INTRODUCTION: DIFFERENT VOICES IN THE *MOZI*: STUDIES OF AN EVOLVING TEXT

Carine Defoort and Nicolas Standaert

> 子墨子曰: 吾非與之並世同時, 親聞其聲, 見其色也。以其所書於竹帛, 鏤於金石, 琢於槃盂, 傳遺後世子孫者知之.
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> Master Mozi said: "Since I was not alive when the [sages] lived, I have not personally heard their voices or seen their faces. It is because of what they wrote on bamboo and silk, carved in metal and stone, engraved on plates and bowls, and passed on to their descendants, that I know it."
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> *Mozi* 16: 28/29–29/1

Mo Di 墨翟 (ca. 479–381 BCE) claims to know that the ancient sages were caring and compassionate even though he has not personally heard their voices or seen their faces. Fortunately for him, their writings were preserved on bamboo and silk, metal and stone, or plates and bowls. So he could use their authority to promote his own novel ideas among the ruling elite of his day. He himself, however, was not so lucky: the book named after him was not carved in metal or stone, and it fared less well than the sages' writings. The *Mozi* 墨子, a book of seventy-one units,[1] was seriously neglected in the course of Chinese history partly due to its perceived low literary value and uninteresting content. This agelong neglect has caused such serious textual corruption and interpretive difficulties that even contemporary scholars are often reluctant to tackle this text. Nevertheless, the authors of the current volume have chosen this voluminous source of Mohist thought—or, at least, its best-preserved parts—as their topic.

Written over a period of some two hundred years (roughly in the fourth and third centuries BCE) and possibly put into its current shape during the Han dynasty, the *Mozi* appears to have been largely forgotten until its

[1] Only fifty-three *pian* (units, chapters) are extant. But the fact that a *Mozi* version in seventy-one *pian* was listed in *Hanshu* 30.1738, has led to the belief that it originally had seventy-one chapters. For the textual history of the text, see Maeder, "Some Observations on the Composition of the 'Core Chapters' of the *Mozi*," 29–34.

inclusion in the *Daozang* 道藏 (Daoist canon) published in 1447.[2] Despite some emerging attention from the Ming dynasty onward, serious interest in *Mozi* began only with the textual studies of the Qing dynasty—more specifically, those studies conducted by scholars such as Bi Yuan 畢沅 (1730–1797), Wang Niansun 王念孫 (1744–1832), Wang Yinzhi 王引之 (1766–1834), Yu Yue 俞樾 (1821–1907), and Sun Yirang 孫詒讓 (1848–1908).[3] Missionary interest emerged with James Legge (1861) and Ernst Faber (1877)[4] in the nineteenth century and was followed in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries by Japanese,[5] Chinese, and Western scholarship and translation. The first Western translation, almost complete, was in German, by Alfred Forke (1922).[6] Important partial English translations were made by Mei Yi-pao 梅貽寶 (1929),[7] Burton Watson (1963),[8] Angus C. Graham (1978),[9] and Philip Ivanhoe and Bryan Van Norden;[10] most recently, a complete translation by Ian Johnston (2010) has appeared.[11]

Even though the *Mozi* is still not a hot topic in academic research, there has been an increasing interest during the last decades: there have been studies on Mohist thought or philosophy, on the social and geographi-

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[2] In this edition, which forms the basis of the presently transmitted version, eighteen out of the seventy-one chapters were already missing. For the four earliest extant Ming editions and their supposed Song source, see Durrant, "An Examination of Textual and Grammatical Problems in *Mo Tzu*," 63–68.

[3] For an overview of Mohist studies, see Zheng Jiewen, *Ershi shiji Moxue yanjiushi*. This study does not mention any Japanese or Western *Mozi* research. Li Quanxing, "Ershi shiji *Mozi* yanjiu lunzhu suoyin 20" also includes Japanese scholarship. For a brief overview of different and more recent trends in Chinese *Mozi* research, see the preface to Defoort, "Mo Zi Research in the People's Republic of China."

[4] See Faber, *Die Grundgedanken des alten chinesischen Socialismus*. Legge translates Mozi's "universal love" writings and discusses their connection to Yang Zhu and Mencius in his *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 2, 103–126.

[5] See Hashimoto Sumiya, "Riben de 'Mozi' yanjiu gaiguan"; Tan Jiajian, *Mozi yanjiu*, appendix 3, 623–644.

[6] See Forke, *Mê Ti*. Forke's translation of the Defense Chapters is rather a paraphrase. For more on Forke's study and translation, see Maeder, "Some Observations on the Composition of the 'Core Chapters' of the *Mozi*," 35–37.

[7] See Mei, *The Ethical and Political Works of Motse*. It was republished with the Chinese original and a modern Chinese translation added under the title *The Works of Motze*. It contains a complete translation of the Opening Chapters, Core Chapters, and Dialogues.

[8] See Watson, *Mo-tzu, Basic Writings*.

[9] For a study and translation of the Dialectical (or Logical) Chapters (40–45) of the *Mozi*, see Graham, *Later Mohist Logic, Ethics, and Science*.

[10] Ivanhoe and Van Norden, *Readings*, 55–109, is a partial translation of the Core Chapters.

[11] See Johnston, *The "Mozi."* For a longer list of Chinese and Western translations of the *Mozi*, see ibid., lxxviii–lxxxi. Johnston is preparing a new translation for the Penguin series.

cal provenance of Mo Di and his followers, on the nature and history of the Mohist school or lineage (*mojia* 墨家), on its division and perceived demise by the end of the Warring States, on its contemporary relevance for and influence (or lack thereof) on Chinese culture, and so forth. Some research more narrowly concerns the book *Mozi*, asking questions about its composition, history, textual corruption and reconstruction. The present volume feeds into this last domain by focusing on the three most readable parts of the *Mozi*, namely the Opening Chapters (chapters 1–7), the Core Chapters (chapters 8–37), and the Dialogues (chapters 46–49/50). With their focus on moral, political, and social matters, these three parts are distinguished from two other parts that are generally identified as being of a more "technical" nature: the Dialectical Chapters or Mohist canon 墨經 (40–45)[12] and the Defense or Military Chapters (52–71).[13] These two somewhat later parts are not discussed in this volume because they are different in style, very technical in content, and bedeviled by textual corruption.[14]

Versions of the essays collected in this volume were originally presented during workshops and seminars at the University of Leuven (Belgium), where the *Mozi* has been a research topic for a decade. The discussions and reflections during these scholarly meetings shaped the topic of the current volume and, more specifically, its background hypothesis: despite variations in content and approach, all contributors share an awareness of the differences that can be found in the book *Mozi*, not only between its major parts but also within the parts, the chapters, and the fragments. Therefore, generalizing statements about "the" Mohists or Mohist thought in general will often make way for the possibility of different voices in the text and for more specific questions about evolutions or tensions within the three parts of the *Mozi* identified above. It is not our intention to deny

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[12] The Western opus magnum about the Dialectical Chapters is Graham, *Later Mohist Logic, Ethics, and Science*. Although impressive in its achievement, this book is not always very easy to consult. For a criticism of Graham, see Geaney, "A Critique of A.C. Graham's Reconstruction of the 'Neo-Mohist Canons'." See also Johnston, "Choosing the Greater and Choosing the Lesser"; and Johnston, *The "Mozi,"* 372–373.

[13] Robin Yates's dissertation is probably the most complete source on these chapters: "The City under Siege: Technology and Organization as Seen in the Reconstructed Text of the Military Chapters of the *Mo Tzu*" (Harvard University, 1980). See also Yates, "The Mohists on Warfare"; and Johnston, *The "Mozi,"* 732–733.

[14] These two parts are tentatively dated around the late fourth and third centuries BCE. See Graham, *Later Mohist Logic, Ethics, and Science*, 337–338; Johnston, *The "Mozi,"* xxxii–xxxiii; Fraser, "Mohism," see "Supplement to Mohism: Text and Authorship."

the often noticed and claimed unity of Mohist thought, but rather to complement this generalizing reading with a more detailed account.

This interest in differences within the *Mozi* has, in turn, shaped three basic methodological assumptions that are shared by the editors of this volume and have to some extent influenced the contributions. First, we keep a firm focus on the text rather than its context. To put it bluntly: we think not so much of a master with disciples and opponents bringing about a text, but rather of a text describing (and thereby creating) a master, disciples, and opponents. When detecting information in the written source about the lives, status, or provenance of its authors or its audience, we refrain from making strong inferences about their historical existence. Only when specific issues posed by matters of style, content, rhetoric, or grammar make these matters relevant for our purposes do we occasionally reflect on them. A second idea is that we attribute the differences in the Core Chapters (and some other chapters) mainly to an evolution over time and not to rivalry between opposing Mohist sects. We therefore offer some suggestions about the chronological arrangement of several Core Chapters. Our last leading thought concerns the titles of the Core Chapters, which may have been added at a relatively late stage. We believe that these titles may reflect the shape into which Mohism had evolved by the end of the Warring States period. And we are convinced that they have to a considerable degree influenced interpretations of early Mohism until today. For a fresh interpretation of the text, it may be fruitful to read the chapters while temporarily ignoring their titles.

Before presenting the various contributions of this volume, we briefly outline these three guiding ideas that, for want of a better phrase, we call "basic assumptions."

First Basic Assumption: Focus on the Text

The received *Mozi* consists of 71 numbered units, conventionally called "chapters" (or "books," *pian* 篇), which were transmitted on fifteen rolls (*juan* 卷). The label "early *Mozi*" usually refers to the Core Chapters (8–37), which are believed to date from the early fourth until the early third century BCE and to contain the original ideas of Master Mo and his followers.[15] They are often framed as Master Mozi's responses to sup-

[15] Graham believed that they go back to the beginnings of the school and are not later than 350 BCE. A. Taeko Brooks ranges the Core Chapters from ca. 390 to ca. 273 BCE. Watanabe Takashi postulates a much longer time span for the evolution of the Core Chap-

posed objections of opponents. Although only 23 out of these 30 chapters are extant, the short description of a 71-*pian Mozi* preserved in the *Book of Han* suggests that by the Han the core of *Mozi* had already assumed its current shape, consisting of ten sets of three chapters each. Consequently, these chapters have often been called "Triplets" or "Triads." The three chapters in each triplet carry the same title, and the ten titles are believed to reflect the ten "dogmas" or "theses" of early Mohism.[16] Even though there has been disagreement about the translation of these titles (some are discussed in the contributions to this volume), the general content of the core ideas is relatively clearly reflected by them.[17] Throughout this volume, we normally transliterate and translate the titles of the Triplets as follows: "Shang xian" 尚賢 (Elevate the Worthy; chapters 8–10), "Shang tong" 尚同 (Conform Upward; 11–13), "Jian ai" 兼愛 (Inclusive Care; 14–16), "Fei gong" 非攻 (Against Military Aggression; 17–19), "Jie yong" 節用 (Moderation in Expenses; 20, 21, with 22 missing), "Jie zang" 節葬 (Moderation in Burials; 25, with 23 and 24 missing), "Tian zhi" 天志 (Will of Heaven; 26–28), "Ming gui" 明鬼 (Explaining Ghosts; 31, with 29 and 30 missing), "Fei yue" 非樂 (Against Music; 32, with 33 and 34 missing), and "Fei ming" 非命 (Against Fatalism; 35–37). The three chapters within each triplet are distinguished as, respectively, *shang* 上 (Upper), *zhong* 中 (Middle), and *xia* 下 (Lower). "Fei Ru" 非儒 (Against the Ru; 39, with 38 missing) is sometimes called a "duplet" or "diad" because it was registered as two chapters and not as a "triplet" or "triad". The status of the sole extant "Fei Ru" as a Core Chapter is questionable, even though its title and position in the corpus both suggest that it could be considered the "eleventh dogma," containing Mohist criticism of the Ru 儒 (the classicists, erudites, Confucians). Not only its exceptionally polemic tone but also its composition, content, and grammar suggest that this duplet postdates the Core Chapters and fits better with the Dialogues.[18]

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ters, from the early fourth century to the end of the third century BCE. For more information on these views, see below.

[16] *Hanshu* 30.1738. For more details on the textual history of the *Mozi*, see Maeder, "Some Observations on the Composition of the 'Core Chapters' of the *Mozi*," 29–34; and Graham, *Later Mohist Logic, Ethics, and Science*, 65.

[17] For a brief discussion of the Core Chapters and a summary of the discussions about their titles, see Johnston, *The "Mozi,"* xxxiv–lxvi. We discuss the titles in more detail below.

[18] For these and other reasons to exclude "Fei Ru" from the Core Chapters, see below and Desmet, "All Good Things Come in Threes," 224–243; A. Taeko Brooks, "The Mician Ethical Chapters," 105–106; and Ding Sixin, "A Study on the Dating of the *Mo Zi* Dialogues and the Mohist View of Ghosts and Spirits," 51–52.

The Dialogues (46–49/51) consist of anecdotes, sayings, and conversations between Mozi and his disciples or opponents. Slightly postdating or perhaps partly overlapping with the Core Chapters, they are tentatively attributed to the master's first generation of disciples and dated to the middle of the fourth century BCE.[19] Like the Core Chapters, they discuss a mixture of moral, social, and political matters, but stylistically they are framed as actual dialogues between Master Mozi and historical persons. To have such a collection of sayings and wise responses of a master postdating the relatively structured essays of the Core Chapters seems to reverse the chronological evolution recognized in early Chinese texts. The oldest-known texts are often a collation of rather fragmentary notations, such as wise enunciations of or (staged) dialogues with a master, while somewhat structured statements resembling essays postdate them.[20] Indeed, these Dialogue chapters have been called the "Mohist *Analects*" and were perhaps modelled on the *Lunyu* 論語.[21] The first chapter, "Geng Zhu" 耕柱 (Geng Zhu; 46), is named after a disciple of Mozi; "Gui yi" 貴義 (Valuing Morality; 47) mostly contains sayings attributed to Master Mo; "Gongmeng" 公孟 (Gongmeng; 48) is named after a Ru who opposes Mohist views; and "Lu wen" 魯問 (Lu's Questions; 49) is a record of conversations with the ruler of Lu. Unlike these four chapters, "Gongshu" 公輸 (Gongshu Pan 盤; 50) is a long narrative about Mozi convincing the king of Chu to call off an attack on Song. It is not always counted among the Dialogues because of this stylistic difference as well as its military content, which is more in line with the Defense chapters (52–71) immediately following the Dialogues in the received *Mozi*. Since the content and the title of chapter 51 are lost, we cannot determine its nature.

The last group of chapters that we discuss are the seven short miscellaneous essays at the beginning of the book, which we call Opening Chapters. They have also been labeled "appendices," "digests," "epitomes,"

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[19] See Fraser, "Mohism," see "Supplement to Mohism: Text and Authorship." Ding Sixin, "A Study on the Dating of the *Mo Zi* Dialogues and the Mohist View of Ghosts and Spirits," 73 dates some of them in the Qin and Han dynasties.

[20] See, e.g., Fu Sinian, "Zhanguo wenji zhong zhi pianshi shuti—yige duan ji," 17–21; and Boltz, "The Composite Nature of Early Chinese Texts."

[21] Some scholars believe that the Dialogues predate the Core Chapters and portray the historical Mo Di in interaction with his actual disciples and rivals. For a recent recapitulation of the arguments, see Zheng Jiewen, *Zhongguo Mo xue tongshi*, 4, 46. For an early refutation of this view, see Durrant, "A Consideration of Differences in the Grammar of the *Mo Tzu* 'Essays' and 'Dialogues,'" 255–256; and, more recently, Ding Sixin, "A Study on the Dating of the *Mo Zi* Dialogues and the Mohist View of Ghosts and Spirits," 57, 73.

or "summaries."[22] They contain a variety of topics, some in line with the Core Chapters and others remarkably Ru in content. Their authenticity, affiliation, and textual history have been a topic of debate. Chris Fraser considers them "probably the latest part of the corpus," and Taeko Brooks tentatively dates them, in reverse order, from 270 to 250 BCE. She calls them "singlets," as distinguished from the triplets and duplet presented above.[23] Various scholars consider the first three Opening Chapters spurious and un-Mohist: these are "Qin shi" 親士 (Intimacy with Officers; 1), "Xiu shen" 脩身 (Cultivating the Self; 2), and "Suo ran" 所染 (What Has Been Dyed; 3). Others believe that the last four chapters consist of fragments of otherwise lost material: "Fa yi" 法儀 (Standards and Norms; 4), "Qi huan" 七患 (Seven Misfortunes; 5), "Ci guo" 辭過 (Eschewing Faults; 6), and "San bian" 三辯 (Three Arguments; 7).[24] The Opening Chapters belong to the better-preserved and nontechnical parts of the *Mozi*, those that that we discuss in this volume.

This volume certainly does not aim at providing a complete study of all chapters included in these three parts but rather takes the Core Chapters, Dialogues, and Opening Chapters as the scope in which all the contributions fall. Following the chronological order that we attribute to the chapters, the volume begins with three studies that focus on the Core Chapters: one on the "Jian ai" triplet, by Carine Defoort; one on the "Fei gong" triplet, by Paul van Els; and one on the sole remaining chapter of the "Ming gui" triplet, by Roel Sterckx. The contribution on the authority of the ancient sages by Miranda Brown mostly concerns all three parts of the *Mozi*. The next study, by Chris Fraser, mainly discusses the Dialogues. And the last two contributions, by Hui-chieh Loy and Nicolas Standaert, each start from one Opening Chapter, namely "Qin shi" and "Fa yi," respectively.

Our focus on the book *Mozi* rather than on the reality hidden behind it is not meant to deny that the parts, chapters, fragments, or paragraphs

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[22] These labels are used by many scholars, such as Mei, Durrant, Graham, Maeder, Lowe, and Johnston.

[23] Fraser, "Mohism," see "Supplement to Mohism: Text and Authorship"; Brooks, "The Mician Ethical Chapters," 107, 117. There is a consensus on the relative lateness of the first seven chapters. See, e.g., Wu Yujiang et al., "Mozi gepian zhen wei kao," 1025–1026; and Johnston, *The "Mozi,"* xxxii.

[24] Mei, *The Works of Motze*, 2, notes that the first three chapters "are judged to be spurious almost unanimously by competent textual critics." Hu Shi, *Zhongguo zhexueshi dagang*, 133, believes that the seven Opening Chapters are all later forgeries: the first three are not Mohist at all; the last four are constructed out of lost Mohist fragments. For an overview of various Chinese views about these chapters, see Yang Yi, *Mozi huanyuan*, 19–23, 211–12.

have been written down by and for actual persons. But in the case of the *Mozi* much has been said and little can be ascertained about these "Mohists."[25] That is one reason why we refrain from speculating on the historical identity of the persons behind the text, whether the authors/editors or the audience. As for the authors/editors, we alternately ascribe the views expressed in these chapters to "Mozi" (the master after whom the book is named), "the author(s) of this chapter," or sometimes "the Mohist(s)." We thereby do not insist on the "strong authorship" of any of these persons. On the contrary, like many other early Chinese sources, the various chapters may well have been collected and (re)edited at various times on the basis of older fragments circulating among a group of like-minded people. The authors we have in mind are those "scholar-editors," or "*bricoleurs*," who,[26] for their own reasons, gave these various chapters their current composite structure.[27] Mozi himself was, of course, not that author, but rather the authority to whom the writers referred. In that sense, "our Master Mozi" 子墨子 was to some extent a creation of the book to which he was expected to lend legitimation and inspiration. Even though the text presents itself as created by persons (a master and his disciples), these persons were also created by the text. As Mark Lewis has argued, "the text, the master, and the disciples were inextricably bound together. Without the text there was no master and no disciples (beyond the lives of the individuals involved); without the master there was no authoritative text or transmitters of the text; without the disciples the text was not written or transmitted."[28] Besides this crucial triangle of text-master-disciples, the audience was also both the cause and the result of the book. We tend to agree with Dan Robins that the opponents staged in the *Mozi* defended customs and established privileges of the

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[25] For a summary of reflections on the identity of Mo Di and his followers, see Johnston, *The "Mozi,"* xviii–xxv. For a careful attempt to distinguish between the "Mohists" as a social group, "Mohism" as an intellectual orientation, and "Mohist-inspired thinking," see Brindley, "'The Perspicuity of Ghosts and Spirits' and the Problem of Intellectual Affiliations in Early China," 230–234.

[26] For "scholar-editor," see Boltz, "The Composite Nature of Early Chinese Texts," 59; for "*bricoleur*," see Maeder, "Some Observations on the Composition of the 'Core Chapters' of the *Mozi*," 81–82. Judging from their novel ideas and relatively exclusive selection of textual fragments, the earliest *Mozi* authors/editors probably belonged to a relatively closed group, the latest perhaps dating from the Han dynasty.

[27] For the composite structure of early Chinese texts as opposed to individual authorship of integral, structurally homogeneous texts, see Boltz, "The Composite Nature of Early Chinese Texts," 70–71; and Maeder, "Some Observations on the Composition of the 'Core Chapters' of the *Mozi*," 28, 82.

[28] Lewis, *Writing and Authority*, 58.

ruling elite rather than theories of particular philosophical lineages or schools.[29] We also agree with him, against the conventional interpretation, that the opponents in the *Mozi* do not coincide with the Ru, who are seldom mentioned in the book and never in the Core Chapters.[30] The opponents—anonymously staged in the Core Chapters and presented as specific individuals in the Dialogues—play an important role in bringing up objections that are, of course, all convincingly refuted by the master. Even though in these two parts of the *Mozi* the setting still exudes the master's authority, this is gradually taken over by the increasingly subtle argumentation that one would expect in a philosophical essay. This evolution of increasing opposition and refutation can be perceived in these chapters and will be discussed further on.

Second Basic Assumption: Evolution in the Core Chapters

Most studies of Mohist thought tend to consider the Core Chapters as representative of Master Mo's original ideas. They attribute to each triplet one consistent vision, such as the promotion of universal love or the rejection of aggressive warfare, and therefore quote from any of the three chapters to illustrate the relevant thesis or dogma.[31] But those who focus on the book *Mozi* have long been fascinated by the threefold structure of the Core Chapters. Qing scholars started searching for explanations of the differences within the Triplets: did the Upper (*shang*), Middle (*zhong*), and Lower (*xia*) chapters represent three sets of lecture notes, different branches within Mohism, or stages in its evolution? Yu Yue 俞樾, Luan Tiaofu 欒調甫, Fang Shouchu 方授楚, Alfred Forke, Watanabe Takashi 渡邊卓, Stephen Durrant, Angus Graham, Taeko Brooks, Chris Fraser, and Karen Desmet, among others, have identified consistent differences among the Triplets on the basis of such things as particle use, vocabulary, compounds, fixed formulas, rhetoric, style, references to authority, use of

[29] See Robins, "The Moists and the Gentlemen of the World," 388–389. If anything, the Mohist insistence on using good reasons and objective criteria must have initiated the (philosophical) debate rather than joined it.

[30] See ibid., 386. The Ru are explicitly attacked in "Fei Ru" (chapter 39) and to a lesser extent in "Gong Meng" (chapter 48). Otherwise, they are not explicitly mentioned in the *Mozi*.

[31] Zheng Jiewen considers the Core Chapters more mature and later than the Dialogues, and traces an evolution between the ten Triplets, but he never mentions any evolution or difference *within* the triplets, nor does any Chinese author that he discusses in his overview of Mozi research. See Zheng Jiewen, *Zhongguo Mo xue tongshi*, 1–24.

logic, and the intellectual, political, social, or technological content.[32] The following overview outlines the three steps in this debate that have most guided our own reflections: the "three-sects theory" as presented by A. C. Graham, the "sequence theory" as presented by Taeko Brooks, and the alternative "evolution theory" defended long ago by Watanabe Takashi.[33]

The Three-Sects Theory

Inspired by Stephen Durrant's study of the *Mozi*,[34] A. C. Graham apportioned each triplet (or triad) among three rival sects or factions, which he labeled "Purist," "Compromising," and "Reactionary." To reach this conclusion, he first distinguished grammatical features and vocabulary in the different chapters and then went on to look for differences in content. He thus began by dividing most chapters into three groups, named Y, H, and J after a special grammatical feature: the Y chapters cite Mozi after the opening sentence with the formula *zi Mozi yan yue* 子墨子言曰 instead of 子墨子曰 (therefore called Y[an] chapters); the H chapters replace the postverbal particle *yu* 於 by *hu* 乎 when possible (therefore called H[u] chapters); and the J chapters use the particle *ran* 然 (*jan* in Wade-Giles transcription; therefore called J chapters) after citing an ancient source. On the basis of their content, Graham argued that these chapter groups were written by three competing sects into which Mohism is said to have divided according to *Han Feizi* "Xian xue" 顯學 (Eminent Learning] chapter 50) and *Zhuangzi* "Tianxia" 天下 (The World; chapter 33): the Y group was seen as defending the purest and most radical Mohist doctrine and as residing in the northern part of the realm; the H group, also from the north, was somewhat more accommodating to political realities; and the J group, in the south, was the most accommodating to politics and therefore farthest removed from the original doctrine.[35] Graham

[32] For an overview of various theories concerning the threefold nature of the Core Chapters, see Durrant, "A Consideration of Differences in the Grammar of the *Mo Tzu* 'Essays' and 'Dialogues,'" 253–255; Yang Yi, *Mozi huanyuan*, 213–215.

[33] These three are not the first nor the only scholars presenting such theories on *Mozi*, but they represent three steps in our initial acquaintance with the debate. Other scholars, mainly Chinese and Japanese, are mentioned in the notes. We refer to Karen Desmet, "All Good Things Come in Threes," 17–71 for a fuller overview of the topic.

[34] See Durrant, "An Examination of Textual and Grammatical Problems in *Mo Tzu*"; and Durrant, "A Consideration of Differences in the Grammar of the *Mo Tzu* 'Essays' and 'Dialogues.'" The three-sects theory was first suggested by Yu Yue in his preface ("Yu xu" 俞序) to Sun Yirang's *Mozi jiangu*.

[35] Graham, *Divisions in Early Mohism Reflected in the Core Chapters of "Mo-tzu,"* 18–19.

concluded: "We can well understand why the Mohist sects disputed so fiercely. It would seem to the Purist that out of eagerness for political power the true teachings of Mo-tzu had been shamefully diluted by the Compromisers and utterly betrayed by the Reactionary."[36] Although these labels could also be interpreted as reflecting an evolution, Graham saw them rather as matching with roughly coexistent and rival sects each using the dialect of their own region.[37] Since three Core Chapters did not fit this framework, he considered them later additions: either as "digests" of the Mohist doctrine (14, "Jian ai, shang"; and 20, "Jie yong, shang") or as a dislocated "manuscripts (fragment)" (17, "Fei gong, shang").[38] His division of the Core Chapters can be graphically represented as follows:

Table 1. The Division of the Core Chapters according to Graham

Triplets	Digests and fragment	Y Purist	H Compromising	J Reactionary
尚賢		8	9	10
尚同		11	12	13
兼愛	14	15	16	
非攻	17	18	19	
節用	20	21	(22)	
節葬	(23)	(24)	25	
天志		26	27	28
明鬼	(29)	(30)	31	
非樂	?	?	32	?
非命[39]		35	36	37

Source: Graham, "Mo Tzu," 336–337.
Note: The chapters in parentheses are not extant.

[36] Graham, *Disputers of the Tao*, 53.

[37] *Divisions in Early Mohism Reflected in the Core Chapters of "Mo-tzu,"* 28, Graham explicitly sets aside questions of dating.

[38] Graham thought that chapter 17 was mistakenly cut from the end of chapter 26, where, according to him, it belonged. For more details, see ibid., 3–4. See also Maeder, "Some Observations on the Composition of the 'Core Chapters' of the *Mozi*," 69–75.

[39] This triplet is generally considered very corrupt. Graham used parts of chapters 35 and 36 to reconstruct the Y chapter of the "Fei ming" triplet, he added a piece of chapter 35 to chapter 37 to form the H chapter, and the J chapter is again a mixture of the original chapters 35 and 36. See Graham, *Divisions in Early Mohism Reflected in the Core Chapters of "Mo-tzu,"* 12–16.

Although this three-sects theory has been very influential, especially among Western scholars of early Chinese thought,[40] most *Mozi* scholars have recently abandoned it. As Qin Yanshi 秦彦士 has pointed out, doctrinal disputes within the triplets are remarkably absent, which weakens the hypothesis of fierce rivalry.[41] Moreover, the opponents mentioned in the Core Chapters do not seem to be other Mohists, not even other philosophers or masters, but rather members of the ruling elite preserving and defending their customs against Mohist attacks. However, the rejection of the hypothesis of fierce disputes between rivals does not necessarily imply the rejection of the possibility of a different regional provenance of some chapters, while leaving open the possibility of temporal progress. Taeko Brooks has taken these possibilities—the combination of regional variation and chronological sequence—into account in her sequence theory.

The Sequence Theory

On the basis of Graham's work, Taeko Brooks has argued that the differences within the Triplets may bear witness to a political, intellectual, technological, and social evolution rather than to a division into three competing sects. Based on formal features (e.g., initial attribution formulas, the use of past authority, the elite mentioned in the text, the reference to written sources) and differences in content (e.g., opposition, references to supernatural sanctions, populism, controversy, self-definition), she argues that the Triplets are the result of successive revision and progressive accommodation to political realities within one and the same school, moving from the state of Zheng to Wei and then to Song.[42] She concludes "that those differences are plausible as developing over time, as the Micians [Mohists] move from outside critics to inside members of the system, philosophize it in their terms, make peace with its intrinsic war aims, and cope with the increasingly harsh conditions which apply to all who serve the state."[43] The layers distinguished by Brooks in the Core Chapters are presented in the following table and are tentatively dated from 390 to 273 BCE:

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[40] See, e.g., Schwartz, *The World of Thought in Ancient China*, 137–138; Hansen, *A Daoist Theory of Chinese Thought*, 99; Tong Shuye, *Xian Qin qi zi sixiang yanjiu*, 59.

[41] Qin Yanshi, *Mozi yu Mojia xuepai*, 23. See also Johnston, *The "Mozi,"* xxiv. The earliest rejection of the three-sects theory came from Luan Tiaofu, "Mozi shu zhi chuanben yuanliu yu pianshi cidi," 180.

[42] For speculation on the location of the Mohists, see A. Taeko Brooks, "The Mician Ethical Chapters," 116.

[43] A. Taeko Brooks, "The Mician Ethical Chapters," 111.

Table 2. Tentative Dates for the Core Chapters according to Taeko Brooks

	尚賢	尚同	兼愛	非攻	節用	節葬	天志	明鬼	非樂	非命
390–375 BCE			14 (386)	17 (390)	20 (382)	[23] (378)				
374–345 BCE		11 (372)		18 (362)	21 (367)	[24] (357)	26 (352)	[29] (347)		
342–324 BCE	8 (338)		15 (342)	19 (326)	[22] (334)	25 (330)		[30] (324)		
322–317 BCE	9 (317)	12 (322)							32 (320)	35 (319)
310–287 BCE			16 (310)			27 (302)	31 (298)	[33] (295)		37 (291)
282–273 BCE	10 (275)	13 (273)					28 (282)		[34] (277)	36 (280)

Source: Brooks, "The Mician Ethical Chapters," 117.
Note: We exclude the "Fei Ru" duplet chapter and the Opening Chapters (or singlets), which Taeko Brooks includes in her study of the "ethical chapters" of the *Mozi*. The chapters between square brackets are not extant. The dates are given in parentheses.

Without subscribing to every claim and date presented by Taeko Brooks, we retain three important conclusions from this table that concern our interest in the book *Mozi*. First, Brooks supports the sequence theory as opposed to Graham's three-sects theory to explain the differences between the three chapters within each triplet. Second, she does away with Graham's suggestion that three short chapters were "digests" or a "manuscripts (fragment)" later added to the book. We agree on these two points. The third point is that Brooks mostly[44] considers the Upper-Middle-Lower sequence of the chapters as their actual chronological order. Following the work of Watanabe Takashi, we take issue with this point.

An Alternative Evolution Theory

The sequence theory developed by Brooks is in fact more recent than the evolution established by the Japanese scholar Watanabe Takashi 渡邊卓, who published his views on the Mohist Core Chapters as early as 1962.[45] After a thorough study of the contents of all the Core Chapters together and, especially, of the increasing sophistication of ideas and logic, he fitted each chapter into a period and proposed a chronological order. Very roughly, the evolution went as follows: in the early Warring States period, the Mohist movement began with the promotion of *jian ai* and *fei gong*; when the movement became more structured and the demands for political advice increased, the Mohists came up with *shang xian, jie yong, jie zang*, and *fei yue*. At the end of the Zhou dynasty, when their movement was falling apart, the Mohists promoted *shang tong, tian zhi, ming gui*, and *fei ming*. Watanabe Takashi does not give exact dates for the chapters but suggests that the last chapter, "Shang xian, zhong" was written by the end of the Warring States period or the beginning of the Qin dynasty.[46] On the basis of his analysis, Watanabe concludes that in

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[44] All triplets are chronologically ordered Upper-Middle-Lower, except the (very corrupt) "Fei ming" triplet, which is Upper-Lower-Middle.

[45] For the three periods that Watanabe Takashi distinguishes, see his "Mozi sixiang," 4, 26–50. He does not exclude regional differences between the chapters (e.g. the states of Qi, Song, Chu, and Qin). For other early Japanese scholarship on the Core Chapters, see Hashimoto Sumiya, "Riben de 'Mozi' yanjiu gaiguan," 259–262, 264–268.

[46] Watanabe Takashi "Bokushi shohen no chosaku nendai," part 2, 30–31 identifies a fourth short and overlapping stage ending around 210 BCE, but he places that stage with the third stage in the third period. For a more recent Japanese theory, dating all Core Chapters between ca. 400 and ca. 250 BCE, see Yoshinaga Shinjirō, "Jian ai shi shenme," 585.

Table 3. The Chronology and Evolution of the Core Chapters according to Watanabe Takashi

Warring States	Year	尚賢	尚同	兼愛	非攻	節用	節葬	天志	明鬼	非樂	非命
Early period	400 BCE			14	17						
Middle period	380 BCE	8									
	350 BCE			15	18	20					
				16	19	21					
Late period	300 BCE		11					26			
		10	13					28			
	250 BCE						25			32	
			12					27			35
	220 BCE	9							31		36
											37

Note: The three triplets with a *shang-xia-zhong* sequence are underlined.

three triplets—"Shang xian," "Shang tong," and "Tian zhi"—the chronological order is Upper (*shang*)–Lower (*xia*)–Middle (*zhong*) and not the traditional order of Upper–Middle–Lower.[47] Table 3 presents an overview of Watanabe's results.

Again without subscribing to Watanabe's actual dating of the various chapters, we believe that his suggested evolution theory is superior to the two previous theories: like Taeko Brooks, he considers Graham's "digests" (chapters 14 and 20) and "fragment" (chapter 17) to be early Core Chapters; and he presents an evolutionary picture, although one that differs in the sequence of chapters within the Triplets. Moreover, this theory fits well with some data from Graham's own analysis a few decades later: the

[47] When Forke, *Mê Ti*, 23, divided the Core Chapters into "source" (*Quelle*), followed by "elaboration" (*Erweiterung*) and finally by "paraphrase" (*Paraphrase*), he also reversed the order of these three triplets and of "Fei ming."

chapters that Watanabe characterizes as written last in each triplet all happen to coincide with Graham's H chapters. This suggests that what Graham regarded as a regional characteristic might have been a (chronological and/or regional) sign of the last group of authors/editors of the Triplets. Karen Desmet's recent study of the use of compounds in the Core Chapters confirms Watanabe's hypothesis.[48]

These three theories by Graham, Brooks, and Watanabe Takashi, which reflect the views of a larger community of *Mozi* scholars, generated our second basic assumption: focusing on the Core Chapters, we believe that they contain interesting differences that to some extent suggest an evolution of ideas in the order presented by Watanabe. The various contributors to this volume do not necessarily subscribe to this insight, but they are all aware of it and consider its implications. The four most striking developments that are traced throughout various papers of this volume are the ever-increasing radicalization of ideas, a growing search for a theoretical foundation and consistency, a move from acts to motivation, and a multiplicity of voices. In the "Jian ai" triplet, for instance, the demand to "inclusively care for everybody" does not diminish its radical nature while Mohists adapt to political realities; on the contrary, it is only slowly conceived, and as it undergoes a conceptual evolution, it increasingly gains force. An example of the second development is the ever-more-frequent use of references to Heaven and ghosts, which occur relatively late in various Core Chapters and provide the Mohist proposals with a respected authority. Next, the move from actions to motivation is visible in the views on ghosts and the type of behavior that they respond to: not only good acts but also noble intentions. And finally, the Dialogues and Opening Chapters, even more than the Core Chapters, convince us that there are

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[48] See Desmet, "The Growth of Compounds in the Core Chapters of the *Mozi*," 111–117. Her research also shows that all the H chapters (in Graham's terms) consistently contain a higher ratio of different compounds, which confirms Watanabe Takashi's conviction that they form the latest group. These are always the Lower (*xia*) chapters except in the triplets "Shang xian," "Shang tong," and "Tian zhi," where the Middle (*zhong*) chapters belong to the H group. If one focuses only on those compounds that are unique for one group and hence are not shared throughout the *Mozi*, one finds that the H chapters contain not only most compounds but also those that begin to occur only in relatively late Warring States texts. Chapters from the Y and J groups contain fewer exclusive compounds, which moreover also occur in some older texts. These conclusions are inevitably tentative because of the controversies on the nature of compounds as well as on the dates of early Chinese sources.

different and even inconsistent voices to be heard in this one book, both on the side of the opponents and on that of the defenders.

Despite reflections on these and other possible differences within the book *Mozi*, we also share a strong awareness of the fact that the book is both less and more unified than presented in this volume. On the "lesser" side, we believe that not only the book as a whole lacks unity, but so do the various parts in which it has been conveniently divided, among which are the Core Chapters, Dialogues, and Opening Chapters. Just as we hear a variety of voices speaking in these parts, we also perceive a variety of opponents and addressees: the ruling elite, some Ru, Mohist adherents, and critical disciples. The vocabulary and values in the *Mozi* that also commonly occur in many Warring States texts do not always distinguish the Mohist authors very clearly from other "schools" or "lineages" either, even though they sometimes insist on their own interpretations of treasured values such as *ren* 仁 and *yi* 義. But the strongest reminder of the degree of disunity within the *Mozi* certainly comes from Erik Maeder, who has traced differences between the paragraphs (*ce* 冊) of the same chapter (*pian* 篇). The fact that some characteristics identified by Graham with the H group are clustered in only some paragraphs of these chapters, while other characteristics checked by Maeder are equally spread over the chapters, suggests that the former belonged to older documents used by the Mohist authors, while the latter might be from the final hand.[49] For such reasons and despite Maeder's strong support for some of Graham's conclusions, he also argues in favor of a complex temporal evolution of the Core Chapters.[50] Maeder's study also makes us aware that the *Mozi* (as probably many other ancient texts) is an evolving text consisting of many layers, fragments, and lacunae, and that its authors were more editorial compilers or inventive *bricoleurs* than the "strong authors" we tend to expect behind a text.[51]

On the other hand, we also believe that there is more unity in the book *Mozi* than we have tried to show in this volume. We therefore also

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[49] Maeder, "Some Observations on the Composition of the 'Core Chapters' of the *Mozi*," 44–47. In the same article, Maeder also shows that there are remarkable similarities between paragraphs in very different *pian*. This suggests the use of older texts by the Mohist authors. See ibid., 74–75, 81–82.

[50] See ibid., 76. For Maeder's strong support of Graham's three-sects theory and "digest/manuscripts (fragment)" theory, see ibid., 39–40, 54–55, 75.

[51] Ibid., 81–82. Postmodern theory has shown that even "strong authors" can be seen as *bricoleurs* of existing quotes. The cut-and-paste habits of contemporary computer use have made this characterization even more apt.

understand the general tendency to present Mohism as one consistent vision, and each triplet as the expression of one dogma or thesis. First of all, the differences between the chapters of each triplet are sometimes rather small and only implicit; they are not explicitly emphasized as one would expect from rivalling sects holding fierce debates. Second, there is a principle of charity that expects the reader or listener, at least to some extent, to make sense of the author or speaker and, hence, to distill a coherent message despite apparent incoherence.[52] We do not want to castigate other *Mozi* scholars for having done exactly that. A third reason to attribute unity to the *Mozi* is the fact that it was ascribed to one particular master, constructed as one text by the Han dynasty, and read as such in the many centuries thereafter, at least when the text was available. Even though the *Mozi* parts that we have focused upon may have been composed on the basis of older written or oral sources, they do not appear to be merely "a reservoir of so-called textual building blocks," in William Boltz's terms. Rather, they attest to "an editorial process," which "presumes a doctrinal or other similarly purposeful motivation."[53] However multivocal, loose, and corrupt the chapters sometimes are (or appear), there clearly were people who identified with this composed text.[54] By preserving the three different versions of the Triplets under the labels "Upper," "Middle," and "Lower," the last of the Mohist authors/editors may have given us an exceptional glimpse into the reworking of perhaps many more early texts and into the efforts that a community put into weaving the tapestry of their intellectual tradition.[55] One final reason for attributing unity to the various triplets more specifically is their identical titles,

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[52] The "principle of charity," named as such in 1958–1959 by Neil Wilson and much discussed by philosophers, requires the reader or listener to interpret an author's or speaker's statements as rational, coherent, valid, and interesting. There has also been much discussion about the possible disadvantages of such an attitude, especially over the boundaries of times and cultures. See, e.g., Feldman, "Charity."

[53] Boltz, "The Composite Nature of Early Chinese Texts," 59.

[54] The perceptible looseness may also differ per chapter. For instance, although the Middle and Lower chapters of the "Jian ai" triplet are relatively well structured, they give the impression of having been constructed out of previously existing fragments more than the Upper chapter does; the latter is a nicely constructed essay and probably just as much "composed" as is a modern essay. See the essay by Carine Defoort in this volume.

[55] The exceptional threefold nature of the Core Chapters may result from the Han editors' benign neglect, resulting in their failure to edit the *Mozi* into a unified text. It is perhaps not irrelevant that in *Hanshu* 30.1738 the book is listed as the very last of the Mohist writings, analogous with the collections of "Daojia yan" 道家言 under Taoism, "Za yinyang" 雜陰陽 under the Yin Yang lineage, and "Fajia yan" 法家言 under Legalism.

with each chapter of a triplet distinguished only by "Upper," "Middle," and "Lower." But who added those titles to the chapters, and when did they do so? Tentative answers to these questions are discussed under the third basic assumption made by the editors of this volume.

Third Basic Assumption: Temporary Suspension of the Titles

We should be cautious with expectations created not only by the modern notions of "book" and "author" but also by "titles." In his study of one *Xunzi* chapter, "Tian lun" 天論 (About Heaven), Edward Machle warns that its title "may have created expectations that misled generations of readers as to the real subject matter of the essay." Having removed the title from its privileged position, Machle concludes that "the discussions in the essay are not chiefly about *Tian*, but about the conditions for successful government, the full development of human possibilities, the limits of human responsibility, moral discipline, the proper attitude toward omens and sacrifices, the necessity of following *Li*, and the limitations of some prominent philosophers." He therefore speculates "that Xun Qing would be quite surprised to see the title that has been given to the work, and would reject it as a determiner of the essay's interpretation."[56] In a similar vein, we first reflect on the presence and nature of the Core Chapter titles before speculating about their emergence as slogans or mottos representing Mohist thought.

Titles

Unlike Machle, we do not think of one particular person as the real author who would have rejected later added titles. But we do believe that the risk of titles misleading the reader haunts *Mozi* studies. In the case of the Core Chapters, the risk is even greater, because early Mohism has been identified almost literally with the titles of these ten Triplets. For example, *Mozi* scholars have taken the "Tian zhi" 天志 triplet as containing the master's original views about the will of Heaven. But could it be that when the three chapters were first constructed, they lacked titles? For what it is worth, the expression *tian zhi* 天志 hardly occurs in the triplet named

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[56] Machle, *Nature and Heaven in the "Xunzi,"* 58. For Machle's reflections on titles in *Xunzi*, see ibid., 57–58.

after it (only once in chapter 26 and once in 28, i.e., "Tian zhi, shang" and "Tian zhi, xia"), and never in the rest of the book. Hence the question: did the Mohist authors have an inkling of the importance that we now attribute to these titles?

For learning about the importance and frequency of chapter titles, we can take advantage of the many manuscripts discovered in the twentieth century. We know from unearthed materials as well as from references in Han sources that the current distinction between chapters and books was very fluid in early China.[57] Lin Qingyuan 林清源 has divided early writings preserved on wood, bamboo, and silk into different categories, one consisting of texts or fragments about thought (*sixiang* 思想). Two conclusions, about the dates and nature of their titles, may be relevant for our research.

First, writings about thought only began carrying titles by the mid- or late Warring States period. "Warring States texts about thought often have no titles and the formation of titles does not yet seem to have turned into strict rules; but Han texts on thought often have titles and their formation is full of change."[58] Thus, unearthed manuscripts suggest that perhaps few philosophical manuscripts from that period carried titles. Since no substansive part of the *Mozi* has hitherto been discovered in a tomb, there is no specific information to be expected from that side.[59] But it is possible that the Core Chapters—the oldest part of the book—at an early (perhaps pre-final) stage did not carry any titles.

Second, Lin's conclusion about the nature of these writings' titles is that they often reflect the general content of the text.[60] The titles of the Mohist Core Chapters indeed seem to refer to the general content and have also been perceived as such—hence, for example, the established association

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[57] Han sources discussing writings about thought tend to refer to (what we now know as) chapter titles rather than to (what we now know as) book titles. See Yu Jiaxi, *Muluxue fahui*, 200–204.

[58] Lin Qingyuan, *Jiandu boshu biaoti geshi yanjiu*, 7. The category of "title" is also complex: there is discussion of whether an expression is a title or merely a fragment heading. See ibid., 69–105.

[59] Some (mostly Chinese) scholars have identified the Shanghai manuscript "Guishen zhi ming" 鬼神之明 (title added by contemporary editors) as Mohist. For doubts about this identification, see Brindley, "'The Perspicuity of Ghosts and Spirits' and the Problem of Intellectual Affiliations in Early China," 218–230; and the essay by Roel Sterckx in this volume.

[60] See Lin Qingyuan, *Jiandu boshu biaoti geshi yanjiu*, 7–9, 48–50. Three other types of titles are created by (1) expressing the concrete object discussed in the texts, (2) repeating the first keywords of the text, and (3) quoting the first unit of a series of items.

of the "Tian zhi" chapters with Mohist views on the will of Heaven. But when was this title chosen and why? Neither the expression *tian zhi* nor *tian zhi zhi* 天之志 is common in the triplet.[61] Nor is the expression *zun tian* 尊天 (revere Heaven), a motto that seems to have represented Mohist thought, as we will argue further on. An expression very similar to *tian zhi*, namely *tian yi* 天意, appears eleven times in the relevant triplet (ten times in the Upper version and once in the Middle version) but was not chosen as its title.[62] And on top of all this, we have the strong impression, as did Machle in the case of the *Xunzi*'s "Tian lun," that these chapters do not mainly discuss Heaven's will but rather "righteousness" (*yi* 義). The three "Tian zhi" chapters begin and end with the idea of *yi*; they plead for a new understanding of righteousness and find a foundation for their novel views in Heaven.

The absence of the expression *tian zhi* from the triplet (and even from the whole received text), combined with a content that does not entirely coincide with its title, suggests that the addition of titles may have happened at a relatively late stage, when the argument was already formed. William Boltz has speculated with respect to early Chinese writings that "unedited, 'raw' source material" at some point was edited into a "text" carrying an authorial, or at least editorial, voice. As an example, he suggests that the untitled pre-Han Guodian fragments (now labeled *Laozi* 老子) might be an instance of the former, while the two Mawangdui manuscripts from the Han titled "De jing" (Classic of Power) and "Dao jing" (Classic of the Way) might be of the latter type.[63] The Mohist Core Chapters, as we now have them, clearly belong to the latter type: they are relatively well structured and do make a point, which reflects the presence of some ideological motivation behind the construction of the text. But

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[61] The combination *tian zhi zhi* 天之志 never appears in chapters 26 and 27; it appears only three times in chapter 28 and two times in chapter 49. It might be significant for linguistic research that expressions "noun + *zhi* + noun" (see also *tian zhi yi* in the following note) appear only in the Middle and Lower versions and never in the Upper version.

[62] *Tian zhi yi* 天之意 never appears in chapter 26; it appears nine times in chapter 28 and twenty-four times in chapter 27. The Mohists may have invented a new concept (*tianyi* 天意) to express Heaven's will, since Heaven's Mandate (*tianming* 天命) was probably too closely associated with fatalism (*ming*). The occurrences of *yi* 義 in the *Mozi* are most concentrated in this triplet (65 occurrences out of a total of 302).

[63] Boltz, "The Composite Nature of Early Chinese Texts," 58–61. These two titles are based on the first keywords of each part and were added at the end of the manuscripts together with the number of characters. "De jing" and "Dao jing" are good examples of titles that probably do not represent the content of the text, but that have almost without exception led to such an interpretation, as if they formed a book about the "Way" and its "Power."

the point that they make does not always coincide with their titles. We therefore suspect that the Core Chapters may have been constructed in various stages, with the addition of titles at a relatively late stage, possibly in the Han.[64] The addition *shang, zhong*, and *xia* to the titles of the Triplets also suggests the influence of such editorial hands. If one accepts that these individual chapters came into being at different times, as we do in this volume, then some editor or team must have considered them one unity and arranged them in the current redaction. In order to speculate on the insertion of titles in the Core Chapters, we extend our exploration to determine where and how often these phrases occur in the *Mozi* as a whole (table 4).

Table 4. The Occurrence of the Core Chapter Titles in the *Mozi*

尚賢 *shang xian*	chapter 8	chapter 9	chapter 10	elsewhere
	4	15	13	1
尚同 *shang tong*	chapter 11	chapter 12	chapter 13	elsewhere
	1 (5 上同)	13 [+1] (2 上同)	14 (1 上同)	1 [+1] (1 上同)
兼愛 *jian ai*	chapter 14	chapter 15	chapter 16	elsewhere
	0	0	1	9 [+1]
非攻 *fei gong*	chapter 17	chapter 18	chapter 19	elsewhere
	1	0	1	[1]
節用 *jie yong*	chapter 20	chapter 21	—	elsewhere
	0	1	—	1
節葬 *jie zang*	—	—	chapter 25	elsewhere
	—	—	0 (1 節喪)	2

[64] Sun Yirang attributed the redaction of the *Mozi* to the imperial Han librarian Liu Xiang 劉向 (77–6 BCE), who was responsible for the order of the chapters and sections in various works, such as *Xunzi, Guanzi*, and *Zhan guo ce*. In an edict of 26 BCE Emperor Cheng Di ordered him to collate writings for the imperial library (*Hanshu* 10.310, 30.1701). There is, however, no proof that Liu Xiang did this redaction or gave the titles to the chapters of the *Mozi*. See Sun Yirang, *Mozi jiangu*, 653. Many scholars seem to follow this attribution. See e.g. Zheng Jiewen, *Zhongguo Mo xue tongshi*, 202, 252, 289.

Table 4 (*cont.*)

天志 *tian zhi*	chapter 26	chapter 27	chapter 28	elsewhere
	1	0	1	0
明鬼 *ming gui*	—	—	chapter 31	elsewhere
	—	—	0	0
非樂 *fei yue*	chapter 32	—	—	elsewhere
	1	—	—	1
非命 *fei ming*	chapter 35	chapter 36	chapter 37	elsewhere
	0	0	0	3

Note: Chapter titles are excluded from the count. Numbers between square brackets refer to the occurrences of characters indicated in the *Mozi zhuzi suoyin* as being reconstructed. Alternative characters are added in parentheses.

Table 4 reveals three remarkable facts. First, only the "Shang xian" and "Shang tong" triplets display a clear correlation between the title and the use of the expression in the chapters. In the others there is hardly any correlation at all. Second, as we saw with the expression *tian zhi*, there is remarkably little reference to these so-called "central dogmas" in the rest of the book: most titles occur only once elsewhere in the *Mozi*, namely in a fragment of chapter 49, "Lu wen," that will be discussed further on.[65] A third remark is that the expression *jian ai* occurs slightly more often in the rest of the *Mozi*, but hardly in the triplet named after it.

On the basis of table 4, we are led to conclude that the authors of the *Mozi* were simply not aware of the "ten dogmas" of original Mohism or, at least, that they failed to give them the importance that we now attribute to them, except in "Shang xian and "Shang tong." For the eight other triplets, the chapters themselves contain no strong clue as to why they carry precisely the titles they do.[66] Hence, we cannot exclude the possibility that the chapters were arranged into their current shape by someone who had

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[65] The expression *jie zang* occurs once in chapter 21, "Jie yong," and the expression *fei ming* occurs twice in chapter 45, "Xiao qu" 小取 (Choosing the Lesser).

[66] Perhaps the fact that the phrases making up the titles do not appear in the text of the Triplets can to some extent be explained by the nature of titles of philosophical writings, which are concise mottos as opposed to running text. E.g., while the expression *ming gui* is totally absent from the received *Mozi*, the terms *gui* and *ming* are discussed in relation to each other.

no idea that these expressions would come to represent Mozi's thought and that they would be added as titles. For that reason, we believe it is worth trying to read these Core Chapters without the dominant influence of their titles. Some advantages of this approach are that the reader carries weaker expectations concerning the unity of the chapter, that there is also more attention to the differences between the three chapters of a triplet, that there is no (possibly misleading) presupposition about the content of the chapter, and that one is more on the alert to the importance and recurrence of other expressions in the chapter.

Mohist Mottos

But the existence of the titles shows that there must have been a moment in the history of Mohism when the master's ideas were thought of in terms of these relatively fixed expressions or mottos. One indication that the extant titles functioned as such short slogans is perhaps the occurrence of several "*fei* X" (against X) constructions: against military aggression (*fei gong*), against music (*fei yue*), against fatalism (*fei ming*), and against the Ru (*fei Ru*).[67] The use of *fei* 非 as a transitive verb "be against . . ." corresponds to the characterization of the debates among masters in the late Warring States as "*shi fei*" 是非 (pro and contra), but it occurs more in the *Mozi* titles than in the running text.[68] This seems to confirm their status as mottos or slogans summarizing the content of the chapters.

There is also one piece of textual evidence that Mohist thought at some point came to be closely identified with the ten expressions that now function as the titles of the Core Chapters: it occurs in "Lu wen" 魯問, which records a conversation between Mozi and a disciple about what to expound first when meeting the lords of the four quarters.

> 子墨子游魏越, 曰:「既得見四方之君子則將先語？」子墨子曰:「凡入國, 必擇務而從事焉。國家昏亂, 則語之尚賢尚同; 國家貧, 則語之節用節葬, 國家說音湛湎, 則語之非樂非命; 國家淫辟無禮, 則語之尊天事鬼; 國家務奪侵凌, 則語之兼愛非攻。故[69] 曰擇務而從事焉。」

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[67] Three of these titles are from chapters that are usually thought to be among the latest Core Chapters ("Fei yue" and "Fei ming") or even to postdate them ("Fei Ru"). They may represent the increasing severity of the Mohist ideology. "Fei gong," however, is generally considered an early triplet.

[68] About "pro and contra" or "right versus wrong" debates, see Graham, *Disputers of the Tao*, 36, 167, 176–177; and the essay by Chris Fraser in this volume.

[69] *Gong* 攻 and 故 do not occur in the Daozang edition but are indicated as being restored in the *Mozi zhuzi suoyin*. Hence, the oldest extant *Mozi* edition contains nine (and not ten) dogmas.

> When our Master Mozi was traveling, Wei Yue asked: "Having been granted an audience with the lords of the four quarters, what would you expound first?" Our Master Mozi said, "Whenever you enter a state, you must select a task and work on it. If the state is in disorder, expound to them 'elevating the worthy' and 'conforming upward'; if the state is impoverished, expound 'moderation in expenditure' and 'moderation in burial'; if the state over-indulges in musical entertainment, expound 'against music' and 'against fatalism'; if the state is dissolute and indecorous, expound 'revering Heaven' and 'serving ghosts'; if the state is devoted to aggression and intimidation, expound 'inclusive care' and 'against military aggression.' Therefore, I say: select a task and work on it." (49: 114/7–10)

This fragment tells us at least three things. First, in what sounds like a summary of Mozi's political doctrine, *fei Ru* (非儒) does not occur; this provides further support for its rejection as a Core Chapter. The second piece of information concerns the possible dates of the Core Chapter titles. One cannot fail to notice that the political remedies ascribed here to Mozi correspond almost exactly to the titles of the ten Core Chapters except for the expressions *zun tian* 尊天 (revere Heaven) and *shi gui* 事鬼 (serve the ghosts), which appear as *tian zhi* and *ming gui* in the titles. Since this is the only fragment in the extant corpus of pre-Qin texts listing these ten slogans, it may have had some relation—as cause or result—to the creation of the titles. Chris Fraser dates the Dialogues around the middle of the fourth century BCE, and Taeko Brooks dates this particular chapter to 262 BCE.[70] A third reflection inspired by this fragment is the question whether the expressions *zun tian* and *shi gui* would have provided more appropriate titles for the "Tian zhi" and "Ming gui" triplets. The slogan *zun tian* occurs eight times in the *Mozi* but only once in the "Will of Heaven" triplet (26: 43/11). It is always paired with *shi gui* (*shen* 神), an expression that occurs alone in three more instances but never in the extant "Ming gui" chapter.[71] Thus, from their occasional appearance in the book *Mozi*, we might postulate that the alternative expressions *zun tian* and *shi gui*

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[70] Fraser, "Mohism," see "Supplement to Mohism: Text and Authorship"; A. Taeko Brooks, "The Mician Ethical Chapters," 115.

[71] In chapter 26, it occurs in the threefold statement about the ancient sage-kings: "In their work, they upward revered Heaven, in the middle served the ghosts, and downward took care of men" 其事上尊天, 中事鬼神, 下愛人. In the other cases, the expression 尊天事鬼 is used (4: 5/1, 9: 12/22, 35: 59/7–8, 48: 107/27, 48: 111/7, 49: 111/23, and 49: 114/9).

were more widespread slogans in early Mohism than the actual chapter titles, but they hardly occur in the two relevant triplets either.[72]

As several contributions to this volume show, many topics from the Core Chapters are taken up in other parts of the *Mozi*. But, aside from this fragment from "Lu wen," there is little evidence of the emergence of the Core Chapter titles from mottos or fixed expressions representing Mohist thought.[73] Table 4 shows that these expressions do not often occur in the *Mozi*. Their appearance together in clusters is even rarer, except for the unique fragment quoted above. There are three short and rather similar clusters to be found in the Dialogues, which could attest to the emerging association of Mohism with some key ideas or mottos: revering Heaven, serving ghosts, and caring for others. In "Gongmeng," for instance, Gongmengzi 公孟子 asks Mozi why Confucius was never made Son of Heaven despite his broad knowledge of the classical heritage. Mozi explains that knowledge is not enough: "A wise person must revere Heaven and serve the ghosts, care for others, and moderate expenditures. The combination of these makes one wise" 夫知者必尊天事鬼, 愛人節用。合焉為知矣 (48: 107/27). This answer clusters three slogans (*zun tian* and *shi gui* from the list in chapter 49, not the actual titles), one title "Jie yong,"[74] and perhaps an echo of *jian ai*, namely *ai ren* 愛人. In the same chapter Mozi explains that he does not mind being accused of a lack of humanity (*bu ren* 不仁) as long as he is acknowledged as "revering Heaven, serving the ghosts, and caring for others" 尊天事鬼愛人 (48: 111/7). Here the master explicitly endorses the two slogans mentioned above, again followed by a possible echo of *jian ai*. A last fragment occurs in "Lu wen," where the lord of Lu asks for assistance against the attacks by Qi. Referring to the exemplary rulers of the past, Mozi's advice is as follows: "I wish that the lord would, upward, revere Heaven and serve the ghosts and, downward, care for and benefit the people" 吾願主君之上者尊天事鬼,下者愛利百姓. He then continues with a longer list of concrete suggestions (49: 111/23). Again, we have no more than the two slogans from the list in chapter 49, followed by a general instruction to care for the people.

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[72] It is striking that the ten mottos in this fragment, including *zun tian* and *shi gui*, can be understood as verb + object constructions. This is not the case for the actual title "*tian zhi*."

[73] For more about these Mohist mottos, see Defoort, "Do the Ten Mohist Theses Represent Mozi's Thought?"

[74] As the ICS edition of *Mozi zhuzi suoyin* indicates, the original edition (= *Daozang*) had *yong jie*. Apparently, Bi Yuan corrected this 'mistake' without leaving any comment.

Even though the exact motto *jian ai* does not occur in these short clusters, there is always a mention of caring. Taken together with the occasional appearance of *jian ai* in the whole book (see table 4), and including slightly variant expressions such as *ai ren, jian xiang ai* 兼相愛 (care for each other inclusively), and *jian er ai* 兼而愛 (caring inclusively), it somewhat stands out among the ten early dogmas.[75] Even in the Core Chapters postdating the "Jian ai" triplet, the expression already occurs, usually paired with the two slogans found in the Dialogues: "revere Heaven" and "serve the ghosts." In "Shang xian, zhong," for instance, the author claims that the sage-kings, "when ordering everybody in the world, inclusively cared for them all and hence benefited them, and also led all the people of the world to elevate and revere Heaven and to serve the ghosts" 其為政乎天下也, 兼而愛之, 從而利之, 又率天下之萬民以尚尊天事鬼 (9: 12/21). Therefore, they were rewarded and made Sons of Heaven. In one "Tian zhi" chapter, the expression *jian ai* occurs no fewer than four times (28: 48/4 [twice], 28: 48/8, 28: 48/15) and in another "downward, loving others" 下愛人 complements the instruction to "revere Heaven above and serve the ghosts in the middle" 上尊天中事鬼神 (26: 43/11). Finally, in "Fei ming, shang," Mozi talks about the sage-kings "caring for all the people mutually and benefiting each other in interaction" (與其百姓 兼相愛交相利, followed by the claim that they "led these people to thereby, revere Heaven and serve the ghosts above" 率其百姓, 以上尊天事鬼 (35: 59/9).[76]

Moving from the Core Chapters postdating the "Jian ai" triplet toward the Dialogues, *jian ai* becomes even more explicitly identified as a specific Mohist ideal or slogan. Wumazi 巫馬子, for instance, confronts Mozi with the following claim:

> 子兼愛天下, 未云利也; 我不愛天下, 未云賊也。功皆未至, 子何獨自是而非我哉?

[75] 兼相愛 occurs 13 [+1] times in the book (three times in chapter 14, five times in chapter 15, twice [+1] in chapter 16, once in chapter 26, and twice in chapter 35); 兼而愛 occurs five times (twice in chapter 4, once in chapter 9, once in chapter 26, and once in chapter 28); 兼天下而愛 occurs twice (in chapter 27). See also Sato, "The Idea to Rule the World," 38–40.

[76] Also, in "Fa yi" it is said that the sage-kings "inclusively [cared for] all the people in the world and led them to revere Heaven and serve the ghosts" 兼[愛]天下之百姓, 率以尊天事鬼 (4: 5/1), with the character *ai* 愛 restored by Bi Yuan "on the basis of the meaning."

> You inclusively care for everyone in the world but cannot quite be said to benefit them; I do not care about everyone but cannot quite be said to hurt them. Since neither of us has had any effect, why do you consider yourself alone right and me wrong? (46: 100/20–21)

In the same chapter Wumazi also tells Mozi that in one respect he "differs from the master, [since] he is not able to inclusively care for others" 我與子異, 我不能兼愛, explaining that he cares more for those who are located more in his own vicinity (46: 102/24). Mozi, in one of the Dialogues, speaks about his sense of justice (*yi* 義) in terms of caring, which constitutes his "hooks and clamps"; at the end of the day, they are far superior to "the hooks and clamps used in naval battles" 舟戰之鉤強 (49: 115/18–19).

We tentatively conclude that the titles of the Core Chapters postdate the earliest construction of the chapters themselves and even most of the received *Mozi*. In only two triplets, "Shang xian" and "Shang tong," did the authors probably finalize the text in full knowledge of their titles. In the other Core Chapters it is difficult to understand why they would have constructed a text (possibly from older fragments) or rewritten it without making any reference to the slogan or motto that was chosen as title. It is also striking that the rest of the *Mozi* hardly shows awareness of these mottos, even of the expressions *shang xian* and *shang tong*. There is, however, an emerging identification in the book of a Master Mozi's thought with fixed expressions or mottos. The oldest seems to have been "care (for all)," joined by two expressions—"revering Heaven" and "serving ghosts"—which for some reason were not chosen as chapter titles. The unique fragment in "Lu wen" is the only testimony in Warring States texts identifying Mozi's core ideas with ten (or nine) mottos that are very close to the current Core Chapter titles. But uncertainty about its date leaves many hypotheses open.[77] Other questions that remain unresolved concern when these titles were added, why they were chosen (especially in the case of "Tian zhi" and "Ming gui," since alternatives were circulating), and how they relate to the threefold structure of the Triplets. As was the case with the two previous basic assumptions, we do not claim to have firmly proven an alternative view (there is not enough evidence to do this), but we believe in the methodological value of approaching titles

[77] A. Taeko Brooks, "The Mician Ethical Chapters," 115, believes that "the triplet chapters had been rounded off, and the Mician doctrines officially fixed at ten" somewhat before 262 BCE.

critically. The point we want to get across is that disregarding the titles of the Core Chapters (and probably of many other chapters of early Chinese texts) is not only reasonable but also fruitful for a fresh interpretation of the text. A title both leads and misleads the reader; it should not remain a shackle by which all past and future interpretations are held captive.

Parts and Characteristics of this Volume

Most of the essays in this volume originated in presentations at the workshop "The Many Faces of Mozi: A Synchronic and Diachronic Study of Mohist Thought" (Leuven, 2009);[78] others were originally presented at the workshop "Argument and Persuasion in Ancient Chinese Texts" (Leuven, 2005);[79] and several of them were developed during monthly seminars with colleagues from the Netherlands on the textual nature of the *Mozi* (Leuven, 2002–2005).[80] The three basic methodological assumptions—the focus on the text itself, understanding the differences among the chapters as reflecting evolution over time rather than Mohist sectarian differences, and the temporary disregard for the chapter titles—informed the basis of our selection. We have also asked the authors to rewrite their contributions with these assumptions in mind. The seven studies are mostly arranged in what we believe is the chronological order of the *Mozi* chapters that they discuss.

Each of the first three essays focuses on one triplet. The first essay concentrates on the "Jian ai" (Inclusive Care) triplet (chapters 14–16). Carine Defoort asks the basic question: do these three chapters really concern the topic of "universal love" or "inclusive care"? She discerns an ever-increasing radicalization of moral demands in the triplet: first, "caring for oneself" is rejected in favor of "caring for each other" in relationships of

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[78] Three papers focusing on Mohist influence in late Zhou and Han were published in *Oriens Extremus* 48 (2009): Nylan, "Kongzi and Mozi, the Classicists (Ru 儒) and the Mohists (Mo 墨) in Classical-Era Thinking"; Sato, "The Idea to Rule the World"; and Gentz, "Mohist Traces in the *Chunqiu fanlu*." Two papers were published in Chinese: Guo, "Ru Mo liang jia zhi 'xiao,' 'san nian zhi sang' yu 'ai' de qubie yu zhenglun"; and Ding Sixin, "Moyu chengpian shidai kaozheng ji qi Mojia guishen guan yanjiu." They were both translated in *Contemporary Chinese Thought* 42.4 (2011).

[79] Three papers on *Mozi* were published in *Oriens Extremus* 45 (2005–2006): Defoort, "The Growing Scope of *Jian* 兼"; Loy, "On a *Gedankenexperiment* in the *Mozi* Core Chapters"; and Desmet, "The Growth of Compounds in the Core Chapters of the *Mozi*."

[80] The participants in these seminars were Carine Defoort, Karen Desmet, Dirk Meyer, Nicolas Standaert, Karel van der Leeuw, and Paul van Els.

reciprocity (chapter 14); then the scope is gradually broadened from one's familial or political in-group to include others, by "inclusively caring for each other and mutually benefiting each other" *jian xiang ai, jiao xiang li* 兼相愛, 交相利 (chapter 15); finally, with the advice to "replace exclusiveness with inclusiveness" (chapter 16), the ideal of *jian ai* slowly emerges, but its full-fledged promotion takes shape only later. Defoort then turns to the somewhat later triplet the "Will of Heaven" (chapters 26–28), in which the expression *jian ai* occurs more often than in the chapters that have the motto in their title. In this triplet the emergence of the model of Heaven leads to an unconditional type of caring for everybody else, ultimately without any expectation of reward. Defoort thus shows that one of the core concepts attributed to Mohist thought underwent an evolution of which only the beginning can be observed in the "Jian ai" triplet.

Another way of observing variation can be found in the "Fei gong" (Against Military Aggression) triplet (chapters 17–19), which is the topic of the second essay in this volume. Instead of treating these three chapters as one homogeneous unit, Paul van Els asks another basic question: what are the differences between them? His starting point is that each "Fei gong" chapter displays a remarkable conceptual coherence and clear argumentation, which indicates that it forms a closed textual unit in the eyes of whoever created its received version, be it Mozi, his followers, or later editors. Then, van Els searches for conceptual differences between the chapters and discerns three types of arguments against aggressive warfare. Chapter 17 approaches warfare from the angle of morality, which van Els calls the "moral argument." Chapter 18 is all about counting and calculating, as it quantifies the costs and benefits of a military campaign: the "economic argument." Chapter 19 speaks of ghosts and spirits and repeatedly claims that warfare harms the interests of Heaven, which van Els calls the "religious argument." In sum, the analysis of these Core Chapters shows that the Mohists did not uphold just one argument against military aggression but instead actively pursued different lines of argumentation, possibly to persuade different audiences.

The third study concentrates on *Mozi* 31, which is the only extant chapter of the "Ming gui" (Explaining Ghosts) triplet and which is supposed to represent the Mohist view on spirits. The basic question asked by Roel Sterckx is whether there is one clear Mohist view on the issue. Sterckx shows that the absence of two out of the possibly three original chapters forming the "Ming gui" triplet does not prevent us from picturing a more polyphonic Mohist view of the spirit world. First, he undertakes a close reading of units at the subchapter level, then he compares

them with passages in the other Core Chapters and the Dialogues, and finally he introduces a Chu bamboo-slip manuscript on ghosts and spirits that is now housed at the Shanghai Museum. Sterckx's analysis suggests that Mohist views on spirits evolved or, at least, diversified across the received *Mozi* text. Some Mohists, for instance, were skeptical about the prescience of the spirit world, although that was a firm belief of Mozi. The philosophical issue of the "existence" of ghosts and spirits, on the one hand, and the more pragmatically inspired question of whether they were capable of punishing and rewarding, on the other hand, were seen as separate issues.

The fourth essay in this volume functions as a transition between the discussion of the Core Chapters in the first three studies and the Dialogues and Opening Chapters in the last three. Its focus is the notion of the exemplary past in the Core Chapters, a notion that was central to the development of Chinese traditions of thought. Miranda Brown wonders what role the Mohists played in shaping it. Her starting point is the observation that there are numerous appeals to ancient sages (*sheng* 聖) and sage-kings (*sheng wang* 聖王) in the *Mozi*, while there is a paucity of references to the compound "sage-king" in what she identifies as the pre-Mohist corpus. She compares the vocabulary and rhetorical strategies of the Mohist core with other early Chinese texts, while also paying attention to the differences between the various strata of the *Mozi*. She concludes that the Mohist view of the ancient rulers differed from that found in earlier works: while the early Mohists were not the first to make appeals to past rulers, they nevertheless played a role in creating the image of the Three Dynasties as a golden age with reference to a full set of exemplary kings: Yao 堯, Shun 舜, Yu 禹, Tang 湯, KingWen 文王, and King Wu 武王. Such a vision, Brown argues, was motivated largely by rhetorical necessity: invocations of the sage-kings bolstered, rather than undermined, the Mohist attack on aristocratic traditions. The investigation of this idea of wise rulers within and without the *Mozi* reveals how this central notion in the Chinese tradition was shaped by the Mohists.

While the next contribution concentrates on the Dialogues, it does not leave the Core Chapters behind. Chris Fraser's essay argues that the ethics of the Dialogues is largely consistent with the middle and late stratum of the Core Chapters, but that the Dialogues also developed new ethical ideas. Tracing evolutions in Mohist thought, Fraser presents four important extensions of older Mohist ethical ideas. First, the Dialogues further develop the Mohist conception of morality as norms that can be promulgated through statements or teachings and that lead to beneficial, self-consistent

consequences if "constantly" followed by all people. Second, they present a series of views on moral worth that tie it to the agents' character and intentions. Third, they develop the Mohist view of moral motivation and indicate how the Mohists might approach issues related to weakness of will. And finally, they also set forth a more radical ideal of personal sagehood. On the whole, Fraser concludes, the Dialogues present a more demanding conception of the moral life than the Triplets do.

Later evolutions in Mohist thought can also be found in the Opening Chapters, which are the subject of the last two studies in this volume, again in connection with the Core Chapters. Hui-chieh Loy analyzes "Qin shi" (Intimacy with Officers), which is the first chapter in the received *Mozi*. It has often been considered either a mere appendix to the Core Chapters, specifically, the "Shang xian" (Elevate the Worthy) triplet, or even a non-Mohist essay. And although the ideas in this chapter are akin to counsels found in "Shang xian," questions remain as to how these chapters relate to each other. Does "Qin shi" simply repeat—briefly or with elaboration—the points made in one or more of the "Shang xian chapters? Or does it contradict, go beyond, or qualify the latter? By pointing at various differences, Hui-chieh Loy argues that "Qin shi" improves upon "Shang xian" in the sense that it provides a more sophisticated construction of the motivations that worthies have to enter government service. If in "Shang xian" worthies are portrayed as motivated by a somewhat mercenary pursuit of wealth, honor, and power, in "Qin shi" they are presented as acting from apparently nobler motivations.

The final essay in this book takes "Fa yi" (Standards and Norms) as its starting point. Commonly presented as a "summary" of the "Tian zhi" chapters, it portrays Heaven in close relation to the idea of a "standard." Which stage in Mohist thought does this chapter represent? What evolution is there in the *Mozi* concerning the relationship between *tian* and *fa*? By analyzing the similarities and differences with the Core Chapters, Nicolas Standaert argues that "Fa yi" may have been one point in an evolution of the Mohist doctrine, not necessarily the final one. In the course of the book *Mozi* there is a growing need for certainty and for a foundation of the core ideas. The analogy with artisan tools, such as the compass and square, is an expression of this need. Consequently, the instruments of the artisan are taken as a metaphor for the use of standards in human behavior: the rather abstract *fa* 法 (such as "inclusive care of each other and mutual benefit to each other") and the more concrete standards (such as the "ancient sage-kings") are all supposed to function in the same way:

objectively, measurably, and infallibly. The ultimate standard is Heaven, an idea that appears in "Fa yi" as well as in the late Core Chapters.

Despite the methodological connections and shared interest of these seven contributions, they can also be read separately. This explains why each essay contains some basic information that may appear repetitious but allows the reader to freely determine the order of reading the contributions. As for the *Mozi* text, though various editions have been consulted, such as those by Sun Yirang and by Wu Yujiang 吳毓江, all fragments are quoted using the Chinese text in D. C. Lau's *Mozi zhuzi suoyin* 墨子逐字索引 (*A Concordance to the "Mozi"*).[81] All references to *Mozi* fragments are to this edition; the chapter number is given first, followed by a colon and then the page number and line number separated by a slash—for example, 16: 29/2. We have followed the editors' reconstructions except where indicated otherwise. When we count the number of times terms appear in the *Mozi*, we explicitly indicate reconstructions marked by the ICS editors. Although we have consulted one or more existing translations, such as those by Mei Yi-pao (from 1929), Burton Watson (from 1963), and Ian Johnston (from 2010), the translations are by the authors themselves except where indicated otherwise. For other primary sources, the original Chinese text is not quoted and we only refer to the chapter, except when specific fragments are commonly recognized by a number (e.g., *Lunyu*, 1.2, *Laozi*, 24, and *Mengzi* 3A9).

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[81] *Mozi zhuzi suoyin* 墨子逐字索引, edited by D. C. Lau, ICS Ancient Chinese Texts Concordance Series 41 (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 2001).

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