread out over
a wide area (a square zhang) so the eye cannot see them all, the hand cannot touch them all and the mouth cannot taste them all. In winter, these dishes will grow cold, and in summer, they will grow rancid. If the ruler prepares drink and food like this, his assistants will imitate him. As a result, the rich and noble will be wasteful and extravagant while orphans and widows will be cold and hungry. Even if there is the desire for no disorder, this cannot be achieved. If rulers really want the world to be well ordered and find its disorder abhorrent, it is proper that in preparing drink and food they cannot be other than moderate.

6.6 ‘In the times when the people of old did not yet know how to make boats and carts, they could not transport heavy loads or reach distant roads. Therefore, the sage kings created boats and carts to facilitate the business of the people. These boats and carts were sturdy and solid, swift and convenient so they could carry heavy loads and travel far. Moreover, the use of resources in their making was small, but the benefit they brought was great, so the people were happy and benefited from them. There were no orders and decrees to spur them on, and yet they acted. The people were not worn out, and yet the ruler had enough for his use, so the people came back to him. Now in their making of boats and carts, the rulers of the present time are different.
Having already made boats and carts that are sturdy and solid, swift and convenient, they invariably impose heavy taxes on the ordinary people in order to embellish the boats and carts, adorning the carts with decorative fabrics and the boats with carvings and engravings. Women put aside their spinning and weaving to prepare the decorative fabrics, therefore the people are cold. Men leave their ploughing and sowing to prepare the carvings and engravings, therefore the people are hungry. If the ruler makes boats and carts like this, then his assistants will imitate him. This will cause the people to be hungry and cold to an extreme degree. Therefore, the people are deceitful and dishonest. And if deceit and dishonesty are rife, then penalties and punishments are severe and the country is in disorder. If rulers really want the world to be well ordered and find its disorder abhorrent, it is proper that in making boats and carts, they cannot be other than moderate.

6.7 ‘Whatever turns and revolves between Heaven and earth, whatever is encompassed within the four seas, must have the nature bestowed by Heaven and the harmonious proportions of yin and yang. Even the greatest sage cannot change this. How do I know this is so? In what the sages transmitted with regard to Heaven and earth, they spoke of upper and lower, and with regard to the four seasons, they
spoke of *yin* and *yang*. With regard to people’s feelings, they spoke of male and female, and with regard to birds and beasts, they spoke of male and female. Truly these were things bestowed by Heaven; even the former kings could not change this. Although the perfect sages of former generations certainly had wives and concubines, this did not harm their behaviour, so the people were without resentment. Within the palace there were not “retained” women, so within the world there were not unmarried men. Within the palace there were not “retained” women and without there were not unmarried men, so the people of the world were many. Now rulers of the present time, in their taking of wives and concubines, have several thousand “retained” women in a large state and several hundred in a small state. This means that many men in the world are without wives and many of the women are “retained” and without husbands, so men and women lose the chance [to marry and have children]. Therefore, the people are few. If rulers really want the people to be many and abhor their being few, they cannot be other than moderate in their taking of wives and concubines.

6.8 ‘In all these five things, the sage is restrained and moderate but the lesser man is unrestrained and immoderate. If there is restraint and moderation, there is
prosperity. If there is lack of restraint and moderation, there is decay. So there must be moderation in these five things. When there is moderation in respect of men and women, Heaven and earth are in harmony. When there is moderation in respect of wind and rain, the five grains ripen. When there is moderation in respect of clothes and garments, skin and flesh are in harmony (i.e. the body will be comfortable).’
Three Arguments
(San Bian)

7.1 Cheng Fan⁠¹ questioned Master Mo saying: ‘You, sir, say that the sage kings did not make music. Yet in former times, when the feudal lords were weary of the affairs of government, they found rest in the music of bells and drums. When officers and high officials were weary of the affairs of government, they found rest in the music of pipes and strings. Farmers ploughed in spring, weeded in summer, harvested in autumn and stored in winter. They found rest in the music of jars and bowls. Now you say the sage kings did not make music. This is like a horse being yoked and never released, or a bow being drawn and never relaxed. Isn’t this something that those who have blood and breath (i.e. living beings) cannot control?’
Master Mo said: ‘In former times, Yao and Shun had thatched roofs. Nevertheless, they created rites and music. Tang banished Jie to the great ocean and established himself as king of all under Heaven. When his administration was successful and there were no major subsequent misfortunes, he continued the music of the former kings. He also created his own music which was called *Hu*, and he arranged the *Jiu Zhao*.² King Wu overcame the Yin and killed Zhou, and so established himself as king of all under Heaven. When his administration was successful and there were no major subsequent misfortunes, he continued the music of former kings. He also created his own music, which was called *Xiang*. King Cheng of Zhou continued the music of former kings and also created his own music which was called *Zou Yu*. But King Cheng³ of Zhou’s rule of all under Heaven was not like that of King Wu. King Wu’s rule of all under Heaven was not like that of Cheng Tang.⁴ Cheng Tang’s rule of all under Heaven was not like that of Yao and Shun. Thus, as their music became increasingly elaborate, so the order they established increasingly diminished. From this it can be seen that music is not a means of bringing order to the world.’
7.3 Cheng Fan said: ‘You, sir, say that the sage kings were without music, but this indicates that there was already music, so how can you say the sage kings were without music?’

Master Mo replied: ‘The decrees of the sage kings were aimed at reducing excess. Eating is beneficial. Those who eat when they feel hunger are wise but those who eat when they don’t feel hunger are certainly not wise. Now the sages did have music, but very little, which is tantamount to not having it.’
Part II

CORE DOCTRINES
8

Exalting Worthiness I
(Shang Xian¹ Shang)

8.1 Master Mo spoke, saying: ‘At the present time, kings, dukes and great officers who govern a state all wish that state to be rich, with a large population and a well-ordered administration. Nevertheless, they don’t get wealth but poverty, they don’t get a large population but a small one and they don’t get good order but disorder. Basically, then, they fail to get what they desire; instead they get what they detest. What is the reason for this?’

8.2 Master Mo spoke, saying: ‘It is because kings, dukes and great officers who govern a state are unable to use “exalting worthiness” and “utilizing ability” in their governing. Thus, if a state has many officers who are worthy and good, its order will be substantial whereas, if officers who are worthy and good are few, its order will be
slight. So the responsibility of great officers properly lies in increasing the number of worthy men and nothing more.’

8.3 [Someone] asked: ‘If this is so, what is the method of increasing the number of worthy men?’

Master Mo replied, saying: ‘Suppose you wish to increase the number of officers of the state who are skilled in archery and charioteering. You must enrich them, ennoble them, respect them and praise them. Then officers of the state who are skilled in archery and charioteering can be obtained in large numbers. How much more so does this apply to officers who are worthy and good – men whose virtue is substantial, men who are discriminating in discussion and well versed in principles. Such men are certainly treasures of the state and [worthy] assistants at the altars of soil and grain. But it is also necessary to enrich them, ennoble them, respect them and praise them. Then good officers of the state can be obtained in large numbers.

8.4 ‘This is why, in ancient times, the sage kings who conducted government, said: “Those who are not yi (right acting, righteous and just), we shall not enrich. Those who are not yi, we shall not ennoble. Those who are not yi, we shall not be kin to. Those who are not yi, we shall not associate with.” When the rich and noble men of the state
heard this, they all withdrew and pondered, saying: “At first, what we relied on were riches and nobility. Now the ruler promotes those who are yi and doesn’t set aside the poor and lowly. This being so, we cannot be other than yi.” When those who were relatives heard this, they also withdrew and pondered, saying: “At first, what we relied on was kinship. Now the ruler promotes those who are yi and doesn’t set aside those who are not relatives. This being so, we cannot be other than yi.” When those who were close associates heard this, they also withdrew and pondered, saying: “At first, what we relied on was close association. Now the ruler promotes those who are yi and doesn’t set aside those who are distant. This being so, we cannot be other than yi.” When those who were distant heard this, they also withdrew and pondered, saying: “At first, because we were distant, we had nothing to rely on. Now the ruler promotes those who are yi and doesn’t set aside those who are distant. This being so, we cannot be other than yi.” When distant and lowly officials of the outer regions, young nobles within the palace, the masses in the capital and the common people of the far-flung regions heard this, they all strove to become yi. What was the reason for this? I say that for superiors employing subordinates, there is only one standard; for subordinates serving superiors, there is only one path. It is like a rich man who builds a high wall
surrounding his house. When the wall is complete, he takes care to make only one entry gate so, when a robber enters, the rich man can close the gate and pursue him, and the robber has no way out. Why is this so? It is because the man in the superior position secures the key point.

8.5 ‘Therefore, the sage kings of ancient times, in conducting government, gave precedence to virtue and exalted worthiness. Although someone might be a farmer, craftsman or merchant, if he had ability, they promoted him, conferring on him high rank, giving him a generous salary, entrusting him with [important] matters and providing him with executive power. They said: “If his rank and position are not high, the people will not respect him. If his stipend and emolument are not generous, the people will not trust him. If his administration and decrees are not put into effect, the people will not fear him.” Putting forward these three things and conferring them on the worthy was not done for the sake of rewarding worthiness, but because they wanted their affairs dealt with successfully. At that particular time then, precedence was based on virtue, responsibility for affairs was based on official position, rewards were determined by meritorious accomplishment, and there was evaluation of achievement and distribution of emoluments accordingly. Therefore,
they did not give officials a permanent high position and did not condemn ordinary people to lifelong lowliness. They advanced those with ability and demoted those without ability. They promoted yi in public and avoided resentment in private. These are the kinds of things I am speaking of.

8.6 ‘Thus, in ancient times, Yao brought forward Shun from the northern side of Fu Marsh, handed over the administration to him, and the world was at peace. Yu brought forward Yi from Yinfang, handed over the administration to him, and the Nine Regions were established. Tang brought forward Yi Yin from his work as a cook, handed over the administration to him, and his measures were successful. King Wen brought forward Hong Yao and Tai Dian from among their snares and nets, handed over the administration to them, and the western lands were subdued. And so during those times, although officials enjoyed a generous stipend and a respected position, they were always reverent and fearful in their actions. [Likewise,] although the people were farmers, craftsmen and merchants, they always strove to encourage one another and value virtue. Therefore, [worthy] officers are the means of assisting [the ruler] in the business of government. If he acquires such officers, his plans will
encounter no difficulties, he himself will not be burdened, his reputation will be established and his achievement will be complete. His glory will be made known and evil will not arise; this will be due to acquiring [such] officers.’

8.7 This is why Master Mo spoke, saying: ‘When times are good, worthy officers must be promoted. When times are not good, worthy officers must be promoted. If you wish to follow the Way of Yao, Shun, Yu and Tang, you cannot do otherwise than exalt worthiness. Indeed, exalting worthiness is the foundation of government.’
9.1 Master Mo spoke, saying: ‘At the present time, kings, dukes and great officers who rule the people, direct the altars of soil and grain and bring order to their state, desire prolonged stability and avoidance of failure. Therefore, how can they not see that exalting worthiness is the foundation of government? How do I know that exalting worthiness is the foundation of government? I say it is from the fact that when those who are noble and wise govern those who are foolish and base, there is order, whereas when those who are foolish and base govern those who are noble and wise, there is disorder. This is how I know that exalting worthiness is the foundation of government. Therefore, the sage kings of old particularly followed exalting worthiness and employed utilizing
ability; there were no factions with fathers and older brothers, no partiality towards the noble and rich and no favouritism towards those of fine appearance. They promoted those who were worthy and gave them high positions, enriching and ennobling them by making them officials and chiefs. They restrained and demoted those who were unworthy, impoverishing and debasing them by making them followers and servants. In this way, the people were all encouraged by their rewards and intimidated by their punishments, and followed each other in becoming worthy. In this way, the worthy were many and the unworthy were few. This was spoken of as exalting the worthy. Subsequently, the sage kings listened to their words, followed their actions, examined their capabilities and cautiously gave them office. This was called using the able. As a result, those who could be used to bring order to the state were used to bring order to the state, those who could be used as senior officials were used as senior officials and those who could be used to bring order to a district were used to bring order to a district. In general, then, those who were used to bring order to the state and administer regions, districts and villages were all worthy men of the state.
9.2 ‘When worthy men bring order to a state, they rise early and retire late, attend to cases at law and administer the government. In this way, the state is well ordered and punishments and laws are correctly implemented. When worthy men are senior officials, they go to bed after dark and rise at dawn, collect the tax revenue from strategic passes, marketplaces, mountains and forests, and marshes and bridges to fill the official treasury. In this way, the official treasury is full and resources are not dissipated. When worthy men administer districts, they go out early and come back late, ploughing and harvesting, planting fruit trees and gathering pulses and grains. In this way, pulses and grains are abundant and the people have enough to eat. Thus, if the state is well ordered, punishments and laws are correctly implemented. If the storehouses are full, the ten thousand people are enriched. Above, the vessels of sweet wine and millet will be pure for the sacrifices to Heaven and ghosts. Externally (abroad), there will be hides and silks to exchange with the feudal lords on all four sides. Internally (at home), there will be food for the hungry and rest for the weary, and the wherewithal to nourish the ten thousand people and foster the worthy men of the world. For this reason, from above, Heaven and the ghosts will enrich them. Externally (abroad), the feudal lords will ally with them. Internally (at home), the ten thousand people
will feel close to them and worthy men will return to them. In this way, in planning affairs there will be success, in conducting affairs there will be completion. Defence within the state will be secure and attacks outside the state will be strong. This was also the method used in former times by the sage kings of the Three Dynasties – Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen and Wu – in ruling all under Heaven and holding sway over the feudal lords.

9.3 ‘When there are these methods, but not the knowledge of how to implement them, then affairs will still not be brought to completion. This is because it is necessary to establish three foundations. What do I mean by the “three foundations”? I say they are these: If rank and position are not high, the people will not be respectful; if stored resources and salary are not substantial, the people will not have trust; if administration and decrees are not decisive, the people will not be in awe. Therefore, the ancient sage kings gave those who were worthy high rank and a substantial salary, made them responsible for affairs, and gave them effective executive power. Was this just to reward their officials? No, it was so their affairs were brought to completion. The Odes says:

I tell you to have pity and sympathy.
I exhort you to confer rank.
Of those who can grasp what is hot,
This says that rulers and feudal lords in ancient times could not do otherwise than be close to their successors and assistants. It is like grasping something hot and having water to rinse with so there will be relief for the hands. The sage kings of old thought only of finding worthy men and employing them, of conferring rank on them to enoble them, of dividing up land to enfeoff them and of not tiring in doing these things throughout their lives. Worthy men thought only of finding an enlightened ruler and serving him, exhausting the strength of their four limbs in bearing the burden of the ruler’s affairs, and of not wearying in doing these things throughout their lives. If there was beauty and goodness, this belonged to the ruler. In this way, beauty and goodness lay with the ruler while resentment and ill-repute lay with the subordinates. Peace and happiness lay with the ruler while sorrow and grief lay with the officials. Therefore, the sage kings of ancient times conducted their affairs like this.

9.4 ‘At the present time, kings, dukes and great officers also wish to imitate the ancients by exalting the worthy and utilizing the able in the conduct of government; they elevate them by conferring rank, but the salary doesn’t follow. When there is elevation of rank without a
commensurate salary, the people lack trust. [A worthy man would] say: “This is not a true regard for me; it is hypocritically making use of me.” How can people who are hypocritically made use of feel close to their superiors! Thus, the former kings said: “Those who covet political power are unable to delegate affairs to others. Those who place great value on wealth are unable to distribute emolument to others.” So, if affairs are not delegated and emoluments not distributed, I would ask how worthy men in the world will bring themselves to the side of a king, duke or great officer? If worthy men don’t come to the side of a king, duke or great officer, it is the unworthy who will be standing to the left and right of him. When the unworthy are standing to the left and right, what is praised will not accord with worthiness and what is reviled will not accord with wickedness. If kings, dukes and great officers follow this path in conducting the government of the state, rewards will certainly not match the worthiness and punishments will certainly not match the wickedness. If rewards don’t match the worthiness and punishments don’t match the wickedness, those who are worthy will not be encouraged and those who are wicked will not be stopped. If this is so, there will not be kindness and filial behaviour towards parents at home, and there will not be proper regard for those who are older and younger in districts and villages.
There will not be moderation at home and there will not be restraint outside the home. Nor will there be the proper distinction between men and women. Those who are put in charge of the official treasury will plunder and steal from it, and those who are charged with defending the city will betray and forsake it. If the ruler suffers a calamity, they will not die with him. If he is forced to flee, they will not follow him. Those employed to decide cases at law will not be just. Those who distribute wealth will not do it equitably. Those who plan affairs will not be successful and those who carry out affairs will not bring them to completion. In defence at home, they will not be steadfast. In attack abroad, they will not be vigorous. The reason why even the cruel and tyrannical kings of the Three Dynasties of former times – Jie, Zhou, You and Li – lost their kingdoms and overturned the altars of soil and grain was precisely this. And why was this? It was because in all cases they had a clear understanding of small matters, but did not have a clear understanding of great matters.

9.5 ‘At the present time, when kings, dukes and great officers want a garment they cannot make, they must avail themselves of a skilled tailor. When there is an ox or a ram they cannot slaughter, they must avail themselves of a skilled butcher. So from these two examples, kings, dukes
and great officers must realize they should exalt worthiness and utilize ability in the conduct of government. And yet, when it comes to disorder in the state or danger to the altars of soil and grain, they don’t realize they should employ the able to bring about order. If there are relatives, they employ them. If there are those who are rich and noble without [good] reason or those who are of fine appearance, they employ them. But if those who are rich and noble without [good] reason or those who are of fine appearance were to be employed in government, surely they would not necessarily prove intelligent and wise? If such men are employed in the administration of the state, this is to employ those who are neither intelligent nor wise in administering the state, so the state’s disorder can be known in advance. Moreover, if kings, dukes and great officers have those whom they love for their appearance and employ them, this is certainly not discovering their intelligence and loving them for it. As a consequence, those who are not capable of administering a hundred people are given positions as officials over a thousand people. Those who are not capable of administering a thousand people are given positions as officials over ten thousand people. What is the reason for this? I say if they are given positions as officials with high rank and generous salary, the reason is that [the ruler] loves their appearance
and so employs them. If a person who is unable to administer a thousand people is given a position as an official in charge of ten thousand people, this is ten times his capacity as an official. Now administrative matters arise each day and must be dealt with on that day. But a day doesn’t increase tenfold. Knowledge is needed to deal with them, but knowledge doesn’t increase tenfold. So if you give a man an official post requiring ten times his ability, he will deal with one part but neglect nine parts. Even if day and night were to be joined together for the execution of official business, it would still not be carried out. What is the reason for this? It is because kings, dukes and great officers do not clearly understand the use of exalting worthiness and utilizing ability in the conduct of government. But if exalting worthiness and utilizing ability are used in government, there is order, as I said before, whereas if worthiness is devalued in the conduct of government, there is disorder, as I have said.

9.6 ‘If kings, dukes and great officers of the present time have a genuine desire to bring order to the state, and wish to care for and protect it and not lose it, how do they not recognize that exalting worthiness is the foundation of government? Moreover, it is not as if exalting worthiness as the foundation of government is something Master Mo
alone speaks of. This was the way of sage kings. It was spoken of in the writing of former kings, the “Ju Nian”. The chronicles say: “Seek sage rulers and wise men in order to benefit and aid yourselves.” The “Oath of Tang” states: “Then seek a great sage and join with him, using your strength and being of like mind, to bring order to the world.” These statements show that the sage kings did not lose sight of exalting worthiness and utilizing ability in the conduct of government. That is, the sage kings of ancient times were able to give careful attention to exalting worthiness and utilizing ability in the conduct of government, not mixing these principles with other things, so all within the world obtained their benefit.

9.7 ‘In ancient times, Shun farmed on Li Shan, made pottery on the banks of the Yellow River and fished in Lei Marsh. Yao found him on the northern side of Fu Marsh and raised him to be the Son of Heaven, handing over the government of the world and the administration of the world’s people to him. Yi Zhi (Yi Yin) was the personal servant of a woman from You Xin and was himself a cook. Tang found him and raised him to be chief minister, handing over the government of the world and the administration of the world’s people to him. Fu Yue, clad in coarse cloth bound with rope, was working as a common
labourer at Fu Yan when Wu Ding found him and raised him to be one of the Three Dukes, handing over the government of the world and the administration of the world’s people to him. How was it that someone who was at first a lowly servant was ennobled, who was at first a poor servant was enriched? It was because kings, dukes and great officers clearly understood the need to exalt worthiness and utilize ability in government. In this way, there were no instances of people who were hungry not getting food, or of people who were cold not getting clothing, or of people who were weary not getting rest, or of disorder that was not brought to order.

9.8 ‘Therefore, the ancient sage kings gave careful attention to exalting worthiness and utilizing ability in the conduct of government, taking their model from Heaven. Heaven doesn’t discriminate between poor and rich, noble and base, those far removed and those near at hand, or close and distant relatives. Those who were worthy were put forward and advanced whereas those who were unworthy were held back and rejected. This being so, then who were those both rich and noble who became worthy and so obtained their reward? I say that the former sage kings of the Three Dynasties – Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen and Wu – were such men. And how did they obtain their rewards? I
say that in their governing of the world, they were universal (without partiality) in their love for it, and followed up by benefiting it. They also led the ten thousand people of the world to revere Heaven and serve ghosts. That they loved and benefited the ten thousand people is why Heaven and ghosts honoured them, establishing them as Sons of Heaven and taking them to be the parents of the people. And it is why the ten thousand people served them and praised them, calling them “sage kings”, as they still do to the present day. This, then, is a case of the rich and noble being worthy and so obtaining their reward. Who were those who were rich and noble but were evil, and for this reason suffered their punishment? I say the former cruel kings of the Three Dynasties – Jie, Zhou, You and Li – were such men. How do I know this to be so? I say that in their governing of the world they were without discrimination in their hatred for it and followed by plundering it. They also led the people of the world to abuse Heaven and insult ghosts. They massacred the ten thousand people and for this reason Heaven and ghosts punished them, causing them to die and be desecrated, their sons and grandsons to be dispersed and scattered, and their houses and families to be damaged and destroyed. So they were cut off without descendants and the people went on to condemn them, calling them cruel and tyrannical kings, as they still do to
the present day. This, then, is a case of those who were rich and noble being cruel and tyrannical and so getting their punishment.

9.9 'This being so, then who were those who were closely related but bad and so suffered their punishment? I say that Bo Gun of former times was such a man; he was a direct descendant of the emperor, but had abandoned the emperor’s beneficent virtue and so was banished to the region of Yu where no warmth or light reached him and the emperor did not love him. This was a case of someone being closely related but bad and so suffering his punishment. Who were examples of Heaven employing the able? I say that men of former times like Yu, Ji and Gao Yao were such men. How do I know this to be so? In the writings of the former kings, the “Punishments of Lü” has this to say: ‘The great emperor carefully questioned his subjects and there were complaints against the Miao people. He said that the feudal lords and those below them must be men of obvious virtue not selected by convention, and widows and widowers who were worthy were not to be hidden from notice. Virtue is imposing only when it is truly imposing. Virtue is clear only when it is clearly manifest. Thus he ordered the three lords to be sympathetic but effective in relation to the people. Bo Yi established the
statutes and restrained the people with punishments. Yu brought order to the waters and lands and gave names to the mountains and rivers. Ji came down [from his high position] to sow seed and to cultivate and propagate fine grain. The three lords completed their achievements and their contribution to the people was great.” This, then, is to say that the three sages were cautious in their speech, careful in their actions and meticulous in their planning, searching out the world’s hidden affairs and neglected benefits in order to serve Heaven above, so Heaven took delight in their virtue. Below, they bestowed [benefits] on the ten thousand people, so the ten thousand people received their benefits unceasingly throughout their lives.

9.10 ‘Therefore, the words of the former kings said: “With respect to this Way, when it is used on a large scale, the world will not be defective. When it is used on a small scale, the world will not be in difficulty. When it is used over a long period, the ten thousand people will be benefited by it unceasingly throughout their lives.”’ The “Hymns of Zhou” has this to say: “The virtue of the sage kings is as high as Heaven and as broad as the earth; it illuminates the world. It is as solid as the earth’s foundation and as the mountains’ support; it does not crack or collapse. It is as bright as the sun and as clear as the moon; it is as
constant as Heaven and earth.” This, then, is what is said of
the sage’s virtue: it is clear, bright, all-encompassing and
vast; it is firmly rooted and long enduring. Thus the virtue
of the sage spreads over all Heaven and earth.

9.11 ‘At the present time, kings, dukes and great officers
wish to rule all under Heaven and govern the feudal lords,
but without *de* (virtue) and *yi* (right action, righteousness
and justice), how will they do this? They say it would need
to be through intimidation and force. But why would the
kings, dukes and great officers of the present time choose
intimidation and force? This would only incline the people
towards death. Life is what the people most desire; death is
what they most detest. And yet what they desire is not
attained while what they detest frequently occurs. From
ancient times to the present, there has never been anyone
who has been able to use these methods to rule all under
Heaven and govern the feudal lords. Now if kings and great
officers wish to rule all under Heaven and govern the feudal
lords, if they wish to realize their ambitions for the world
and extend their reputation to later generations, why do
they not look to exalting worthiness as the basis of
government? This was the meritorious conduct of the
sages.’
Master Mo spoke, saying: ‘Kings, dukes and great officers of the world all desire their states to be rich, with a large population and a well-ordered administration. Nevertheless, they don’t realize they should use exalting worthiness in governing their state and people. That is, kings, dukes and great officers don’t know that exalting worthiness is the foundation of government. If kings, dukes and great officers don’t know that exalting worthiness is the foundation of government, can we do otherwise than put forward examples to show that it is? Now suppose there was a feudal lord involved in the administration of his state who said: “All those officers in my state who can shoot arrows and drive chariots, I shall reward and honour, but those who can’t shoot arrows and drive chariots, I shall
censure and degrade.” You might ask, which officers of a state like this would be happy and which would be fearful? I think it would certainly be those officers who were able to shoot arrows and drive chariots who would be happy and those officers who were unable to shoot arrows and drive chariots who would be fearful. I might take this discussion a step further and have him say: “All the loyal and trustworthy officers of my state, I shall reward and honour, but those who are not loyal and trustworthy, I shall censure and degrade.” You might ask, which officers of a state like this would be happy and which would be fearful? I think it would certainly be those officers who were loyal and trustworthy who would be happy and those officers who were not loyal and trustworthy who would be fearful. Now if he makes use of exalting worthiness in conducting the government of his state and its people, he will cause those of the state who do good to be encouraged and those who do evil to be stopped. If this is extended to use in conducting the government of the world, it causes those of the world who do good to be encouraged and those who do evil to be stopped. This being so, why did I previously regard as honourable the Way of Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen and Wu? It was because they were in touch with the masses in issuing their decrees and bringing order to the populace, which meant that those in the world who were good could
be encouraged and those who were evil could be stopped. It is in such a manner that exalting worthiness is identical with the Way of Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen and Wu.

10.2 ‘And yet, at the present time, officers and noble men of the world all exalt worthiness in their private speech, but when it comes to being in touch with the masses in issuing decrees and bringing order to the people, they don’t realize they should exalt worthiness and utilize ability. This is how I know that officers and noble men of the world are clear about small matters but not about great matters. How do I know this is so? Now if kings, dukes and great officers have an ox or a sheep they cannot slaughter, they must send for a skilled butcher. If they have the material for a garment they cannot make, they must send for a skilled tailor. When a king, duke or great officer is in such a situation, although there is a blood relative, or someone rich and noble without good reason, or someone of fine appearance, he would surely know they were not able and he would not use them. Why is this? He would be afraid they might damage the material. When a king, duke or great officer is in such a situation, he does not fail to exalt worthiness and utilize ability. If a king, duke or great officer has a sick horse that he cannot cure, he would certainly call for a skilled veterinarian. If he has an overly stiff bow that he cannot
draw, he would certainly call for a skilled craftsman. When a king, duke or great officer is in such a situation, although there is a blood relation, or someone rich and noble without good reason, or someone of fine appearance, he would truly know they were not capable and he would not use them. What is the reason for this? He would be afraid they might damage the material. When a king, duke or great officer is in this situation, he does not fail to exalt worthiness and utilize ability. But when it comes to his state, he is not like this, in that if he has a blood relation, or someone rich and noble without cause, or someone of fine appearance, then he advances him. So his concern for his state is not like his concern for the matters of the overly stiff bow, the sick horse, the garment, or the ox or sheep. This is how I know that officers and noble men of the world are all clear about small matters, but are not clear about great matters. It is like taking those who are dumb and making them envoys, or taking those who are deaf and making them music masters.

10.3 ‘For this reason, in the ancient sage kings’ governing of the world, those whom they enriched and ennobled were not necessarily the blood relatives of kings, dukes and great officers, or those who were rich and noble without good reason, or those of fine appearance. For example, in former
times, Shun cultivated land on Li Shan, made pottery on the banks of the Yellow River and sold his wares at Changyang. Yao found him on the northern side of Fu Marsh and established him as the Son of Heaven, handing over the government of the world and the administration of the world’s people to him. In former times, Yi Yin was the personal servant of a daughter of the [You] Xin clan and was employed as a cook. Tang found him and raised him to be one of the Three Dukes, handing over the government of the world and the administration of the world’s people to him. Fu Yue of former times lived in the district of Beihai within the prison walls. His garments were of coarse cloth bound with rope and he was working as a common labourer in the city of Fu Yan. Wu Ding found him and raised him to be one of the Three Dukes, handing over the government of the world and the administration of the world’s people to him. Was the reason for Yao’s promotion of Shun, or Tang’s promotion of Yi Yin, or Wu Ding’s promotion of Fu Yue because they were blood relatives, or rich and noble without good reason, or of fine appearance? No, it was only because they modelled themselves on their words, used their plans and carried into practice their Way. Thus it was possible for them to benefit Heaven in the upper realm, to benefit ghosts in the middle realm and to benefit the people
in the lower realm. This was why they brought them forward and elevated them.

10.4 ‘The ancient sage kings gave careful attention to [the principle of] exalting worthiness and wished to use it in governing. Therefore, they wrote it on bamboo and silk, and carved it on ceremonial basins and bowls, in this way passing it on to their descendants of later generations. In the record of the former kings, the “Punishments of Lü”, it is written thus: ‘The king said: ‘Ah come, you who have states and lands, and I shall tell you of just punishments. If at present you are to bring peace to the ordinary people, whom should you select? Is it not worthy men? What should you respect? Is it not punishments? What should you reflect on? Is it not making the punishments fitting?’”

If you are capable in selecting men and give reverent attention to the carrying out of punishments, the Way of Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen and Wu can be reached. How is this? It is through exalting worthiness that it is reached. In the writing of former kings, the Shu Nian, it is written thus: “[They] say: look for sages, valiant and wise men, to guard and assist your person.” This says that former kings, in governing the world, certainly chose worthy men to be their officers and assistants. I say that at the present time, officers and noble men of the world all wish for wealth and
nobility and all abhor poverty and baseness. This being so, how can they attain wealth and nobility and avoid poverty and baseness? I say there is nothing to compare with being worthy. What is the way of worthiness? I say that someone who has strength must hasten to use it to help people; someone who has material wealth must distribute it to people to the best of his ability; someone who possesses the Way must encourage people through teaching. In this way, those who are hungry will get food, those who are cold will get clothing and those who are in disorder will get order. If those who are hungry get food, if those who are cold get clothing and if those who are in disorder get order, this will preserve their lives.

10.5 ‘At the present time, those whom kings, dukes and great officers enrich and ennoble are all blood relatives of kings, dukes and great officers, those rich and noble without good reason, and those of fine appearance. But how are they necessarily wise! If they are not wise, but are made to govern the state, then one knows that disorder of the state will ensue. At the present time, officers and noble men of the world all desire wealth and nobility and all abhor poverty and baseness. This being so, how do they act to achieve wealth and nobility and avoid poverty and baseness? [I] say there is no other way than by being a
blood relative of a king, duke or great officer, by being rich and noble without good reason or by being of fine appearance. But [such people] cannot learn to be able. If the distinction is not recognized, even someone whose moral worth is like that of Yu, Tang, Wen and Wu will not find advancement. And even if a blood relative of a king, duke or great officer is lame, sick, deaf or blind, or is evil like Jie and Zhou, he will not fail to find advancement. The reason for this is that rewards do not match worthiness, and punishments do not match badness. That is, those who are rewarded are without merit and those who are punished are without transgression. The effect of this is that the ordinary people are lazy and unfocused in their minds, are undisciplined in their bodies, are prevented from doing good, make no use of the strength of their limbs and make no attempt to help and encourage each other. Surplus materials are left to rot and decay without being distributed. The excellent Way is hidden and concealed without being taught and explained. In such a situation, those who are hungry don’t get food, those who are cold don’t get clothes and those who are in disorder don’t get order.

10.6 ‘This is why it was that in former times, Yao had Shun, Shun had Yu, Yu had Gao Yao, Tang had Xiao Chen (Yi Yin)
and King Wu had Hong Yao, Tai Dian, Nangong Gua and San Yisheng, the world was made harmonious, and the masses were made prosperous. By these means, those near at hand were made peaceful and those who were distant returned. Wherever the sun and moon shone, boats and carts reached, rain and dew made wet, and grains were what nourished, this obtained, and they were invariably encouraged and praised. So, at the present time, if kings, dukes, great officers, officers and noble men of the world have a genuine wish to be ren (loving, kind, humane and benevolent) and yi (right acting, righteous and just), and to seek high office, if those above desire to be in accord with the Way of the sage kings and those below desire to achieve benefit for the state and the common people, then exalting worthiness should be the method. This is something that must be examined. Exalting worthiness is of benefit to Heaven, ghosts and the common people, as well as being the foundation of government and affairs.’
Exalting Unity I
(Shang Tong¹ Shang)

11.1 Master Mo spoke, saying: ‘Ancient times, when people first came into being, were times when there were as yet no laws or government. There was the saying: “People have different principles.” This meant that if there was one person, there was one principle; if there were two people, there were two principles; and if there were ten people, there were ten principles. The more people there were, the more things there were that were spoken of as principles. It was a case of people affirming their own principles and condemning those of other people. The consequence of this was mutual condemnation. In this way, within a household, fathers and sons, and older and younger brothers were resentful and hostile, separated and factious, and unable to reach agreement and accord with each other.
Throughout the world, people all used water and fire, and poisons and potions to injure and harm one another. As a result, those with strength to spare did not use it to help each other in their work, surplus goods rotted and decayed and were not used for mutual distribution, and good doctrines were hidden and obscured and were not used for mutual teaching. So the world was in a state of disorder comparable to that among birds and beasts.

11.2 ‘It is quite clear that what is taken as disorder in the world arises from the lack of government leaders. Therefore, the one who was the most worthy and able in the world was selected and established as the Son of Heaven. When the Son of Heaven was established, because his strength was not enough alone, there was also selection and choice of the worthy and able of the world who were set up and established as the Three Dukes. When the Son of Heaven and the Three Dukes were established, because the world was vast and wide and there were people of distant countries and different lands, the distinctions between right and wrong, and between benefit and harm could not be clearly understood by one or two people. There was, therefore, division into many states with the establishment of feudal lords and rulers of states. When feudal lords and rulers of states were established, because their strength
was not enough alone, there was also the choice and selection of the worthy and able of the states and their establishment as government leaders. When the government leaders were all in place, the Son of Heaven issued his decree to the people of the world, which said: “On hearing of good or evil, all must inform their superior. What the superior takes to be right, all must take to be right. What the superior takes to be wrong, all must take to be wrong. If those above have faults, admonish them and remonstrate with them. If those below do good, inquire about them and recommend them. Agreement with superiors, not agreement with inferiors, is what superiors reward and inferiors praise. If you hear of good or evil and don’t inform your superiors, if what your superiors take to be right cannot be taken as right and what your superiors take to be wrong cannot be taken as wrong, if superiors have faults and you don’t admonish them and remonstrate with them, if those below are good and you don’t inquire about them and recommend them, if those below align [with each other] and are unable to align with their superiors, this is what those above should punish and what the ordinary people should condemn.” Those above took this as the basis for rewards and punishments, and examined things very clearly to make their judgements reliable.
11.3 ‘This is why the village head was the most ren (loving, kind, humane and benevolent) man of the village. It was the village head who brought administrative order to the people of the village, saying: “When you hear of good or evil, you must inform your district head. What the district head takes to be right, you must all take to be right. What the district head takes to be wrong, you must all take to be wrong. Do away with bad words and study the good words of the district head. Do away with bad actions and study the good actions of the district head. How, then, can there be said to be disorder in the district?” How do we examine what it is that brings order to a district? It is only the district head who can make the principles in the district uniform. This is how there is order in a district. The district head was the most ren man of the district. It was the district head who brought administrative order to the people of the district, saying: “When you hear of good or evil, you must inform the ruler of the state. What the ruler of the state takes to be right, you must all take to be right. What the ruler of the state takes to be wrong, you must all take to be wrong. Do away with bad words and study the good words of the ruler of the state. Do away with bad actions and study the good actions of the ruler of the state. How, then, can there be said to be disorder in the state?”
11.4 ‘How do we examine what it is that brings order to a state? It is only the ruler of the state who can make the principles of the state uniform. This is how there is order in a state. The ruler of a state was the most ren man of the state. It was the ruler of the state who brought administrative order to the people of the state, saying: “When I hear of good or evil, I must inform the Son of Heaven. What the Son of Heaven takes to be right, you must all take to be right. What the Son of Heaven takes to be wrong, you must all take to be wrong. Do away with bad words and study the good words of the Son of Heaven. Do away with bad actions and study the good actions of the Son of Heaven. How, then, can there be said to be disorder in the world?” How do we examine what it is that brings order to the world? It is only the Son of Heaven who can make the principles of the world uniform. This is how there is order in the world. When the people of the world all have respect for and uniformity with the Son of Heaven, but do not have respect for and uniformity with Heaven, calamity is still not avoided. Nowadays, if Heaven’s violent storms and heavy rains are continuous and extreme, this is Heaven’s way of punishing the people for not being in accord with Heaven above.’
11.5 This is the reason why Master Mo said: ‘The ancient sage kings put into effect the five punishments,\textsuperscript{3} which was how they brought order to their people. They were like the main thread in a skein of silk, or the controlling rope of a fishing net, and were the means used to bring the ordinary people of the world into line when they did not exalt unity with their superiors.’
12

Exalting Unity II
*(Shang Tong Zhong)*

12.1 Master Mo said: ‘If we look back to the past, when people first came into being, from the vantage point of the present, it was a time when there were not yet any government leaders. In fact, there was the saying, “The people of the world all differed in their principles.” This meant that for one person there was one principle, for ten people ten principles, and for a hundred people a hundred principles; the more people there were, the more so-called principles there were. This also meant that each person took his own principle to be right and the principles of others to be wrong. As a result, there was mutual disagreement. Within the household there was resentment and enmity between fathers and sons, and between older and younger brothers, since they were all quite disparate in
their minds and unable to reach mutual agreement. Consequently, any surplus energy was wasted (in discord) and was not used in working with each other, excellent doctrines were kept secret and were not used in teaching each other, and surplus materials rotted and decayed and were not shared with each other. The disorder of the world came to be like that among birds and beasts. There were no regulations regarding rulers and ministers, superiors and inferiors, and old and young, and there was no propriety (li) between fathers and sons, and older and younger brothers. This brought disorder to the world.

12.2 ‘It became clear to people that not having leaders of government who could unify the principles of the world brought disorder to the world. This was the reason for choosing the world’s most worthy, good, sagacious, wise, discriminating and clever man, and establishing him as the Son of Heaven, giving him the task of bringing unity to the principles of the world. Once the Son of Heaven was established, his ears and eyes were such that he was not able to bring unity to the principles of the world on his own. For this reason, he chose men in the world who were worthy and good, sagacious and wise, skilled in discussion and clever, and established them as the Three Dukes, to join with him in the task of bringing unity to the principles of
the world. When the Son of Heaven and the Three Dukes were in place, they realized that the world was vast, and that they couldn’t bring the people of the mountains, forests and distant lands to a state of unity, so they divided it up and established the many feudal lords and rulers of states, giving them the task of bringing unity to their own states. When the rulers of states were established, it was also the case that their ears and eyes were such that they were unable to bring unity to the principles of their states, so they chose those who were worthy in their states and established assistants, generals and great officers, right down to heads of districts and villages to join them in the task of bringing unity to the principles of their states.

12.3 ‘When the Son of Heaven, the rulers and feudal lords, and the government leaders of the populace had been established, the Son of Heaven put forth a decree, saying: “Whenever you hear or see something good, you must inform your superior. Whenever you hear or see something bad, you must also inform your superior. What the superior approves of, you must also approve of. What the superior condemns, you must also condemn. When the people are good, inquire about it and reward them. When superiors are at fault, admonish them. Value uniformity with those above and do not act in collusion with those below. If those above
get to know about this, they will reward you. If the ten thousand people hear about this, they will praise you. If, on the other hand, you hear or see something good and don’t inform your superior, or if you hear or see something bad and also don’t inform your superior, if you are unable to approve of what your superior approves of, if you are unable to condemn what your superior condemns, if the people are good but you are unable to inquire about them and reward them, if your superiors are at fault but you are unable to admonish them, if you align with those below and not with those above, and those above find out about this, they will reprove and punish you, and if the ordinary people hear about this, they will condemn and vilify you.”

Therefore, the sage kings of ancient times, in establishing punishments and administering rewards and praise, examined things very clearly to make their judgements reliable.

12.4 ‘In this way, people throughout the world all wished to gain the rewards and praise of their superiors and feared their condemnation and punishment. This is why the village heads complied with the Son of Heaven’s administration and unified the principles of their villages. And when the village heads had unified the principles of their villages, they led the ten thousand people of their villages to exalt
unity with the district chiefs, saying: ‘Everywhere the ten thousand people of the villages should exalt unity with the district chief and not dare to collude with those below. What the district chief approves of, they must also approve of. What the district chief condemns, they must also condemn. They must cast aside their own bad words and learn from the good words of the district chief. They must cast aside their own bad actions and learn from the good actions of the district chief. The district chief is certainly the most worthy man of the district. If all the people of the district take the district chief as their model, how can it be said that the district is not well ordered?’ And what do you think was the cause of the district chief bringing order to the district? I say it was only that he was able to unify its principles. This is how a district becomes well ordered.

12.5 ‘When the district chief had brought order to his district and the district was well ordered, he led the ten thousand people of his district to exalt unity with the ruler of the state, saying: ‘In general, the ten thousand people of the district should all exalt unity with the ruler of the state and not dare to collude with those below. What the ruler of the state approves of, they must also approve of. What the ruler of the state condemns, they must also condemn. They should cast aside their own bad words and learn from the
good words of the ruler of the state. They should cast aside their own bad actions and learn from the good actions of the ruler of the state. The ruler of the state is certainly the state’s most worthy man. If all the people of the state take its ruler as their model, how can it be said that the state is not well ordered?” And what do you think was the cause of the ruler of the state bringing order to the state so it was well ordered? I say, it was only that he was able to unify the principles of his state. This is how a state becomes well ordered.

12.6 ‘When the ruler of a state had brought order to his state, and the state was well ordered, he led the ten thousand people of his state to exalt unity with the Son of Heaven, saying: “In general, the ten thousand people of the state should all exalt unity with the Son of Heaven and not dare to collude with those below. What the Son of Heaven approves of, they must also approve of. What the Son of Heaven condemns, they must also condemn. They should cast aside their own bad words and learn from the good words of the Son of Heaven. They should cast aside their own bad actions and learn from the good actions of the Son of Heaven. The Son of Heaven is certainly the world’s most ren (loving, kind, humane and benevolent) man. If the ten thousand people of the world take the Son of Heaven as
their model, how can it be said that the world is not well ordered?” And what do you think was the cause of the Son of Heaven bringing order to the world? I say, it was only that he was able to unify the principles of the world. This is how the world becomes well ordered.

12.7 ‘If the world exalts unity with the Son of Heaven, but doesn’t yet exalt unity with Heaven, then Heaven’s calamities will still not stop. Therefore, it is right to expect Heaven to send down cold and heat without moderation, to [send down] snow, frost, rain and dew out of season, causing the five grains not to ripen, the six animals not to flourish, and pestilence and plague to occur, as well as whirlwinds and flooding rains. And these will be unceasing and extreme. These are the punishments Heaven brings down with the intention of punishing the people below who don’t exalt unity with Heaven. Thus it was that in ancient times, the sage kings had a clear understanding of what Heaven and ghosts wished for and avoided what Heaven and ghosts abominated. So they sought to promote the world’s benefits and eliminate the world’s harms. This is why they led the ten thousand people of the world by fasting and bathing, and purifying the vessels of sweet wine and millet to offer sacrifice to Heaven and the ghosts. In their serving of ghosts and spirits, they dared not have vessels of sweet
wine and millet that were not clean and pure; they dared not have sacrificial animals that were not sleek and fat; they dared not have jade tablets and silk offerings that did not conform to standard measurements. In the spring and autumn sacrifices, they did not dare miss the proper time. In hearing lawsuits, they did not dare to be unfair. In distributing wealth, they did not dare to be inequitable. In their ordinary dwellings, they did not dare to be disrespectful. I say that their being government leaders like this was the reason Heaven and the ghosts above were generous towards them in their conduct of government, and the ten thousand people below were of benefit to them in their conduct of government. Since Heaven and ghosts were profoundly generous, they could be resolute in carrying out their business, and so the blessings of Heaven and ghosts could be obtained. Since the ten thousand people were of benefit to them, they could be resolute in carrying out their business, and so the love of the ten thousand people could be obtained. Their conducting government like this was why their plans were realized and the business they undertook was successful. In defence, they were secure. In attack, they were victorious. Why was this so? I say it was just that they were able to exalt unity in the conduct of government. Therefore, in ancient times, the sage kings conducted government like this.’
Nowadays, the people of the world say: ‘At the present time, the government leaders of the world still haven’t abandoned the world, and yet the world is in disorder. What is the reason for this?’ Master Mo says: ‘At the present time, those who are government leaders are fundamentally different from those of ancient times. It is like the case of the You Miao and their use of the five punishments. In former times, the sage kings formulated the five punishments for the purpose of bringing order to the world. When it came to the You Miao’s formulation of the five punishments, this brought disorder to the world. Does this mean, then, that the punishments themselves were not good? No, it means that the use of punishments was not good. This is why, in the words of the book of the former kings, the “Punishments of Lü”, it is said: “The Miao people were not selective in their use of punishments. They just established the five violent punishments and called them laws.”¹ This says that those who were skilled in the use of punishments used them to bring order to the people, whereas those who were not skilled in the use of punishments conceived of the five violent punishments. Does this mean that punishment itself was not good? No, it was the use of punishments that was not good. Therefore, the five violent punishments subsequently arose. This is why, in the words of the
writings of the former kings, the *Shu Ling*,

2 it is said: “The mouth may emit what is good or it may promote warfare.” This is to say that those who are skilled in the use of the mouth emit what is good, [whereas] those who are not skilled in the use of the mouth use it to slander and incite enmity. Does this mean that the mouth itself is not good? No, it is the use of the mouth that is not good. Therefore, it is subsequently used to slander and incite enmity.

12.9 ‘Thus, in ancient times, the establishment of government leaders was intended to bring order to the people. It may be compared to silk threads being gathered into a skein or a fishing net having a main rope, in that they were what was used to draw together the depraved and cruel [people] of the world and cause them to have unity of their principles. This is why the book of the former kings, the “Xiang Nian”,

3 has this to say: “In the establishment of states and the setting up of cities, the creation of rulers, kings, princes and dukes was not so they could be proud. The appointment of ministers and officials was not so they could live in idleness. It was for the apportionment of responsibility for the peace of the world.” This says that in ancient times the Supreme Ruler and ghosts and spirits, in setting up states and cities, established leaders of government not for the sake of giving them high rank or
large salaries, or to live in a state of wealth, opulence, licentiousness and ease, but so they could act for the ten thousand people, promoting benefit and eliminating harm. It was so they could enrich the poor and make the few many, bring peace where there was danger and order where there was disorder. Thus, the way the ancient sage kings conducted government was like this.

12.10 ‘Nowadays, kings, dukes and great officers who conduct government are the opposite of this. Government is by flatterers and sycophants. Kindred, in the form of fathers and elder brothers, and old friends and acquaintances are used as assistants and established as government leaders. The people know that those above, in establishing government leaders, are not doing so for the purpose of bringing order to the people. This is why the people all form cliques and deceive one another. It is why they are not willing to value unity with their superiors. This is why there is no unity of principles, either above or below. If those above and below don’t have unity of principles, rewards and praise are not enough to encourage goodness, and punishments and penalties are not enough to put a stop to evil. How do I know this is so? Suppose the ruler in establishing and conducting the government in a state and making government leaders for the people claims
that if there are people who should be rewarded, he will reward them. If those above and below don’t have unity of principles, then those the ruler rewards will be those the people condemn. But I say it is the people who live with them every day and it is by the people that they are condemned. Then even if people are rewarded by the ruler, this will not be enough to encourage them. Suppose the ruler in establishing and conducting the government in a state and making government leaders for the people claims that if there are people who should be punished, he will punish them. But if above and below there is not unity of principles, then those whom the ruler punishes will be those the people praise. But I say it is the people who live with them every day and it is by the people that they are praised. Then even if they are punished by the ruler, this will not be enough to stop them. If in establishing and conducting government and creating leaders of the people, rewards and praise are not enough to encourage goodness, and punishments and penalties do not stop evil, then is this not the same as I originally described a little earlier as the time when people first came into existence and did not have government leaders! If having government leaders is just the same as the time when there were no government leaders, this is not the way to bring order to the people and unity to the masses.
12.11 ‘Therefore, the sage kings of ancient times, because they were able to select carefully people who exalted unity and make them leaders of government, ensured that the feelings of those above and below were in harmony. If those above had any matters that hadn’t been planned or benefits that hadn’t been initiated, those below learned of these and achieved them. If those below had any stored up resentments or accumulated harms, those above learned of these and eliminated them. So it was that if there was someone who had done good several thousand or even ten thousand li away, although family members were unaware of it and district and village had not heard of it at all, the Son of Heaven learned of it and rewarded him. And if there was someone who had done evil several thousand or even ten thousand li away, although family members were unaware of it and district and village had not heard of it at all, the Son of Heaven learned of it and punished him. Thus the people of the world were all fearful, agitated and awestruck, and did not dare act in a depraved or evil manner, saying that the Son of Heaven’s sight and hearing were those of a spirit. But words of the former kings say: “He is not a spirit. It is only that he is able to use the ears and eyes of the people to help his own sight and hearing, to use the lips of the people to help his own speech, to use the minds of the people to help his own plans and to use the limbs of
the people to help his own actions.” If those who help his sight and hearing are many, then what he hears and sees is far-distant. If those who help his speech are many, then the comfort given by his wise words is far-reaching. If those who help his plans are many, then his schemes and devices are swiftly accomplished. If those who help him in his activities are many, then the matters he embarks upon will be swiftly brought to completion.

12.12 ‘There was no other reason why the sages of ancient times brought their achievements to completion and passed their reputations down to later generations than that they were able to conduct their administration by means of exalting unity. This is why, among the writings of the former kings, in the “Hymns of Zhou”, there is the statement: “[The feudal lords] first came to see the Zhou king. It is said they sought from him the regulations.” This tells how, in ancient times, the rulers of states and the feudal lords came to the Son of Heaven’s court in spring and autumn to pay their respects and to receive his strict instructions. Then they returned to rule their states and implement these instructions, and there was not one who dared not comply. At that time, there was basically no one who dared disregard the Son of Heaven’s instructions. The Odes says: “My horses are white and black-maned; the six
reins look glossy. I gallop the horses and urge them on, everywhere seeking information and advice.” It also says: “My horses are piebald; the six reins are like silk. I gallop the horses, and urge them on, everywhere seeking information and counsel”, so telling of these conditions. In ancient times, the rulers of states and the feudal lords, when they heard or saw something good or bad, all rode swiftly to inform the Son of Heaven. This is why rewards were appropriately given to the worthy and punishments appropriately inflicted on the bad. The innocent were not put to death nor were the guilty let off. This, then, was the good outcome of exalting unity.’

12.13 This is why Master Mo said: ‘Nowadays, if kings, dukes, great officers, officers and noble men of the world sincerely wish to enrich their states, make their people many, bring order to their government and establish their altars of soil and grain, then it is proper that they cannot do otherwise than examine exalting unity. This is the foundation.’
Exalting Unity III
*(Shang Tong Xia)*

### 13.1

Master Mo spoke, saying: ‘The business of one who is wise must be to work out what it is that brings order to the ordinary people of the state and do it, and to work out what it is that brings disorder to the ordinary people of the state and avoid it. So how does he work out what it is that brings order to the ordinary people of the state? If the ruler in carrying out government understands the feelings (conditions) of those below him, there is order; if he does not understand the feelings (conditions) of those below him, there is disorder. How do I know this to be so? If the ruler in carrying out government understands the feelings (conditions) of those below him, this means he will have a clear understanding of what is good and bad among the people. If he has a clear understanding of what is good and
bad among the people, then in this case, he will recognize those who are good and reward them, and he will recognize those who are bad and punish them. If he rewards those who are good and punishes those who are bad, then the state will certainly be well ordered. [Conversely,] if the ruler in carrying out government does not understand the feelings (conditions) of those below him, this means he will not have a clear understanding of what is good and bad among the people. If he does not have a clear understanding of what is good and bad among the people, then in this case, he will not recognize those who are good and reward them, and he will not recognize those who are bad and punish them. If those who are good are not rewarded and those who are bad are not punished, and government is conducted like this, the state and its populace will certainly be in disorder. Therefore, failure of rewards and punishments to accord with the feelings (conditions) of those below is a matter which must be examined.’

13.2 This being so, how will the feelings (conditions) of those below be determined and recognized? On this point, Master Mo said: ‘It is only possible through carrying out government by exalting unity of principles. After this, it is possible. How do I know that exalting unity of principles is possible and can be used to govern the world? How else
than by examining the way government was conducted when it first came into existence. In ancient times, when Heaven first gave rise to people, there were no government leaders and each person was his own master. If each person was his own master, then for one person there was one principle, for ten people ten principles, for a hundred people a hundred principles, for a thousand people a thousand principles and so on up to the point where the great number of people could not be counted. At this time then, what were termed principles also could not be counted. This meant that everyone affirmed their own principles and rejected the principles of others with the result that there was fighting over what was weighty and contention over what was trivial.

13.3 ‘This resulted in the world’s desire to unify the principles of the world, so there was the selection of one who was worthy and he was established as the Son of Heaven. Because the Son of Heaven knew that his strength alone was not sufficient to bring order to the world, he selected his deputies and established them as the Three Dukes. The Three Dukes also knew that their strength alone was not sufficient to assist the Son of Heaven, so they divided the state and established the feudal lords. The feudal lords also knew that their strength alone was not
sufficient to bring order to the territory within their four boundaries, so they selected assistants and established them as ministers and stewards. The ministers and stewards also knew that their strength alone was not sufficient to assist their ruler, so they selected assistants and established them as district heads and regional chiefs. The reason why in ancient times the Son of Heaven established the Three Dukes, the feudal lords, ministers and stewards, district heads and regional chiefs was not especially to select them for riches and honour, leisure and ease, but to help in bringing order to government. Thus in ancient times, states were created and cities built; also rulers, kings, princes and dukes were established and ministers, officers, administrators and regional heads were appointed. This was not because they wished to make them happy by using them, but by distinguishing them to use them to help bring enlightened order to the world.

13.4 ‘At the present time, why is it that there are superiors, and yet they are unable to bring order to inferiors; why is it that there are inferiors, and yet they are unable to serve their superiors? It is because superiors and inferiors harm one another. Why is this so? It is because principles are not uniform. If principles are not uniform, there are factions. For example, if a superior considers someone to be good,
he will reward him. But if this person gets the superior’s reward, and yet he cannot escape vilification by the common people, his being good certainly cannot be encouraged by being rewarded. [Conversely,] if a superior considers someone to be bad, he will punish him. But if this person suffers the superior’s punishment, and yet he is comforted by the praise of the common people, his being bad certainly cannot be prevented by being punished. So it was determined that rewards and praise from those above are not enough to encourage goodness, and censure and punishment are not enough to prevent evil. What is the reason for this being so? It is because principles are not unified.’

13.5 So then, if we wish to unify the principles of the world, how can it be done? On this point, Master Mo spoke, saying: ‘Why not try getting the leaders of houses to issue a proclamation to their families, saying: ‘If you see someone who loves and benefits the family, you must make it known. If you see someone who hates and harms the family, you also must make it known. If you inform about someone who loves and benefits the family, this too is like loving and benefiting the family. If those above learn of this, they will reward the person. If the masses hear of this, they will praise the person. If you do not inform about
someone who hates and harms the family, this too is like hating and harming the family. If those above learn of this, they will punish the person. If the masses hear of this, they will condemn the person.” If this is generally applied to members of families, they will all want to get the rewards and praise of their superiors and avoid their censure and punishment. Thus, if what is good is spoken about and what is bad is spoken about, the family head will learn of the good people and reward them, and will learn of the bad people and punish them. If the good people are rewarded and the bad people are punished, the family will certainly be well ordered. So what is it that determines that a family is well ordered? It is nothing more than being able to exalt unity of principles as the basis for administration.

13.6 ‘Now if families are already well ordered, does this mean that the way of ordering the state is already complete? It does not. A state comprises a very great number of families, and if all consider their own family to be right and the families of others to be wrong, this means that on substantial matters there is disorder and on minor matters there is contention. Therefore, it should also be the case that the family chiefs unify the principles of their own families and bring them into accord with the ruler of the state. The ruler of the state should also issue a
proclamation to all its people, saying: “If you see someone who loves and benefits the state, you must make it known. If you see someone who hates and harms the state, you must also make it known. If you inform about someone who loves and benefits the state, this too is like loving and benefiting the state. If those above learn of it, they will reward the person. If the masses hear about it, they will praise the person. If you see someone who hates and harms the state and do not inform about it, this too is like hating and harming the state. If those above learn of it, they will punish the person. If the masses hear about it, they will condemn the person.” If this is generally applied to the people of the state, they will all want to get the rewards and praise of their leaders and avoid their censure and punishment. This is why, if the people see someone who is good, they will speak of it, and if they see someone who is bad, they will speak of it, so the ruler of the state will learn of the good people and reward them, and will learn of the bad people and punish them. If the good people are rewarded and the bad people are punished, the state will certainly be well ordered. So what is it that determines that a state is well ordered? It is nothing more than being able to exalt unity of principles as the basis for administration.
Now if the states are already well ordered, does this mean that the way of ordering the world is already complete? It does not. The world comprises a great number of states, and all consider their own state to be right and the states of others to be wrong. This means that on substantial matters there is armed conflict and on minor matters there is contention. Therefore, it should also be the case that the rulers of states unify the principles of their own states and exalt unity with the Son of Heaven. The Son of Heaven should also issue a proclamation to all the people of the world, saying: “If you see someone who loves and benefits the world, you must make it known. If you see someone who hates and harms the world, you must also make it known. If you inform about someone who loves and benefits the world, this too is like loving and benefiting the world. If those above learn of it, they will reward the person. If the masses hear about it, they will praise the person. If you see someone who hates and harms the world and do not inform about it, this too is like hating and harming the world. If those above learn of it, they will punish the person. If the masses hear about it, they will condemn the person.” If this is generally applied to the people of the world, they will all want to get the rewards and praise of their leaders and avoid their censure and punishment. This means that if they see someone who is
good or someone who is bad, they make it known. If the Son of Heaven learns of the good people and rewards them and learns of the bad people and punishes them, so the good people are rewarded and the bad people are punished, then the world will certainly be well ordered. So what is it that determines that the world is well ordered? It is nothing more than being able to exalt unity of principles as the basis of administration.

13.8 ‘If the world is already well ordered, it means that the Son of Heaven has also unified the principles of the world through exalting unity with Heaven. It is right that exalting unity is a theory. When used on the highest scale by the Son of Heaven, it can bring order to the world. When used on a moderate scale by feudal lords, it can bring order to their states. When used on a small scale by family chiefs, it can bring order to their families. This means that if it is used on a large scale, it brings order to the world and is not deficient, while if it is used on a small scale, it brings order to one state or one family and is not filled up. This is why it is spoken of as the Way.’

13.9 Therefore, it is said that bringing order to the states of the world is like bringing order to a single family. Making proper use of the people of the world is like making proper
use of one person. How could anyone think that Master Mo alone had this [principle] and that the former kings did not have this which he had? They were also like this. The sage kings all used exalting unity in governing, therefore the world was brought to order. How do I know this was so? It is in the writings of the former kings. The words of ‘The Great Oath’ say: ‘If a lesser man sees or hears of something villainous or wicked and does not speak, he displays an equivalent fault.’ This is like saying, if someone sees something depraved and perverse and does not report it, his fault is also like that of the one who is depraved and perverse.

13.10 Therefore, in the case of the sage kings of ancient times who governed the world, those whom they selected to be their aides and assistants were all men of outstanding ability, and there were many to help them see and hear. As a result, when they made plans for people, they realized them before others would have, and when they managed affairs for people, they brought them to completion before others would have. Praise for their fine reputation was heard before that for others. Only because they put their trust in the people in conducting affairs did they enjoy benefits like this. In ancient times, there was this saying: ‘Seeing with one eye is not like seeing with two eyes. Hearing with one
ear is not like hearing with two ears. Grasping something with one hand is not like the strength of two hands.’ And it was only because they were able to put their trust in the people in conducting affairs that they enjoyed benefits like this. This is why, when the ancient sage kings governed the world, if there was a worthy man more than a thousand li away, while the people of his district and village had not yet all heard of him or seen him, the sage kings learned of him and rewarded him. And if there was an evil man more than a thousand li away, while the people of his district and village had not yet all heard of him or seen him, the sage kings learned of him and punished him. Was this because the sage kings were particularly sharp of hearing and keen of sight? How can one person look and see what is more than a thousand li away, or listen and hear what is more than a thousand li away! The sage kings did not go themselves to look; they did not go themselves to listen. Nevertheless, they made it so that the robbers and bandits of the world, although they might travel all over the world, could find no place of refuge. How was this so? It was because they took exalting unity to be the pinnacle of government.

13.11 This is why Master Mo said: ‘If anyone directs the people to exalt unity but does not love the people deeply, he will find that the people cannot be directed. It is said that
one must deeply love the people to direct them, and have trust in them to control them. One must lead them with riches and honour from the front, and pursue them with clearly understood punishments from behind. If I were to conduct government like this, even if I wished there were not unity with me, I would not be able to achieve this.’

13.12 This is why Master Mo said: ‘If, nowadays, the kings, dukes, great officers, officers and noble men of the world sincerely wish to become ren (loving, kind, humane and benevolent) and yi (right acting, righteous and just), and seek to be superior officers, and if above, they wish to be in accord with the Way of the sage kings, and below, they wish to benefit the ordinary people of the state, they must recognize the validity of the concept of exalting unity and must look upon it as the foundation of government and the essential element of bringing order to a state.’
14

Universal Love I
(Jian Ai¹ Shang)

14.1 A sage is one who takes the ordering of the world to be his business, so he must know what disorder arises from; then he can bring order to the world. If he doesn’t know what disorder arises from, he is unable to bring about order. It is, for example, like a doctor treating a person’s illness. He must know what the illness arises from; then he is able to treat it. If he doesn’t know what the illness arises from, he is unable to treat it. How can bringing order to disorder be the only thing that isn’t like this? One must know the source of disorder; then one is able to bring about order. If one doesn’t know the source of disorder, one is unable to bring about order.

14.2 A sage, being someone who takes the ordering of the world to be his business, must examine what disorder
arises from. How does he attempt to examine what disorder arises from? It arises because people don’t love each other. Ministers and sons not being filial towards rulers and fathers is what is spoken of as disorder. If a son loves himself but doesn’t love his father, then he disadvantages the father and benefits himself. If a younger brother loves himself but doesn’t love his older brother, then he disadvantages the older brother and benefits himself. If a minister loves himself but doesn’t love his prince, then he disadvantages the prince and benefits himself. This is what is spoken of as disorder. If a father doesn’t feel affection for his son, or an older brother doesn’t feel affection for his younger brothers, or a prince doesn’t feel affection for his ministers, this too is spoken of as disorder in the world. When a father loves himself but doesn’t love his sons, then he disadvantages the sons and benefits himself. When an older brother loves himself but doesn’t love his younger brothers, then he disadvantages the younger brothers and benefits himself. When a ruler loves himself but doesn’t love his ministers, then he disadvantages the ministers and benefits himself. How is this? In all cases it arises through lack of mutual love. Even if we come to those who are thieves and robbers in the world, the same applies in so far as they love their own household but don’t love the households of others. Therefore, they plunder the
households of others in order to benefit their own households. A robber loves himself but not others. Therefore he robs others in order to benefit himself. How is this? In all cases it arises through lack of mutual love. Even if we come to the disorder that great officers bring to each other’s households and the attacks made by the feudal lords on each other’s states, it is the same thing. Great officers each love their own household but don’t love the households of others. Therefore they bring disorder to the households of others in order to benefit their own household. Feudal lords each love their own state but don’t love the states of others. Therefore, they attack the states of others in order to benefit their own state. Disorder in the world is entirely this and nothing else. If we examine this, from what source does it arise? In all cases it is due to lack of mutual love.

14.3 If there were universal mutual love in the world, with the love of others being like the love of oneself, would there still be anyone who was not filial? If one were to regard one’s father, older brothers and ruler like oneself, how could one not be filial towards them? Would there still be anyone who did not feel affection? If one were to regard younger brothers, sons or ministers like oneself, how could one not love them? Therefore, there would be no one
who was not filial or affectionate. Would there still be thieves and robbers? If there were regard for the households of others like one’s own household, who would steal? If there were regard for the persons of others like one’s own person, who would rob? Therefore, thieves and robbers would also disappear. Would there still be great officers who brought disorder to each other’s households or feudal lords who attacked each other’s states? If there were regard for the households of others like one’s own household, who would bring about disorder? If there were regard for the states of others like one’s own state, who would attack? Therefore, there would be no instances of great officers bringing disorder to each other’s houses or of feudal lords attacking each other’s states. If the world had universal mutual love, then states would not attack each other, households would not bring disorder to each other, there would be no thieves and robbers, and rulers, ministers, fathers and sons could all be filial and loving. In this way, then, there would be order in the world. Therefore, how can sages who make it their business to bring order to the world do otherwise than prohibit hatred and encourage love? So if there is universal mutual love in the world, there is order, whereas if there is exchange of mutual hatred, there is disorder. This is why Master Mo
said: ‘One cannot do other than encourage the love of others.’
15.1 Master Mo spoke, saying: ‘The way in which the ren (loving, kind, humane and benevolent) man conducts affairs must be to promote the benefits of the world and eliminate its harms, and in this way to conduct his affairs.’ If this is so, then what are the world’s benefits? What are the world’s harms?

Master Mo said: ‘Now states attacking one another, households usurping one another, people injuring one another, rulers and ministers not being [respectively] kind and loyal, fathers and sons not being [respectively] loving and filial, and older and younger brothers not being in accord and harmonious – these are the world’s harms.’

15.2 This being so, how can we examine what these harms arise from? Do they not arise through mutual love? Master
Mo spoke, saying: ‘They arise through lack of mutual love. Nowadays, feudal lords only know to love their own states but not to love the states of others; they have no qualms about mobilizing their own state to attack another’s state. Nowadays, heads of households only know to love their own household but not to love the households of others; they have no qualms about promoting their own household and usurping another’s household. Nowadays, individual people only know to love their own persons and not to love the persons of others; they have no qualms about promoting their own persons and injuring the persons of others. For this reason, if the feudal lords don’t love each other, there are inevitably savage battles; if heads of households don’t love each other, there is inevitably mutual usurpation; and if individuals don’t love each other, there is inevitably mutual injury. If rulers and ministers don’t love each other, there is no kindness or loyalty; if fathers and sons don’t love each other, there is no compassion or filial conduct; and if older and younger brothers don’t love each other, there is no accord or harmony. When the people of the world don’t all love one another, then the strong inevitably dominate the weak, the many inevitably plunder the few, the rich inevitably ridicule the poor, the noble inevitably scorn the lowly and the cunning inevitably deceive the foolish. Within the world, in all cases, the reason why calamity,
usurpation, resentment and hatred arise is because mutual love does not exist, which is why those who are *ren* condemn this state of affairs.’

15.3 Since they already condemn it, how can it be changed? Master Mo spoke, saying: ‘It can be changed by the methods of universal mutual love and exchange of mutual benefit.’ This being so, what are the methods of universal mutual love and exchange of mutual benefit? Master Mo said: ‘People would view others’ states as they view their own states; they would view others’ households as they view their own households; they would view other people as they view themselves. As a result, the feudal lords would love one another and there would be no savage battles. Heads of households would love one another and would not usurp one another. Individual people would love one another and would not injure one another. Rulers and ministers would love one another and there would be kindness and loyalty. Fathers and sons would love one another and there would be compassion and filial conduct. Older and younger brothers would love one another and there would be accord and harmony. If the people of the world all loved one another, the strong would not dominate the weak, the many would not plunder the few, the rich would not ridicule the poor, the noble would not scorn the
lowly and the cunning would not deceive the foolish. Speaking generally, because there was mutual love, there would be nothing in the world to cause calamity, usurpation, resentment and hatred to arise. This is why those who are ren praise it.’

15.4 Nevertheless, nowadays officers and noble men of the world say: ‘That may be so. If it were universal, it would be good. However, in the world it is a difficult matter.’ Master Mo spoke, saying: ‘This is only because the officers and noble men of the world don’t recognize its benefits or understand the reasons for it. At the present time, attacking cities, fighting on the battlefield and sacrificing oneself for fame are all things that the ordinary people of the world find difficult. However, if the ruler advocates these things, officers and people can do them. By comparison, universal mutual love and exchange of mutual benefit are quite different from these things. If a person loves others, then others must as a result love that person. If a person benefits others, then others must as a result benefit that person. If a person hates others, then others must as a result hate that person. If a person harms others, then others must as a result harm that person. Where is the difficulty? It is only because those above don’t make it part of their government that their officers see no reason to do it.
15.5 ‘In former times, Duke Wen of Jin liked his officials to wear clothing of poor quality, so they all wore garments of ewe’s wool, carried their swords in ox-hide belts and had caps of rough silk. On entering, they attended the ruler. On leaving, they walked from the court. Why did they do these things? The ruler liked these things so his officials did them.

15.6 ‘In former times, King Ling of Chu liked officers with slender waists so King Ling’s officials limited themselves to one meal a day, fastened their belts after breathing in and needed the support of a wall to stand up. Within a year, the faces of the court officials had become dark and sallow. Why did they do these things? The ruler liked them so his officials were able to do them. Formerly, the Yue king, Gou Jian, loved officers who were brave and advised his officials of this. Then, privately, he ordered a man to set fire to his palace to put his officers to the test, saying: “All the treasures of the Yue kingdom are in there.” The Yue king himself struck the drum for his officers to advance. When they heard the sound of the drum, they rushed forward in a disorderly rabble. Around a hundred men lost their lives in the fire. The King of Yue then beat the gong to sound the retreat.’
For this reason, Master Mo spoke, saying: ‘Now things like eating little, wearing poor quality clothes and sacrificing one’s life for the sake of fame are all things that the ordinary people of the world find difficult. But if the ruler takes pleasure in them, the masses are able to do them. By comparison, universal mutual love and exchange of mutual benefit are quite different from these things. If a person loves others, then others as a result also love that person. If a person benefits others, then others as a result also benefit that person. If a person hates others, then others as a result also hate that person. If a person harms others, then others as a result also harm that person. What is the difficulty in this? It is only because the ruler doesn’t make it part of his government that his officers see no reason to do it.’

Nevertheless, nowadays officers and noble men of the world say: ‘That may be so. If it were universal, it would be good. However, this is something that cannot be done. It is comparable to lifting up Mount Tai and jumping over the Yellow River and the Qi Waters with it.’ Master Mo said: ‘That is not a valid comparison. Lifting up Mount Tai and jumping over the Yellow River with it could be said to be a feat of extraordinary strength. From ancient times to the present, no one has been able to do this. By comparison,
universal mutual love and exchange of mutual benefit are quite different from this. The sage kings of ancient times practised these things. How do I know this was so? In ancient times, when Yu brought order to the world, in the west he controlled the West River and Yudou by diverting the waters of the Ju and the Sunxing. In the north he controlled the Fang, Quan and Gu waters by making them drain into Zhaoyuqi and into the Hutuo River and dividing them with Dizhu Mountain. He tunnelled through Longmen in order to bring benefit to the Yan, Dai, Hu and He (Mo) and the people of the Western (Yellow) River. In the east he controlled the waters of the Great Plain (Dalu) by blocking off the marsh at Mengzhu and also by dividing them into nine channels in order to restrict the waters of the eastern lands and so benefit the people of Jizhou. In the south, he made the Jiang, Han, Huai and Ru Rivers flow eastward and drain into the region of the five lakes to benefit the people of Jing, Chu, Gan and Yue and the Nan Yi. This tells us of the affairs of Yu [and shows] that now we could practise universal [love].

15.9 ‘In former times, when King Wen brought order to the western lands, he was like the sun and the moon. For the first time, there was brightness in the four regions and the western lands. He made it so that great states did not insult
small states, that the many and numerous did not insult the solitary and few, that the cruel and powerful did not snatch away the different kinds of millet, or the dogs and pigs of farmers. And Heaven looked down on King Wen’s compassion so that those who were old and without sons had what they needed to live out their lives; those who were poor and friendless and without older or younger brothers had the various things they needed to mix with other people; and those who had lost their parents when young could rely on what they needed to grow up. This speaks of the affairs of King Wen [and shows] that we could now practise universal [love]. In former times, when King Wu was about to offer a sacrifice at Mount Tai, he said: “ Spirits of Tai Shan, I, the King of Zhou, have come to offer sacrifice. The great matter has now been accomplished and men of ren arise to come to the aid of all the central states and the barbarians of all regions. And although there are kinsmen of the Zhou house, it is not as if they are men of ren. In every direction there are crimes and I am only one man.” This speaks of the affairs of King Wu [and shows] that now we could practise universal [love].’

15.10 This is why Master Mo spoke, saying: ‘Nowadays, officers and noble men of the world, if they truly wish the world to be wealthy and abhor its poverty, if they wish the
world to be well ordered and abhor its disorder, should take universal mutual love and exchange of mutual benefit as right. These were the methods of the sage kings and the Way of order for the world, so it is impossible not to pursue them assiduously.’
16.1 Master Mo spoke, saying: ‘The business of the man who is ren (loving, kind, humane and benevolent) must be to seek diligently to promote the world’s benefits and eliminate the world’s harms.’ This being so, which of the world’s harms are the greatest at the present time? [Master Mo] said: ‘Great states attacking small states, great households bringing disorder to small households, the strong plundering the weak, the many ill-treating the few, the cunning scheming against the foolish and the noble being arrogant towards the lowly – these are the world’s harms. In addition, rulers not being kind, ministers not being loyal, fathers not being compassionate and sons not being filial are among the world’s harms too. Furthermore, at the present time, base men make use of weapons,
poisons, water and fire to injure and harm one another. This too is harmful to the world. Let us for the moment consider the origin of these many harms – what it is they arise from. Do they arise from loving and benefiting people? We must certainly say they do not. We must say they arise from hating and harming people. And if we were to distinguish and name those in the world who hate people and harm people, would it be “universal” or would it be “partial”? We must undoubtedly say it would be “partial”. This being so, is not this partiality (discrimination) among people really the source of the world’s great harms? This is why partiality (discrimination) is to be condemned.’

16.2 Master Mo said: ‘Those who condemn something must have the means of changing it. If they condemn something without having the means to change, it is like fighting water with water or fire with fire. Their theories will certainly be inadmissible.’ This is why Master Mo said: ‘Universal is the means of changing partial.’ If this is the case, how can universal change partial? [He] said: ‘If people were to regard the states of others as they regard their own state, then who would still mobilize their own state to attack the states of others? They would regard the states of others as they regard their own state. If people were to regard the capital cities of others as they regard their own state.
capital city, then who would still mobilize their own city to strike at the capital cities of others? They would regard the capital cities of others as they regard their own city. If people were to regard the households of others as they regard their own household, who would still stir their own household to bring disorder to the households of others? They would regard the households of others as they regard their own household. Now if states and cities did not attack and strike at each other, and if people’s households did not bring disorder to and damage each other, would this be harmful to the world? Or would it be beneficial to the world? This must be said to be beneficial to the world. For the moment let us think about the origin of these many benefits – what it is they arise from. And what is this from which they arise? Do they arise from hating and harming people? We must certainly say they do not. We must say they arise from loving and benefiting people. And if we were to distinguish and name those in the world who love people and benefit people, would it be “partial” or “universal”? We must certainly say it would be “universal”. In this case, then, it is “mutual and universal” which give rise to the world’s great benefits.’

16.3 This was why Master Mo said: ‘Universal is right. Moreover, as I originally said, the business of the ren man
must be to seek diligently to promote the world’s benefits and eliminate the world’s harms. Now I [have established] what universal gives rise to – it is the world’s great benefits. And I [have established] what partial gives rise to – it is the world’s great harms.’ It is for this reason that Master Mo saying ‘partial is wrong and universal is right’ comes from this principle.

16.4 Now if we are seeking to promote the world’s benefits and eliminate the world’s harms, we shall choose universal as being right. As a result, [people] will use their sharp hearing and keen sight to help each other in seeing and hearing; they will use their strong and powerful limbs to help each other in acting; and they will use their words to further teaching and instruction. As a result, those without wives and children will have the means of support and nourishment throughout their old age, and those who are young and weak, or alone without a father or mother, will have the means of help and support while they grow into adulthood. Now if universal is taken as being right, these are the benefits. I do not know what possible reason officers of the world could have for opposing universal when they all hear about it.
Nevertheless, the arguments of the officers of the world who condemn universal never stop. They say: ‘[Universal] may be good, but how can it be put to use?’ Master Mo said: ‘If it could not be put to use, even someone such as myself would also condemn it. Moreover, how can there be something that is good but can’t be used? Let us for the moment approach [the matter] from two sides. Suppose we consider two officers. Let one of them hold to partial and the other one hold to universal. In the first case, the officer holding to partial would say: “How can I regard the person of my friend as I regard my own person, or regard my friend’s parents as I regard my own parents?” Therefore, if he were to turn his attention to his friend, should he find him hungry, he would not feed him; should he find him cold, he would not clothe him; should he find him sick and ailing, he would not tend to him; and if he died, he would not bury him. The partial officer’s words are like this and his actions are too. The universal officer’s words are not like this and neither are his actions. He would say: “I have heard that one who aspires to high office in the world must regard the person of his friend as he regards his own person and he must regard his friend’s parents as he regards his own parents. Only then can he be considered a high officer in the world.” For this reason, if he were to turn his attention to his friend, should he find
him hungry, he would feed him; should he find him cold, he would clothe him; should he find him sick and ailing, he would tend to him; and if he died, he would bury him. The universal officer’s words are like this and his actions are too.

16.6 ‘Are two such officers mutually contradictory in their words and mutually opposing in their actions? Let us suppose there were two such officers and their words were certainly trustworthy and their actions certainly came to fruition, and that their words and actions corresponded like the two halves of a tally. They would not say something they would not do. In such a case, let us pose this question. Suppose now there was an open plain, broad and uncultivated, where someone was donning his armour and fastening his helmet, about to go into battle, and whether he would live or die could not be known. Or suppose that a ruler or great officer was sending him to a distant place such as Ba, Yue, Qi or Jing, and whether he would return or not could not be known. The question then is, to whom would he entrust the protection of his house and family, the support of his parents and the care of his wife and children? Do we not know whether it would be to someone who held universal to be right or someone who held partial to be right? I think that under such circumstances, the men and
women of the world would not be foolish. Although they might condemn [the views of] the universal person, they would certainly entrust these matters to someone who took universal to be right. In their words, they might reject universal, but in their choice they would select universal, which is a case of words and actions being opposed. We don’t know why it is that the world’s officers all hear about universal and yet condemn it. What can their reasons be?

16.7 Nonetheless, the arguments of the officers of the world who condemn universal never stop. They say: ‘Is it permissible as a way of selecting officers, but not permissible as a way of selecting rulers?’

[Master Mo said:] ‘Let us approach [the matter] from two sides for a moment. Suppose there were two rulers and suppose one of them held to universal and the other to partial. In this case, the words of the partial ruler would be: “How can I regard the persons of my ten thousand people as I regard my own person? This is absolutely contrary to the feelings of [everyone in] the world. A person’s life on earth is very brief. It is like a galloping horse passing a crack.” Therefore, if he were to turn his attention to his ten thousand people, should he find them hungry, he would not feed them; should he find them cold, he would not clothe them; should he find them sick and ailing, he would not
tend to them; and if they died, he would not bury them. The partial ruler’s words would be like this and his actions would be too. The universal ruler’s words would not be like this and neither would his actions. He would say: “I have heard that one who aspires to be an enlightened ruler in the world must give priority to the persons of the ten thousand people and put his own person second. Then he can be considered an enlightened ruler in the world.” Therefore, if he were to turn his attention to his ten thousand people, should he find them hungry, he would feed them; should he find them cold, he would clothe them; should he find them sick and ailing, he would tend to them; and if they died, he would bury them. The universal ruler’s words would be like this and his actions would be too.

16.8 ‘Are two such rulers mutually contradictory in their words and mutually opposing in their actions? Let us suppose they were two rulers whose words were certainly trustworthy and whose actions certainly came to fruition, their words and actions corresponding like the two halves of a tally. They would not say something they would not do. In such a case, let us pose this question. Suppose now the year was one of plague and pestilence, and among the ten thousand people there were many who suffered cold and hunger so the number left for dead in channels and ditches
was already very considerable. Do we not know, if there were to be a choice between these two rulers, which one would be followed? I think under these circumstances, the men and women of the world would not be foolish. Although [people] might condemn universal, they would certainly follow the universal ruler as right. In their words they might reject universal, but in choosing they would select universal, which is a case of words and actions being opposed. We don’t know why it is that the world’s officers all hear about universal and yet condemn it. What can their reasons be?

16.9 Nonetheless, the arguments of officers of the world who condemn universal never stop. They say: ‘Universal might be ren and it might be yi (righteous and just), but how can it be put into practice? We compare the impossibility of practising universal to picking up Mount Tai and leaping across the Yangtse and Yellow Rivers with it. Therefore, universal is no more than a wish. How is it something that can be put into practice?’ Master Mo said: ‘Picking up Mount Tai and leaping across the Yangtse and Yellow Rivers with it is something no one has ever done, from ancient times to the present, from when people first came into existence. Now in the case of universal mutual love and exchange of mutual benefit, this comes from the first four
sage kings personally practising it.’ How do we know that
the first four sage kings personally practised it? Master Mo
said: ‘I myself did not live at the same time as they did, so I
did not personally hear their voices or see their faces. It is
through what they wrote on bamboo and silk, what they
carved in metal and stone, what they engraved on
[ceremonial] plates and bowls to hand down to their
descendants of later generations that I know this. The
“Great Oath” says: “King Wen was like the sun and the
moon, creating light and bringing its brightness to the four
regions and the western lands.” This speaks of the wide
extent and greatness of King Wen’s universal love for the
world being like the sun and moon which universally
illumine all parts of the world without partiality.’ This was
King Wen’s universal and is what Master Mo means when
he speaks of universal, taking King Wen as his model.

16.10 ‘Moreover, it is not only the “Great Oath” that is so.
The “Oath of Yu” is also like this. Yu said: “People
everywhere, I ask you to listen to my words. It is not that I,
one small person, dare to stir up this warlike activity. It is
due to the foolishness of the You Miao that I am
implementing Heaven’s punishment. So I am leading the
hosts of the feudal lords and princes to bring the You Miao
to submission.” Yu’s bringing the You Miao to submission
was not because he sought to increase his wealth and nobility, or because he sought happiness and prosperity, or to bring pleasure to his ears and eyes. It was because he sought to promote the world’s benefits and eliminate the world’s harms.’ This was Yu’s universal and is what Master Mo means when he speaks of universal, taking Yu as his model.

16.11 ‘Moreover, it is not only the “Oath of Yu” that is so. The “Speech of Tang” is also like this. Tang said: “I, the unworthy Lü, dared to use a dark-coloured male animal to inform the Supreme Lord and the spirits of the earth, saying: ‘Now Heaven [has sent] a great drought and it is right that I, Lü, bear the responsibility. I do not know if I have committed a wrong against [the powers] above and below. Where there is good, I dare not conceal it. Where there is wrongdoing, I dare not pardon it. This is something that is clearly understood by the mind of the Supreme Being. If anywhere in the ten thousand regions there is wrongdoing, it is right that I take the responsibility. If I myself do wrong, it need not involve the ten thousand regions.’” This, then, tells of Tang’s ennoblement as Son of Heaven and his enrichment in possessing all under Heaven. Nevertheless, he did not shrink from offering himself as the victim to be used as a sacrifice to persuade the
16.12 ‘Moreover, it is not only the “Oath of Fate” and the “Speech of Tang” that are so. The “Odes of Zhou” is also like this. The “Odes of Zhou” states: “The King’s path is broad and expansive. It is not inclined; it is not partial. The King’s path is level and fair. It is not partial; it is not inclined. Its straightness is like an arrow; its smoothness is like a whetstone. It is what the noble man walks upon. It is what the lesser man looks at.”’ It is words such as these that speak of the principle [of universality]. In ancient times, when Wen and Wu conducted government, with just division they rewarded worthiness and punished evil, showing no partiality to parents or younger and older brothers.’ This was Wen and Wu’s universal and is what Master Mo means when he speaks of universal, taking Wen and Wu as his models. We don’t know why it is that the world’s officers all hear about universal and yet condemn it. What can their reasons be?

16.13 Nonetheless, the arguments of officers of the world who condemn universal never stop. They say: ‘Could it be that not being in accord with the benefit of one’s parents is
harmful to being filial?’ Master Mo said: ‘For the moment let us examine the question of consideration for one’s parents being the basis for a filial son. Do we not know whether in the case of consideration for parents being [the basis for] a filial son, he would also wish others to love and benefit his parents? Or would he wish others to hate and harm his parents? Looking at it from basic principles, he would wish others to love and benefit his parents. In this case then, what would I give priority in day-to-day business in order to attain this? If I were to give priority in day-to-day business to loving and benefiting the parents of others, would others subsequently requite me by loving and benefiting my parents? Or if I were to give priority in day-to-day business to hating and harming the parents of others, would others subsequently requite me by loving and benefiting my parents? Most certainly, if I were to give priority in day-to-day business to loving and benefiting the parents of others, others would subsequently requite me by loving and benefiting my parents. This being the case then, in the interchange between filial sons is there in fact any alternative to giving priority in day-to-day business to loving and benefiting the parents of others? Or are we to regard the filial sons of the world as foolish and not up to accepting this as good? If, for a moment, we take as a basis what the former kings wrote, in the words of the “Greater
Elegies”, it is said: “No words are without response, no virtue is without reward. If you present me with a peach, I shall repay you with a plum.”  

2 This says that whoever loves others must themselves be loved, and whoever hates others must themselves be hated. We don’t know why it is that the world’s officers all hear about universal and yet condemn it. What can their reasons be? Do they think it is difficult or impossible to put into practice? But there have already been things as difficult as this that were able to be put into practice.

16.14 ‘Formerly, King Ling of Jing loved slender waists. During the time of King Ling, the officers of Jing did not eat more than one meal a day. As a result, they had to rely on a stick to get up and used the support of walls when walking. Now restricting one’s food is a difficult thing to do, but they did it because it pleased King Ling. So it doesn’t need more than a single generation for people to be able to change, if they seek to fall in with the wishes of their superiors. Formerly, the Yue king, Gou Jian, loved courage. He instructed his officers and ministers [in it] for three years, but his knowledge was not yet sufficient to know [the outcome of the instruction]. So he set fire to a boat and beat the drum to signal the advance. As those in front fell so those behind took their positions and the
number who succumbed to water and fire could not be counted. At that time, if he had not sounded the drum for retreat, one could say that the officers of Yue would all have perished. Sacrificing oneself is a difficult thing to do, but after they did it, the Yue king was delighted. So it doesn’t need more than a single generation for people to be able to change, if they seek to fall in with the wishes of their superiors. Formerly, Duke Wen of Jin liked coarse clothing. In Duke Wen’s time, the officers of Jin wore clothes of coarse cloth, furs of sheepskin, hats of rough silk and shoes of coarse canvas. [Thus attired,] they went in to see Duke Wen and went out to walk in the court. Wearing coarse clothing is a difficult thing to do, but after they did it, Duke Wen was delighted. So it doesn’t need more than a single generation for people to be able to change, if they seek to fall in with the wishes of their superiors. Now eating very little, entering the burning boat and wearing coarse clothing are among the most difficult things in the world to do, but after they were done the ruler was delighted, indicating that it doesn’t need more than a single generation for people to be able to change. What is the reason for this? It is that they seek to conform to the pattern of their superiors. Now things like universal mutual love and the exchange of mutual benefit are both beneficial and easy to practise in very many ways. I think it is only a
matter of not having a ruler who delights in them and that is all. If there was a ruler who delighted in these things, encouraged people with rewards and praise, and intimidated them with penalties and punishments, I think the people would take to universal mutual love and exchange of mutual benefit, just like fire goes up and water goes down and cannot be stopped in the world.’

16.15 Therefore, universal was the Way of the sage kings. It was the means whereby kings, dukes and great officers brought peace, and the ten thousand people had enough clothing and food. So for the noble man, there is nothing equal to carefully examining universal and assiduously practising it. It inevitably makes rulers kind, it inevitably makes ministers loyal, it inevitably makes fathers compassionate, it inevitably makes sons filial, it inevitably makes older brothers well disposed and it inevitably makes younger brothers respectful. And for a noble man, there is nothing equal to wishing to be a kind ruler, or a loyal minister, or a compassionate father, or a filial son, or a well-disposed older brother, or a respectful younger brother, so it is right that universal cannot but be put into practice. This was the Way of the sage kings; it was of great benefit to the ten thousand people.
Condemning Offensive Warfare I

(Fei Gong Shang)

17.1 Master Mo spoke, saying: ‘In ancient times, kings, dukes and great officers, if they genuinely desired success and abhorred failure, if they wished for peace and disliked danger, could not do otherwise than condemn offensive warfare.\(^1\) Now if there is one man who enters another’s orchard or garden and steals his peaches and plums, all who hear about it condemn him. If those above who conduct government get hold of him, they punish him. Why is this? Because it is by harming another that he benefits himself. When it comes to stealing another’s dogs, hogs, chickens and suckling pigs, his not-\(y\) (wrong and unjust) action is greater than entering another’s orchard or garden and stealing his peaches and plums. What is the reason for this? Because his harming the other is much greater, his lack of
ren (love, kindness, humanity and benevolence) and yi (right action, righteousness and justice) is even greater and his crime more serious. When it comes to entering another’s animal enclosure and taking his horses and oxen, his lack of ren and yi is even greater than stealing another’s dogs, hogs, chickens and suckling pigs. What is the reason for this? It is because the harm to the other is greater still. If the harm to the other is greater still, the lack of ren and yi is even greater and the crime more serious. When it comes to killing an innocent man, seizing his clothes and fur garments, and taking his spear and sword, the lack of yi is even greater than entering another’s animal enclosure and taking his horses and oxen. What is the reason for this? It is because the loss to the other is greater still. If the loss to the other is greater still, the lack of yi is even greater and the crime more serious. If this is valid, the noble men of the world should all know and condemn it, and call it not yi. Now, when it comes to what is a great lack of yi, that is, attacking states, they don’t recognize and condemn it; instead, they commend it and say it is yi (right and just). Can this be called knowing the difference between what is yi and what is not yi?

17.2 ‘The killing of one person is spoken of as not yi (wrong and unjust) and certainly constitutes one capital
offence. Reasoning on this basis, killing ten people is ten times as not \( yi \), so certainly constitutes ten capital offences. Killing a hundred people is a hundred times as not \( yi \), so certainly constitutes a hundred capital offences. If this is valid, the noble men of the world should all know and condemn it, and call it not \( yi \). But when it comes to what is a great lack of \( yi \), that is, attacking states, they don’t recognize and condemn it. On the contrary, they praise it and call it \( yi \) (right and just). They really didn’t know this was not \( yi \) and therefore recorded their words to hand on to later generations. If they knew it was not \( yi \), how do we explain their recording what was not \( yi \) in order to hand it on to later generations?

17.3 ‘Now suppose there was someone, who when he saw a little bit of black, called it black, but when he saw a lot of black, called it white. We would certainly take this person to be someone who did not know the difference between white and black. [Likewise,] suppose there was someone, who when he tasted a little bitterness, called it bitter, but when he tasted a lot of bitterness, called it sweet. We would certainly take this person to be someone who did not know the difference between sweet and bitter. Now when there is a small wrongdoing, people recognize and condemn it. When there is a great wrongdoing, like attacking states,
they don’t recognize and condemn [it]; instead they go along with it and praise it, calling it *yi* (right and just). Can this be spoken of as knowing the difference between what is *yi* and what is not *yi* (wrong and unjust)? This is how we know that the noble men of the world are confused about the distinction between what is *yi* and what is not *yi*.’
Master Mo spoke, saying: ‘In ancient times, kings, dukes and great officers, in conducting government in their states, genuinely wished to be careful with regard to censure and praise, to be just in rewards and punishments and not to fail in judicial and administrative matters. Therefore, rightly, offensive warfare was something they could not pursue. Nowadays, if troops are mobilized and they go forth in winter, there is fear of cold, and if they go forth in summer, there is fear of heat – so they cannot be sent forth in either winter or summer. If they go forth in spring, it disrupts the people’s planting and sowing and the cultivation of trees, and if they go forth in autumn, it disrupts the people’s reaping and storing. Now as there is no one season without disruption, the ordinary people who...
die from hunger and cold cannot be counted. And if you try to calculate how much of the equipment – bamboo arrows, flags and banners, tents, and other things which an army sets out with – is lost or destroyed and doesn’t return, this also is beyond computation. Moreover, the spears, lances, halberds, swords and war chariots the army goes forth with which are destroyed, broken and lost, and don’t return also cannot be numbered. Further, of the oxen and horses that are fat when they go forth, those that are lean when they return, or those that die and are lost and don’t return, cannot be counted. And, in addition, because the road is long and food supplies are cut off without means of relief, the ordinary people who die cannot be counted. And because the places where they dwell cannot be made peaceful, they don’t eat and drink at proper times, satiety and starvation cannot be controlled, and the ordinary people who become sick and die on the roads cannot be counted. Either the soldiers who are lost will be very many, or the whole army will be lost; in both cases, the losses cannot be counted. Then ghosts and spirits will lose those descendants who can carry out the sacrifices, which is another incalculable loss.’

18.2 [When the rulers of] states start wars, they deprive the people of their livelihoods and strip them of benefits to a
very great extent. Why do they do this? They say: ‘We covet
the fame of conquest and wish to reap the benefits. That is
why we do it.’ Master Mo spoke, saying: ‘If you determine
what they gain from victory, it isn’t something that can be
of use. If you calculate what they gain, it isn’t nearly as
much as they lose. Now if you could attack a city with an
inner wall of three \( li \) and an outer wall of seven \( li \) without
using sharp weapons and without anyone being killed, there
would be no problem. But this is not the case. The number
of people killed will range from ten thousand at the most to
one thousand at the least before a city with an inner wall of
three \( li \) and an outer wall of seven \( li \) can be taken. Now in a
state of ten thousand chariots, there is a large amount of
waste land that can be occupied and vast open spaces that
can be opened up, all without conquest. It is, then, a case of
too much land, but not enough officers and people. Now to
send officers and men to their deaths and to add to the
misfortunes of those above and below in order to attack an
empty city is to cast away what there is not enough of to
gain what there is already an excess of. To govern like this
is contrary to the basic interests of the state.’

18.3 Those who argue in favour of offensive warfare say:
‘To the south, there are the kings of Jing and Wu.\(^1\) To the
north, there are the princes of Qi and Jin. At the time of the
world when these rulers were first established, the size of their lands did not reach several hundred *li*, and the number of their people did not reach several hundred thousand. By means of offensive warfare their lands have been extended to several thousand *li* and their people now number several millions. That this validates offensive warfare cannot be denied.’ Master Mo spoke, saying: ‘Although four or five states may have benefited by this means, I still say that this is not the right way. For example, a doctor treats those who are sick with medicines. Now suppose there was this doctor who so unified his treatment that he gave the same medicine to all the sick people of the world and ten thousand people took it, but only four or five got any benefit. We would say it was not a good medicine. Therefore, a filial son would not give it to his parents and a loyal minister would not give it to his ruler.’

18.4 In ancient times, states were established in the world. The number of these that were lost through offensive warfare cannot be counted. Those in the distant past we hear about. Those more recently we see for ourselves. How do I know this is so? In the east, there was Ju² which was a very small state squeezed in between large states. It did not show due deference to the large states and they, in turn, did not foster it or wish to benefit it. So from the east, the
people of Yue encroached upon it and seized territory, while from the west, the people of Qi annexed and incorporated it. If we think about why Ju was destroyed between Qi and Yue, it was due to offensive warfare. Even the destruction of Chen and Cai in the south, situated as they were between Wu and Yue, was also due to offensive warfare. So too was the destruction of Zu and Butuhe between Yan, Dai, Hu and Mo in the north.’ Therefore Master Mo said: ‘The ancients had this saying: “If you plan and are unsuccessful, then use the past to predict the future, and use the manifest to know the hidden.” If you plan like this, you can succeed and know.’

18.5 The advocates of offensive warfare say: ‘Others may not be able to gather and utilize the great mass of their people for the purpose of destruction. We, however, are able to gather and utilize the great mass of our people and employ them in offensive warfare in the world, so who would dare not to submit to us?’

Master Mo spoke, saying: ‘Although you may be able to gather and utilize the great mass of your people, how can you compare with Helü of Wu in ancient times? He trained his troops for seven years so that wearing armour and carrying weapons, they could travel fast for 300 li before resting. When stationed at Zhulin, they came forth on to the
track at Mingai and engaged [the Chu forces] at Boju. Helü took control of Chu and forced Song and Lu to come to his court and offer tribute. When it came to Fu Chai himself, he attacked Qi to the north. Positioning his troops above Wen, he joined battle at Ailing and inflicted a crushing defeat on the people of Qi, forcing them to retreat to Mount Tai. To the east, he attacked Yue, crossing the three rivers and the five lakes, and compelling [the Yue forces] to take refuge at Guiji. None of the kingdoms of the “nine tribes” (eastern barbarians) did not submit. When he returned, he was unable to reward those bereaved or to bestow charity on the people. He took advantage of his own strength, boasted about his achievements and flaunted his own brilliance but neglected to train [his troops]. Subsequently, he built a tower at Gusu which was still not complete after seven years. By this time, there was disaffection and weariness in the hearts of the people of Wu. The King of Yue, Gou Jian, saw the dissension and discord between superiors and inferiors in Wu, so he assembled his forces to take revenge on his enemy. Entering through the outer wall to the north, he seized the great boat and surrounded the royal palace, and so the state of Wu was lost.
‘In former times, Jin had six generals, none of whom was as strong as Zhi Bo. Reckoning on the great extent of his lands and the large number of his people, he wished to oppose the feudal lords in order to glorify his name. So he selected his bravest soldiers and organized all his boats and chariots in great numbers to attack Zhonghang and possess his [lands]. Thinking his plans were sufficient, he also attacked the Fan house and completely defeated it. Thus he combined the three houses into one. Still he did not stop, but surrounded Zhao Xiangzi at Jinyang. When this happened, Han and Wei got together to plan, saying: ‘There is an old adage which says, ‘When the lips are lost the teeth become cold.’ If the house of Zhao is destroyed in the morning, we will follow it in the evening. If the Zhao family is killed in the evening, we will follow it in the morning. The Odes says: ‘If a fish cannot move swiftly in water, how will it manage on dry land?’’ Therefore, the three rulers worked together with singleness of purpose, opening gates and clearing roads, donning armour and raising officers. So, with Han and Wei acting from without and the Zhao house acting from within, they struck at Zhi Bo and completely defeated him.’

This is why Master Mo spoke, saying: ‘In ancient times, there was the saying: ‘The noble man doesn’t seek
his reflection in water but in the people. From a reflection in water he sees only his face; from a reflection in the people he can know good fortune and bad fortune.”

Nowadays, if there are those who take offensive war to be beneficial, should they not examine this in the mirror of Zhi Bo’s affairs? It can easily be recognized that this is not auspicious but inauspicious.”
19

Condemning Offensive Warfare III
(Fei Gong Xia)

19.1 Master Mo spoke, saying: ‘Nowadays, in the world, what should be praised as yi (right action, righteousness and justice)? Should it be that if someone acts in accord with what benefits Heaven above, ghosts in the middle realm and the people below, he should be praised? Or should it be that if someone does not act in accord with what benefits Heaven above, ghosts in the middle realm and the people below, he should be praised? Even the most foolish of men would have to say: “It ought to be that, if someone acts in accord with what benefits Heaven above, ghosts in the middle realm and the people below, he should be praised!” Nowadays, everyone in the world agrees that yi was the method of the sage kings. But, in fact, nowadays, the many feudal lords of the world all violently attack and
invade each other to an equal degree, which is to praise *yi* as a word without considering what it actually is. This is like a blind person using the terms “white” and “black” as other people do, but not being able to distinguish what they actually are. How can this be called “distinguishing”? 

19.2 ‘This is why, in ancient times, those who were wise, when planning for the world, necessarily gave careful consideration to *yi* and afterwards put it into practice. In this way, their actions were without doubt and quickly came to completion. They attained their desires, and yet still complied with what benefited Heaven, ghosts and ordinary people. This, then, was the Way of those who were wise. Therefore, those men who were *ren* (loving, kind, humane and benevolent), and who ruled the world in ancient times, certainly opposed the great states’ policy (of aggressive war). They unified the world as an harmonious whole, and brought together all within the four seas. Thus they led the ordinary people of the world to pursue their affairs and, in doing so, to serve the Supreme Lord, the ghosts and spirits of the mountains and rivers. The people they benefited were many and their achievement was, as a consequence, great. This was why Heaven rewarded them, ghosts enriched them and people praised them. So they were honoured as Sons of Heaven, they were enriched with all under Heaven
and their fame was established in Heaven and on earth and has continued undimmed to the present day. This, then, was the Way of wise men and the means by which the former kings came to possess the world.

19.3 ‘Nowadays, kings, dukes, great officers and feudal lords of the world are not like this. They will all, without exception, choose their bravest and fiercest soldiers, arrange and deploy their boats and chariots, and prepare their strongest armour and sharpest weapons to attack and reduce states that are without fault. When they enter the border regions of a state, they cut down its grain crops, fell its trees and forests, break down its inner and outer city walls, fill in its ditches and pools, seize and kill its sacrificial animals, burn down its ancestral temples, slaughter its people, destroy the old and weak and take away its valuable utensils. Advancing rapidly and fighting to the limit, they say: “The highest [honour] is to die in battle; the next highest is to kill many of the enemy; the least is to suffer injury oneself. Further, to break ranks and scatter in defeat is a crime punishable by death without possible pardon.” These are words to instil fear into the masses. To annex a state and overthrow its army, and to plunder and oppress its people, is a way of bringing disorder to the work of the sages. How can this be construed as benefiting
Heaven? In fact, to take the people of Heaven and use them to attack the cities of Heaven is to kill the people of Heaven, destroy the standing of the spirits, overturn the altars of soil and grain, and seize and slaughter the sacrificial animals. This, then, does not accord with Heaven’s benefit in the upper realm. How can this be construed as benefiting ghosts? To kill the people of Heaven, exterminate those who honour ghosts and spirits, cast aside the former kings, plunder and oppress the ten thousand people, and scatter and disperse the general populace does not accord with ghosts’ benefit in the middle realm. How can this be construed as benefiting the people? If you kill the people of Heaven to benefit people, the benefit is meagre indeed. Moreover, if you consider the resources wasted in military activity, this harms the very foundations of people’s lives. The depletion of the resources of the world and the ordinary people is incalculable, so this does not achieve benefit for the people below.

19.4 ‘Nowadays, when armies consider what is not of benefit, they list the following: a general who is not brave, knights who are not determined, weapons that are not sharp, training that is inadequate, a force that is not substantial, soldiers that are not harmonious, ill-treatment that is not
resisted, a siege that is not sustained, a conflict that is not swift and a force without strong cohesion. Furthermore, if resolve is not firm, the feudal lords of allied states will start to waver and, if this is the case, it will give rise to enemy plans and weaken the determination of [the attacking forces]. If all these adverse factors exist, and yet the state still goes ahead [with an attack], it will lose its soldiers and the ordinary people will lose their livelihoods. Now why not look at this from the viewpoint of a state that favours attacking and reducing? Even if it is to launch a campaign on a moderate scale, the worthy men must number several hundred, the sons of officials must number several thousand and the ordinary foot soldiers must number several tens of thousands. Then there is enough for an army to go forth. A protracted campaign lasts several years, a swift campaign lasts several months. In either case, superiors don’t have time to attend to government, officers don’t have time for their official duties, farmers don’t have time to sow and harvest, and women don’t have time to spin and weave, so the state loses soldiers and the ordinary people lose their livelihoods. Furthermore, if you also weigh up the wear and tear and destruction of horses and carts, and the materials for the army’s tents, and what the army uses in terms of arms and weapons, if one part in five remains, it is a lot. And not only this; consider too those
who are scattered or lost on the road, because the road is long and supplies are not maintained. They don’t eat or drink at the proper times; consequently, the men who become ill through hunger and cold and are rolled into ditches and gullies to die cannot be counted. This is not of benefit to the people and the harm to the world is substantial. Yet kings, dukes and great officers still favour it and do it. This is to favour injuring and destroying the ten thousand people of the world. How is this not perverse? At the present time, the states in the world that love warfare are Qi, Jin, Chu and Yue. If these four states were to realize their ambitions within the world, they would all increase the people of their states tenfold and still [their people] would not be able to eat what the land produced. This is a case of there being not enough people and too much land. Now they still contend for the sake of land, opposing and harming each other. This, then, is to neglect what there isn’t enough of and give importance to what there is excess of.’

19.5 Nowadays, those rulers who favour offensive warfare also embellish their arguments in order to refute Master Mo by saying: ‘Do you take offensive warfare to be not yi and not to be beneficial in affairs? In former times, Yu reduced the You Miao,¹ Tang overthrew Jie and King Wu
overthrew Zhou, and yet they are all established as being sage kings. How do you account for this?’

Master Mo replied: ‘You have not examined the class of words I have used nor have you understood the reasoning behind them. What they did is not called “attack”, it is called “punishment”. In former times, the San Miao were in great disorder and Heaven decreed their destruction. The sun was strange and came forth at night. For three days it rained blood. Dragons appeared in the temples. Dogs cried in the marketplaces. There was ice during summer and the earth cracked so that springs welled up. The five grains underwent change and the people were greatly alarmed. Heaven issued its decree to Yu at the Xuan Palace\(^2\) and Yu himself took hold of Heaven’s imperial tablet in order to attack the You Miao. Thunder and lightning suddenly appeared, and a spirit with the face of a man and the body of a bird took hold of an arrow and, with great deliberation, shot the Miao general. The Miao army was thrown into great confusion and not long after that the Miao people were in decline. Then Yu separated the mountains and rivers, divided things into high and low, received and brought under control the four regions and ensured harmony between mankind and the spirits. Then the world was at peace. This was why Yu reduced the You Miao.
19.6 ‘When it came to the Xia king, Jie, Heaven issued a stern decree. The sun and moon did not rise or set at the right times, cold and heat were disordered to an extreme degree, the five grains were scorched and died, ghosts called out in the country and cranes cried unceasingly for more than ten nights. Heaven then gave its command to Tang at the Biao Palace: “You must receive the great decree of Xia. The virtue of Xia is in severe disorder and I have already withdrawn its mandate from Heaven, so to punish them I must send you to subdue them.” Tang then dared to lead forth his forces and attack the regions of Xia. The Supreme Ruler sent a spirit under cover of darkness to destroy the cities of Xia, and after a short time the spirit came to inform [Tang], saying: “The virtue of Xia is in severe disorder, so go and attack them. I must send you to subdue them. I have already received the decree from Heaven and Heaven has ordered that [Zhu] Rong bring down fire on the north-west corner of the Xia capital.” Tang then led Jie’s masses to subdue Xia and gathered the feudal lords at Bo to make clear Heaven’s decree and promulgate it to the four regions. And among the feudal lords of the world, there was none who dared not submit to him. This was how Tang punished Jie.
19.7 ‘When it came to the Shang king, Zhou, Heaven did not approve of his morality. Sacrifices did not accord with the time. For ten nights in succession the sun shone and it rained earth at Bo. The nine tripods (ding) moved from their bases, strange women came forth at night, there were ghosts lamenting at night, there were women who became men, the heavens rained flesh, thorny brambles grew on the nation’s roads and the king himself became increasingly self-indulgent. A red bird, holding in its beak the imperial jade, alighted on the Zhou altar at Qi Mountain and proclaimed that Heaven had ordered King Wen of Zhou to overthrow Yin and take possession of the state. Tai Dian came back, the Yellow River brought forth the chart and the land brought forth a strange yellow beast.⁴ King Wu continued his achievement. In a dream, he saw three spirits who said: “We have already drowned Zhou of Yin in wine and food. Go and attack him. We will certainly see to it that you overcome him.” Wu then attacked the dissolute man, replaced Yin with Zhou, and Heaven gave King Wu the phoenix banner. After he had already completely subdued the Yin, he received the full mandate as Son of Heaven. He divided the responsibilities for sacrifices to the gods among the feudal lords and (himself) made sacrifice to Zhou’s first king (Cheng Tang). He gave notice of this to the four regions so within the world there was no one who
did not submit. Thus he became the successor to the line of Tang. This was King Wu’s way of punishing Zhou so, if it is considered from the point of view of the three sage kings, it is not what is called “attack”. It is what is called “punishment”.

19.8 Then those rulers who favour attacking and reducing (other states) also embellish their arguments to refute Master Mo, asking: ‘Do you take attacking and reducing to be not *yi* (wrong and unjust) and not beneficial in affairs? In former times, Xiong Li of Chu was first enfeoffed with the region between the Sui Mountains. The Yue king, Yi Kui, came out from Youju and first founded a country at Yue. Tang Shu and Lü Shang⁵ founded Qi and Jin (respectively). All these were initially regions of several hundred *li*. Now, by reason of their annexation of states, the four have divided all under Heaven and possess it. Why is this?’

Master Mo replied: ‘You have not examined the class of words I have used nor have you understood the reasoning behind them. In ancient times, when the Son of Heaven first enfeoffed the feudal lords, there were more than ten thousand of them. Now, because of the annexation of states, more than ten thousand states have all been destroyed and four states alone are established. This is like
a doctor treating more than ten thousand people and curing only four. He could not, then, be called a good doctor.’

19.9 Then those rulers who favour attacking and reducing [other states] further elaborate their arguments, saying: ‘It is not that we consider our gold and jade, our sons and daughters and our fertile land to be insufficient. We wish to be established in the world through \( yi \) and find fame and we wish to attract the feudal lords through virtue.’

Master Mo said: ‘Now if there was someone who was able to establish himself in the world through \( yi \) and find fame and attract the feudal lords through virtue, the world’s submission would be immediate and expected. The world is as tired of the prolonged period of attacking and reducing as a young boy who has played at being a horse. Nowadays, if there were feudal lords in the world who were able to establish good faith in their dealings and gave primacy to benefiting their people, then, when a great state was without \( yi \), they would join in grieving for it. When a great state attacked a small state, they would join in rescuing it. When the inner and outer city walls of a small state were incomplete, they would join in repairing them. If cloth and grain were deficient, they would supply them. If money was insufficient, they would provide it. If there was this kind of association with a great state, the ruler of the great state
would be pleased. If there was this kind of association with a small state, the ruler of the small state would be pleased. If the other’s [forces] were weary and our [forces] were rested, our army would be stronger. If they were treated liberally and with kindness, and if what was not urgent replaced what was pressing, the people would certainly be compliant. If attack and reduction were replaced by good order in our state, the efficacy would certainly be multiplied. If we calculated the cost involved in raising an army to protect against the evils of the feudal lords, we could see that we would certainly be able to obtain substantial benefit (from avoidance of warfare). If we led the people along the right path, established a reputation for *yi* and invariably acted liberally towards our populace as well as training our forces in a trustworthy way, and supported the feudal lords like this, it would be possible to have no enemies in the world. This would be of incalculable benefit to the world. And since it would be [of such] benefit to the world, if kings, dukes and great officers don’t know and employ it, they may be spoken of as not knowing a fundamental component of benefiting the world.’

19.10 This is why Master Mo said: ‘At the present time, kings, dukes, great officers, officers and noble men of the world genuinely seek to further the world’s benefits and
eliminate its harms, but still they frequently engage in offensive warfare. This is truly a great misfortune for the world. Now if they wish to be ren and yi and seek to be superior officers who accord with the Way of the sage kings above and with the benefit of the ordinary people below, then the theory of condemnation of offensive warfare is something they cannot avoid considering.'
20

Moderation in Use I
(Jie Yong Shang)

20.1 When a sage governs a single state, that one state’s [benefits] can be doubled. On a larger scale, when [a sage] governs the world, the world’s [benefits] can be doubled. His doubling [of benefits] does not come through acquiring land beyond the borders, but by doing away with useless expenditure in his own state. This is enough to double [benefits]. A sage who governs, when he issues edicts and promotes affairs, when he employs the people and uses materials, does nothing that isn’t useful. For this reason, the use of resources is without waste, the people are not overburdened and the increase in benefit is considerable. Why does he make clothes and fur garments? To keep out the cold of winter and withstand the heat of summer. In general, the principle of making clothes is to provide
warmth in winter and coolness in summer. What is merely decorative and doesn’t add to these objectives, he eschews. Why does he make dwellings and houses? To keep out the wind and cold of winter and withstand the heat and rain of summer, and to provide protection against thieves and robbers. What is merely ornamental and doesn’t add to these objectives, he eschews. Why does he make armour and shields and the five weapons? To withstand plunder and disorder due to thieves and robbers. If there is plunder and disorder due to thieves and robbers, those who have armour and shields and the five weapons can overcome them and those who don’t can’t. This is the reason a sage makes armour and shields and the five weapons. In general, in making armour and shields and the five weapons, it is beneficial to make them as light as possible, but they should be strong and hard to break. What is merely ornamental and doesn’t add to these objectives, he eschews. Why does he make boats and carts? Carts are made to travel over hills and level ground while boats are made to travel on rivers and waterways as ways of benefiting communication in the four directions. In general, in making boats and carts, it is beneficial to make them as light as possible. What is merely ornamental and doesn’t add to this, he eschews. Overall, in making these things, if something doesn’t add to use, it is not done. In
this way there is no wastage in the use of materials, the people are not overburdened and the increase in benefit is considerable.

20.2 Again, if the great officers’ love of accumulating pearls and jade, birds and animals, and dogs and horses is done away with in order to increase the numbers of clothes and garments, dwellings and houses, armour and shields, the five weapons, and boats and carts, the numbers can be doubled. If these are not difficult to double, what is it that is difficult to double? It is only the population that is difficult to double. Nevertheless, the population can be doubled. The sage kings of former times made a law stating: ‘When men are twenty years old, they must marry and have a family. When women are fifteen years old, they must take a husband.’ This was the law of the sage kings. But now the sage kings are no more, and the people have cast off restraint. Those who wish to get married and have a family early do so at twenty, while those who wish to get married and have a family late do so at forty. In this way, the number of those marrying early is reduced by the number of those marrying late and vice versa with the result that the average age is ten years older than that decreed by the law of the sage kings. If a child is born every three years, in this period there would be [the addition of] two or three people.
So is it possible to double [the population] without making people marry and have a family early? It is not.

20.3 Nowadays, those who conduct government in the world have many ways of reducing the population. They cause the people to be burdened with labour, the taxes imposed are heavy and materials for the people are insufficient, so that those dying of cold and hunger cannot be counted. Moreover, great officers raise armies to attack neighbouring states. Long campaigns last a whole year and short campaigns last several months, so for long periods men and women don’t see each other. In this way the population is reduced. Those who are made sick by unsettled living conditions and irregular intake of food and drink, as well as those who are ambushed or injured in attacks by fire, or killed in assaults on cities, or battles on open ground, cannot be counted. Are these not several ways of reducing the population that have arisen through those who presently conduct government? Only when the sages governed was it not like this. When the sages governed, several ways of increasing the number of people also arose, did they not? Therefore, Master Mo said: ‘Doing away with useless expenditure was the Way of the sage kings; it was of great benefit to the world.’
21.1 Master Mo spoke, saying: ‘In ancient times, the way enlightened kings and sages unified the world and corrected the feudal lords was through their loving the people with great devotion and benefiting the people very substantially. Devotion and trust are closely connected and are, moreover, made manifest by benefit. In doing this, throughout their lives they were never satisfied and did not weary until they died. This was how, in ancient times, enlightened kings and sages unified the world and corrected the feudal lords.

21.2 ‘For this reason, the sage kings of ancient times, in establishing their rules for moderation in use, said: “Throughout the world all the many artisans – wheelwrights and cartmakers, tanners and salters, potters and metal
workers, and carpenters—should each do the work they are capable of.” They [also] said: “Everywhere we should provide enough for the people’s use and then stop.” Anything over and above this is wasteful and doesn’t add to the benefit of the people, so the sage kings didn’t do it.

21.3 ‘In ancient times, the sage kings, in establishing their rules for drink and food, said: “[Provide] enough to fill what is empty and sustain the spirit, give strength to the limbs and make the ears and eyes sharp and keen; then stop. Do not go to great lengths to blend the five flavours (sweet, sour, bitter, pungent and salt) or to harmonize the various aromas, and do not look to distant lands for things that are rare, strange and different.” How do I know this was so? In ancient times, when Yao brought order to the world, in the south he brought peace to Jiaozhi. In the north, he established the boundaries of Youdu.¹ In the east and west, he reached to where the sun rises and sets, and there was nowhere that did not submit [to his rule]. When it came to what he accepted and received, it was not two kinds of grain or large pieces of meat. He ate from a simple bowl, drank from a simple cup and took wine from a ladle. As for the ceremonial forms of bowing, walking and deportment, the sage kings did not practise them.
‘In ancient times, the sage kings, in establishing their rules for clothes and garments, said: “In winter, make clothes that are purple or brown in colour, and light as well as warm. In summer, make clothes of fine and coarse linen that are light as well as cool; then stop.” Anything over and above this is wasteful and doesn’t add to the benefit of the people, so the sage kings didn’t do it.

‘In ancient times, because the people were being injured and harmed by fierce and cunning animals, the sage kings taught them to carry weapons when they went out and about, saying [they should] wear a sword that pierced when used for stabbing and cut when used for striking, and did not itself break when struck. These are the benefits of a sword. When armour is worn it should be light and convenient and allow ease of movement. These are the benefits of armour. Carts are for the purpose of carrying heavy things over a distance. When mounted, they should be safe; when drawn, they should be convenient – safe in so far as they don’t injure people and convenient in so far as they reach [their destination] quickly. These are the benefits of carts. In ancient times, because there were great rivers and wide ravines which could not be crossed, the sage kings devised boats and oars which served their purpose but nothing more. Even if those above, such as
[one of] the Three Dukes or a feudal lord came, the boats and oars did not change and the boatman did not decorate them. These are the benefits of boats.

21.6 ‘In ancient times, the sage kings established their rules for moderation in funerals, saying: “The [burial] garments should be of three kinds, sufficient for decaying flesh. The coffin should be 3 cun [thick], sufficient for decaying bones. The hole for the grave should not be so deep as to reach water, but deep enough for the stench not to escape, and that is all. Once the dead are buried, the living should not mourn for a long period.”

21.7 ‘Ancient times, when people first came into being, were times when there were no buildings and houses, so they relied on digging out holes in mounds and hills and living in them. The sage kings, in their contemplations, thought about this digging out and said: “During winter, it would be possible to avoid the wind and rain in this way.” But when summer comes, there would be dampness and moisture below, and steam and vapour above. They feared this would harm people’s spirits, therefore they created buildings and houses that were beneficial.’ So, then, what were their rules for making buildings and houses? Master Mo spoke, saying: ‘What is at the sides should be able to
keep out wind and cold. What is above should be able to keep out snow, frost, rain and dew. What is within should be clean and pure so it can be used for prayers and offerings. The inner walls of the buildings should be adequate to maintain the proper separation between men and women. That is all. Anything over and above this is wasteful and doesn’t add to the benefit of the people, so the sage kings didn’t do it.’
Moderation in Use III
(Jie Yong Xia)

Lost
Moderation in Funerals I

(Jie Zang Shang)

Lost
Moderation in Funerals II

(Jie Zang Zhong)

Lost
25.1 Master Mo spoke, saying: ‘A man who is ren (loving, kind, humane and benevolent), in planning for the world, is in no way different from a filial son in planning for his parents. Now what will a filial son do in planning for his parents? I say, if his parents are poor, he devotes himself to making them rich. If the people [of his family] are few, he devotes himself to making them many. If they are many but in disorder, he devotes himself to creating order for them. When he has done these things, even if his strength is insufficient, or his materials are not enough, or his wisdom is inadequate, he has done what he can. He would not dare to leave any strength unspent, or scheme to hoard or cast away beneficial resources and not use them for his parents. It is by discharging these three responsibilities that the
filial son makes provision for his parents. The man who is ren, in making provision for the world, is just like this. I say, if the world is poor, he devotes himself to making it rich. If the people [of the world] are few, he devotes himself to making them many. If they are many but in disorder, he devotes himself to creating order for them. When he has done these things, even if his strength is insufficient, or his materials are not enough, or his wisdom is inadequate, he has done what he can. He would not dare to leave any strength unspent, or scheme to hoard or cast away beneficial resources and not use them for the world. It is by discharging these three responsibilities that the man who is ren makes provision for the world.

25.2 ‘Now when we come to the present time, the sage kings of the Three Dynasties of former times are dead and the world is bereft of yi (right action, righteousness and justice). Among noble men of later generations, some take elaborate funerals and prolonged mourning to be ren and yi and to be the duty of the filial son, whereas others take lavish funerals and prolonged mourning to be contrary to ren and yi and not to be the duty of the filial son. I say these two groups contradict each other in their words and are opposed to each other in their actions. They both say: “We are upholding and abiding by the Way of Yao, Shun, Yu,
Tang, Wen and Wu”, but they contradict each other in their words and are opposed to each other in their actions. And because of this, the noble men of later generations are all in doubt and confusion regarding the two positions.

25.3 ‘If there is doubt and uncertainty regarding the statements of the two parties, let us for the moment test them in terms of the conduct of government of states and their people and consider them in this light. In evaluating elaborate funerals and prolonged mourning, how do they accord with these three benefits? I think that if by making their words our model and implementing their plans, elaborate funerals and prolonged mourning can enrich the poor and make the few many, settle danger and bring order to disorder, they are ren and yi (right and proper action), and the duty of a filial son, so in planning for the people their use must be encouraged. Those who are ren will seek to promote them in the world, establish them and cause the people to praise them, and never do away with them. If, on the other hand, by making their words our model and implementing their plans, elaborate funerals and prolonged mourning cannot enrich the poor and make the few many, or settle danger and bring order to disorder, they are not ren and yi, and are not the duty of a filial son, so in planning for their people their use must be stopped. Those who are
ren will seek to do away with them in the world, set them aside and cause the people to oppose them and never do them.

25.4 ‘Moreover, by promoting the world’s benefits and eliminating its harms, there has never been, from ancient times to the present, a failure to bring order to the states and their people. How do we know this to be so? Nowadays, among the world’s officers and noble men, there are still many who are doubtful and uncertain as to whether elaborate funerals and prolonged mourning are in accord with what is right or not, and whether they are beneficial or harmful.’ Therefore, Master Mo spoke, saying: ‘In this case then, let us for a moment try to examine the matter in the light of those who now uphold the idea of elaborate funerals and prolonged mourning, taking them to be a service to the state. If this view is maintained, in the case of those remaining when a king, duke or great officer dies, they say that the inner and outer coffins must be heavy, the funeral itself must be elaborate, the funeral garments must be numerous, the markings and embroidery must be complicated and the burial mound must be large. In the case of those remaining when an ordinary, lowly person dies, the family’s resources are almost exhausted. In the case of those remaining when a feudal lord dies, his armoury and
storehouse will be emptied after gold, jade, and regular and irregular pearls [are used] to surround the body, silk of various sorts is bundled up, and carriages and horses are interred in the tomb. There must also be many domestic screens, tripods, drums, tables, mats, vessels and basins as well as spears and swords, feathered banners, ivory and hides placed around and buried, to a satisfactory amount. With respect to those who are sent to follow [the dead], in the case of the Son of Heaven, the number killed and buried with him ranges from several hundred at the most to several tens at the least. In the case of a general or high-ranking officer, the number of people killed and buried with him ranges from several tens at the most to several at the least.

25.5 ‘What will be the procedure for those in mourning? It is said the mourners should wail and cry, make a sobbing sound at irregular intervals, and wear sackcloth and hemp stained with tears. They should live in a mourning hut with a straw mat for a bed and a clod of earth for a pillow. They should also restrain each other from eating so as to appear starving, and they should wear thin clothes so as to be cold. They should make their appearance gaunt and wasted and their countenance sallow and dark. Their ears and eyes should not hear or see and their hands and feet should be without strength, as if they cannot be used. It is also said in
respect to the conduct of mourning by high officers, that
they must have support to be able to rise and a stick to be
able to walk, and must carry out their duties like this for
three years. If their statements are taken as the standard,
and their actions accord with their words so that kings,
dukes and great officers act like this, they will certainly not
be able to come to court early and retire late, to carry out
trials and to bring order to government. If officers and high
officers act like this, they will certainly not be able to bring
order to the Five Offices and the Six Departments, to
develop grasslands and woods, and to fill the public
granaries. If farmers act like this, they will certainly not be
able to go out early and come back late, to plough and plant,
and to cultivate the trees. If the hundred artisans act like
this, they will certainly not be able to repair boats and
carriages, and to make utensils and vessels. If women act
like this, they will certainly not be able to get up early and
go to bed late, and to carry out their spinning and weaving.
In considering elaborate funerals, there is the burial of
much wealth. In considering prolonged mourning, there is
prolonged hindrance to the conduct of affairs. Materials
already produced are buried and there is prolonged
hindrance to further production. To seek wealth in this way
is like preventing ploughing but seeking to reap. As a
method of bringing about wealth it cannot work. Therefore,
to attempt to enrich the state like this is to attempt the impossible.

25.6 ‘If the wish is to increase the number of people, is this perhaps possible? No! Again their theories make it impossible. Now suppose those who believe in elaborate funerals and prolonged mourning are those in charge of government. If the ruler dies, the mourning is three years. If a father or mother dies, the mourning is three years. If a wife or eldest son dies, they also both require three years of mourning. After that, the period is one year for a father’s older and younger brothers, for one’s own older and younger brothers and for sons other than the first. For close relatives within the clan, the period is five months. For a father’s sisters, one’s older sisters, a sister’s child or a mother’s brothers, the period is several months for all of them. Then there are the rules requiring mourners to appear ravaged and emaciated, for their faces to appear gaunt and wasted and their complexions sallow and dark. Their ears and eyes should not hear or see and their hands and feet should be without strength, as if they cannot be used. It is also said, in respect to the conduct of mourning by high officers, that they must have support to be able to rise and a stick to be able to walk, and must carry out their duties like this for three years. If their statements are taken as the
standard, and their actions accord with their words, and they starve and shrink from food like this, the ordinary people will not endure the winter’s cold or the summer’s heat, and those who become ill and die will be uncountable. This will also greatly damage the relations between men and women. To seek to increase the number of people in this way is just like causing a man to fall on his sword while wishing him a long life. As a method of increasing the number of people it cannot work. Therefore, to attempt to increase the population like this is to attempt the impossible.

25.7 ‘If the wish is to bring order to government, is this perhaps possible? No! Again their theories make it impossible. Now suppose those who advocate elaborate funerals and prolonged mourning are in charge of government. The state will certainly be poor, its people will certainly be few and its administration will certainly be disordered. If their statements are taken as the standard, and their actions accord with their words, it causes superiors to act like this, so they will not be able to attend to bringing about order. If it causes inferiors to act like this, they will not be able to carry out their business. If those above don’t attend to bringing about order, the administration will certainly be disordered. If those below don’t carry out their business, the materials for clothing and food will certainly
be insufficient. If they are insufficient, when a younger brother seeks help from an older brother, he will not get it, so the younger brother will not behave like a younger brother should, but will certainly be resentful towards his older brother. When a son seeks help from his parents he will not get it, so the son will be unfilial and will certainly be resentful towards his parents. When an official seeks help from his ruler, he will not get it, so the official will be disloyal and will certainly bring disorder to his superior. This will bring about all manner of evil conduct in the people because when they go out they will have no adequate clothing and when they come home they will have no food, so shame will build up within them giving rise to depravity and cruelty which cannot be overcome or prevented. For this reason, thieves and robbers will be numerous, while those who are well ordered will be few. If thieves and robbers are numerous and those who are well ordered are few, to seek order under these circumstances is like asking a person to turn around three times without turning his back to you. As a method of bringing about order it cannot work. For this reason, to attempt to bring order to the administration like this is to attempt the impossible.
25.8 ‘If the wish is to prevent large states attacking small states, is this perhaps possible? No! Again their theories make it impossible. Now the reason is that since the sage kings of former times have already passed away, the world has lost yi and the feudal lords use force to make incursions. In the south, there are the kings of Chu and Yue, and in the north, there are the rulers of Qi and Jin. They all train up their troops to attack and annex [other states] and take control of the world. Now, in general, the reason why large states do not attack small states is because the latter have a large store of resources, have inner and outer city walls in good repair and have superiors and subordinates who are in accord. Under these circumstances, large states do not like to attack them. If there is no store of reserves, if inner and outer city walls are not in good repair and if superiors and subordinates are not in accord, large states do like to attack them. Now if those who advocate elaborate funerals and prolonged mourning are conducting government, the state will certainly be poor, its people will certainly be few and its administration will certainly be in disorder. If it is poor, there will be no means of accumulating resources. If the people are few, the inner and outer city walls and the ditches and watercourses will also be few. If it is in disorder, any military offence will be unsuccessful and any defence will not be strong. To attempt
to prevent large states attacking small states in this way is

to attempt the impossible.

25.9 ‘If the wish is to gain the blessings of the Supreme
Lord and ghosts and spirits, is it perhaps possible? No!
Again their theories make it impossible. Suppose now that
those who believe in elaborate funerals and prolonged
mourning are conducting government. The state will
certainly be poor, its people will certainly be few and the
administration will certainly be in disorder. If it is poor, it
means that the vessels for millet and sweet wine will not be
pure. If its people are few, it means that those who can
serve the Supreme Lord and ghosts and spirits will be few.
If the administration is in disorder, it means that sacrifices
will not be carried out at the proper times. Now if the
service of the Supreme Lord and ghosts and spirits is
prevented because the government is like this, the Supreme
Lord and ghosts and spirits will, for a start, look down from
above and ask themselves the question: “Is it better for us
that these people exist or don’t exist?” And they will say:
“Whether they exist or not makes no difference.” Then the
Supreme Lord and ghosts and spirits will bring down
misfortune on them, and punish and abandon them. And why
shouldn’t this be so!
Therefore, the ancient sage kings formulated rules for carrying out funerals and burials, which said: “The coffin should be 3 cun [thick], sufficient for a decaying body. The burial garments should be 3 ling (layers), sufficient to encase the corpse. In carrying out the burial, [the coffin] should not reach water below and the stench should not leak through above. The burial mound should approximate to 3 chi and no more. Once the one who has died is buried, those who are living must not mourn for long, but quickly return to their daily affairs, each doing what they are capable of in the pursuit of mutual benefit.” These were the rules of the sage kings.’

Now the arguments of those who advocate elaborate funerals and prolonged mourning say: ‘With regard to elaborate funerals and prolonged mourning, although they cannot enrich the poor or make the few many, although they cannot settle danger or bring order to disorder, they are, nevertheless, the Way of the sage kings.’

Master Mo said: ‘Not so. In former times, when Yao went north to teach the eight Di tribes, he died on the road and was buried on the northern side of Mount Qiong. His burial garments were of three layers and he had a plain wooden coffin tied up with vines. Only after the coffin was lowered into the ground was there weeping and the hole
was just filled in without a burial mound. After the burial, oxen and horses crossed the grave. Shun went west to teach the seven Rong tribes and died on the road. He was buried in the marketplace at Nanji.\textsuperscript{2} His burial garments were of three layers and he had a plain wooden coffin tied up with vines. After the burial, the people in the marketplace crossed the grave. Yu went east to teach the nine Yi tribes and died on the road. He was buried at Guiji Mountain.\textsuperscript{3} His burial garments were of three layers and his coffin was of tong wood 3 cun thick and tied up with vines. The binding was not, however, close and although there was a path [to the grave] it was not deeply dug. The depth of the excavated ground was such that it did not reach water below and did not leak any stench above. After the burial, the earth left over was collected above to create a mound of 3 chi in size and no more. So, if we look at this matter the way these three sage kings looked at it, then lavish funerals and prolonged mourning were certainly not the Way of the sage kings. But the three kings were all ennobled as Sons of Heaven and enriched by the possession of all under Heaven, so how could they be anxious that the wealth available was not sufficient? It was just that they considered these to be the rules for funerals and burials.
‘Nowadays, kings, dukes and great officers in their conduct of funerals and burials are different. There must be an outer and inner coffin, embroidered hide in three layers, jade emblems and jade already prepared, spears, swords, tripods, drums, pots, vessels, embroideries and silks, and funeral garments in countless layers as well as carriages, horses, women and musicians all prepared. They say the ground must be beaten down to make a road [to the grave] and the burial mound should resemble a hill. The interference with the business of the people and the wastage of their wealth cannot be calculated. This constitutes the uselessness of these [funeral practices].’

This is why Master Mo said: ‘A little earlier what I originally said was that if by making their words our model and implementing their plans, elaborate funerals and prolonged mourning can enrich the poor and make the few many, settle danger and bring order to disorder, they are ren and yi (right and proper action), and the duty of a filial son, so in planning for people their use must be encouraged. Those who are ren will seek to promote them in the world, establish them and cause the people to praise them, and never do away with them. If, on the other hand, by making their words our model and implementing their plans, elaborate funerals and prolonged mourning cannot enrich the poor and make the few many, or settle danger and bring
order to disorder, they are not *ren* and *yi*, and are not the
duty of a filial son, so in planning for people their use must be stopped.

25.13 ‘Because of this, although they seek to enrich the state, they greatly impoverish it. Although they seek to make the people many, they greatly reduce them in number. And although they seek to bring order to administration, they bring extreme disorder to it. They seek to prevent the attacks of large states on small states, but they find, in the end, that this is impossible. They seek to obtain good fortune from the Supreme Lord and ghosts and spirits, but they get only misfortune. On a higher plane, if we examine the Way of Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen and Wu, [we see that] it was directly opposed to this. On a lower plane, if we examine the affairs of Jie, Zhou, You and Li, [we see that] they were in accord with this. Looked at in this way, elaborate funerals and prolonged mourning run contrary to the Way of the sage kings.’

25.14 Now the arguments of those who adhere to elaborate funerals and prolonged mourning say: ‘If elaborate funerals and prolonged mourning are really not the Way of the sage kings, how do you account for the fact that the noble men of the central states practise them and don’t stop them, implement them and don’t abandon them?’ Master Mo said:
This is what is called “[considering] one’s habits convenient and one’s customs yi (right and proper)”. Formerly, to the east of Yue there was the country of the Kaimu. When an eldest son was born, they cut him up and ate him. They called this “fitting for the younger brother”. When the paternal grandfather died, they carried the maternal grandmother away and abandoned her, saying, “We cannot live with the wife of a ghost.” If, above, these things are taken to be government practice and, below, they are taken to be customs, and are carried out and not stopped, implemented and not discarded, then how could this be the Way of true ren and yi? This is what is called “[considering] one’s habits convenient and one’s customs yi”.

25.15 ‘To the south of Chu there is the country of the Yan people. When their parents die, they allow the flesh to rot and discard it. Afterwards, they bury the bones, taking this to be [the mark of a] filial son. To the west of Qin there is the country of the Yiqu people. When their parents die, they gather up kindling and firewood and burn them, and, as the smoke rises, they say they are rising far off. After that, they have fulfilled their roles as filial sons. If, above, these things are taken to be government practice and, below, they are taken to be customs, and are carried out and not stopped, implemented and not discarded, are they the Way
of true ren and yi? This is what is called “[considering] one’s practices convenient and one’s customs yi (right and proper)”. If we look at the matter from the point of view of these three countries, we could also say they are particularly inadequate. If we look at the matter from the point of view of the noble men of the central states, we could say they are particularly excessive. On the one side, then, there is “particularly excessive” and, on the other side, there is “particularly inadequate”. But there is also moderation in funerals and burials.’

25.16 Thus, clothing and food are benefits for people who are living, but moderation is still valued with regard to such things. Funerals and burials are benefits for people who are dead, so why is there no moderation only in regard to such things? The rules which Master Mo formulates for the conduct of funerals and burials state: ‘A coffin should be 3 cun [thick], sufficient for rotting bones. Burial garments should be of three layers, sufficient for rotting flesh. The depth of the ground dug out should be such that it does not reach water below, and does not let vapours escape above. The burial mound should be sufficient to make the place [of burial] recognizable and that is all. There should be weeping going to and from [the funeral], but then there should be a return to the matters of clothing and food. There should be
such attention to sacrifices as accords with being filial to parents.’ Therefore, I say this is a case of Master Mo’s rules not losing the benefits to either the living or the dead.

25.17 Therefore, Master Mo spoke, saying: ‘Nowadays, the officers and noble men of the world, if they sincerely wish in their hearts to be ren and yi, and seek to be superior officers who desire to be in accord with the Way of the sage kings above, and to be in accord with the benefit of the ordinary people of the state below, it is right that they practise moderation in funerals in their conduct of government. This is something they cannot fail to examine.’
26.1 Master Mo spoke, saying: ‘Nowadays, the world’s officers and noble men understand small matters but not great matters. How do I know this? I know it through their conduct within families. If someone within a family commits an offence against the head of that family, he still has a neighbouring family to which he can escape. Nevertheless, parents, older and younger brothers and people who know him, all join together in admonishing and warning him, saying, “You must be more cautious, you must be more careful! How is it possible for you to be in a family and commit an offence against the head of the family!” And it is not only conduct within families that is like this. Even conduct within states is like this. If someone in a state commits an offence against the ruler of that state,
he still has a neighbouring state to which he can escape. Nevertheless, parents, older and younger brothers and people who know him, all join together in admonishing and warning him, saying, “You must be more cautious, you must be more careful! Who can possibly live in a state and commit an offence against the ruler of that state!” If the admonitions and warnings are this serious in the case of someone who has a place to escape to, how is it possible that the admonitions and warnings will not be much more serious in the case of someone who has no place to escape to? Moreover, there is the saying: “If someone commits a crime in the bright light of day, how will he escape it?” – which is to say there is no place to escape to. Now with Heaven, there cannot be a forest, valley or dark and secluded place that it does not see perfectly clearly. Nevertheless, with respect to Heaven, the world’s officers and noble men are unconcerned, and don’t realize they should admonish and warn each other. This is how I know that the world’s officers and noble men understand small matters but not great matters.

26.2 ‘This being so, what does Heaven desire and what does Heaven abhor? Heaven desires $yi$ (right action, righteousness and justice) and abhors not $yi$ (wrong action, unrighteousness and injustice). In this case, if I lead the
ordinary people of the world to conduct their affairs with yi, I will be doing what Heaven desires. If I do what Heaven desires, Heaven will also do what I desire. What, then, do I desire and what do I abhor? I desire good fortune and prosperity and I abhor bad fortune and calamity. If I don’t do what Heaven desires, but do what Heaven doesn’t desire, I will lead the ordinary people of the world to land themselves in misfortune and calamity in the conduct of their affairs. This being so, how do I know that Heaven desires yi and abhors not yi? I say that when the world is yi, it “lives”, and when it is not yi, it “dies”. When it is yi, it is rich. When it is not yi, it is poor. When it is yi, it is well ordered. When it is not yi, it is disordered. So then, Heaven desires the world’s “life” and abhors its “death”. It desires its wealth and abhors its poverty. It desires its order and abhors its disorder. This is how I know that Heaven desires yi and abhors not yi.

26.3 ‘I say, moreover, that yi is what corrects. And it is not for inferiors to correct superiors, but, of necessity, for superiors to correct inferiors. For this reason, it is for the common people to use all their strength in carrying out their business and not to follow their own wishes in bringing about correctness. There are officers to correct them. It is for officers to use all their strength in the
conduct of affairs and not to follow their own wishes in bringing about correctness. There are generals and great officers to correct them. It is for generals and great officers to use all their strength in carrying out their business and not to follow their own wishes in bringing about correctness. There are the Three Dukes and the feudal lords to correct them. It is for the Three Dukes and the feudal lords to use all their strength in effecting good order and not to follow their own wishes in bringing about correctness. There is the Son of Heaven to correct them. And the Son of Heaven does not follow his own wishes in bringing about correctness. There is Heaven to correct him. That it is the Son of Heaven who brings about correctness among the Three Dukes, the feudal lords, generals and great officers, officers and the common people was something that the world’s officers and noble men certainly knew quite clearly. That it is Heaven that brings about correctness in the Son of Heaven was something that the ordinary people of the world did not know clearly. This is why the sage kings of the Three Dynasties – Yu, Tang, Wen and Wu – in wishing Heaven to bring correctness to the Son of Heaven, made it perfectly clear to the ordinary people of the world that none should fail to prepare fodder for oxen and sheep, to feed grain to dogs and pigs, and to make the vessels of millet and sweet wine pure in order to sacrifice
to the Great Lord, ghosts and spirits, and to seek and pray for good fortune from Heaven. I have never heard of Heaven seeking and praying for good fortune from the Son of Heaven. This is how I know that it is Heaven that brings about correctness in the Son of Heaven.

26.4 ‘Therefore, the Son of Heaven is the world’s most honoured and wealthy person. And one who is wealthy and honoured cannot properly do otherwise than comply with Heaven’s intention. Further, someone who complies with Heaven’s intention, and who practises universal mutual love and exchange of mutual benefit is certainly rewarded, [whereas] one who opposes Heaven’s intention, who practises partial (discriminatory) mutual dislike and exchange of mutual harm is certainly punished.’ In this case then, who were those who complied with Heaven’s intention and were rewarded? And who were those who opposed Heaven’s intention and were punished? Master Mo said: ‘Formerly, there were the sage kings of the Three Dynasties – Yu, Tang, Wen and Wu. These were men who complied with Heaven’s intention and were rewarded. Formerly, there were the tyrannical kings of the Three Dynasties – Jie, Zhou, You and Li. These were men who opposed Heaven’s intention and were punished.’
26.5 If this was so, how did Yu, Tang, Wen and Wu get their rewards?

Master Mo spoke, saying: ‘In their conduct, they honoured Heaven in the upper realm, they served ghosts and spirits in the middle realm and they loved the people in the lower realm. Therefore, Heaven’s intention said: “Those I love, these men love without partiality. Those I benefit, these men benefit without partiality. In their love of the people, they are all-embracing and in their benefiting the people they are generous.” And so they were honoured by being made Sons of Heaven, and were enriched with all under Heaven. Their descendants continued for ten thousand generations, and they were praised for their goodness. And wherever in the world they are spoken of, right up to the present time, they are praised and called sage kings.’

If this was so, how did Jie, Zhou, You and Li get their punishments?

Master Mo spoke, saying: ‘In their conduct, they abused Heaven in the upper realm, they abused ghosts in the middle realm and they harmed the people in the lower realm. Therefore Heaven’s intention said: “Those I love, these men discriminate against and hate. Those I benefit, these men harm in their dealings with them. In their hatred of the people, they are all-embracing and their harming of
the people is substantial.” And so they did not live out their full lifespans and did not die at their appointed times. Right up to the present time, they are reviled and called cruel and tyrannical kings.

26.6 ‘So then, how do I know that Heaven loves the ordinary people of the world? I know because it completely understands them. And how do I know that it completely understands them? I know because it completely possesses them. And how do I know that it completely possesses them? I know because it provides food for them all. How do I know that it provides food for them all? Within the four seas, all people who eat grains without exception prepare fodder for oxen and sheep, feed grain to dogs and pigs, and make the vessels of millet and sweet wine pure in order to sacrifice to the Supreme Lord, ghosts and spirits. So if Heaven does possess the people, how could it be that it doesn’t love them? Furthermore, I say that if there is the killing of one innocent person, there must be one misfortune. And who is it that kills the innocent person? It is another person. And who is it that brings the misfortune? It is Heaven. If Heaven did not love the ordinary people of the world, then why if people kill each other, does Heaven bring them misfortune? This is how I know that Heaven loves the ordinary people of the world.’
When there is compliance with Heaven’s intention, there is rule by yi. When there is opposition to Heaven’s intention, there is rule by force. So what is rule by yi?

Master Mo said: ‘Those who live in large states do not attack small states. Those who live in large families do not usurp small families. The strong do not plunder the weak. Those in high position do not disdain the lowly. Those who are clever do not cheat the foolish. In the upper realm, this must be of benefit to Heaven. In the middle realm, this must be of benefit to ghosts. In the lower realm, this must be of benefit to the people. When these three realms are benefited, there is nothing that is not benefited. Therefore, [in the case of a ruler,] the highest reputation of the world is given to him and he is called a sage king. Rule by force is different. It is the negation of this in word and the converse of this in deed. In fact, it is entirely the opposite. Those who live in large states do attack small states. Those who live in large families do usurp small families. The strong do plunder the weak. Those in high position do disdain the lowly. Those who are clever do cheat the foolish. In the upper realm, this is not of benefit to Heaven. In the middle realm, this is not of benefit to ghosts. In the lower realm, this is not of benefit to the people. When these three realms are not benefited, there is nothing that is benefited. Therefore, [in the case of a ruler,] the most hateful name in
the world is given to him and he is called a cruel and tyrannical king.’

26.8 Master Mo spoke, saying: ‘For me Heaven’s intention is just like the compasses wheelwrights have and the squares carpenters have. Wheelwrights and carpenters take up their compasses and squares to evaluate square and round in the world, saying: “What conforms is right. What does not conform is wrong.” Now the books of the world’s officers and noble men cannot be completely recorded and their doctrines cannot be completely enumerated. Above, they persuade the feudal lords. Below, they persuade ranked officers. But they are a long way from ren (love, kindness, humanity and benevolence) and yi. How do I know this? I say it is because I have the clearest standard in the world to evaluate them with.’
27.1 Master Mo spoke, saying: ‘At the present time, if the noble men of the world wish to be ren (loving, kind, humane and benevolent) and yi (right acting, righteous and just), they must examine what it is that yi comes from.’

You say they must examine what it is that yi comes from. What, then, does it come from?

Master Mo said: ‘Yi doesn’t come from the foolish and base. It must come from the noble and wise. How do I know that yi doesn’t come from the foolish and base, but must come from the noble and wise? I say that yi equates with good government. How do I know that yi equates with good government? I say that if the world has yi, then it is well ordered. If it does not have yi, then it is disordered. This is how I know that yi equates with good government. Now the
foolish and base cannot govern the noble and wise. Only after there are those who are noble and wise is there government of the foolish and base. This is how I know that yi does not come from the foolish and base, but must come from the noble and wise. If this is so, then who is noble? Who is wise? I say Heaven is noble, Heaven is wise and that is all. In that case, then, yi undoubtedly comes from Heaven.’

27.2 Nowadays, the people of the world say: ‘We certainly know that the Son of Heaven is more noble than the feudal lords, and that the feudal lords are more noble than great officers. However, we do not know that Heaven is more noble and wise than the Son of Heaven.’

Master Mo said: ‘How I know that Heaven is more noble and wise than the Son of Heaven is as a matter of principle. I say that if the Son of Heaven does what is good, Heaven is able to reward him. If the Son of Heaven does what is cruel and tyrannical, Heaven is able to punish him. If the Son of Heaven suffers sickness or misfortune, he must fast and bathe, and prepare pure offerings of wine and grain to make sacrifices to Heaven and to ghosts. Then Heaven can rid him of these troubles. On the other hand, I have never heard of Heaven praying to the Son of Heaven for blessings. This is how I know that Heaven is more noble and wise than the
Son of Heaven. But it doesn’t stop at this. It is also known from the writings of the former kings which explain the enlightened and inexhaustible way of Heaven as follows: “Glorious and wise is Heaven. It illuminates the world below.”¹ This says, in effect, that Heaven is more noble and wise than the Son of Heaven. Do I not also know of something more noble and wise than Heaven? I say that Heaven is the most noble and the most wise and that is all. In that case, then, yi certainly comes from Heaven.’

27.3 This is why Master Mo said: ‘Nowadays, if the noble men of the world genuinely wish in their hearts to abide by the Way and bring benefit to the people, they must start by examining the basis of ren and yi; by doing this, Heaven’s intention cannot but be complied with.’

If Heaven’s intention is taken as something that must be complied with, what, in fact, is it that Heaven desires and what is it that it detests?

Master Mo said: ‘Heaven’s intention does not want great states to attack small states, great houses to bring disorder to small houses, the strong to oppress the weak, the many to tyrannize the few, the cunning to deceive the gullible or the noble to be arrogant towards the lowly. These are the things that Heaven’s intention does not want. But it doesn’t stop at this. It wants those with strength to help others,
those who know the Way to teach others and those with wealth to distribute it. It also wants those above to be resolute in the conduct of government and those below to be diligent in going about their business. If those above are resolute in the conduct of government, the state will be well ordered. If those below are diligent in going about their business, the materials for use will be sufficient. If the state is well ordered and materials for use are sufficient, then within, there is the means to make the sweet wine and vessels of millet pure for sacrifices to Heaven and ghosts, and without, there are the several jade emblems for relationships with neighbouring states. When grievances among the feudal lords don’t arise, warfare on the borders doesn’t occur. When within, there is food for the hungry and rest for the weary, and there is support and care for the ten thousand people, then rulers and ministers, and superiors and inferiors, are kind and loyal, and fathers and sons, and older and younger brothers, are compassionate and filial. Therefore, only when there is clear compliance with Heaven’s intention, and obedience to Heaven’s intention is widely practised in the world, will the administration be well ordered, the ten thousand people harmonious, the country wealthy, materials for use sufficient, and all the ordinary people obtain warm clothes
and enough food so they will be at peace and free from anxiety.’

27.4 This is why Master Mo said: ‘Nowadays, if the noble men of the world truly wish in their hearts to abide by the Way and bring benefit to the people, they must start by examining the basis of ren and yi; by doing this, Heaven’s intention cannot but be complied with. Moreover, if you compare the Son of Heaven’s possessing all under Heaven and the ruler of a state or a feudal lord possessing what is within its four boundaries, it is really no different. Nowadays, when the ruler of a state or a feudal lord possesses what is within its four boundaries, does he wish his ministers and the state’s ten thousand people not to bring benefit to each other? If he lives in a great state and attacks a small state, or lives in a great household and brings disorder to a small household, wishing by this to seek reward and praise, in the end he cannot get them; punishment and penalties will surely come to him. Now Heaven’s possession of the world will, in the end, be no different from this. For if those who dwell in a large state attack a small state, or those who dwell in a large city attack a small city, wishing by this to seek good fortune and prosperity from Heaven, in the end they cannot get them; instead, misfortune and calamity will surely come to them.
Then, if people don’t do what Heaven desires, or do what Heaven doesn’t desire, Heaven in turn will not do what people desire, but will do what people do not desire. And what is it that people do not desire? I say it is sickness and disease, misfortune and calamity. Not to do what Heaven desires or to do what Heaven does not desire is to lead the ten thousand people of the world into the midst of misfortune and calamity in conducting their affairs. Therefore, in ancient times, the sage kings were clear in their knowledge of what Heaven and ghosts gave their blessings to, and avoided what Heaven and ghosts abhorred. In this way, they sought to promote Heaven’s benefits and eliminate Heaven’s harms. And so Heaven made it that cold and heat were moderate, the four seasons progressed harmoniously, \( yin, yang \), rain and dew were timely, the five grains ripened, the six animals thrived and sickness, disaster, pestilence and famine did not occur.’

27.5 Therefore Master Mo said: ‘Nowadays, if the noble men of the world truly wish in their hearts to comply with the Way and benefit the people, they must start by examining the basis of \( ren \) and \( yi \); by doing this they cannot but comply with Heaven’s intention. However, the world for the most part has those who are not \( ren \) and not good. I am speaking now, for example, of sons who do not serve their
fathers, younger brothers who do not serve their older brothers and ministers who do not serve their rulers. Therefore, the world’s rulers join in speaking of such people as not good. Now, in fact, Heaven is universal in its love for the [people of the] world. It brings to fruition the ten thousand things to benefit them. Even something as small as the tip of a hair is created by Heaven. So what the people gain and benefit from can, then, be called substantial. Nevertheless, they still don’t repay Heaven and don’t know they are not being ren, and are not good. This is what I mean when I say that noble men are clear about small matters, but are not clear about great matters.

27.6 ‘Further, how I know that Heaven’s love of the people is profound is this. I say it is by creating the sun, moon, stars and planets to light the way for them; it is by fixing the four seasons of spring, autumn, winter and summer to regulate them; it is by sending down snow, frost, rain and dew so the five grains, hemp and silk grow; and it is by letting the people gain the benefits of these materials. It divided off the mountains, rivers, streams and valleys and widely established the many officials to oversee the people and keep watch on what was good and bad. It created kings, dukes, marquises and earls and caused them to reward the worthy and punish the wicked. It provided metal and wood,
birds and beasts, as well as the production of the five grains, hemp and silk, so the people had the materials for clothing and food. From ancient times until now, it has always been like this. Now suppose there was a man who had a great love for his son and exerted all his strength and capacity to bring benefit to him. If, when the son grows up, he does not repay his father, the noble men of the world will join in saying he is neither *ren* nor good. Now Heaven is universal in its love for the [people of the] world. It brings to fruition the ten thousand things to benefit them. Even something as small as the tip of a hair is created by Heaven. So what the people gain and benefit from can, then, be called substantial. Nevertheless, they still do not repay Heaven and do not know they are not being *ren* or good. This is what I mean when I say that noble men are clear about small matters, but not clear about great matters.

27.7 ‘Moreover, how I know that Heaven’s love for the people is profound doesn’t stop at this. I say that if an innocent person is killed, Heaven brings down misfortune. Who is it that is innocent? I say it is a person. Who is it that brings down misfortune? I say it is Heaven. If Heaven’s love for the people was not profound, how do you explain the fact that it brings down misfortune if an innocent person is killed? This is why I say that Heaven’s love for the people is
profound. Further, how I know that Heaven’s love for the people is profound doesn’t stop at this. I say that those who love and benefit people, and comply with Heaven’s intention, are those who get Heaven’s rewards, whereas those who hate and harm people, and who oppose Heaven’s intention, are those who get Heaven’s punishments.

27.8 ‘Who were those who loved and benefited people, who complied with Heaven’s intention and who got Heaven’s rewards? I say that men like the sage kings of the Three Dynasties in former times – Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen and Wu – were such people. What was it that Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen and Wu did? I say that in their conduct of affairs they were universal and not partial (discriminatory). Where there is universality, those living in large states don’t attack small states, those living in large houses don’t bring disorder to small houses, the strong don’t oppress the weak, the many don’t tyrannize the few, the cunning don’t deceive the foolish and the noble are not arrogant towards the lowly. If you look at their deeds, in the upper realm there was benefit to Heaven, in the middle realm there was benefit to ghosts and in the lower realm there was benefit to people. If these three realms all benefit, then there is nothing that is not benefited. This is called “Heaven’s virtue”. They (the sage kings) acquired a
fine reputation throughout the world and added to it. I say they were both *ren* and *yi*. They are examples of those who loved and benefited people, who complied with Heaven’s intention and who got Heaven’s rewards. But it doesn’t stop at this. They also wrote about their deeds on bamboo and silk, they made carvings on metal and stone and they made engravings on [ceremonial] bowls and dishes for transmission to their descendants of later generations. You might ask what this achieved. It allowed us to know of those who loved people and benefited people, who complied with Heaven’s intention and who got Heaven’s rewards. The words of the “Huang Yi” in the *Odes* say:

The Lord said to King Wen,
I cherish your bright virtue.
There is no great sound or display.
There is no prolonged fervour for change.
There is no recognizing or knowing.
There is just following the pattern of the Lord. \(^2\)

The [Supreme] Lord was pleased with his compliance with the standards and so gave him Yin (i.e. the succession) to reward him, causing him to be ennobled as the Son of Heaven and enriched with all under Heaven, and his fame and praise to extend to the present time without ceasing. Thus, those who love people and benefit people, who
comply with Heaven’s intention and who get Heaven’s rewards can be recognized and known.

27.9 ‘Who were those who hated and harmed people, who opposed Heaven’s intention and who got Heaven’s punishments? I say that men like the cruel and tyrannical kings of the Three Dynasties in former times – Jie, Zhou, You and Li – were such people. How was it that Jie, Zhou, You and Li conducted their affairs? I say they conducted affairs with partiality and not with universality. When there is partiality, those dwelling in great states attack small states, those dwelling in great houses bring disorder to small houses, the strong oppress the weak, the many are tyrannical towards the few, the cunning deceive the foolish and the noble are arrogant towards the lowly. If you look at their deeds, there was no benefit to Heaven in the upper realm, no benefit to ghosts in the middle realm and no benefit to people in the lower realm. If these three levels are not benefited, there is nothing that is benefited. This is called “Heaven’s harm”. They (the tyrannical kings) acquired a reputation throughout the world for moral turpitude and added to it. I say they were neither ren nor yi. They are examples of those who hated and harmed people, who opposed Heaven’s intention and who got Heaven’s punishments. But it doesn’t stop at this. They (i.e. the sage
kings) also wrote on bamboo and silk of the deeds of such men, made carvings on metal and stone and engravings on [ceremonial] bowls and dishes for transmission to their descendants of later generations. You might ask what this achieved. It allowed us to know of those who hated people and harmed people, who opposed Heaven’s intention and who got Heaven’s punishments. In the words of the “Great Oath” it says: “Zhou was particularly arrogant and disrespectful. He was not willing to serve the Supreme Lord. He abandoned his ancestors and the spirits of the earth and did not sacrifice [to them]. Then he said, ‘I have the mandate. I do not stand in awe of ghosts and spirits.’”

Heaven in turn cast off and abandoned Zhou and did not protect him. If we examine why Heaven cast off Zhou and abandoned him, [it was because] he opposed Heaven’s intention. Thus, those who hate and harm people, who oppose Heaven’s intention and who get Heaven’s punishments can be recognized and known.

27.10 This is why, for Master Mo, Heaven’s intention is no different from a wheelwright’s compasses or a carpenter’s square. Now a wheelwright takes hold of his compasses in order to evaluate things in the world that are round and not round, saying: ‘What accords with my compasses is called round and what does not accord with my compasses is
called not round.' In this way, the roundness or non-roundness of all things can be ascertained and known. Why is this so? It is because the standard for roundness is clear. Also a carpenter takes hold of his square in order to evaluate things in the world that are square and not square, saying: ‘What accords with my square is called square and what does not accord with my square is called not square.’ In this way, the squareness or non-squareness of all things can be ascertained and known. Why is this so? It is because the standard for squareness is clear.

27.11 Thus, for Master Mo, there is Heaven’s intention [for these matters]: above, he is able to estimate the conduct of government by the kings, dukes and great officers of the world, and below, he is able to measure the world’s ten thousand people, taking their writings as expressing what they are saying. He looks at their conduct. If it complies with Heaven’s intention, he calls it well-intentioned conduct, whereas if it is contrary to Heaven’s intention, he calls it badly intentioned conduct. He considers what they are saying. If it complies with Heaven’s intention, he calls it good speech, whereas if it is contrary to Heaven’s intention, he calls it bad speech. He looks at their conduct of government. If it complies with Heaven’s intention, he calls it good government, whereas if it is contrary to
Heaven’s intention, he calls it bad government. Thus he establishes this as his standard and sets it up as his principle, using it to measure and evaluate who is ren and who is not ren among the world’s kings, dukes, great officers and ministers. It is comparable to distinguishing between black and white. This is why Master Mo says: ‘Now kings, dukes, great officers, officers and noble men of the world, if they truly wish in their hearts to honour the Way and benefit the people, must examine the basis of ren and yi from the start, and accept that Heaven’s intention must be complied with. Compliance with Heaven’s intention is the standard of yi.’
28.1 Master Mo spoke, saying: ‘How shall we explain what brings about the world’s disorder? It is that the officers and noble men of the world all understand small matters but don’t understand great matters. How do I know that they understand small matters but not great matters? It is because they don’t understand Heaven’s intention. And how do I know that they don’t understand Heaven’s intention? I know it from the way they conduct themselves in their households. Nowadays, if people commit a crime in their own household, they still have other households to which they can flee. Nevertheless, fathers caution sons and older brothers caution younger brothers, saying: “Be cautious, be careful! If those who live in a household are not cautious and careful, what will happen in the case of those who live
in a state?” Nowadays, if people who live in a state commit a crime, they still have other states to which they can flee. Nevertheless, fathers caution sons and older brothers caution younger brothers, saying: “Be cautious, be careful! For those who live in a state must be cautious and careful.” Nowadays, all the people who live in the world serve Heaven. If they commit a crime against Heaven, they will have nowhere to flee to. Nevertheless, they do not know to warn and admonish each other. This is how I know they don’t understand great matters.’

28.2 This is why Master Mo spoke, saying: ‘Being cautious and careful must refer to doing what Heaven wishes and setting aside what Heaven abhors. What do I say it is that Heaven desires? And what is it that Heaven abhors? Heaven desires yi (right action, righteousness and justice) and abhors not-yi (wrong action, unrighteousness and injustice). How do I know this to be so? I say that yi is being correct. How do I know that yi is being correct? If the world has yi, it is well ordered. If there is not yi, there is disorder. This is how I know that yi is being correct.

28.3 ‘However, with regard to correctness, rectification does not come from those below to those above. Unquestionably it comes from those above to those below.
This is why the ordinary people cannot act of their own accord to become correct. It is officers who rectify them. But officers cannot act of their own accord to become correct. It is great officers who rectify them. But great officers cannot act of their own accord to become correct. It is feudal lords who rectify them. But feudal lords cannot act of their own accord to become correct. It is the Three Dukes who rectify them. But the Three Dukes cannot act of their own accord to become correct. It is the Son of Heaven who rectifies them. But the Son of Heaven cannot act of his own accord to become correct. It is Heaven that rectifies him.

28.4 ‘Now the world’s officers and noble men all clearly understand that it is the Son of Heaven who rectifies the world. What they do not clearly understand is that it is Heaven that rectifies the Son of Heaven. This is why the sages in ancient times, in giving a clear explanation to the people, said: “If the Son of Heaven is good, Heaven is able to reward him. If he is at fault, Heaven is able to punish him.” If the Son of Heaven’s rewards and punishments are not appropriate, if his judgements in lawsuits are not fair, then Heaven sends down sickness and disease, misfortune and calamity. Frost and dew are untimely, and the Son of Heaven must, perforce, feed his cattle, sheep, dogs and
pigs, and cleanse and make the vessels of millet and sweet wine pure in order to offer prayers to Heaven in the ancestral temple. I have never heard of Heaven offering prayers for good fortune to the Son of Heaven. This is how I know that Heaven is more noble and wise than the Son of Heaven. Thus, \textit{yi} does not come from the foolish and lowly. It must come from the noble and wise. And who do I say is noble and wise? I say Heaven is noble and wise. In this case, then, \textit{yi} undoubtedly comes from Heaven. Now if the world’s officers and noble men wish to be \textit{yi}, they cannot do otherwise than comply with Heaven’s intention.

\textbf{28.5} ‘What do I say constitutes compliance with Heaven’s intention? I say it is universal love for the people of the world. How do I know [that Heaven] is universal in its love for the people of the world? It is because it is universal in providing food for them. How do I know that it is universal in providing food for them? From ancient times to the present, no matter how distant or remote states are, they all provide nourishment for their cattle and sheep, dogs and pigs, and clean and make the vessels of millet and sweet wine pure to honour and offer sacrifices to the Supreme Lord and the ghosts and spirits of the mountains and rivers. It is from this we know that [Heaven] is universal in its providing food for the people of the world. If it is universal
in providing food for them, then it must be universal in loving them. For example, consider the rulers of Chu and Yue. Now the Chu king provides food for those within the four boundaries of Chu, therefore he loves the people of Chu. The Yue king provides food for those within the four boundaries of Yue, therefore he loves the people of Yue. Now Heaven is universal in providing food in the world. This is how I know that it is universal in its love for the people of the world.

28.6 ‘Moreover, Heaven’s love for the ordinary people doesn’t simply end with this. Nowadays, in the states of the world, wherever there are people who eat grain, if one innocent person is killed, there will certainly be one calamity. Who is it, you ask, who kills the innocent person? I say it is a person. Who is it, you ask, who brings the calamity? I say it is Heaven. If Heaven did not truly love these people in its heart, what reason would it have for bringing about a calamity if there was an innocent person killed? Further, that Heaven’s love for the ordinary people is profound, and that Heaven’s love for the ordinary people is generalized, are things that can be ascertained and known.

28.7 ‘How do we know of Heaven’s love for the ordinary people? We know of it because worthy people invariably
reward goodness and punish wickedness. How do we know that worthy people invariably reward goodness and punish wickedness? It is because of the sage kings of the Three Dynasties of former times that we know it. Thus, in former times, the sage kings of the Three Dynasties – Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen and Wu – were universal in their love of the world and, as a result, brought benefit to it. They changed the way of thinking of the ordinary people, leading them to revere the Supreme Lord and the ghosts and spirits of the mountains and rivers. Heaven considered that they followed what it loved and loved it, and they followed what it benefited and benefited it. And so it added to their rewards and caused them to occupy a high position, establishing them as Sons of Heaven in order to be models. It gave them the name of “sage”, from which we have proof that it rewarded goodness. So too, in former times, the cruel and tyrannical kings of the Three Dynasties – Jie, Zhou, You and Li – universally hated the world and, as a result, harmed it. They changed the way of thinking of the ordinary people, leading them to revile and ridicule the Supreme Lord and the ghosts and spirits of the mountains and rivers. Heaven considered that they did not follow what it loved but hated it, and did not follow what it benefited but harmed it. And so it added to their punishments, causing fathers and sons to be dispersed and scattered, and the kingdom to be
destroyed and lost; it caused destruction of the altars of soil and grain, and grief to come to them personally. And so the ordinary people were as one in reviling them, and for ten thousand generations their descendants too continued to revile them unceasingly. It (i.e. Heaven) named them “cruel and tyrannical kings”, from which we have proof that it punished wickedness. Nowadays, if the world’s officers and noble men wish to be \( yi \), they must comply with Heaven’s intention.

28.8 ‘I say that to comply with Heaven’s intention is to be universal. To oppose Heaven’s intention is to be partial. To follow the way of universality is to govern by \( yi \). To follow the way of partiality is to govern by force. If you ask what government by \( yi \) is, I say it is the great not attacking the small, the strong not plundering the weak, the many not harming the few, the clever not cheating the foolish, the noble not being arrogant towards the lowly, the rich not being boastful towards the poor and the able-bodied not snatching away from the old. As a result, the many states of the world will not use water and fire, poisons and potions, or arms and weapons to harm one another. If these conditions obtain, then, in the upper realm Heaven is benefited, in the middle realm ghosts are benefited and in the lower realm the people are benefited. If these three
realms are benefited, there is nothing that is not benefited. This is called ‘heavenly virtue’. Therefore, in all cases, those who conduct themselves like this will be sage-like in ren (kind, loving, humane and benevolent) and yi, loyal and kind, and compassionate and filial, which is why the world’s good names will be gathered together and applied to them. What is the reason for this? It is because there is compliance with Heaven’s intention. If you ask what government by force is, I say it is the great attacking the small, the strong plundering the weak, the many harming the few, the clever cheating the foolish, the noble being arrogant towards the lowly, the rich being boastful towards the poor and the able-bodied snatching away from the old. As a result, the many states of the world will use water and fire, poisons and potions, or arms and weapons to plunder and harm one another. If these conditions obtain, then, in the upper realm it does not benefit Heaven, in the middle realm it does not benefit ghosts and in the lower realm it does not benefit the people. If these three realms are not benefited, there is nothing that is benefited. This is spoken of as heavenly plunder. Therefore, in all cases, those who conduct themselves like this will be tyrannical and reckless, robbers and thieves, not ren (unloving, unkind, inhumane and not benevolent) and not yi (wrong acting, unrighteous and unjust), disloyal and unkind, and non-
compassionate and unfilial, which is why the world’s bad names will be gathered together and applied to them. What is the reason for this? It is because there is opposition to Heaven’s intention.’

28.9 Therefore, Master Mo established and set up Heaven’s intention to act as a principle and standard just as a wheelwright has his compasses and a carpenter his square. Now a wheelwright uses compasses and a carpenter uses a square, because with these things they can distinguish what is square or round. This is why Master Mo established and set up Heaven’s intention to act as a principle and standard. With this we can know whether the world’s officers and noble men are distancing themselves from yi. How can we know whether the world’s officers and noble men are distancing themselves from yi? Now we know that rulers of large states expansively say: ‘If I dwell in a large state and don’t attack small states, how am I to be taken as great?’ And so they select capable officers to assist them, and arrange the troops on their boats and chariots in order to attack and reduce a state that has committed no crime. They enter the state’s boundaries, cut down its grains and crops, fell its forests and trees, destroy its inner and outer city walls, fill in its moats and pools, burn down its ancestral temples, and seize and kill its sacrificial animals. Those
people who oppose them, they kill. Those who do not oppose them, they bind together and take back with them. They use the men to mind horses or in forced labour, and the women to pound grain or to carry water.

28.10 Then those rulers who loved assault and attack did not take this to be neither *ren* nor *yi*, and accordingly told the neighbouring feudal lords on the four sides, saying: ‘We have attacked such and such a state and defeated its army, killing the general like capable men.’ And the rulers of the neighbouring states also did not know that this was neither *ren* nor *yi*, so they prepared gifts of fur and silk, brought out what they had stored away, and sent men for feasting and congratulations. Then those rulers who loved assault and attack were doubly unaware that this was neither *ren* nor *yi*. They wrote this on bamboo and silk and stored it in their storehouses for the people of later generations who would certainly wish to emulate the actions of their former rulers and so say: ‘Why is it not appropriate to open our storehouses and look at the models and principles of our former rulers?’ They would certainly not say, ‘Kings Wen and Wu conducted their governments like this.’ They would say, ‘We attacked states and defeated their armies, killing their generals like capable men.’ Then the rulers who loved assault and attack would not know that this was neither *ren*
nor yi, and the rulers of their neighbouring states would [likewise] not know that this was neither ren nor yi. In this way, assault and attack were perpetuated for generation after generation without stopping. This is why I say, ‘If it was a great matter, they did not know it.’

28.11 How do we know what it is that is called a small matter? Now suppose there is a man who enters another’s garden or orchard and takes his peaches, plums, melons and ginger. If those above learn of it, they will punish him. If the masses hear of it, they will condemn him. Why is this? I say it is because he did not participate in the work, yet he seized the produce so what he took was not his. How much more so does this apply if someone jumps over another’s wall or fence and seize his sons and daughters? Or if someone breaks into another’s storehouse and steals his gold, jade and cloth? Or jumps over the railing of another’s animal enclosure and steals his oxen and horses? How much more so again does it apply if someone kills one innocent person? Nowadays, kings, dukes and great officers conduct the government. And from someone who kills an innocent person to someone who jumps over another’s wall or fence and seizes his sons and daughters, or breaks into another’s storehouse and steals his gold, jade and cloth, or leaps over the railing of another’s animal enclosure and
steals his oxen and horses, or enters another’s wall or fence and steals his peaches, plums, melons and ginger, these same kings, dukes and great officers will punish them. Even in ancient times, when Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen and Wu were in charge of government, this was no different.

28.12 Nowadays, the world’s feudal lords all still encroach, attack and annex. This is like killing one innocent person many thousands of times over. It is like jumping over another person’s wall or fence and seizing his sons and daughters, or breaking into another’s storehouse and stealing his gold, jade and cloth many thousands of times over. It is like leaping over the railing of another’s animal enclosure and stealing his oxen and horses, or entering another’s wall or fence and stealing his peaches, plums, melons and ginger many thousands of times over. And yet they themselves say it is yi (right and just).

28.13 Therefore, Master Mo spoke, saying: ‘If this is what it is to be confused about yi, then how is it different from being confused about the distinction between black and white or sweet and bitter? Now suppose there is a man who, when you show him a little bit of black, calls it black, but when you show him a lot of black, calls it white. He will
certainly have to admit that his eyes are confused and that he doesn’t know the difference between black and white. And suppose now there is a man who, when you allow him to taste a little sweetness, calls it sweet, but when he tastes a lot of sweetness, calls it bitter. He will certainly have to admit that his mouth is confused and that he doesn’t know the tastes of sweet and bitter. Nowadays, when kings, dukes and great officers carry out government, with regard to someone killing another person, his own state will try to prevent this because everyone knows that to do this is not *yi* (right and just). But they are able to kill large numbers of people in a neighbouring state and take this to be *yi*. How is this different from confusing the distinction between black and white, or between sweet and bitter?’

28.14 Therefore, Master Mo established Heaven’s [intention] as the standard. But it was not only Master Mo who took Heaven’s intention to be the standard. In the writings of the former kings such as the ‘*Da Ya*’ it is the same:

The Lord said to King Wen,
I cherish your bright virtue.
There is no great sound or display.
There is no prolonged fervour for change.
There is no recognizing or knowing.
There is just following the pattern of the Lord.
This tells of King Wen’s use of Heaven’s intention as a standard and his compliance with the [Supreme] Lord’s pattern. Moreover, nowadays, the world’s officers and noble men, if they truly wish in their hearts to be ren and yi, and seek to be superior officers, and wish to accord with the Way of the sage kings above, and with the benefits of the ordinary people of the state below, cannot do otherwise than examine Heaven’s intention. Heaven’s intention is the standard of yi.
29

Percipient Ghosts I
(Ming Gui Shang)

Lost
Percipient Ghosts II
\textit{(Ming Gui Zhong)}

Lost
31

Percipient Ghosts\textsuperscript{1} III
\textit{(Ming Gui Xia)}

31.1 Master Mo spoke, saying: ‘Since the passing of the sage kings of the Three Dynasties of former times, the world has lost \textit{yi} (right action, righteousness and justice) and the feudal lords use force in governing, so that those living now who are rulers and ministers, and superiors and inferiors, are without kindness or loyalty, while fathers and sons, and younger and older brothers, are without compassion, filial conduct, respect, upright behaviour and goodness. Those who are leaders are not diligent in the conduct of government while those who are lowly are not diligent in the conduct of affairs. The people give themselves to debauchery, cruelty, robbery, disorder, theft and plunder, using weapons, poisons, water and fire to stop innocent travellers on the roads and footpaths. As well,
they seize their carts, horses, clothes and furs to benefit themselves. And since these things began, disorder has been created in the world. Why have things come to this? It is because everyone is doubtful and suspicious on the question of whether or not ghosts and spirits exist, and don’t clearly understand that ghosts and spirits are able to reward the worthy and punish the wicked. Now if all the people of the world could be brought to believe that ghosts and spirits are able to reward the worthy and punish the wicked, how could the world be in disorder?’

31.2 Nowadays, those who hold that there are no ghosts say: ‘Ghosts and spirits certainly do not exist.’ From morning to night they teach and instruct the people of the world, sowing doubt among its masses and causing them all to be suspicious and doubtful on the question of whether or not ghosts and spirits exist. This creates disorder in the world. For this reason, Master Mo said: ‘Nowadays, if the kings, dukes, great officers, officers and noble men of the world genuinely wish to promote what benefits the world and eliminate what harms it, it is right that the issue of whether ghosts and spirits exist or not is something that must be clearly examined.’
31.3 So the question as to whether or not ghosts and spirits exist is taken to be one that must be examined. In that case, if we are to examine this clearly, how can it be done? Master Mo said: ‘In bringing up the method of how the [people of the] world examine and know whether something exists or not, we must certainly take the ears and eyes of the masses to be a standard on the matter of existence and non-existence. If someone has genuinely heard or seen something, we must take it as existing. But if no one has heard or seen it, we must take it as not existing. If this is the case, why not put the matter to the test by going into a district or village and asking about it? If, from ancient times to the present, since people first came into existence, there have been those who have seen ghostlike or spirit-like things, or have heard ghostlike or spirit-like sounds, then how can ghosts and spirits be said to be non-existent? If no one has heard or seen [such things], then how can ghosts and spirits be said to exist?’

31.4 Nowadays, those who hold that there are no ghosts and spirits say: ‘The [people of the] world who have seen or heard things that are ghosts and spirits are too many to count, but how many of them can truly say that they have seen such things?’ Master Mo spoke, saying: ‘If we are to take what many people together have seen, or what many
people together have heard, then someone like the Earl of Du of former times is a case in point. King Xuan of Zhou had his minister the Earl of Du put to death, although he had committed no crime. The Earl of Du said: “My ruler is putting me to death, although I have committed no crime. If those who are dead are without awareness, that will be the end of the matter, but if those who are dead have awareness, then within three years I shall certainly cause my ruler to know it.” Some three years later, when King Xuan of Zhou had gathered the feudal lords to go hunting at Pu, the hunting chariots numbered several hundred and the followers several thousand. People filled the field. On the stroke of noon, the Earl of Du appeared in a plain chariot drawn by white horses. He was wearing vermillion clothes and a vermillion cap; he grasped a vermillion bow and carried vermillion arrows under his arm. He pursued King Xuan of Zhou and fired at him as he rode on his chariot, striking him in his very centre and breaking his spine, killing him in his chariot. [The King] slumped over his quiver and died. At that time, among the Zhou followers, there was not one who did not see, and of those far away, not one who did not hear of it. It was recorded in the Spring and Autumn Annals of Zhou. It became something rulers used to instruct their ministers, and fathers used to caution their sons, saying: “Be warned! Be careful! All
those who kill the innocent will suffer misfortune; the
punishment of ghosts and spirits will be very swift like
this.” If we look at what is said in writings of this sort, how
can we doubt the existence of ghosts and spirits?

31.5 ‘But it is not only what is said in this book that makes
it so. Once, in former times, when Duke Mu of Zheng was
sitting in his ancestral temple in the middle of the day,
there was a spirit which came through the door and turned
to the left. It had the body of a bird and wore plain garments
of a dark colour. Its face had a square appearance. When
Duke Mu of Zheng saw it, he was frightened and about to
flee. The spirit said: “Don’t be afraid. The [Supreme] Lord
is pleased with your shining virtue and has sent me to grant
you a longer life by nineteen years, to make your state
prosperous and to ensure that your progeny are vigorous
and don’t lose [your state].” Duke Mu of Zheng bowed
repeatedly, striking his head on the ground, and said: “Dare
I ask the spirit’s name?” [The spirit] replied: “I am Gou
Mang.”’

If we take what Duke Mu of Zheng saw in person
as a criterion, how can we doubt the existence of ghosts
and spirits?

31.6 ‘But it is not only what is said in this book that makes
it so. In former times, Duke Jian of Yan had his minister
Zhuang Ziyi⁴ put to death, although he had committed no crime. Zhuang Ziyi said: “My ruler is putting me to death, although I have committed no crime. If those who are dead are without awareness, that will be the end of the matter, but if those who are dead have awareness, then within three years I shall cause my prince to know it.” One year later, [the people of] Yan were about to set out for Zu – Yan had Zu just as Qi had Sheji, Song had Sanglin and Chu had Yunmeng, these being places where men and women gathered to watch.⁵ On the stroke of noon, just as Duke Jian of Yan was about to set out on the road to Zu, Zhuang Ziyi appeared carrying a vermillion staff and struck him, killing him in his chariot. At that time, there was not one of the Yan people in attendance who did not see it, and not one of those far away who did not hear of it. It was recorded in the Spring and Autumn Annals of Yan. The feudal lords transmitted it and spoke of it, saying: “All those who kill the innocent will suffer misfortune; the punishment of the ghosts and spirits will be very swift like this.” If we look at what is said in writings like this, how can we doubt the existence of ghosts and spirits?

31.7 ‘But it is not only what is said in this book that makes it so. Formerly, at the time of Prince Wen of Song, whose name was Bao, there was a minister in charge of sacrifices
called Guan Gu. Once, when he was performing his duties in the temple, [a spirit in the form of] a wizard carrying a staff appeared and spoke, saying: “Guan Gu! Why are the jade emblems not of the proper dimensions? Why are the sweet wine and vessels of millet not clean and pure? Why are the sacrificial animals not pristine and fattened? Why are the spring, autumn, winter and summer offerings not those appropriate for the time? Is this your doing or is it Bao’s?” Guan Gu replied: “Bao is still young and frail and wears swaddling clothes. How can he be responsible? I, the official Guan Gu, am alone responsible for this.” The wizard raised his staff and struck him, killing him on the sacrificial altar. At that time, there was not one of the Song people in attendance who did not see it, and not one of those far away who did not hear of it. It was recorded in the Spring and Autumn Annals of Song. The feudal lords transmitted it and spoke of it, saying: “All those who are not reverential and careful in the sacrifices will suffer the punishment of spirits and ghosts which will be very swift like this.” If we look at what is said in writings like this, how can we doubt the existence of spirits and ghosts?

31.8 ‘But it is not only what is said in this book that makes it so. Formerly, among the officials of Prince Zhuang of Qi, there was one called Wang Liguo and another called
Zhongli Jiao. These two men had been engaged in a lawsuit for three years without any judgement being reached. The Qi prince considered putting both men to death but feared that one was innocent. He considered releasing both men but feared that one was guilty. Then he made the two men together bring a ram and take an oath on the Qi altars of soil and grain. The two men agreed. Thereupon, [before the altar] a hole was dug, the ram’s throat was cut and its blood was scattered. Wang Liguo then read his statement right through to the end. But when Zhongli Jiao was not yet halfway through reading his statement, the [dead] ram rose up and butted him, breaking his leg. As he stumbled and fell he struck the altar and was killed at the place of the oath. At that time, there was not one of the Qi people in attendance who did not see it, and not one of those far away who did not hear of it. It was recorded in the *Spring and Autumn Annals* of Qi. The feudal lords transmitted and spoke of this, saying: “All those who swear oaths together but are untruthful will suffer the punishment of ghosts and spirits which will be very swift like this.” If we look at what is said in writings like this, how can we doubt the existence of ghosts and spirits?” That is why Master Mo spoke, saying: ‘Even in deep valleys and thick forests, in dark places where nobody dwells, you must be careful in your conduct because there are ghosts and spirits watching you.’
Now those who hold that there are no ghosts say: ‘How is the evidence of the ears and eyes of the masses sufficient to resolve doubt? How can we expect those who want to be high officers and noble men in the world to turn around and trust the evidence of the ears and eyes of the masses?’ Master Mo said: ‘Suppose we accept that the evidence of the ears and eyes of the masses is not enough to trust and cannot be used to resolve doubt. Would we not accept that the sage kings of the Three Dynasties of former times – Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen and Wu – are enough to be taken as standards? Thus, in this, all those from the middle [level] and above say they accept that the sage kings of the Three Dynasties of former times are enough to be taken as standards. If, in fact, the sage kings of the Three Dynasties of former times are enough to be taken as standards, then let us look for a moment at the affairs of these sage kings. Formerly, after King Wu had attacked Yin and punished Zhou, he made the feudal lords divide up the sacrifices, saying: “I shall let close relatives participate in the internal sacrifices and distant relatives participate in the external sacrifices.” Thus King Wu undoubtedly took ghosts and spirits to exist. This is why, after attacking Yin and punishing Zhou, he made the feudal lords divide the sacrifices. If ghosts and spirits did not exist, why would King Wu have made this division of sacrifices?
But it is not only the matter of King Wu that makes it so. Thus, when the sage kings bestowed their rewards, they invariably did so in the ancestral temple, and when they meted out [capital] punishment, they invariably did so at the altar of soil. Why did they bestow rewards in the ancestral temple? To announce [to the ghosts and spirits] that the apportionment was equitable. Why did they mete out [capital] punishment at the altar of soil? To announce [to the ghosts and spirits] that the judgement was fair. But it is not only what is said in writings like this that makes it so. There is also the case of the sage kings of the Three Dynasties of former times – Yu Xia, Shang and Zhou – who, in the days when they first established the kingdom and built the capital, certainly selected [the place for] the kingdom’s sacrificial altar and established it as being the ancestral temple. They certainly selected a place where the woodland was dense and luxuriant, establishing it as the altar of soil. They certainly selected the most compassionate, filial, upright and good of the fathers and older brothers and took them to be the leaders of the sacrifices. They certainly selected the most plump and pure-coloured of the six domestic animals and took them as sacrificial victims. The several jade emblems were of an appropriate nature and size. They certainly selected the most fragrant and ripe of the five grains to use for the
sweet wine and millet vessels, so the sweet wine and millet vessels were a reflection of whether the year was good or bad. Thus, in bringing order to the world, the ancient sage kings certainly put the ghosts and spirits first and the people second, as this shows. So it is said, with respect to the preparations and provisions by government departments, that it is first necessary to ensure that the utensils and garments for the sacrifices are all stored in the storehouses, that the leaders of the sacrifice and the other officials are all established at court and that the sacrificial animals are not mixed with the rest of the herd. Thus, in ancient times, the sage kings’ conduct of government was like this.

31.11 ‘In ancient times, the sage kings certainly took ghosts and spirits to exist; their service to ghosts and spirits was profound. But they also feared that their descendants of later generations would not be able to know this, so they wrote it on bamboo and silk to transmit and hand down to them. But they all feared that [these writings] would decay and be worm-eaten, and be lost and destroyed, so their descendants of later generations would have no record. Therefore, they carved it on [ceremonial] basins and plates, and engraved it on metal and stone to be especially sure. But they also feared that their descendants
of later generations would not be reverential and respectful enough to derive the blessings [from these writings]. Therefore, in the writings of the former kings, the sages, in every chi of silk and every pian of writings, speak many times of the existence of ghosts and spirits, reiterating this again and again. What is the reason for this? It is because the sage kings took it to be important. Now those who hold that there are no ghosts say: “Ghosts and spirits certainly do not exist.” This, then, is the opposite of what the sage kings took as fundamental. To oppose what the sage kings took to be fundamental cannot be regarded as the way of the noble man.’

31.12 Now the arguments of those who hold that there are no ghosts say: ‘If, in the writings of the former kings, the sages, in every chi of silk and every pian of writings, speak many times of the existence of ghosts and spirits, reiterating this again and again, then what are these writings?’

Master Mo said: ‘Of the Zhou writings, the “Da Ya” is one. The “Da Ya” says:

King Wen is above,
brightly shining in Heaven.
But Zhou is an old country,
and its decree is now new.
Is Zhou not illustrious?”
Was the Lord’s decree not timely?
King Wen ascends and descends
on the right and left of the Lord.
Profound indeed was King Wen,
and his fame is heard unceasingly.⁹

If ghosts and spirits did not exist, then when King Wen was
dead, how could he be at the left and right of the [Supreme] Lord? This is how I know of the ghosts of the Zhou writings.

31.13 ‘Further, if only the Zhou writings [spoke of] ghosts but the Shang writings did not, this would not be enough to take as a criterion. In that case, then, let us look for a moment at the Shang writings. [There] it is said: “Ah alas! In ancient times there was Xia. Just before the time of misfortune, of the hundred animals and crawling insects right up to the flying birds, there was none that did not follow the Way. Still more, of those with human faces, who would dare to harbour a different heart? Of the ghosts and spirits of the mountains and rivers, there was also none that dared not be at peace. If they were able to be respectful and sincere, the world would be harmonious and the land would be protected.”¹⁰ If we examine the reason why ghosts and spirits of the mountains and rivers didn’t dare not to be at peace, it was because they were assisting Yu in the
execution of his plans. This is how I know of the ghosts of the Shang writings.

31.14 ‘Further, if only the Shang writings [spoke of] ghosts but the Xia writings did not, this would not be enough to take as a criterion. In that case, then, let us look for a moment at the Xia writings, [specifically] the “Oath of Yu”, which says: “There was a great battle at Gan. The king ordered the six high officers to the left and right to go below the altar and listen to his declaration in the middle of the army. He said: ‘There is this man Hu and he has destroyed and insulted the Five Constant Virtues and has been careless about and abandoned the Three Paths. As a result, Heaven attacked him and cut off his mandate.’ It also says: “At midday, I and the man of Hu will contend for the fate of this day. As for all you ministers and high officers, and you common people, it is not that I wish for your lands or your precious jade. I am reverentially carrying out Heaven’s punishment. And if you on the left do not attack on the left, and you on the right do not attack on the right, you will not be respecting the mandate. If you charioteers do not control your horses, you will not be respecting the mandate.”’
31.15 ‘This is why rewards were bestowed in the ancestral temple and [capital] punishments meted out at the altar of soil. Why were rewards bestowed in the ancestral temple? To tell [the ancestors] that the apportionment of the decree was equitable. Why were [capital] punishments meted out at the altar of soil? To tell [the ghosts] that the resolution of lawsuits was fair. Therefore, the ancient sage kings undoubtedly thought that ghosts and spirits rewarded the worthy and punished the wicked. This is the reason why rewards necessarily occurred in the ancestral temple and [capital] punishments at the altar of soil. This is how I know of the ghosts of the Xia writings. Thus, most anciently in the Xia writings, and next in those of Shang and Zhou, there are numerous references to the existence of ghosts and spirits, and these are reiterated again and again. What is the reason for this? It is because the sage kings took it to be fundamental. If we look at what is said in writings such as these, then how is it possible to doubt the existence of ghosts and spirits? In an ancient [writing] it is said: “On the propitious day (dingmao), the official conducting the sacrifice and representing [the ruler] offered prayers all around – to the spirits of the earth, to the spirits of the four directions, to the spirits of the year and to the spirits of ancestors – praying for long life [for the ruler].” If there were no ghosts and spirits, what could there have been to
31.16 It was for this reason that Master Mo said: ‘It is right to think that ghosts and spirits are able to reward the worthy and punish the wicked. If this could be established at the outset in the state and among the ten thousand people, it would truly be the way to bring order to the state and benefit to the ten thousand people. If the officials in charge of government departments are not pure and incorruptible, or if men and women don’t maintain the proper separation, ghosts and spirits see them. If people are depraved and cruel, giving themselves to plunder, disorder, robbery and theft, and using weapons, poisons, water and fire to waylay innocent travellers on the roads, seizing carriages, horses, clothes and furs for their own benefit, there are ghosts and spirits who see them. So the officials in charge of government departments don’t dare not to be pure and incorruptible. When they see what is good, they dare not fail to reward it. When they see what is evil, they dare not fail to punish it. And the people being depraved and cruel, giving themselves to plunder, disorder, robbery and theft, and using weapons, poisons, water and fire to waylay innocent travellers on the roads, seizing carriages, horses, clothes and furs for their own benefit, will stop because of this. [So there is no licentiousness even in the darkest
places that is not clearly apparent to ghosts and spirits, and every single person is aware and fearful of punishment from above]. In this way the world is well ordered.

31.17 ‘Therefore, the percipience of ghosts and spirits is such that it is impossible to do something in the darkest places, whether in wide marshes, in mountains and forests, or in deep ravines, without this percipience certainly knowing of it. The punishments of ghosts and spirits are such that it is impossible [to avoid them], whether rich and noble and [having a populace that is] numerous and strong, or with brave and powerful forces, or with strong shields and sharp weapons; the punishments of ghosts and spirits will undoubtedly overcome these things. If you think this is not the case, [then consider] the Xia king, Jie of former times. He was ennobled as the Son of Heaven and enriched with all under Heaven. But he abused Heaven and insulted the ghosts above, and brought calamity and death to the ten thousand people of the world below. [He feigned before the Supreme Lord and endangered the Supreme Lord’s practices.] It was because of this that Heaven sent Tang to carry out its clearly recognizable punishment. Tang, with his nine chariots arranged in the Bird Formation and the Wild Goose March, ascended Da Zan, clashed with Jie’s forces, entered the outskirts of the city and seized Tui Yi
and Da Xi with his own hands. Thus, in former times, the Xia king, Jie, was ennobled as the Son of Heaven and enriched with all under Heaven. And he had strong and courageous men such as Tui Yi and Da Xi who could tear apart a live rhinoceros or tiger and could kill a man with one finger. His people were numbered in the millions and they filled the marshes and mountains. Nevertheless, he was not able to ward off the punishment of ghosts and spirits. This is why I say that the punishments of ghosts and spirits are such that it is impossible [to avoid them], whether rich and noble and [having a populace that is] numerous and strong, or with brave and powerful forces, or with strong shields and sharp weapons.

31.18 ‘Moreover, it was not only this that was the case. In former times, there was the Yin king, Zhou. He was ennobled as the Son of Heaven and enriched with all under Heaven. But he abused Heaven and insulted the ghosts above, and he brought calamity and death to the myriad people of the world below. Everywhere he abandoned old people, killed young children, administered the torture of the burning pillar to the innocent, and he ripped open pregnant women. The masses, widowers and widows, and those orphaned and alone cried out but were not heard. It was because of this that Heaven sent Wu to carry out its
clearly recognizable punishment. So King Wu chose a hundred chariots and four hundred of his bravest soldiers and, after sending out appointed officers to assess their strength, engaged with the Yin forces in the fields of Mu. The King seized Fei Zhong and Wu Lai with his own hands and the multitude turned and fled. King Wu then pursued Zhou and entered the palace. There, on an ancient tree stump, he cut off his head and hung it on a red chariot wheel against the backdrop of a white banner to make clear to the feudal lords of the world that he had carried out the punishment. Therefore, in former times, the Yin king, Zhou, although he was ennobled as the Son of Heaven and enriched with all under Heaven, and had men of courage and strength such as Fei Zhong and Wu Lai, who could seize a live rhinoceros or tiger, or could kill a man with one finger, and had a populace numbered in the many millions that filled the lowlands and hills, he was nevertheless unable to ward of the punishment of ghosts and spirits. This is why I say that the punishments of ghosts and spirits are such that it is impossible [to avoid them], whether rich and noble and [having a populace that is] numerous and strong, or with brave and powerful forces, or with strong shields and sharp weapons. Moreover, the words of the “Qin Ai”\textsuperscript{15} say: “One can attain [Heaven’s] blessing no matter how lowly. One’s lineage can be wiped out no matter how great.” This, then,
says that whomever the ghosts and spirits are going to reward, no matter how lowly, they will certainly reward him [and conversely], whomever the ghosts and spirits are going to punish, no matter how great, they will certainly punish him.’

31.19 Nowadays, those who hold that there are no ghosts say: ‘Is it not the case [that such things] do not accord with benefiting parents and are harmful to being filial?’ Master Mo said: ‘The ghosts of ancient and modern times are the same. There are ghosts of Heaven, there are ghosts and spirits of the mountains and rivers, and there are also ghosts of people who have died. Now there are instances of sons dying before their fathers, and of younger brothers dying before older brothers. Although this may be so, there is, nonetheless, a common saying in the world: “Those who are born first die first.” Thus, if the first to die is not the father, then it is the mother; if it is not the older brother, then it is the older sister. Now if we make the sweet wine and millet vessels pure to carry out the sacrifices with reverence and circumspection in case ghosts and spirits do really exist, this provides father and mother, older and younger brother with drink and food, so how is it not a substantial benefit? If, however, ghosts and spirits don’t really exist, this might seem like a waste of the materials
used for the sweet wine and millet vessels. But on the matter of wastage, it is not that we just pour these materials into ditches and drains and cast them away. Within, the family members, and without, [the people] of the district and village, all get what is provided and drink and eat it, so although ghosts and spirits may not truly exist, this still means that large numbers of people can meet together for enjoyment, and this fosters a closeness [among the people] of district and village.’

31.20 Nowadays, those who hold that there are no ghosts say: ‘As for ghosts and spirits, they basically do not exist. This is why we don’t provide the materials for the sweet wine and millet vessels and the sacrificial victims. It isn’t that we are parsimonious regarding the materials for the sweet wine and millet vessels, and the sacrificial victims. It is rather a matter of asking what we will achieve.’ But above, this runs counter to the writings of the sage kings, and within, it runs counter to the conduct of filial sons among the people. And as far as being a superior officer of the world is concerned, this is not the way to be such a superior officer. This is why Master Mo said: ‘Now, when I carry out a sacrifice, it is not that I am pouring [the material] directly into a ditch or drain and abandoning it. I am effecting an exchange for the blessings of ghosts above,
and I am bringing about a joyous meeting and fostering a
closeness [among the people of] district and village below.
And if spirits do exist, I am providing food for my parents
and siblings. How, then, is this not a beneficial matter for
the world?’

31.21 This is the reason why Master Mo said: ‘Nowadays,
if kings, dukes, great officers, officers and noble men of
the world truly wish in their hearts to seek to promote the
benefits of the world and eliminate its harms, they ought to
accept the existence of ghosts and spirits and cannot do
otherwise than honour them as percipient (all-seeing). It
was the Way of the sage kings.’
32

Condemning Music I
(Fei Yue Shang)

32.1 Master Mo spoke, saying: ‘The business of those who are ren (loving, kind, humane and benevolent) must be to seek diligently to promote what benefits the world and eliminate what harms it, so that they will be deemed models for the world. If they are benefiting people, they act. If they are not benefiting people, they stop. Furthermore, those who are ren, in making their plans for the world, don’t make what is beautiful to their eyes, or pleasing to their ears, or sweet to their palates, or of comfort to their bodies. They take these things as depriving the people of materials for food and clothing and so those who are ren don’t make them.’

32.2 For this reason, Master Mo’s condemnation of music is not because he thinks the sounds of the struck bell and
beaten drum, and of lutes and pipes, are not pleasing. It is not because he thinks the colours of inlays and patterns are not beautiful. It is not because he thinks the flavours of the broiled meats of grass- and grain-fed animals\(^1\) are not sweet. It is not because he thinks dwellings with high towers, large pavilions and secluded courtyards are not comfortable. Although the body knows their comforts, the mouth their sweetness, the eyes their beauty and the ears their music, nevertheless, when we examine these things in terms of the high, they do not accord with the business of the sage kings, and when we evaluate them in terms of the low, they do not accord with the benefits of the ten thousand people. This is why Master Mo said: ‘Making music is to be condemned.

32.3 ‘Nowadays, kings, dukes and great officers make musical instruments, taking it to be the business of the state. But this is not a simple matter like collecting water or digging earth. They will certainly have to levy heavy taxes from the ten thousand people to make the sounds of the struck bell and beaten drum, and of lutes and pipes. In ancient times, the sage kings also levied heavy taxes from the ten thousand people to make boats and carts. And when they were completed, they asked [themselves]: “Where will we use these things?”\(^2\) “The boats we will use on water and
the carts on land,” they said, “so noble men can rest their feet and lesser men can rest their shoulders and backs.” Therefore, the ten thousand people brought forth their goods and presented them, and dared not resent this. Why? Because in return the things gained were in accord with the benefits of the people. In this case, then, if musical instruments gave back something that was in accord with the benefits of the people like this, then I would not dare condemn them. That is to say, if there was some proper use for musical instruments like that of the sage kings’ use of boats and carts, then I would not dare condemn them.

32.4 ‘The people have three hardships: to be hungry and not find food; to be cold and not find clothing; to be weary and not find rest. These three things are great hardships for the people. If this is so, then suppose we strike the great bells, beat the sounding drums, strum lutes, blow pipes and brandish shields and battleaxes. Will this enable the people to find the materials for food and clothing? I certainly don’t think this will ever be so.

32.5 ‘But let us put this aside for the moment. Nowadays, there are large states attacking small states. There are large households striking at small households. The strong plunder the weak. The many tyrannize the few. The cunning
deceive the foolish. The noble are arrogant towards the lowly. And robbery, disorder, theft and plunder all arise and cannot be stopped. If this is so, suppose we strike the great bells, beat the sounding drums, strum lutes, blow pipes and brandish shields and battleaxes. Will this enable good order to be imposed on the disorder of the world? I certainly don’t think so.’ This is why Master Mo said: ‘As before, imposing heavy taxes on the ten thousand people in order to make the sounds of the great bell, the sounding drum, lutes and pipes won’t help in seeking to promote the world’s benefits and eliminate the world’s harms.’ This is why Master Mo said: ‘Making music is to be condemned.’

32.6 Nowadays, kings, dukes and great officers, when they sit up in their high towers and large pavilions and look at the bells, they just seem like upturned tripods (ding). If no one strikes them, how will they get any music from them? Clearly, for their pleasure they need someone to strike them. But for striking [the bells] they will certainly not use those who are old or young. In the case of the old and young, their ears and eyes are not sharp and keen, and their arms and legs are not quick and strong, so the sounds are not harmonious and the tones won’t change appropriately. They will undoubtedly use those in their prime because their ears and eyes are sharp and keen and their arms and
legs are quick and strong, so the sounds will be harmonious and the tones will change appropriately. If they use men to do this, it will interfere with their time for sowing grain and planting trees. If they use women to do this, it will interfere with their work of spinning and weaving. So now, if kings, dukes and great officers make music, the depleting and depriving people of materials for clothing and food in order to make music will, in this way, be very great. This is why Master Mo said: ‘Making music is to be condemned.’

32.7 Now if the great bell, the sounding drum, lutes and pipes are already prepared and a great officer reverentially plays music and listens to it alone, what pleasure will he get from this? If his enjoyment is not with lowly men, then it must be with noble men. But if he listens to [music] with noble men, that prevents them from attending to administration. And if he listens to [music] with lowly men, that prevents them from carrying out their work. So now, if kings, dukes and great officers make music, the depleting and depriving people of materials for clothing and food in order to make music will, in this way, be very great. This is why Master Mo said: ‘Making music is to be condemned.’

32.8 In former times, Duke Kang of Qi took pleasure in the Wan dance, but he did not allow the musicians and dancers
to wear coarse clothing, or eat poor-quality food. He said that if their food and drink were not excellent, their appearance and countenance would not be good enough to look at. And if their clothes and garments were not excellent, their bodies and bearing would be ugly and emaciated and not good enough to look at. So their food had to be millet and meat and their clothes had to be patterned and embroidered. Such people never themselves worked [to produce] the materials for clothing and food, but always relied on others for their food. It was for this reason that Master Mo said: ‘So now, if kings, dukes and great officers make music, the depleting and depriving people of materials for clothing and food in order to make music will, in this way, be very great.’ This is why Master Mo said: ‘Making music is to be condemned.’

32.9 Now mankind is fundamentally different from birds and beasts such as the tailed deer, flying birds and small insects, in so far as birds and beasts like the tailed deer, flying birds and small insects rely on their feathers and fur as clothes and coverings, on their hooves and claws as trousers and shoes, and on water and grass as their drink and food. This is why, even if the males don’t sow grains or plant trees and the females don’t spin or weave, the materials for clothing and food are assuredly already
provided. Now the difference between people and these creatures is that people rely on their strength to live. And if they don’t rely on their strength, they don’t live. If noble men are not diligent in the conduct of government, the administration falls into disorder. If lowly people are not diligent in doing their work, the materials for use will be insufficient. Nowadays, officers and noble men of the world take my words to be wrong, so let us enumerate for a moment the various duties in the world and look at how music harms them. Kings, dukes and great officers go to court early and retire late. They decide lawsuits and bring order to government. These are their allotted tasks. Officers and noble men exhaust the strength of their limbs, and use to the full the capacities of their minds in bringing order to government offices within, and receiving the benefits of the taxes on passes and marketplaces, mountains and forests, and marshes and bridges without, so as to fill the public granaries and treasuries. These are their allotted tasks. Farmers go out early and come back late, sowing grains and planting trees, and collecting large amounts of pulses and grains. These are their allotted tasks. Women rise early and go to bed late, spinning and weaving to produce large amounts of hemp, silk and other cloth, and weaving cotton and silk. These are their allotted tasks.
If as things are now, kings, dukes and great officers delight in music and listen to it, then they certainly will not be able to come to court early and retire late, resolve lawsuits and bring order to government. As a result, the state will be in disorder and the altars of soil and grain will be in danger. If as things are now, officers and noble men delight in music and listen to it, they certainly will not be able to exhaust the strength of their limbs and use the capacities of their minds to the full in bringing order to government offices within, and receiving the benefits of the taxes on mountain passes and marketplaces, mountains and forests, and marshes and bridges without, so as to fill the public granaries and treasuries. As a result, the public granaries and treasuries will not be full. If as things are now, farmers delight in music and listen to it, they certainly will not be able to go out early and come back late, sowing grains and planting trees, and collecting large amounts of pulses and grains. As a result, pulses and grains will not be enough. If as things are now, women delight in music and listen to it, they certainly will not be able to rise early and go to bed late, spinning and weaving to produce large amounts of hemp, silk and other cloth, and weaving cotton and silk. As a result, the production of cotton and silk will not flourish. What is it that destroys the great officer’s attention to government and the lowly person’s attention to
work? I say it is music. This is why Master Mo said: ‘Making music is to be condemned.’

32.11 How do we know this to be so? I say it is through the writings of the former kings. Tang’s ‘Official Punishments’ has this to say: ‘Frequent dancing in a dwelling is spoken of as witchcraft. In the case of a noble man, the penalty is two rolls of silk. In the case of a lesser man, this is doubled.’ The ‘Great Oath’ says: ‘Ah, alas! How much dancing there is; how many sounds there are, clear and sharp. The Supreme Lord does not honour him. The Nine Regions will be lost. The Supreme Lord is displeased and will send down on him a hundred calamities. His household will certainly be damaged and destroyed.’ If we examine the reason for the loss of the Nine Regions, it is nothing other than elaborate music. In the ‘Wu Guan’, it says: ‘Qi’s son (Wu Guan) gave himself to excess and dissipation. He ate and drank in the open fields. Jiang-jiang huang-huang, the pipes and chimes sounded in harmony. He gave himself up to wine. The whole day he feasted and wandered. There were the ordered movements of the Wan dance and the sounds rose to Heaven. But Heaven took this to be a transgression of the rule.’ Thus, above, it transgressed the rule of Heaven and of ghosts, and below, it brought no benefit to the ten thousand people.
This is why Master Mo said: ‘Nowadays, if the world’s officers and noble men genuinely wish to seek to promote what benefits the world and eliminate what harms it, then in regard to such a thing as music, they cannot but prohibit and prevent it.’
Condemning Music II
(Fei Yue Zhong)

Lost
Condemning Music III

(Fei Yue Xia)

Lost
35

Against Fate I
(Fei Ming Shang)

35.1 Master Mo spoke, saying: ‘In ancient times, kings, dukes and great officers, in governing a state, all wished that state to be rich, its people to be many and its administration to be well ordered. However, when they did not get prosperity but poverty instead, when they did not get many people but few instead, when they did not get order but disorder instead, this was fundamentally to lose what it was they desired and to get what it was they abhorred. What was the reason for this?’

35.2 Master Mo spoke, saying: ‘Those who believe in Fate are mixed in with the population in large numbers. And they say, “If Fate decrees wealth, then there is wealth. If Fate decrees poverty, then there is poverty. If Fate decrees many people, then there are many people. If Fate decrees few
people, then there are few people. If Fate decrees order, then there is order. If Fate decrees disorder, then there is disorder. If Fate decrees longevity, then there is longevity. If Fate decrees an early death, then there is an early death. Fate is everywhere, and although one might be strong and unyielding, of what benefit is that?” Above, these theories affect kings, dukes and great officers, causing them to neglect their administration. Below, these theories affect the common people and hinder the conduct of their affairs. Thus, those who believe in Fate are not ren (loving, kind, humane and benevolent). Therefore, it is appropriate that the words of those who believe in Fate cannot be otherwise than clearly analysed.’

35.3 If this is the case, how does one clearly analyse these theories?

Master Mo spoke, saying: ‘You must establish criteria. To speak without criteria is like using the upper part of a potter’s revolving wheel to determine the direction of the sunrise and sunset. The distinction between right and wrong, between benefit and harm cannot be realized and clearly understood. Therefore, theories must have three criteria.’

What are the three criteria?
Master Mo spoke, saying: ‘There is the foundation, there is the source and there is the application. Wherein lies the foundation? The foundation is in the actions of the ancient sage kings above. Wherein lies the source? The source is in the truth of the evidence of the eyes and ears of the common people below. Wherein lies the application? It emanates from government policy and is seen in the benefit to the ordinary people of the state. These are what are termed the “three criteria”.

35.4 ‘Nevertheless, at the present time, among the officers and noble men of the world, there are some who take there to be Fate. How can they not look to the past and consider the affairs of the sage kings? In ancient times, the disorder of Jie was inherited by Tang who brought order to it. The disorder of Zhou was inherited by King Wu who brought order to it. The world never changed and the people never changed, but under Jie and Zhou the world was in disorder, whereas under Tang and Wu the world was well ordered. How can they say there is Fate?

35.5 ‘Nevertheless, at the present time, among the officers and noble men of the world, there are some who take there to be Fate. How can they not look to the past and consider the writings of the sage kings? The writings of former kings
which came from the kingdom and were promulgated to the common people were the “Laws”. Among the “Laws” of the former kings were there ever those that said: “Good fortune cannot be requested, bad fortune cannot be prevented. Being respectful is not beneficial, being cruel and tyrannical is not harmful”? The means whereby lawsuits were heard and crimes were restrained were the “Punishments”. Among the “Punishments” of the former kings were there ever those that said: “Good fortune cannot be requested, bad fortune cannot be prevented. Being respectful is not beneficial, being evil is not harmful”? The means whereby armies were kept in order and deployed, and troops ordered to advance or retreat, were the “Declarations”. Among the “Declarations” of the former kings were there ever those that said: “Good fortune cannot be requested, bad fortune cannot be prevented. Being respectful is not beneficial, being cruel and tyrannical is not harmful”? This is why Master Mo said: ‘This still does not bring me to the end of the matter. The excellent writings of the world are too numerous to be entirely considered, but in general they are the same as these three. Now although we might look for arguments to support the idea of Fate, we certainly don’t find them, so can’t we abandon [the idea] too? Now the arguments of those who hold that there is Fate are used to overthrow yi (right
action, righteousness and justice) in the world. To overthrow \( yi \) in the world is to establish Fate, and this is to create distress for the ordinary people. Those who take delight in creating distress for the ordinary people are those who would destroy the people of the world.’

35.6 In this case then, why is there said to be the wish for men who are \( yi \) above? I say: ‘If there are \( yi \) men above, the world will certainly be well ordered. The Supreme Ruler, ghosts and spirits of the mountains and rivers will certainly have someone to lead the ancestral sacrifice, and the ten thousand people will receive their great benefits.’ How do we know this?

Master Mo said: ‘In ancient times, Tang was enfeoffed with Bo which, making allowance for its irregular boundaries, was one hundred \( li \) square. He joined his people in universal mutual love and reciprocal mutual benefit, and when there was plenty, it was distributed. He led his people to honour Heaven and serve ghosts above. For this reason, Heaven and ghosts made him rich, the feudal lords joined with him, the common people loved him and worthy officers returned to him. Before the end of his own generation, he became ruler of all under Heaven and leader of the feudal lords. In former times, King Wen was enfeoffed with Qizhou which, making allowance for its
irregular boundaries, was one hundred *li* square. He joined his people in universal mutual love and reciprocal mutual benefit. For this reason, those who were near were content with his government and those who were distant returned to his virtue. Those who heard of King Wen all rose up and hastened to him. Apart, that is, from those who were weak and exhausted and whose arms and legs were not up to it. They stayed where they were and asked in expectation: “Could the domain of King Wen not extend to us; then how would we not be King Wen’s people too?” This is why Heaven and ghosts enriched him, why the feudal lords joined him, why the ordinary people loved him and why worthy officers returned to him. Before the end of his own generation, he became ruler of all under Heaven and leader of the feudal lords. As I said previously, when a man who is *yi* is ruler, the world is certainly well ordered, the Supreme Lord and the ghosts and spirits of the mountains and rivers certainly have those to preside [over the sacrifices], and the ten thousand people are greatly benefited by them. This is how I know it.

35.7 ‘This is why the sage kings of ancient times promulgated laws and issued decrees, and established through them rewards and punishments to encourage worthiness. In this way, within the family, there was filiality
and compassion towards parents, and outside the family, there was respect and love for the young and old of one’s native place; in bearing, there was established practice; in entering and leaving, there was courtesy; and between men and women, there was [the proper] distinction. For this reason, when people were put in charge of administrative offices, they did not pilfer and steal; when they were called on to defend the city, they did not betray it; when the ruler encountered difficulties, they were loyal to the death; and when he was forced to flee, they followed him. This is what those above rewarded and what the ordinary people praised. [Yet] the arguments of those who hold that there is Fate say: “Whomever superiors reward is undoubtedly fated to be rewarded. It is not that he is worthy and therefore is rewarded. Whomever superiors punish is undoubtedly fated to be punished. It is not that he is cruel and tyrannical and therefore is punished.”

35.8 ‘If this were the case, then within the family, there would not be filiality and compassion towards parents, and outside the family, there would not be respect and love for the young and old of one’s native place. In bearing, there would not be established practice; in entering and leaving, there would not be courtesy; and between men and women, there would not be [the proper] distinction. For this reason,
when people were put in charge of administrative offices, they would pilfer and steal; when they were called on to defend the city, they would betray it; when the ruler encountered difficulties, they would not be loyal to the death; when he was forced to flee, they would not follow him. This is what those above punished and what the ordinary people reviled. [Yet] the arguments of those who hold that there is Fate say: “Whomever superiors punish is undoubtedly fated to be punished. It is not that he is cruel and tyrannical and therefore is punished. Whomever superiors reward is undoubtedly fated to be rewarded. It is not that he is worthy and therefore is rewarded.” In this way, rulers are not yi, ministers are not loyal, fathers are not compassionate, sons are not filial, older brothers are not caring and younger brothers are not respectful. The origins of inhuman theories and the ways of cruel and tyrannical men lie especially in strong adherence to these ideas.

35.9 ‘In this case, then, how do we know that fatalism is the way of evil men? Formerly, the poor people of earlier generations were covetous of drink and food and were indolent in the conduct of their affairs, so that the material for clothing and food was insufficient and the hardships of hunger and cold were extreme. But they did not know
[enough] to say: “We are weak and unworthy, and not diligent in the conduct of affairs.” Instead, they had to say: “Our fate has determined that we are poor.” Formerly, the cruel and tyrannical kings of earlier generations could not restrain the desires of their ears and eyes or the depravity in their hearts. They did not act in accordance with their parents so subsequently the kingdom was lost and the altars of soil and grain were overturned. But they did not know [enough] to say: “I am weak and unworthy and my conduct of government has not been good.” Instead, they had to say: “It was my fate surely to lose it (the kingdom).”

35.10 ‘In “The Announcement of Zhong Hui”, it says: “I have heard the man of Xia feigned the decree of Heaven and put forth a decree to his subjects. The Supreme Lord thereupon resented him and destroyed his forces.”¹ This tells how Tang rejected Jie’s belief in Fate. In “The Great Oath”, it says: “Zhou was haughty and imperious and was not willing to serve the Supreme Lord and ghosts and spirits. He neglected the spirits of his ancestors and did not sacrifice to them, going so far as to say that his people were fated. He was not diligent in his service to ghosts and spirits, so Heaven also abandoned him and did not protect him.” This tells how King Wu rejected Zhou’s belief in Fate.
35.11 ‘Now if the arguments of those who hold that there is Fate are put into practice, those above will not attend to government and those below will not carry out their business. If those above don’t attend to government, the administration will be in disorder. If those below don’t carry out their business, materials for use will be insufficient. Those above will not have the means to provide the millet vessels and sweet wine to offer sacrifices to the Supreme Lord and ghosts and spirits, and those below will not have the means to provide stability for the world’s worthy and capable officers. Without, there will not be the means to receive the visits of feudal lords, and within, there will not be the means to feed the hungry and clothe the cold, or to care for the old and feeble. Therefore, with regard to Fate, it is of no benefit to Heaven in the upper realm; it is of no benefit to spirits in the middle realm; it is of no benefit to people in the lower realm. The origins of inhuman theories and the ways of cruel and tyrannical men lie especially in strong adherence to these ideas.’

35.12 This is why Master Mo spoke, saying: ‘Nowadays, officers and noble men of the world who genuinely desire in their hearts wealth for the world and abhor its poverty, who desire good order for the world and abhor its disorder,
cannot but oppose the arguments of those who hold that there is Fate. This is of great harm to the world.’
36

Against Fate II
(Fei Ming Zhong)

36.1 Master Mo spoke, saying: ‘In general, in stating a doctrine or writing it down, one must first establish standards and criteria. Making a statement without standards is like trying to establish the direction of the sunrise and sunset with the upper part of a potter’s revolving wheel. Even a skilled craftsman would certainly not be able to achieve correctness. And so it would be impossible to reach a reliable conclusion about what is true and false in the world at the present time. Therefore, in making a statement, there are three criteria. What are the three criteria? That there is a basis, that there is an origin and that there is a use. With regard to its basis, examine the intentions of Heaven and ghosts, and the affairs of the sage kings. With regard to its origin, verify it through the
writings of the former kings. What of its use? This comes out in the conduct of government. These are the three criteria for a statement.

36.2 ‘At the present time, there are some among the world’s officers and noble men who take there to be Fate and there are some who take there not to be. How I know whether there is Fate or not is through the evidence of the ears and eyes of the masses. This is how I know whether it exists or not. If there are those who hear it or see it, I say it exists. If there are not those who hear it or see it, I say it doesn’t exist. This being so, how can we not test and examine the evidence from the ordinary people? From ancient times to the present, since people first came to exist, has anyone ever seen such a thing as Fate, or heard the sounds of Fate? There has never been anyone who has. If the ordinary people are considered to be foolish and unworthy and the evidence of their ears and eyes is regarded as inadequate as a criterion, why not test and examine the transmitted words and statements of the feudal lords? From ancient times to the present, since people first came to exist, have any of them heard the sound of Fate or seen the substance of Fate? There has never been anyone who has. This being so, why not test and examine the affairs of the sage kings? In ancient times, the sage kings
promoted filial sons and encouraged them to serve their parents. They respected the worthy and virtuous and encouraged them to be good. They issued regulations and promulgated edicts to teach and instruct. They clarified rewards and punishments to encourage goodness and prevent evil. In this way then, what was in disorder could be brought to order and what was dangerous could be made safe. If you think this wasn’t so, [consider] the disorder wrought by Jie in former times and how Tang brought order, or the disorder wrought by Zhou and how King Wu brought order. In these cases, the age did not change and the people did not change. The ruler changed the government and the instruction of the people changed. When they were under [the rule of] Tang and Wu, there was order. When they were under [the rule of] Jie and Zhou, there was disorder. Peace and danger, order and disorder lie with the government of the ruler. How, then, can you say there is Fate? I say that those who claim there is Fate are altogether wrong.

36.3 ‘Now the arguments of those who hold that there is Fate say: “We did not create this at a later time. From the Three Dynasties of former times on, there has been this view which has been handed down. Why, sir, do you now oppose it?” I say with respect to there being Fate, do we not know whether it came from the sages and good men of the
former Three Dynasties or from the evil and unworthy men of the Three Dynasties of former times? How do we know this? In the beginning, the various officers and brave grandees were careful in their speech and wise in their actions. This meant they could advise and admonish their rulers and leaders above, and could teach and instruct the ordinary people below. Therefore, above, they received rewards from their rulers and leaders, and below, they received praise from the ordinary people. The reputation of these various officers and brave grandees is [still] heard about and has not died away, having been handed down to the present time. And the whole world says it was their own ability. They are certainly not able to say, “I see Fate there.”

36.4 ‘This is why the cruel and tyrannical kings of the Three Dynasties in former times did not curb the excesses of their senses or control the depravity in their hearts. Without, they galloped their horses and hunted. Within, they drowned themselves in wine and music. They did not look to the government of the ordinary people of their kingdoms. They did much that was useless, and cruelly oppressed the ordinary people, causing those below not to love their superiors. As a result, their kingdoms were emptied of people and without posterity while they themselves met with punishment and death. Yet they were
not willing to say: “I am weak and unworthy and my conduct of government has not been good.” Instead they had to say: “It was my fate surely to lose it (the kingdom).”

36.5 ‘Formerly, even the poor people of the Three Dynasties were also like this. Within, they were not able to serve their parents and relatives well, and without, they were not able to serve their rulers and leaders well. They abhorred respect and moderation and loved rudeness and ease. They coveted drink and food and were lazy in attending to their business, so materials for clothing and food were insufficient, bringing them the hardships of hunger and cold. Yet they were certainly not able to say: “We are weak and unworthy, and have not been diligent in the conduct of affairs.” Instead they had to say: “It is our fate surely to be poor.”

36.6 ‘Formerly, even the people of the Three Dynasties who resorted to deception were also like this. [They had] numerous elaborate [arguments] about the existence of Fate which they used to teach the many ignorant and simple people over a long period, and this was a concern for the sage kings. Therefore, they wrote about it on bamboo and silk and carved it on metal and stone. In the book of the former kings, the “The Announcement of Zhong Hui”, it
This tells of the Xia king Jie’s belief in Fate and that Tang and Zhong Hui together rejected this. In the book of the former kings, “The Great Oath”, there are such words, saying: “Zhou was haughty and imperious and was not willing to serve the Supreme Lord. He neglected his ancestral spirits and did not sacrifice to them, saying that his people were fated, so there was no need for him to be diligent in his service [to ghosts and spirits]. [As a result] Heaven abandoned him and did not protect him.” This tells of Zhou’s belief in Fate and how King Wu with “The Great Oath” rejected this.

36.7 ‘Also in the “Three Dynasties, One Hundred Kingdoms”, there is the statement: “You should not venerate Heaven as having Fate.” So the “Three Dynasties, One Hundred Kingdoms” also speaks of the non-existence of Fate. In Duke Shao’s “Implementing Orders” it is the same. [This] says: “[There should be] respect [for ghosts and spirits]. But there is no heavenly Fate. There are the two of us and we do not speak falsely. Fate is not sent down from Heaven. It comes from ourselves.” In the Odes and the Documents of the Shang and Xia dynasties, it is said
that Fate is the creation of cruel and tyrannical kings. Moreover, at the present time, for the world’s officers and noble men who wish to distinguish the causes of right and wrong and of benefit and harm, it is right that a belief in Fate must be resolutely rejected.’ To hold that there is Fate is of profound harm to the world, which is why Master Mo rejected it.
37.1 Master Mo spoke, saying: ‘In general, when making a statement, it is not permissible to fail to establish a standard first and then speak. If you do not establish a standard first and [then] speak, it is like using the upper part of a potter’s revolving wheel and trying to establish the direction of the sunrise and sunset with it. I think that, although there is a distinction between the sunrise and the sunset, you will, in the end, certainly never be able to find it and establish it. This is why there are three criteria for a statement. What are these three criteria? I say there is examining it, there is determining its origin and there is putting it to use. How do you examine it? You examine the affairs of the first sages and great kings. How do you determine its origin? You look at the evidence from the
ears and eyes of the masses. How do you put it to use? You set it out and use it in governing the state, considering its effect on the ten thousand people. These are called the “three criteria”.

37.2 ‘Thus, in the past, at the time when the sage kings of the Three Dynasties – Yu, Tang, Wen and Wu – were governing the world, they said: “We must devote our attention to promoting filial sons and encouraging them to serve their parents. We must honour men who are worthy and virtuous and teach them to be good.” For this reason, they brought forth government and gave instruction. They rewarded the good and punished the bad. Moreover, when you view it like this, if there is disorder in the world, it can be overcome and order brought about; and if there is danger to the altars of soil and grain, it can be overcome and peace brought about. If you don’t think this is so, consider the disorder formerly wrought by Jie and how Tang brought order; consider the disorder wrought by Zhou and how King Wu brought order. At these times, the age did not change and the people did not change. The ruler changed the government and the people changed their customs. As it existed under Jie and Zhou, the world was in disorder. As it existed under Tang and Wu, the world was well ordered. The good order of the world was due to the efforts of Tang and
Wu. The disorder of the world was due to the faults of Jie and Zhou. If you look at it like this, peace and danger, order and disorder lie in the ruler’s conduct of government. How, then, it is permissible to say there is Fate!

37.3 ‘Therefore, in the past, at the time when Yu, Tang, Wen and Wu were governing the world, they said: “We must ensure that those who are hungry get food, that those who are cold get clothes, that those who are weary find rest, and those in disorder find order.” Subsequently, they acquired a glorious reputation throughout the world. How can this be thought of as Fate? It must undoubtedly be thought of as due to their efforts. Nowadays, men who are worthy and virtuous respect worthiness and love the Way. Therefore, they obtain the rewards of kings, dukes and great officers above, and they get the praise of their people below, so that subsequently they acquire a glorious reputation throughout the world. Can this also be put down to Fate? This too should be taken to be through their efforts! In the case of those who nowadays believe in Fate, do we not know whether this comes from the sages and good men of the Three Dynasties in the past, or from the cruel and unworthy men of the former Three Dynasties? If we look at this in the light of what has been said, then it certainly cannot be
from the sages and good men of the former Three Dynasties, so it must be from the cruel and unworthy men.

37.4 ‘However, now, with respect to those who take there to be Fate, there were the former evil kings of the Three Dynasties – Jie, Zhou, You and Li – who were ennobled as Sons of Heaven and enriched with all under Heaven. But in this they were not able to curb the desires of their ears and eyes and followed the depravity in their hearts. Outside, they galloped their horses and hunted. Inside, they drowned themselves in wine and music. They did not look to the government of the ordinary people of their kingdoms. They did much that was useless and cruelly oppressed the ordinary people. Subsequently, they lost their ancestral temples. But they didn’t say: “I have been weak and unworthy. I have not been resolute in my conduct of affairs.” Instead, they invariably said: “Fate has determined that I shall lose the kingdom.” Formerly, even the indolent and unworthy people of the Three Dynasties were like this too. They were not able to serve their parents and relatives or their rulers and leaders well. They had a deep abhorrence of respect and moderation and loved rudeness and ease. They coveted drink and food and were lazy in attending to their business, so materials for clothing and food were insufficient. This is why they themselves were caught up in
the hardships of hunger and cold. But they didn’t say: “We are weak and unworthy. We have not been resolute in our business.” They too said: “Fate has determined that we shall be poor.” The deceptive people of the former Three Dynasties were like this too.

37.5 ‘The cruel and tyrannical kings of former times created Fate and the poor people handed it on. And this raised doubt in the masses and deceived the gullible, which was something that troubled the first sage kings. This is why they wrote about it on bamboo and silk, carved it on metal and stone, and engraved it on ceremonial vessels and cups to hand down to their descendants of later generations. You may ask, what writings were preserved? Yu’s “Zong De” has this to say: ‘If you don’t have faith, Heaven and the people will not be able to protect you. If you give free rein to a cruel heart, Heaven will send down disasters. If you don’t carefully cultivate your virtue, how can Heaven’s decree protect you?’” “The Announcement of Zhong Hui” says: “I have heard that the man of Xia feigned the decree of Heaven and put forth a decree to his subjects. The Supreme Lord thereupon resented him and destroyed his forces.” He (Jie) took something that did not exist as existing, therefore he is said to have “feigned”. If
something did exist and he said it existed, how could he be spoken of as “feigning”? 

37.6 ‘In former times, Jie held to a belief in Fate and acted on it. Tang created “The Announcement of Zhong Hui” in order to condemn him. The words of “The Great Oath” in the “Tai Zi Fa” say: “Ah princes! Heaven has manifest virtue. Its actions are luminously displayed. It made a ‘mirror’ near at hand and that was the Yin king. He said people had a fate. He said that reverence could not be put into practice. He said that sacrifices brought no benefit. He said that cruelty did no harm. The Supreme Lord was not pleased and the Nine Regions met with destruction. The Supreme Lord was not pleased and he sent down calamities. I represent the Zhou house and have received the great Shang.” Formerly, Zhou held to a belief in Fate and acted on it. King Wu created “The Great Oath”, “Tai Zi Fa”, in order to condemn him. I say, why not examine what has happened before in the records of the Shang, Zhou, Yu and Xia. In the ten chapters referred to above, there is no mention of Fate. How will you account for that?’

37.7 For this reason, Master Mo said: ‘Nowadays, noble men of the world create writings to expound their doctrines and ideas. And they don’t do this just to exercise their
throats and tongues or to benefit their mouths and lips. They do it because they are people who wish in their hearts to carry out the administration of their states, cities and villages and the ten thousand people. Nowadays, why is it that kings, dukes and great officers go to court early and retire late, hearing lawsuits and bringing order to government, and for the whole day give proper attention to their duties, not daring to be remiss? I say it is because they think such diligence ensures good order while lack of diligence must result in disorder, and that diligence ensures peace while lack of diligence must result in danger. So they dare not be remiss. Nowadays, why is it that ministers and high officials exhaust the strength of their limbs, and use the full capacity of their wisdom, to bring order to government offices within, and to gain the benefits of the taxes on passes and marketplaces, mountains and forests, marshes and bridges without, in order to fill the government coffers, and dare not be remiss? It is because they think that diligence ensures nobility while lack of diligence ensures baseness, and that diligence ensures glory while lack of diligence must result in disgrace. Therefore, they dare not be remiss.

37.8 ‘Nowadays, why is it that farmers go out early and come back late, and are diligent in their sowing of grain and
planting of trees, gathering large amounts of pulses and grains, not daring to be remiss? I say it is because they think that diligence ensures wealth while lack of diligence must result in poverty, and that diligence ensures satiety while lack of diligence must result in hunger. So they dare not be remiss. Nowadays, why is it that women get up early and go to bed late and are diligent in their spinning and weaving, producing large amounts of hemp, silk and other cloth and weaving cotton and silk, not daring to be remiss? I say it is because they think that diligence ensures wealth while lack of diligence must result in poverty, and that diligence ensures warmth while lack of diligence must result in cold. So they dare not be remiss. In the present circumstances, if kings, dukes and great officers trust in the existence of Fate and act accordingly, they will certainly be remiss in resolving lawsuits and bringing order to government, ministers and great officers will certainly be remiss in managing government offices, farmers will certainly be remiss in the sowing of grain and planting of trees, and women will certainly be remiss in their spinning and weaving.

37.9 ‘If kings, dukes and great officers are remiss in hearing lawsuits and bringing order to government, and if ministers and high officials are remiss in bringing order to
government departments, then I think the world will certainly be in disorder. If farmers are remiss in sowing grain and planting trees, and if women are remiss in spinning and weaving, then I think the material for the world’s clothing and food will certainly not be sufficient. If the government of the world is conducted like this, then above, in the case of serving Heaven and ghosts, they are not complied with, and below, in the case of nurturing the ordinary people, they are not benefited and will certainly be dispersed and scattered and cannot be put to use. Defence against invasion will not be secure and punitive expeditions will not be successful. So the reason why, in former times, the cruel and tyrannical kings of the Three Dynasties – Jie, Zhou, You and Li – all lost their kingdoms and overturned the altars of grain and soil was precisely this.’

37.10 This is why Master Mo spoke, saying: ‘Nowadays, the world’s officers and noble men who in their hearts genuinely wish to seek to promote the world’s benefits and eliminate its harms are right to reject resolutely words like those which claim the existence of Fate. They should say that [the concept of] Fate was a creation of the cruel and tyrannical kings and was perpetuated by the poor people. It was not something that people who were ren (loving, kind, humane and benevolent) spoke of. Nowadays, for those
who are *ren* and *yi* (right acting, righteous and just), this is something that will need to be examined and strongly rejected.’
Against the Confucians I
(Fei Ru Shang)
Lost
39

Against the Confucians II
(Fei Ru Xia)

39.1 The Confucians say: ‘In treating relatives as relatives, there are gradations. In respecting the worthy, there are gradations.’¹ They speak of the differences of near and distant, and honourable and humble. Their Book of Rites states: ‘Mourning for a father or mother is three years; for a wife or eldest son it is three years; for older and younger brothers of the father, younger and older brothers and other sons it is one full year; and for other family members it is five months.’² If the calculation of the period of years and months is based on nearness and distance, it should be long for near relatives and short for distant relatives. This is to take the wife or eldest son to be the same as the father [or mother]. If the calculation of the period of years and months is based on being honourable or humble, this is to
honour the wife or son the same as the father or mother and to consider paternal uncles and older brothers to be like the sons of concubines. What greater perversity is there than this! When a parent dies, they lay out the corpse without preparation while they climb on to the roof, peer into the well, poke about in rat holes and look into washbasins seeking the person. Taking the parent actually to be alive is foolish in the extreme. To know they are dead but feel compelled to seek them is also a great hypocrisy!'

39.2 [When a Confucian] takes a wife, he goes to meet her in person, correctly attired as a servant. He holds the reins of the cart himself and hands her the cord to draw herself up as if honouring a revered parent. The wedding ceremony is conducted with solemnity just like conducting a sacrifice. This is to turn high and low upside down and is perverse conduct towards parents who are brought down to the level of the wife while the wife infringes on those above. In serving parents, how can something like this be called filial?

The Confucians say: ‘After taking a wife, she can join with you in carrying out the sacrifices while a son will protect the ancestral temple; therefore they are highly regarded.’
In reply I say:³ ‘These are false words in so far as a man’s uncles and older brothers maintain the ancestral temple for several decades, and yet when they die, he mourns them for one year while the wives of older and younger brothers, who assist at the sacrifices to his ancestors, are not mourned at all. Thus, mourning wives and sons for three years is certainly not because they maintain the ancestral temple or assist at sacrifices. Such favourable treatment of wives and sons is already excessive. They also say, “It is the way of honouring parents.” In wishing to treat “thickly” those whom they are most partial towards, they treat “thinly” those who are most important. Is this not a great impropriety?’

39.3 They also hold firmly to the doctrine that there is Fate, arguing thus: ‘Living to old age and dying young, poverty and wealth, peace and peril, and order and disorder are determined by Heaven’s decrees and cannot be decreased or increased. Success and failure, reward and punishment, good luck and bad, are established [by Fate] and cannot be affected by a person’s knowledge or strength.’ If the many officials believed this, they would be careless in their allotted duties. If the ordinary people believed this, they would be careless in following their tasks. If officials don’t bring about order, there is disorder.
If agricultural matters are attended to tardily, there is poverty. Poverty and disorder strike at the root of government, yet the Confucians take Fate as a doctrinal teaching. This is damaging to the people of the world.

39.4 Moreover, they use various elaborate rites and music to delude people. They use prolonged mourning and false grief to deceive relatives. They believe in Fate and accept poverty, yet they are arrogant and self-important. They turn their backs on what is fundamental and abandon their duties, finding contentment in idleness and pride. They are greedy for drink and food. They are indolent in carrying out their responsibilities and sink into hunger and cold, but when endangered by starvation and freezing, they have no way of avoiding these things. They are like beggars. They hoard food like field mice. They stare like billy-goats. They rise up like castrated pigs. When a noble man laughs at them, they angrily reply: ‘Useless fellow! What do you know of good Confucians.’ In spring, they beg for wheat. In summer, they beg for rice. When the five grains have already been harvested, they attach themselves to large funerals with their sons and grandsons all following along, and so they get their fill of drink and food. If they are put in charge of several funerals, they have enough to live on. They depend on other people’s households for food and rely on other
people’s fields for wine. When a rich man has a funeral, they are very happy indeed and say with delight: ‘This is a source of clothing and food.’

39.5 Confucians say: ‘A noble man must use ancient modes of speech and dress before [he] can be considered ren (loving, kind, humane and benevolent).’

I say in reply: ‘What is called ancient in speech and dress was all new once upon a time. So, if the men of old spoke and dressed in this way, they were not noble men. This being so, must we clothe ourselves in the garb of those who are not noble men and speak the speech of those who are not noble men before being considered ren?’

39.6 [Confucians] also say: ‘The noble man follows but does not create.’

I say in reply: ‘Among the ancients, Yi created the bow, Yu created armour, Xi Zhong created the cart and Craftsman Chui created the boat. In this case then, are the tanners, armourers, cart-makers and carpenters of the present time all noble men and Yi, Yu, Xi Zhong and Craftsman Chui all lesser men? Moreover, someone must have created what the follower follows. This being so, then is that which is followed the way of the lesser man in all cases?’
[Confucians] also say: ‘When the noble man triumphs in battle, he doesn’t pursue those who are fleeing, he doesn’t fire at those caught in traps and he helps those in retreat to drag their heavy carts.’

I say in reply: ‘If they are all ren men, there is no reason for them to contend. Ren men inform each other of the principles of selecting and rejecting, and of right and wrong. If they are without a cause, they follow those who have a cause. If they are without knowledge, they follow those who have knowledge. When they have no argument, they invariably yield. When they see good, they invariably change. What reason do they have to contend? If the two parties fighting with each other are evil, then although those who triumph might not pursue the fleeing enemy, or shoot at those who are trapped, and might help those in retreat to drag their heavy carts – even if they are able to do all this – they still don’t get to be considered noble men. Consider a state that is cruel and destructive, and suppose a sage, intending to rid the world of evil, raises an army to eradicate and punish it, and he triumphs. And then because he is using Confucian methods, he issues orders to his soldiers, saying: “Do not pursue those who are fleeing; do not shoot at those who are trapped; help those in retreat to drag their heavy carts.” Then those who are cruel and destructive will hold on to life and the harm to the world
will not be done away with. This is to act in a way that is damaging and destructive to parents and deeply detrimental to ordinary people. There is nothing so contrary to yi (right action, righteousness and justice)!

39.8 [Confucians] also say: ‘The noble man is like a bell. If you strike a bell, it sounds. If you don’t strike it, it doesn’t sound.’

I say in reply: ‘The man who is ren displays the utmost loyalty in serving his superior and devotes himself to being filial in serving his parents. If those whom he serves are good, he praises them. If they are at fault, he censures them. This is the way of the man who is a minister. Now if he sounds when struck, but doesn’t sound when not struck, this is to conceal his knowledge and set aside his ability, and to wait quiet and unconcerned until he is questioned before replying. Although something may be of great benefit to his prince or parents, if he is not asked, he doesn’t speak. For example, if there is about to be a great incursion or disorder, or thieves and robbers are about to strike, or some trap is about to be sprung, and he alone knows this while others don’t, and yet even if his ruler and parents are all present, he doesn’t speak unless asked, he is a criminal bringing about great disorder. Such a man is not loyal as a minister, he is not filial as a son, he is not
respectful in serving an older brother and he is not honest and virtuous in his dealings with others. He restrains himself and doesn’t speak on court matters. Indeed, even if he sees something of benefit to himself, he is afraid to speak out. If his ruler speaks of something that will not be beneficial, then he just folds his hands and looks to the floor, saying in a strangled voice as if deep [in thought]: “This is something I never learned about.” Even if the matter is pressing, he distances himself and avoids it. When principle, method, learning, duty, ren and yi are brought together as one, they are all, on a large scale, means of bringing order to the people, and, on a small scale, means of serving as an official. Distantly, they should be implemented everywhere. Near at hand, they should be used to cultivate the self. One should not abide what is not yi. One should not do what contravenes principle. One should devote one’s efforts to furthering the benefit of the world. One should take every measure to achieve this objective. If something is not of benefit, one should stop. This is the way of the noble man. From what I have heard of Confucius’ conduct, it was the opposite of this at a fundamental level.’

39.9 Duke Jing of Qi questioned Yan Zi, saying: ‘What sort of man is Confucius?’
Yan Zi did not reply so the Duke asked him again, but again he did not reply.

Duke Jing said: ‘Many people have spoken to me about Confucius and they all take him to be a worthy man. Now I ask you about him and you don’t reply. Why is this?’

Yan Zi replied, saying: ‘Ying is a worthless person and is not up to knowing who is a worthy man. Nevertheless, I have heard it said about a worthy man that when he enters another’s state, he certainly devotes himself to fostering close relationships between the ruler and his ministers and eliminating antagonism between superiors and inferiors. But when Confucius went to Jing, he knew of Duke Bo’s plans and introduced him to Shi Qi. [As a result,] the ruler almost lost his life and Duke Bo himself was killed. Ying has heard that when a worthy man gains his superior’s trust, he should not waste his position. When he gains the trust of his subordinates, he should not endanger them. If his words are heeded by the ruler, they must benefit the people. If his teachings are carried out by his subordinates, they must benefit the ruler. This is why his words must be clear and easy to understand and why his conduct must be unequivocal and easy to follow. If his conduct is yi (right and just), it can bring enlightenment to the people. If his plans are well considered, they can be communicated to ruler and ministers. Now Confucius gave deep
consideration and careful planning to bringing about rebellion. He thought hard and exhausted his knowledge to carry out evil. He encouraged subordinates to rebel against their superiors and he instructed ministers to kill their ruler. These are not the actions of a worthy man. To enter another’s state and join with the people in rebellion is not the mark of *yi*. To know the people are not loyal and incite them to rebellion is not the mark of *ren*. To evade others before planning and to avoid others before speaking means that conduct which is *yi* cannot enlighten the people and plans which are well considered cannot be communicated to ruler and ministers. Ying does not see how Confucius is any different from Duke Bo. That’s why I didn’t reply.’

Duke Jing said: ‘Alas! I have taught my people a great deal, but if it were not for you, I would have lived my whole life without knowing that Confucius was the same as Duke Bo.’

39.10 Confucius went to Qi to see Duke Jing. Duke Jing was delighted and wished to enfeoff him with Nixi. He told Yan Zi of this.

Yan Zi said: ‘Don’t do it. Confucians are arrogant and opinionated and cannot be used to instruct subordinates. They love music and deprave people; they cannot be close to government. They set up Fate and are indolent in affairs;
they cannot be used to bear responsibility. They honour mourning and prolong grief and cannot show compassion to the people. They wear strange clothes and maintain a strained bearing and cannot bring leadership to the masses. Confucius decks himself out in splendid attire in order to beguile the world. He uses strings and drums, songs and dances to gather followers. He complicates the ceremonies of ascending and descending to display ritual. He devotes attention to the rules of walking quickly and circling around to draw the gaze of the masses. He is broad in learning, but he cannot establish principles for the age. He is diligent in thought, but he cannot use this to help the people. In several lifetimes one could not exhaust his learning, but in the prime of life one is not able to carry out his ritual practices. A great accumulation of wealth does not enable one to provide for his music. He uses complicated adornments and heterodox methods in order to delude the rulers of the age. He makes much use of the sounds of music to influence and hoodwink the people. His Way cannot be used to represent the times. His learning cannot be used to lead the masses. Now you would enfeoff him in order to benefit the customs of Qi. This is not the way to guide the state or lead the masses.’

‘Well said,’ replied the Duke.
After this, he was lavish with his ceremonies, but he put aside the enfeoffment. He accorded Confucius respect, but did not inquire about his Way. Confucius was outraged. He became furious with Duke Jing and Yan Zi, and then, having appointed Chi Yi Zipi to the entourage of Tian Chang, he informed Nanguo Huizi of what he wanted done and returned to Lu. After a time, when he heard that Qi was going to attack Lu, he informed Zigong, saying: ‘Ci, now is the time to raise the great matter.’ He then sent Zigong to Qi where, through an introduction by Nanguo Huizi, he met with Tian Chang. He urged him to attack Wu and, instructing Gao, Guo, Bao and Yan to do nothing to hinder Tian Chang’s rebellion, he urged Yue to attack Wu. Within the space of three years, Qi and Wu were states facing destruction and the corpses of the dead were numbered in hundreds of thousands. This was the result of Confucius’ schemes.

39.11 When Confucius was acting as minister of justice in Lu, he forsook the ducal house and served the interests of Ji Sun. Ji Sun was chief minister to the Lu prince, and yet he fled. As he was struggling with the guards of the city gate, Confucius lifted the bar for him.

39.12 Confucius fell on hard times while between Cai and Chen and was living on broth made from brambles without
any rice mixed in. After ten days, Zilu boiled up a pig which
Confucius ate without asking where the meat came from.
Zilu also divested a man of his robe to exchange for sweet
wine which Confucius drank without asking where the
liquor came from. Yet when Confucius was received by
Duke Ai, he did not sit if the mat was not straight and did
dnot eat what was not cut properly.\footnote{10}

Zilu came forward and asked: ‘Why do you do the
opposite of what you did between Cai and Chen?’

Confucius replied: ‘Come! I shall tell you. At that time,
with you, I was anxious about surviving. Now, with you, I am
anxious about doing what is \textit{yi} (right).’

When starving and in straitened circumstances, he did
dnot shrink from any means of preserving his life. When
satiated and in abundance, he acted falsely to glorify
himself. In terms of being impure, dishonest, deceitful and
hypocritical, what could be greater than this!

\textbf{39.13} Once when Confucius was sitting together with his
disciples, he said: ‘When Shun saw Gu Sou, he was ill at
ease. At that time the world was in danger. Was Dan, the
Duke of Zhou, a man who was not \textit{ren}? Why did he forsake
his ducal house and retire to his private dwelling?’\footnote{11}

This is what Confucius’ conduct and the workings of his
mind came to. And his students and disciples all imitated
him. Zigong and Ji Lu aided Kong Kui in bringing disorder to Wei.¹² Yang Huo brought disorder to Qi. Fu Xi involved Zhongmou¹³ in rebellion. Qidiao inflicted punishment and death.¹⁴ In terms of cruelty, what is greater [than these instances]? Those who are disciples and follow their teacher must practise his doctrines and model themselves on his conduct, but if their strength is inadequate and their knowledge doesn’t match up, they subsequently give up. Now if Confucius’ conduct was like this, Confucian scholars should then be regarded with suspicion!
Part III

DIALECTICAL CHAPTERS
Introductory Note

All editors and commentators agree that chapters 40–45 of the *Mozi* present very considerable textual and interpretative problems. Mei Yīpāo, who omitted them from the first substantial English translation, wrote that these chapters, ‘besides the unsettled question as to their respective authorship the few pages probably make the hardest reading in the whole body of Chinese literature’.¹

Very briefly stated, these problems fall into two categories: individual characters and the arrangement of the text. The first category includes the use of characters that are now unknown, characters that were taboo² at the time of compilation of the lost Song *Daoist Patrology* (probably the source of the present text via the Ming *Daoist Patrology*) and basic errors of copying, such as the mistaken use of characters of similar sound or form, and simple omissions and duplications. The second category includes the curious arrangement of the Canons indicated by the very brief five-word comment immediately before
the final Canon of the A series to read the text horizontally, the initial failure to recognize the importance of the head character (which states the topic) in identifying the start of each Explanation, dislocation of whole groups of characters during transfer of the text from wooden writing strips to a continuous text, and the interpolation of glosses. However, over the past two hundred years much work has been done by a number of dedicated scholars, and we now have a relatively reliable text, although much room remains for interpretative variation.

The arrangement of the Canons (C) and Explanations (E) in the Daoist Patrology (DZ) is that the Canons appear as consecutive chapters (40 and 41) and within these chapters the individual Canons follow the sequence 1, 51, 2, 52, etc. for the 99 Canons in the A series, and 1, 41, 2, 42, etc. for the 81 Canons in the B series. The Explanations also appear in consecutive chapters (42 and 43), but are arranged in numerical order (1, 2, 3, 4, etc.), which is the arrangement in some modern texts. In others the A series C&Es are placed together in numerical order (i.e. chapters 40 and 42 are combined and rearranged) as are the B series C&Es (chapters 41 and 43). That is, in both series each C is followed by its E and the two sequences are in numerical order; this arrangement in the present work is used on grounds of clarity.
A break in the DZ text occurs in chapter 40 (*Jing Shang*) with the Canons A51–A99 intermingled with A1–A50. A90–A93 have no corresponding E in the DZ text, which was accepted by early editors, but modern ones make A86 and A88 the Es for A90 and A92. (Graham, who prepared the first detailed study in English on this material, regards all four sentences as misplaced and includes them in his separate, composite treatise ‘Names and Objects’.) There appears to be a dislocation in the DZ text for chapter 41 (*Jing Xia*) as B22–B24 follow B13, which makes the arrangement of B14–B16 somewhat problematical.

NOTES

40 and 42

Canons and Explanations A
(Jing and Jing Shuo Shang)

A1

C: A cause is that which obtains before something comes about.

E: Cause: When there is a minor cause, something is not necessarily so; when there is not, something is necessarily not so. It is a part – like a point. When there is a major cause, something is necessarily so; when there is not, something is necessarily not so. It is like seeing something completes seeing.

Comment: E elaborates on the definition, identifying minor and major causes, equivalent to ‘necessary’ and ‘necessary and sufficient’ conditions, respectively. The examples are obscure and variably interpreted.
C: A part is a division of the whole.
E: A part: For example, one is a part of two; a point is a part of a *chi* (a measured length).

**A3**

C: Knowing is a capacity.
E: Knowing: With regard to the capacity of knowing, it is how one knows and knows with certainty. It is like seeing.

**Comment:** This is the first of four definitions of epistemological terms (A3–A6).

**A4**

C: Cogitating is seeking.
E: Cogitating: With regard to cogitating, it is through one’s knowing that there is a seeking [of something], but one does not necessarily find it. It is like seeing indirectly.

**A5**

C: Knowing is contacting.
E: Knowing: With regard to knowing, it is through one’s knowing [capacity] ‘passing’ a thing that one is able to form an impression of it (describe it). It is like seeing.

**A6**

C: Understanding is seeing clearly.
E: Understanding: With regard to understanding, it is through one’s knowing and explaining a thing that one’s knowing it is made manifest. It is like seeing clearly.

Comment: This is the most problematic of the four epistemological definitions. With respect to all four, the position taken here is that the first and third refer to ‘primary’ acts of cognition, taking place directly through the senses, while the second and fourth indicate mental activity of either a conceptual or analytic nature. The fourth and final process – that of understanding – is the most elaborate and required a new character, which is that for knowing (zhī) with that for mind (xin) below it. The correspondence to the various aspects of vision is then with the eyesight in general as a function, with an indirect or uncertain aspect of the process, with the direct aspect of seeing and finally, with the bringing of clarity to knowing by understanding compared to clarity in vision.

A7

C: Ren (love, kindness, humaneness and benevolence) is to love individually.

E: Ren: Loving the self is not for the sake of the self being of use. It is not like loving a horse.

Comment: A7–A20 deal with conduct and ethics, the majority with common and important terms. Those in A7–A9 are of particular importance in Confucianism, which are here defined using terms of importance in Mohism in A7 and A8. The issue of the love of the self within the framework of universal, non-discriminating love is addressed in Mozi 44.7.

A8

C: Yi (right action, righteousness, justice) is being of benefit.
E: Yi: The resolve to take the world as one’s sphere of action and, having ability, being able to benefit it. It is not necessary to be used (i.e. to have an official position).

A9

C: Li (proper conduct in interpersonal relationships and ceremonial practices) is respect.

E: Li: The noble have the title ‘duke’, while the lowly just have a name – yet for both there is respect and rudeness. It is only in rank that they (i.e. the noble and the lowly) differ.

Comment: The relationship between li and respect (jing) is stated at the start of the Book of Rites (Li Ji, SSJZS, vol. 5, p. 12). The Mohist view is that it should apply regardless of rank or position and run through all strata of society, in contrast to the Confucian position, as also exemplified in the Book of Rites (SSJZS, vol. 5, p. 55).

A10

C: Conduct is doing.

E: Conduct: What is done without thought of bettering one’s name is conduct. What is done to better one’s name is speciousness. It is like being a robber.

A11

C: (Inner) substance should equate with the (outer) display.
E: (Inner) substance: His will is manifest in his spirit and causes others to be like himself. It is not like the tinkling of metal or jade adornments.

A12

C: Loyalty is to strengthen the lowly, taking this to be beneficial.
E: Loyalty: It is not beneficial to a young lord to be disloyal. On entering the prince’s presence one must correct one’s bearing.

A13

C: Being filial is to benefit parents.
E: Being filial: To take one’s parents as one’s sphere of action and, having ability, to be able to benefit them. It is not necessary to attain [recognition].

Comment: A13 is closely similar in form to A8. One issue is what it is not necessary to gain, including personal reputation and the love or recognition of the parents. Another is that the range of filial feeling is not limited to one’s own parent or parents.

A14

C: Trustworthiness is words being in accord with thoughts (intentions).
E: Trustworthiness: It is not just a matter of one’s words being appropriate; for example, sending a person to look in the city and his getting gold.

Comment: Although there might be some debate about the best reading of yi (thoughts or intentions) and to a lesser extent of xin (trustworthiness), the meaning of C is generally agreed upon. The point of E is that if you tell someone there is gold in the city, they should expect to find it. It may be an explanation or metaphor for the value of trustworthy words.

A15

C: To help is the self acting.
E: To help: With one person, being in close association; with many people, complying with the crowd.

A16

C: To be scrupulous is acting to bring satisfaction.
E: To be scrupulous: If doing ‘this’ is dangerous to another, it is not done.

A17

C: To be ashamed relates to acting wrongly.
E: To be ashamed: If one recalls doing something regrettable, one knows it and is distressed.
C: A command is not doing what is done.
E: A command: If it is not something one would do oneself, it should not be done.

A19

C: To act responsibly is an officer bringing harm to himself but being of benefit in what he does.
E: To act responsibly: To do what is unpleasant for oneself in order to accomplish what is pressing for others.

Comment: There are minor variations in interpretation: many commentators read ren (to act responsibly) as renxia in the sense of ‘chivalry’, while others see it in the more usual sense of assuming official responsibility, as above.

A20

C: Courage is the means whereby the will dares [to act].
E: Courage: Praise him for daring to act in this matter. Do not disparage him for not daring to act in that matter.

Comment: Although courage/bravery is equated with being fearless (e.g. Analects IX.28), it is more complex, in that while the courage of a daring act is readily recognized, the courage not to act in certain situations must also be recognized.

A21

C: Force is what moves a body.
E: Force: Said with reference to a weight. Lowering and raising a weight is to move it.
Comment: From its position A21 should be considered as one of the ethical terms and linked with the preceding definitions of acting responsibly and with courage; it certainly appears to be the final term in the sequence of general terms relating to conduct, so Graham’s translation as ‘strength’ is attractive. It is noteworthy that *li* (force, strength) is linked with *yong* (courage, bravery) in the Zhuangzi 29: ‘They buy the courage and strength of other men and through this become awesome and powerful.’ Nonetheless, most modern commentators accept the emendations on which my translation is based and interpret both C and E in terms of physics; in fact, almost as a statement of Newton’s First Law. Particularly is this so with E where *xia* (to lower) is equated with the downwards gravitational force (although not of course recognized as such) and *ju* (to raise) as a force raising a body. *Li* is, however, certainly used in Confucian texts in relation to conduct, e.g. Analects I.7 and the Doctrine of the Mean XX.10 where it relates to *ren* (love, kindness, humaneness and benevolence).

A22

C: Life is when body and mind exist (are located) [together].

E: Life: ‘Filling’ it is life; there is a constant association that cannot be separated.

Comment: The distinction is between the corporeal and the mental, between body and mind/spirit, both being the essential prerequisites for life. Quite different interpretations are offered for E. Some see A22–A25 as relating to Daoist thinking, but in fact similar statements and definitions are found in a number of early texts of varying philosophical hue.

A23

C: To sleep is to have the capacity for knowing but not its function.
E: To sleep: None

Comment: Some attribute the absence of an E here (and elsewhere) to the clarity of the C.

A24

C: To dream is to be asleep and yet to take something to be so.
E: To dream: None

Comment: Many commentators equate the head character meng with the character of similar pronunciation defined in the Shuo Wen (an ancient dictionary) as ‘sleeping soundly yet being aware’; others refer to Zhuang Zi’s well-known dream of himself as a butterfly (Zhuangzi 2).

A25

C: To be at peace is to know no desire or aversion.
E: To be at peace: To be tranquil.

A26

C: Benefit is what one is pleased to get.
E: Benefit: If one gets this and is pleased, then this is benefit. If it is harmful, it is not this.

Comment: Forms a pair with A27.

A27

C: Harm is what one is displeased to get.
E: Harm: If one gets this and is displeased, then this is harm. If it is beneficial, it is not this.

A28

C: In bringing about order there is seeking and obtaining.
E: In bringing about order: My affairs are put in order; others also bring about order to north and south (i.e. to the world).

A29

C: To praise is to make clear the good.
E: To praise: This strengthens one’s actions. Its words are pleasing and urge people on.

Comment: This and A30 form a pair, but while there is identity of form in C, there is considerable doubt regarding E.

A30

C: To censure is to make clear the bad.
E: Censure: [This] stops one’s actions. Its words are shaming.

A31

C: To raise (pick out) is to identify an entity.
E: To raise (pick out): To inform by means of its name is to pick out that entity.

Comment: *Ju* (to raise, pick out) is an important Later Mohist term – see, e.g., *Mozi* 45.1: ‘It is through names that entities are picked out’.

A32

C: To speak is to bring forth raisings (to pick out).
E: To speak: Speaking is said of the mouth’s ability to bring forth names. A name is like a picture of a tiger. Speaking is to say. Speech is what is achieved through names.

Comment: There are major problems with the E text. One relatively straightforward and not unreasonable interpretation of C makes a close connection with A31’s C. Thus *ju* (to raise, pick out) offers a likeness of an entity while *yan* (to speak) puts this process into words.

A33

C: About to is to say (something) is going to be so.
E: About to: From beforehand, one says about to; from afterwards, one says already; at the moment of occurrence, there is also about to.

Comment: The most common and obvious interpretation is that two uses of the head character *qie* are being identified and are differentiated as referring to something that is going to happen in the future at some unspecified time and something that is actually on the point of, or in the process of, happening – these uses being contrasted with something that has already happened.
A34

C: A ruler is one who brings officials and people together in agreement.
E: A ruler: He is the means of compliance with edicts.

Comment: The E is quite contentious; it may indicate accord between ruler and subjects, referring to the *Greater Learning* X.3.

A35

C: Meritorious service is benefiting the people.
E: Meritorious service: It does not await a time, like summer and winter garments do.

Comment: There are two interpretations: if the meritorious service is not carried out at the appropriate time, it is useless or even harmful; and, reflected in this translation, meritorious service does not depend on a certain time, like clothing, but is always appropriate.

A36

C: To reward is superiors requiting the meritorious service of inferiors.
E: To reward: Superiors requiting the meritorious service of inferiors.

Comment: There is no E immediately following the head character *shang* (to reward) in the DZ text, but six characters included at the end of A37’s E are given here. However, Graham writes: ‘The Canons of A36, 38 have been accidentally repeated in the Explanations, no doubt by the scribe who was restoring the
sequence of the head characters in the dislocated Explanations by comparing them with the Canons.’

A37

C: Committing a crime is transgressing a prohibition.
E: Committing a crime: If no prohibition exists, even if there is harm, there is no crime.

A38

C: To punish is superiors requiting inferiors for a crime.
E: To punish: Superiors requiting inferiors for a crime.

Comment: A38 is a replica of A36 apart from the substitution of fa (punish) and zui (crime) for shang (reward) and gong (merit). The four definitions in A35–A38 should be considered in the light of other texts, including the Xunzi 18.3, the Hanfeizi 36, the Zuo Zhuan for Xiang 26 and, of particular note, Mozi 13.

A39

C: Being the same includes being different but both being the same in one aspect.
E: Being the same: Two people, yet both see that this is a pillar. It is like serving a ruler.

Comment: C and E have different head characters: the most common approach is to emend the tong (ignorant, rude) of E to the tong (the same) of C, as above. Thus C and E are interpreted as making somewhat different points: in C, things may be called the same if there is identity in one aspect, whereas in E, the sameness is reflected in two observers coming to the same judgement about the same thing.
A40

C: Time fills up (includes) different periods.
E: Time: (Includes) past and present, morning and evening.

Comment: In A40 and A41, it is necessary to emend the head character yu of E.

A41

C: Space fills up (includes) different places.
E: Space: (Includes) east and west, south and north.

A42

C: A limit is a boundary which does not allow any further advance by a measured length (a chi).
E: A limit: When a boundary does not allow a [further] measured length (chi), there is a limit. When a [further] measured length (chi) is allowed, there is not a limit.

A43

C: Completion (an end point) is where there is no aspect that is not so.
E: Completion (an end point): There is only either being at rest or being in motion.

Comment: The head character jin (to complete, exhaust) may be read in conjunction with A42 (qiong – limit) or A44 (shi – beginning), as I have done.
C: A beginning is a specific instant of time.
E: A beginning: In some cases time has duration and in others it does not. A beginning is a specific instant of time without duration.

Comment: There are problems with the precise reading of *dang* to qualify *shi* (time). I have taken *dang* as ‘specific’ or ‘particular’, and ‘a beginning’ to be a specific durationless point of time, i.e. there are times with duration and times without duration, ‘a beginning’ being a particular example of the latter.

A45

C: A transformation is a change of characteristics.
E: A transformation: Like a water frog becoming a quail.

A46

C: Decrease is a part leaving.
E: Decrease: A part is part of a whole. Of its parts, some leave and some remain. Decrease is said of what remains.

Comment: The issue of the part/whole relationship is important to the Later Mohists. Thus this statement may be seen as a point of difference between the Mohists and the Mingjia (School of Names) on the question of what the ‘decrease’ refers to – the part remaining (Mohists) or the whole original object (Mingjia).

A47

C: Large increase …?
E: None
Comment: There should be a second C to give the pair sun/yi (decrease/increase).

A48

C: In a circle all points are potentially a base.
E: Circle: All points make contact.

Comment: A48 is very problematical. In C there are doubts about all three characters, and it lacks the final particle ye used in the series A1–A75. In this version the point is that while other objects have a particular base, a circle or round object does not; each part is equally a base.

A49

C: A storehouse relates to change.
E: A storehouse: With a region or cavity like this, the appearance is constant.

Comment: Again the translation is quite tentative: what is stored in a storehouse changes, but not the storehouse itself.

A50

C: Movement is change of position.
E: Movement: Non-linear movement is like a door hinge avoiding shutting (or, like a door hinge, a hare or a zither).

Comment: The majority of characters in A50 are controversial; all that can be said with assurance is that it is about movement. The emendations in C are widely agreed upon, so the definition of movement as a change of position is probably acceptable. For E, if there is acceptance that two kinds of movement are being indicated, ‘non-linear’ may be acceptable as a characterization of the second kind
(i.e. the rotation of a door around its hinge), but if three examples are being given (door hinge, hare, zither), then the three kinds of movement are linear, rotational and oscillatory. Another view is that E differentiates between the movement of inanimate and animate objects. Graham has a third interpretation, in part related to making the second example the movement of a louse on a hare.

A51

C: Stopping is by means of duration.
E: Stopping: Not stopping when there is no duration corresponds to ‘an ox is not a horse’ and is like ‘an arrow passing a pillar’. Not stopping when there is duration corresponds to ‘a horse is not a horse’ and is like ‘a man passing a bridge’.

Comment: Interpretation hinges on the readings of zhi (to stop) and jiu (time, duration), which are recurring characters in Mingjia (School of Names) and Later Mohist writings. The crucial question is whether A51 applies to language or to motion. In support of language are references to other related uses and the similar use of zhi in Gongsun Long’s ‘Discussion of Names and Entities’. For motion, zhi is interpreted as ‘opposing force’, making this a relatively clear statement about kinetics related to Newton’s Laws. Thus, if there is no opposing force a body continues in its state of (rest or) uniform motion, which is easy to understand, hence the examples. When there is an opposing force but the body doesn’t stop, this is less easy to understand.

A52

C: Necessity is not coming to an end.
E: Necessity: This refers to what can be firmly adhered to. For example, in the case of younger and older brothers, one
is so and one isn’t. Necessary and not necessary apply in one case and not in the other, and affirm or deny necessity.

Comment: There are significant problems in interpretation. A52 may relate to the Hegelian dialectic, i.e. an identification of thesis, antithesis and synthesis.

A53

C: To be level is to be at the same height.
E: None

Comment: There is no E for ping (level, peace), which may be due to the clarity of the C; however, there are two possible uses of ping, the second being exemplified by the Analects XIII.7.

A54

C: The same length is when [two things] ‘use each other up’ with their straightness (i.e. when their straightness is identical).
E: The same [length]: The door-post and the door frame are of the same length.

A55

C: The centre is [established by] equal lengths.
E: The centre: From the centre outwards the distances are the same.

Comment: One point of variance is whether A55 refers specifically to the radius of a circle or more generally to various geometrical figures, most simply, a straight line.
A56

C: Thickness is to have magnitude (largeness).
E: Thickness: Only what is without thickness is what does not have magnitude.

A57

C: The sun at noon is directly south.
E: None

Comment: ‘Noon’ is a reading of rizhong, which is, in fact, the modern term. An expanded version might read: ‘The shadow of the sun at the centre (noon) points directly south and north.’

A58

C: Straight is to be aligned (upright).
E: None

Comment: There are several interpretations of can (the second character) with reference to its use in other texts: to read it as ‘aligned’; to understand it as ‘upright’ or ‘vertical’, but this borders on the tautological unless related to the gnomon and possibly linked to A57’s C; or to regard it as something to do with ‘three’.

A59

C: A circle has the same lengths from one centre.
E: A circle: A pair of compasses describes until the line joins.
Comment: A59 is about the features of a circle, i.e. a single centre and a circumference on which each point is equidistant from the central point (equal radii), and its construction.

A60

C: A square is where the sides and angles are four and regular (equal).
E: A square: A carpenter’s square establishes the meeting points.

Comment: A60 should be the equivalent for a square to A59 (circle), but the majority of its characters are more or less contentious. Some editors simply provide a close equivalent to A59, substituting the carpenter’s square for a pair of compasses. However, Graham’s view is that what is being conveyed is that the formation of a circle or square by the implements indicated is only rough and he relates this to Paradox 13 of the second list (i.e. Carpenters’ squares are not accurate; compasses can’t make circles). This is facilitated by emending the penultimate character of C from huan (to bawl) to quan in the sense of deng (equal to). On the paradox, see Fung Yu-lan, History of Chinese Philosophy, vol. 1, trans. D. Bodde (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952), pp. 217–18).

A61

C: To double is to make two.
E: To double: 2 chi (units of length) and 1 chi [differ] only in doing away with 1 chi.
C: A starting point is a part which is without thickness and is the very foremost.

E: A starting point: This has nothing the same as it. (This is unique.)

Comment: The primary issue is the precise meaning of the head character duan. Is it a ‘point’ in general, equivalent to dian; is it an ‘extreme point’, i.e. ‘beginning’ or ‘end’, as would accord with usage in Doctrine of the Mean 6 and Analects IX.7; or is it the ‘starting point’ only, as would accord with its description as ‘the very foremost’?

A63

C: Having a space/interval is not reaching to the centre.

E: Having a space/interval: Said of what is at the sides (flanking).

Comment: This translation depends on Graham’s addition of bu ji (not reach to) to C (and in A64’s C). Without this, it would read: a space is what is between two things.

A64

C: The space/interval does not reach the sides.

E: The space/interval: Said of what is flanked. A chi (line) is before in relation to a plane surface and after in relation to a point, but is not flanked by a point and a plane surface.

A65

C: With king-posts there is an empty space between.
E: King-posts: The empty space is between the two pieces of wood and refers to what is without wood.

Comment: There are two views on *lu*: the first requires emending *lu* (thread) to *lu* (king-post), while the second retains *lu* (thread) and emends *mu* (wood). In the first, the meaning is ‘king-post’, a short square wooden post used in roof construction: the space between king-posts is without wood and is empty. For either argument, A65 is again about the ‘space between’.

A66

C: To fill is for there not not to be.
E: To fill: Not to fill is being without thickness (dimensionless). In a *chi* (line) there is nowhere to go to where you don’t get two.

Comment: There is some variation in the reading in C of the head character *ying*. Thus Liang Qichao writes: ‘*Ying* is *han* (to contain). For example, a body “contains” surfaces; surfaces “contain” lines; lines “contain” points. Whatever contains, necessarily completely contains what it contains. Therefore it is said “not not to have” ’ (*Mojing Jiaoshi*, MZJC 19). I have used *ying* in the sense of ‘fill’. E is much more problematic, in both structure and interpretation, and is closely linked to A67; there are at least four distinct versions of both.

A67

C: Hard and white do not exclude each other.
E: Hard [and white]: Different positions do not fill each other. Not being each other – this is excluding each other.

Comment: Important Later Mohist terms are involved, in particular *ying* (contain or fill) and *hou* (thickness or substance). It is generally agreed that A66 and A67 are
part of the Later Mohist response to the arguments of Gongsun Long in ‘On Hard and White’. Graham, who considers this essay to be a late forgery, rejects this view.

A68

C: To coincide is both obtaining (occupying the same space).
E: To coincide: With a line and a line, the coincidence of both is not complete. With a point and a point, the coincidence of both is complete. With a line and a point, the coinciding is complete in respect to one and incomplete in respect to the other. The coinciding of hard and white is mutually complete. The coinciding of parts is not mutually complete.

Comment: There is widespread agreement involving the interpretation of the head character yìng (which also appears in A69 and A70): two lines do not, with one theoretical exception, occupy the same space, whereas two points do; and the case of a line and a point is also given. The qualities of hard and white in a body are spatially coextensive, whereas two individual bodies cannot occupy the same space. A68 links the geometric definitions with the hard and white argument.

A69

C: In comparing, there is some respect in which [two things] coincide and there is [some respect in which] they don’t coincide.
E: In comparing: Only if the two have a (common) starting point is it possible.
Comment: Interpretation centres around what figures are being compared, about what ‘two’ refers to, and about the head character of E, resulting in different detailed analyses being given involving lines, rectangles or triangles. If lines are the subject, liang (two) refers to the two lines being compared and duan to the common starting point.

A70

C: A series is where there is no interval (space) but no coinciding.
E: A series: Only possible if there is no piling up.

Comment: In C there is universal acceptance of the emendation of the first ying (of two consecutively) to xiang (mutual); the second ying is rendered here as ‘coincide’. In E the proposed emendation of the second hou (thickness) – i.e. the penultimate character – to hou (afterwards) is more contentious; perhaps the clearest exposition is: if two or more lines are joined end to end precisely, there is no space between them and no coincidence/overlap. There is, moreover, no ‘piling up’ or ‘thickness’, i.e. no hou.

A71

C: A standard is what something complies with and is so.
E: A standard: The concept, a pair of compasses and a circle are three things which, when they combine together, may make a standard (i.e. a circle).

Comment: The issue in E is whether all three (the concept, the compasses and the circle) are necessary standards jointly for the construction of a circle, or whether each individually may be taken as a standard.
C: A replica (duplicate) is that which is ‘in accord’.
E: A replica (duplicate): With regard to that which is ‘in accord’, it is people complying with standards (laws).

**Comment:** The issue with C is the head character *er*, which is also the subject of A15. Here early commentators relate it to Guo Pu’s commentary (SSJZS) on the ancient dictionary, the *Erya*, as *er* (two), which some modern Chinese commentators equate with *fuben* in the sense of ‘duplicate’, and I have followed this. Thus *fa* (the head character of A71) is the standard or model, and *er* is the replica or duplicate.

A73

C: Explanation is the means by which clarification is effected.
E: None

**Comment:** On the head character *shuo*, Graham writes: ‘To “explain” (*shuo*) in the dialectical chapters … is nearly always to offer proofs; indeed, there is no other word for demonstration in the vocabulary.’

A74

C: The other is not admissible; two are not admissible.
E: The other: Everything is either ‘ox’ or ‘not-ox’. It is like a hinge. There are just the two possibilities – there is no way to deny (this).

**Comment:** The head character of C has been emended from *you* (past, towards) to *bi* in its most commonly accepted sense of ‘that’ or ‘the other’, although its particular relationship to *shi* (this), as in the *Zhuangzi* 2, and one commentator’s observations about the distinction between subject and object, with *bi* representing
the latter, must be borne in mind. Chmielewski makes valid and interesting points: C is the Mohist response to Deng Xi’s ‘peculiar theory and practice’ of ‘both are admissible’ (liang ke zhi shuo), and that it is ‘the most general and the most explicit statement (in metalogical terms) of the conjunction of the laws of non-contradiction and of excluded middle which the Chinese ever made until modern times’ (see his ‘Notes on Early Chinese Logic VI’). The translation of E is related particularly to the Zhuangzi 2 (Guo Qingfan, Zhuangzi Jishi, vol. 1, p. 66 note 10). The definition of bi is important in relation both to other C&Es (including A75), and to other writings such as the Gongsun Longzi.

A75

C: Making a distinction is contending about ‘that’ (an object or entity). The distinction prevails which fits the facts.
E: Making a distinction: One says it is ox; one says it is not ox. This is contending about ‘that’ (the object or entity). Both do not fit the facts. When both don’t fit the facts, one necessarily doesn’t fit the facts. An example of not fitting the facts is dog.

Comment: See A74 and also Mozi 45.1.

A76

C: In doing (wei), there are limits to knowledge and dependence on desire.
E: In doing [something] (wei): If you desire to preserve your finger but knowledge does not know this is harmful, this is the fault of knowledge. If you have knowledge and
this is carefully applied, you do not overlook the harm involved in it. If you still desire to preserve it, you must suffer the harm. It is the same with eating dried meat. The benefit or harm of rank meat cannot be known so, if you desire to eat the dried meat although it is rank, this is not to let what you doubt put a stop to what you desire. The benefit or harm of what is beyond the wall cannot be known so, if by running to it you obtain money but you do not run, this is to let what you doubt put a stop to what you desire. Consider the principle: ‘In doing [something] there is a limit to knowledge and a dependence on desire.’ One may eat dried meat and not be wise; one may preserve one’s finger and not be foolish. That which one does and that which one does not do both involve doubt and cannot be [completely] planned for.

**Comment:** If the reading of the unknown Mohist character (fifth character in C) is xuan (hang, suspend) in the sense of ‘depend on’, the meaning is clear. Some modern commentators see the reference as being specifically to ‘bad conduct’, and it is certainly a statement about the contributions of knowledge and desire to conduct, although whether it should be framed in conditional or assertive form is not so clear. The three examples in E also seem clear and appear to favour a conditional formulation of C: if in a certain situation knowledge is limited, then conduct is determined by desire.

A77
C: Yi [may mean] to complete or bring about (cheng) or to go away, perish or be lost (wang).
E: Yi: In the case of making a garment, it is completed. In the case of curing an illness, it goes away.

Comment: This is the start of a series of C&Es (A77–A88) of a particular form, i.e. terms without any sentence formation and without the final particle ye. They aim to clarify the first term, i.e. the head character which is used as such in E. The form of C may be the same throughout, but the nature of the explication varies. Graham writes: ‘Although the series is most conveniently treated as an appendix to the definitions … it also serves as a bridge to the theses …’

A78

C: Shi [may mean] to tell (wei) or to cause (gu).
E: Shi: To give an order is to tell but what is ordered doesn’t necessarily come about. To make damp is to cause and necessarily depends on what is done coming about.

A79

C: Ming (a name) [may be] generalizing (da), classifying (lei) or particularizing (si).
E: Ming (a name): ‘Thing’ is generalizing. If there is an entity, it necessarily gets this name. Naming it ‘horse’ is classifying. If it is an entity like this, it is necessarily named by this. Naming someone Zang is particularizing. This name stops at (is limited to) this entity. The words
issuing from the mouth are all names – like the pairing of surname and style.

A80

C: *Wei* (to say, refer) [may be] to transfer (*yi*), to refer/raise/pick out (*ju*) or to apply/add (*jia*).

E: *Wei* (to say, refer): To call a pup a dog is to transfer. (To call something) ‘pup’ or ‘dog’ is to refer/raise/pick out. Scolding a pup is to apply/add.

A81

C: *Zhi* (knowing) [is by] hearing (*wen*), explaining (*shuo*) and personally experiencing (*qin*); (it is about) names (*ming*), entities (*shi*), correlations (*he*) and actions (*wei*).

E: *Zhi* (knowing): Receiving something transmitted is hearing. The method not being obstructed is explaining. Observing (something) oneself is personally experiencing. What something is called by is its name. What is called [by the name] is the entity. The pairing of name and entity is correlation. Intentions that are carried out are actions.

A82

C: *Wen* (to hear) is by transmission (i.e. from someone else) or in person.
E: *Wen* (to hear): Someone informing about it is ‘by transmission’. Being present oneself is ‘in person’.

C: *Jian* (to see) is partial or complete.

E: *Jian* (to see): [Seeing] one aspect is ‘partial’. [Seeing] two (all) aspects is ‘complete’.

C: *He* (to relate to/to tally with/to correspond) includes being correct (exact), being fitting (appropriate) and being necessary.

E: *He* (to relate to/to tally with/to correspond): To deploy troops, to return to the centre, and realizing intentions involve being correct. Zang’s conduct involves being fitting. Negating ‘that’ means it is necessarily not so; this involves being necessary. (The judgements of sages, employ but do not treat as necessary. The ‘necessary’, accept and do not doubt. The ones which are the converse of each other, apply to both sides, not to one without the other.)

Comment: E might reasonably be deemed incomprehensible, but it is probable that the three aspects of *he*, identified in C, are being exemplified. The variety of proposed emendations, readings and punctuation to the first example attest to its obscurity. The translation of the second and third examples (i.e. being fitting and
being necessary) is also very difficult. I have included Graham’s version of the problematical eighteen characters in parentheses at the end of E, but see Johnston, Mozi, p. 448.

A85

C: To desire is to directly (correctly) weigh the benefit. Moreover to abhor is to directly (correctly) weigh the harm.

E: None

Comment: A85 appears to be out of context here, and there is uncertainty as to whether there is an E or not. This version follows the DZ text apart from the substitution of the standard form of zheng (correctly) for the rare ‘early’. Also, qie (moreover) is contentious. Some omit it; Graham retains it and translates it as ‘about to’, which is an alternative meaning of yu (to desire).

A86

C: Wei (being/becoming) [includes] to be (exist), to cease to be (exist), to exchange, to disperse, to put in order, to transform.

E: Wei (being/becoming): Armour and towers exist. A sickness ceases to exist. Buying and selling are exchanges. Mist and ashes disperse. Complying and directing bring order. The tree frog and field mouse are transformed.

Comment: The headword wei (defined in A76 as ‘in doing something’) is read here in the senses of both ‘being’ and ‘becoming’. E is bedevilled by textual and interpretative problems, and does not clarify wei.
C: *Tong* (the same) [may involve] being duplicated, being a part, being together or being of a class.

E: *Tong* (the same): Two names for one entity is the sameness of duplication. Not being outside the whole is the sameness of being a part. Both being situated in the room is the sameness of being together. Being the same in some respect is the sameness of being of a class.

**Comment:** Most commentators provide illustrative examples for E: the first is almost invariably *pup/dog*, and the second refers to the part/whole issue as in A2. The variation in the third example largely depends on how literally *shi* is interpreted: if as ‘house’ or ‘room’, e.g. as in 44.13, relating to a robber in a house; or more generally as *suo* in the sense of ‘location’.

C: *Yi* (different) [includes] two, not being a part, not being together, and not being of a class.

E: *Yi* (different): Two certainly being different is two. Not being joined is not being a part. Not being in the same place is not being together. Not having what is the same is not being of a class.

C: Sameness and difference are interrelated [and are determined by] comparing what things have and do not have.
E: Sameness and difference are interrelated: In the case of a rich family and intuitive knowledge, there is having and not having. In the case of comparing and measuring, there is much and little. In the case of snakes and earthworms, there is turning and circling, going away and approaching. In the case of a bird flying or a beetle moving, there is hard and soft. In the case of sword and armour, there is death and life. In the case of two sons and a mother under one roof, there is older and younger. In the case of two, one decisively prevails, as in black and white, or centre and sides. In discussion, conduct, learning and entities, there is right and wrong. In the case of the Nan bird roosting, there is becoming and not (becoming). In the case of older and younger brother, there is together and opposing. In the case of the body being in one place but the mind being elsewhere, there is present and absent. In the case of a crane or monkey, there is what is innate and what is acquired (caused). In the case of the price being right, there is dear and cheap. In jumping over a wall, there is moving and stopping.

Comment: A89 is very problematical, as are A90–A99. In C I have read fang (the fifth character) as bi (to compare), the point being that the paired terms tong (the same) and yi (different) are comparable to the paired terms you (have, are) and wu (not have, are not), or that sameness and difference are determined by comparing what things have and do not have, i.e. sameness and difference depend on some
quality or aspect being present or not, which is a clear and unexceptionable proposition.

A90

C: Hearing is the listening of the ear.
E: None

A91

C: To follow what is heard and get to its meaning is the discernment of the mind.
E: None

A92

C: To speak is the benefit provided by the mouth.
E: None

A93

C: To grasp what is said and its meaning being understood is the discrimination of the mind.
E: None

Comment: On the use of bian (discrimination) here, Graham notes that it is ‘the only example in the corpus of bian as a quality of mind, “subtle in making distinctions, logical in ordering ideas” …’
C: Assenting does not have [just] one benefit or use.  
E: Assenting: Both agreeing, both rejecting, knowing beforehand, asserting, allowing the possibility are the five (forms of assent). Long and short, before and after, light and heavy are adducing.

A95

C: To be convinced about something, one must grasp the subtle turns of the description and then seek their reasons.  
E: To be convinced in grasping something is difficult to achieve. In speaking, the important task is to complete the grasping, then to seek the reasons behind the grasping.

A96

C: Where the model (standard) is the same, look at its sameness (what is the same in it).  
E: Model (standard): Select what is the same and look at subtle variations.

Comment: A96 and A97 are a pair of C&Es on the use of a standard, model or criterion.

A97

C: Where the model (standard) is different examine its appropriateness.
E: A model (standard): Select this, pick out that; ask about cause, look at appropriateness. Use a person’s being dark and a person’s not being dark to establish the limit of ‘dark person’, and a person having love towards others and a person not having love towards others to establish the limit of ‘loving person’. In the case of these, what is appropriate?

Comment: One issue in E is whether the character hei (dark or black) should be read as, or emended to, mo with the same meaning, but referring to Master Mo himself.

A98

C: Stopping occurs because there is already resolution of the argument.

E: Stopping: If ‘that’ is raised as being so and taken as the ground for ‘this’ being so, then raise what is not so and question (clarify) it.

Comment: Some editors add A98’s C to A97’s C and proceed directly to A99, while others emend the head character to zheng (correct), although this interpretation is not greatly different from that usually given for zhi, when this is read as a means of resolving disputation.

A99

C: What is correct cannot be negated.

E: The correct: For example, ‘sage’ is negatable and not negatable. Being correct in the five assents is when all people have in their minds an explanation. Being wrong in
the five assents (like a circle not being a straight line) is when there is no explanation. Use the five assents as if they were naturally so.

Comment: Graham makes major emendations so the subject becomes ‘matching and assent’, while others emend and arrange so the sage is an infallible arbiter of *shi* and *fei* (right and wrong), a point which E amplifies by stating that even when he seems wrong he is not.

Immediately prior to A99’s C is the statement: ‘read this text horizontally’ (instead of vertically as was customary). This is almost certainly a late addition and was an important clue in deciphering the C&Es.
B1

C: Stopping is effected by means of classes. The explanation lies in sameness.

E: Stopping: Another, on the basis of these being so, says this is so. I, on the basis of these not being so, call in question this being so.

Comment: The variations in the reading of the head character zhi (to stop) include ‘putting a stop to disputation’ (used here), ‘fixing the class’, ‘the permanence of classes’, or even reading it as zheng (to correct, rectify). The subject is clearly classes (as in B2, B6 and B12, for example).

B2

C: Making inferences about classes is difficult. The explanation lies in their being large or small (in scope).
E: In speaking of four-footed animals, they are different from ox and horse, and different from the totality of things, being a larger (class than the former) and a smaller (class than the latter). If these being so meant that this was necessarily so, then all would be confused.

B3

C: Things ‘use up’ the same name. (For example,) ‘to be in two minds’ and ‘to contend’, [‘to nurture’ and] ‘to love’, ‘to eat’ and ‘to call’, ‘being white’ and ‘being blind’, ‘being beautiful’ and [‘being cruel’], ‘man’ and ‘sandals’. If one of the pair is set aside, in naming it, it is what it inherently is. The explanation lies in the reason/criterion.

E: The same name: Both ‘contend’ but not both ‘are in two minds’ is the example of ‘being in two minds’ and ‘to contend’. One’s offspring and one’s liver and lungs are related to ‘nurture’ and ‘love’. Mao and mao are for ‘feeding’ and ‘calling’ respectively. Most of a white horse is white, most of a blind horse is not blind; this is ‘white’ and ‘blind’. Being termed li does not necessarily mean beauty; being termed bao does not necessarily mean cruel. Being deemed ‘wrong’ by others is not being ‘wrong’. Being deemed ‘a brave man’ is not being deemed ‘a man’. Being deemed ‘shoes’ when linked in ‘buying clothes’ is being ‘shoes’; this is ‘man’ and ‘shoes’. If one of two is
lost, it is not joined with the one remaining. If a part is gone, it is not there. What is there is the entity, and afterwards one speaks of it. What is not an entity is not spoken of. It is not like ‘flower’ and ‘beautiful’. If one speaks of ‘this’, then ‘this’ is inherently beautiful. If one speaks of something else, then ‘this’ is not beautiful. If one does not speak of it, then it is reported on.

**Comment:** Does *wu jin*, which I have taken as the first two characters, belong here or to the end of B2’s C? Another issue is whether the several additions (included here) should be made to complete the series of pairs. Also, should the last twelve characters in C (the final two sentences) be included here or be treated as a separate C? The sense of B3 seems to be about the usage of terms and their various applications in different circumstances. The problems with E are the uncertainty about the initial statement and the terse nature of the examples.

**B4**

**C:** Even where it is not possible to set aside a part, there are two. The explanation lies in ‘seen and not-seen’, ‘one and two’, ‘length and breadth’.

**E:** ?: The seen and the not-seen are separate; one and two do not fill each other; length and breadth; hard and white.

**Comment:** B4 continues the discussion of part and whole and relates particularly to Gongsun Long’s ‘hard and white’ argument. Quite different views have been advanced: an anti-Gongsun Long position, which depends critically on one critical emendation (making *bu* (a negative) the head character in E); supporting Gongsun Long; or the extreme position taken by Graham, who considers B4 to be the basis for the supposed forgery of ‘On Hard and White’ in the *Gongsun Longzi* 3.
C: Not being able and yet not being harmful. The explanation lies in harmful.

E: Not: Lifting a weight is not equivalent to lifting a needle, which is not the strength’s responsibility. Taking counters that are grasped to be odd or even is not the intellect’s responsibility. It is like ears and eyes.

Comment: The issue for C is the context: it has been equated with Mencius IIIA.4(6), where the point is that each person has a particular competency that is appropriate. The examples in E are somewhat unclear, in part due to textual uncertainty. Influenced particularly by the final statement, most commentators take B5, like B4, to be related to Gongsun Long’s ‘On Hard and White’.

B6

C: Different classes are not comparable. The explanation lies in measurement.

E: Difference: Of wood and night, which is the longer? Of knowledge and grain, which is the greater? Of the four things – rank, family, good conduct and price – which is the most valuable? Of the tailed deer and the crane, which is the higher? Of the cicada and the zither, which is the more mournful?

Comment: The issue in C is the reading of bi (the fourth character), usually understood as bi (to compare). The point then is that things of different classes cannot be compared in terms of measurement in that although the same adjective may be used, the application is clearly different – as with the length of time and space, to use the first example.
B7

C: In a part going away there is no adding or subtracting. The explanation lies in the original.

E: Part: In both being one there is no change.

Comment: Terseness of expression in E, together with variation in C’s readings of *jia shao* (fourth and fifth characters) and *gu* (eighth character) – ‘adding or subtracting’ and ‘original’, respectively – allows a range of interpretation. For example, one commentator suggests a beautiful flower: the flower remaining when ‘beautiful’ is taken away. Another refers to B4, and via this to Gongsun Long’s ‘On Hard and White’ (*Gongsun Longzi* 3), while still another brackets B4, B5 and B8 as being about using *pian qu* (a part going away) to clarify the phrase *ming shi tong bian* (names and entities undergo change) in the three different situations, relating B7 to Gongsun Long’s ‘Understanding Change’ (*Gongsun Longzi* 4).

B8

C: What is false is certainly erroneous (contradictory). The explanation lies in not being so.

E: False: False is necessarily wrong and only then is false. ‘Dog’ is falsely taken as being ‘crane’; like a family name is ‘crane’.

B9

C: With respect to a thing, there is how it is so, how it is known and how to cause another to know it. These are not necessarily the same. The explanation lies in illness.
E: A thing: Someone wounding him is how it is so. Seeing it is knowing [it]. Informing them is causing [others] to know.

Comment: The only real issue concerns what *bu bi tong* (not necessarily the same) refers to in C. There are three possibilities: that the difference is between the three circumstances stated, which might be important for the Later Mohists to stress; that the phrase refers to each individually, e.g., in the case of an illness, it may come about in different ways, its recognition may be by different means and informing someone about it may be done in different ways (this seems the most plausible); and the third, and intermediate, position is that while a thing is how it is, how it is known and how someone is informed about it may both differ, which may refer to *Zhuangzi* 13 and the discussion between Duke Huan and Wheelwright Pian.

B10

C: Where there is doubt the explanation lies in ‘coming upon’ (*feng*), ‘following’ (*xun*), ‘meeting with’ (*yu*) and ‘being past’ (*guo*).

E: Doubt: If one comes upon someone engaged in affairs, then one takes him to be an officer. If one comes upon an ox in a shelter, then one takes the summer to be cold. This is ‘coming upon’. If one raises it, it is light; if one casts it away, it is heavy – like stone and feathers. It is not that there is strength. A wooden writing strip follows paring. This is not skill. This is ‘following’. Whether the concealment of contention is through the drinking of wine or the conduct of business cannot be known. This is
‘meeting with’. Is it known? Is it through already being so? This is ‘being past’.

**Comment:** It is agreed that the subject is ‘doubt’ or ‘difficulty’, and that three instances are to do with the present and the fourth with the past.

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**B11**

**C:** Combining joins ones; there is either doubling or there is not. The explanation lies in the opposition.

**E:** None

**Comment:** One issue is what the combining (*he*) refers to: ‘forces’ (*li*) or geometry. Graham, however, understands it as being about words, and makes a major modification of C and adds an E, constructed in part from B43’s E. Another reading is to group it under Logic, but this does not attempt to specify precisely what is combined and sees the final character as ‘contradiction’ or ‘conflict’.

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**B12**

**C:** Demarcated things are one unit. The explanation lies in both being one, and specifically this [one thing].

**E:** Both: Both being one. For example [both] ox and horse have four feet. Being specifically this fits [both] ox and horse. If you count oxen and you count horses, then ox and horse are two. If you count ox-horse, then ox and horse are one. It is like counting fingers; the fingers are five yet the five are one.

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**B13**
C: Space involves movement in location. The explanation lies in length in terms of both extension and duration (space and time).

E: Length: There is movement in space and there is position (rest) – (this is) space. Space is north and south at sunrise and also at sunset – (this is) space moving in time.

Comment: The key issue for C is whether yu jiu (the final two characters) is included in it (as above) or not. This in turn determines where the break is made in E. On the grounds that it is reasonable to maintain consistency with A40 and A41 regarding jiu (time, duration) and yu (space), respectively, the interpretation of B13 here is that change of position takes place in space and has ‘length’ (chang), but also involves ‘length’ of time, the connection being illustrated by the linking of north and south (space) with sunrise and sunset (time).

B14

C: Not hard and white. The explanation lies in (no duration and extension).

E: None

B15

C: Hard and white. The explanation lies in interdependence.

E: Touching hard, one obtains white; they necessarily mutually fill.

Comment: Some commentators merge B14 and B15, but others see them on the basis of a very similar interpretation as statements of the Gongsun Long and Later Mohist positions, respectively, with the final six characters in B14 (the final sentence) offering an explanation of why the Gongsun Long position is wrong.
B15 as a whole supports the Later Mohist position. It is the distinction between ‘separating the hard and white’ (Gongsun Long) and ‘the hard and white filling’ (Later Mohists), or in more general terms, between the separate existence of the qualities (the idealist position) and their necessary dependence on the object (the materialist position).

B16

C: ‘Placing’ what is not yet so in relation to what is so. The explanation lies in its being what is so (in this).
E: ‘Placing’: [To say that] Yao was skilled at ruling is to examine the past from the perspective of the present. If one examines the present from the perspective of the past, Yao would not be able to rule.

Comment: The problems in C are the reading of the head character zai, the word order in the last part of the first sentence and whether the final two characters are included. There is broad agreement about the meaning: making inferences regarding what is not yet so, on the basis of what is already so, and E introduces the issue of perspective, in this case temporal. Seen from the standpoint of the present, Yao was a skilled ruler in his time, but would not (necessarily) be so at the present – different times, different circumstances.

B17

C: A shadow does not move. The explanation lies in change taking place.
E: A shadow: When the light arrives, the shadow disappears. If it stays, it remains indefinitely.
Comment: Although all commentators offer their analysis of B17–B24 on optics, some have a detailed treatment with diagrammatic representations. The main issue with B17 is whether it is a statement in agreement with apparently similar statements in the Zhuangzi 33 and the Liezi 4 (A. C. Graham, The Book of Lieh-tzu (London: John Murray, 1960)), or in opposition. My view is that this is a clarification of the common-sense position and a demystification of the apparent paradox.

B18

C: When a shadow is two the explanation lies in doubleness.
E: A shadow: Two lights double one light and the shadow produced by one light.

Comment: Several proposals have been made so that B18 says more than the trivial point that two shadows mean two light sources. If *xia* (to double) is read as ‘to flank’, the second light does not obliterate the shadow from the first light, as might be assumed from B17. Thus B18 means that when two light sources illuminate one object, there are two shadows not one, the darker representing the area which the object shadows from both light sources and the lighter the area which the object shadows from each light source individually.

B19

C: The image (shadow) being inverted depends on there being an aperture at the cross-over and the image (shadow) being distant. The explanation lies in the aperture.
E: The image (shadow): The light reaches the person shining like an arrow. The lowest [light] that reaches the person is the highest [in the image] and the highest [light]
that reaches the person is the lowest [in the image]. The feet conceal the lowest light and therefore become the image (shadow) at the top. The head conceals the highest light and therefore becomes the image (shadow) at the bottom. This is because either far or near there is an aperture with light in it, therefore the image (shadow) turns around within it.

**Comment:** C is a description of the pinhole camera or camera obscura, with the formation of an inverted image. In E, there are difficulties in the initial statement which are variously dealt with but the basic meaning is not changed.

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**B20**

**C:** The shadow ‘meets’ the sun. The explanation lies in reflection.

**E:** The shadow: When the sun’s light returns to illuminate the person, the shadow is situated between the sun and the person.

**Comment:** The assumption is that a plane mirror is being referred to, although it would seem that any reflective surface would suffice.

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**B21**

**C:** A shadow’s (image’s) being small or large depends on whether (the object) is oblique or upright, far or near.

**E:** A shadow (image): When the post is oblique the shadow is short and broad whereas, when the post is upright, the
shadow (image) is long and narrow. When the light source is smaller than the post, the shadow (image) is larger than the post and vice versa (and not only in the case of small). With far and near …

**Comment:** Several characters are contentious and the final part of E is quite possibly mutilated. *Fei du xiao ye* (and not only in the case of the small) indicates the converse of the preceding example, while the situation in respect to ‘near’ and ‘far’ is implied but left unstated.

B22

C: When something is near a mirror and upright, the image (shadow) is reversed. There are many and yet they are like few. The explanation lies in the small surface.

E: Near: In a plane mirror the image (shadow) is small. Form and appearance, brightness and darkness, far and near, oblique and upright, are opposite to the illuminated [object]. The mirror faces and the image (shadow) doubles. In coming towards and going away there is also facing and doubling, the doubling using the ‘back’. With respect to the mirror, its post is in the mirror and there is nothing which is not mirror. The image’s (shadow’s) post is without number, and necessarily exceeds the upright. Therefore in the same place its body is double; nevertheless, the mirror separates.

**Comment:** There are three distinct views on this C&E: two plane mirrors placed together at different angles; perspective, specifically the appearances when someone
stands on a horizontal plane reflecting surface; and reflection at curved surfaces.

B23

C: In a concave mirror there are two images; one is small and changed (inverted) and one is large and upright. The explanation lies in whether [the object] is outside or inside the centre [of curvature].

E: A mirror: When the object is within the centre and approaches the centre, what is mirrored becomes larger and the image also becomes larger. When it moves away from the centre, what is mirrored becomes smaller and the image also becomes smaller, yet necessarily upright. Arising at the centre is the cause of being upright and extending its vertical [height]. When the object is outside the centre and approaches the centre, what is mirrored becomes larger and the image also becomes larger. When it moves away from the centre, what is mirrored becomes smaller and the image also becomes smaller, and necessarily changed (inverted). Converging at the centre is the cause of [the image] being changed and extending its vertical [height].

Comment: Accepting that B23 is about reflection from a concave surface depends on several emendations or particular interpretations. There are also problems with the first half of E, dealing with an object within the focal point or centre of curvature.
C: In a convex mirror the image (shadow) is smaller in one case and larger in the other, but is invariably upright. The explanation lies in what is appropriate.

E: [Convex] mirror: When the object is near, what is mirrored is large and the image is also large. When it is distant, what is mirrored is small and the image is also small and invariably upright. When the image (shadow) goes beyond what is normal, it is caused to be indistinct.

Comment: There is widespread agreement that B24 is about reflection at a convex surface, which is appropriate as the last of a series (B22–B24) dealing with reflection at plane, concave and convex surfaces, respectively.

B25

C: Bearing and not inclining. The explanation lies in ‘being equal to’.

E: Bearing: In the case of a horizontal piece of wood, if a weight is added to it and it does not incline, the counterweight ‘is equal to’ the weight. If the point of suspension of the counterweight is moved to the right, and without adding to it, it does incline, the counterweight ‘is not equal to’ the weight. When horizontal, if a weight is added to one of its sides, it necessarily inclines downwards, the counterweight and the weight corresponding (i.e. prior to the addition). When both are
horizontal, the ‘root’ is short and the ‘branch’ is long. When the two are added to with equivalent weights, the ‘branch’ necessarily falls, as it acquires the ‘force’.

**Comment:** There is an issue as to whether this should be divided into two C&Es. What does seem clear is that **B25** is about the principles of the lever, horizontal beam or steelyard in terms of moments of force.

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**B26**

**C:** Raising and lowering are in opposition. The explanation lies in compelling (force).

**E:** Raising: In raising, there is force; in lowering, there is no force. It is not necessary that what raises it stops in action (is direct or oblique). The rope restrains raising it; it is like an awl piercing it. In lifting, what is long and heavy descends, what is short and light ascends. What ascends increasingly gains; what descends increasingly loses. If the rope is straight and the counterweight and weight are alike, then it is in balance. In lowering, what ascends increasingly loses, what descends increasingly gains. Ascending involves the counterweight, the weight then completely falling.

**Comment:** Is **B26** entirely about pulleys, or entirely about levers, or are a number of different situations being considered? I favour the last.
C: What is leaning cannot be straight. The explanation lies in the ladder.

E: Leaning: Two wheels being high and two wheels being small and without spokes are [the features of] a mobile ladder. There is a weight at its front and a drawing cord at its front. You carry the drawing cord at its front, you carry the drawing cord on its wheel and suspend the weight at its front. In the case of this ladder, you lift. Moreover, when you lift, it then goes up. In general, with a weight, if it is not lifted up from above, or if it is not received from below, or if it does not have a lateral force applied, then it goes downwards vertically. If it is slanting or something ‘harms’ it, it is unstable. The ladder itself does not have instability – it is upright. In the present case, when the weight is placed on level ground, the weight is necessarily down and not to the side. The situation where the rope draws down on the wheel is like that where there is a horizontal [rope] drawing on a boat’s centre. Leaning against, resisting, firm, ladder; if it is leaning against something, it is not upright.

Comment: The subject is a mobile ladder that can be raised by weights and ropes/pulleys, whether for military use or otherwise, but there is considerable variation in how this structure is envisaged. Another version of B27 creates a separate C&E about the ladder, for which the C is essentially lost, and with the last ten characters (the final sentence above) omitted from E. A further possibility makes the discussion of the ladder a part of B26. B27 has an inordinate number of rare, unknown or otherwise controversial characters which are quite variously emended or interpreted.
C: In piling up there must be a support. The explanation lies in placing material (a stone base).

E: Piling up: Placing stones together horizontally and adding stones vertically are the methods used for the side room and the central room. [In the present case place a stone on level ground.] A square (reference) stone is placed 1 chi away from the ground, and a connecting stone is placed at its lower surface. A suspending cord is attached to its upper surface and is caused to reach to the square (reference) stone, so it doesn’t fall down, and there is a column. If the cord remains attached but the (supporting) stone is removed, this is lifting. If the cord is cut, this is ‘drawing down’. If there is no change (in the cord), but the stone changes, this is ‘receiving’.

Comment: To erect any structure (or a pillar specifically), there must be a base or foundation. The first sentence of E is beset by problems.

B29

C: Price does not equate with value. The explanation lies in the reciprocal nature of price (trading).

E: Price: Money and grain are mutually related in terms of price. If money is low (in value), grain is not expensive, whereas if money is high (in value), grain is not cheap. The royal coinage does not change but grain does change, and if
the year changes [the amount of] grain, then the year changes money. It is like selling sons.

**Comment:** Goods have no intrinsic value, so price is determined by the reciprocity of buying and selling. The most straightforward reading of E is as an exemplification of the reciprocal relationship in terms of money and grain. The particular point of the last two sentences is that even if money minted under royal regulations is intended to have a fixed value, it still cannot take into account the vagaries of grain production: both sides of the equation are ultimately subject to variation due to factors beyond human control.

**B30**

C: If the price is appropriate, then sell. The explanation lies in ‘completeness’.

E: Price: ‘Completeness’ is to completely do away with whatever makes it not sell. If what makes it not sell is done away with, then it sells, ‘correcting’ the price. Whether it is appropriate or not appropriate ‘corrects’ whether (the item) is desired or not desired. It is like a defeated country where houses are sold and offspring given in marriage.

**B31**

C: If there is no explanation, there is fear. The explanation lies in not being certain.

E: Not: If one’s son is in the army, one is not certain whether he is dead or alive. If one hears of a battle, one is
also not certain whether he is dead or alive. In the former case, there is no fear; in the latter case, there is fear.

**Comment:** In C the final character *xin* (heart) is emended to *bi* (necessary, certain). In E *qian* (before, i.e. ‘the former’) and *jin* (now, i.e. ‘the latter’) are most commonly taken to refer respectively to the two situations of simply being in the army, and of being in the army and engaged in a battle.

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**B32**

C: *Huo* (something, someone) is a ‘passing’ name. The explanation lies in the entity.

E: *Huo* (something, someone): One knows ‘this’ is not ‘this’ and also knows ‘this’ is not at ‘this’. Nevertheless, one calls ‘this’ south or north, having passed through and taken it already to be so. At first one called ‘this’ the south, so now one calls ‘this’ the south.

**Comment:** Whether the head character is taken as *huo* (something, someone) or as *yu* (region, boundary), B32 is about naming. In relationship to Gongsun Long’s ‘On Names and Entities’ and to Hui Shi’s Paradox 6 (First List) (The south has no limit and yet has a limit), the two situations are defined: the name applies to a specific entity and is fixed (e.g. horse, ox), whereas in the second, the name is variously applied or is relative, the examples being the demonstrative pronoun *ci* (this), and the directions north, south, east and west.

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**B33**

C: With respect to knowing, it is perverse [to take] knowing something and not knowing something to be sufficient for use. The explanation lies in there not being the means.
E: When there is knowledge, one can discuss it; when there is not knowledge, there is no means (to do so).

Comment: There are at least four modified versions of this C aimed at making the statement more intelligible. This translation emends zhun (to impress upon, reiterate) to bei (obstinate, perverse). Most commentators see B33 as a response to Confucius’ views expressed in *Analects* II.17, and amplified in *Xunzi* 29.6.

B34

C: Calling is disputing without overcoming; there is certainly no validity [involved]. The explanation lies in disputing.

E: Calling: If what is called [something] is not the same, then it is different. The case of being the same is one person saying, ‘This is a dog’ and another saying, ‘This is a pup.’ The case of being different is one person saying, ‘This is an ox’ and another saying, ‘This is a horse.’ In both there is not overcoming. When in both there is not overcoming, it is not disputation. Disputation is where one person says, ‘This is this’ and another says, ‘This is not [this]’, and the one who is correct, overcomes.

Comment: The principal issue is whether it is primarily about wei (to call, say) or bian (to dispute, discuss). Chmielewski translates C: ‘It is said: if there is no victory in discrimination, (the discrimination itself) must be invalid’, but this ignores the role of wei (to call, say) as the head character in E. The point appears to be to make a contrast between wei (to call) and bian (to dispute): if two people say something about an entity, whether it be the same or different, if there is no establishment of validity of one position (i.e. overcoming), it is not disputation.
B34, regardless of the precise interpretation, is directed at *Zhuangzi* 2 – or vice versa.

B35

**C:** Not not (always) yielding is not permissible. The explanation lies in proximity.

**E:** Not: In respect to yielding, there is that in relation to wine; where there is proximity, it is not permissible to yield. [It is like being near to the city gate or to Zang (the person).]

B36

**C:** In one [thing] there is the known in it and there is the not known in it. The explanation lies in existing.

**E:** In: A stone is one [thing]; hard and white are two [things] and are in the stone. Therefore ‘there is the known in it and there is the not known in it’ is permissible.

**Comment:** B36 and B37 must be seen in relation to Gongsun Long’s argument about the hard white stone (‘On Hard and White’). The second sentence of E, apart from the final *ke* (can, permissible), is identical, possibly even a direct quote, from that essay.

B37

**C:** There is *zhi* (representation, pointing out) through two and they cannot be separated. The explanation lies in taking
there are the two and the three.

**E:** There is zhi: If you know this and also know this which I previously raised, this is double. Then, if you know this, but do not know that which I previously raised, this is one. This is to say there is the known in it and there is the not known in it is admissible. If you know it, then it is valid to zhi it (represent it, point it out). If knowledge informs me, then I know it. A combined zhi is through two. A crosswise zhi is when three are met with. It is like saying what I raise is necessarily individually zhi (represented, pointed out) and what I do not raise is not zhi (represented, pointed out), so the zhi is certainly not able to be individually zhi (represented, pointed out), and what you wish to zhi (represent, point out) is not put forward, so the concept is still not clear. Moreover, if what is known is this and what is not known is this, then this is known and this is not known, so how can you make it one and say: ‘There is the known in it, there is the not known in it.’

**Comment:** Difficulties in C particularly relate to er (two) and can (three), and to a lesser extent to zhi (represent, point out). There is also the question of the extent to which E is a single statement amplifying C, or a presentation of opposing views. Further, there is the issue of how B37 is linked to Gongsun Long’s ‘On Hard and White’: the argument here is that the qualities ‘hard’ and ‘white’ cannot be separated from each other or from the stone, but all are ‘represented’, i.e. capable of being pointed out independently or individually identified as qualities or entities that can be perceived separately, but are inextricably linked in the stone.
B38

C: There is that which you know but are unable to zhi (represent, point out). The explanation lies in spring, a runaway servant, pup/dog, what is lost.
E: That which: In the case of spring, its state cannot be represented (pointed out). In the case of a runaway servant, there is not knowing his whereabouts. In the case of pup/dog, there is not knowing its name. In the case of what is lost, despite skill, one is not able to regain (duplicate) it.

Comment: B38 clearly continues the discussion of zhi (to represent, point out) and its relationship to zhi (to know). Assuming, as earlier, a usage of the former similar to that in Gongsun Long’s Zhiwu Lun (‘On Pointing Out Things’), the point would seem to be that contrary to the comprehensive nature of zhi proposed by Gongsun Long, the Later Mohists wish to claim that some ‘things’ cannot be represented/pointed out, or are not representations/pointings out.

B39

C: To know a pup (gou) yet to say of yourself that you do not know a dog (quan) is a mistake. The explanation lies in duplication.
E: Knowing: If to know a pup (gou) duplicates to know a dog (quan), then it is a mistake. If it does not duplicate this, then it is not a mistake.

Comment: However gou and quan are rendered into English (dog/hound, whelp/dog, pup/dog, dog/dog), the point is that both are names for the one entity, i.e. er ming yi shi (two names, one entity), or a ‘duplicated name’, so to claim to know one and not the other is a mistake. For E, the point appears to be that if
'knowing a pup' does duplicate 'knowing a dog', then to make the claim instanced in C is, indeed, a mistake; if there is no such duplication, then it is not a mistake.

C: Understand the idea (meaning) before replying. The explanation lies in not knowing what it is he is speaking of.

E: Understanding: The questioner asks: 'Do you know the sojourner?' The one replying says: 'What is the sojourner called?' The other says: 'The sojourner is Shi.' Then you know him. If you don’t ask what the sojourner is called but directly respond with ‘I don’t know’, then it is a mistake. Moreover, the response must be appropriate to the question in terms of time. For example, the response may be long; the response may be profound or superficial.

Comment: Zhang Huiyan’s paraphrase of C makes the meaning very clear. It is: ‘First understand the other’s meaning and after that, reply to him; otherwise you don’t know what he is referring to’ (Zhang Huiyan, Mozi Jingshuo Jie, MZJC 9). The issues in E are an unknown character which occurs twice, and the final seven characters which some include as the end of this E and some as the initial part of B41’s E. Most commentators do include them in the present E but variably punctuated and usually with tian (heaven) emended to da (large). Graham retains tian and offers: ‘Among Heaven’s constants its presence is prolonged with man’ which is difficult not only to understand in itself but also to relate to the subject matter of C. I have omitted the seven characters, but see the Comment to B41.
C: Where someone is, and who it is that is there; where (in what) they are, and who they are. The four are different. The explanation [lies in what is primary].

E: Place: The room or hall is the place where they are. His sons are those who are there. To rely on who is there and ask about the room or hall, one says: ‘Where (in what) are they?’ To take as primary the room or hall and ask about who is there, one says: ‘Who is there?’ In one case, this is to take as evident who is there as the basis for asking where they are; in the other case, it is to take as evident where they as the basis for asking who is there.

Comment: Graham describes C as ‘badly mutilated’. On the seven characters mentioned in the B40 comment, Wu Feibai (Zhongguo Gumingjia Yan) emends them so they might be translated: ‘If a person is in a hall, there is his person and where he is’, thus establishing the situation about which questions are framed.

B42

C: Among the Five Phases there is not one that constantly overcomes. The explanation lies in the appropriateness.

E: Five: If you combine water, earth and fire, fire loses. Nevertheless, fire melts metal, fire being greater, and metal extinguishes charcoal, metal being greater. If you combine the ‘treasury’ wood [with itself, then] wood ‘loses’ wood. It is like distinguishing the numbers of deer and fish – it simply depends on circumstances.

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**B43**

**C:** It is not the case that desiring and detesting are respectively beneficial and harmful. The explanation lies in being appropriate.

**E:** Not: Desiring and detesting injure life and harm longevity. This is explained by reducing what is offered and liking this only. When there is a lot of grain, there may be the wish not to have it because it can also be injurious – like the effect of wine on people. Moreover, when a wise person benefits others, it is love. Then wisdom alone is not controlling.

**Comment:** The main problem in E is whether the *shao lian* refers to the moderate person of that name, spoken of in the *Book of Rites* (*Li Ji*) and *Analects* XVIII.8 or not. Graham argues strongly against the former position; his view is followed here. In this translation, B43 is an argument for moderation and it takes a position between Song Xing and Xun Qing (Xun Zi).
C: There are instances where loss is not harmful. The explanation lies in there being excess.
E: Loss: In the case of eating one’s fill, to set aside what is superfluous having eaten enough is not harmful. Eating to satiety can be harmful. It is like the injured deer being without a haunch. Moreover, there are instances of loss before there is gain. It is like the fever in a febrile illness.

Comment: The meaning is that there can be loss without there being harm if the loss involves what is superfluous. Wu Feibai states that B44 opposes the view sun you hai (with loss there is harm) and links both B44 and B43 to the argument in favour of moderation (jie yong) which he relates to Song Xing. It also refers to Zhuangzi 8 and the matter of excess flesh as exemplified by webbed toes and supernumerary digits. E amplifies the argument with three examples: the case of eating – to stop eating when enough has been eaten and not go on to excess avoids any harm, and eating to excess is harmful, although quite how the example illustrates this remains obscure; the second, about the deer, is also obscure; and what is at first damaging can later be beneficial, as in the case of a fever which may bring resolution of an illness.

B45

C: There is knowing which is not by way of the ‘five roads’ (five senses). The explanation lies in duration.
E: Knowledge (knowing): Seeing is by means of the eyes and the eyes see by means of fire, and yet fire does not see. If knowledge was only by way of the ‘five roads’ (five senses), it would not relate to duration. Seeing is by means of the eyes is like seeing is by means of fire.
Comment: If *wu lu* (five roads) refers to the five senses (*wu guan*), the meaning is relatively clear, although there is some variation in the reading of *jiu* (duration). The point appears to be that there is knowledge by means of the five senses (empirical knowledge) which is instantaneous, but enduring knowledge involves some process other than the immediate sensation.

B46

**C:** Fire is necessarily hot. The explanation lies in seeing.  
**E:** Fire: Calling the fire hot is not to take the fire’s heat as something I have. It is like looking at the sun.  

Comment: There is widespread agreement that *dun* (here ‘seeing’ – the final character in C) needs to be emended but not on the substitute. For E, *wo* (I) may be emended to *fei* (a negative), and the emendation of *yue* (to say) to *ri* (the sun) is generally accepted. Wu Feibai’s reading brings B46 into close relation with the C&Es before and after it and to the issue addressed in Gongsun Long’s ‘On Hard and White’ about the separate perception of qualities.

B47

**C:** Knowing what he knows and does not know. The explanation lies in the use of naming and choosing.  
**E:** Knowing: If you lump together what he knows and what he doesn’t know and question him, then he has to say: ‘This is what I know; this is what I don’t know.’ Choosing and discarding both make this possible; these are the two kinds of knowing.  

Comment: The different versions of the first sentences in both C and E may be most straightforwardly interpreted as being about the method of asking to determine
what another person knows and does not know; this can be gauged by his ability to ‘name’ and to ‘choose’. See also *Mozi* 47.9.

B48

C: Not being does not necessarily depend on being. The explanation lies in what is said.

E: Not being: For example, with something not being there, there was this and afterwards there is not. In the case of there not being ‘heaven falling’, this was not so (before) and is not so (now).

Comment: C contrasts the pair ‘being’ and ‘not being’, which differs from B47’s pair, ‘knowing’ and ‘not knowing’. In B48 they are not interdependent, while in B47, they are a counter to the Daoist position of regarding them as mutually dependent (e.g. *Laozi* 2, *Zhuangzi* 2). ‘Heaven falling’ is a Daoist example.

B49

C: In quoting a precedent, in general there is not doubt. The explanation lies in what is and what is not.

E: Quoting a precedent: If there is doubt it is not said. ‘If Zang has recently died and the same thing also affects Chun, he will also die’ is permissible.

Comment: There are major problems with B49; emendations make the subject the reliability of drawing an inference from an established fact.
C: What is about to be so cannot be stopped, yet there is no harm in putting forth effort. The explanation lies in what is appropriate.

E: About to be so: It is like this. What is about to be so is necessarily so. What is about to come to an end necessarily comes to an end. With regard to being about to put forth effort for something to come to an end, it is necessary to put forth the effort and afterwards it comes to an end.

Comment: Wu Yujiang (Mozi Jiaozhu, vol. 2) suggests that B50 exemplifies the Mohists’ ‘spirit of constantly striving to be better’, but it must be seen in relation to the anti-fatalist position taken in the main body of the Mozi. Graham describes B50 as being ‘remarkable in touching the issue of fatalism at a much deeper level than elsewhere in the Mozi’.

B51

C: Being balanced [determines] whether something breaks or not. The explanation lies in what is balanced.

E: Balanced: If a hair is balanced it suspends light [or heavy things] but if the hair breaks, it is not balanced. Balanced is when what might break does not break.

B52

C: In the case of Yao’s yi (right conduct, righteousness and justice), it is heard of in the present but is located in the
past, and these are different times. The explanation lies in what is \textit{yi} being two.

\textbf{E:} Yao and crane: The one is shown to people through the name; the other is shown to people through the object. When you raise Yao’s perfection, this is to use the name to show people. When you point to this crane, this is to use the object to show people. In the case of Yao’s \textit{yi}, the hearing of it may be in the present, but what is \textit{yi} is located in the past. (For example, there is danger at the city gates and in the storehouse.)

\textbf{Comment:} There is disagreement as to how \textit{yi} should be understood: I have followed the usual rendering of ‘right action/conduct’ or ‘righteousness’, as opposed to ‘goodness’, ‘example’ or ‘model’. If Yao’s \textit{yi} is being raised or Yao (the ancient sage king) is being used as an example, he is indicated by name; the name is raised in the present but the entity (reality) – i.e. Yao and his \textit{yi} – existed in the past. E is more of a problem. In brief, there are two examples – Yao’s \textit{yi} (right conduct, righteousness and justice) and crane – one of which can only be indicated by name whereas in the other case, there can be a direct pointing to the entity. (The final sentence remains a problem.)

\textbf{B53}

\textbf{C:} A pup is a dog, yet ‘to kill a pup is not to kill a dog’ is admissible. The explanation lies in the duplication.

\textbf{E:} A pup: A pup is a dog. So to call killing a pup killing a dog is admissible. It is like the two buttocks.

\textbf{Comment:} The key issue is whether \textit{bu} (not) is added to C (making \textit{bu ke} – not admissible), apparently bringing C and E into agreement. \textbf{B53} is the Later Mohist
response to Paradox 17 of the Second List in Zhuangzi 33 (i.e. a pup is not a dog); it must also be seen in the light of Mozi 45.6 (‘killing a robber is not killing a person’) and an example of *er ming yi shi* (two names, one entity). This is an issue of some importance to the Later Mohists. The addition of *bu* makes C and E both straightforward refutations of the Paradox, but it seems more probable that in C, the Later Mohist is acknowledging the possibility of making the distinction, just as in the case of ‘robber’ and ‘man’, although, in fact, killing a pup is killing a dog, as E explains.

### B54

**C**: In causing a servant [to act] there is *yi* (right action, righteousness and justice). The explanation lies in causing.

**E**: Causing: Ordering is causing: Righteously to cause is *yi*; righteously not to cause is also *yi*. There is causing to employ: *Yi* also applies to causing to employ; not *yi* also applies to causing to employ.

**Comment**: All Chinese commentators find B54 to be incomprehensible and propose various major changes. Graham retains C, although he emends *yin* (flourishing, abundant, a dynasty) to *dian* (hall, palace) (see below): ‘*Shi dian mei* “cause a hall to be beautiful” is so unidiomatic that no commentator known to me has ever taken the sentence in this sense, but a consideration of the Mohist’s special style shows it to be acceptable.’ Three approaches to E are: this translation; Graham uses the DZ text with relatively minor changes: ‘To command is to intend an effect. Whether I obey or not, you intend the effect on me; whether the hall becomes beautiful or not, you intend the effect on it’; or simply labelling both C and E as not clear.

### B55
C: [Despite] Jing’s (Chu’s) greatness, its [dependency] Shen is weak. The explanation lies in its being a tool.

E: Jing (Chu): Shen is Jing’s (Chu’s) tool. Then Shen’s weakness is not Jing’s (Chu’s) weakness. It is like changing one part of five.

Comment: This translation depends on how jing (the state of Chu or bramble), shen (a dependency of Chu, submerged or hang (the name of a marsh in Chu)), and jian/qian (as shallow or weak) are understood. Graham reads jing as ‘bramble’ making B55 about submerging brambles. He also transfers the final sentence of E to B56’s E.

B56

C: To take the pillar to be round is taking it to be what is not known. The explanation lies in conceptualizing (conjecturing).

E: To take: In the case of the pillar’s roundness, when we see it, its being in the concept doesn’t change from prior knowledge. A concept is an image. For example, the pillar being lighter than catalpa [wood] – if it is as a concept, it is foolish.

Comment: The analogy remains a problem, as does the issue of the five characters (the final sentence) at the end of B55’s E. The example of the pillar in relation to yi (concept, idea) is also raised in Mozi 44.11. Several modern commentators interpret yi in the sense of yidu (conjecture).
C: The concept of a hammer cannot be known beforehand. The explanation lies in its being possible to use and goes beyond matching.

E: A hammer: That hammering block and hammer both serve in [the making of] shoes is ‘being possible to use’. Completing the decorating of shoes goes beyond the hammer and the hammer goes beyond the decorating of shoes – they are the same in this respect. This is going beyond matching.

B58

C: One is less than two and yet more than five. The explanation lies in establishing the position.

E: One: Five has one in it; one has five in it; ten is (means) two.

Comment: Most commentators see the observations as about 1 and 10, i.e. about the two cases of 1 being one unit and 10 being one unit, and relate B58 to the abacus, which offers a satisfactory interpretation of jian zhu (with zhu emended to wei) – i.e. establishing the position). Graham points out that this presents problems with the syntax of E, particularly if shi (ten) is retained. Perhaps the simplest and most appropriate interpretation is that this is about hands and fingers. Thus, 1 finger is less than 2 fingers, yet 1 hand is more than 5 fingers, i.e. it depends on whether finger or hand is given ‘position’; then, in E, 5 fingers are on 1 hand, 1 hand has 5 fingers on it, and there are 10 fingers on 2 hands.

B59
C: If what is not divisible in half is not divided, then there is not progression. The explanation lies in the point.

E: Not: In dividing in half, you progress by taking what is in front. The front, then, is the centre of what was not halved; it is like a point. If you take both what is in front and what is behind, then a point is the centre. In dividing, there must be a half for, if there is not and there is not a half, it is not possible to divide.

Comment: The two textual issues are how to read an unknown character which occurs fourth in C and in E (twice), and, of lesser significance, whether duan (a point) should be retained or emended. It is agreed that B59 is intended as a refutation of Paradox 21 of the Second List: ‘If a rod 1 chi long is cut short by half its length every day, there will still be something left even after ten thousand generations’ (Guo Qingfan, Zhuangzi Jishi, chapter 33, vol. 4, p. 1106); for an English translation of the paradoxes, see Burton Watson, Chuang Tzu, pp. 374–6). E considers two methods of division: taking what is in front, leaving finally what was the extreme right point of the line; and taking from both in front and behind, leaving finally what was the original central point of the line. Either way, the end result is a single point.

C: Not being (non-being) is admissible, but once there is being, it cannot be set aside. The explanation lies in once being so.

E: Admissible: Not being (non-being) is admissible: Once something has already been, then it must have been so and [its] not being (non-being) is inadmissible.
Comment: There is general agreement on meaning and perceived intent, accepting \textit{wu/you} as non-being/being. (The problematic final five characters are included in B63’s E.)

\begin{itemize}
\item B61
\item C: Regular (central) and not able to vary. The explanation lies in being spherical.
\item E: Regular: With a ball there is nowhere it can be placed where it does not hang from its centre because it is spherical.
\end{itemize}

Comment: Other interpretations of the subject are spherical objects tending to continuous movement by rotation or astronomical matters.

\begin{itemize}
\item B62
\item C: Going forward in space there is no near. The explanation lies in spreading out.
\item E: Space: When a region cannot be partially raised (demarcated), there is space. What moves forward first spreads out near and afterwards spreads out far.
\end{itemize}

Comment: The three textual changes in E, on which there is broad agreement, are the reversal of the order of \textit{yu} (hunchbacked) and \textit{yu} (space, the universe) to make the latter the head character, the reading of \textit{yu} (hunchbacked) as \textit{qu} (zone, locality – here ‘region’) and the emendation of \textit{zi} (character, name) to give the second \textit{yu} (space, the universe). Compare the definition of ‘space’ (\textit{yu}) in A41. Some commentators see a relationship to Hui Shi’s Paradox 9: ‘I know the world’s centre. It is north of (the state of) Yan and south of (the state of) Yue.’ Sima Biao’s note on this is: ‘The distance of Yan from Yue is established, yet the distance between north
and south is without limit. To consider what is established from the point of view of what is without limit, then between Yan and Yue there is not, at first, a differentiation. Heaven is without direction, therefore where one is may be deemed the centre; a circle (a revolution) is without a point of origin, therefore where one is may be deemed the origin.’

B63

C: Travelling a distance uses (involves) duration. The explanation lies in before and after.

E: Travelling: The one travelling is necessarily near before and far after. Far and near are distances. Before and after are durations. If people travel distances, it must involve duration. (Duration is both limited and without limit.)

Comment: This refutes Hui Shi’s Paradox 7 (First List): ‘Today I go to Yue yet I arrive yesterday.’

B64

C: When things belong together under one criterion this completes a class – for example, the collecting together of squares. The explanation lies in ‘squareness’.

E: One: When squares complete a class they all have the criterion, although they may be different. If some are wood and some are stone, this doesn’t harm their being grouped together as squares. They complete a class such as ‘squares’. Things are all like this.
Comment: The essential meaning is that a particular criterion is the basis of class membership, and provided this criterion is met, then despite other differences, the things possessing the criterion may be joined in a class.

B65

C: ‘Wild raisings’ are inadmissible as a means of knowing differences. The explanation lies in ‘having’ (or – in their being inadmissible).

E: ‘Wild’: Ox and horse are certainly different but to take ‘ox has incisors’, ‘horse has tail’ as an explanation of ‘ox is not horse’ is inadmissible. These are what both have and not what one has and one doesn’t have. If you say, ‘ox and horse are not of a class’ on the basis of ox having horns and horse not having horns, this is the class not being the same. But if you do [not] raise, ‘ox has horns, horse does not have horns’ as the basis for the classes not being the same, this is wild raising. It is like ‘ox has incisors, horse has tail’. (Sometimes ‘not not-ox and not-ox’ is admissible. Then sometimes ‘not-ox and ox’ is admissible.)

Comment: The first issue with C is how best to understand, and therefore translate, the head characters (kuang ju): I accept that they act as a technical term, and are the converse of zheng ju (correct raising or picking out). Ju is defined in A31. Li Shenglong’s modern equivalent of huluan juchu (careless citing) seems appropriate (Xinyi Mozi Duben (Taipei, 1996)); Graham renders it ‘referring arbitrarily’. The second issue is the division of B65’s C from B66’s C; I have included a translation of the other version in round brackets (incorporating the translation of bu ke (inadmissible)). There is also the question about where to divide
E: I have included the sentences in round brackets which are often made part of B66. ‘Wild raising’ is a basis for a distinction of classes using something that both entities under consideration (i.e. ox and horse) have, even though, in the case of incisors and tails, there may be some specific differences in their forms. ‘Correct raising’ is, then, to take the presence and absence of horns as the basis for class distinction.

B66

C: The grounds for taking ‘ox-horse is not ox’ being inadmissible and being admissible are the same. The explanation lies in the joining (combination).

E: Not: If it is admissible that some are not ox is not ox, then some are not ox and some are ox is [also] admissible. Therefore, it is never admissible to say that ‘ox-horse is not ox’ and it is never admissible to say that ‘ox-horse is ox’, since it is admissible of some but inadmissible of others. And to say ‘ox-horse is ox’ is never admissible is also inadmissible. Furthermore, if ox is not two and horse is not two, but ox-horse is two, then ‘ox is not not-ox’, ‘horse is not not-horse’ and ‘ox-horse is not ox and not horse’ are without difficulty.

Comment: There are problems with the division of B66 and B65. Graham includes *bu ke* (inadmissible) at the start of C here and the sentences in round brackets at the end of B65’s E as the start of E here. He points out that B65 is about ‘having’ (you) horns and tails and not about ‘something admissible’, and further, that the C requires *bu ke* (inadmissible) to balance *ke zhi* (admissible). This can be countered by noting that B66 is specifically about a combined name, in relation, e.g., to *Xunzi* 22 and the *Gongsun Longzi* (‘On White Horse’).
C: That this, that this and that this are the same. The explanation lies in the differences.

E: That: In the correction of names, with respect to that and this [there are three cases].

(i) That and this are admissible: That [name] applies to that [entity] and stops at that [entity]; this [name] applies to this [entity] and stops at this [entity].

(ii) That and this are not admissible: That [name] but this [entity].

(iii) That-this is also admissible: That-this stops at that-this. In this case, with respect to that and this, there is also that as well as this, and also this as well as that.

Comment: For C, most commentators are dissatisfied with, or puzzled by, xun (the first and third character in C which usually means to follow or accord with), although it should be noted that some argue for retaining it in the sense of shun (agree or comply with). There is also the apparently paradoxical conjunction of tong (the same) and yi (different), which seems to be clarified by the three combinations of bi (that) and ci (this) in which the two characters are the same, but their ‘validity’ differs; this brings B67 essentially into agreement with Gongsun Long’s ‘On Names and Entities’ (Gongsun Longzi 1), the conflict being with the view expressed in Zhuangzi 2.

C: Leading and following are linked together. The explanation lies in the merit.

E: Leading: In leading without exception, there is not what is comprehensive – like weeds. In following without
exception, there is being directed – there is no choice. Leading but not following – this is not to learn. If you do not learn when your knowledge is slight, your merit must be diminished. Following but not leading – this is not to teach. If you do not teach when your knowledge is great, your merit comes to an end. For example, if you cause a person to seize another’s garment, the fault in one (the perpetrator) is slight and in the other (the instigator) is great. If you cause a person to give wine to another, the merit in one (the instigator) is great and in the other (the perpetrator) is slight.

Comment: Although B68 seems to be about the interrelationship between leading and following and their relative merits, there are several unresolved issues, particularly how to understand the presumed correspondence between chang/he (leading/following) and jiao/xue (teaching/learning).

B69

C: If you hear that what you don’t know is like what you do know, then you know both (the two). The explanation lies in informing.

E: Hearing: What is outside is what you know. What is in the room is what you don’t know. Someone says: ‘The colour of what is in the room is like the colour of this.’ This is to hear that what you don’t know is like what you do know. One says that white is like white and black is like
black. It is like this being its colour; it is like white necessarily being white. Now you know its colour is like white, therefore you know it is white. Names are the means whereby what is not known is made clear and corrected and not the means whereby doubt is cast on what is clear. It is like using *chi* as a measurement for an unknown length. What is outside you know by direct experience; what is in the room you know by being told.

**Comment:** C says one learns of what one does not know by hearing it linked to what one does know. E concludes there are two ways of knowing: by direct experience and by being informed, the latter possibly requiring the use of something already known.

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**B70**

**C:** To take words to be completely false is false. The explanation lies in the person’s words.

**E:** To take: False equates with inadmissible. If this person’s words are admissible and this is not false, then this is also admissible. If this person’s words are inadmissible in terms of validity, they are certainly not valid.

**Comment:** If *shen* (to investigate, examine, discriminate) were retained in the final sentence of E, this would read: ‘If this person’s words are inadmissible, to take them as valid is certainly not to be prudent.’ On *bei* (false), Graham writes: ‘*Pei* (*bei*) “confused”, “fallacious” in later Mohist usage seems always to imply self-contradiction. The reference is presumably to Chuang-tzu’s thesis that of anything said we may equally well say the opposite.’
C: If the response to what I say (call it) is not the name, then it is inadmissible. The explanation lies in the converse. 

E: Responding: To say this *huo* (crane, a person’s name) is admissible, but it is still not *huo* in general. To say ‘that’ and ‘this’ are ‘this’ is inadmissible. What is spoken of does not correspond to what he says. If ‘that’ corresponds to what he says, then what I say works. If ‘that’ does not correspond to what he says, then what the other says does not work. 

Comment: There is an issue with the head character *wei*. Following Sun Yirang I have taken it as meaning to respond or answer promptly. Also, should *huo* be understood as *he* (crane – ‘the stock example of a name which can be loaned for another thing’, according to Graham) or as the name of a person; I have left this open. Also I have not deleted *bu* (a negative) from the penultimate sentence. *B71* may be about the distinction between *wei* (to say, refer) and *ming* (to name), but what is likely is that the subject matter is related to the *Gongsun Longzi* (‘On Names and Entities’), although exactly how is problematic. 

C: ‘Without limit’ does not preclude (harm) ‘universal’. The explanation lies in being filled or not.

E: Not: **Objection**: In the case of the south, if it has a limit, then it can be ‘exhausted’; if it has no limit, then it cannot be ‘exhausted’. If it can never be known whether it does or does not have a limit, then whether it can or cannot
be ‘exhausted’ can never be known. And whether people ‘fill’ it or not can never be known, so whether people can or cannot be ‘exhausted’ can also never be known. So, of necessity, the claim that people can love exhaustively (i.e. universally) is perverse.

Response: With respect to people, if they do not ‘fill’ what is ‘without limit’, then people are ‘with limit’. ‘Exhausting’ what is ‘with limit’ presents no difficulty. If (people) ‘fill’ what is ‘without limit’, then what is ‘without limit’ is ‘exhausted’. ‘Exhausting’ what is ‘without limit’ presents no difficulty.

Comment: This is a defence of the central Mohist doctrine of ‘universal love’ with E taking the form of an objection to the postulate of C, followed by a response. The Objector uses Hui Shi’s Paradox 6 (First List) – ‘The south is without limit and yet has a limit’ – as the starting point of his argument: that there cannot be ‘universal love’ for what is ‘without limit’. The Responder establishes that whether people are ‘with limit’ or ‘without limit’, it is nevertheless possible to love them all. See also B73 and B74.

B73

C: Not to know their number but to know their ‘exhausting’. The explanation lies in questioning.
E: Not: Objection: If you don’t know their number, how do you know that loving the people is something that ‘exhausts’ it?
Response: There are some who are left out in his questioning. If he exhaustively questions people, then he exhaustively loves those who are questioned. Then not to know the number, yet to know loving them ‘exhausts’ it, is without difficulty.

Comment: Continues the debate about universal love, using the analogy between questioning and loving, if the emendation of ming (clear) to wen (ask, question) is accepted. The objection–response structure is used here (see B72), although not all commentators make it clear. The objection is that if you don’t know how many people there are, how can you claim to love them all? The response is that it is just like asking or questioning: one can claim to have asked/questioned everyone without knowing the number. It is in the response that the retention of ming (clear) seems to present some difficulty.

B74

C: Not knowing their whereabouts does not preclude (harm) loving them. The explanation lies in lost sons.  
E: None

Comment: Also in defence of the Mohist doctrine of jian ai (universal love): see B72. It doesn’t matter if there is no limit to the number of people, or the number is not known, or their location is not known – one can still love them all.

B75

C: To take ren (love, kindness, humaneness and benevolence) as being internal and yi (right action, righteousness and justice) as being external is wrong. The explanation lies in matching in the face.
E: *Ren*: *Ren* equates with love; *yi* equates with benefit. Love and benefit relate to ‘this’ (the self); what is loved and what is benefited relate to ‘that’ (the other). Love and benefit are neither internal nor external; what is loved and what is benefited are neither external nor internal. To say that *ren* is internal and *yi* is external and to conflate love with what is benefited are examples of ‘wild raising’. It is like the left eye being external and the right eye being internal.

Comment: There is general agreement that the target is the *Mencius*, with three issues in C: the order of *wai* (external) and *nei* (internal); how to read the second *nei* (internal); and how to interpret the final two characters (*wu yan*). On the first, I have reversed the order of *wai* and *nei* to follow the structure put forward by Gaozi in his exchange with Mencius (particularly VIB.4 and 5); for the original order, the point is more general: ‘external’ and ‘internal’ don’t apply to *ren* and *yi* at all. I have read the second *nei* as *bei* (perverse, wrong). On the third, I have retained *wu yan*, which makes sense in relation to the final sentence of E.

B76

C: Learning is of no benefit. The explanation lies in the one criticizing.

E: In the case of learning, consider taking someone as not knowing that learning is without benefit and therefore teaching him [this]. Causing him to know that learning is without benefit is, in fact, to teach him. To take learning to be of no benefit and yet to teach is contradictory.
Comment: To advance the view that learning is of no benefit yet to attempt to teach someone this is contradictory. Clearly the Mohists oppose this; it is exemplified by *Laozi* 20 which begins: ‘Get rid of learning and there is no anxiety.’

B77

C: Whether criticism is admissible or not does not depend on whether it is much or little. The explanation lies in being admissible to negate (deny).

E: Criticism: In sorting out whether criticism is admissible or inadmissible, if you take the principle as susceptible to criticism, then even if the criticism is excessive, it is right. If its principle is not susceptible to criticism, even if the criticism is slight, it is wrong. Nowadays it is said that what is much criticized is not admissible. This is like using the long to discuss the short.

Comment: The text of E depends on taking *fei* (the head character) as ‘criticism’ and emending the first *fei* (a negative) to *fei* (to criticize). Graham reads the second *fei* (to criticize, criticism) as ‘reject’ or ‘deny’ and emends the third to *fei* (a negative). A more thoroughgoing rearrangement of E is made by Wu Feibai, which creates symmetry in the construction and obviates the problems of punctuation: then E means that whether something is open to criticism or not depends on whether it is right in principle or not; a great amount of criticism does not invalidate something that is right in principle just as conversely a paucity of criticism does not confer validity on something that is wrong in principle; this is to counter the tendency to take the amount of criticism as the criterion of validity. What is being criticized is not made explicit, although it is probably philosophical doctrines in general.
C: Negating criticism is perverse. The explanation lies in not negating.

E: Negating: If the criticism is negatable, my criticism of it is not negatable; it is criticism inadmissible to negate. Being inadmissible to negate, this is not negatable criticism.

Comment: Allowing for some variation in the reading of fei (to criticize, criticism) – see B77 – the meaning of C is clear. The meaning of E is less clear: is it a simple statement about criticism (as here); is it more generally about the denial of denial; or is it aimed at what are seen as the obfuscations of the School of Forms and Names (Xingmingjia), as spoken of in the Lü Shi Chunqiu?

C: A thing [may be] extreme or not extreme. The explanation lies in being like ‘this’.

E: A thing: If it is extremely long (the longest) or extremely short (the shortest), there is nothing longer than ‘this’, or nothing shorter than ‘this’. In the cases of ‘this’ being ‘this’ or not being ‘this’, there is nothing more extreme than ‘this’.

Comment: This translation depends on changes in C, and reading shen (very) as guodu (excessive, extreme).
C: Choosing the low in order to seek the high. The explanation lies in [mountain and] marsh.

E: Choosing: High and low are judged by the standards of good and bad. It is not like mountain and marsh. If being situated low is better than being situated high, [then] low is what is called high.

Comment: There are several interpretations related to what emendations are made. One takes it as a refutation, on grounds of common sense, of the paradoxical statements in the *Zhuangzi* 17 and 33 and the *Xunzi* 3 and 22, in part at least attributable to Hui Shi, and focusing particularly on Paradox 3 of the First List: ‘Heaven and earth are low, mountain and marsh are level.’ The most critical emendation here is *shan* (good, goodness) to *cha* (to differ) in E. With no emendations, it can be read as a Daoist statement, or with only one change – *qing* (to ask) to *wei* (to say) – it has an ethical interpretation as illustrated by a quote from the *Jiazi* 9.

B81

C: Not this and this are the same. The explanation lies in ‘not different’.

E: Not: (In the case of) ‘this-this’, there is ‘this’ as well as ‘this’ in it. Now in the case of ‘this’, there is ‘this’ in ‘this’ and ‘not this’ in ‘this’, therefore ‘this-not this’. In the case of ‘this-not this’, then there is ‘this’ and ‘not this’ in it. Now in the case of ‘this’, there is ‘not this’ in ‘this’ and ‘this’ in ‘this’, therefore ‘this’ and ‘this-not this’ are both said.

Comment: B80 is rather perplexing, depending on how C is structured and on how the recurring *wen* (literature, elegant, refined) in E is emended. There is some
common ground on taking the structure as two arguments and refutations, and the possible relation to Zhuangzi 2 and to the Gongsun Longzi, particularly the ‘White Horse Discussion’. I have made several emendations, including wen to shi (this) in all instances, so E consists of an initial statement representing the School of Names (Mingjia) position (i.e. first, a white horse is a horse, and secondly, white can be separate) – the common-sense position – followed in each case by the School of Forms and Names (Xingmingjia) position, exemplified by Gongsun Long (i.e. first, a white horse is not a horse, and secondly, white is not separate).
The Greater Choosing
(Daqu)

44.1 Heaven’s love of man is more all-encompassing than the sage’s love of man; its benefiting man is more profound than the sage’s benefiting man. The great man’s love of the small man is more all-encompassing than the small man’s love of the great man; his benefiting the small man is more profound than the small man’s benefiting the great man.

Comment: Interpretation depends on the reading of bo: in its usual sense of ‘thin, poor, slight’, or in the sense of ‘extensive’, citing instances in the Mozi (e.g. 26.5) and in other texts (e.g. Zhongyong 31.3). The subject is love and benefit (ai and li), probably with emphasis on the distinction between the Confucian position, where the two are somewhat mutually exclusive with li being used pejoratively, and the Mohist position, where love and benefit are inextricably linked. If bo is read as ‘extensive’ or ‘all-embracing’, then there is an hierarchical arrangement of the conjunction of love and benefit (Heaven>sage>great man>small man), whereas if it is read as ‘slight’, the relationship is seen as antithetical and reciprocal (Heaven/sage, and great man/small man).
44.2 To consider an elaborate funeral as a manifestation of love for one’s parents is to love one’s parents. To consider an elaborate funeral as being of benefit to one’s parents is not to benefit one’s parents. To consider music to be of benefit to one’s son and to desire it for one’s son is to love one’s son. To consider music to be of benefit to one’s son and so seek it for one’s son is not to benefit one’s son.

Comment: If zang and yue/le are read as (elaborate) funerals and music, respectively, the point is that in the case of these two Mohist anathemas, such demonstrations of love ignore the necessary nexus between love and benefit in that while they may be manifestations of the former, they do not, in fact, bring the latter, and so fail to qualify as true examples of the former. On the other hand, if both are taken as names, which is possible, these sentences can be interpreted as examples of incorrect inference.

44.3 With respect to the parts [of the body], there is the weighing up of unimportant and important. This is called ‘weighing’. Weighing is not about being right or wrong. It is about the weighing up being correct (i.e. making the right choice). In terms of benefit, cutting off a finger to preserve the hand is to choose the greater [benefit], whereas in terms of harm, it is to choose the lesser [harm]. In terms of harm, choosing the lesser is not to choose harm, but to choose benefit. What is chosen is controlled by others. When you meet a robber, to cut off a finger in order to spare the (whole) body is a benefit. Meeting a robber is the harm. In terms of benefit to the world, cutting off a finger
and cutting off a hand are alike; there is no choosing. In terms of benefit, dying and living are as one; there is no choosing. If killing one person would preserve the world, it is wrong to kill one person to benefit the world. If killing oneself would preserve the world, it is right to kill oneself to benefit the world. With respect to the conduct of affairs, there is a weighing up of light and heavy. This is called ‘seeking’. Seeking is about right and wrong. In situations where the lesser harm is chosen, the seeking may be yi (right and just) or it may not be yi.

Comment: I take the first sentence as referring to parts of the body. ‘What is chosen is controlled by others’ means others determine what must be done – i.e. the meeting with a robber is determined by another person (the robber). The key distinction is between ‘weighing up’, which pertains to one’s person, and ‘seeking’, which pertains to affairs. In the first, the considerations are essentially practical: it is a matter of ‘weighing up’ what is best. Meeting a robber is, at least to some extent, beyond one’s control. If in dealing with the adverse situation, one can escape with only the loss of a finger rather than the whole hand (or indeed one’s life), one has ‘chosen the greater’ in terms of benefit, and the converse in terms of harm. By contrast, in the conduct of one’s affairs, matters that might be taken to be under one’s own control, there is an ethical element signified by ‘seeking’. The sentence about ‘dying and living’ may mean that there is no real choice in that death is shunned and life is chosen inevitably, but clearly there are situations in which this might not be true. It may be a statement of the ‘spirit of sacrifice’ of the Mohists, referring to Mencius VIIA.26(2) and Zhuangzi 2.

44.4 Is it right to speak of Heaven’s intention with respect to the tyrant? It is his nature to be a tyrant. To attribute this to Heaven’s intention is wrong. If the various long-
established beliefs have already had their effects and I act in accordance with these effects, [then] it is the effects of those beliefs that cause me to act as I do. If the various long-established beliefs have not had their effects and yet I act in accordance with these beliefs, then in terms of the long-established beliefs, it is through me that there are effects.

Comment: This is very problematic. This version depends particularly on reading tian zhi as Heaven’s intention (or will) and chen zhi as long-established beliefs. A different view, modifying the first two sentences and moving the first sentence of 44.5 to this section, makes 44.4 seem to claim, in an unremarkable way, a significant role for Heaven’s intention, here in the specific case of the tyrannical or cruel ruler – a ‘usurper’. In a third interpretation, a person’s actions are not the ineluctable consequences of Heaven’s intention, but are directly attributable to that person’s nature, which in turn is not immutable, but is susceptible to change through environmental influences; thus, it is at once an argument against a significant role for Heaven’s intention in determining human conduct, which has an important bearing on the issue of whether or not Master Mo is a utilitarian, and in favour of the influence of environmental factors on moral development, the kind of argument advanced elsewhere in the Mozi.

44.5 The tyrant says: ‘I am Heaven’s intention’, which is to take what people condemn and deem it right, and a nature that cannot be corrected and correct it. In choosing the greater from what is beneficial, there is an alternative. In choosing the lesser from what is harmful, there is no alternative. Choosing what one does not yet have is to choose the greater from what is beneficial. Casting aside
what one already has is to choose the lesser from what is harmful.

Comment: There are several issues: its context; the validity of the reading of *tian zhi* as Heaven’s intention (see 44.4); and whether *wei* (to be) should be read as *wei* (to say) in ‘The tyrant says’.

**44.6** If, according to what is *yi* (right and dutiful) it is permissible to love [someone] ‘thickly’, then love them ‘thickly’. If, according to what is *yi*, it is permissible to love [someone] ‘thinly’, then love them ‘thinly’. This is to speak of ‘the proper sequence’. Virtuous rulers, elders and parents are all people one should love ‘thickly’. [However,] loving one’s elders ‘thickly’ does not entail loving those who are young ‘thinly’. If relations are close, they should be loved ‘thickly’; if they are distant, they should be loved ‘thinly’. One should be on close terms with one’s parents, whereas with respect to those other than parents, one may love ‘thinly’. It is in accord with principle to love one’s parents ‘thickly’. One must look closely at their conduct, but hope only to see virtue.

Comment: Three characters or phrases present some difficulty: *yi* is understood as ‘right and dutiful’ (rather than the more usual ‘right action or righteousness’), influenced by context and several modern commentators; *bo* is used in the *hou*/*bo* (thick/thin) conjunction, but unlike in 44.1, ‘extensive’ or ‘all-embracing’ seems inappropriate; and *lun lie* is translated as ‘proper sequence’, but it could be ‘without difference of degree’ (see, e.g., *Mencius* IIIA.5(3)). I have read this section as both a statement of Mohist views and a defence against Mencius’ attack.
To [love] Yu ‘thickly’ for the sake of the world is not for the sake of his being Yu. To love Yu ‘thickly’ for the sake of the world is, in fact, for the sake of Yu’s love of man. To hold Yu in esteem for what he does ‘adds to’ the world, whereas to hold Yu in esteem (as an individual) does not ‘add to’ the world. Likewise, to abominate a robber for what he does ‘adds to’ the world, whereas to abominate a robber (as an individual) does not ‘add to’ the world. The love of mankind does not exclude the self, for the self lies within that which is loved. If the self lies within that which is loved, then love ‘adds to’ the self. There is ‘the proper sequence’ in love of the self and love of mankind. (or – Love of the self and love of mankind are without distinction.)

Comment: Yu was one of the ancient exemplary rulers, founder of the Xia Dynasty. In the first sentence, I have added fei (a negative), and translated ren ai as ‘love of man’. Hou is translated as ‘thickly’ except for ‘esteem’ in the third sentence. This section continues the discussion of the love/benefit nexus and makes two points. The first, based on the contrast between Yu as the paradigm of the virtuous man and a robber as the evil man, is that it is because of their actions that people are held in esteem or reviled. There is no ground for a specific response to the ‘undefined’ person. It is people’s actions that ‘define’ them. The second is that the self should be included in the scope of those who are loved, which would seem
to be a prerequisite for truly universal love, but is an important point for the Mohist to make explicit.

44.8 The sage is averse to disease and decay; he is not averse to danger and difficulty. He maintains the integrity of his body and the resolve of his heart. He desires the people’s benefit; he is not averse to the people’s love. The sage does not consider his own dwelling. The sage does not concern himself with the affairs of the son. The sage’s method is to turn his mind from his parents when they die; he does this for the sake of the world. To treat parents ‘thickly’ is his lot, but when they die he turns his mind from them. His whole endeavour is to bring benefit [to the world]. When there is ‘thick’ and ‘thin’ and not ‘the proper sequence’ (or – ‘no difference of degree’) in bringing about benefit, this is for the self.

Comment: The problem is how to relate this section to what has been said, with apparent acceptance, about gradations of love. The sage’s attitude to disease and danger is determined only by the extent to which such vicissitudes impede him in his bringing of benefit to the people. He sets aside personal concerns, his own dwelling (echoes of Yu here), his sons and mourning for his parents, because they would interfere with his purpose. The problem comes when the argument turns to the opposite: according special consideration to parents and accepting ‘the proper sequence’, which is identified as acting for the self. Even taking the earlier part of 44.8 to be about the Confucian position is quite unsatisfactory in that it leaves the Mohist without a response to Mencius’ challenge.
With respect to language, there are constant rules. (These include) the following three propositions: negating the white horse/horse (argument), not saying that ‘in seeking a horse one may direct attention to a foal’ is wrong and negating (the argument) that killing a pup is not killing a dog. These three things must be set out; then there is enough for life. Zang’s loving himself does not make him a self-loving person. ‘Thick’ does not exclude the self. Love is without distinction between ‘thick’ and ‘thin’. Praising oneself is to be unworthy. Yi (right action, righteousness and justice) is beneficial; action that is not yi is harmful. Intention and outcome are to be distinguished. To have a friend on a Qin horse is to have a friend on a horse. One knows that what has come is a horse.

Comment: This is probably the most corrupt section of text in chapter 44. Issues about all the sentences are both textual and contextual, e.g. several sentences (first, third and ninth) are possibly misplaced and should not be in this section, and sentence eight is out of context.

Everywhere study the love of people. The love of many generations and the love of few generations are the same. In universal love it is also the same. The love of former generations and the love of future generations are the same as the love of the present generation. The world’s benefit is pleasing. For the sage there is love and not benefit. These are Confucian words; that is to say a
stranger’s words. Even if the world had no people, the words of Master Mo would still remain.

Comment: There are issues with all the sentences; nevertheless, the section appears to be a relatively unadorned statement of the Mohist position on universal love contrasted with the Confucian separation of benefit from love.

44.11 To have no alternative to desiring something is not to desire it. [To take it upon oneself to kill Zang] is not to kill Zang. To take it upon oneself to kill a robber is not to kill a robber. The ‘circle’ of a ‘small circle’ and the ‘circle’ of a ‘large circle’ are the same. The ‘not reaching’ of ‘not reaching a chi’ and the ‘not reaching’ of ‘not reaching a thousand li’ are not different. That their ‘not reaching’ is the same is that far and near are being spoken of. This huang (jade ornament) is this jade, but thinking of the huang is not thinking of jade. It is thinking of this huang’s jade. This pillar is wood, but thinking of the pillar is not thinking of wood. It is thinking of this pillar’s wood. Thinking of a person’s finger is not thinking of a person. Thinking of the catch of the hunt is, however, thinking of animals.

Comment: There are numerous difficulties with this section: the first sentence may be misplaced, and the second and third are essentially incomprehensible without emendation (I have emended and added to them so as to give a meaning which relates to the opening sentence). The claim about the circle seems unexceptionable, ‘circle’ having the same meaning in both instances, whereas ‘not reaching’ has different connotations in both. The next pair of sentences are not obviously connected: that huang is jade is a completely trivial claim, while if someone thinks
of a wooden pillar, they don’t think of wood in general, but specifically of the wood of the pillar (one emendation). The aim of the final two sentences, particularly if the reversal of zhi zhi ren (a finger’s person) is adopted as in 44.19, is to make a point about the part/whole relationship.

44.12 Intention and outcome may not follow each other. In general, what is praised is loving people and benefiting people for the sake of their being people. Enriching people is not for the sake of their being people. In terms of ‘for the sake of’, it is by enriching people that one enriches people. Bringing order to people is for the sake of ghosts. To consider reward and praise to be of benefit to one person is not to consider reward and praise to be of benefit to mankind, but it also does not mean that one does not reward and praise one person. To know a parent is one (person) and to benefit (the parent) is not to be filial, but it also does not go as far as to mean that one does not know that being filial is to benefit one’s parents.

Comment: The short sentence about ghosts accords with the general tenor of Mozi 31, and specifically 31.10: ‘in bringing order to the world, the ancient sage kings certainly put the ghosts and spirits first and the people second’.

44.13 You may know there are robbers in this world, but still have complete love for this world. You may know there is a robber in this house, but not have complete hatred for this house. You may know that one of two men is a robber, but not have complete hatred for these two men. Although
one of the men is a robber, if you don’t know which one it is, how can you have complete hatred for the associate?

**Comment:** The argument is of particular importance to the Mohist: if one embraces ‘universal love’, what is one’s position vis-à-vis robbers? Three cases are considered; the world, a household and a pair of men. This translation says that despite the presence of men whom it is appropriate to dislike within each group, it is still possible to love the group as a whole regardless of size. Another view makes it a question of dilution in that in the world, the proportion of robbers is small, so one can love the world, whereas in the smaller groupings, the proportion is larger, so loving completely may not be appropriate.

44.14 The primary task for all sages must be to establish the correspondence of names and entities. Names and entities are not necessarily in accord. If this stone is white and you break this stone up, its whiteness is the same throughout. [If] this stone is large, the same does not apply to its largeness. This is the ordinary way of speaking about it. With things named on the basis of form and appearance, one must know it is this sort of object (entity) and then one knows what it is. With things that cannot be named on the basis of form and appearance, although one does not know it is this sort of object (entity), it is still possible to know it. With all things named on the basis of dwelling in or departing from, if there is entry into them, they are all this; if there is departure from them, they are not this. For example, district, village and the kingdoms of Qi and Jing are all things named on the basis of dwelling in or departing
from, while mountains, hills, houses and temples are all things named on the basis of form and appearance.

**Comment:** There have been four approaches to this very contentious, but critical, section: to make the issue of the correspondence of names and objects – of course, of central importance to the Later Mohist – the primary task of the sage (as above); to treat the sage’s primary responsibility as separate from the issue of names and objects, defining it rather as acting for the general good (i.e. for other people), as opposed to being guided by self-interest, citing the *Yanzi Chunqiu* and the *Hanfeizi* (SBCK, vol. 14, p. 29 and vol. 18, p. 89, respectively); to read *ming* and *shi* as ‘reputation’ and ‘practice’, respectively, in the sense used in the *Mencius* VIB.6(1): ‘Shun-yu Kuan said: “He who makes fame and meritorious service his first objects acts with regards to others” ’; and to make ‘name’ and ‘object’ (‘entity’) the title of a separate, hybrid treatise, omitting any reference to the sage’s tasks.

44.15 Knowing and conceptualizing are different. There is the sameness of duplication (two names for the same entity). There is the sameness of being together (agreement). There is the sameness of being connected (components of one body). There is the sameness of the same class. There is the sameness of the same name. There is the sameness of the same root (origin). There is sameness related to region (place). There is the sameness of interdependence. There is the sameness of *shi* (the same in reality) and the sameness of *ran* (the subjective impression of sameness). There is the difference denoted by *fei* (different in reality) and the difference denoted by *bu ran* (the subjective impression of difference). There are instances of something’s difference being taken as its
sameness, and of something’s sameness being taken as its difference; these are different. The first is said to be *shi* and *ran* (so objectively and subjectively). The second is said to be *bu shi* and *bu ran* (not so objectively and not so subjectively). The third is said to be *qian* (a transformation or change). The fourth is said to be *qiang* (a forced analogy).

**Comment:** The first sentence may be out of place with respect to the argument, although that depends on the reading. I have changed the order of the ten bases of sameness on the grounds of structure, and more significantly, to allow the grouping of statements on *shi/fei* and *ran/bu ran*. The statement about difference being taken as the same and vice versa presents considerable difficulty. The problems relate to context, particularly with respect to what follows. The section concludes with a summary of four situations, two desirable and the second two not so: in the first two instances, things that are objectively the same or objectively different are recognized as being so by the perceiving subject; in the third and fourth, there is failure of the objective and subjective to coincide in either direction, for which specific terms are offered.

44.16 With respect to Master Mo’s doctrines, look deeply into what is deep and superficially at what is superficial. Increase what should be increased; decrease what should be decreased. Examine sequence by means of comparison; as a consequence one comes to many manifestations. Next, examine sounds for the origin of names; as a consequence the reality is again made correct.

**Comment:** The translation of the first sentence depends on understanding *zi* as referring to Mo Zi (Master Mo) and accepting the emendation of *zun* (to honour,
44.17 If a man avoids what he dislikes, others are able to ascertain his feelings. In the case of all those who meet with life’s vicissitudes, and in whom likes and dislikes arise, others are not necessarily able to ascertain their feelings.

Comment: There are considerable problems with these two sentences, involving both text and context. I have made it a separate section.

44.18 The nurturing of the sage is based on *ren* (love, kindness, humaneness and benevolence) and not on benefit and love. Benefit and love arise from consideration. The consideration of former times is not the consideration of the present day. Love of Huo as loving another arises from considering Huo’s benefit and not from considering Zang’s benefit. Yet loving Zang as loving another is the same as loving Huo as loving another. If doing away with loving them brings benefit to the world, can one not do away with it? The knowledge of frugality in former times was not like that of the present day. The Son of Heaven may be rich, but in his bringing benefit to the people, he is not more generous than the ordinary man. [Suppose there are] two sons serving their parents. One may meet with a good year and the other a bad year yet, in benefiting their parents, they
are the same. It is not that the former’s benefiting is increased (by the good year) and the latter’s diminished (by the bad year). External circumstances cannot determine the generosity of their benefiting. If the death of Zang were to bring harm to the world, although I might support and nurture Zang ten-thousandfold, my love for him would not be any greater.

**Comment:** This section returns to the issues addressed at length in the first sections of chapter 44: the relationship between love and benefit; the Mohist definition of ‘seeking’; the independence of one’s endeavours in these areas to changes of external circumstances; and somewhat obliquely, the matter of choosing in relation to benefit and harm. To give the sixth sentence as a rhetorical question adds to its force; alternatively *bu* (a negative) could be added.

44.19 A tall man and a short man are the same; their appearance is the same, therefore they are the same. A man’s head and a man’s finger are different. (The parts of) a man’s body are not of one appearance, therefore they are different. A *jiang* sword and a *ting* sword are different. Swords are named according to form and appearance. Their form is not the same, therefore they are different. The wood of the willow tree and the wood of the peach tree are the same. With respect to all things which are not named on the basis of measurement and number, when broken up they are completely uniform, therefore they are the same. One man’s *zhi* (representation, manifestation) is not the man
himself, yet this one (particular) man’s *zhi* is, in fact, this one (particular) man. One surface of a cube is not a cube. A cube of wood’s surface is a cube of wood. A person’s spirit is not the person. An older brother’s spirit is the older brother.

**Comment:** This section seems to signal a return to the issues of sameness and difference and their relation to naming, addressed in 44.11: things named on the basis of form and appearance, providing they conform to the essential requirements of the class, can be subsumed under the class name, e.g. swords and men, despite their wide variation in actual appearance. The remaining examples are an odd assortment. The sentence about the wood of the two types of tree might be about the word ‘tree’ in the two descriptions and belong with similar observations about circles and distances. Likewise, the sentence about the uniformity of some properties within an object may be more appropriate in conjunction with the discussion of large and white in 44.14. The two separate claims involving *zhi* are bedevilled not only by the uncertainty about this word itself, but also the reading of *zhi zhi ren* (a finger’s person) in the second sentence. The argument about the cube of wood is clarified by Cao Yaoxiang: ‘In establishing a cube there are altogether six surfaces. One surface is not sufficient for it to be deemed a cube (but), if the cube is of wood, then from seeing one surface it is possible to know the rest’ (*Mozi Jian*, MZJC 17). The probable relationship to the one surface of a cube is that one need only see a part of something, under some circumstances, to be able to infer that it is that thing. The final two sentences are repeated in 45.9.

**44.20** Statements (propositions) originate from causes, grow according to reasons (principles, patterns) and proceed according to similarities (kinds, classes). To put forward statements (propositions) without a clear understanding of the causes from which they arise is
foolish. If people do not follow the road (comply with principles), there is no way forward. Although there may be strength in the limbs, if there is no clear understanding of the road (principles), then obstacles may arise to halt progress. If statements (propositions) are set up without there being clarity about similarities (kinds, classes), there will be difficulty for sure.

Comment: There are problems with the interpretation of the key terms: *ci* (statements, propositions, words), *gu* (causes), *li* (principles, patterns, coherence), *lei* (kinds, classes) and *dao* (the Way, a road, to say). The uncertainties of placement and structure concern how the section starts and how it ends, where (i.e. in relation to what) it is placed, and the sentence ‘These three things (*san wu*) … for life’, which appears in 44.9 but may belong here. Clearly, interpretation depends on the structural arrangement decided upon and especially on context. If we focus on what is actually being claimed, it does seem that if *fu ci* (statements originate) is accepted as being the opening, three claims are being made about *ci*: that they arise through *gu*, are extended or develop through *li*, and are put into action on the basis of *lei*. But what do these terms signify here? The final three sentences elaborate the claims.

44.21

1. Statements (propositions) gradually soak in; the analogy lies in the making of startling claims.
2. The sage acts for the sake of the world; the analogy lies in overcoming doubt.
3. One person may live a long life, another may die [young], yet their benefiting the world may be the same; the analogy lies in praising the name.
4. In the space of one day a million things come forth, yet love is not, thereby, more profound: the analogy lies in the abhorrence of harm.
5. In the love for the two ages there is the ‘thick’ and the ‘thin’, yet the love for the two ages is the same; the analogy lies in snakes intertwined.
6. Although all are loved equally, one man may be chosen and killed; the analogy lies in a rat in a hole.
7. Small ren (loving kindness, humanity, benevolence) and great ren have the same ‘weight’ in action; the analogy lies in the towel and the table.
8. Promote benefit and do away with harm; the analogy lies in stopping a leak.
9. In loving one’s parents ‘thickly’, do not consider their conduct but who they are; the analogy lies in the well above the river.
10. One may learn not to be selfish; the analogy lies in the hunter’s pursuit.
11. The love of man is not about being praised; the analogy lies in the innkeeper.
12. Love for the parents of others is like love for one’s own parents; the analogy lies in the concern for the general good.
13. Universal love is alike; the one love is alike. The one love is alike; the analogy lies in dying (killing the snake).

Comment: The standard version of chapter 44 concludes with this series of thirteen statements, but they are sometimes attached to 44.9 or 44.20 – or even made completely separate. Number 1 is odd, both in subject matter and in containing (variably) the preposition yu (in, at) in the analogy (shared with number 2). Certainly 2–13 pertain to matters dealt with elsewhere in this chapter, while 3–13 are all on ethical matters, reiterating some of the key points made earlier: the importance of (universal) love and its relationship to benefit; the somewhat equivocal stance on whether gradations of love are permissible; the promotion of benefit and eschewing of harm; that love and benefit are independent of external circumstances; that goodness may be acquired; and that the evil person may be singled out and punished without invalidating the principle of universal love.
The Lesser Choosing

(Xiaoqu)

45.1 *Bian* is concerned with the following: (i) clarifying distinctions between right and wrong (true and false); (ii) investigating periods of order and disorder; (iii) clarifying decisions on sameness and difference; (iv) examining principles of name and entity; (v) judging benefit and harm; (vi) resolving doubt and uncertainty. It includes what is so of the form and outline of the ten thousand things, and discussion and analysis of the comparisons of the many words. It is through names that entities are picked out; it is through words/phrases that concepts are expressed; it is through explanations that causes emerge; it is through kinds (classes) that choices are made; it is through kinds (classes) that inferences are drawn. What one has in
oneself, one does not criticize in others; what one does not have in oneself, one does not demand in others.

Comment: This provides a clear and comprehensive definition of the key term bian which may be understood as disputation, making distinctions, dialectics or logical analysis. For a more restricted use, see A75.

45.2 ‘To doubt’ is about what is not complete. ‘To suppose’ is about what is presently not so. ‘To liken to’ is about taking something as a model. What is likened to is therefore taken as the model. Thus, if there is correspondence in the likening, it is so, and if there is not correspondence in the likening, it is not so. This is what ‘likening to’ is. ‘Comparing’ (pi) is putting forward one thing to make another thing clear. ‘Equating’ (mou) is taking one term to be equivalent to another. ‘Drawing an analogy’ (yuan) is to say: ‘If this is so why should I be the only one for whom it is not so?’ ‘Inferring’ (tui) is to take what has not been ascertained and identify it with what has been ascertained, and so make a judgement. This is like saying: ‘The other is the same’, so how can I say: ‘The other is different’?

Comment: There are two issues: how the opening character should be read, as huo (someone, something) or as yi (to doubt); and secondly, whether gu is to be read simply as ‘therefore’ or is itself a term, and whether the seven or eight terms (depending on the inclusion of gu or otherwise) are equivalent in the sense of being ‘seven ways of establishing a statement’, or if there is a division of either 3/4 or 2–3/5. The continuity of argument and the correspondence of enumerations are
probably best preserved by the 3/4 division, with the four terms specifically identified as methods of reasoning: *pi* (comparing), *mou* (equating), *yuan* (citing, drawing an analogy) and *tui* (inducing, inferring).

45.3 With respect to things, there is that by which they are the same yet not completely the same (i.e. *pi*). In equating terms, there is a proper limit to be reached (i.e. *mou*). (With things,) there is their being so and there is how they come to be so. In their being so they may be the same, but how they come to be so is not necessarily the same (i.e. *yuan*). (With things,) there is their being chosen and there is that by which they are chosen. In their being chosen they may be the same, but in that by which they are chosen they are not necessarily the same (i.e. *tui*). For this reason, with the terms comparing, equating, drawing an analogy and inferring, (there may be) differences as they proceed, dangers as they change, failure as they go too far and ‘slippage’ as they leave their basis. One must, then, be careful; one cannot expect constancy of use. Thus, if you say that there are many methods, and that different classes have different causes, it is not possible to take a prejudiced viewpoint.

**Comment:** This section, in effect, lists possible pitfalls in the application of the four methods outlined in 45.2. Although in things compared there are necessarily points of identity, the entities are not strictly identical, so the comparison may break down. In equating terms, similarity of form clearly does not guarantee security of conclusion. In recognizing identical outcomes (existing states) one cannot
infer identity of causes, and in making inferences there are difficulties in so far as inferences may be accepted without the reasons for acceptance being the same.

**45.4** With respect to things (the following apply):

1. Sometimes it is this and is so.
2. Sometimes it is this and yet is not so.
3. Sometimes it is not this and yet is so.
4. Sometimes it is general in one case but not general in another case.
5. Sometimes it is this in one case but not this in another case.

**Comment:** Tan Jiefu, in his *Mobian Fawei* (MZJC 35), focuses on these five propositions as individually exemplified in 45.5–9, and moves 45.4 to make it the opening statement of the chapter, which becomes in its entirety the list of propositions and their subsequent exemplification.

**45.5** A white horse is a horse. To ride a white horse is to ride a horse. A black horse is a horse. To ride a black horse is to ride a horse. Huo is a person. To love Huo is to love a person. Zang is a person. To love Zang is to love a person. These are examples of ‘it is this and is so’.

**Comment:** Illustrates the first case in 45.4 with two examples, each duplicated. It should be noted that the pairs differ somewhat in that both members of the first pair have a qualifying adjective preceding the initial substantive. While there are obvious elements of the Later Mohist opposition to the arguments of Gongsun Long, the main purpose is to establish this form of proposition in contrast to what follows, which has critical ethical connotations for the Mohists.

**45.6** Huo’s parents are people, but Huo’s serving his parents is not serving people. His younger brother is a
beautiful person, but loving his younger brother is not loving a beautiful person. A cart is wood, but riding a cart is not riding wood. A boat is wood, but boarding a boat is not boarding wood. A robber is a person, but many robbers are not many people. There not being robbers doesn’t mean there are not people. How can this be made clear? To dislike there being many robbers is not to dislike there being many people. To wish there were no robbers is not to wish there were no people. The world is united in its agreement that this is so. If it is so, then although (one says): ‘A robber is a person; loving a robber is not loving a person; not loving a robber isn’t not loving a person; killing a robber is not killing a person’, there is no difficulty. This and that are both of the same class. Nevertheless, the people of the world believe that and consider themselves not mistaken, whereas the Mohists believe this and everyone else considers them mistaken. This is without good reason and may be spoken of as being fixed with respect to what is within and unreceptive to what is without (i.e. as having a closed mind that is not susceptible to change). These are instances of ‘it is this and yet is not so’.

Comment: Examples of the second case in 45.4. Despite the identity in the form of the argument, the conclusion may be either true (ran) or false (bu ran). The two cases may be set out:

Case I : Premise 1: Huo is a person.
Premise 2: What is loved is Huo.
Conclusion: What is loved is a person.

Case II: Premise 1: Huo’s parents are people.
Premise 2: What Huo serves are his parents.
Conclusion: What Huo serves are people.

While all would accept the first case and from the logical point of view the second too seems irrefutable, it could still be challenged at an interpretative level: i.e. what Huo serves are his parents *qua* parents not his parents *qua* people. Hu Shi’s attempt to dissolve the problem by a piece of linguistic sleight of hand, reading *fei* (not) as *yi yu* (different from) rather than *bu shi* (not this). Does the Mohist position hold up, at least sufficiently to provide support for the argument for universal love and defence for the punishment of robbers despite their being people, or is it a piece of sophistry, as Xun Zi would claim (*Xunzi* 22.3a)? No one can deny that there are some, perhaps ultimately indefinable, differences between killing a robber and killing a person (assuming the person in question is not a robber), just as there is a difference between killing a pup and killing a dog, although all would accept that a pup is a dog, in so far as pup is a subclass of the larger class dog, just as robber is a subclass of the larger class people. It is notable, however, that the ethical connotations are present only in the second case. Thus, one might conclude that while the Mohist defence is not secure on logical grounds, in practice it can be justified by awareness of the nuances that escape the strictly logical formulation and that such nuances have a wider range than just the group of Mohist ethical formulations.

45.7 Being about to read a book is not reading a book. Liking to read a book is reading a book. There being about to be a cockfight is not a cockfight. Liking cockfighting is for there to be cockfighting. Being about to enter a well is not entering a well. To stop being about to enter a well is to stop entering a well. Being about to go out a door is not
going out a door. To stop being about to go out a door is to stop going out a door. If it is thus (then one may say): ‘Being about to die young is not dying young; living a long time is not dying young.’ To consider there to be Fate does not mean there is Fate and ‘to reject fatalism is to reject Fate’ is without difficulty. This and that are of the same class. The people of the world believe that and do not consider themselves mistaken, whereas the Mohists believe this and everyone else considers them mistaken. This is without good reason and may be spoken of as being fixed with respect to what is within and unreceptive to what is without (i.e. as having a closed mind that is not susceptible to change). These are examples of ‘not this and yet is so’.

**Comment:** Examples of the third case in 45.4. However, there are significant textual concerns in the second, fourth, ninth and final sentences. Overall the section is a statement against fatalism – anti-fatalism being one of the main planks of the Mohist construction and important in the opposition between Confucianism and Mohism – with the argument taking the form of demonstrating two parallel phrases or propositions, the first of which is ‘not so’ and the second of which is ‘so’. What is not clear is precisely how the two paired propositions under scrutiny equate with the preceding four examples to establish the argument if, indeed, it is one argument (i.e. a denial of fate) or two.

45.8 Loving people awaits universally loving people and afterwards becomes loving people. Not loving people does not await universally not loving people. Not universally
loving is a consequence of not loving people. Riding horses does not await universally riding horses (riding all horses) for there subsequently to be riding horses. There is riding on a horse and as a consequence there is riding horses. When it comes to not riding horses, this does not await a universal not riding of horses (not riding all horses) for there subsequently to be not riding horses. These are examples of ‘one generalized’ (universal) and ‘one not generalized’ (not universal).

Comment: Examples of the fourth proposition in 45.4. There are two cases that are susceptible of grammatically identical description. The Mohist point is that this grammatical identity obscures differences that are important to another central Mohist tenet, the possibility and desirability of universal love. In the first case, loving people, to satisfy the requirements of the description one needs to love all people all the time, i.e. universal love. Failing to love even one person at any time invalidates the description. In the second case, riding horses, to satisfy the requirements one need only ride some horse(s) some of the time, whereas the conditions for non-applicability require not riding any horse at any time. In these two parallel phrases with essentially identical structure, one is generalized and one is not.

45.9 If you live in a state, it is deemed the state you live in. If you have one house in a state, you are not deemed to have the state. The fruit of the peach tree is the peach; the fruit of the ji tree is not the ji. To ask about a person’s illness is to ask about the person; to dislike a person’s illness is not to dislike the person. A person’s spirit is not the person; an older brother’s spirit is the older brother. To sacrifice to a
person’s spirit is not to sacrifice to the person; to sacrifice to the older brother’s spirit is to sacrifice to the older brother. If this horse’s eyes are blind, we call it a blind horse. If this horse’s eyes are large, we don’t call it a large horse. If this ox’s hairs are yellow, we call it a yellow ox. If this ox’s hairs are many, we don’t call it many oxen. One horse is ‘horse’. Two horses are ‘horse’. With respect to a horse and four legs, there is one horse and four legs, not two horses and four legs. A white horse is a horse. With respect to some horses being white, there are (at least) two horses and some are (one is) white, not one horse and some are (one is) white. These, then, are instances of one being so and one not being so.

Comment: Examples of the fifth proposition in 45.4. This section is about the limits and principles of the use of natural language, but is different from the preceding sections in that there is no obvious attempt to support any particular Mohist doctrine. Moreover, the examples are quite diverse and the section as a whole does not seem to correlate as well as the other sections with the listing of possible errors in the application of the terms in 45.3 and 45.4. This section is relatively straightforward with respect to the examples, all six of which are subsumed under the heading of ‘one is, one is not’. The first depends on the possibility of giving a verb an adjectival role in the first case but not being able to do so in the second. The second is simply a matter of usage: the fruit of the peach tree is the peach but the fruit of the ji tree (jujube tree (Zizyphus vulgaris)) is not the ji but the zao (date). The third is about the ‘scope’ of verbs in relation to direct and indirect objects and to transitive and intransitive forms. In the fourth example, the explanation hinges on the fact that after a man’s death, necessary for the existence of his spirit, he can no longer be deemed a man, whereas the spirit of the older brother is linked only to that brother, so the two can be equated, this being particularly
relevant in sacrificing to the spirit. The fifth example is about the scope of
descriptive terms: if a horse’s eyes are blind or an ox’s hair is yellow, they can be
called a blind horse and a yellow ox, but the descriptive terms ‘large’ and ‘many’
cannot have the same dual application to part and whole. In the final example, one
view is that the distinction is simply between singular and plural, a distinction often
not explicit in written Chinese. Graham, however, says that it ‘is not between
singular and plural but between distributive and collective, which is not exhibited by
Indo-European number’. This example clearly also has relevance to Gongsun Long’s
‘white horse’ argument and the Later Mohist response to this.
Part IV

THE DIALOGUES
46

Geng Zhu

46.1 Master Mo was angry with Geng Zhuzi.¹
   Geng Zhuzi asked him: ‘Am I not better than other men?’
   Master Mo asked: ‘If I were about to ascend Taihang Mountain, and yoked a thoroughbred horse and an ox [to my cart], which one would I urge on?’
   Geng Zhuzi replied: ‘You would urge on the thoroughbred horse.’
   Master Mo asked: ‘And why would I urge on the thoroughbred horse?’
   Geng Zhuzi replied: ‘Because the thoroughbred horse is up to the task.’
   Master Mo said: ‘I also take you to be up to the task.’

46.2 Wu Mazi² spoke to Master Mo, saying: ‘Which are more perspicacious and wise – ghosts and spirits or sages?’
Master Mo said: ‘Comparing the perspicacity and wisdom of ghosts and spirits to that of sages is like comparing those with sharp hearing and clear sight to those who are deaf and blind. In the past, the Xia king, Kai (Qi), sent Fei Lian to search for metals in the mountains and rivers and to cast tripods (ding) at Kun Wu. He also ordered Wengnan Yi to prognosticate from the bairuo tortoise. The diviner said: “When the tripods are complete, they will have four legs and be square. Without fire, they will cook by themselves. Without lifting, they will store themselves. Without being moved, they will move themselves. Use them for sacrifice at Kun Wu and let the god receive the offering.” After interpreting the lines, he also said: “The god received the offering. The white clouds are all over the place – one in the south, one in the north, one in the west and one in the east. The nine tripods are already complete and will pass to the three kingdoms.” [Subsequently,] the Xia ruler’s clan lost them and the Yin (Shang) founder received them. The Yin lost them and the Zhou founder received them. This transmission between the Xia ruler and the Yin and Zhou founders went on over several hundred years. Even if a sage were to gather together his good officials and excellent ministers and plan, how could he know what would transpire after several hundred years? And yet ghosts and spirits know! This is why
I say that the perspicacity and wisdom of ghosts and spirits are like sharp hearing and keen sight compared to deafness and blindness.’

46.3 Zhi Tuyu and Xian Zishuo⁴ questioned Master Mo, saying: ‘In practising yi (right action, righteousness and justice), what is the most important aspect?’

Master Mo said: ‘It is like building a wall. Let those who are able to compact the earth, compact it; let those who are able to carry the earth, carry it; and let those who are able to make the measurements, make them. Then the wall will be completed. Practising yi is like this. Let those who are able to dispute, dispute; let those who are able to explain the writings, explain them; and let those who are able to conduct affairs, conduct them. Then yi will be completed.’

46.4 Wu Mazi spoke to Master Mo, saying: ‘You practise universal love for all under Heaven, but as yet there is no benefit. I don’t practise universal love for all under Heaven, but as yet there is no harm. In neither case has anything been achieved yet. How can you claim that you alone are right and I am wrong?’

Master Mo said: ‘Now suppose someone lights a fire and one man is bringing water which he will pour on it and another is gathering fuel with which he will increase it. In
neither case has anything been achieved yet, so which of the two men will you commend?’

Wu Mazi said: ‘I regard the intention of the one who is bringing water as right and that of the one who is gathering fuel as wrong.’

Master Mo said: ‘I also regard my intention as right and your intention as wrong.’

46.5 Master Mo recommended Geng Zhuzi for office in Chu. Several of the Master’s disciples visited Geng Zhuzi who gave them only three sheng [of rice] to eat and entertained them in a meagre fashion.

The disciples returned and said to Master Mo: ‘Geng Zhuzi’s position in Chu doesn’t benefit him. Several of us visited him and he only gave us three sheng [of rice] to eat and entertained us in a meagre fashion.’

Master Mo said: ‘One cannot tell yet.’

A little while later Geng Zhuzi sent 10 pieces of gold to Master Mo, saying: ‘I, your disciple, dare not keep this for myself. Here are 10 pieces of gold which I wish you, sir, to use.’

Master Mo said: ‘As I thought, it was too soon to tell.’

46.6 Wu Mazi spoke to Master Mo, saying: ‘You, sir, practise yi, but people don’t see you and yield to you;
ghosts don’t see you and bless you. And yet you do it. You must be mad!’

Master Mo said: ‘Now suppose you had two attendants – one who carried out his duties when he saw you, but not when he didn’t see you, and one who carried out his duties whether he saw you or not. Which of these two men would you value?’

Wu Mazi replied: ‘I would value the one who carried out his duties whether he saw me or not.’

Master Mo said: ‘Then in that case, you would also be valuing one who is mad!’

46.7 A follower of Zixia questioned Master Mo saying: ‘Is there contention among noble men?’

Master Mo replied: ‘There is no contention among noble men.’

Zixia’s follower said: ‘There is contention even among dogs and pigs, so how is there is no contention among officers?’

Master Mo said: ‘What a shame! With regard to words, you praise Tang and Wen, but with regard to actions, you make comparison to dogs and pigs. What a shame!’

46.8 Wu Mazi spoke to Master Mo, saying: ‘To set aside men of the present and praise former kings is to praise old
bones. It is like a carpenter only knowing dried wood and not knowing the living tree.’

Master Mo said: ‘The way the world lives is through the doctrines and teachings of the former kings. Now to praise the former kings is to praise the way the world lives. Not to praise what may be praised is to negate ren (love, kindness, humaneness and benevolence).’

46.9 Master Mo said: ‘He Shi’s jade, Marquis Sui’s pearl and the nine tripods are what the feudal lords spoke of as excellent treasures. But can they enrich the country, make the people numerous, bring order to the government and peace to the nation? I say they cannot. Something is said to be valued as an excellent treasure because it can benefit the people. However, He Shi’s jade, Marquis Sui’s pearl and the nine tripods cannot benefit people, so in terms of the world they are not excellent treasures. Now if yi is used in governing the country, the people will certainly be numerous, the government will certainly be well ordered and the nation will certainly be at peace. What is said to be valued as an excellent treasure is what can benefit the people, and yi can benefit people. Therefore, I say that yi is the world’s excellent treasure.’
46.10 The Duke of She, Zi Gao, asked Confucius about government, saying: ‘What constitutes skill in governing?’

Confucius replied: ‘Skill in governing consists of becoming close to those who are distant and renewing old friendships.’

On hearing this, Master Mo said: ‘The Duke of She, Zi Gao, did not hit on the right question, so Confucius had no proper way of answering him. How could the Duke of She, Zi Gao, not know that skill in governing consisted of bringing near those who are distant and renewing old friendships? His question should have been how to do this. It was not, then, a case of telling him something he did not know, but of telling him what he already knew. That is why I say that the Duke of She, Zi Gao, did not hit on the right question, so Confucius was unable to frame the right reply.’

46.11 Master Mo spoke to Prince Wen of Luyang, saying: ‘A large state attacking a small state is like a young boy playing at being a horse. When he plays at being a horse, he tires out his legs. Now when a large state attacks a small state, farmers in the state being attacked cannot plough and women cannot weave because they are occupied with defence. And in the case of those who are attacking, farmers also cannot plough and women cannot weave because they are occupied with attack. Therefore, a large
state attacking a small state is like a young boy playing at being a horse.’

46.12 Master Mo said: ‘Words that are good enough to put into practice, use frequently. Words that aren’t good enough to put into practice, do not use frequently. Words that aren’t good enough to put into practice yet are frequently used are a waste of breath.’

46.13 Master Mo sent Guan Qian’ao to promote Gao Shizi in Wei. The Prince of Wei gave him a substantial salary and established him among the high officials. Gao Shizi entered the court three times and each time offered his counsels fully, but his words were not acted upon. He left and went to Qi. There he saw Master Mo, to whom he said: ‘Because of you the Prince of Wei gave me a substantial salary and established me among the high officials. I went to the court on three occasions and each time offered my counsels fully, but my words were not acted upon. That is why I left. Would the Prince of Wei take me to be mad?’

Master Mo said: ‘Leaving was in accord with the Way. What harm is there in being thought mad? In ancient times, Duke Dan of Zhou opposed Guan Shu. He resigned from his position as one of the Three Dukes and went east to live in Shangyan. People all called him mad. Yet later
generations extolled his virtue and praise for his name has extended right to the present time. Moreover, I have heard that being yi doesn’t involve avoiding censure and seeking praise. So leaving was in accord with the Way. What harm is there in being thought mad?’

Gao Shizi said, ‘I left. How could I dare not to follow the Way? Formerly you, Master, said these words: “If the world is without the Way, officers who are ren should not accept a substantial salary.” Now the Prince of Wei is without the Way, so if I were to desire salary and position from him, this would just be taking food from the people.’

Master Mo was pleased and summoned Master Qin, saying: ‘Now I have heard this! I have often heard of those who turn their backs on yi and turn towards salary. But turning one’s back on salary and turning towards yi, I have seen only in Gao Shizi.’

46.14 Master Mo said: ‘It is customary among noble men that if you say they are rich when they are poor, they become indignant. But if you say they are yi when they are not, they are pleased. Is this not perverse?’

46.15 Gongmeng Zi said: ‘The first people had three principles and that is all.’
Master Mo asked: ‘Who were the first people whom you say had only three principles? You don’t know what the first people had.’

46.16 Among his disciples there was one who forsook Master Mo but later returned, saying: ‘How am I at fault? I did return.’

Master Mo said: ‘This is like the three armies being defeated and those who have lost their way or lagged behind seeking reward.’

46.17 Gongmeng Zi said: ‘The noble man does not create; he transmits and that is all.’

Master Mo replied: ‘Not so. Those who are the most ignoble don’t transmit what was good in the past and don’t do what is good in the present. Those who are the next most ignoble don’t transmit what was good in the past, but if they themselves possess goodness, they reveal it in the hope that it will redound to their credit. Now there is no difference between transmitting but not creating, and not wanting to transmit yet creating. In my view, if something was good in the past, transmit it. And if something is good in the present, do it in the hope that the good will be greatly increased.’
Wu Mazi spoke to Master Mo, saying: ‘I am different from you. I am not able to love universally. I love the people of Zou more than I love the people of Yue. I love the people of Lu more than I love the people of Zou. I love the people of my district more than I love the people of Lu. I love the people of my family more than I love the people of my district. I love my parents more than I love the people of my family. I love myself more than I love my parents. This is all based on the closeness to myself. If another strikes me, I feel the pain, but if I strike another, the pain is not mine. Why, then, should I not prefer the pain of striking another to the pain of being struck myself? This is why I would kill another to benefit myself rather than be killed myself to benefit another.’

Master Mo said: ‘Is your way of thinking to be kept secret or is it to be told to others?’

Wu Mazi replied: ‘Why should I keep my way of thinking a secret? I shall tell it to others.’

Master Mo said: ‘In that case, if one person agrees with you, one person will want to kill you to benefit himself. If ten people agree with you, ten people will want to kill you to benefit themselves. If everyone in the world agrees with you, everyone in the world will want to kill you to benefit themselves. If one person does not agree with you, that one person will want to kill you, taking you to be a person who
spreads evil words. If ten people do not agree with you, these ten people will want to kill you, taking you to be a person who spreads evil words. If everyone in the world does not agree with you, everyone in the world will want to kill you, taking you to be a person who spreads evil words. Then not only those who agree with you will want to kill you but also those who don’t agree with you will want to kill you. This is to say that what brings about the killing is the mouth, but what is killed is the person.’

Master Mo said: ‘What benefit is there in your words? If you must speak, although you have nothing of benefit to say, you are wasting your breath.’

46.19 Master Mo spoke to Prince Wen of Luyang, saying: ‘Now suppose there is this person who cannot consume all the food from grain-fed sheep and oxen that his kitchen-master skins and cuts, and prepares for him, yet when he sees someone else preparing cakes, he suddenly seizes them, saying, “Give them to me to eat.” Don’t you know whether this is a case of his not being satisfied with what he has to eat or of his being a pathological thief?’

Prince Wen of Luyang replied: ‘He is [obviously] a pathological thief.’

Master Mo said: ‘Chu had fields extending to its four borders that were overgrown and neglected and could not
be opened up. And it had vacant land to the extent of several thousand [acres] that could not be completely used. Yet when it saw the unoccupied regions of Song and Zheng, it suddenly seized them. How is this different from the first case?’

Prince Wen of Luyang replied: ‘This is just like the other. It is truly pathological theft.’

46.20 Master Mo said: ‘Jisun Shao and Meng Bochang conducted the government of the state of Lu but were unable to trust each other, so they swore an oath at the temple altar, saying, “Cause us to be harmonious.” This is like people covering their eyes and swearing an oath at the temple altar, saying, “Cause us to see everything.” Is this not absurd?’

46.21 Master Mo spoke to Luo Guli, saying: ‘I hear you love bravery.’

Luo Guli replied: ‘That is so. Whenever I hear there is a district that has a brave knight in it, I must follow him and kill him.’

Master Mo said: ‘In the world, there is nobody who does not wish to foster what he loves and discard what he hates. Now when you hear there is a district with a brave knight in
it, you must follow him and kill him. This isn’t loving bravery; this is hating bravery.’
Valuing Yi

Master Mo said: ‘Of the ten thousand things, there is none more valuable than yi (right action, righteousness and justice). Now suppose you were to speak to someone and say, “I shall give you a cap and shoes, but I shall cut off your hands and feet: do you accept this?” He would certainly not accept it. For what reason? Because caps and shoes are not like hands and feet in terms of value. Again, suppose you were to say, “I shall give you the world, but I shall kill you as a person: do you accept this?” He would certainly not accept it. For what reason? Because the world is not like one’s own person in terms of value. And yet people contend over a single word (i.e. yi) and take this as a reason to kill each other. This is to value yi more than one’s own person.
That is why I say that of the ten thousand things, there is none more valuable than yi.’

47.2 Master Mo was going from Lu to Qi when he met an old friend who spoke to him, saying: ‘Nowadays, nobody in the world is yi. You are only inflicting pain on yourself by being yi. Better that you stop.’

Master Mo said: ‘Now suppose there was a man here who had ten sons, one of whom ploughed while the other nine stayed at home. The one who ploughed could not help but work with increased urgency. Why is this? It is because those who eat are many, but those who plough are few. Nowadays, nobody in the world is yi, so you should be encouraging me. Why would you stop me?’

47.3 Master Mo travelled south to Chu to present a document to King Hui but the King declined to see him on the grounds of age. Instead, he sent Mu He to receive Master Mo.

Master Mo spoke to Mu He who was very pleased. He addressed Master Mo, saying: ‘Your words, sir, are truly excellent but our ruler is a great king in the world. Would he not say, “This is what only a lowly man would do”, and not use the document?’
Master Mo said: ‘It is simply a question of efficacy. Compare the case of a medicine. It may only be the root of a herb and yet the Son of Heaven will take it to cure his sickness. Does he say, “This is just the root of a single herb” and not take it? Now the farmer pays his taxes to the great officer and the great officer makes sweet wine and millet for sacrifices to the Supreme Lord and to ghosts and spirits. Do they say, “This was made by a lowly man” and so not accept it? Therefore, although the man may be lowly, at one level he is comparable to the farmer and at another level he is comparable to a medicine. Is he not ultimately like the root of a single herb? Moreover, has the ruler not also previously heard the story of Tang? Long ago, Tang was about to go and see Yi Yin. He ordered the son of the Peng family to drive the chariot. They were halfway along the road when the son of the Peng family asked: “Where is your lordship going?” Tang replied: “I am on my way to see Yi Yin.” The son of the Peng family said: “Yi Yin is one of the lowly people of the world. If your lordship wishes to see him, just send him a summons and he will take it as an honour.” Tang replied: “This is not something you know about. Now suppose there was this medicine which if I took it would make my hearing more acute and my vision sharper. Then I would certainly be happy to force myself to take it. Now with respect to my country, Yi Yin is like a
good doctor or an excellent medicine. Your not wishing me to go and see Yi Yin is tantamount to your not wishing me to do good.” As a result, he dismissed the son of the Peng family and did not allow him to drive the chariot. If your king were [like Tang], then he would be able [to accept the advice of a lowly person].’

47.4 Master Mo said: ‘Any words or deeds that are beneficial to Heaven, ghosts or ordinary people should be put into effect. Any words or deeds that are harmful to Heaven, ghosts or ordinary people should be set aside. Any words or deeds that are in line with the sage kings of the Three Dynasties – Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen and Wu – should be put into effect. Any words or deeds that are in line with the tyrannical kings of the Three Dynasties – Jie, Zhou, You and Li – should be set aside.’

47.5 Master Mo said: ‘Words that are sufficient to change conduct (for the better) should be spoken frequently. Words that are not sufficient to change conduct (for the better) should not be spoken frequently. If words that are not sufficient to change conduct (for the better) are spoken frequently, it is a waste of breath.’

47.6 Master Mo said: ‘When silent, think; when speaking, instruct; when acting, devote yourself to affairs. Use these
three [maxims] repeatedly and you will certainly become a sage. You must do away with the six partialities. [That is,] you must do away with pleasure, anger, joy, sorrow, love and hate and make use of ren (love, kindness, humaneness and benevolence) and yi. When your hands, feet, mouth, nose, ears and [eyes] are entirely devoted to yi, you will certainly become a sage.’

**47.7** Master Mo spoke to two or three disciples, saying: ‘Even if you are not able to achieve yi, you must not abandon this Way, just as the carpenter who is unable to cut [straight] does not abandon his line.’

**47.8** Master Mo said: ‘If you ask the noble men of the age to butcher a dog or pig and they can’t do it, they decline the task. If you ask them to be ministers of a state, although they don’t have the ability, they do it. Is this not perverse?’

**47.9** Master Mo said: ‘Now someone who is blind says, “What is light is white; what is dark is black.”' Even those who are keen-sighted can’t take exception to this. But if you mix white and black objects together and ask a blind person to choose, he can’t tell which is which. Therefore, when I say that the blind person doesn’t know white and black, this doesn’t refer to their naming, but to their choosing. Now the way the noble men of the world use the
term *ren*, even Yu and Tang could not take exception to. But if you mix the *ren* and the not *ren* together and ask the noble men of the world to choose, they don’t know one from the other. Therefore, when I say that the noble men of the world don’t know *ren*, this does not refer to their naming; this too refers to their choosing.

47.10 Master Mo said: ‘Nowadays, officers are not prudent in using themselves the way merchants are prudent in using money. When a merchant spends money on buying something, he dare not be careless in his purchasing. He certainly chooses what is good. Now officers are not like this in using themselves. If they think of something they wish to do, they do it. In severe cases they suffer penalties and punishment; in minor cases they are criticized and reviled. So officers are not prudent in using themselves the way merchants are prudent in using money.’

47.11 Master Mo said: ‘Noble men of the age wish their *yi* to be complete, but if you help them cultivate themselves, they become indignant. This is like wishing to complete a wall, but becoming indignant if someone helps you build it. Is this not perverse?’

47.12 Master Mo said: ‘The sage kings of ancient times wished to hand down their Way to later generations. For
this reason, they recorded it on bamboo and silk and carved it on metal and stone to hand it down to later generations, wishing these descendants to use it as a model. Now we hear of the Way of former kings, and yet we don’t put it into practice. This is to discard what the former kings have handed down.’

47. 13 When Master Mo was travelling south to serve in Wei, he carried many books in his wagon. Xian Tangzi was surprised to see this and said: ‘You, sir, have taught Gongshang Guo, saying, “Evaluate the crooked and straight and that is all.”’

Now you carry many books. Why is this?’

Master Mo replied: ‘In ancient times, Dan, the Duke of Zhou, read a hundred pian of books in the morning and received seventy officers in the evening. This is why the Duke of Zhou, Dan’s assistance to the Son of Heaven and his cultivation are still talked about today. Above, I have no prince to serve; below, I have no ploughing or farming to contend with. How do I dare to set these [books] aside? I have heard this: “Principles may have the one path, but it is difficult to avoid errors on the way.”’

This being so, what the people hear is not uniform. That is why I have so many books. Now if you go over things in your mind and consider them in fine detail, you will understand that the essential elements of the principles form a single path.
When this is finally understood, you don’t need books to teach you. Why do you find this so strange?'

47.14 Master Mo spoke to Gongliang Huanzi, saying: ‘Wei is a small country situated between Qi and Jin. It is like a poor household situated between rich households. If a household is poor and yet imitates a rich household’s excessive use of clothes and food, then its quick destruction is certain. Now, when I look at your household, there are several hundred decorated carriages, several hundred fine grain-fed horses and several hundred women with elegant and embroidered clothes. If I were to use the money wasted on decorated carriages and fine horses, and that spent on embroidered clothes, to gather knights errant, I would certainly have a thousand men or more. If there is a calamitous situation, which is more secure: to position a hundred men at the front and several hundred men at the rear, or to position several hundred women front and rear? I think the latter would not compare in terms of security to the collected knights errant.’

47.15 Master Mo recommended someone for office in Wei. The man he recommended went and returned. Master Mo asked him why he had returned.
The man replied: ‘The prince did not make good his promise to me. He said he would give me a thousand measures of grain, but I received only five hundred. That is why I left.’

Master Mo asked: ‘If he had given you more than a thousand measures of grain, would you have left?’

The man replied: ‘No, I would not.’

Master Mo said: ‘In that case, it was not his failure to keep his word. It was his parsimony.’

47.16 Master Mo said: ‘It is characteristic of the age that the noble man does not look on a yi officer as he does on a grain carrier. Now suppose there was a man here, a grain carrier, resting at the side of the road, who wanted to get up but couldn’t, and a noble man saw him. The noble man would certainly help him get up whether he was old or young, rich or poor. Why is this? I say it is because he is yi. Nowadays, if a noble man in being yi carries on the Way of former kings and speaks about it, not only are others unhappy to put it into practice; they even criticize it. This, then, is what I mean by saying it is characteristic of the age that a noble man does not look on a right-acting (yi) officer like he does on a grain carrier.’
47.17 Master Mo said: ‘Merchants travel in all directions looking to make a two- or fivefold profit in their trading. Even if there are the difficulties of barriers and bridges, and the dangers of thieves and robbers, they must do this. Nowadays, officers sit and discuss yi. They have no difficulties with barriers and bridges, and no danger from thieves and robbers. In this, the benefit would not only be two- or fivefold; it would be beyond calculation. Nevertheless, they do not practise it (i.e. yi). Thus officers in calculating what is profitable don’t see as clearly as merchants.’

47.18 When Master Mo was travelling north to Qi, he met a soothsayer who said: ‘On this day the Supreme Being kills the black dragon in the Northern Region so, since you, sir, have a dark countenance, you may not go north.’ Master Mo did not listen. He continued north but when he reached the Zi Waters, he ran into difficulty and returned. The soothsayer said: ‘I told you, sir, that you couldn’t go north.’

Master Mo said: ‘People to the north can’t reach the south and people to the south can’t reach the north. In terms of complexion, there are some who are dark and some who are fair. Why is it that they all cannot proceed? Moreover, on the days of jia and yi the Supreme Being kills the green dragon in the Eastern Region, on the days of bing
and *ding* he kills the red dragon in the Southern Region, on the days of *geng* and *xin* he kills the white dragon in the Western Region, on the days of *ren* and *gui* he kills the black dragon in the Northern Region [and on the days of *wu* and *ji* he kills the yellow dragon in the Central Region]. If we use your words, sir, then this prohibits all travel in the world. This runs counter to people’s minds and “empties” the world, so your words cannot be used.’

47.19 Master Mo said: ‘My words are sufficient for your use. Someone who casts aside my words and changes my ideas is like a person who casts aside the harvest and just picks up grains. To use your own words to negate my words is like throwing eggs against a rock. Even if you use all the eggs in the world, the rock remains as it was and cannot be destroyed.’
48.1 Gongmeng Zi spoke to Master Mo saying: ‘A noble man folds his hands and waits. If he is questioned, he speaks. If he is not questioned, he desists. He is like a bell. If a bell is struck, it sounds; if it isn’t struck, it doesn’t sound.’

Master Mo said: ‘To this, I say there are three circumstances. Now, sir, you only know of one, so you don’t yet know what is being said. If a great officer behaves in a dissolute and cruel way in the state, to come forward to remonstrate with him is called not being humble. To remonstrate through those around him is called privately criticizing. For the noble man this is a perplexing matter. Now if the great officer who is governing is about to encounter some difficulty in the state, the noble man must come forward, like an arrow that flies from a bow, to remonstrate and so be of benefit to the great officer. In this
case, even if he is not struck, he must sound. Suppose a
great officer undertakes some unusual enterprise that is not
*yi* (right and just). For example, suppose he acquires some
ingenious device which can be used in warfare and wishes
to attack some unoffending state with it. If he has acquired
it, he will certainly use it to extend his territory and land,
and illegally extort goods and wealth. In going forth,
however, there is unquestionably disgrace; nor is there
benefit either to the one attacked or to the one attacking –
that is, neither benefits. In such a case, although not struck,
he should certainly sound. Moreover, you say, “A noble man
will fold his hands and wait. If he is asked, he speaks; if he
is not asked, he desists. He is like a bell. If a bell is struck,
it sounds; if it isn’t struck, it doesn’t sound.” Now you have
not been struck and yet you speak. Isn’t this what you call
sounding without being struck? Isn’t this what you call not
being a noble man?’

**48.2** Gongmeng Zi spoke to Master Mo, saying: ‘Is there a
person who is truly good, but is not known? Like, for
example, a prognosticator who stays at home and doesn’t
go out, but has an abundance of grain. Like, for example, a
beautiful maiden who stays at home and doesn’t go out, but
has men contending to get her. If, however, she does go out
and display herself, men will not seek her. Now you go
about everywhere offering your theories. Why take the trouble?’

Master Mo replied: ‘It is now a time of disorder. Those who seek beautiful maidens are many, so even if a beautiful maiden doesn’t go out, there are still many who seek her. But those who seek goodness are few. If there are not men who take the trouble to go about exhorting them, people will not know about it. Moreover, suppose there are two people, both of whom are good at prognostication, but one goes out and prognosticates for people while the other stays at home and doesn’t go out. Which of the two will have more grain – the one who goes out and prognosticates for people or the one who stays at home and doesn’t go out?’

Gongmeng Zi answered: ‘The one who goes about prognosticating for people will have more grain.’

Master Mo said: ‘It is the same with ren (love, kindness, humaneness and benevolence) and yi (right action, righteousness and justice). The one who travels about speaking to people will also have much greater merit. So why not go about speaking to people?’

48.3 Gongmeng Zi, having donned his ceremonial cap, stuck the official tablet into his girdle, put on his scholar’s robes and went to see Master Mo. He asked: ‘Does a noble
man attire himself and afterwards act or does he act and afterwards attire himself?’

Master Mo replied: ‘Actions have nothing to do with attire.’

Gongmeng Zi asked: ‘How do you know this to be so?’

Master Mo answered: ‘In the past, Duke Huan of Qi, wearing a high cap and broad girdle, and carrying a gold sword and wooden shield, brought order to his state and his state was well governed. In the past, Duke Wen of Jin, wearing clothes of coarse cloth and a sheepskin cloak, and carrying a sword in a leather belt, brought order to his state and his state was well governed. In the past, King Zhuang of Chu, wearing a brightly coloured cap with silk ribbons attached and a large robe, brought order to his state and his state was well governed. Formerly, the Yue king Gou Jian, having cut his hair short and decorated his body, brought order to his state and his state was well governed. In the case of these four rulers, although they were different in attire, they were as one in actions. This is how I know that actions have nothing to do with attire.’

Gongmeng Zi said: ‘Ah, goodness! I have heard it said that the one who ceases from goodness is not fortunate. May I ask if it is possible to put aside the official tablet, change the ceremonial cap and visit you again?’
Master Mo answered: ‘You ask how we should meet. If you must put aside the official tablet, change the ceremonial cap and afterwards meet, this is then action being dependent on attire.’

48.4 Gongmeng Zi said: ‘A noble man must be ancient in speech and attire, and afterwards he is ren.’

Master Mo replied: ‘In former times, the Shang king, Zhou, and Chief Minister Fei Zhong were tyrants of the world. On the other hand, Viscount Ji and Viscount Wei were sages of the world. This is a case of having the same speech, but some being ren and some not being ren. Dan, the Duke of Zhou, was a sage of the world, [whereas] Guan Shu was a tyrant of the world. This is a case of having the same attire, but one being ren and one not being ren. This being so, ren does not lie in ancient attire and ancient words. Moreover, you take Zhou and not Xia as the model, so your “ancient” is not really ancient.’

48.5 Gongmeng Zi spoke to Master Mo, saying: ‘In former times, when the sage kings established rank, they gave the highest sage the position of Son of Heaven, and the sages next in order got positions as ministers and great officials. Now Confucius had a wide knowledge of the Odes and the Documents. He had looked carefully into rites and music,
and had a clear understanding of the ten thousand things. If Confucius was truly a sage king, then how was he not made the Son of Heaven?’

Master Mo said: ‘In the case of the wise man, he must certainly honour Heaven and serve ghosts, love people and show moderation in use. His wisdom lies in combining these things. Now you say, Confucius had a wide knowledge of the *Odes* and the *Documents*, had looked carefully into rites and music and had a clear understanding of the ten thousand things, and that he could be taken to be the Son of Heaven. This is like counting a person’s “teeth” to determine his wealth.’

Gongmeng Zi said: ‘Poverty and wealth, longevity and early death, truly lie with Heaven, and cannot be decreased or increased.’ He also said: ‘A noble man must study.’

Master Mo said: ‘To teach a person to study and yet to claim there is Fate is like telling him to bind up his hair, but do away with his cap.’

48.6 Gongmeng Zi spoke to Master Mo, saying: ‘There is being yi and there is being not yi. There is not good fortune and bad fortune.’

Master Mo said: ‘The ancient sage kings all considered ghosts and spirits to be divine and all-seeing, to be able to dispense calamity and blessing and to have control of good
fortune and bad fortune. This was how they brought order to
government and peace to the country. From Jie and Zhou
onwards, all considered ghosts and spirits not to be divine
and all-seeing, not to be able to dispense calamity and
blessing and not to have control of good fortune and bad
fortune. This was how they brought disorder to government
and danger to the country. Therefore, in the historical
writings of the former kings, the Ziyi\textsuperscript{10} has this to say: ‘If
you display pride you will not have good fortune.’” This is
to say that when something is done that is bad, there will be
punishment, and when something is done that is good, there
will be reward.’

48.7 Master Mo spoke to Gongmeng Zi, saying: ‘With
regard to mourning rites, when the ruler, father or mother,
wife, or eldest son dies, there is mourning for three years.
In the case of a father’s older or younger brothers, or
[one’s own] older or younger brothers, the period is one
year. For members of one’s clan, it is five months. For
paternal aunts, older sisters, maternal uncles and a sister’s
children, in all cases there are several months of mourning.
Some use the period during mourning to recite the three
hundred odes,\textsuperscript{11} to play the three hundred odes on stringed
instruments, to sing the three hundred odes or to dance the
three hundred odes. If your words are used, then how can
the noble man attend to the day-to-day business of government? How can the ordinary people attend to their day-to-day affairs?’

48.8 Gongmeng Zi said: ‘If a state is in disorder, it should be brought to order. If a state is well ordered, rites and music should be practised. If a state is poor, affairs should be attended to. If a state is rich, rites and music should be practised.’

Master Mo said: ‘If a state is well ordered, there is attention to order and so it is well ordered. If attention to order is done away with, then the order of a state is also done away with. If a state is rich, there has been attention to affairs – this is why it is rich. If attention to affairs is done away with, then a state’s wealth is also done away with. Therefore, although a state is well ordered, it is unceasing diligence that makes this possible. Now you say, “If a state is well ordered, then practise rites and music; if it is in disorder, then bring it to order.” This is like saying that, if someone is parched, he should dig a well, or if someone has died, a doctor should be sought. In ancient times, the tyrannical rulers of the Three Dynasties – Jie, Zhou, You and Li – took delight in music and did not look to their people. This is why they themselves were punished and killed, and why, in the state, there were no descendants and
the houses were empty. In all instances, it was a result of following this path.’

48.9 Gongmeng Zi said: ‘There are no ghosts and spirits.’ He also said: ‘A noble man must study sacrifices and rituals.’

   Master Mo said: ‘To hold that there are no ghosts, and yet to study sacrifices and rituals is like having no guests, but studying the ceremonies for guests. It is like there being no fish, but making a fishnet.’

48.10 Gongmeng Zi spoke to Master Mo, saying: ‘You consider three years of mourning to be wrong. Your three months of mourning is also wrong.’

   Master Mo said: ‘You accept three years of mourning, but you condemn three months of mourning. This is like someone who has stripped naked saying a person who has just lifted his garments is indecent.’

48.11 Gongmeng Zi spoke to Master Mo, asking: ‘If one man’s knowledge surpasses that of another man, can he then be said to be knowledgeable?’

   Master Mo replied: ‘A fool’s knowledge may surpass that of another man, but how can a fool be deemed knowledgeable?’
Gongmeng Zi said: ‘Three years of mourning teaches me of a child’s affection for its parents.’

Master Mo said: ‘A baby boy’s knowledge is such that he just loves his father and mother and that is all. If he cannot have his father and mother, he will cry and not stop. What is the reason for this? It is because his foolishness is extreme. If this is so, then how is the knowledge of a Confucian greater than that of a baby boy?’

Master Mo questioned a Confucian, asking him: ‘Why make music?’

[The Confucian] replied: ‘Music is made for its own sake.’

Master Mo said: ‘You have not yet answered my question. If I ask you, “Why make a house?” and you say, “To keep out the cold in winter and the heat in summer, and also to maintain a separation between men and women”, this is telling me what a house is for. Now when I ask you, “Why make music?”, you say, “Music is for its own sake.” This is like saying, when I ask, “Why make a house”, that “A house is made for its own sake.”’

Master Mo spoke to Cheng Zi, saying: ‘The way of Confucianism has four principles which are enough to destroy all under Heaven. Confucians take Heaven not to be
all-seeing and ghosts not to be divine. Thus they arouse displeasure in Heaven and ghosts. This is enough to destroy all under Heaven. They also have elaborate funerals and prolonged mourning, give importance to the making of inner and outer coffins, prepare many burial garments and have funeral processions which are like moving to another house. Crying and weeping go on for three years. They need help to stand up and a staff to walk. Their ears cannot hear and their eyes cannot see. This is enough to destroy all under Heaven. They also have stringed instruments and songs, drums and dances, and they indulge in singing and music. This is enough to destroy all under Heaven. They also consider there to be Fate, such that poverty and riches, longevity and dying young, order and disorder, and safety and danger are predetermined and cannot be reduced or increased. If those above practise this, they will certainly not attend to government. If those below practise this, they will certainly not carry out their business. This is enough to destroy all under Heaven.’

Cheng Zi said: ‘It is too much, your slander of the Confucians.’

Master Mo said: ‘If the Confucians do not have these four principles, but I say they do, then this is slander. Now the Confucians certainly do have these four principles, so my saying so is not slander – it is informing the listener.’
Cheng Zi had no answer and went out. Master Mo called: ‘Come back’, whereupon Cheng Zi returned and sat down again.

Cheng Zi then continued, saying: ‘What you, sir, have just said is open to criticism, for according to your statements, there should be no praise for Yu and no blame for Jie and Zhou.’

Master Mo said: ‘Not so. In responding to ordinary statements, there is no need for complex debate, thinking it clever. If there is a substantial attack, there should be a substantial defence. If there is a slight attack, there should be a slight defence. To respond to ordinary statements with elaborate debate is like using a cart-shaft to strike an ant.’

48.15 Master Mo and Cheng Zi were debating the issue of praise for Confucius. Cheng Zi asked: ‘You are not a Confucian, so why do you praise Confucius?’

Master Mo replied: ‘Because there is what is right and this cannot be changed. Now when a bird becomes aware of the problems of heat and drought, it certainly flies high. When a fish becomes aware of the problems of heat and drought, it certainly dives deep. The appropriateness of this is something even the stratagems of Yu and Tang certainly cannot change. Birds and fish may be said to be unintelligent, yet Yu and Tang would, in some instances,
There was a man who travelled to Master Mo’s school. He was strong in body and sharp in mind, and the Master wanted him to stay and study.

Master Mo said: ‘If you study for a while, I shall make you an official.’

The man was persuaded by these fine words and became a student. After a full year had passed, he demanded an official position from Master Mo.

Master Mo said: ‘I haven’t got you an official position. But have you not heard the story of the men of Lu? In Lu, there were five brothers. Their father died, but the older brother loved wine and would not attend to the funeral. His four younger brothers told him that if he carried out the funeral for them, they would definitely buy him wine. He was persuaded by these fine words and carried out the funeral. After the funeral, he demanded wine from his four younger brothers. But the four younger brothers said to him: “We will not give you wine. You buried your father and we buried our father. Was he only our father? If you had not buried him, people would have laughed at you. Therefore, we persuaded you to bury him.” Now you are yi and I am also yi. Am I the only one who is yi? If you had not studied,
people would have laughed at you. That is why I persuaded you to study.’

**48.17** There was a man who travelled to Master Mo’s school.

Master Mo asked: ‘Why don’t you study?’

The man replied: ‘My clansmen don’t study.’

Master Mo said: ‘That doesn’t matter. Does someone who loves beauty say, “My clansmen don’t love beauty so I won’t love beauty”? Does someone who desires wealth and riches say, “My clansmen don’t desire wealth and riches so I won’t desire wealth and riches”? Those who love beauty and those who desire wealth and riches don’t take into account the views of others, and yet they are still strong in doing these things. Now **yì** is the “great instrument” of the world. Why must one look to the views of others to be strong in practising it?’

**48.18** There was a man who travelled to Master Mo’s school and spoke to Master Mo, saying: ‘You, sir, consider ghosts and spirits to be all-seeing and all-knowing, and able to bring about bad fortune and good fortune. If someone is good, they bring him good fortune; if someone is bad, they bring him bad fortune. Now I have served you for a long time but good fortune has not come. Does this mean that
your words are not right, that ghosts and spirits are not all-seeing? Why is it that I have not found good fortune?’

Master Mo said: ‘Although you have not found good fortune, how does that make my words wrong, or ghosts and spirits not all-seeing? Haven’t you also heard that hiding a criminal is still a crime?’

The man replied: ‘I have never heard that.’

48.19 Master Mo said: ‘Suppose there is this man who is ten times greater than you. Are you able to praise him ten times, but yourself only once?’

He replied: ‘I am unable to.’

Master Mo said: ‘Suppose there is this man who is a hundred times greater than you. Are you able, through your whole life, to praise his goodness, but not praise yourself even once?’

He replied: ‘I am unable to.’

Master Mo said: ‘To conceal one person is still a fault. Now what you conceal is much more than this, so there will be a much greater fault. How is it you seek good fortune?’

48.20 Master Mo was sick. Die Bi approached and questioned him, saying: ‘Sir, you take ghosts and spirits to be all-seeing, to be able to bring about bad fortune and good fortune, to reward those who do good and punish
those who do bad. Now you, sir, are a sage, so how is it you are sick? Does it mean that there is that in your words that is not good, or that ghosts and spirits do not see and know [all]?

Master Mo replied: ‘Although I am caused to be sick, how does this mean that my words are all of a sudden not good, or that ghosts and spirits are all of a sudden not all-seeing? There are many ways in which people can become sick. They can suffer from cold or heat. They can suffer from strain or fatigue. If there are a hundred gates and only one is shut, then how, all of a sudden, can a robber not enter?’

48.21 Several disciples told Master Mo they were studying archery.

Master Mo said: ‘It is not possible. Those who are wise certainly measure their strength in terms of what they are able to do, and act accordingly. Even officers of the state cannot both fight people and help them. You are not yet officers of the state, so how can you become both scholars and archers?’

48.22 Several disciples informed Master Mo as follows: ‘Gao Zi has said that your talk is of yi, but your conduct is very evil. We ask you to cast him off.’
Master Mo said: ‘Impossible. If he praises my words in the course of criticizing my conduct, it is better than nothing. Suppose there is a person [who says] that I am to an extreme degree not ren, but that I revere Heaven, serve ghosts and love people. Although he says I am to an extreme degree not ren, it is still better than nothing. Now Gao Zi’s discourse is very eloquent when he speaks of ren and yi, but not when he slanders me. So Gao Zi’s slander is better than nothing.’

48.23 Several disciples informed Master Mo, saying: ‘Gao Zi is very diligent about being ren.’

Master Mo said: ‘That is not necessarily the case. Gao Zi’s being ren is like someone standing on tiptoes to be tall, or spreading himself out to be broad. It can’t last long.’

48.24 Gao Zi spoke to Master Mo, saying: ‘I am able to bring order to the state in the conduct of government.’

Master Mo responded: ‘In the case of one who governs, what his mouth says, he himself must do. Now what your mouth says, you yourself do not do. This represents disorder in yourself. You are not able to bring order to yourself, so how can you bring order to the state in governing? You had best not say anything for the moment.’
While you yourself are in disorder, you won’t be able to do what you say.’
49

Lu’s Questions
(Lu Wen)

49.1 The ruler of Lu\(^1\) spoke to Master Mo, saying: ‘I fear that Qi will attack me. Can I be saved?’

Master Mo replied: ‘You can be. In former times, the sage kings of the Three Dynasties – Yu, Tang, Wen and Wu – were feudal lords over small (one hundred \(li\)) states, but because they loved loyalty and practised \(yi\) (right action, righteousness and justice), they gained all under Heaven. The tyrannical kings of the Three Dynasties – Jie, Zhou, You and Li – because they were inimical to loyalty and acted cruelly, lost all under Heaven. I would wish your lordship to respect Heaven and the affairs of ghosts above, and to love and bring benefit to the ordinary people below, to be generous with skins and silk (i.e. gifts), to be humble in issuing commands, to give urgent attention to
ceremonial matters involving the feudal lords on all sides and to urge the state to serve Qi. Then disaster can be averted. Apart from this, there is assuredly nothing you can do.’

49.2 Qi was about to attack Lu. Master Mo spoke to Xiang Ziniu, saying: ‘To attack Lu would be a great mistake for Qi. In former times, the King of Wu attacked Yue to the east [and his army] ran into difficulties at Guiji. To the west, he attacked Chu. Under concealment, Zhao Wang fled to Sui. To the north, he attacked Qi and, having seized Guo Zi, returned to Wu. The feudal lords took revenge on their enemy and the ordinary people met with suffering and hardship, and could not be of use. This is why the state suffered depredation and he himself was punished and killed. In former times, Zhi Bo attacked the houses of Fan and Zhonghang and combined the lands of the San Jin. The feudal lords took revenge on their enemy and the ordinary people met with suffering and hardship, and could not be of use. This is why the state suffered depredation and he himself was punished and killed. So in the case of a large state attacking a small state, both will suffer injury and the fault will certainly redound to the (perpetrating) state.’
49.3 Master Mo saw the great King of Qi and said: ‘Now suppose there was this sword which, when you tried it on a man’s head, swiftly cut it off. Could it be called sharp?’

The great King replied: ‘It would be sharp.’

Master Mo asked: ‘If you tried it on many men’s heads and it swiftly cut them off, could it be called sharp?’

The great King replied: ‘It would be sharp.’

Master Mo asked: ‘If the sword is sharp, who is it that will receive its bad fortune?’

The great King replied: ‘The sword receives its sharpness. The one who tries it receives its bad fortune.

Master Mo asked: ‘If you annex states and overthrow armies, if you plunder and kill the common people, who will receive the bad fortune of this?’

The great King looked up and down and pondered the matter before replying: ‘I will receive the bad fortune of this.’

49.4 Prince Wen of Luyang was about to attack Zheng when Master Mo heard about it and stopped him, saying to the Prince: ‘Now suppose that within the four borders of Lu the large cities attacked the small cities and the great families attacked the small families, killing the people and taking their oxen, horses, dogs, pigs, cloth, silk, rice, millet, goods and valuables – what would happen then?’
Prince Wen of Luyang replied: ‘All within the four boundaries of Lu are my subjects. Now if the large cities attack the small cities and the great families attack the small families, seizing their goods and valuables, I will certainly punish them severely.’

Master Mo said: ‘Heaven possesses all that is beneath it, just as you possess all that is within the four boundaries of your state. Now if you raise an army with the intention of attacking Zheng, will Heaven not visit its punishment on you?’

Prince Wen of Luyang asked: ‘Why do you stop me from attacking Zheng? In attacking Zheng I am merely complying with Heaven’s intention. For three generations the people of Zheng have killed their prince and Heaven has intensified its punishment, so for three years they have not prospered. I shall be helping Heaven punish them.’

Master Mo said: ‘For three generations the people of Zheng have killed their prince and Heaven has intensified its punishment, causing them not to prosper for three years. Heaven’s punishment is sufficient. Now you raise an army as well, intending to attack Zheng. You say: “My attacking Zheng is merely complying with Heaven’s intention.” This is like there being a man whose son is violent and worthless so he beats him, and then his neighbour’s father takes up a cudgel and also beats him, saying that his beating him is
merely complying with his father’s intention. How is this not perverse?’

49.5 Master Mo spoke to Prince Wen of Luyang, saying: ‘Suppose [a prince] attacked his neighbouring states, killed their people, took their oxen and horses, rice and millet, goods and valuables, and then recorded it on bamboo and silk, engraved it on metal and stone and thought to carve it on bells and tripods (ding) to transmit it to his sons and grandsons of later generations, saying, “Nobody has as much as I have.” Then the ignoble man will also attack his neighbouring houses, killing their people, taking their dogs and pigs, food and grain, clothes and furs, also recording it on bamboo and silk, and carving it into tables and bowls in order to hand it down to his sons and grandsons of later generations, saying, “Nobody has as much as I have.” Is this permissible?’

Prince Wen of Luyang replied: ‘Indeed, when I look at things in the light of your words, what the world speaks of as permissible is certainly not so.’

49.6 Master Mo spoke to Prince Wen of Luyang, saying: ‘Noble men of the world all know about small things, but not about great things. Now suppose a man were to steal a dog or a pig, they would say he was not ren, whereas, if he
were to steal a state or a city, they would take him to be \( yi \) (right action, righteousness and justice). This is like seeing a small expanse of white and calling it white, but seeing a great expanse of white and calling it black. This is why I said what I said – noble men of the world know about small things, but not about great things.’

49.7 Prince Wen of Luyang spoke to Master Mo, saying: ‘To the south of Chu there is the country Qiao, in which cannibalism occurs.\(^7\) In that country, when the first son is born, he is eaten alive. This is said to be a protection for younger brothers. If he tastes good, then he is offered to the prince, and if the prince is pleased, he rewards the father. How is this not an evil custom?’

Master Mo replied: ‘Even in the customs of the central states there is also something like this, for how is killing the father and rewarding the son different from eating the son and rewarding the father? If \( ren \) and \( yi \) are not practised, how can there be censure of barbarians for eating their sons?’

49.8 When the Prince of Lu’s favourite concubine died, a man from Lu wrote a eulogy for her. Because the Prince of Lu was pleased, he employed the man. Master Mo heard about this and said: ‘A eulogy is for speaking favourably of
the intentions of the dead person. Now because [the prince] is pleased, to employ the man is like making a fox the leader of a team of horses.’

49.9 Prince Wen of Luyang spoke to Master Mo, saying: ‘Suppose someone told me of a loyal official who if ordered to bow down, bowed down, and if ordered to look up, looked up; who was quiet when at rest, but responded when called. Could he be called a loyal official?’

Master Mo said: ‘If you order him to bow down and he bows down, and if you order him to look up and he looks up, he is like a shadow. If at rest he is quiet, but if called he responds, he is like an echo. What can a prince get from a shadow or an echo? What I have to say about a loyal minister is this. If the ruler is at fault, he should await the appropriate time and censure him. If he himself has something of value, he should discuss it with the ruler, but not with others generally. He should correct any heterodoxy and follow the path of goodness. He should make himself like the ruler and not follow subordinates. In this way, beauty and goodness will lie with the ruler, and resentment and enmity will lie with those below. Peace and happiness will lie with the one above, and grief and sorrow will lie with the officials. This is what I call a loyal official.’
The Prince of Lu spoke to Master Mo, saying: ‘I have two sons. One loves learning and the other loves dividing wealth among people. Which one should I make my successor?’

Master Mo replied: ‘It is impossible to know. It may be that they do what they do for reward and praise. The fisherman’s bait is not a gift to the fish. Luring a mouse with bait is not done through love of the mouse. I wish the prince to take into account both their intention and their achievement and look at the matter.’

There was a man from Lu who sent his son to study with Master Mo. When his son died in battle, the father was angry with Master Mo.

Master Mo said: ‘You wanted your son to study with me. Now, his studies being complete, he fought in a battle and died, and you are angry with me. This is like wanting to sell grain but being angry when it is sold. How is this not perverse?’

There was a rustic who lived in the south of Lu, a certain Wu Lü. Making pottery in the winter and farming in the summer, he compared himself to Shun. Master Mo heard about this and went to see him.
Wu Lü said to Master Mo: ‘Ah yi (right action), yi! What is the use of talking about it?’

Master Mo asked: ‘Is what you call yi also having the strength to help people and the resources to divide among people?’

Wu Lü answered: ‘It is.’

Master Mo said: ‘I have already thought about this. I considered taking up farming to feed the people of the world, but at the most I would only achieve the output of one farmer. If this were to be divided in the world, each person would not be able to get even 1 sheng of grain. It can be readily seen that even if they were to get 1 sheng of grain, this would not be able to satisfy those in the world who were hungry. I considered taking up weaving to make clothes for the people of the world, but at the most I would only achieve the output of one weaving woman. If this were to be divided in the world, each person would not be able to get even 1 chi of cloth. It can readily be seen that this would not be able to bring warmth to those in the world who were cold. I considered taking up shield and sword to save the feudal lords from calamity, but at the most I would only have the effect of a single soldier. It can readily be seen that a single soldier cannot resist the “three armies”. I think there is nothing that equals understanding the Way of former kings and seeking out what they said, and
understanding the words of the sages and examining their statements. There is nothing that equals spreading these words among kings, dukes and great officers above, and next among the ordinary people. If kings, dukes and great officers make use of my words, states will certainly be well ordered. If the ordinary people make use of my words, conduct will certainly be regulated. Therefore I think that although I don’t plough and provide food for the hungry, although I don’t weave and provide clothes for the cold, nevertheless, my achievement is more worthy than that of those who do plough and provide food and those who do weave and provide clothes. That is, I think that although I do not plough and weave, nevertheless, my achievement is more worthy than if I did plough and weave.’

Wu Lü spoke to Master Mo, saying: ‘Ah yi, yi! What is the use of talking about it?’

Master Mo asked: ‘Suppose there was no knowledge of ploughing in the world. Whose merit would be greater – someone who teaches people to plough or someone who does not teach people to plough, but only ploughs himself?’

Wu Lü replied: ‘Someone who teaches people to plough would have the greater merit.’

Master Mo asked: ‘Suppose there was an attack on a state which was not yi. Whose merit would be greater – someone who beats the drum and causes the multitude to
go into battle or someone who does not beat the drum and cause the multitude to go into battle, but only goes into battle himself?'

Wu Lü replied: ‘Someone who beats the drum and brings about the advance would have the greater merit.’

Master Mo said: ‘Among the ordinary people and foot soldiers of the world, there are few who know yi, so the one who teaches the world yi would also have great merit. What reason is there not to speak about it? If I were to take a drum and beat it to advance yi, then how is my yi not further advanced?’

49.13 Master Mo recommended Gongshang Guo to Yue. Gongshang Guo addressed the Yue king, who was greatly pleased and spoke to Gongshang Guo, saying: ‘If you can get Master Mo to come to Yue and teach me, I shall divide off a part of what was formerly Wu, to the extent of five hundred li square, and enfeoff him with it.’

Gongshang Guo agreed. Subsequently, he took fifty wagons to Lu to receive Master Mo and said: ‘When I spoke to the Yue king about your Way, he was extremely pleased and told me that if I was able to bring you to Yue to teach him, he would divide off a part of what was formerly Wu, to the extent of five hundred li square, and enfeoff you with it.’
Master Mo spoke to Gongshang Guo, saying: ‘What did you make of the Yue king’s intentions? If you think the Yue king will listen to my words and will use my Way, then I shall go. But I shall require only enough food to fill my belly and enough clothing to cover my body, and I shall regard myself as an equal with the crowd of officials. What would I be able to do with enfeoffment? If the Yue king won’t listen to my words and won’t use my Way and I still go, then I would be treating yi like grain to sell. If I make it like grain to sell, I could just as well do this in the central states. Why would I need to go to Yue?’

49.14 Master Mo was going to travel. Wei Yue⁹ asked him: ‘When you get to see the noble men of the four regions, what will be the first thing you speak about?’

Master Mo replied: ‘Whenever one enters a country, one must pick out what is fundamental and devote one’s attention to it. If the country is disordered and confused, one will speak about “exalting worthiness” and “exalting unity”. If the country is poor, one will speak about “moderation in use” and “moderation in funerals”. If the country has a liking for music and depravity, one will speak about “condemnation of music” and “rejection of Fate”. If the country has fallen into licentiousness and lacks propriety, one will speak about “honouring Heaven” and
“serving ghosts”. If the country is dedicated to invasion and oppression, one will speak about “universal love” and “condemning aggression”. Therefore I say, pick out what is fundamental and devote your attention to it.’

49.15 Master Mo recommended Cao Gongzi to Song. After three years he returned. He saw Master Mo and said: ‘When I first joined your school, I wore a short jacket and ate soup made from wild plants. Moreover, if I had this in the morning, I didn’t have it in the evening. And I had nothing to offer as a sacrifice to ghosts and spirits. Now, thanks to you, my family is better off than before. And because my family is better off, I can give my attention to the sacrifices to ghosts and spirits. Nevertheless, many of my family have died, the six animals are not flourishing, and I myself have become ill. I don’t know if your Way can be followed.’

Master Mo said: ‘Don’t think like this! What ghosts and spirits desire of a man is much. When he holds a high rank with a commensurate salary, they desire him to yield it to the worthy, and when he has much wealth, they desire him to distribute it to the poor. How could it be that ghosts and spirits only desire to snatch away the grain and seize the lungs? Now you have a high rank with a commensurate salary, but have not yielded it to the worthy. This is the first
misfortune. You have much, but you have not used it to distribute to the poor. This is the second misfortune. Now you serve ghosts and spirits by sacrifice and that is all. And yet you say, “Where is my sickness coming from?” This is like having a hundred gates, closing one, and then saying, “How did the robber enter?” How is it possible to be like this and still seek good fortune from ghosts and spirits?’

49.16 In Lu, the man responsible for sacrifices offered a single pig as a sacrifice and yet sought a hundred blessings from ghosts and spirits.

When Master Mo heard this, he said: ‘This is not acceptable. To give a person little and ask from that person much would only make that person fearful of offerings from you. So if you sacrifice with one pig and yet seek a hundred blessings from ghosts and spirits, the ghosts and spirits will only be fearful of your sacrifice of oxen and sheep. In ancient times, the sage kings served ghosts and spirits by sacrifice and that is all. It would be better to remain poor than become rich by sacrificing one pig and seeking a hundred blessings.’

49.17 Master Peng Qingsheng said: ‘What has gone can be known; what is to come cannot be known.’
Master Mo asked: ‘Suppose your parents encountered difficulty when they were a hundred li away and there was a time limit of one day. If you reached them, they would live. If you did not reach them, they would die. Now, if on one side there was a strong cart and an excellent horse, and on the other side there was a worn-out old horse and a cart with wheels at the four corners, and you had to make a choice, which one would you use?’

He replied: ‘I would use the excellent horse and the strong cart, so I could arrive quickly.’

Master Mo said: ‘How is there not knowledge of what is to come?’

49.18 Meng Shan praised King Zi Lü, saying: ‘At an earlier time, during Bo Gong’s insurrection, he seized King Zi Lü, attached a battleaxe to his waist and directed a sword straight at his heart. He then spoke to him, saying, “If you become king then you live; if you do not become king then you die.” King Zi Lü replied, “Why do you insult me? You killed my family members and now you tempt me with the kingdom of Chu. If I were to get the whole world and yet not be yi, I wouldn’t do it. How much more so is this the case with regard to Chu?” And he didn’t do it. How was King Zi Lü not ren?’
Master Mo said: ‘There was a difficulty and he overcame it. Nevertheless, he was not ren. If he thought the king was without the Way, why didn’t he accept the offer and bring about order? If he thought Bo Gong was not yi, why did he not accept the kingship, put Bo Gong to death and then return to rule? This is why I say that meeting a difficulty and overcoming it is something, but it is not being ren.’

49.19 Master Mo sent Sheng Chuo to serve Xiang Ziniu. Three times Xiang Ziniu invaded the territory of Lu and three times Sheng Chuo accompanied him. Master Mo heard about this and sent Gao Sunzi to request that he be withdrawn. He said: ‘I sent Chuo so that he would stop arrogance and rectify depravity. Now Chuo receives a high salary, and yet he deceives his master. Three times his master invaded Lu and three times Chuo accompanied him. This is to whip a horse with its martingale. I have heard this – “To speak of yi but not practise it is to commit an offence knowingly.” It is not that Chuo didn’t know this. It is that salary triumphed over yi.’

49.20 In former times, the people of Chu and the people of Yue fought a naval battle on the Jiang (Yangtse). The people of Chu went with the current when advancing, but against the current when retreating. When they saw an advantage,
they advanced. But when they saw a disadvantage, their retreat was difficult. The people of Yue went against the current when advancing, but with the current when retreating. When they saw an advantage, they advanced. But when they saw a disadvantage, their retreat was swift. Because of these circumstances, the people of Yue inflicted a crushing defeat on the people of Chu. Gongshu Zi\textsuperscript{14} travelled south from Lu to Chu and immediately began making implements for naval warfare, preparing hooks and clamps. The hooks were for times of retreat and the clamps were for times of advance. The lengths of the hooks and clamps were made to be in accord with their weapons. The Chu weapons were standardized whereas those of the Yue were not. Because of this, the people of Chu inflicted a crushing defeat on the people of Yue. Gongshu Zi was very pleased with his skill and spoke to Master Mo, saying: ‘I have hooks and clamps for naval battles. I don’t know if your yi also has hooks and clamps.’

Master Mo replied: ‘The hooks and clamps of my yi have a greater worthiness than your hooks and clamps for naval battles. With my hooks and clamps, I hook by means of love and clamp by means of respect. If there is no hook through love, there is no closeness. If there is no clamp through respect, there is soon disrespect. If there is disrespect and no closeness, there is soon separation.'
Therefore, exchange of mutual love and mutual respect is like mutual benefit. Now if you hook people and stop them, people will also hook you and stop you. If you clamp people and oppose them, people will also clamp you and oppose you. So exchange of mutual hooking and mutual clamping is like mutual harm. Therefore, the hooks and clamps of my yi are more worthy than your hooks and clamps for naval battles.’

49.21 Gongshu Zi carved some bamboo to make a bird. When it was completed, he flew it. For three days, it did not come down. Gongshu Zi regarded himself as supremely skilful. Master Mo spoke to Gongshu Zi, saying: ‘Your making a bird is not like my making the linchpin of a cart wheel. In a few moments, I can carve a 3 cun piece of wood and it will bear a weight of 50 dan. Therefore, in terms of what is called an achievement, what is of benefit to people is spoken of as skilful, whereas what is not of benefit to people is spoken of as unskilful.’

Gongshu Zi spoke to Master Mo, saying: ‘Before I saw you, I wished to take Song. Now, having seen you, even if Song were to be given to me, if this was not in accord with yi, I would not take it.’

Master Mo said: ‘Before you had seen me, you wished to take Song, but after seeing me, even if Song were to be
given to you, if this was not in accord with yi, you would not do it. This is my giving you Song. If you take yi to be fundamental, I shall also give you the world.’
Gongshu Pan constructed cloud ladder equipment for Chu and having completed it, was about to use it to attack Song. When Master Mo heard of this, he set out from Qi and travelled for ten days and ten nights to reach Ying, where he met with Gongshu Pan.

Gongshu Pan said: ‘Master, what do you instruct me to do?’

Master Mo replied: ‘In the Northern Region, there is a man who has insulted me. I wish to enlist your help to kill him.’

Gongshu Pan was not happy.

Master Mo said: ‘Let me offer you ten pieces of gold.’

Gongshu Pan responded: ‘My yi (righteousness) is strong – I do not kill people.’

Master Mo rose, bowed twice and said: ‘Let me explain. From the Northern Region, I heard that you were making
cloud ladders and were about to attack Song. What crime is Song guilty of? The kingdom of Jing (Chu) has an excess of land but not enough people. To kill what there is not enough of in the struggle for what there is an excess of cannot be wise. To attack Song when it has committed no crime cannot be called being ren (loving, kind, humane and benevolent). To know this and not to contend cannot be called being loyal. To contend and not be successful cannot be called being strong. To take as yi (right action, righteous and just) not to kill few, yet to kill many cannot be called an understanding of analogy.’

Gongshu Pan conceded.

Master Mo said: ‘This being so, why do you not stop?’

Gongshu Pan replied: ‘I cannot. I have already spoken of it to the King.’

Master Mo said: ‘Why not let me meet with the King.’

Gongshu Pan agreed.

50.2 Master Mo met with the King and said: ‘Now suppose there is a man who casts aside his own decorated sedan and yet wishes to steal a broken-down carriage which his neighbour has; or a man who casts aside his own embroidered coat and yet wishes to steal a short, rough jacket which his neighbour has; or a man who casts aside his own grain and meat and yet wishes to steal chaff and
dregs which his neighbour has. What sort of man would this be?’

The King replied: ‘He would certainly be a pathological thief.’

Master Mo said: ‘The land of Jing (Chu) is five thousand *li* square whereas the land of Song is only five hundred *li* square. They are, in comparison, like a decorated sedan and a broken-down carriage. Jing has Yunmeng Park. Rhinoceroses and various kinds of deer fill it. The fish, turtles and alligators in the Jiang and Han Rivers are the most abundant in the world. Song, it is said, does not even have pheasants, hares or foxes. It is like comparing grain and meat with dregs and husks. Jing has tall pines, elegant catalpas, cedars and camphor-laurels. Song has no tall trees. It is like comparing a garment that is embroidered and ornamented with one that is short and made of coarse cloth. I take the King’s business in attacking Song to be in the same class as these things. In my view, the great King will certainly damage *yi*, but will not achieve anything.’

The King replied: ‘That is all very well. However, Gongshu Pan has already prepared the cloud ladders for me, so I must take Song.’

50.3 Thereupon Master Mo went to see Gongshu Pan. He took off his belt and made a city wall of it. He made
weapons with little sticks. Gongshu Pan devised nine different strategies for attacking the city, but nine times Master Mo repulsed him. Gongshu Pan used all his machines for attack, whereas Master Mo’s methods of defence were by no means exhausted. Gongshu Pan submitted, but said: ‘I know how I can oppose you, but I will not say.’

Master Mo also said: ‘I know how you would oppose me, but I will not say.’

The King of Chu asked him his reason.

Master Mo said: ‘Gongshu Zi’s idea is just to have me killed. He thinks that if I am killed, Song would not be able to defend itself and could be [successfully] attacked. However, my disciple Qin Guli and three hundred men of that ilk have already prepared my machines of defence and are on the walls of Song awaiting the attack from Chu. Even if you kill me, you will not be able to overcome [their defence].’

The King said: ‘Good! Now I do not wish to attack Song.’

50.4 Master Mo returned. As he was passing through Song it rained heavily. He sought shelter at the gate but the gatekeeper would not let him enter. Master Mo said: ‘In the case of those who bring order to the spirit, the great majority of people don’t know of their achievement. In the
case of those who contend in clear view, the great majority of people do know of their achievement.’
51

Lost
Part V

THE DEFENCE OF A CITY
Introductory Note

The eleven extant chapters on the personnel, equipment and strategies to be used in the defence of a city are beset with the same textual problems as Part III. Yates, in his 1980 thesis (T) devoted to the Defence chapters, speaks of the text of this part suffering ‘dismemberment and massive transpositions and losses of sections’, surmising that there should be at least twelve chapters, corresponding to the twelve techniques which Master Mo’s disciple Qin Guli lists in 52.1. In fact, only six are represented by a chapter, and some of these chapters are clearly missing material. In addition there are many unknown characters, unknown pieces of equipment or weapons, and many lacunae. Simple errors of copying are a feature as are also the dislocation and duplication of substantial fragments. The material itself is less complex than Part III, being basically descriptive, so where the text is reliable, interpretation is relatively straight-forward.
This text follows the modern editions of Li Shenglong and of Zhou Caizhu and Qi Ruiduan, both of which follow Sun Yirang whose text has some rearrangements of the *Daoist Patrology* (DZ) text of chapters 52, 62 and 71. For the numerous suggested emendations and interpretations of the DZ text, the reader should consult my bilingual edition.
52

Preparing the Wall and Gates
(Bei Cheng Men)

52.1 Qin Guli questioned Master Mo, saying: ‘According to the sage’s words, when the phoenix did not come forth, the feudal lords rebelled against the King of Zhou. Weapons and armies (i.e. warfare) then arose in the world, large [states] attacked small [states], and the strong seized the weak. If I wished to defend a small state, how would I go about it?’

Master Mo asked: ‘Defence against what kind of attack?’

Qin Guli replied, saying: ‘The [methods of] attack in frequent use at the present time are “approachers” (lin), hooks (gou), battering rams (chong), ladders (ti), mounds (yin), water (shui), tunnels (xue), sudden attacks (tu), kong-tong, “ant approach” (massed infantry assault – yifu),
tanks (fenwen) and high carts (xuanche). May I ask about defence against these twelve things?’

Master Mo said: ‘My city walls and moats would be in good repair, the instruments of defence would be prepared, fuel and grain would be sufficient, superiors and inferiors would be well disposed towards each other and I would get help from the neighbouring feudal lords on the four sides. This is how my defence would be managed. Furthermore, even if the Defender is skilful but the ruler doesn’t use him, it remains impossible to mount a successful defence. If the ruler does use the Defender, he must be capable in defence. If he is not capable and the ruler uses him, it remains impossible to mount a successful defence. So then, the Defender must be skilful and the ruler must respect and use him. Only then can there be a [successful] defence.’

52.2 In general, the methods of defending a besieged city involve walls that are thick and high; moats and ditches that are deep and wide; towers and parapets that are in good repair; defensive preparations that are appropriate and advantageous; fuel and food supplies that are sufficient for more than three months; a populace that is capable, with officers and people in harmony; many high officials of meritorious service to the ruler; a ruler who is himself
trustworthy and principled; and people who are happy to defend to the death. Apart from these things, the ancestral graves of the defenders should be there; the mountains, forests, grasslands and marshes should be abundant and sufficient to be of benefit; the topography of the land should be such that it is difficult to attack and easy to defend; there should be deep enmity towards the foe and extraordinary attachment towards the ruler; the ruler’s rewards should be understood clearly enough to be relied upon, while his punishments should be severe enough to be intimidating. If these fourteen conditions are all met, the people will not harbour doubt about the ruler. Subsequently, there can be a successful defence of the city. If [any] one of these fourteen is lacking, then although the man responsible for defence may be skilful, he cannot effectively defend [the city].

52.3 In general, with regard to the methods of defending a city, city gates are prepared that are ‘hanging gates’ (portcullis gates), with a mechanism for raising and lowering them. They should be 2 zhang high and 8 chi wide, and consist of two equal leaves. The two leaves of the gate should overlap by 3 cun, and there should be a covering of earth on each leaf not exceeding 2 cun. A trench should be dug that is 1 zhang 5 [chi] deep in the
middle, with a width comparable to that of the gate leaves. The length of the trench is determined by the strength of those digging it. At the head of the trench there should be a sluice gate and a place which can hold one man. When the enemy comes, give the order to bore holes in both gate leaves and cover them. Each gate leaf should have two holes and two covers, with a rope of 4 chi in length attached to one of them. At all four corners of the wall build high towers and parapets and depute the scions of noble houses to live in them. There they should await the enemy and observe the enemy’s appearance and the movements of their advance. Those who fail to wait should be executed.

52.4 If the enemy makes tunnels and approaches through them, I urgently send the tunnel master to select officers to meet the enemy within the tunnels, equipping them with short bows with which to confront the enemy. The materials of people’s houses – wood, tiles and stones – can be added to the resources for the city’s defence and are all transported to the city. Those who don’t comply with the command are executed. Prepare all the construction implements as follows: every 7 chi have one hoe; every 5 bu have one basket for carrying earth; for every five constructions have one iron hoe and one long axe with a
handle 8 chi in length; every 10 bu have one sickle with a handle 8 chi in length; every 10 bu have one chopper and one long awl with a handle 6 chi in length and a head 1 chi in length. Sharpen the two points with an axe. Every 3 bu have one large lance (ting) 1 chi long and sharpened at the end for 5 cun. Two ting can be joined together and placed flat. If they are not placed flat, they are not convenient to use. The two ends of each ting are kept sharpened. If underground tunnels are used to counter [the enemy’s] underground tunnels, careful attention must be given to knowing the width or narrowness of the enemy’s underground tunnels. Orders must be given to make one’s own tunnels at an angle to the enemy tunnels and at the same level.

Comment: This section may contain misplaced material: it starts and ends with tunnels, but the rest covers housing, building implements and weapons.

52.5 Pieces of wood are gathered together and when there is enough are used to make bundles of brushwood with no pieces protruding from the ends of the bundles. A piece of wood 1 zhang 7 chi long is placed on the outside of the bundles and they are bound together and piled up crosswise. The outside is covered with a strong coating of earth, so as not to allow leakage in from above. There should be bundles of such a size that they can provide protection for a
wall more than 3 zhang 5 chi high. Use brushwood, wood and earth to add somewhat to the barrier, the objective being strength. Prepare the whole of the outer surface beforehand, so it can bear the smeared-on material and is adequate to act as a parapet. Coat the outer surface well so it can’t be burned or pulled up.

**Comment:** This is about the *chai tuan* or ‘brushwood tie’ (Yates (T)), its preparation and (to some extent) its use.

52.6 In the large wall, there should be small gates 1 zhang 5 [chi] high and 4 chi wide. Make outer-wall gates (*guomen*). On the outer aspect of the outer-wall gates make a horizontal bar of two pieces of wood matching the gate. In the pieces of wood drill holes through which ropes are threaded and then led up to the battlements.

Build a suspended bridge across the moat to allow people to cross into the city by means of the wooden bridge which has a slope to the outside of the wall and can be added to with additional timber. The angle of inclination is determined by the form of the wall. Have a supplementary parapet (?moat) within the wall. Rely on the inner parapet (?moat) in making the outer parapet (?moat). Between the two parapets (?moats) dig a trench 1 zhang 5 chi deep, in which an obstruction can be established using sharp stakes. Fire can be set there to meet the enemy.
Near the wall, build ling-er towers which have two levels. At the lower level, outside the wall and between it and the parapets, dig a trench measuring 1 zhang 5 [chi] deep and 1 zhang 2 [chi] wide. The appearance of the tower is like a ling-er. [From] all [these ling-er towers] order strong, able-bodied men to go forth to confront the enemy. The skilled archers who are responsible for firing arrows should be provided with sharp arrows.

Comment: This describes small gates in the wall; the structure of outer-wall (guo) gates; the building of a suspension bridge over the moat and other defensive constructions inside the moat, and the ling-er, thought to be a type of tower. There is considerable doubt about whether a hao (moat) or a die (parapet, battlement) is being described, and uncertainty about what a ling-er was.

52.7 Set up a bamboo fence. In all cases extend it to join the parapet. Make it 6 chi high with spaces 4 chi wide, where all those armed with crossbows can take their positions. There should be ‘revolving shooting machines’ (zhuansheji), which are 6 chi high and buried 1 chi in the ground. Two pieces of wood joined together are used to make protective shields (wen), which are 2 chi long. Through the centres of these drill holes to accommodate a connecting arm straight against the wall. Every 20 bu there should be one of these (i.e. a ‘revolving shooting machine’ plus its protective shield). [Put someone in charge of it
and] order skilled archers to assist him. No one is allowed to leave his post.

Comment: If it is accepted that some form of fence is being described, it is not clear whether the second sentence is describing a support structure in the fence for the ‘revolving shooting machine’ (Yates (T)), or if two separate matters are being considered: a protective fence and a ‘revolving shooting machine’.

52.8 On the wall, there should be a tower with four pillars every 100 bu. All the pillars should have a connecting foundation. The lower (level of the tower) should be 1 zhang high and the upper (level) 9 chi high. Each tower should be 1 zhang 6 chi in width and length, and all should have a door.

On the wall, there should be a connecting passage (tu) 9 chi long, 10 chi wide and 8 chi high every 30 bu. A door 3 chi wide and 2 chi long should be cut in the connecting passage.

On the wall, there should be fire javelins (zanhuo), which are of a length commensurate with the height of the wall and which can be lit at the tip.

Comment: Three things on the wall are described: a tower characterized by four supporting pillars which are connected, and tu and zanhuo, which Yates (T) calls ‘sally ports’ and ‘fire javelins’, respectively.

52.9 At intervals of 9 chi on the wall, place one crossbow, one halberd, one bludgeon, one axe and one hacker. In all cases, pile up ‘thunder stones’ and caltrops.
Qu (shields) 1 zhang 5 chi high and 1 zhang 6 chi wide are made. Their poles should be 1 zhang 2 chi high and their limbs 6 chi high. They should be buried to a depth of 3 chi with the wooden shield no nearer than 5 cun to the parapet.

[Make] screens 8 chi high and 7 chi wide. The thickness of the wood should be 5 chi and in the middle of the screen make a ‘bridge’ with a rope attached to the ends. When the enemy approaches, one man is delegated to raise and lower this and must not leave his post.

On the wall, there should be one jiche (trebuchet) every 20 bu. When the enemy approaches by tunnelling, don’t use this number.

On the wall, there should be one movable furnace every 30 bu.

Comment: The list of things here to be available on the wall includes weapons of various sorts, shields and screens, and stoves or furnaces. The description of a qu has been made consistent with Mozi 71.3; see also 52.17 and Yates (T), pp. 405–7. On the jiche, see also, e.g., Mozi 52.15 and 52.26, and Yates (SC), pp. 203–30.

52.10 The utensils for holding water must have a ladle of lacquered hemp and should be made of hide. There should be one (such utensil) every 10 bu. The handle should be 8 chi long and the ladle should have a capacity of 2 to 3 dou.

Old or new hemp, 6 chi in length, is used (to fashion the handle). The middle of the handle is curved and should be 1
zhang long. There should be one every 10 bu and it should be strong and durable.

On the wall, every 10 bu there should be one shovel.

There should be earthenware pots for water with capacities of 3 dan and upwards, small and large [pots] being mixed together. And there should be hide basins and calabashes as two additional utensils.

For the soldiers, there should be 2 dou of dried food per man. This should be prepared and protected from rain, and stored in a dry place. At the appropriate time, the defenders should be sent to a place between the inner and outer parapets to eat.

52.11 Utensils should be set up and prepared for scattering sand, small stones and pieces of iron. They should all be of rough earthenware in construction. Potters should be directed to make a small number of these, with the biggest being able to hold 1 to 2 dou. Until the time comes to use them, they should be bound together with rope.

Tightly bound stakes are placed at certain points on the wall and levelled off at a height of 1 zhang 2 [chi]. These are sharpened at one end.

Small doors are made with two leaves which can be opened and closed independently.
To relieve the city gate and the moat, use flaming torches in fighting. Bring in bellows. In addition, use brushwood to make a barrier between the outer and inner parapets.

*Ling-ding* (wide-bellied flasks) are placed at intervals of 3 *zhang*. And interdigitating ‘dog’s teeth’ are set up. One man is stationed every 10 *bu* within the brushwood [barrier], armed with a crossbow. Prepare stakes (*gouxi*) and [use them] to surround him.

52.12 In seeking relief from attack by fire delivered by flaming arrows shot at the gates in the wall, drill [holes] above the leaves of the doors, make posts and cover them with earth. Prepare hempen ladles and hide buckets to contain water for relief. The door leaves, the door surrounds and the bars supporting the doors should all have holes drilled in them to a depth of ½ *chi*. Every 1 *cun*, knock in a peg which is 2 *cun* in length and projects 1 *cun*. These pegs should be 7 *cun* apart and covered thickly with earth as a preparation against fire. Above the gates in the wall, excavate holes for relief from fire, each one holding a container of water with a capacity of 3 *dan* or greater; small and large containers are mixed together. The gate bar and lever must be made strong by plating them with a strong metal such as iron. The gate bolts should be double and coated with iron, as they must be strong. The locking bar
should be 2 chi long and there should be one lock. It is sealed by means of the Defender’s seal. From time to time, men are sent to check whether the seal has been moved, and on the depth of insertion of the bar into the supporting pillars. All those responsible for the gate are prohibited from carrying axes of any sort, chisels, saws, or hammers.

52.13 On the wall, every 2 bu there should be one shield (ju) with an upright pole 1 zhang 3 chi long. The top of the shield should be 10 zhang in length and its transverse arms 6 chi long. Every 2 bu there should be one protective screen (da) which is 9 chi wide and 12 chi high.

Every 2 bu place a lian-ting (linked flail), a long axe and a long hammer – one of each – and twenty lances, these being spread over every 2 bu.

Every 2 bu there should be one wooden crossbow that must be able to fire [an arrow] 50 bu or more. As well, there should be many arrows. If these are not of bamboo, [then wood from] the hu, the peach, the zhe, or the elm will do. A substantial collection of iron arrows should also be added, these being distributed between the firing areas and the longcong (watchtowers).

Every 2 bu pile up stones, each stone weighing 10 jun or more, there being five hundred stones. If there are no
stones, use caltrops and tiles to withstand [the enemy]. Both of these can be good methods.

Every 2 $bu$ have piles of reed torches, 1 $wei$ (span) in size and 1 $zhang$ long, 20 in all.

**Comment:** Sections 13–16 have a recurring format listing various items under the heading of the frequency of occurrence, although similar descriptions are interspersed throughout 52. Yates points out that the $ju$ (shield) and $da$ (screen) were very important components of the defensive apparatus: see Yates (SC), pp. 405–9, where there are diagrams of both. On ‘caltrops’, Yates (T) writes: ‘*Tribulus terrestris* (caltrop) is a plant with sharp spikes. It is unclear whether the Mohist is advocating the use of the plant itself or wooden or iron spikes known also as “caltrops”. The device was used throughout Chinese history as an effective means to halt or slow either an infantry or cavalry advance.’ On the weight of the stones, the original text has ‘a thousand ($qian$) $jun$’; this has been emended to $shi$ (10).

### 52.14

Every 5 $bu$ there should be an earthenware jar with a ladle to hold water; the capacity of the jar should be 1 $dou$ of water.

Every 5 $bu$ there should be a pile of darts ($goushi$), 500 in all. The darts should be 3 $chi$ long and covered over with rushes. The ends should be sharpened and the darts securely bound to a small wooden stake.

Every 10 $bu$ there should be a pile of firewood, each pile being greater than 2 $wei$ in circumference and 8 $chi$ long, 20 piles in all.

Every 25 $bu$ there should be one furnace with each furnace having an iron pot ($qian$) and each pot a capacity of
greater than 1 dan. These can be used to prepare boiling water. As well, prepare sand – not less than 1,000 dan.

Every 30 bu set up one houlou (observation tower), extending 4 chi beyond the parapet, 3 chi in width and 4 chi long. It should be surrounded by wooden planking on three sides. Mud is used to conceal it, and in summer it is covered to protect it above.

Comment: This lists a miscellaneous group: water containers, firewood, furnaces, weapons (darts – although there is some question about goushi) and a type of tower. Yates (T) provides a list of the different types of tower described, identifying six in all, and explains the houlou as a ‘tower for sitting and watching’.

52.15 Every 50 bu there should be one jiche. The axle of the jiche must be of iron.

Every 50 bu there should be a protected latrine completely surrounded by a wall 8 chi high.

Every 50 bu there should be a door. The door must have a locking mechanism above to defend it.

Every 50 bu there should be a pile of firewood weighing not less than 300 dan. It should be well covered with mud so fire from without cannot damage it.

Comment: It is not clear what the ‘door’ is; and Yates (T) has ‘room’.

52.16 Every 100 bu have one longcong (watchtower) which rises from the ground 5 zhang. It should have three levels. Its width at the bottom should be 8 chi at the front
and 13 chi behind. As it gets higher it should become narrower according to circumstances.

Every 100 bu have one wooden tower. The width of the tower should be 9 chi across at the front and its height should be 7 chi. The tower’s chimney and screen should be 12 chi away from the wall.

Every 100 bu have one well. Each well should have ten water containers that are attached to a wooden post. The capacity of the water containers should range from 4 to 6 dou, [and there should be] a hundred [of them].

Every 100 bu there should be one pile of straw of different lengths – fifty bundles of a circumference greater than 2 wei.

Every 100 bu there should be a large lu (shield). The large lu should be 4 chi wide and 8 chi high. They are for approaching the enemy in tunnels.

Every 100 bu there should be a concealed drain, 3 chi wide and 4 chi deep.

Every 200 bu there should be one lilou (standing tower). The part within the wall should be 2 zhang 5 chi high, while the part that projects crosswise should be 5 chi.

52.17 The top of the wall should be 3 to 4 bu wide to allow fighting to take place on it. There should be a small wall with holes for observation (embrasures); this wall should
be 3 chi wide and 2 chi 5 cun high. The steps should be 2 chi 5 cun high, and their width and length should both be 3 chi. The width of the ascent should be 6 chi in each case. On the four corners of the wall there should be small dwellings 5 chi in height where the four commandants reside.

On the wall, every 7 chi there should be one qu, 1 zhang 5 chi long, buried to a depth of 3 chi. It should extend beyond the parapet for 5 cun [so] the exposed part is 1 zhang 2 chi long and the [horizontal] arms are 6 chi long. In the middle of the wooden surface a hole is cut with an internal diameter of 5 cun. The front end of the qu should be lower than the parapet by 4 cun, this being appropriate. Drill the qu and excavate a hole, then cover it with tiles. On winter days, block it with horse dung, then await orders for its use. Alternatively, use tiles to make the pit.

On the wall, every 10 bu there should be one post 1 zhang in length. In the case of those hurling water, they grasp the post to throw it. Every 50 bu there should be one latrine. The latrines on or below the wall are places for accumulation of filth. Those entering a latrine should not be carrying anything.

52.18 On the wall, there should be one jiche every 30 bu. When confronting tunnelling, don’t use [this number].
On the wall, every 50 *bu* there should be one set of steps (a staircase). The height (of the steps) should be 2 *chi* 5 *cun* and the length (overall) 10 *bu*. On the wall, every 50 *bu* there should be one small tower; this must have two levels.

There should be one wooden tower every 100 *bu* with an external suspended door. On either side, there should be a pit. A screen should be added to the tower, and there should be a wooden walkway for the purpose of rescue from the outside.

On the wall, there should be no other buildings at all. Certainly any building in which people can conceal themselves must be completely removed.

Placed in a circle around the wall at 100 *bu* intervals, there should be collections of firewood, each collection being not less than 3,000 (?300) *dan*; skilfully cover these with earth.

On the wall, every 10 men should have a file leader (platoon commander). The file leaders should be under a subordinate officer (*lishi*), and there should be one post captain.

Every 100 *bu* there should be one post (*ting*). The height of the walls should be 1 *zhang* 4 *chi* and the thickness 4 *chi*. The doors should have two leaves which can be opened and closed independently. Each post should have one captain (*wei*). Those chosen for this position must be
reliable and trustworthy men who can bear the responsibility.

Comment: There are several issues: in the first paragraph, does dui refer to tunnelling or a battle line; in the second, is kongyong a tower (Yates (T)); in the third, is this a suspended door or some kind of shooting tower as proposed (Yates (T)); and in the fifth, the amount of firewood – 3,000 dan – seems an awful lot!

52.19 Two lodgings (of the file leader and the post captain) should share one well and one furnace. Ashes, chaff, grain and horse dung are all carefully collected and stored.

On the wall, prepare the following things: shielding screens (?shields and screens), jiche, trestle bridges, movable towers, chopping tools, well-sweeps, linked flails, long axes, long hammers, long hoes, rams, attack carts (flying battering-rams), suspended bridges and piqu. There should be one tower every 50 bu. Below the parapet make holes, one every 3 chi. Make well-sweeps with a circumference of 4½ chi, such that they can be moved by the strength of one man.

Have tiles and stones to a weight greater than 2 jin.

On the wall, there should be sand, one pile every 50 bu. A furnace is set up with an iron vessel on it with the sand in the same place.

Pieces of timber of 2 wei in circumference and of lengths greater than 1 zhang 2 chi are skilfully joined
together [to make] what are called a longzong (observation post). Every 50 bu there should be one.

There should be wooden bridges 3 zhang in length, and not less than fifty of these. They can be used to send men for urgent construction of a breastwork which is covered with tiles.

Use earthenware or wood to make pitchers which have a capacity of 10 dou or more. There should be ten of these every 50 bu; fill them with water in readiness for use. [Also,] every 10 bu there should be two pitchers with a capacity of 5 dou or more.

Comment: Another miscellaneous collection of things that should be on the wall: piqu is not identified; xin gao may mean well-sweeps, some kind of torch (Yates (T)) or even two separate things; the meaning of the second paragraph is not clear; Yates (T) believes that longzong are spears of some sort.

52.20 Family members who live in the wards below the wall are each required to defend to their left and right and to the front and rear, just like those on the wall. When the city is small but the people are many, send those who are old and frail to the capital and to other large cities for protection.

If when the enemy comes, it is judged they will certainly attack, the commander [of the defence] first [orders the] destruction of the dwellings near to the wall, but not that they be burned. When the enemy is below the wall, he
should change the duties of the officers and soldiers at the appropriate times, but not change their support personnel. The support personnel must not be on the wall.

When the enemy is below (outside) the wall, there should be a collection of all bowls and jars which are then piled beneath the wall. Have one pile every 100 *bu* with five hundred items per pile.

There must be no houses within the gate of the wall. The housing for senior officers responsible for defence must be closely guarded and places must be established for the support staff. The building should have parapets 4 *chi* high. The main gate should always be closed. There should be two men to defend the gate and one man for each parapet.

The road outside the city should be kept clear. In the area for 100 *bu* beyond the moat, walls and trees, whether large or small, should be destroyed or cut down and then moved away. On the routes by which the enemy might approach, whether the main road or other thoroughfares, there should be large towers. Bamboo arrows should be set up in the water [of the moat].

**52.21** Below the defence headquarters (Defender’s hall), construct a large tower that is high and near the wall and has free access on all sides below the building. If visitors come, they are met in the middle of the road. And the
visitors must wait to be seen. At the appropriate time, three elders are summoned to the defence headquarters to take part in planning for the outcome (success or failure). When their policies are to be used and the plans and stratagems are in accord, then they enter the defence area. Having entered the defence area, they are not allowed to go on to the wall, or to leave their dwellings. Those of the defenders who have a good knowledge of the height of the wall and the depth of the moat should set up the defence. Morning and evening, the drum is sounded to stir on [the defenders]. Young men are used for ease of defence.

52.22 Methods of defence: every 50 bu there should be ten able-bodied young men, twenty able-bodied young women and ten old people and children; that is, a total of forty people every 50 bu. With respect to soldiers for the towers below the wall, there should be uniformly one every bu, so for 20 bu there are twenty men. Whether the city is large or small, if this is taken as the standard, it will, in fact, be enough to defend a besieged [city].

52.23 When the enemy relies on the ‘ant approach’ (mass infantry assault) from four sides, if the leader of the defence knows this beforehand, it is to his advantage and the enemy’s disadvantage. If the enemy attacks in lines and
the number is one hundred thousand, then the attack does not exceed four lines. At the most, the width of the front is 500 bu, while the intermediate front is 300 bu and the smallest front is 50 bu. When it does not exceed 150 bu, the leader of the defence is at an advantage and the enemy is at a disadvantage. In the case of a 500 bu front, use one thousand able-bodied men, two thousand able-bodied women and a thousand old people and children, giving four thousand in all, which is sufficient to meet them. These are the numbers for defending against a front. And let the old people and children who do not serve [at the front itself] defend on the wall, but not face the front.

52.24 When a city’s general goes forth, he must have a clear signal flag to let the officers and people all know about it. When he has a retinue of anything from ten men to over a hundred men, or if a general goes forth but does not carry a signal flag, or if the retinue is not composed of his own troops or does not have a signal flag, the general leading a thousand men or more stops him and does not let him proceed. If he does go forth, and officers and soldiers follow him, they are all beheaded. All this is made known to the commander. These are important prohibitions in the defence of a city. That traitorous elements may arise is something that must be given careful attention.
Comment: Yates (T) comments that this section ‘perhaps belongs to a separate fragment, [and] gives the procedure to be followed when the Mohist Defender and his retinue leave the town or city after the successful defence’.

52.25 On the wall, ‘goblets’ (torch holes) are excavated, 3 chi below the movable parapets. They are wide at the opening and narrow within; there should be one every 5 bu. A goblet can contain a flaming reed torch. The highest goblets are at a height of 6 chi and the lowest at 3 chi. The spacing is determined by the requirement of being able to see what is going on. Outside the wall, a ditch is dug at a distance of 7 chi from the wall and there is a suspended bridge (drawbridge). If the area outside the wall is too narrow and a ditch cannot be dug, it is permissible to have no ditch. On the wall, every 30 bu there should be one long-zao (movable furnace) and each person should grasp a torch 5 chi in length. If the enemy is outside the wall, the torches are lit when the sound of the drum is heard. When the drum sounds a second time, the torches are placed in the goblets to illuminate the outside.

52.26 The various jiche all have iron bands, their pillars are 1 zhang 7 chi long and they are buried to a depth of 4 chi. Their [throwing] arms are greater than 3 zhang and up to 3 zhang 5 chi. Their majia (slings) are 2 chi 8 cun long. The jiche’s strength is tested using a wooden bar [to strike
against]. Three-quarters of the arm [of the jiche] lies above [the pivot].

In the case of the jiche, the arm is 3 zhang in length and three parts in four are above [the pivot]. The sling is situated in the centre of the exposed three-quarters; it must be 2 chi 8 cun in length. The arm should be 24 chi in length. Less than this it is of no use. Control the pivot using large cart wheels. The trebuchet’s posts are 1 zhang 2½ chi in length. Every trebuchet has iron bands. Behind, there is a supporting cart.

52.27 When the enemy attacks by filling in the moat, make water jars which are 4 chi deep, firmly sealed and buried in the ground, there being one every 10 chi. Cover them with an earthenware cover and await the order [for their use]. Use pieces of wood 1 wei in circumference and 2 chi 4 fen long, and make a hollow in the centre. In this, place burning charcoal and cover it. Then, using a jiche, project it [at the enemy]. Make [bundles of] caltrops to throw [at the enemy], 2 chi 5 cun long and 2 wei or above in size. [Above the gates,] fix wooden spikes, the spikes being 7 cun long with a gap of 6 cun between spikes. Their ends are sharpened. Have gouzou (stakes) which are 7 cun wide and 1 chi 8 cun long with a ‘claw’ 4 cun long. Set them like dog’s teeth (i.e. interdigitating).
Comment: This section may be four fragments: filling in the moat, the use of caltrops, wooden spikes and gouzou. Yates (T) (and this edition) has it as a separate and complete fragment, which he suggests might be displaced from a lost chapter on ‘mounding in the moat’, and he links it with 52.11.

52.28 Master Mo said: ‘Among the methods of defending a city, there must be a calculation of the amount of wood within the city wall. That which ten men can carry is taken as 10 qie. That which five men can carry is taken as 5 qie. In general, the amount is determined by the number of men. In respect to what constitutes a qie of firewood and fuel, those who are strong have their qie and those who are weak have their qie, this being designated as their responsibility. So, in each case, the actual weight of the qie determines what each person takes as their responsibility. If there is no food in the city, the magnitude (of the qie) is reduced.’

Comment: Some recent Chinese editions combine 52.28 and 52.29, with both attributed to Master Mo.

52.29 At a distance of 5 bu beyond the city gates, there should be a large trench. Where the ground is high, dig it 1 zhang 5 chi deep; where the ground is low, it should go down until there is water, or 3 chi, and then stop. Set up zei (?stakes) in the middle of it. Have above it a suspended bridge (drawbridge) with a concealed mechanism to control its movement. The upper surface (of the bridge) should be covered with brushwood and earth so it looks like a path.
On either side, there should be a ditch that cannot be jumped across. (The defenders) should go forth to challenge the enemy and feign defeat, so the enemy pursues them to enter (the city). Then activate the bridge mechanism so the enemy can be seized. Then the enemy becomes fearful and stricken with doubt, and so retreats.
53.1 Master Qin bowed repeatedly and said: ‘May I ask what is to be done when the enemy piles up earth to make a high mound in order to approach our wall, places firewood and earth on top to make a yangqian (high mound) and after covering it with shields at the front, sets it up against the wall with [soldiers carrying] weapons and crossbows on top of it?’

Master Mo replied: ‘Are you asking about the defence against the yangqian? Those who would use such a ramp are stupid. [It is a device] which is sufficient to wear out the soldiers, but not sufficient to harm the city. In defence, make ‘terrace walls’ and bring them adjacent to the yangqian. On the left and right, project rams, each 20 chi
in length. The movable walls should be 30 chi high; powerful crossbows are fired from them. If you make use of these ingenious devices, the yangqian attack can be defeated.’

Comment: This exchange is similar to 71.1: how to defend against the yangqian (yangqin in 71.1). Master Mo here recommends the construction of ‘terrace walls’ or ‘movable walls’, but in 71.1 recommends the bombardment of the enemy with arrows and stones. Crossbows can be used against the enemy from these terrace walls, so the penultimate sentence may suggest using the jiche (trebuchets) (Yates (T)) or the joined crossbow described in detail in 53.2.

53.2 In preparing against the high and adjacent (‘the lin or ‘overlook cart’), use the ‘joined crossbow’ carriage (liannu che). [This is made of] timbers 1 chi square and is of a length corresponding to the wall’s thickness. It has two axles and four wheels, the wheels being inside the frame. The inside itself is divided into upper and lower levels. Both left and right sides have two vertical posts each, and left and right sides have a horizontal beam. The left and right ends of both horizontal beams all have a tenon which projects straight out for 4 cun. To the left and right the crossbows are all bound to the vertical posts. All the strings, right up to the main string, are linked together with a ‘tooth’. The crossbow ‘arm’ (?stock) at the front and back is level with the frame [of the carriage] which is 8 chi high. The crossbow pivot extends 3 chi and 5 cun below the
frame. The ‘joined crossbow’ (lian nu) control mechanism and its housing are made of bronze [requiring] 1 dan and 30 jin. The string is drawn around a windlass. The size of the frame is $3\frac{1}{2}$ wei (spans). To the left and right there are ‘teeth’ 3 cun square. The wheels [of the cart] are 1 chi 2 cun thick. The ‘arms’ for the ‘teeth’ are 1 chi 4 cun wide, 7 cun thick and 6 chi long. External to the ‘arms’ and level with the frame there is a ‘claw’ which is 1 chi 5 cun long and extends transversely on both sides. It is 6 cun wide, 3 cun thick and of the same length as the frame. There is an aiming mechanism which is able to rise or fall and can be directed upwards or downwards. The base of the crossbow should weigh 1 dan and be made from timbers 1 wei 5 cun in size. The arrows are 10 chi long and have a cord attached to the end like a yishe (arrow firer) which can be wound back by a windlass. The arrows extend above the crossbow ‘arms’ by 3 chi. There is no limit to the number of crossbows. Sixty [large arrows] are fired and retrieved, whereas small arrows are not retrieved. Ten men control this cart. When an attack is seen, the enemy can be fired at from the high towers, while on the wall a protective screen is used against enemy arrows.

**Comment:** A detailed description of the device for firing multiple arrows: a multiple-bolt arbalest. But it is not clear precisely how or against what it is being deployed. For detailed descriptions of it, see Yates (SC), pp. 187–99 and 440–41.
Lost
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56.1 Qin Guli served Master Mo for three years until his hands and feet were covered with calluses and his face was blackened by the sun. He had laboured to be of service and had not dared to express his own wishes. Master Mo greatly pitied him, so taking some purified wine and dried meat, he went to Mount Tai, cleared a patch of grass to sit on and made an offering to Qin. Qin bowed several times and sighed.

   Master Mo said: ‘What else do you wish?’
   Qin bowed repeatedly and said: ‘Dare I ask about the Way of defence?’
   Master Mo replied: ‘Put it aside for the moment! Put it aside for the moment! In ancient times, there were those who had this skill, but within they did not become close to
the people, and without they did not manage the affairs of
government. When few, they fought against many. When
weak, they made light of the strong. The result was that they
themselves died, their states were lost and they became the
laughing stock of the world. You should be very careful
about this. Otherwise, I fear you will end up a corpse
yourself.’

Qin again made obeisance and bowed his head, wishing
to ask further about the Way of defence. ‘Dare I ask what is
to be done when enemies are many and brave, when they
have filled in our moat, when the troops advance in a
phalanx, when the cloud ladders are in position, when the
equipment for attack is already complete, when the
warriors are increasingly numerous, and they are making a
headlong rush to scale our walls?’

Comment: The introduction of the cloud ladder (yun di),
said to have been invented by Master Mo’s rival Gongshu
Pan (see Mozi 50.1).

56.2 Master Mo said: ‘Are you asking about defence
against cloud ladders (i.e. scaling ladders)? Cloud ladders
are heavy pieces of equipment and moving them is very
difficult. The defence consists of “platform (movable)
walls” (xingcheng) with various towers placed at intervals
as a means of encircling their centre. By taking the appropriate width or narrowness as the measure, surround the centre with rush screens, but do not widen its position. The pattern for “platform (movable) walls” is that they are 20 \( chi \) higher than the city wall with a 10 \( chi \) wide parapet added on top. To the left and right project rams (\( ju \)), each 20 \( chi \) long. The [various towers] are tall and broad in the manner of the “platform (movable) walls”. Holes are made as for smoking out rats, and woven screens are set up on the outside. The “ingenious machines”, battering rams, (movable) bridges and “platform (movable) walls” are deployed over a width commensurate with that of the advancing line of enemy forces. Interspersed among these are “chisels” and piercing implements, using ten men to manage a battering ram and five men to control a piercing implement; all the men must be strong. Order those with an unwavering gaze to keep watch on the enemy, using the drum to give the signal to shoot at them from both sides and continuously. Set the crossbows into action against them and from the wall above harass them below with arrows, stones, sand and coals, falling like rain. Use blazing wood and boiling water to burn and scald them. Examine rewards and carry out punishments. Make plans in a calm way but follow them with action that is swift so you don’t
let anxieties arise. This is how an attack by cloud ladders can be defeated.’

56.3 In the defence with moving parapets, make them 6 chi high and at one level. Swords are set up on their faces and fired by a mechanism. If the battering rams come, release them. If they don’t come, leave them set up. Cavities are made, one every 3 chi. Cylindrical caltrops are put in and must be used against troop lines. Pull them back and forth with a cart.

Comment: On cylindrical caltrops, see Yates (SC), p. 433.

56.4 Arrange palisades outside the wall at a distance of 10 chi from it, the palisades being 10 chi thick. Collect timber for the palisades, both large and small pieces, and cut off the roots completely. Then, cut the pieces into 10 chi lengths to make a strong construction that cannot be pulled up. Every 20 bu, there should be one sha, each sha having one ge, the ge being 10 chi thick. In a sha there are two gates, each gate being 5 chi wide. In each palisade there is one gate which is shallowly buried and not heavily built, so it is easy to pull up. On the wall and facing towards the palisade gate, set up things to throw.

Comment: This section describes the construction of a palisade fence with gates and the use of the sha. It is not clear what a sha (or a ge) was – probably some kind of structure divided by partitions which soldiers used to protect and conceal
themselves before they went forth beyond the fence. Yates (SC), p. 481, translates *sha* as ‘Death’; others link it with ‘scatter’, in the sense of a place from which soldiers scatter.

56.5 [In the case of] ‘hanging fires’, every 4 *chi* there should be one stake with a hook on it and every 5 *bu* one furnace with a brazier of charcoal at the doors of the furnace. The enemy soldiers are allowed to enter fully, upon which the gates are set ablaze with ‘hanging fires’ to follow. Send out carriers and set them up, their width being equivalent to that of the enemy line. Have one fire between two carriers. When everything is set up, await the sound of the drum and set them alight, then release them all together. If the enemy troops extinguish the fire and attack again, the ‘hanging fires’ are again released, bringing the enemy great distress and causing them to lead their forces away and flee. Then we give the order for our crack troops to go out in all directions from the ‘sally ports’ and attack the fleeing enemy. Order the brave soldiers and generals all to go forth when they hear the sound of the drum on the wall, and to re-enter when they hear the sound of the drum on the wall again. As before, when sending forth soldiers, create a diversion. In the middle of the night, create a clamour of drums on the wall on all sides, so there is inevitably doubt within enemy ranks. By this, you will certainly rout the army and kill the general. Put on white garments as clothes
and use shouts to communicate with each other. In this way, the attack by cloud ladders can be defeated.

**Comment:** On ‘hanging fires’, see Yates (SC), p. 481. He uses ‘sally ports’ for the exit gates in the palisades.
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58

Preparing Against Water (Flooding)  
(Bei Shui)

58.1 Within the wall, but outside the trench, make an encircling road 8 bu wide. In preparing against water (flooding), make a careful estimation of the height of the ground at all points. Where the ground within the wall is sloping down (low), [create] a tile-lined channel in it extending to low ground. Wells should be dug at the deepest places in the ground. Then place a measuring tile in each well and when the depth of the water outside exceeds 1 zhang, dig water channels within the wall.

58.2 Boats are joined together [in pairs] to make 10 lin (‘approachers’), each ‘approacher’ having thirty men. Each man is in charge of a crossbow and four of every ten men have a youfang. It is necessary for those skilled in boats to make fenwen (‘tanks’). Twenty such craft constitute a
‘squadron’. Thirty men, capable and strong, are chosen for each craft. Of these, twelve men wield a *youfang* and wear armour and leather helmets, while the other eighteen men have a *miao*. Before training these capable soldiers, their parents, wives and children are held as hostages at a different place and provided for. When it is seen that the waters (dikes) can be breached, use the *lin* and *fenwen* to breach the outside (enemy) dikes, assisting them with rapid fire from the ‘revolving shooting machines’ (rotating crossbows) on the wall.

**Comment:** Section 58.1 describes the first defence: the digging of channels and wells to drain the water away. In 58.2, the next one involves two kinds of specially designed craft which are sent out to breach the enemy dikes, their advance being covered by arrows fired from the wall. The *youfang* is unidentified, and a *miao* is possibly a spear.
59

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61

Preparing Against Sudden Attack
(Bei Tu)

61.1 In the wall, there should be one sally port (tumen) every 100 bu. For each sally port, there should be a kiln or furnace and a dou (tube for blowing the fire of the furnace – tuyère) which enters the gate for 4 or 5 chi. Above the gate, construct a tiled roof that does not allow water or heavy rain to enter the gate. An officer controls the blocking of the sally port using two cart wheels bound together with wood and smeared with mud on the upper surface. Suspend [this structure] within the sally port, letting it be commensurate in width with the sally port. Let [the dou] enter the gate for 4 or 5 chi. Set up the kiln or furnace and place bellows beside the gate. Fill the furnace full with firewood and artemisia. When the enemy enters
[the gate], drop the wheels and block it. Activate the bellows and create smoke.

**Comment:** All that remains of the chapter on a sudden (or surprise) attack, if it is accepted that this is the meaning of *tu*. The technique is that the enemy forces are lured through gates in the wall (presumably the outer wall) and then their possible retreat is blocked by the structure, and smoke is released from the furnaces to incapacitate them. For sally port, Yates’s term ‘irruption gate’ might be preferable, given that the idea was to let the enemy burst in. On this type of attack, see Yates (T), pp. 461–3.
Qin Zi bowed repeatedly and said: ‘May I ask about the men of old who were skilled in attack and tunnelled through the ground to enter [the city], placing posts which they set on fire in order to damage our wall. When the wall was damaged, what did those within the city do?’

Master Mo replied: ‘Are you asking about the defence against the tunnelling of earth? In preparing against tunnelling, erect a high tower within the wall to maintain a vigilant surveillance of the enemy. If the enemy brings about changes, for example builds up walls of an extraordinary amount of earth or causes the water in the moat to become unusually muddy, this indicates the tunnelling of earth. Urgently dig a channel within the wall and excavate tunnels to counter this. Every 5 bu dig a well
within the wall, making it close enough to the wall. [If the wall is on] high ground, [the wells should be] 1 zhang 5 chi deep; if it is on low ground, they should reach to 3 chi below the water level and stop. Direct potters to make ying (jars, geophones) with a capacity of 40 dou or more, cover them tightly with thin rawhide and place them in the wells. Get those with sharp hearing to lie prostrate and listen in order to get detailed information about where the [enemy] tunnels are situated, then dig [counter-]tunnels to meet them.’

Comment: The essential components of a defence against tunnelling or mining are identified as above-ground surveillance using towers within the wall which give vantage points, and below-ground detection using wells and geophones to pick up sounds of enemy tunnelling. Counter-tunnels can then be dug. The method is detailed by Yates (SC), pp. 463–80. The idea was to tunnel under the wall, supporting the tunnel with posts until a sufficient length of the wall had been undermined. The posts were then set on fire so the tunnel, and with it the undermined section of wall, collapsed, allowing attackers to enter.

62.2 Direct potters to make tiled pipes 2 chi 5 cun in length with a diameter of 6 wei (spans). Divide them in the centre, so that one half is facing upwards and one half facing downwards. The outside of the posts should be skilfully covered all around with mud. If what supports the posts doesn’t burn, the posts themselves don’t burn. Skilfully cover the joins in the drains with mud, so nothing can leak out. The two sides should both be like this as the
tunnel advances. Place charcoal and chaff in them where the lower end reaches the ground, but not so as to fill them completely. Charcoal and chaff are placed throughout the length of the pipes and are distributed equally to the left and right. At the internal openings of the tunnels, there should be furnaces which are like kilns. They should contain seven or eight balls of artemisia. The left and right pipes should both be like this. The kilns use four bellows. When the tunnels meet, use well-sweeps to clear away the intervening earth and urgently stir up the bellows to provide smoke against the enemy. Be certain to issue clear orders to those attending the bellows not to leave the furnace openings. Make linked wooden planks of a height and width commensurate with that of the tunnel. Order the tunnellers with the planks to go forward together. Holes are cut in the planks to allow them to hold spears. There are variations in the density and number to allow them to be used to save the pipes. When the tunnels meet, the planks are used to resist the enemy and the spears are used to protect the pipes. Don’t let the pipes become blocked. If the pipes are blocked, take up the planks and withdraw. If one blocked pipe is encountered, ream it out so smoke can pass. When smoke can pass, urgently work the bellows to produce smoke. If from within the tunnel, the sounds of tunnelling are heard to the left or right, the tunnel is immediately
blocked at the front and not allowed to proceed further. If there is a joining with the enemy’s tunnel, the opening is blocked with brushwood and mud. In this way, the attack by tunnelling is defeated.

Comment: The construction seems to be pipes built on either side of the defensive tunnels which are used to transmit noxious fumes, created by burning artemisia, into the enemy tunnels when a breakthrough is made. Wooden barriers with holes to accommodate spears are made to protect the tunnellers at the points of connection between defensive and offensive tunnels.

62.3 When the enemy reaches our city, it becomes a matter of great urgency. In carefully preparing [against] the enemy if tunnels are thought to exist, respond to the enemy [tunnels] by urgently tunnelling. While [our] tunnels are not yet in place, we must be careful not to pursue [the enemy].

62.4 In general, to defeat an attack by tunnelling, excavate a [defensive] tunnel every 20 bu, each tunnel being 10 chi high and 10 chi wide. As the tunnel advances forward, there should be a fall of 3 chi for every 1 bu. Every 10 bu of advancement, excavate transverse tunnels (yongxue) to the left and right, the height and width of each one being 10 chi.

62.5 Bury two ying so that the depth of the mouths of the ying is level with the ground within the wall. Use joined planks to cover each ying. Then, lying prostrate, listen [to
them]. Every 5 bu have one well. For each tunnel, use tong (wood) or pine to make doors. Within the doors, place two caltrops, making the length of each equal to that of the doors. The doors should have iron rings. All around the doors of the tunnel, there should be a wall of stones 7 chi high. Add a parapet above it. Do not make steps but use a suspended ladder to go up or down, out or in. Prepare a furnace and bellows, the bellows being made of ox-hide. For the furnace have two bellows. Use well-sweeps weighing 100 jin with the very smallest not less than 40 jin. Use burning charcoal to put into the furnace, fill it and cover it so as not to allow smoke to escape. If the enemy is rapidly approaching our tunnel and their tunnel is higher or lower than ours so it does not enter our tunnel, then excavate at an incline and seek to connect with it.

Comment: There is uncertainty about the weights given as jin: do they refer to the well-sweeps (as above), or to the fuel, as Yates (T) thinks.

62.6 When there is a confrontation with the enemy in the tunnel, in all cases oppose [them] but don’t pursue [them]. There should be alternation between fighting and feigning defeat to draw the enemy into one’s own tunnel. Then await the burning in the furnaces while hiding in concealed side tunnels like rats in their holes. Make a window with a locking cover through which the comings and goings within
can be observed. On the wall outside each tunnel have a dog. When the dog barks, it is an indication that there are people.

62.7 Cut artemisia and firewood, [preparing bundles] 1 chi in length. Place them in the kilns or furnaces. First, make a pile of stones to screen off the kiln, [and then,] where it faces the tunnel, have joined planks.

62.8 Dig wells close enough to the wall[,] having one every 3 zhang. Survey the terrain outside [the wall] to establish where to place the wells, taking care not to make a mistake. If the wall is low and the tunnel high, it is difficult to detect the [enemy] tunnels. Within the wall, dig three or four wells, and inside each well place newly made ying so it is possible to lie prostrate and listen to them, thus gaining a detailed knowledge of where the [enemy] tunnels are situated. Make [counter-]tunnels to meet them. If the tunnels do, in fact, meet, prepare well-sweeps which must have strong timber for the handles. Use sharp axes to make them. Give the order for three strong men to use the well-sweeps to rush against the enemy and pour in more than 10 dan of foul material.

62.9 Quickly fill the centre of the furnace with brushwood and place seven or eight balls of artemisia on top. Use a
basin to cover the mouth of the furnace, so as not to let the smoke leak out above. Bring the bellows next to the mouth and rapidly activate them.

62.10 Make a *wen* from cart wheels. Make one bundle of firewood, using a hempen rope steeped in mud to bind it around the middle. Suspend an iron chain directly facing the mouth of the enemy tunnel. The iron chain should be 3 *zhang* long with one end having a ring and the other end a hook.

**Comment:** There is some doubt about what a *wen* was: see also 52.7 and 62.12. Yates (SC) says: ‘Unfortunately, it is not possible to specify the nature of the *wen*, but it may have been some kind of giant pulley or winch’ (p. 471).

62.11 [Make] ‘rat holes’ (*shuxue*) 7 *chi* 5 *cun* high with a width between the pillars on either side equal to 7 *chi*. [On the side walls,] have one pillar every 2 *chi* with a foundation stone placed beneath each pillar. Every two pillars should have a transverse piece of timber beneath them which connects them. The space under the timber should be filled with earth to support it. The circumference of each pillar should be 2½ *wei*. The supporting earth must be packed firmly, while the pillars themselves should not interconnect.
For every tunnel have two kilns and have tiles covering the doors of the tunnels. Have zhili (assistants) and sheren (assistants), one of each. Water must be placed [there]. Block up the doors of the tunnels with a pair of carriage wheels, making a wen which is coated with mud on its upper surface. The size of these is determined by the height and width of the tunnel. Order that they be placed 4 or 5 chi into the tunnel and secured with rope. When the enemy is engaged in the tunnel, turn [the pulleys] and lower the wen to obstruct [the enemy], and light the kilns. Put three balls of artemisia into the kilns. Then let the enemy rush forward and enter the tunnel. From a concealed position to one side, work the bellows and don’t leave the post. The lances used in the tunnels are made of iron and are 4½ chi long. There are [also] large [weapons] like iron battleaxes, as well as two kinds of lance with sharpened blades. After the tunnel has progressed 1 chi from its opening, the digging should incline downwards so the tunnel descends down towards the centre of the earth. Use lances that are 7 chi long. In the tunnel have encircling ropes for going up and down, two per tunnel.

Comment: There is again uncertainty about what a wen is – i.e. whether it is the same as in 62.10 or the luwen used for blocking tunnels (Yates (T)).
62.13 Dig wells below the wall. Wait until the well is about to break through. Then, standing on a wooden plank, dig out one side. When that is complete, dig out the other side. Have two well-sweeps. At the sides, bury their posts and have hooks near the two ends. In all, have fifty people digging the tunnel with equal numbers of men and women. In the tunnel have implements for moving the earth, including six baskets, bound around the bottom with hempen rope, that can lift out the earth for distribution [around the opening of the tunnel]. When the tunnel is completed, seven men are left to defend it. Within the rampart create one large room within which the tunnelling equipment can be stored.

Comment: Some editors divide 62.13 into the method of digging wells; the method of using well-sweeps; the numbers of people used; and the method of transporting earth when digging tunnels and what to do when the tunnel is complete.

62.14 To make it difficult [for the enemy] to tunnel, collect up the wood and bricks scattered on the sides of the moat. [Inside the wall,] dig a trench as deep as the water level. To make it difficult for tunnels near at hand, prepare iron axes. An axe and its handle should be 4 chi long. Make enough for requirements. When the enemy has tunnels, you should also have tunnels to oppose them.

Comment: It is not clear whether 62.14 is about making things difficult for enemy tunnellers (as above), or dealing with situations where it is difficult to dig defensive
62.15 Make iron hooks 4 chi long – enough to meet requirements – and when the tunnels communicate, use them to hook the enemy tunnellers. Make short spears, short halberds, short crossbows and short arrows – enough to meet requirements – and when the tunnels communicate, use them for the fighting. For hacking the enemy, use a weapon with a bronze blade 5 chi in length. Make a hole in the head to fit a wooden handle, and above the place where the hand grips the handle have a carved indentation. Use this to oppose the enemy tunnellers.

62.16 Prepare and have ying (geophones) with a capacity of 30 dou or more. Bury them in the tunnels, [three] every zhang, to listen for the sounds of [enemy] tunnelling.

62.17 Make tunnels with a height of 8 chi and a width of 8 chi. Set up good supporting pillars and coat the outer surfaces of these with mud. Prepare furnaces and ox-hide bellows as well as pipes [for the transmission of smoke]. Each tunnel should have two pipes. Add a supply of rapidly combustible material such as artemisia, and when the tunnels connect, use this to provide smoke [against the enemy].
62.18 Make axes with metal blades and handles 3 chi in length. Provide four for each tunnel. Make baskets (lei), forty per tunnel, and hoes (shu), four per tunnel. Make axes of different kinds, saws, chisels and large hoes, sufficient for requirements. Make iron rails, four per tunnel.

62.19 Make medium-sized lu (shields) 10½ chi high and 4 chi wide. Make large lu for placing across the tunnels. Have a large quantity of hemp stalks sufficient to provide illumination for the tunnels.

62.20 Have a large quantity of vinegar so that when the enemy creates smoke, it can be used to relieve the eyes. Once the eyes are relieved, attention can again be directed to digging out the tunnel. Use basins to hold the vinegar and place these within the tunnels. [They should be] large basins not less than 4 dou [in capacity]. When there is smoke, bring the eyes near to the upper surface of the vinegar, using it to protect the eyes.

Comment: On the use of vinegar to protect the eyes, Yates (SC) remarks: ‘Just how effective this procedure was against the thick clouds of highly irritating artemisia smoke in the deep and narrow tunnel is unclear, for no descriptions of its use in actual battle have come down to us’ (p. 469).
63.1 Qin Zi bowed repeatedly and said: ‘May I ask about the situation where the enemy shows superior strength, approaches and climbs the wall, with orders for those who lag behind in the scaling to be punished. They chisel into the wall to create steps and excavate the wall to make shelters. Those at the front don’t stop climbing while those behind maintain a rapid fire of arrows. What can be done about this?’

Master Mo replied: ‘Are you asking about defence against the ant approach? In launching an ant approach, the general is being very aggressive. The defenders should make use of movable lin (approachers) to fire on the attackers, using either mechanical firing devices or hand-
drawn bows, boiling water to pour down on them, flaming screens to release over them, and sand and stones to rain down on them. In this way, attack by the ant approach can be defeated.’

63.2 In preparing for the ant approach, make ‘hanging spleens’ (xuanpi) using wooden planks 2 cun thick. The width at the front and back should be 3 chi and at the sides 5 chi. The height should be 5 chi. To lower them, construct pulleys, the wheels of which should have a diameter of 1 chi 6 cun. Order one man to take hold of a lance 2 zhang 4 chi long and sharp at both ends, and take up position in the hanging spleen. An iron chain is attached to the upper horizontal timber of the hanging spleen and this is suspended from the pulley above. Order four strong men to lower and raise it and not to leave [their posts]. Set up hanging spleens at intervals of approximately 20 bu, but when the attacking forces are at hand, reduce this to 6 bu.

Comment: The majority treat this as a discrete section. It is about a single topic, the ‘hanging spleen’, which appears to have been a wooden box, presumably slatted and containing one soldier, which was lowered over the side of the wall so the enclosed warrior could use his double-ended lance to strike at enemy soldiers scaling the wall – see Yates (SC), p. 482.

63.3 Make rope-bound da (screens) that are 1 zhang 2 chi in both width and length and have a horizontal timber above.
Use thick hempen rope to bind them up and smear them with a covering of mud. Use an iron chain hooked on to both ends to suspend them. When the enemy makes an ant approach to the wall, set fire to the screens and drop them over the enemy. Linked flails, sand and fire all stop them. Take two cart wheels and bind them to a large piece of wood, the distance between the axle-shafts being wide, and oppose them. Both ends of the large piece of wood are sharpened, and both the wood and the wheels are everywhere coated with mud. The space between is filled with twigs of elm or hemp, while at the sides there are brambles. This [apparatus] is called a ‘fire-thrower’ (huozu). It is also called a ‘heat transferrer’ (zhuantang), and is placed facing the [enemy] troops. If the enemy scales [the wall], set fire to the heat transferrer, cut its ropes and let it fall. [Then] give the order for brave warriors to follow it and rout the enemy, taking the heat transferrer as a forerunner to the brave warriors. Those on the wall should immediately repair the damage to the wall.

Comment: Describes the hanging or fire screens and what Yates (T) has termed ‘fire-throwers’ or ‘heat transferrers’.

63.4 Below the wall put an adequate number of sharpened wooden stakes, each 5 chi long and greater than ½ wei (span) in circumference, all sharp at the ends. Make five
rows with a distance between the rows of 3 chi and bury them to a depth of 3 chi set upright like dog’s teeth. Prepare linked maces 5 chi in length and roughened over 1 cun. Prepare flails 2 chi in length and 6 cun in circumference. The length of the rope should be 2 chi. Prepare hammers with handles 6 chi long and a head that is 1 chi 5 cun long. Prepare axes with handles 6 chi long; the blades must be sharp.

63.5 Prepare screens 1 zhang 2 chi wide and 1 zhang 6 chi long and suspend them by an anterior cross-member which projects 4 chi. The place of connection at either end must overhang by 1 chi to the right and left, but don’t let it be unequal like fish scales. A large rope 2 zhang 6 chi long is attached to the centre of the posterior cross-member. The screen is exposed in an unconfined place and filled with pieces of wood which are kept dry. The screen should have a framework to allow the air to circulate above and below.

Comment: Returns to the topic of (fire) screens, starting with the same basic dimensions as in 63.3.

63.6 Where the parapet is damaged and thought likely to collapse, first bury pieces of wood, one every 10 chi. If the parapet does collapse, cut pieces of wood and attach cross-pieces on to the well-buried posts. The attached pieces should be 8 chi long, 7 cun wide and have a diameter of 1
They should be securely attached and then lowered. Nail them and cut them.

63.7 [On the wall, set up] wooden towers with piles of stones, and hang screens on the inside of the pillars but not on the outside.

63.8 Make an oak palisade buried to a depth of 4 chi and with a height of 10 zhang. [In it] long and short timbers are mixed together. The upper ends are sharpened and the outer surface thickly covered with mud.

Comment: There is some doubt about the opening two characters: Yates (T) identifies this as a ‘wattle fence’. Suffice it to say that it is some form of wooden barrier.

63.9 On the wall, have retractable walkways and suspended screens. At the corners, make towers. The towers must be of two storeys. Every 5 bu there should be a pile of earth, not less than twenty baskets. At a distance of 3 chi below the parapets excavate holes at intervals of 10 chi and widest towards the exterior. (With respect to changing direction on the wall, quickly prepare the moving towers, sha, pools of water and pitchers of hide. If the enemy scales the wall and those soldiers undertaking the attack are unable to effect a timely retreat and so leave behind military
equipment, it should be dealt with according to military conventions. Also there should be use of fire and smoke.)

**Comment:** On sha, see 56.4. The text for the sentences in parentheses is very uncertain; the translation given is therefore tentative.

63.10 In general, among the methods of repelling an ant approach, there is the setting-up of bo (barriers) outside the wall at a distance of 10 chi from it. A bo should be 10 chi thick. The method for cutting down [timber for] a bo is to take everything large or small and cut it at the root, then cut it to 10 chi lengths. The pieces are gathered together and buried deeply in the ground to create a strong construction that cannot be pulled up.

63.11 Every 20 bu, there should be one sha with an internal partition 10 chi thick. A sha has two gates, [each] being 5 chi wide. A small part of the gate timbers is buried but not strongly, allowing them to be easily pulled up. Opposite the gates of the barrier (bo), set up a palisade (ju).

**Comment:** Compare 56.4.

63.12 Have hanging fires with a hook every 4 chi. Have one furnace every 5 bu. By the doors of the furnaces have braziers with charcoal. The enemy soldiers are allowed to enter fully, upon which smoke and fire are applied to the gates with hanging fires to follow. Send out carriers and set
them up, their width being equivalent to that of the enemy line. Between two carriers, there should be one fire. When everything is set up, the sound of the drum is awaited and upon its occurrence, the fires are lit and thrown down all together. If the enemy should avoid the fire and attack again, the hanging fires are again hurled down, bringing the enemy great distress. When the enemy army is forced to withdraw, give the order for our crack troops on all sides to go forth from the sally ports and attack the fleeing army. Give the order to these brave men and their general all to go forth when they hear the drum sound on the wall and to return when they hear the drum sound again. As before, when the soldiers and general go forth, set up a diversion. In the middle of the night, make a clamour of drums from all sides on the walls. This must create doubt in the hearts of the enemy, and you will rout their army and kill the general. Put on white garments as clothes and communicate with each other by calls.

Comment: Compare 56.4 and 56.5.
Lost
65

Lost
Lost
Lost
68

Sacrifices for Meeting Enemies
(Ying Di Ci)

68.1 When enemies come from the east, meet them at the eastern altar. The altar should be 8 chi high and the depth of the hall 8 chi. Eight people of eighty years should lead the sacrifice to a green pennant and eight likenesses of a green god 8 chi high. There should be eight crossbows that fire eight arrows, then stop. The general’s clothing must be green and the sacrificial creature the chicken. When enemies come from the south, meet them at the southern altar. The altar should be 7 chi high and the depth of the hall 7 chi. Seven people of seventy years should lead the sacrifice to a red pennant and seven likenesses of a red god 7 chi high. There should be seven crossbows that fire seven arrows, then stop. The general’s clothing must be red and the sacrificial creature the dog. When enemies come from
the west, meet them at the western altar. The altar should be 9 chi high and the depth of the hall 9 chi. Nine people of ninety years should lead the sacrifice to a white pennant and nine likenesses of a white god 9 chi high. There should be nine crossbows that fire nine arrows, then stop. The general’s clothing must be plain (white) and the sacrificial creature the sheep. When enemies come from the north, meet them at the northern altar. The altar should be 6 chi high and the depth of the hall 6 chi. Six people of sixty years should lead the sacrifice to a black pennant and six likenesses of a black god 6 chi high. There should be six crossbows that fire six arrows, then stop. The general’s clothing must be black and the sacrificial creature the pig. From all the large temples outside the city, priests and shamans are sent to say prayers and make the sacrificial offerings.

68.2 In general, with the method of ‘watching the vapours’ (wang qi), there is a dajiang vapour, there is a xiaojiang vapour; there is a ‘going’ vapour, and there is a ‘coming’ vapour. There is a ‘success’ vapour and there is a ‘failure’ vapour. If these things are clearly understood, it is possible to know beforehand whether there will be victory or defeat, and good fortune or bad fortune. Bring forward those who are skilled in wizardry, medicine and divination, provide
them with the necessary drugs and arrange good living conditions. The quarters for the shamans must be close to the altars for the gods of the soil and they must offer respect to the gods. The activities of the shamans and diviners are reported to the Defender, and he is the only one to know the results of ‘watching the vapours’. If they should come and go creating rumours, startling and terrifying officials and people, thoroughly and closely investigate them and put them to death, this being an unpardonable crime. The lodgings for those involved in ‘watching the vapours’ must be close to the defence headquarters. In gathering worthy high officials as well as workmen with particular skills, rank them. In the case of butchers and winemakers, set up kitchens and give them duties, [then] rank them.

Comment: An alternative translation of wang qi is ‘watching the ether’. It may perhaps be equated with the modern qixiang tai (me-teorological observation).

68.3 In general, in defending the city, there should be township preceptors (xianshi) who have certain duties [such as] surveying the fortifications, inspecting ditches and dikes, blocking up roads beyond the wall and maintaining the wall itself. The hundred officials provide materials. The hundred workmen carry out their various duties. The commander (sima) oversees the conditions of
the wall and the troops. In setting up the defence of the gate, two men are assigned to manage the right side and two men the left side. Four men are in charge of [opening and] closing the gate. One hundred armoured soldiers sit [by the gate] in defence. On the wall, every 1 bu have an armoured soldier and a halberdier with three people to assist them. Every 5 bu have a squad leader, every 10 bu a file leader and every 100 bu a leader of one hundred (centurion). To the sides have grand marshals (dashuai) and in the middle have a general-in-chief (dajiang). All these leaders have their particular responsibilities. Against the wall there should be flights of steps with one person to manage their defence. Military documents are moved to a conveniently central place where those that are urgent can be picked out and made known. All the officers have their duties.

**Comment:** This section has three components: the duties of the xianshi and the sima, for which the titles are applicable to the Zhou period (Hucker 2534 and 5713, respectively); the distribution and grouping of troops on the wall; and the handling of documents.

**68.4** Beyond the wall, as far as arrows can reach, anything resembling a wall should be destroyed, so there is no way for the enemy to find shelter. Within a radius of 30 li, all firewood, twigs and wood generally is brought within [the wall]. With animals such as dogs, pigs, sucking pigs and chickens whose flesh is eaten, the bones are collected to
make a broth which is used to help the sick recover their health. Within the wall, firewood, twigs, huts and houses as far as an arrow can travel are all covered with mud. The order is given that in the evening dogs should be tied up and horses tethered. The tethering must be secure. In the still of the night, when the drum is heard, there should be a great shout. This is a way to dampen the enemy’s spirits and to strengthen the people’s resolve. Thus, if there are timely shouts, the people are not fearful.

68.5 Prior to the conflict, the prayer-makers and chroniclers should make an announcement to the four directions, the mountains and rivers, and the altars of soil and grain. Then they should withdraw. The duke, dressed in plain garments, should offer a pledge in the ancestral temple, saying: ‘Such people do not act in accord with the Way. They do not cultivate yi (right conduct and duty) or virtue. They rely only on strength and arrogance, saying: “We plan to destroy your altars of soil and grain. We will wipe out your people.”’ I urge all of you to work day and night, and labour on my behalf. With singleness of purpose, we can strive together, risking our lives in defence [of our city].’ Having made the declaration, the duke then withdraws to eat, resting within the central ancestral temple on the right-hand side. The prayer-makers and chroniclers
rest at the altar of soil. When the one hundred officials are all in attendance, the drum is raised in the doorway, while to the right a banner is placed and to the left a standard, one at each corner; the names of the commanders are written on the streamers. Three arrows are released to announce [an impending] victory. The five weapons are prepared. Then [the troops] assemble below the drum and await the command. The duke ascends [the temple platform] and surveys the space beyond [the wall]. Then he orders the drum [to be sounded] and after a few moments the banners are raised. The commander fires a stream of arrows from the doorway to the right. A spear is raised three times. Then all take up their bows and fire. The commander first fires a flaming arrow from the doorway to the left, then all follow with wood and stones. The prayer-makers, chroniclers and ancestral intendant make an announcement at the altar of soil and cover the sacrificial vessel.

Comment: A detailed discussion of these procedures is found in Yates (T), pp. 373–6.
69

Flags and Pennons

(Qi Zhi)

69.1 Methods of defending a city: for wood, make a green flag. For fire, make a red flag. For firewood and fuel, make a yellow flag. For stones, make a white flag. For water, make a black flag. For food, make a mushroom flag. For ‘dare-to-die’ soldiers, make a hawk flag. For vigorous soldiers, make a tiger flag. For many soldiers, make a flag of paired hares. For boys under fourteen, make a youth flag. For women, make a sisters flag. For crossbows, make a dog flag. For halberds, make a banner flag. For swords and shields, make a feathers flag. For carts, make a dragon flag. For mounts, make a bird flag. In general, if something is sought for which a flag is not [listed] in the book, create a flag based on the form or name [of what is needed]. When a flag is raised on the wall, the officials responsible provide
whatever materials or things are needed; when there is enough, the flag is lowered.

Comment: The first four characters (shou cheng zhi fa) are taken as a heading. Yates (T) suggests that shu (book) indicates that ‘the Mohists carried copies of these chapters when they were preparing their tasks of defence’.

69.2 General methods of defending a city: have stores of stones; have stores of fuel and firewood; have stores of rushes; have stores of reeds; have stores of wood; have stores of charcoal; have stores of sand; have stores of pine and cypress; have stores of fleabane and artemisia; have stores of hemp and oil; have stores of bronze and iron; have stores of rice and millet. Wells and furnaces should have their locations. Important hostages should have places to dwell. The five weapons should each have a flag. Tallies should each have two halves. Rules and orders should each be [clearly] established. The gradations of light (trivial) and heavy (important) should each have their basis. Those responsible for the inspection of roads should each have designated areas.

69.3 For each post captain have pennons with staffs of 2 zhang 5 chi in length and material (silk) 1 zhang 5 chi long and half a strip wide, six in all. When the enemy attack reaches the outer side of the moat, those on the wall facing the enemy should strike the drum three times and raise one
pennon. When the enemy is in the water of the moat, they should strike the drum four times and raise two pennons. When the enemy reaches the protecting palisade, they should strike the drum five times and raise three pennons. When the enemy reaches the subsidiary wall, they should strike the drum six times and raise four pennons. When the enemy reaches the parapets, they should strike the drum seven times and raise five pennons. When the enemy reaches the main wall, they should strike the drum eight times and raise six pennons. When the enemy troops are halfway up in their ascent of the wall, they should strike the drum continuously. During the night, fires take the place of pennons but the numbers remain the same. When the enemy is retreating, pennons are used in the same sequence as for the advance but without the drum.

Comment: The provision of pennons or flags to the officers in charge of ting or posts along the wall (see 52.18), and their use in conjunction with drums to signal the stages of the enemy’s advance or retreat.

69.4 For the general on the wall, there is a crimson flag 50 chi long. For the generals in charge of the gates on the four sides, [the flag] is 40 chi long. [There is then a progressive decrease according to rank,] the next being 30 chi, the one after that 25 chi, then 20 chi, then 15 chi; there is nothing less than 15 chi.
Comment: Yates’s version (T) has the first general as the general of the city, the flag is not crimson and *si* (four) is retained with the measurement (45 *chi*) referring to the staff.

69.5 The officers on the wall [have an insignia] placed on their backs, the common soldiers on their heads, and the officers and soldiers below the wall on their shoulders. For the army on the left, it is on the left shoulder. For the army on the right, it is on the right shoulder. For the army in the middle, it is placed on the chest. The left and right armies each have one drum, while the middle army has three. The number of strikings of the drum ranges from three to ten. All those officers who have drums must be careful with respect to the number [of strikings] of their responses. If the drums respond when they should not respond or do not respond when they should respond, the person in charge is put to death.

69.6 The road [on the wall] should be 30 *bu* wide with steps to ascend and descend. On both sides of these, there should be wells with iron vessels [for water]. On the outer side of the road, make one screening wall every 30 *bu*. Make these round and 1 *zhang* high. Make latrines for the people; the walls of the latrines should be 12 *chi* or more high. Where streets and lanes join the road, there must be gates with two men to guard them. Those without the correct
identification don’t pass. Those who don’t comply with orders are executed.

**69.7** On the wall, officers and soldiers, men and women, should all wear distinguishing clothes and emblems, so men and women can be differentiated.

**69.8** [In the case of] all those who defend the *shengge* (fences) and are able to beat back three advances by the enemy, the Defender gives an order summoning them and bestows food on them in front [of others], provides them with a large flag and gives them control over a town of one hundred households, or other materials and things. A flag to establish their official status lets everyone clearly know this. This is called a *mouzi* flag. The internal width of a *shengge* is 25 *bu* and the external width is 10 *bu*. Its length is determined on the basis of the local topography.

**69.9** In training troops, starting from the centre, teach those to the front and back, right and left [in sequence], so those who are tired can rest [in rotation].

**Comment:** In Yates’s (T) interpretation, **69.9** applies to troops training within a *shengge* as a kind of fenced enclosure.
70.1 The way of bringing peace to a state starts from the proper use of the land. If the land is properly used, achievement can be completed. If the land is not properly used, then regardless of labour, there is no achievement. People are also like this. If prior preparations are not made with respect to [military] equipment, there is no way to bring peace to those who must defend the city. If officers, soldiers and ordinary people are numerous but are not of one mind, the responsibility invariably lies with their leaders. In all cases, the carrying out of rewards and punishments and the bringing about of order must come from the king or duke. [He] must frequently send people to reward those who defend the frontiers and mountain passes and those who toil in guarding against barbarian invasion.
He must ascertain whether the defensive leaders’ materiel is more than enough or not enough, whether the topography is suitable for frontier defence and whether their equipment and preparations are always adequate (many). If in the border districts and regions, they see that trees and wood are lacking, there is little to use. If the fields are not opened up, there is little to eat. If there are no large houses with grass roofs, there will be little to use for burning.

Comment: Yates (T) reads the opening sentence as speaking of ‘a metaphysical relationship between the Tao and Earth’, referring to the Guanzi 24 (W. Allyn Rickett, Kuan-tzu (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1965), p. 115). I have followed a more prosaic line.

70.2 Make an inner battlement and an inner footbridge and place prepared utensils on top of them. Officers, soldiers and servants are all billeted inside the road on the wall, in each case appropriately divided according to their place of defence. Two servants are assigned to every ten men with one person to hold the tallies. This person is called the ‘servant officer’ and is responsible for guarding every gate. All those who guard the gates and those responsible for the prohibitions of defence should not let anyone linger or remain beside the gates. Those who do not follow orders are put to death. Further, when the enemy reaches [a city with] a 1,000 zhang wall, they must be met at the outer wall, this being to the defender’s benefit. In the case of a
city with a wall less than 1,000 zhang, do not go to meet them but look at the deployment of the enemy forces and their number, and [then] meet them. This is the principal point of defending a city wall. For any situation not covered in this, in all cases look at it in the light of basic principles and human affairs.

Comment: Yates (T) divides this section into three fragments, with the final one suggesting ‘that there were two subsections, as yet undiscovered in the extant text or now lost, called “Mental Techniques” and “Human Affairs”. ’ The three characters lu, zhan and duan are used from here on in chapter 70 to indicate punishment, and I have understood them as interchangeable and meaning ‘putting to death’ or ‘executing’, although this does seem to be a particularly harsh penalty for some of the offences described and also raises concerns about loss of manpower.

70.3 In general, in guarding a city, the best option is to inflict damage on the enemy quickly, but the advantage of waiting until relief arrives should also be recognized in defence. Certainly, if these things can be done, then the defence can be successful.

Comment: There is some doubt in the second part of the first sentence about where bu (a negative) should be placed, and whether it should be emended to bi (must, necessary). In terms of meaning, the issue is whether waiting for relief is a desirable option or should be avoided.

70.4 In the methods of defence of a city, if the enemy is 100 li or more away, the general in command issues an order urgently summoning the [members of] the five
offices and the leaders of a hundred men, as well as the kindred of rich men and important families to reside in official dwellings. He orders trustworthy men to defend and guard them for reasons of caution about secrecy.

70.5 When the enemy makes an ‘ant approach’ (massed infantry assault) against the city, the defending general must have not less than 300 men in his camp, while the generals of the four sides and the four gates must choose officers of meritorious service and followers prepared to serve to the death, these numbering 100 men [for each general]. The gate generals collectively defend the other gates. Above the gates high towers should be built and skilled archers dispatched to them to take up positions. The outer battlements and the earthen wall should have one man for defence. Send the sons of important houses. Every 50 bu, have one tower.

70.6 On the basis of the neighbourhoods within the city, eight divisions (wards) are created with one officer for each division. Each officer has four assistants with whom to patrol the streets within the neighbourhood. Old and young people in the neighbourhoods don’t take part in the actual business of defence, or in the planning. Four divisions are made in a neighbourhood, with one leader for
each division to look into comings and goings that are at inappropriate times or are for other strange or nefarious purposes. Officers from the four assistants upwards who have defensive responsibilities must be given reliable tallies by the commander-in-chief (Great General), and when he sends them out on defensive business, they should carry these reliable tallies. In the case of these tallies not corresponding or calls not eliciting a matching response, military officers from leaders of a hundred men upwards at once stop them and let the commander-in-chief hear of it. Those who should stop them but don’t and assistants to the officers who let them go are all put to death. In the case of all those who commit a crime meriting the death penalty or more, all their parents, wives, children and siblings are implicated.

70.7 Among the adult men who are defenders on the wall, in a file of ten, six should have crossbows and four should have other weapons. In the case of adult women and the old and young, there should be one spear for each person.

70.8 If an urgent situation suddenly arises, the centre army rapidly strikes the drum three times. Then all people must refrain from moving about along the road on the wall and in the lanes and streets in the neighbourhoods. Those who do
move about are put to death. When [men] and women go towards the main army, the order is given to those moving for men to walk on the left and women to walk on the right, and for them not to walk together. [In this way,] all go to their defensive [positions]. Anyone who does not follow the order is put to death. Those who leave their defensive positions have their corpses displayed for three days – this being used as a warning against treachery. The leaders of the neighbourhoods and all those with defensive responsibilities live [adjacent to] the neighbourhood gates. The leader personally opens the gate to admit an officer. He then accompanies him in inspecting the areas of defensive responsibility of the elders right up to the narrow lanes and secluded places where no one lives.

Comment: There are three components: the movement of people after the drum has sounded to declare an emergency situation; the taking up of defensive positions and punishment for leaving these positions; and the surveillance of the gates and other areas within the wall.

70.9 What treacherous people plan is to collaborate [with the enemy] outside. It is a crime [that warrants] pulling apart by chariots. Leaders and elders, as well as officers in charge of divisions, who fail [to apprehend such people] are all put to death. If they do apprehend them, they are free of guilt and are also rewarded with gold [to the amount of] 2 *yi* (i.e. 40 taels) per person. The commander-in-chief sends
trustworthy men to walk around the defensive areas. On long nights, there are five tours of inspection and on short nights, there are three tours of inspection. Also, the officers on the four sides all personally walk around their defensive areas like the walking around of the commander-in-chief. Those who do not comply with the order are executed.

70.10 Protective screens must be made for all furnaces. Chimneys should be high and extend 4 chi above the building. Care must be taken not to lose [control of] a fire. Those who lose [control of] a fire are put to death. Those who deliberately lose [control of] a fire to create disorder are pulled apart by chariots. Five-man squads that do not apprehend [such people] are put to death. If they do apprehend [them], they are free from blame. Those who go to put out the fire dare not make a noise or clamour, while those who leave their defensive posts and obstruct the laneways [being used] for fire relief are put to death. The leaders, as well as elders and officers, who have defensive responsibilities for the division containing these laneways all involve themselves in putting the fire out. The officer for the division quickly orders men to inform the commander-in-chief. The commander-in-chief sends trustworthy men from the left and right to put out the fire.
Division officers who fail to report it are put to death. In all cases, women who commit crimes warranting the death penalty, as well as those who lose [control of] a fire, even if they cause no harm, right up to those who use fires to bring about disorder, are all treated according to the law. These are important prohibitions for a besieged city.

Comment: The topic is fire control, the penalties for letting a fire get out of control and for deliberately setting a fire.

70.11 (Important prohibitions for a besieged city:) When the enemy suddenly arrives, strict orders are given to officers and people that none must dare to make a noise or clamour, to gather in groups of three, to walk together, to watch each other, to sit silently weeping and allowing tears to flow, to raise their hands and question each other, to point at each other, to call to each other, to signal to each other, to follow each other’s footsteps, to throw things at each other, to strike each other, to touch each other’s persons or clothing, to blame and refute, to argue and talk, or to watch the enemy’s actions and movements without orders [to do so]. [Those who do these things] are put to death. If a five-man squad does not apprehend them, they are put to death. If they do apprehend them, they are free from blame. If a five-man squad [member] scales the wall and goes over to the enemy and [the other members] of the
squad don’t apprehend him, they are put to death. If the leader of a hundred men goes over to the enemy, the regimental leader is put to death. If the regimental leader goes over to the enemy, the regimental general is put to death. In the case of those defecting to the enemy, parents, wives, children and siblings are all torn apart by chariots. Those who report on these matters before the event are free from blame. Those who leave their positions at the time of facing the enemy are put to death. Five-man squads that do not apprehend them are put to death. Those that do apprehend them are absolved from blame.

**Comment:** The punishment of the leaders of those who transgress as well as their associates and family members is notable as is the encouragement to report the misdeeds of others.

**70.12** When a fierce battle has raged at the battle line and the enemy has been repulsed and driven down the wall and is unable to scale it again, two men are chosen from every regiment and rewarded with an increased salary. If a siege is defeated where the wall is greater than 1 *li* in circumference, the general in charge is enfeoffed with 30 *li* of land and made a guannei hou (Marquis of Guan’nei). The deputy general is rewarded with the title of shangqing (senior minister) and deputies and officers according to their roles, bestowing on them the rank of wudafu (grandee of the ninth order). In the case of other officers who are
brave and take part in the planning of a strong defence, knights errant as well as officers on the wall and lesser officers of various ranks from the five departments, all are rewarded with the title of *gongcheng* (grandee of the eighth order). In the case of men who took part in the defence, increase their rank by two grades. In the case of women [who took part in the defence], reward them with 5,000 cash (copper coins). In the case of men and women, both old and young, who did not take part in the defence, give each person 1,000 cash (copper coins) and remit their taxes for three years, so they pay nothing, neither rent nor goods taxes. This is the way to encourage officers and people to be strong in the defence of a besieged city.

70.13 The officers and men responsible for the great gate are under the charge of no more than two men. The brave and daring are in the front line. The five-man squads are responsible for each other; each squad is ordered to know those on the left and right, and those to the front and rear. Those who leave their posts without permission are put to death. The commandant of the gate makes three inspections during the day and one at night after the drum has sounded and the gate has been closed. The Defender frequently deputes men to make an inspection and to inform those above of men who have left their posts. All meals are taken
inside the dwelling place and not outside. In respect to internuncios, shield-bearers, purifiers and women who serve at the front, the Defender must carefully and closely examine the nature of their intentions, expressions, assignments and conversations. When superiors drink and eat, they must order people to taste [the food first]. All those who do not comply are bound and asked for their reasons. If there is something which displeases the Defender in respect to internuncios, shield-bearers, purifiers and women serving at the front and the Defender says to beat and bind them, those who do not follow the order or who bind them later, are all put to death. He must frequently and plainly warn them. In the case of all those beneath the gate, morning or evening, sitting or standing, each is ordered to place himself according to age and seniority. In the morning and evening, when they take up positions, first place to the right those with merit and ability. All the rest are to stand according to rank. Every five days each officer reports to his superior any cases of someone larking about, or not taking a serious attitude, or taking pleasure in ridiculing or harassing others.

70.14 All men and officers who are sent out and return must be ordered to present some form of identification when they go out and come back. If a senior officer of the
defence makes an inspection tour of the district, he must send a reliable man beforehand to check that the circumstances at the garrison are satisfactory. Subsequently, his own man and the garrison commander can come out to meet him. When they have informed him of conditions, they can all enter. Attendants must constantly observe the intentions of those above them and follow them when they go forth – but only their own superiors. They must not follow others unless ordered to do so by their superior.

70.15 ‘Guest’ troops [can assist] the defence of the ‘host’ troops, but when they are participating in defence, the ‘host’ troops should also defend the ‘guest’ troops. In the case of troops within a city whose own troops have already fallen to the enemy, great care should be taken, frequently checking their register. Those from the same town are not allowed to defend the same place together. Those officers in charge of stairs and gates should examine their [identification] tallies and if there is correspondence, they should enter and be accepted. If their [identification] tallies don’t correspond, they are seized and the Defender informed. In the case of those on the wall, if their attire arouses suspicion or they don’t follow orders, [then they too are seized and reported to the Defender].
70.16 The night drum should be within the main gate of the Defender. In the evening, the order is given for a cavalryman or messenger carrying an identification tally to close the city gate; in either case it must be a person of rank. At dusk, the drum is struck ten times and the gates and pavilions are all closed. Those walking about are put to death, [but first] they must be bound and questioned as to their reasons. Then the punishment is carried out. When daylight is seen, the great drum [is struck] and this allows people to move about. Each of the officers of the city gates enters and requests the key to open the gate. Immediately this is done, they return the key. Those who hold [identification] tallies do not follow this order. When an enemy comes, the tower drums [are struck] five times and also drums are struck all around. Various small drums then respond to this. Those who join the army after the small drums have sounded five times are punished. Commands must be sufficiently fear-inducing and rewards must be sufficiently beneficial. Orders must be carried out. Once orders are issued, people must follow them at once. Be on the lookout for orders that can be carried out not being carried out.

70.17 Passwords: at night there are passwords. Omission of the password is punished. Create regulations pertaining
to defence preparations and publish them, saying, ‘such and such a regulation’. Display them publicly in offices, streets, lanes, stairways and gates, and order those going to and fro to look at them and know them. All officers, soldiers and ordinary people who make plans to kill or injure their general or leader, as well as those who have plans to rebel, are guilty of the same crime. Those who are able to seize them and inform on them are rewarded with 20 jin of yellow gold and the perpetrators are punished severely. Those who take upon themselves activities that are not their responsibility, for example those who take it upon themselves to control things that it is not their proper place to control, are put to death. All officers, soldiers and ordinary people who take it upon themselves to enter other divisions that are not their own divisions are immediately detained and handed over to the sikong (Minister of Works) or hou (an attendant) of their division and the hou informs the Defender. Those who do not detain [such people] or who take it upon themselves to release them are put to death. In the case of those who are able to seize one person who is planning to rebel, betray the city or scale the wall to go over to the enemy, use the laws to commute the death penalty for two men or hard labour for four men. In the case of those who go over the
wall abandoning their parents, the parents, wives, children [and siblings of those absconding, are all put to death].

Comment: This section has three components: passwords or watchwords; the public display of regulations and the need for people to be familiar with them; and several crimes – planning to kill or injure leaders, doing things or going places that are outside the person’s responsibility, and going over the wall and thus abandoning one’s parents. All are punished by the execution of the perpetrator – or of the family members left behind in the last case.

70.18 Bring out all the materials from people’s houses – tiles or large stones – reckon up the quantity and record the size. If [material] that should be brought out is not brought out, the officer is at fault. All the soldiers and people positioned on the wall in each case protect those to their left and right. If those to the left or right are guilty of a crime and they don’t know about it, then the next five-man squad is guilty of a crime. If someone is personally able to apprehend a criminal or report him to an officer, in all cases reward him. If someone is not in a five-man squad but knows beforehand of another five-man-squad’s crime, in all cases double his reward.

70.19 Outside the wall is the Director’s responsibility; inside the wall is the Defender’s responsibility. If those under the Director, his assistants and the commandant abscond, they are held responsible. If the number of those absconding is a full ten men or more, then the punishment
for each is to be downgraded two ranks. If the number is one hundred men or more, the Director, his assistants and the commandant are reduced to the ranks. In all cases they can atone for their crime, but to do so they must capture a number of the enemy equal to the number of men they have lost. Then they are pardoned.

70.20 In calling for people who wish to use materials, cloth or grain to trade or exchange for various utensils, they should be given a fair price. If townspeople who are friends, or older or younger brothers commit a crime, even if it is not in the same district, and they wish to use husked or unhusked grain, gold or money, cloth or silk, or other materials to atone for it, order that they be allowed to do so. For transmitting messages, there should be one person every 10 花. Those who delay a message or fail to transmit it are put to death. All matters that may be advantageous are quickly transmitted to the Defender as messages. Officers, soldiers and ordinary people who wish to convey something quickly should make a transmission of the message [by] asking an officer. Those who delay or do not request a message [to be sent] are put to death.

70.21 Each district reports [to those] above the number of its heroes, strategic advisers, senior officials and rich
70.22 Officers, soldiers and people in government offices below the wall protect those to the front and rear, and those to the left and right from fire. If a fire starts spontaneously, those who spread it to others are put to death. All those who use the many and strong to oppress the weak and few, as well as those who rape other men’s wives or daughters, so creating a great clamour, are put to death.

70.23 At all city gates and posts, care is taken to examine the tallies of those coming and going. If a tally is doubtful or there is no tally, then in all cases the person goes to the district court and is questioned about what he was sent for. Those who have satisfactory tallies are accommodated well in government buildings. If they have friends or brothers whom they wish to see, they are sent for, but they (the tally holders) are not allowed within the streets and lanes. In the case of someone who has a question to ask of the elder or the gate guard, it is possible to allow the elder’s steward to transmit it. In the case of other matters or of people of lowly rank, they are not allowed to enter the streets or lanes. Elders are not allowed to go to the houses of the ordinary people. Messages and orders within the wards are by feathers; the feathers are kept in the elder’s office. The
head of each household is responsible for orders within the dwelling. Those who fail to carry out or who delay the orders are put to death. Households have a defender in charge of provisions. Officers, soldiers and ordinary people who are without tallies but take it upon themselves to enter the lanes and offices of a ward, and officers, elders and gate guards who fail to stop and interrogate them, are all put to death.

70.24 All those who steal defensive implements and weapons, or materials, or steal from others are put to death, if the value is one cash (copper coin) or above. Officers, soldiers and ordinary people should each write their names in large writing on a placard within their offices (barracks). The Defender inspects their offices (barracks) and those who have entered on their own responsibility are put to death. On the wall, every day there is an issue of mats which allows them to be exchanged and reissued. If there is concealment of prohibited items or failure to report such concealment, offenders are put to death.

70.25 In the case of an officer, soldier or ordinary person dying, immediately summon their relatives who, with the deputy sikong, bury them. Do not let [the family members] sit around weeping. In the case of those who are badly
wounded, let them return home to heal the wound and be well looked after. Provide a doctor who gives medicines. Give them 2 sheng of wine and 2 jin of meat per day. Order an officer to go repeatedly to their village to see if the wound has healed. [If it has,] he immediately notifies those above. In the case of those who falsely wound themselves to avoid their service, put the whole family to death. When the battle is over, the Defender sends officers to go in person to approach the families of the dead and wounded and to go to their houses to offer condolences and express sympathy.

70.26 When the enemy has withdrawn and the battle is over, offer a sacrifice repaying the spirits for their blessing and assistance. The Defender gives the order to reward heroes of the districts who fought valiantly and all those with merit. He himself must go to the families of the dead and wounded to offer condolences and express sympathy to them and personally to see the surviving relatives of the dead. When the siege of the city has ended, the Chief quickly sends out messengers to give recognition to officers and men, picking out those with merit, as well as those who have died or been wounded, and bestowing on them rank and salary. The Defender himself honours and
favours them, making it clear that he values them. This lets resentment be directed towards the enemy.

70.27 On the wall, soldiers and officers each protect those to their left and right. If there is someone who wishes to collude with [the enemy] outside the wall, his parents, wife, children and siblings are all put to death. Those to the left or right who know [of his plans] but do not seize and denounce him are all guilty of the same crime. Families in the wards below the wall should all protect each other, just like those on the wall. Anyone who is able to seize or denounce [a traitor] should be enfeoffed with a district of one thousand households. If [the traitor] they seize is not to the left or right, but is in another five-man squad, enfeoff them with a district of two thousand households.

Comment: The issue of the mutual responsibility people have for those near or adjacent to them (see also, e.g., 70.13), and the penalties for failing to meet these responsibilities. In addition, there are rewards for those who identify transgressors.

70.28 Wall Prohibitions: officers, soldiers and ordinary people who imitate the enemy’s identification tallies and banners are executed. Those who don’t follow orders are executed. Those who take it upon themselves to issue orders are executed. Those who neglect orders are executed. Those who prop up their halberds, lean against the wall and don’t go with the majority are executed. Those
who don’t answer or recklessly call are executed. Those who set free those who have committed a crime are executed. Those who praise the enemy and spread slander inside the wall are executed. Those who leave their post and gather to talk are executed. Those who hear the city drum sound five times and are late going to their post are executed. Everyone must write their own name in large writing on a placard which is hung at their post. The Defender must personally inspect the front and rear of his post, and those who are not at that post or have recklessly entered it are executed. Those who leave their post to the left or right and together enter another post, and those to the left or right who don’t seize [them], as well as those who carry private letters, make requests or bear letters for others, or who set aside defensive matters to attend to private matters, or soldiers or ordinary people who steal each other’s houses or children, are all to be executed without [possibility of] pardon. People who bring reports are to be recorded [in a register]. Those who pass randomly within the army but have no tally are executed. When the enemy is beneath the wall, [those soldiers on the wall] must, at the appropriate times, change their posts but their support personnel should not change.

Comment: Somewhat random list of offences, all of which attract the death penalty (see 70.2 comment). The final sentence, however, repeats the instruction
Praising the enemy: [those who] take few to be many, disorder to be order or a clumsy enemy attack to be a clever attack are put to death. There should be no verbal exchanges between the enemy and the defenders. If the enemy shoots in letters, they should not be picked up. If [enemies] outside display their skills to [the defenders] within, there should be no response. Those who don’t follow these orders are all put to death. It is forbidden to pick up letters shot in by the enemy or to shoot letters at the enemy. In the case of those who transgress the orders, their parents, wives and children are put to death and their bodies exposed on the wall. Those who are able to seize and denounce them are rewarded with 20 jin of gold. Those who can move about at prohibited times are only the Defender, those carrying the tallies of the Grand Defender and messengers.

When the Defender takes responsibility for the defence of the city, he must carefully question elders, officers and great officers about all those who have unresolved grievances or enmities with one another. He should summon such people and definitively resolve [their disputes] for them. He must personally identify such people, make a record of them and keep them apart. In the
case of those whose personal grievances harm the affairs of the city or its officers, their parents, wives and children are all put to death. Those who collude with [the enemy] outside are to have all their family [put to death]. Those who are able to capture, seize or denounce such people are to be enfeoffed with a city the size of that which is being defended. The Defender gives them his seal, confers honours and favours on them, and gives them an official position, letting officers and great officers, as well as soldiers and people, all clearly know about it. In the case of local worthies who have frequent intercourse with feudal lords outside, [the Defender] should visit them often, order the local leader to get to know them well and keep an eye on them. He should also frequently entertain them and invite them to dine [with him] so as not to let them come and go as they please. [He should also] bind them to him by holding hostages. In the case of leaders of the districts and wards, elders and local worthies, their relatives, parents, wives and children must be honoured and favoured. If there are poor people who are unable to provide themselves with food, those above should give them food. In addition, at appropriate times the parents, relatives, wives and children of brave knights are all to be given wine and meat. He (the Defender) must show them respect and they must be quartered near the Grand Defender. The Defender’s tower
should be adjacent to the hostage quarters and be skilfully encircled. It must be a thickly plastered tower which does not let those below see what is above, whereas those above should be able to see what is below. Those below do not then know whether there are people above or not.

**Comment:** A somewhat miscellaneous set of instructions to a Defender for when he takes charge of the defence of a city: to eliminate destructive differences among those in positions of authority, to foster harmony and well-being among them and to keep abreast of events beyond the confines of the wall. Finally, there are recommendations about the construction of the Defender’s tower.

70.31 For those who are close to him, the Defender should pick officers who are honest and incorruptible, loyal and reliable, impartial, and able to meet their responsibilities. There is no need to prohibit drink and food, [such as] wine and meat. Each is to guard his own cash and gold, cloth and silk, and material things, taking care that there is no stealing from each other. The walls of the buildings housing the hostages must be three in number. On the tops of the walls, those defending pile up broken fragments of pots. On the gates there are officers who are in charge of all the gates of the wards. In closing and locking the gates, they must wait for the Grand Defender’s tally. For the protecting guard, [the Defender] must select warlike soldiers who are particularly reliable. There must be careful selection of
officers who are loyal and reliable, impartial, and able to meet their responsibilities.

Comment: Continues the instructions to the Defender: his choice of close associates, the building of walls around the hostage buildings and matters regarding the gates.

**70.32** Order those guarding the general to build themselves surrounding walls 10 *chi* high. In the case of those on the large and small gates, order them to guard the commander’s gate as well.

Comment: There are different views on this section: who is ordered to build the surrounding wall for the general, and whether those responsible for the large and small gates are also to be responsible for the *simā* (commander’s) gate or not.

**70.33** Those who ‘watch the vapours’ must be quartered near the Grand Defender, while the shamans must be quartered near the public altars of soil. They must be respected and treated as spirits. The shamans, prayer-makers, recorders and those who ‘watch the vapours’ must use favourable words to inform the people but must report the true situation to the Defender. The Defender alone should know the true state of affairs and that is all. Shamans and vapour-watchers if they self-importantly spread bad news to startle and frighten the people, are executed without possibility of pardon.
Comment: The prognosticators are to be quartered in appropriate places and must withhold any discouraging information from the general populace, informing the Defender alone.

70.34 If it is calculated that food will be insufficient, each person should make known how much he has, recording for a family the amount of the five grains in dan and sheng. A fixed time is set for this. Record [the results] in a register along with the various goods and materials that officers give in compensation. When the time limit is reached, in the cases of those who have hidden [food] and have not made it known or who have made it known but incompletely, order officers and soldiers to make observations and apprehend [them]. All [who have done this] are executed. Those who are able to seize and denounce [offenders] are rewarded with three-tenths [of the grain]. Collect unhusked and husked grain, cloth and silk, cash and gold, and locate and gather domestic animals. In all cases, value them at a fair price, give [the people] a contract with the chief and record it. When the siege is over, repay each person, rewarding him with double the price. Also use the price, value and amount to confer rank. In the case of those who wish to become officers, let them do so. In the case of those who do not wish to become
officers but wish to receive reward, rank or emolument, or who wish to redeem relatives or acquaintances who have committed a crime, order that they be permitted to do so. In the case of those who have received rewards, let them visit the hostage quarters and hand over their relatives [to them]. In the case of all those who wish to assist their superiors again, double their ranks and rewards. [In the record there should be,] for a certain district, ward or individual family with two mouths to feed, a pile of grain of 600 dan; and for a certain district, ward or individual family with ten mouths to feed, a pile of grain of 100 dan. For bringing out the unhusked and husked grain have a time limit. When the time limit has passed, any grain that is not brought out is confiscated. Those who are able to seize or denounce [offenders] are rewarded with three-tenths [of the grain]. Be careful not to let the people know the amount of unhusked and husked grain.

70.35 When the Defender enters the city, the first thing he does is acquire scouts (spies). Having acquired them, he immediately quarters them and provides food for them. He does not let them know about the preparations for defence. The scouts are given separate quarters and their parents, wives and children all share these same quarters. They are given clothing and food, wine and meat. Send a trustworthy
officer to look after them well. When the scouts come back again, they are questioned. The Defender’s dwelling should have three encircling walls. Towers are built at the corners of the outer encircling wall. [Also,] towers are built on the inner encircling wall which are 1 zhang 5 chi high where they enter the hostage quarters. And make a double road. The hostage quarters should not have separate apartments. Every three days there should be an issue of mats. Closely inspect them and spread rushes in the dwelling to a thickness of 3 chi or greater. In sending out scouts, knights of the districts and fiefs who are loyal and trustworthy, skilled and honest must be sent. Their close relatives, wives and children are to be substantially rewarded with money and property. It is certainly important, when sending out scouts, to take care of their parents or wives and children and make separate quarters for them, so they are not in the same place as [other] officers. Give them wine and meat as food.

Comment: This and sections 70.36 and 70.37 are about the employment and deployment of scouts or spies.

70.36 When [the Defender] sends out other scouts (spies), they are rewarded materially as for the previous scouts. When they return, compare their reliability. If it is sound, reward them. If three lots of scouts are sent out and all
three are reliable, double the reward. In the case of those who don’t wish to receive rewards, but wish to become officers, promise them an official position of 200 dan. The Defender confers on them a seal. In the case of those who don’t wish to become officers but wish to receive rewards and salaries, treat them all as previously indicated. Reward those who are able to penetrate deeply into enemy territory twice as much as the other scouts, once assured of the veracity of their reports. If they don’t wish to receive rewards but wish to become officers, promise them an official position of 300 dan. In the case of those knights who are rewarded for guarding the wall and moat, the Defender must personally visit their parents to let it be seen how much he respects such men. In the case of those who wish to assist their superiors again, the rewards in terms of rank, emolument and the opportunity to redeem those who have transgressed are doubled.

70.37 The scouts should set up flags on high and suitable places not more than 10 li [from the wall]. Each flag should have three men to guard it. Extending back to the wall, there should be three flags, so there can be communication between the beacon towers on the wall and the positions of the flags. In the daytime, this is by smoke. At night, it is by fire. When it is heard where the enemy is coming from, and
the formation and inevitability of attack are known, give consideration to the small cities that cannot defend themselves. Completely protect those who are old and weak, the millet and rice, and the domestic animals. Send out not more than fifty soldiers and scouts (spies) but when the enemy reaches the parapet, withdraw them. Take care there is no delay. The group of scouts should not exceed three hundred men. In the evening, send them out carrying some identification. In the case of empty places, wild but strategically important places where people come and go, the scouts are to follow their tracks and establish their whereabouts. There should be not less than three men per ward. As soon as it is light, send them out to track. Each [scout] sets up his signal and those on the wall respond to him. The advance guard should sit both inside and outside the outer wall and also set up a signal. One half of the advance guard must be allowed to remain stationed within the outer wall, so the enemy has no way of knowing their number. If there is an alarm and the enemy is seen to have advanced beyond the signal in the field, those on the wall raise a flag to make known the enemy’s movements. When the enemy is seen, one beacon is raised. When the enemy enters the region, two beacons are raised. When the enemy approaches the outer wall, three beacons are raised. When the enemy enters the outer wall, four beacons are raised.
When the enemy approaches the inner wall, five beacons are raised. At night, fire is used; in all cases the numbers are the same.

Comment: This section is not clear regarding the exact arrangement of signalling between the scouts and those on or by the wall (and precisely how the latter are arranged).

70.38 For a distance of 100 *bu* from the outer wall, high and low walls as well as trees and timber both large and small should be cut down and removed completely. The wells of private dwellings outside [the wall] should be filled in completely, so water cannot be drawn from them. Private dwellings outside the wall should be destroyed completely and trees completely cut down. Anything that might be used in attacking the city is taken inside the wall. Let each person have a record of what is his. When the attack is over, each person can use the record to reclaim what is his. The officers making the bonds should write down the number of items. If there are trees and timber facing the road that cannot be completely brought within [the wall], burn them so as not to let the enemy get hold of them and use them.

70.39 People should write [their names] in person in large writing on boards and display them at their posts (offices). The authorities should issue a proclamation in relation to
military discipline that anyone who indulges in licentious behaviour will have his ears pierced with an arrow. Arrogant and self-important people who deceive upright people, make a continuous clamour, stop many people on the roads preventing them from going about their normal business or causing them to delay it to an inappropriate time without informing their superiors are to have their ears pierced with an arrow. Those who shout out and frighten the people are punished by death. Those who condemn their superiors without remonstrating with them or who unrestrainedly indulge in evil words are punished by death. No one in the army should dare to have musical instruments or [the game] weiqi. Those who do are to have their ears pierced with an arrow. No one should dare to gallop a cart or run on foot without an order from an officer. Those who do are to have their ears pierced with an arrow. No one in the army should dare to scatter oxen or horses. Those who do are to have their ears pierced with an arrow. Those who drink or eat at inappropriate times are to have their ears pierced with an arrow. No one in the army should dare to sing or wail. Those who do are to have their ears pierced with an arrow. Let each person in charge of punishments complete the death penalty [where appropriate]. If there is an officer who sees a crime but does not report it, he should receive the same punishment. Or if he lets [the perpetrator] escape,
should also be put to death. In all cases, generals and leaders who fight with the ordinary people in disregard of the laws are put to death. In all cases, supervisors who do not send knights, soldiers, officers and people to hear the oath of command are to suffer the punishment in their stead. In all cases, people are put to death in the marketplace and their corpses exposed for three days.

Comment: Mostly a list of relatively trivial offences punishable by piercing the ears, a punishment not hitherto mentioned.

70.40 The guards in attendance outside the gate of the defence headquarters should be in two groups sitting on either side of the gate. They are to take turns in eating so as not to leave [the gate] unattended. The guards at the gate are to select one leader who, at appropriate times, enters and informs the Defender of conditions. The Defender examines the list of those who have absconded and makes the guard and their leader responsible for seeking out the absentees and reporting them. Four men are to sit on either side of the defence headquarters gate within, and two men are to sit outside the san (?)exit) gate on either side. When visitors are seen, they are to take hold of their weapons and stand in front [of the gate]. They are to take their meals in turns and are to announce the names [of the visitors] to their superiors. A high tower should be built below the
Defender’s hall. When those on watch look out and see carriages, horsemen or foot soldiers approaching along the road outside, as well as anything out of the ordinary inside the wall, they immediately report this to the Defender. The Defender waits for those on lookout on the wall, as well as the district officers, to come and inform him of the circumstances in order to verify them. Those men below the tower are to receive the reports of the lookouts and announce them to the Defender. Two attendants sit on either side inside the san gate. The gates are always closed. The attendants should take their meals in turn and there should be one leader for them.

Comment: In the first four sentences, I understand the yezhe to be guards who are positioned outside the defence headquarters or the Defender’s quarters where they await orders.

70.41 For the connecting roads that surround the Defender’s dwelling, build a narrow road with a wall on each of its two sides to a height of 1 zhang and make observation holes[, so that those on the wall can look into the hostage quarters]. When wooden tablets with writing are obtained, they must be carefully examined and verified. If there are places where they are not satisfactory, then they are not for the moment passed on, pending correction. The walls on the narrow road outside the thoroughfares both have towers high enough to overlook the wards. On [each]
tower there is one drum and a portable furnace. Then if there is some reason, the drum [is sounded]. When the officer arrives, this stops. At night, fire is used to indicate where the drum is. Below the wall there should be one latrine every 50 bu. The latrines should be the same on and below the wall. Those who have committed crimes but are not to be put to death are sent to clean out the latrines as a punishment.
71.1 Qin Zi questioned [Master Mo], saying: ‘Suppose enemies are many and brave, recklessly flaunting their courage to intimidate our leader? Suppose they raise up brushwood and earth together to build a yangqin (high mound), piling up earth to make a high [structure] in order to approach [our] people. Suppose they cover it with shields at the front and bring it adjacent to the wall, positioning swordsmen and archers on top of it. What is to be done then?’

Master Mo replied: ‘Are you asking about defence against the yangqin? Attack by yangqin is a clumsy form of attack. It is enough to tire out the soldiers but not enough to harm the city wall. In dealing with an attack by yangqin, if it is distant, then oppose it at a distance. If is
near, then oppose it near so the danger does not reach the city wall. Shoot arrows and hurl stones at it from both sides incessantly. Follow these with large stones, thus demonstrating the resolve [of the defenders]. Send out crack troops who are not likely to retreat and who will ruthlessly strike so the attackers will readily flee. Cultivate a spirit of courage and the people’s hearts will be strengthened a hundredfold. If those of your soldiers who seize many of the enemy are well rewarded, they will maintain their resolve.’

71.2 If it is impossible to prevent the enemy piling up earth to a great height and the earth pile has come near to the wall, respond to this by using the method of resisting cloud ladders. In general, when expecting [attack by] the filling in of moats, battering rams, cloud ladders or lin (approachers), there must be the choice of an appropriate method of withstanding them. If the piled-up stones are inadequate, use wooden planks. To the left for 100 bu and to the right for 100 bu, throw down arrows, stones, sand and burning charcoal as thick as rain, and also pour down burning firewood and boiling water. Choose fierce and valiant soldiers, being careful not to send those who harbour doubts. Examine rewards and carry out punishments, taking calmness as the basis. And if the
advance must be swift, do not let the men waver. Cultivate a spirit of courage and the hearts of the people will be strengthened a hundredfold. If those of your soldiers who seize many of the enemy are well rewarded, they will maintain their resolve. [If the enemy uses] battering rams, lin or cloud ladders, all these can be opposed by striking them with battering rams.

71.3 Large qu (shields) should be 1 zhang 5 chi long with a buried part of 3 chi. Their poles should be 1 zhang 2 chi long. The width of the large qu should be 1 zhang 6 chi. Their ‘ladders’ should be 1 zhang 2 chi [long] and the large qu should hang down 4 cun. In setting up the large qu, the distance from the parapet should not exceed 5 cun, with one ‘ladder’ every 7 chi. Overall, the number of large qu and screens should be 258 per li, there being 129 of each.

Comment: On large qu, see also 52.9 and 52.17. Yates (T) thinks the ‘ladders’ (ti) refers to the arms.

71.4 All outside roads should have fortifications built to create difficulty for the enemy. On those that offer the greatest danger, build three ting (posts) in a triangular arrangement with one post at each corner like the ‘spinning damsel’, so they are able to come to each other’s aid. All large hills, mountains and forests, ditches and watercourses, hillocks and mounds, paths and fields, outer
gates, and lanes and streets can have obstructions set up, as well as identification signs, so it is possible to trace and know the number of those coming and going, and also the places where they might conceal themselves.

71.5 In protecting the people, first consider the size of the government offices, people’s houses and the various different dwelling places, then assign the ordinary people temporary quarters. If some of those being protected wish to go along with older and younger brothers, or with their friends, let them do so. All the grain, domestic animals and materials from houses lying outside the city that can be of assistance are sent into the city. When matters are pressing, these things should be piled up within the gates. When the people contribute grain, cloth and silk, gold and money, oxen and horses, and domestic animals, a fair price is set in all cases and there is a contract with the leader which documents it.

71.6 If you get each person to do what they are good at, the affairs of the world will be as they should be. If you equate their appointments with their responsibilities, the affairs of the world will be accomplished. If all people do what they like doing, the affairs of the world will come to
completion. If the strong and the weak have their destiny, the affairs of the world are set out.

71.7 In making beacon towers, they should be round and of a height greater than 3 zhang. They should be narrow at the top and broad at the base. Make ladders with arms, the two arms being 3 zhang in length. The connecting planks should be 3 chi (apart), making use of rope to bind them [to the arms]. Over a twice-encircling moat make a suspended bridge. There should be a portable furnace and one drum in every beacon tower. [There are three situations in which a beacon fire is used:] when the enemy invades, when there is an emergency and when there is disorder. In transmitting these fires, respond in the proper sequence. When the message reaches the leader of the country, stop. When there are urgent conditions, drag a well-sweep causing it to raise and disperse smoke [as a signal]. When a beacon fire is already lit, immediately strike the drum five times and also use fire with this to tell where the enemy is coming from and how great its numbers are. Don’t be slow. Cause the messages to come and go continuously without stopping the lighting of fires. When the enemy is seen, light one beacon fire. When the enemy enters the region, light two beacon fires. When the enemy rapidly advances to a crucial point, light three beacon fires and strike the drum
three times. When the enemy enters the outer wall, light four beacon fires and strike the drum four times. When the enemy advances close to the wall, light five beacon fires and strike the drum five times. In lighting fires at night, use the same numbers. Beacon fires in defence are a pressing matter.

71.8 [The number of] scouts (spies) should not exceed fifty. When the enemy reaches the parapet (outer wall), the scouts should withdraw immediately. Send them at night and order them all to have identification. Their orders are to look for the tracks [of the enemy] in all parts of the hills, mountains and forests where there can be tracks. At daybreak, they should look for tracks; there should be not be fewer than three men every li. Each one sets up a signal flag to inform those on the wall who, when they see the signal flag, set up a signal flag in response. When the scouts go beyond the signal flags in the fields, the advance defenders take up positions inside and outside the outer wall and set up flags and pennons. The advance guard must keep one half [of their number] inside the outer wall, so [the enemy] has no way of knowing their number. If an urgent situation arises, [the scouts] raise an outside signal flag. If the enemy is seen, they set up a second signal flag. On the wall, a flag is used to indicate the direction of the
enemy. When the advance guard see the flag, they take up their positions, strike the drum and raise the flag, and quickly send men equipped for battle to the place indicated. Men who are in the fields should be prepared for battle and should follow [the commandant] in intercepting [the enemy]. Women should quickly go into the city. When the enemy is seen, strike the drum once through the city and stop. Three men are deputed to defend the signal flag and, further, to establish a lookout at the chui signal flag. The Defender frequently sends cavalrmen or officers to carry out a patrol and, determine what the conditions are. At every point, one drum is placed, and when the enemy is seen, the drum is struck to transmit [the fact] around the city and then stopped.

71.9 [If the daily ration is] 1 dou of food, in the whole year 36 dan [will be used]. If each day, $\frac{2}{3}$ of a dou is eaten, in the whole year 24 dan [will be used]. If each day $\frac{2}{4}$ of a dou is eaten, in the whole year 18 dan [will be used]. If each day $\frac{2}{5}$ of a dou is eaten, in the whole year 14 dan and 4 dou [will be used]. If each day, $\frac{1}{3}$ of a dou is eaten, in the whole year 12 dan [will be used]. On a ration of 1 dou per day, at each meal 5 sheng will be eaten. On a ration of $\frac{2}{3}$ of a dou per day, at each meal $3\frac{1}{3}$ sheng will be eaten. On a ration of $\frac{2}{4}$ of a dou per day, at each meal $2\frac{1}{2}$ sheng will
be eaten. On a ration of $\frac{2}{5}$ of a *dou* per day, at each meal 2 *sheng* will be eaten. On a ration of $\frac{2}{6}$ of a *dou* per day, at each meal $1\frac{2}{3}$ of a *sheng* will be eaten. Each day there are two meals. At a time of trying to save people from dying, 2 *sheng* are eaten per day for 20 days; 3 *sheng* are eaten per day for 30 days; 4 *sheng* are eaten per day for 40 days. In this way the people can escape from a 90-day period of privation.

71.10 When the enemy approaches, quickly collect any metal utensils, either copper or iron, from all the outlying districts, as well as anything else that can be of assistance in defensive matters. First, take note of the dwellings of district officials and non-essential administrative buildings, making an inventory of the sum total of all timbers [in them], large and small, long and short, so when an emergency arises, these are the first to be taken away. When the enemy is right at hand, do away with the houses and cut down the trees. Even if there are requests [not to do this], don’t heed them. In bringing in firewood, don’t pile it up irregularly like fish scales. Have [the piles] facing the road, allowing easy pickup. If there is wood that cannot be completely brought in, burn it so as not to let the enemy make use of it. With the piles of wood, each must be uniform in terms of length, size, quality and form. [The
wood from] outside the four sides of the city should in each case be piled up within [that particular side]. In the case of all large pieces of wood, make a hole through them and then join them together.

**Comment:** The gathering of materials useful for defence from outlying areas and their storage inside the city wall. The important point is to leave nothing that can be made use of by the enemy.

**71.11** In defending a city, if those from the rank of commander and above have their parents, brothers, wives and children held as security in the chief’s dwelling, then the city can be strongly defended. Appoint city construction officers – four in the case of a large city – and two commandants as well as one district commandant per side. Have a post captain and a deputy post captain for each post. If the officials serving in the Defender’s quarters are of sufficient quality, are incorruptible and trustworthy and have their parents, brothers, wives and children under protection within the dwelling, they can serve as officers. There must be a hostage for every officer, so they can be held responsible for affairs. There should be two men to guard the main gates. They should stand on either side of the gates and order those travelling to hasten their exit.
There should be four halberdiers standing on either side of each gate, while the other men sit beneath it. An officer should inspect them five times a day and report to the superior the names of those not at their posts.

71.12 On the outer side of the moat, at points that are important or vulnerable, effigies must be made to let those going back and forth at night fire at them. Plan the distance between them. In waters that are outside the wall, place bamboo stakes over a width of 2 bu, the stakes being under the water a distance of 5 cun, with a mixture of long and short ones. Stakes at the outer border (of the moat) should be in three rows, with the points of the outer row facing outwards and the points of the inner row facing inwards. Every 30 bu have one crossbow platform 10 chi wide and 1 zhang 2 chi long.

Comment: This section describes dummies or effigies outside the moat to draw enemy fire at night; within the moat, the placement of stakes in three rows; and the provision of structures for crossbows, which Yates (T) calls ‘crossbow platforms’.

71.13 Every 100 bu have one troop. If a troop has a pressing situation, those in the vicinity should quickly come to its assistance, while the next in line take over their positions.
71.14 The Defender uses tallies as identification for messengers going out and entering. The officers responsible for tallies must keep a written record. The conditions recorded and the matter being undertaken must correspond. The return of the messenger is awaited to verify this. If a messenger goes out, the gate which he goes through, the time of his exit and the name of the messenger must immediately be reported. [Every 100 bu have one troop.] The doors which give entry to the Defender’s quarters are arranged to create a confusing passage. A double road is made around them (the Defender’s quarters), for which walls are made and skilfully covered above.

Comment: This section has three components: the tallies for messengers; a four-character fragment which certainly seems out of context; and the need for precautions with regard to the Defender’s quarters – a confusing passage of entry and a double-walled road around them.

71.15 With regard to gathering vegetables, order the people and their families to have a three-year supply of vegetables and grains to prepare against flood or drought, or a bad harvest. Regularly order the border districts to prepare and cultivate the leaves of the yuan, yun, wuhui and zhu. In the case of houses outside [the walls], fill in the watercourses and wells that can be filled. Place these plants in those that can’t be filled in. In times of peace, give thought to danger. In times of danger, give thought to peace.
Comment: The plants are unidentified, but we may assume that they were all poisonous.

71.16 When the enemy comes, give an order that holes are to be drilled in all the leaves of the gates and provided with covers. Each gate should have two holes. Through one of the holes pass a continuous rope 4 chi long and the thickness of a finger. When the enemy comes, first kill the oxen, sheep, chickens, dogs, ducks, geese and pigs. Flay them all, taking their skins, hides, muscle, horns, fat, brains and feathers. Use catalpa, *tong* and chestnut wood and cut it with a short axe to make a stand for crossbow bolts. When matters are pressing and the soldiers cannot go far, give an order to dig up the trees associated with houses outside [the wall] and determine their number. If the wall is in good repair make a tower of a three-cornered shape. All timber that is heavier than 5 jin is immersed in water, but not more than 1 *fa* (‘raft’). Cover thatched houses and piles of firewood with mud to a thickness of 5 *cun* or more. Each officer is to make known what material there is in his area that can assist his superior in preparing the defence.

71.17 There are slanderous men and there are men who are beneficial. There are bad men and there are good men. There are skilled men and there are strategists. There are brave knights, there are clever knights and there are
trustworthy knights. There are those who are ‘internal’ and there are those who are ‘external’. There are those who are skilled and those who are skilled in fighting. The Defender must examine what the case is for each man, give him the proper name and then include him. When people detest each other or are critical of an officer, the officer must resolve the dispute and record [the result] on a wooden tablet. The tablets are then stored to wait a time when the matter can be laid open for consideration and verification. Youths who are shorter than 5 chi cannot be soldiers. Make them temporary officers and order them to perform duties in official buildings or barracks.

71.18 Piles of stones, sharp arrows, and the various materials and utensils that are used are all carefully placed, each having its piles and allotted amounts. Make yao (open-sided) carts of catalpa wood and fill them with arrows. The solid wheels should be 10 chi wide and have a shaft of 1 zhang. Make three cloth coverings, [each] 6 chi wide. Make a wooden planked box the same length as the shaft and 4 chi high. Cover the top skilfully and arrange the interior to let it carry arrows.

71.19 Master Mo said: ‘In general, there are five situations that cannot be defended. A large city with few people is the
first. A small city with many people is the second. Many people but few provisions is the third. Markets that are distant from the city is the fourth. Stores piled outside the city and rich men who are not in the city is the fifth. If there are approximately ten thousand families and the city is 3 \( li \) square, then it can be defended.’

Comment: Are these situations that are not easily defended, cannot be defended or are not defended – or grounds for not mounting a defence? Of course, all are bad circumstances for mounting a defence.
Dates

**Legendary period:** c. 2852–2205 BCE; the last two emperors were Yao and Shun, often cited as examples of the ideal emperor.

**Xia Dynasty:** 2205–1766 BCE; the first emperor was Yu, also an oft-cited example of the ideal emperor, and the last was Jie, frequently referred to as a paradigmatic evil emperor.

**Shang (Yin) Dynasty:** 1766–1123 BCE; the first emperor was Cheng Tang, who restored the damage done by Jie, and the last was Zhou, often linked with Jie as an example of the worst kind of emperor.

**Zhou Dynasty:** 1122–255 BCE; the first emperor was Wu, who restored the damage done by Zhou. Two subdivisions within this dynasty were the Spring and Autumn period (722–476 BCE) and the Warring States period (475–221 BCE). These two periods (particularly the latter) saw the emergence of the ‘hundred schools’ of philosophy.

Dates (uncertain to a variable degree) for the most notable philosophers are as follows:

- Confucius (Kong Zi) 551–479 BCE
- Deng Xi d. 501 BCE
- Zisi (Confucius’ grandson) 483–402 BCE
- Mo Zi (Mo Di) 479–381 BCE
- Yang Zhu 440–360 BCE
- Mencius 372–289 BCE
- Zhuang Zi (Zhuang Zhou) 369–286 BCE
- Hui Shi c. 370–300 BCE
Yin Wen c. 360–280 BCE
Gongsun Long 325–250 BCE
Xun Zi (Xun Qing) 298–238 BCE
Han Fei d. 233 BCE

**Qin Dynasty**: 221–206 BCE; noted among other things for the burning of books apart from those on technical matters.

**Han Dynasty**: 206 BCE–221 CE; divided into Former or Western Han (206–9 BCE) and Later or Eastern Han (25–221 CE) with an interregnum (9 BCE–25 CE) when the usurper Wang Mang ruled. The Later Han saw the first known contact with Buddhism.

**Three Kingdoms period**: 220–280; this period saw the development of Neo-Daoism with Wang Bi’s commentary on the *Laozi* and Guo Xiang’s commentary on the *Zhuangzi*.

**Jin Dynasty**: 260–420

**Six Dynasties period (North–South division)**: 420–589

**Sui Dynasty**: 589–618

**Tang Dynasty**: 618–907

**Five Dynasties period**: 907–960

**Song Dynasty**: 960–1260; this period saw the development of Neo-Confucianism, particularly through the work of the Cheng brothers and Zhu Xi, in large part as a counter to Buddhism.

**Yuan Dynasty**: 1271–1368; foreign (i.e. Mongol) rulers.

**Ming Dynasty**: 1368–1644; restoration of rule by Han Chinese.

**Qing Dynasty**: 1644–1911; foreign (i.e. Manchu) rulers.
Notes

SOURCES


Chmielewski, Janusz, ‘Notes on Early Chinese Logic’, *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*:


*Documents* = reprinted in LCC.

*DZ* = *Dao Zang*, *The Daoist Patrology or Treasury of the Dao*, with approximately 1,400 titles with a varying degree of connection with Daoism.


English translations of the *Analects of Confucius* (*Lunyu*), *The Greater Learning* (*Daxue*), *Doctrine of the Mean* (*Zhongyong*), *Mencius* (*Mengzi*), *Documents* (*Shu Jing* – *History Classic*), *Odes* (*Shi Jing* – *Poetry Classic*), *Chunqiu* (*Spring and Autumn Annals*) and Zuo Zhan (the Zuo commentary on the *Spring and Autumn Annals*).


*SBCK* = *Sibu Congkan*, 100 vols. A collection of a wide range of titles.


*SSJZS* = *Shisan Jing Zhushu* (*The Thirteen Classics with Notes and Commentaries*), 8 vols., with *Yijing* (*Changes*), *Shangshu* (*Documents*), *Shijing* (*Odes*), the three works on *li* (rites, ceremonies, proper conduct – i.e. *Yili*, *Liji* and *Zhouli*), the three commentaries on the *Chunqiu* (*Spring and Autumn Annals* – i.e. *Gongyang Zhuan*, *Guliang Zhuan* and *Zuo Zhuan*), the *Erya* (an ancient dictionary), the *Lunyu* (*Analects of Confucius*), the *Mengzi* (*Mencius*) and the *Xiaojing* (*Classic of Filial Piety*).


PART I

The Epitomes

1. Being Sympathetic to Officers

1. *Qin Shi*: On the term *shi*, here rendered ‘officers’, Hucker (who renders it ‘elite’) has: ‘throughout history a broad generic reference to the group dominant in government, which was also the paramount group in society; originally a warrior caste, it was gradually transformed into a non-hereditary, ill-defined class of bureaucrats among whom litterateurs were most highly esteemed … [in Zhou and the North–South division rendered] Servicemen, the lowest of three broad categories in which officials were ranked, below Minister and Grand Master …’ (C. O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), p. 421).

2. *Duke Wen* ... *central states*: In 654 BCE, Duke Wen, the son of Duke Xian of Jin, was forced to flee the country as a result of a plot against him initiated by his father’s favourite concubine, Li Ji; he returned in 634 BCE to rule. Duke Huan was forced to flee the state of Qi with his brother by Duke Xiang; after the murder of Xiang, the brothers returned and contended over the succession, and with the help of Guan Zhong, Duke Huan prevailed to enjoy an extended period of rule. Gou Jian came to the throne of Yue in 496 BCE; when he subsequently attacked the state of Wu, he was utterly defeated at the eastern gate of the capital by the Wu forces under Fu Chai. Afterwards Gou Jian supposedly drank every day from a vessel filled with gall and slept every night on firewood to remind himself of the bitterness of defeat. He later overthrew Wu. The central states existing during the late Zhou and Warring States periods
were Chu, Han, Lu, Qi, Qin, Song, Teng, Wei, Yan, Zhao and Zou – see map at the end of vol. 1 of Fung Yu-lan’s *History of Chinese Philosophy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952).

3. **Jie and Zhou**: Jie (ruled 1818–1766 BCE) and Zhou (ruled 1154–1122 BCE) are standard examples of bad rulers whose excesses led to the downfall of their dynasties, Xia and Shang, respectively. See also note 2 to chapter 7.

4. **Bi Gan’s … of affairs**: Bi Gan (twelfth century BCE) was put to death by the tyrant Zhou (see note 3) for his outspoken criticism of Zhou’s excesses. Meng Ben was noted for his strength and courage, but it is not clear whether a native of Wei or of Qi (*Mencius* IIA.2(2)) is being referred to. If he was put to death by King Wu of Qi, it is evidence for this chapter being later than Master Mo himself (as is Wu Qi). Xi Shi (fifth century BCE) of Yue, famed for her beauty, was the key figure in a stratagem by Gou Jian against Fu Chai. Wu Qi (d. 381 BCE), a native of Wei, was a noted statesman and military strategist; he served in several states. The tradition is that he was killed by fellow officials jealous of his great ability.

5. **Heaven and earth … the state**: The meaning of this paragraph is obscure; interpretations differ notably.

3. **Dyeing**

1. **Shun … Cai**: The examples of the persons ‘dyed’ were the revered early emperors of the Three Dynasties period, the Xia, Shang (Yin) and Zhou dynasties. The ‘dyers’ are notable examples of statesmen and ministers; for further details, see Johnston, *Mozi*, p. 15, note i. The second set of examples are rulers noted for misrule, cruelty and excess: for Jie and Zhou, see note 3 to chapter 1; Li and You ruled during the early part of the Zhou Dynasty, 878–827 BCE and 781–770 BCE, respectively. The ‘dyers’ are examples of flattering and unsatisfactory ministers; for further details, see Johnston, *Mozi*, p. 17, note ii.

2. **Huan of Qi … Tian Buli**: The first five men ‘dyed’ are examples of virtuous and effective rulers; for further details on them and their ‘dyers’, see Johnston, *Mozi*, pp. 17, 19, note iii. For details of the six ill-fated rulers and their ‘dyers’, see ibid., pp. 19, 21, note iv.
3. Duangan Mu ... Shu Dao: For these six men, see Johnston, Mozi, p. 23, notes v and vi. Qin Zi is Qin Guli, one of Master Mo’s leading disciples, who was noted for his skill in defensive warfare.

4. ‘One must ... in’: This apparent quotation from the Odes (Shi Jing – Poetry Classic) cannot be identified in surviving texts.

4. Standards and Rules

1. sage kings: The three mentioned in 3.2 (and note) plus King Wen who was King Wu’s father. The four cruel and tyrannical rulers (4.5) are also mentioned in 3.2 (and note).

5. The Seven Misfortunes

1. five grains: Rice, two forms of millet, wheat or barley and pulses.

2. Qing Ji ... was killed: Qing Ji, the son of King Liao of Wu, was noted for bravery. When his father was killed by Helü, Qing Ji fled to Wei where he subsequently met his death at the hands of Yao Li. On Jie and Zhou, see note 3 to chapter 1 and note 1 to chapter 3.

3. rulers of small ... states: Tang and Wu who overthrew Jie and Zhou to establish the Yin and Zhou dynasties, respectively; see Mencius IIA.3(1).

7. Three Arguments


2. Yao ... Jiu Zhao: Yao and Shun are the repeatedly referred to exemplary emperors of the ‘Legendary period’ (third millennium BCE). Jie, the last and notoriously evil ruler of the Xia Dynasty, was overthrown by Tang who established the Shang (Yin) Dynasty. Hu was music attributed to Tang, while Jiu Zhao was music from the Xia Dynasty.
3. *King Wu ... King Cheng*: King Wu became the first ruler of the Zhou Dynasty after overthrowing Zhou. King Cheng was King Wu’s successor and is said to have ruled 1115–1078 BCE.

4. *Cheng Tang*: Or Tang, was the first ruler of the Shang (Yin) Dynasty (1766–1753 BCE).

PART II

Core Doctrines

8. Exalting Worthiness I

1. *Shang Xian*: There are different opinions on how the title should be rendered. I read *shang* as *zunzhong* (to value or esteem) or as *chongshang* (to advocate or uphold) in chapters 8–10 and 11–13. I have used ‘exalt’ to attempt to convey the idea that both worthiness and unity (of ideals) should be valued or advocated to the extent of being raised to the level of principles. See also note 1 to chapter 11.

2. *Yao brought forward ... subdued*: Yao and Shun are often referred to as the last emperors of the Legendary period. Yu was the first emperor of the Xia Dynasty, while Yi (Bo Yi) was employed by Yu for his skill in animal husbandry and hunting. In both examples, the second named succeeded the first. The ‘Nine Regions’ refers to the unification of the kingdom. Yi Yin was a chief minister under Tang, the first emperor of the Shang Dynasty: see note 4 to chapter 9. Both Hong Yao (Hongyao) and Tai Dian were noted ministers under King Wen of Zhou; see the *Documents* (*Shu Jing* – History Classic), V.XVI.12 (LCC, vol. 3, p. 481). It is not known where Fu Marsh or Yinfang were.

9. Exalting Worthiness II

1. *I tell ... hands: Odes, ‘Sang Rou’* (Mao 257, verse 5; LCC, vol. 4, p. 522).

2. *“Ju Nian” ... world*: The ‘Ju Nian’ is most commonly believed to be the title of a lost book or chapter; it is called ‘Shu Nian’ in 10.4. *Chuan* is probably a
general term for ancient chronicles; two ancient sources have similar statements, the Yixun and the Guoyu (SBCK, vol. 14). The quotation from the ‘Oath of Tang’ is actually to be found in the ‘Announcement of Tang’; see the Documents (LCC, vol. 3, p. 187).

3. **Shun ... Son of Heaven**: Yao’s choice of Shun as his successor is repeated in 10.3; see the Documents (LCC, vol. 3, pp. 15–27, particularly pp. 26–7) and also the Shiji (Records of the Grand Historian), vol. 1, pp. 21ff.

4. **Yi Zhi ... minister**: Or Yi Yin (and Xiao Chin 10.6) was chosen by Tang. The tradition is that he attached himself to the bridal party of a woman from Xin who was being married to Tang, and that he himself came to the attention of Tang through his culinary skills; for a discussion, see the Documents (LCC, vol. 3, pp. 191–2), and for an alternative account, see Mencius VA.7. Xin, or You Xin, was the name of an ancient kingdom.

5. **Fu Yue ... Three Dukes**: Fu Yue was, according to tradition, found by Wu Ding (reigned 1324–1265 BCE) while repairing roads; see the Documents (LCC, vol. 3, pp. 248–53). Hucker begins his extensive entry on the San Gong (Three Dukes): ‘From antiquity a collective reference to dignitaries who were officially considered the three paramount aides to the ruler and held the highest possible ranks in the officialdom …’ (Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China, 4871, p. 399).

6. **Bo Gun ... love him**: There is some uncertainty about the people and places: Bo Gun is possibly the son of the Emperor Zhuanxu and the father of Yu, at least according to the Shiji 2 (vol. 1, pp. 49–50). Another possibility is the emperor in question was Shun.

7. **Yu, Ji and Gao Yao**: Respectively, the first emperor of the Xia Dynasty; (or Hou Ji) director of husbandry under the Emperor Yao; an officer of justice, also under Yao.

8. **the Miao people**: A minority people and the ancestors of today’s Hmong people; see also 12.8 and 19.5 (and note) and see the Documents (LCC, vol. 3, p. 64).

10. Exalting Worthiness III
11. Exalting Unity I

1. *Shang Tong*: There is again debate about the reading of the title. Many commentators read *shang* in the sense of ‘above’ or ‘superior’, but I translate it as in chapters 8–10 (see note 1 to chapter 8) and *tong* as *yitong* (one, unity). It would seem to be unity or uniformity of beliefs and principles that is the issue here.

2. *selected ... Heaven*: Who does the selecting is not clear from the text; perhaps Heaven is to be taken as the agent.

3. *five punishments*: These varied in different eras but at this time were branding (*mo*), cutting off the nose (*yi*), cutting off the feet (*fei*), castration (*gong*) and death (*da pi*).

12. Exalting Unity II

1. *“The Miao people ... laws”*: The text of the *Documents*: ‘Among the people of Miao, they did not use the power of good, but the restraint of punishments. They made the five punishments engines of oppression, calling them the laws’ (LCC, vol. 3, p. 591).

2. *the Shu Ling*: Either a lost work, possibly a lost chapter of the *Documents*, or a reference to an extant chapter of the *Yue Ming*, which has a somewhat similar passage: see LCC, vol. 3, p. 256.

3. *the “Xiang Nian”*: Several commentators suggest that the title should be ‘Ju Nian’ as in 9.6 (and see note 2).

13. Exalting Unity III
1. *the sage kings ... aides and assistants*: Other versions have this as a reference to both assistants at court and those in far places.

14. Universal Love I

1. *Jian Ai*: See Note on the Translation for an explanation of its meaning.
2. *disadvantages*: In this chapter, the distinction is between *kui* and *li* rather than the more usual Mohist distinction between *hai* and *li*. I have rendered *kui* as ‘disadvantage’, reserving ‘harm’ for *hai*.

16. Universal Love III

1. *“The King’s path ... looks at”*: A combination of lines from the ‘Hong Fan’ chapter of the *Documents* (LCC, vol. 3, p. 331) and the ‘Da Dong’ ode in the *Odes* (Mao 203, LCC, vol. 4, p. 353).
2. *“Greater Elegies” ... a plum*: These elegies are in the ‘Da Ya’, quoted from the *Odes* (Mao 256, LCC, vol. 4, p. 514), verses 6, 8.

17. Condemning Offensive Warfare I

1. *In ancient times ... warfare*: This opening statement, prefaced by *shi gu*, is more commonly found in *Mozi* 18.5.

18. Condemning Offensive Warfare II

1. *Jing and Wu*: Jing was Chu, and Wu should read Yue because the former was already lost by Master Mo’s time.
2. *Ju*: A small Warring States period kingdom occupying part of what is now Shandong province.
3. *Chen and Cai ... Zu*: The first two were small Warring States period kingdoms situated in what is now Henan province, corresponding to Huaiyang and to
Xincai, respectively, and were destroyed by Chu in 479 BCE and 447 BCE. The kingdom of Zu is referred to in the *Spring and Autumn Annals* for the 10th year of Duke Xiang (see LCC, vol. 5, p. 442 and the note on the question of the name (Zu/Cha) on p. 445).

4. *Helü*: An ancient King of Wu, he was succeeded by his son Fu Chai (see note 6). For an account of the battle with Chu, see the *Zuo Zhuan* for the 4th year of Duke Ding (LCC, vol. 5, p. 751).

5. *Zhulin … Boju*: Zhulin is unknown; Mingai or Ming Pass is mentioned in the *Zuo Zhuan* reference (see note 4) and was situated in what is now Henan; Boju, in ancient times in Chu, was in what is now Hubei.

6. *Fu Chai … Ailing*: After Fu Chai came to power in 495 BCE, he waged successful campaigns against both Qi and Yue, but was later badly defeated by Gou Jian of Yue and eventually took his own life. Wen refers to Wen Waters in what is now Shandong; Ailing was also in present-day Shandong.

7. *six generals … Zhi Bo*: Han Kangzi, Zhao Xiangzi, Wei Huanzi, Fan Jishe, Zhonghang Wenzi and Zhi Bo himself (see also *Mozi* 49.2).

8. ‘*If a fish … land’*: Not in the extant *Odes*.

9. “*The noble man … fortune”*: There are several similar but not identical statements in other texts.

19. Condemning Offensive Warfare III

1. *You Miao*: With San Miao (*Mozi* 19.5), these were ancient terms for the Miao minority: see the *Documents*, ‘The Plan of Yu’ (LCC, vol. 3, p. 64).

2. *Xuan Palace*: There are several proposed modifications to overcome the apparent historical inconsistencies in this statement.


4. *Tai Dian … strange yellow beast*: Tai Dian was a notable minister under King Wen: see, e.g., the *Documents* (LCC, vol. 3, pp. 474–86, particularly p. 481). The yellow beast, *cheng-huang*, was a form of supernatural animal.

5. *Xiong Li of Chu … Lü Shang*: In Master Mo’s time the four kingdoms of Chu (Jing), Yue, Qi and Jin were pre-eminent, and traditionally, as Master Mo says, in the early days (e.g. at the time of Yu) there were ten thousand kingdoms and
at the time of Tang, more than three thousand. Xiong Li of Chu served King Wen (Shiji 40 (vol. 5, p. 1691)). Yi Kui was indeed a Yue king, but little else is known about him. Tang Shu (Tang Shuyu) was a son of King Wu (Shiji 39 (vol. 5, pp. 1635–6)). Lü Shang was also known as Grand Duke Wang of Lü (Shiji 32 (vol. 5, pp. 1477–9)).

21. Moderation in Use II

1. Jiaozhi ... Youdu: Jiaozhi is a general reference to the region south of Wuling. Youdu (You Zhou) was one of the twelve regions (zhou) in ancient times, situated in what is now the northern part of Hebei.

25. Moderation in Funerals III

1. Mount Qiong: This mountain is situated in what is now Puxian in Shandong.
2. Nanji: Unlocated; traditionally, it is said that Shun was buried at Jiuyi Mountain in the Ningyuan district of Hunan.
3. Guiji Mountain: This was situated in what is now Zhejiang province.
4. Kaimu: Little is known of this place other than that it was an ancient state east of Yue.
5. Yiqu people: The name of a tribe from the western frontiers in ancient times.

26. Heaven’s Intention I

1. calamity: Modern commentators point out that sui means misfortune or calamity brought about by the spirits.
2. Heaven ... understands them: I have followed modern Chinese editors and commentators in my translation of this statement. Another view is that the meaning is that Heaven enlightens the people.

27. Heaven’s Intention II
1. “Glorious ... below”: This may be a reference to the _Odes_ (Shi Jing, ‘Xiao Ya’; Mao 207, LCC, vol. 4, p. 363), although the text is somewhat different.

2. _The Lord ... the Lord_: From the _Odes_ (Shi Jing, ‘Da Ya’; Mao 241, verse 7, LCC, vol. 4, p. 454).


31. Percipient Ghosts III

1. _Percipient Ghosts_: There is some question about the best translation of the title. The usual rendering is ‘Understanding Ghosts’ (in the sense of making clear their existence), which certainly fits with the use of _ming_ in the early sections. However, from 32.16 on, it is the ghosts (gui) and spirits that are _ming_, which I have rendered ‘percipient’ in this title, although ‘all-seeing’ might also be satisfactory. The key point is that ghosts and spirits are aware of human activities and are able to respond in appropriate ways.

2. _Earl of Du ... of Zhou_: Little is known of the Earl of Du (Du Bo); the place of his enfeoffment is thought to have been near Changan in Shanxi province. See the _Guoyu_, ‘Zhou Yu Shang’ (SBCK, vol. 14). King Xuan ruled 827–782 BCE.

3. _Gou Mang_: Probably the name of a spirit of spring, traditionally described as having the body of a bird and the face of a person.

4. _Duke Jian ... Zhuang Ziyi_: Duke Jian ruled Yan 504–493 BCE. Little is known of Zhuang Ziyi; there are several possible variations in his name.

5. _Yan had Zu ... to watch_: The final part of this sentence (after ‘for Zu’) may be a later interpolation.

6. _Prince Zhuang ... Zhongli Jiao_: Probably Duke Zhuang. There is some doubt about the names of the two litigants.

7. _butted him ... stumbled and fell_: There are different versions of what exactly happened related to readings of _tiao shen_. Some English translators have the ram continuing its post-mortem attack. Chinese commentators either assume the appearance of a wizard or read _tiao_ as _jue_ (to stumble and fall), as I have done.

8. _nature and size_: The four items – _gui, bi, cong_ and _huang_ – differed in size, shape, composition and significance.

10. “Ah alas ... protected”: This passage doesn’t appear in extant writings, although there is something similar in the *Documents*, ‘The Instructions of Yi’ (LCC, vol. 3, pp. 193–4).

11. *Gan*: A place in Hu, a kingdom in Xia times, which occupied part of what is now Shanxi. The quotation is from the *Documents*, ‘The Speech at Gan’ (LCC, vol. 3, pp. 152–5), although there are substantial textual variations.

12. *Five Constant Virtues ... Three Paths*: The first are the ‘Five Phases’ (*wu xing*), which doesn’t here refer to the usual ‘phases’ (metal, wood, water, fire and earth), but to *ren* (love, kindness, humaneness and benevolence), *yi* (right action, righteousness and justice), *li* (propriety, rites and ceremonies), *zhi* (knowledge, wisdom) and *xin* (trustworthiness, good faith), more commonly known as the Five Constants (*wu chang*). The Three Paths are the Way of Heaven, the Way of Earth and the Way of mankind.

13. *[So there ... above]*: Most editors consider this sentence to be misplaced here. Many commentators have regarded the sentence in square brackets in 31.16 as incomprehensible; the translation is based on a reconstructed version.

14. *Tui Yi and Da Xi*: Ministers to Jie; they are also mentioned in the *Lü Shi Chunqiu* (The Spring and Autumn Annals of Lü Buwei) account.

15. *Qin Ai*: Most modern Chinese commentators think this is a book or chapter of a book; others take it to be a person.

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**32. Condemning Music I**

1. *grass- and grain-fed animals*: Cattle and sheep, and pigs and dogs, respectively.

2. “*Where will we ... things*”: Previous English translators put this question in the mouths of ‘the people’, but this is not how it is understood by Chinese commentators.

3. *But let ... moment*: The translation of *yi* (thought, intention, idea) as *yi* (restrain, keep back), as in similar sentence structures elsewhere.

4. ‘*Official Punishments*’ ... *doubled*: There are several issues with this apparent quotation. While most of the first sentence is found in the *Documents* (*Shu Jing*,
‘Yi Xun’; LCC, vol. 3, p. 196), there is no chapter or work entitled ‘Official Punishments’ (‘Guan Xing’); most Chinese commentators refer to the Zuo Zhuan for the 6th year of Duke Zhao, where there is a letter from Shu Xiang to Zi Chan which has something similar (see LCC, vol. 5, p. 607). No one can make any sense of the final five characters, and I have omitted them.

5. ‘Great Oath’... destroyed: The issues with this quotation include a proposed emendation of Nai yan yue (It then goes on to say) to Tai shi yue (‘The Great Oath’ says), which I have accepted. In the first sentence there are some resemblances to the Documents (Shu Jing, ‘Yi Xun’; LCC, vol. 3, p. 198), and a close correspondence to the Odes (Shi Jing, ‘Lu Song’; Mao 300, LCC, vol. 4, p. 625). The rest of the quotation appears in a very similar form in an appendix to the ‘Great Oath’ (see LCC, vol. 3, p. 299).

6. ‘Wu Guan’... rule: There are several issues with this apparent quotation. ‘Wu Guan’ is believed to be the title of a no longer extant writing; it probably refers to a son of Qi, the second emperor of the Xia Dynasty. Various reworkings are required in the quotation; see the Odes (Shi Jing, ‘Zhou Song’; Mao 274, LCC, vol. 4, p. 579).

35. Against Fate I

1. “I have heard ... forces”: There are issues in this apparent quotation. While ‘The Announcement of Zhong Hui’ is a chapter of the Documents, the statement is somewhat different: see LCC, vol. 3, p. 179. Zhong Hui was a minister serving Tang; the Xia man is Jie. I have followed some Chinese commentators in making the penultimate clause accord with the quotation in Mozi 36.6 and 37.5 (with some differences with ‘The Great Oath’ quotation in 36.6).

36. Against Fate II

1. “I have heard ... forces”: See note 1 to Mozi 35.
2. “[There should ... ourselves]”: There is uncertainty about this quotation and its attribution. The ‘two of us’ are thought to be Duke Shao himself and Zhou Gong Dan (Duke of Zhou) who acted as regents for the young King Cheng.

39. Against the Confucians II

1. ‘In treating ... gradations’: Quotation from the ‘Zhongyong’ (‘Using the Centre’) chapter of the Book of Rites (Li Ji) – see Doctrine of the Mean XX.5 (LCC, vol. 1, p. 406), with one minor difference.

2. ‘Mourning ... months’: This does not appear to be an exact quotation, and there are doubts about the text of the second phrase. The reference may be to the Yi Li (‘Sang Fu’; SSJZS, pp. 347ff.).

3. I say: It is not specified who is making the response. I have interpreted it to be Master Mo himself, but it could also be an unidentified Mohist or Mohists as a whole.

4. He restrains ... speak out: This seems to be a further description of the ‘bell-like’ person.

5. Duke Jing of Qi ... Yan Zi: Duke Jing is said to have ruled Qi 546–489 BCE. There are several references to exchanges with Confucius recorded in the Analects (Lunyu) – e.g. XII.11, XVI.12 and XVIII.3. Yan Zi is Yan Ying (d. 493 BCE), chief minister of Qi under Duke Jing and the putative author of the Yanzi Chunqiu (SBCK, vol. 14), which several later commentators have interpreted as a Mohist work. In keeping with this, he was noted for his frugality.

6. Confucius went to Jing ... was killed: Documented in the Zuo Zhuan for the 16th year of Duke Ai (LCC, vol. 5, pp. 843–8). Jing is the state of Chu. Duke Bo (Bo Gong) is Bo Sheng. The year is 479 BCE, the year of Confucius’ death, but it was some years after the deaths of both Duke Jing and Yan Ying (see note 5 above).

7. Nixi: It is not clear where this was; the Yanzi Chunqiu (Yan Zi’s Spring and Autumn Annals) version has Erji.

8. Chiyi Zipi ... hundreds of thousands: Chiyi Zipi was Fan Li who helped Gou Jian in the overthrow of Wu. Tian Chang was a Qi noble who drove Duke Jian (Jian Gong) from the throne in 481 BCE (see the Shiji 33 (vol. 5, p. 1545)). It is
unclear who Nanguo Huizi was: he may have been Huizi of the South City and a follower of Tian Chang. Zigong was the well-known disciple of Confucius, also called Ci (see the *Shiji*, ibid.). Gao, Guo, Bao and Yan are thought to be four separate people by modern Chinese editors; for Gao and Guo, see *Zuo Zhuan*, 16th year of Duke Cheng and the *Shiji* 40 (vol. 5, p. 1710 and p. 1712, note 18); Bao is Bao Shuya and Yan is probably Yan Ying himself. It must be remembered that there is no historical evidence to support the *Mozi* account.

9. minister of justice in Lu ... for him: Confucius is recorded as having been minister of justice in Lu in the 9th year of Duke Ting. Ji Sun (or Jisun) may be the person referred to in the *Analects* – see, e.g., III.1 – but the events recorded here do not appear in any other classical texts. See the *Zuo Zhuan*, Duke Ding, 9th year (LCC, vol. 5, pp. 771–3) and the *Shiji* 47 (vol. 6, pp. 914ff.).

10. mat ... properly: For these two requirements of proper behaviour, see the *Analects* X.9 and X.8(3), respectively.

11. Shun saw ... dwelling: Tradition has it that Shun’s father Gu Sou took a second wife after which both treated Shun badly, but he continued to display proper conduct towards them. See also *Mozi* 46.13.

12. Zigong ... Wei: Zigong is generally thought to be Zigao. Kong Kui may be identified with Kong Li, named in the translation of the *Zuo Zhuan* where this incident is described (Duke Ai, 15th year (LCC, vol. 5, pp. 840–43)).

13. Yang Huo ... Zhongmou: Yang Huo (Yang Hu), charioteer, who was the chief of one of the three great families of Lu, rebelled against his master, Ji Huan (*Zuo Zhuan*, Duke Ding, 9th year (LCC, vol. 5, pp. 771–3)). Fu Xi was a high official in the Jin city of Zhongmou (in what is now Henan province). While resisting attack by Jian Zi of Zhao, he is said to have called for Confucius (*Shiji* 47, vol. 6, p. 1924).

14. Qidiao ... death: Either Qidiao Kai or Qidiao Duo, both from Lu, said to have been disciples of Confucius; both are mentioned in the *Shiji* 67 (vol. 7, pp. 2213 and 2220). There is also some variation in interpretation of this text as to whether they inflicted or suffered punishment and destruction.

PART IV
1. *Geng Zhuzì*: Nothing is known of him; he may have been one of Master Mo’s disciples. Others in this chapter are Guan Qian’ao and Gao Shizi (46.13) and Luo Guli (46.21); see also note 4.

2. *Wu Mazi*: May be Wu Maqi, a disciple of Confucius, or one of his descendants.

3. *Xia king … Wengnan Yi*: Yu’s son Qi (traditional dates: r. 2197–2188 BCE), the name being changed from Qi to Kai due to a Han taboo. Fei Lian was a minister in his service. Kun Wu is a mountain in what is now Henan province. There is some doubt about the correct name for Wengnan Yi; he was a diviner in the service of the Xia ruler.

4. *Zhi Tuyu and Xian Zishuo*: Assumed to have been disciples of Master Mo, but nothing is known of them, although a Xian Zishi in the *Lü Shi Chunqiu* (*The Spring and Autumn Annals of Lü Buwei*) 4/3.2 is a student of Master Mo.

5. *follower of Zixia*: Bu Shang, one of the most renowned of the Confucian disciples – see, e.g., *Analects* I.7.

6. *He Shi’s jade, Marquis Sui’s pearl*: See *Hanfeizi* 4 and *Huainanzi* 6, respectively.

7. *Zi Gao*: A great officer of Chu in the Spring and Autumn period. A similar exchange is in the *Analects* XIII.16.

8. *Prince Wen of Luyang*: See note 6 to chapter 49.

9. *Duke Dan … opposed Guan Shu*: Probably Guan Shu, the third son of King Wen and younger brother of King Wu, while Dan, the renowned Duke of Zhou, was the fourth son of King Wen. Guan Shu led an uprising to seize the succession after the death of King Wu, but was defeated by Dan. See also note 5 to chapter 48.


11. *Master Qin*: Qin Guli, one of Master Mo’s foremost disciples; he also appears in *Mozi* 50, 52, 53 and 56. He is also referred to in *Zhuangzi* 33 and the *Lü Shi Chunqiu* 2/4.3.

13. *Jisun Shao and Meng Bochang*: Nothing significant is known about them, but they may be descendants of Ji Kangzi and Meng Wubo, respectively, and contemporaries of Master Mo.

47. Valuing Yi

1. *Yi Yin*: A renowned minister of state under Tang who, according to tradition, was summoned five times before he agreed to serve.

2. *Xian Tangzi ... Gongshang Guo*: Little is known about them; both are likely to have been disciples of Master Mo. Gongshang Guo also appears in *Mozi* 49.14, and there is also record of an exchange between him and Master Mo in the *Lü Shi Chunqiu* (*The Spring and Autumn Annals of Lü Buwei*) 19/2.3.

3. “*Principles ... way*”: This may be a reference to the *Changes* (*Yijing*) (SSJZS, vol. 1, p. 149).

4. *Gongliang Huanzi*: Regarded as a great officer of Wei by all commentators, but there is no biographical information about him.

5. *Merchants ... trading*: A problematic sentence translated with reference to the *Mencius* IIIA.4(18).

6. *Zi Waters*: These were in what is now Shandong, and the north and south directions are in relation to them.

48. Gongmeng

1. *Gongmeng Zi*: There is some uncertainty as to who Gongmeng (taken as a double surname) was – possibly Gong Mingyi. What is agreed is that he was a Confucian and may have been a disciple of Zengzi.

2. *three circumstances*: These refer to the second part of the preceding phrase, i.e. ‘not striking so not sounding’. The other two are ‘although not striking yet necessarily sounding’ and ‘striking yet not sounding’.

3. *Duke Huan of Qi ... Gou Jian*: Duke Huan of Qi (ruled 685–643 BCE), also known as Xiao Bo, was, with the assistance of his renowned minister Guan Zhong, an effective ruler of his country, at least until his final years. Duke Wen
of Jin (ruled 636–628 BCE), also known as Chong’er, survived an attempt on his life instigated by his father’s concubine in 654 BCE and subsequently returned to become a powerful and effective ruler. King Zhuang of Chu (ruled 613–591 BCE) was one of the Five Lords-Protector: see the Lü Shi Chunqiu 2/4.2. King Gou Jian of Yue (ruled c. 496–465 BCE) was defeated in battle by the Wu army under Fu Chai, having attacked that state, but subsequently was victorious and returned to become an effective ruler.

4. Zhou ... Viscount Wei: Zhou, the last ruler of the Shang/Yin Dynasty, was notorious for his cruelty and depravity. Fei Gong was his chief minister. Viscount Ji, a leading noble at the time and one of Zhou’s uncles, was imprisoned for protesting against Zhou’s excesses. Viscount Wei was also a relative of Zhou and opposed his conduct, going into voluntary exile.

5. Dan ... Guan Shu: The Duke of Zhou, Dan, the fourth son of King Wen and counsellor to King Wu, was renowned for his wisdom and rectitude. Guan Shu is probably Guan Shu Xian, the third son of King Wen, who was enfeoffed with Xian in 1122 BCE and who plotted (unsuccessfully, due to the Duke of Zhou) to seize the throne on the death of King Wu.

6. Zhou ... Xia: The Zhou Dynasty 1122–255 BCE, the Xia 2205–1766 BCE.

7. Odes ... music: Some commentators think that odes (shī), history (shu), rites (li) and music (yuē) all to refer to books, i.e. the relevant classics. Others think that only the first two refer to books, while the third and fourth refer to practices. I have followed the latter.

8. “teeth”: May refer to marks on a wooden tally.

9. There is being yi ... bad fortune: This terse statement needs clarifying: people can certainly be right acting, righteous and just (yì) or not, but their being fortunate or not does not depend on their being yì or not, rather on the spirits’ and gods’ response.

10. Ziyi: The majority of modern commentators read this chapter title as Ji Zi (Viscount Ji) from a lost part of the Documents (Shu Jing), but I have followed Wu Yuijiang (Mozi Jiaozhu, vol. 2, p. 718, note 57).

11. the three hundred odes: The 305 poems of the Book of Songs or Odes (Shi Jing).

12. were empty: The translation of this statement follows a similar passage in Zhuangzi 4.
13. three months ... three months: Ri (days) in the original is emended to yue (months), based on the comment in Hanfeizi 1 on Master Mo’s views. Three days does seem unlikely!

14. child's ... parents: The reading of this sentence depends on the addition of zi (child) after wu (my).

15. Music is made for its own sake: The opening sentence of Xunzi 20 exemplifies a Confucian play on words – the two meanings of the one character, pronounced yue as music and le as joy or happiness – deliberately overlooked by the Mohist writer of the present passage. So it could read ‘Music is made for pleasure.’ (I am indebted to the anonymous reader who drew my attention to this point.)

16. Cheng Zi: Cheng Fan: see Mozi 7 (and note 1 to chapter 7).

17. Yu ... Jie and Zhou: Yu was the founder of the Xia Dynasty; Jie and Zhou were the paradigmatic evil rulers responsible for the downfall of the Xia and Yin dynasties, respectively.

18. greater than you: It is not specified in what aspect the difference lies, perhaps worthiness (xian).

19. Die Bi: Said to have been a disciple of Master Mo, but nothing else seems to be known about him. (There is some doubt about the first character of his name.)

20. Gao Zi: Not the person of the same name in the Mencius VI.

49. Lu’s Questions

1. ruler of Lu: Probably Duke Mu.

2. Xiang Ziniu: Said to have been a Qi general under Tian He (see also Mozi 49.19); he may be the Niuzi in the Huainanzi 18.

3. King of Wu ... killed: Refers to Fu Chai’s attack on the Yue forces under Gou Jian, who then surrounded Fu Chai at Guiji. Fu Chai’s father Helü attacked Chu; Sui was a small state adjacent to Chu. Fu Chai also attacked Qi. Guo Zi is probably Guo Shu, a Qi general: see the Spring and Autumn Annals for the 11th year of Duke Ai. Fu Chai was defeated by Gou Jian and eventually committed suicide. For the defeat of the Jin general Zhi Bo, see also Mozi 18.5 (and notes 4 and 6 to chapter 18).

4. San Jin: Refers to the houses (and later the states) of Zhao, Han and Wei.
5. **King of Qi**: This is thought to refer to Tian He who seized power in Qi in 404 BCE and took the title of Tai Wang.

6. **Prince Wen of Luyang**: Luyang was a place name in what is now Henan province. Luyang Wen Jun may be Luyang Wen Zi, a descendant of King Ping of Chu and the son of Sima Ziqi, or, possibly, he is Gongsun Kuan, who was enfeoffed with territory on the southern side of Lu Mountain. See also *Mozi* 46.11.

7. **Qiao … cannibalism occurs**: See also *Mozi* 25.14 (and note 4 to chapter 25), which may be the same tribe, although the description of the practice is somewhat different.

8. **Gongshang Guo**: A disciple of Master Mo; another version of this anecdote is in the *Lü Shi Chunqiu* 19/2.3. The ‘Yue king’ is probably Gou Jian after he had defeated Wu.

9. **Wei Yue**: Thought to have been one of Master Mo’s disciples. Other probable followers in this chapter are Cao Gongzi (49.15), Master Peng Qingsheng (49.17), Meng Shan (49.18) and Sheng Chuo (49.19). Nothing is known about any of them. See also notes 8 and 13.

10. **fundamental … “condemning aggression”**: In the five situations, Master Mo refers in pairs to the 10 groups of chapters detailing the core doctrines (Part II).

11. **lungs**: Presumably refers to this part of the animal being used in sacrifices, as described in the *Yi Li* (*The Book of Etiquette and Rites* – one of the three ancient classics on *li*).

12. **King Zi Lü … Bo Gong’s insurrection**: Zi Lü was a son of King Ping of Chu, and Bo Gong was another of his descendants. The ‘family members’ were Zi Lü’s older brothers, who were killed by Bo Gong. The events in 480 BCE are recorded in the *Zuo Zhuan* for the 16th year of Duke Ai.

13. **Gao Sunzi … be withdrawn**: Another disciple of Master Mo. His mission was to bring Sheng Chuo back.

14. **Gongshu Zi**: Gongshu Pan/Ban is featured in *Mozi* 50 (and see note 1 to chapter 50).

50. Gongshu
1. *Gongshu Pan*: This is presumably the same man as Gongshu Ban or Gongshu Zi (see 49.20 and 21), who is referred to in other texts, e.g., *Mencius* IVA.1(1) where he is described as a ‘… celebrated mechanist of Lü, of the times of Confucius’ and ‘the tutelary spirit of carpenters’. He may have been the son of Duke Zhao of Lu. See also 56.1 and comment.

2. *Ying*: The capital of Chu.

3. *to the King*: The protagonists may have been King Hui of Chu and Duke Zhao of Song.
Further Reading

TRANSLATIONS


**SPECIALIST STUDIES**


**GENERAL STUDIES**

reference work for Chinese philosophy up to the Qing Dynasty.

Graham, Angus C., *Disputers of the Tao* (La Salle, IL: Open Court, 1989).


Glossary

ai  愛 : love, to love; see also jian ai
bi  彼 : that, the other
bian 辯別 言 : to debate, discriminate, dispute, distinguish
bie 別: different, to differ, to draw a distinction
bo  薄: thin, to diminish
cai 才: ability
chi  刻 : unit of measurement; see Table of Equivalences for Weights and Measures
ci 辭 : phrase, words, statement, to depart, take leave of
da  大 : large, great
dang 當: proper, fitting, to fit the facts
dao 道: way, path, the Way, to say
de 德 : virtue, power
ding 鼎: ceremonial tripod, utensil used in sacrifices
fa  法 : standard, criterion, law
fen 分: portion, part, lot, duty, to separate
gu 故: reason, cause (the way things inherently are – Hansen)
gui 鬼: ghost
hai 害: harm
hou 厚: thick, generous, beneficent
jia 家: family, school
jian ai 兼爱: universal love, impartial caring
ju 舉: to raise (e.g. as a topic), hold up, recommend
junzi 君子: noble man, paradigmatic man (son of a nobleman)
ke/bu ke 可/不可: possible/not possible, admissible/inadmissible
lei 類: class, kind
li 里: unit of measurement; see Table of Equivalences for Weights and Measures
li 理: principle, pattern, coherence
li 禮: proper conduct between people, propriety, rites, ceremonies
li 利: benefit, profit
ming 明: brightness, to clarify, enlightened
ming 名: name, fame
ming 命: order, decree, fate, to say
nei: within, inner, internal
qi: vapour, breath, spirit, vital spirit/energy
qing: feelings, emotions, circumstances, reality
ran/bu ran: so/not so
ren: man, person, other
ren: love, kindness, benevolence, humaneness
shang: a reward, to reward, praise, commend
shen: spirit
shi: this, to affirm
shi: officer, scholar-official, knight errant
shi: reality, actuality, entity
shi fei: this/not this, right/wrong
shu: method
ti: body, part, substance
tian: heaven, Heaven
tong: the same, sameness
wai: without, outer, external
wan wu: the ten thousand or myriad things, i.e. all things
wei: to act, do, deem
wu: a negative, nothing, non-being
wu xing: the five phases or elements (wood, metal, earth, fire and water)
xian: worthy, moral, worthiness
xiao: small, lesser
xiao: filial piety
xin: heart, mind, mind-heart
xin: trustworthy, trustworthiness
xing: form
xing: nature, i.e. human nature
yang: male, sunny, bright, south side of a hill
yi: change, easy
yi: different, difference
yi: right action, righteousness, duty, justice
yin: female, shade, dark, north side of a hill
yue: music (also happiness, to be happy – pronounced le)
zheng: to correct, rectify, correct
zheng: government, to govern
zhi: to govern, to rule, to bring about good order, to regulate, to remedy, government
zhi: to know, understand, knowledge
zhi 智: knowledge, wisdom
zhi 指: finger, to point
zhong 中: the middle, the centre, in the middle, central, to make central
zhong 忠: loyalty, honesty
ziran 自然: natural, spontaneous, spontaneously so
Let the conversation begin...

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