

The Ethical and Political Works of Motse [Mozi]

Book I, Chapter I (1)
"Befriending the Learned" (2)

If one does not preserve the learned in a state he will be injuring the state; if one is not zealous (to recommend) the virtuous upon seeing one, he will be neglecting the ruler. Enthusiasm is to be shown only to the virtuous, and plans for the country are only to be shared with the learned. Few are those, who, neglecting the virtuous and slighting the learned, could still maintain the existence of their countries.

Formerly Lord Wen (of Jin, 780-746 B.C. [3]) was once in exile and yet later became the leading feudal lord. Lord Huan (of Qi 685-643 B.C.) was once forced to leave his state and yet later became a "tyrant" (4) among the feudal lords. Lord Gou Jian of Yue (496-465 B.C.) was once brought under humiliation by the king of Wu (5), and yet he was later looked upon with awe by the princes of China (6). The reason that these three men became famous and successful in the world lies in that they were able to endure shame and humiliation within their states.

The greatest men know of no defeat. The next greatest turn failure into success, and this, by the employment of the people. I have heard it said: It is not that there is no peaceful abode but that I have no peaceful heart (over others' homelessness); it is not that my wealth is not sufficient but that my passion yearns for more (to improve others' conditions). Therefore the superior man is strict with one's self but lenient with others (in matters of conduct) while the multitude are lenient with themselves but strict with others. The superior man carries out his ambitions successfully in action and studies the situation when he is at leisure. Even when he is taken as a mediocre individual he feels no dissatisfaction. This is because he has self-confidence. Therefore, those who attempt what seems difficult to them will obtain what they desire, but few who aim at what they desire can avoid what they dislike (7).

Therefore, artful ministers are harmful to the lord and flattering subordinates are injurious to the ruler. The lord should have uncompromising ministers; the ruler should have stern subordinates. Only when counsel is given with farsightedness and advice administered with sternness, can the life of the state be secure and permanent. If (to the contrary) the subordinates should value their positions and keep silence, the ministers near at hand would be speechless and those far away could only sigh, and the people would become bitter. When the ruler is surrounded with praises and flatteries and insulated against good counsels, then the country is in danger. Was it not because they would not employ the scholars, that Jie (8) and Zhou (9) lost their empire and their lives? Thus it is said: To offer the greatest treasure of the country to the ruler is not as laudable as to recommend the virtuous and introduce the learned.

Among the five weapons the sharpest will be broken first. Among the five swords the keenest will be first worn out. The sweet wells become sooner dry and the elegant trees are oftener felled. The tortoises that are more responsive are oftener burned and the snakes that show more magic power are more sacrificed. Thus, Bi Gan (10) died of his uprightness; Meng Fen (11) perished by his strength; Xi Shi (12) paid with her life for her beauty; and Wu Qi (13) was torn alive for his achievement. This shows that there are but few who excel other people and do not perish on account of it. Hence the saying: Position of the supreme is hard to keep.

Even the kind ruler will not show favours to ministers without merit. Even the affectionate father will not love his useless sons. He who occupies a position but is not equal to the task is not the proper person for the position. He who draws emoluments but does not deserve the rank is not the proper proprietor of the emoluments. Good bows may be hard to draw, but they can reach great heights and pierce deeply. Good horses may be hard to ride on, but they can carry heavy burdens and make long journeys. Real talents may be hard to command, but they can be trusted to be envoys to the court of the emperor and to meet the nobility.

Therefore the big rivers do not despise the little brooklets for tributaries. And great men do not neglect any menial task or reject any trifle, and so they become vessels for the world. The water in a river does not come from a single source, neither is the fur coat that is worth a thousand yi (14) composed of the white fur (15) of a single fox. Now, to discard those who agree with the right but employ those who agree with one's self is not the way to be a great ruler. (Just as) Heaven and earth do not dazzle, great bodies of water do not boil and foam, and great conflagrations do not coruscate, (so) the imperial character does not lift itself up beyond reach.

As to the chieftain of only a thousand people, he is straight like an arrow and smooth like a hone, unable to tolerate the manifold ways. For narrow gorges clog up rapidly, shallow streams are soon exhausted, and the barren land does not bear fruits. When a ruler confines his favours within his palace, then they cannot be shared by the whole country.

Book I, Chapter II
"Self-cultivation"

Though there should be tactics in war, courage is fundamental. Though there should be ceremonies for mourning, grief is essential. Though a scholar should be learned, he must first of all exhibit good conduct. When the seeds are not well sown, there is no use in labouring for a good harvest. When the people near-by are not befriended there is no use of endeavouring to attract those at a distance. When one's relatives are not submissive, there is no use in endeavouring to establish contacts with the outside world. When one cannot accomplish a single task from beginning to end, there is no use of attempting many things. And when one is ignorant of a commonplace that is pointed out, there is no use of pursuing wide knowledge.

Therefore, when the early kings administered the empire, they would investigate what was within reach and attract those at a distance. Investigation of a locality by the superior men means its orderly government. When they discovered misconduct or depravity, they corrected themselves. Thus all complaints disappeared and conduct became regulated (by itself). When the superior men do not listen to treacherous words or utter any threatening sound, or entertain any idea of injuring somebody, then even if there were underhanded persons they would lose support. Therefore the superior men are daily more energetic in performing their duty, but weaker in their desires, and more stately in their appearance.

The way of the superior man makes the individual incorruptible in poverty and righteous when wealthy; it makes him love the living and mourn the dead. These four qualities of conduct cannot be hypocritically embodied in one's personality. There is nothing in his mind that goes beyond love; there is nothing in his behaviour that goes beyond respectfulness, and there is nothing from his mouth that goes beyond gentility. When one pursues such a way until it pervades his four limbs and permeates his flesh and skin, and until he becomes white-haired and bald-headed without ceasing, one is truly a sage.

His wisdom will not be far-reaching whose purpose is not firm. His action will not be effective whose promises are not kept. He who will not share his possessions with others is not worthy to be a friend. And he who does not stand firm on principles and has neither wide knowledge nor penetrating judgment, is not worthy to be a companion. Just as a weak trunk will have but small branches, so, mere bravery without cultivation will result in dissipation. And just as a dirty source will issue in an impure stream, so unfaithful conduct will unfavourably affect one's fame. For, fame does not spring up out of nothing, nor does praise grow by itself. Fame follows upon success and is not obtainable by hypocrisy.

He will not be listened to who talks much but is slow in action, even though he is discerning. He will not accomplish anything, who is capable but likes to boast of his feats, even though he drudges. The wise discerns all in his mind but speaks simply, and he is capable but does not boast of his deeds. And, so, his name is exalted the world over. In speech, not quantity but ingenuity, not eloquence but insight, should be cultivated. If one is not wise and without insight, breeding only dissipation in one's personality, this is just the contrary of what should be cultivated.

Any virtue that does not spring from the heart will not remain and any (result of) action that is not aimed at by one's self will not stay. There is no short cut to fame and there is no trick to praise. The superior man regards his body but as the vehicle for his character. None who places much importance on personal gains but lightly sacrifices his fame has ever become a gentleman in the world.

Book I, Chapter III
"On Dyeing" (1)

Watching a dyer of silk at work, Mozi sighed, saying: What is dyed in blue becomes blue, what is dyed in yellow becomes yellow. When the silk is put in a different dye, its colour becomes also different. Having been dipped in five times, it has changed its colour five times. Therefore dyeing should be done with great care. This is true not only with silk dyeing; even a country changes its colour in response to its influences (2).

Thus Shun came under the influences of Xu You and Bo Yang; Yü, under that of Gao Tao and Bo Yi; Tang, under that of Yi Yin and Zhong Hui; and King Wu, under that of the Grand Duke and Duke Zhou (3). Now these four kings had been under good influences. Therefore they came to possess the empire and were commissioned Sons of Heaven (Emperors) (4). Their achievements and great fame extended from Heaven to earth. And when the preeminently magnanimous and righteous figures of the world are mentioned, they are invariably those referred to.

Jie of Xia came under the influence of Gan Xin and Tui Yi; Zhou of Yin, under that of the Duke of Zhong and E Lai; King Li, under that of Chang Fu, Duke Li, and Yi Zhong of the State of Rong; and King You, under that of Yi, Duke of Fu,

and Gu, Duke of Cai (5). Now these four kings had been under bad influences. Therefore they lost their empire and their lives, and were persecuted everywhere. And when the most unrighteous and shameful persons of the world are mentioned, they are invariably those referred to.

Lord Huan of Qi came under the influence of Guan Zhong and Bao Shu; Lord Wen of Jin, under that of Uncle Fan and Gao Yan; Lord Zhuang of Chu, under that of Sun Shu and the Minister of Shen; Ho LY of Wu, under that of Wu Yuan and Wen Yi; and Gou Jian of Yue, under that of Fan Li and Minister Zhong (6). Now these five lords had been under good influences. Therefore they became Tyrants (7) among the feudal lords and their achievements and their fame were handed down to posterity.

Fan Ji She came under the influence of Zhang Liu Shuo and Wang Sheng; Zhang Xing Yin, under that of Ji Qin and Gao Jiang; Fu Cha, under that of Wang Sun Luo and Minister Pi; Zhi Bo Yao, under that of Zhi Guo and Zhang Wu; Shang of Zhongshan, under that of Wei Yi and Yan Chang; and Lord Kang of Song, under that of Tang Yang and Tian Bu Li (8). Now, these six princes had been under bad influences. Therefore their states were ruined and they were executed, their ancestral temples were destroyed and descendants annihilated. The rulers and the subjects were dispersed and the people were left homeless. The whole world points to these six princes as the most greedy and disturbing people.

Now, how can the rulers obtain security? They can obtain it by following the right way. And one will naturally follow the right way when under good influence. Therefore capable rulers are very painstaking in the selection of men while they may not be so careful in attending to the administration (themselves). But the incapable wear out their body and exhaust their energy, tax their mind and stretch their thought, and yet their states are only placed in greater danger and their persons under more humiliation. Now, it is not that these six princes do not value their states or hold their lives cheap, it is really that they do not understand the relative importance of things. And it is due to bad influences that their idea of importance is distorted.

Not only states but also individuals are subject to influences. If one has for friends none but those who love magnanimity and righteousness and who are careful and respectful of course one's family will become more prosperous, one's person more at peace, and one's name more honorable every day; and, as an official, one will be properly qualified.

Examples of such are Duan Gan Mu (9), Qinzi (10), and Fu Yue (11). (On the contrary) if one has for friends none but those who are proud and quarrelsome and who pretend to be intimate, naturally one's family will be reduced to straits, one's person will be more in danger, and one's name more dishonourable every day and one will not be qualified for office. And, examples of such are Zi Xi, Yi Ya, and Shu Diao.

An Ode (12) says: "One must choose what to be tinged with." To be careful about what one is to be tinged with is just the theme of this (essay).

Book I, Chapter IV(1)
"On the necessity of standards"

Mozi said: To accomplish anything whatsoever one must have standards. None have yet accomplished anything without them. The gentlemen fulfilling their duties as generals and councillors have their standards. Even the artisans performing their tasks also have their standards. The artisans make square objects according to the square, circular objects according to the compasses; they draw straight lines with the carpenter's line and find the perpendicular by a pendulum. All artisans, whether skilled or unskilled, employ these five (2) standards. Only the skilled workers are accurate. Though the unskilled labourers have not attained accuracy, yet they do better by following these standards than otherwise. Thus all artisans follow the standards in their work.

Now, the government of the empire and that of the large states do not observe their standards. This shows the governors are even less intelligent than the artisans.

What, then, should be taken as the proper standard in government? How will it do for everybody to imitate (3) his parents? There are numerous parents in the world but few are magnanimous. For everybody to imitate his parents is to imitate the unmagnanimous. Imitating the unmagnanimous can not be said to be following the proper standard. How will it do for everybody to follow his teacher? There are numerous teachers in the world but few are magnanimous. For everybody to imitate his teacher is to imitate the unmagnanimous. Imitating the unmagnanimous cannot be taken as following the proper standard. How will it do for everybody to imitate his ruler? There are many rulers in the world but few are magnanimous. For everybody to imitate the ruler is to imitate the unmagnanimous. Imitating the unmagnanimous cannot be taken as following the right standard. So then neither the parents nor the teacher nor the ruler should be accepted as the standard in government.

What then should be taken as the standard in government? Nothing better than following Heaven. Heaven is all-inclusive and impartial in its activities, abundant and unceasing in its blessings, and lasting and untiring in its guidance. And, so, when the sage-kings had accepted Heaven as their standard, they measured every action and enterprise by Heaven. What Heaven desired they would carry out, what Heaven abominated they refrained from.

Now, what is it that Heaven desires, and what that it abominates? Certainly Heaven desires to have men benefit and love one another and abominates to have them hate and harm one another. How do we know that Heaven desires to have men love and benefit one another and abominates to have them hate and harm one another? Because it loves and benefits men universally. How do we know that it loves and benefits men universally? Because it claims all and accepts offerings from all. All states in the world, large or small, are cities of Heaven, and all people, young or old, honourable or humble, are its subjects; for they all graze oxen and sheep, feed dogs and pigs, and prepare clean wine and cakes (4) to sacrifice to Heaven. Does this not mean that Heaven claims all and accepts offerings from all? Since Heaven does claim all and accepts offerings from all, what then can make us say that it does not desire men to love and benefit one another? Hence those who love and benefit others Heaven will bless. Those who hate and harm others Heaven will curse, for it is said that he who murders the innocent will be visited by misfortune. How else can we explain the fact that men, murdering each other, will be cursed by Heaven? Thus we are certain that Heaven desires to have men love and benefit one another and abominates to have them hate and harm one another.

The ancient sage-kings, Yŷ, Tang, Wen, and Wu (5) loved the people of the world universally, leading them to reverence Heaven and worship the spirits. Many were their benefits to the people. And, thereupon Heaven blessed them, establishing them emperors; and all the feudal lords of the empire showed them respect. (On the other hand) the wicked kings, Jie, Zhou, You, and Li (6), hated all the people in the world, seducing the people to curse Heaven and ridicule the spirits. Great were their injuries to the people. Thereupon Heaven brought them calamity, depriving them of their empire and their lives; and posterity condemned them to this day. Jie, Zhou, You, and Li, then, are those that committed evil and were visited by calamities. And Yŷ, Tang, Wen, and Wu are those that loved and benefited the people and obtained blessings. Thus we have those who obtained blessings because they loved and benefited the people as well as those who were visited by calamities because they hated and harmed the people.

Book I, Chapter V(1)
"The seven causes of anxiety"

Mozi said: There are seven causes of worry to a state and they are: (1) When the outer and the inner city walls are not defensible; (2) When an enemy state is approaching and yet one's neighbours do not come to the rescue; (3) When the resources of the people have all been spent on useless enterprises and gifts all squandered upon incapable men, when people's resources are exhausted without producing any profit and the treasury is emptied by entertaining idle company; (4) When the officials value only their salaries, and the sophists (2) only friendship, and when the subordinates dare not remonstrate against the laws the ruler has made for persecution; (5) When the lord is over-confident of his own wisdom and holds no consultation, when he feels he is secure and makes no preparations against attack; and when he does not know that he must be watchful while neighbours are planning against him; (6) When those trusted are not loyal and the loyal are not trusted; and (7) When the crops are not sufficient for food and the ministers can not be charged with responsibilities, and when awards fail to make people happy and punishment to make them afraid. With these seven causes present in the maintenance of the state, the state will perish, and, in the defence of a city, the city will be reduced to ruin by the approaching enemy. Wherever these seven causes are found, the country will face calamity.

Now, the five grains (3) are the people's mainstay and the source of the ruler's revenue. When the people lose their support the ruler cannot have any revenue either. And without food the people will not observe order. Therefore, food should be secured, land cultivated and expenditures cut down. When all the five grains are gathered, all the five tastes (4) will be offered the ruler; when not all gathered, the five tastes will not be all offered.

Failure of one grain is called dearth; failure of two grains is called scarcity; failure of three grains is called calamity; failure of four grains is called want; and failure of all five grains is called famine. When the country is in dearth, all the salaries of the officials below the rank of the minister will be reduced by one-fifth; in scarcity, they will be reduced by two-fifths; in calamity, they will be reduced by three-fifths; in want, they will be reduced by four-fifths; and when famine is in the country there will be no salaries beyond their rations. Therefore when famine and dearth visit a country, the ruler will omit three from the five items of sacrifice, the officials will suspend the courts, and the scholars will not go to school and the lord will not put on his robe to give audience. Even envoys from other feudal lords and messengers from neighbouring states are entertained with cooked food only, and it is not sumptuous. The side-horses of the carriage-team are done away with and the walks (in the palace) are not weeded. Neither are the horses fed with grains, nor are the concubines and maids clothed with silk. And this is the sign of extreme scarcity.

Now, if carrying her child and drawing water from a well, a woman dropped the child into the well, she would of course endeavour to get it out. But famine and dearth is a much greater calamity than the dropping of a child. Should there not be also endeavour (to prevent it)? People are gentle and kind when the year is good, but selfish and vicious when

it is bad. Yet, how can they be held responsible? When many produce but few consume then there can be no bad year; on the contrary, when few produce but many consume then there can be no good year. Thus it is said: scarcity of supply should stimulate study of the seasons and want of food demands economy of expenditures.

The ancients produced wealth according to seasons. They ascertained the source of wealth before they appropriated the products, and therefore they had plenty. Could even the ancient sage-kings cause the five grains invariably to ripen and be harvested and the floods and the droughts never to occur? Yet, none were frozen or starved, why was it? It was because they made full use of the seasons and were frugal in their own maintenance.

The history of Xia says that the Deluge lasted seven years in the time of Yǐ and the history of Yin (5) tells that a drought visited Tang for five years. These are the extremes of disasters. Yet the people were not frozen or starved. Why was this so? The reason lies in diligent production and thrifty consumption. Therefore, famine and dearth cannot be prepared against unless there are stored grains in the granaries, and justice cannot be maintained against the unjust unless there are ready weapons in the armoury. One cannot defend himself unless the inner and the outer city walls are in repair, and one cannot meet emergencies unless his ideas are well thought out. Thus Qing Ji (6) was unprepared, and he should not have set out on the journey. Jie made no preparations against Tang and he was sent to exile. And Zhou made no preparations against Wu and he was executed.

Now, Jie and Zhou were both emperors in rank and possessed the whole empire, yet they both perished at the hands of rulers (of states) of only a hundred li (7) square. What is the reason for this? Because they depended on their rank and wealth and made no preparations. Therefore, preparation is what a country should emphasize. Supply is the treasure of a country, armament its claws, and the city walls are the stronghold of its self-defence. And these three items are the essentials to the existence of a state.

(The present rulers) squander great amounts of wealth to reward the undeserving, empty the treasury to acquire carriages and horses, exhaust the labourers to build palaces and furnish amusements. Upon their death, again, thick coffins and many coats and fur coats are to be furnished. Porches and pavilions are built for them while they are living, and tombs when they are dead. By this the people are embittered and the treasury is left lean. While the amusements are not yet satisfying to the superiors, the hardship already becomes unbearable for the subjects. Such a state will fall under any attack and such people will perish by famine. And all this is due to the absence of preparation.

Moreover, food is what the sages treasured. The history of Zhou says, "Without three years' food (in store) a state cannot be a state (as it is in danger of losing its sovereignty). A family being without food in store to be sufficient for three years its children cannot be its children (who are in danger of being abandoned or sold to others)." Such, then, is the preparation of a country.

Book I, Chapter VI "Indulgence in Excess"

Mozi said: Before the art of building houses and palaces was known primitive people lingered by the mounds and lived in caves. It was damp and injurious to health. Thereupon the sage-kings (1) built houses and palaces. The guiding principles for these buildings were these: The house shall be built high enough to avoid the damp and moisture; the walls thick enough to keep out the wind and cold; the roof strong enough to stand snow, frost, rain, and dew; and the walls in the palace high enough to observe the propriety of the sexes. These are sufficient, and any expenditure of money and energy that does not bring additional utility shall not be permitted. When the city walls are repaired with regular labour, the people may feel tired but there is no exhaustion. When taxes are collected according to custom, the people may be deprived of some money but there is no bitterness. The real woe of the people does not lie here, it lies in heavy taxes.

The sage-kings built houses and palaces in order to better the living conditions and not for pleasures of sight. They made clothes and hats, belts and shoes in order to protect the body and not for novelty. They were thrifty themselves and taught the people to be the same. And so, the people in the whole world became orderly and wealth was sufficient for use.

When the presents rulers build their residences, they are quite different from this. They would tax the people, robbing them of their means of livelihood, in order to have their palaces covered with porches and pavilions in various designs and adorned with paintings and sculpture. When the ruler builds his palaces in this fashion, his assistants naturally imitate him. And, so, there is not sufficient wealth to prepare against famine and dearth or to relieve the orphans and widows. And the people become more unruly as the state becomes poorer. If the rulers sincerely desire to have the empire orderly and hate to see it in disorder, they must not indulge in building houses and palaces.

Before clothing was known the primitive people wore coats of furs and belts of straw. They were neither light and warm in winter nor light and cool in summer. The sage-king (2) thought this did not satisfy the needs of man. So, he taught the women to produce silk and flax and to weave cloth and linen, therewith to make clothing for the people. The guiding principles for clothing were these: In winter the underwear shall be made of spun-silk so as to be light and warm. In summer it shall be made of coarse flax so as to be light and cool. And this is sufficient. Therefore the sages made their clothes just to fit their stature and size, and not for the purpose of pleasing the senses or to dazzle the common people.

In that age, durable carts and gentle horses were not valued, neither were sculpture and adornments prized. What is the reason for this? The reason lies in the kind of leadership. The people had sufficient means of livelihood in their home to meet either drought or flood, dearth or famine. Why? Because they understood the needs of self-support and paid little attention to external appearance. So, the people were frugal and orderly and the ruler was thrifty and easily supported. The store house and treasury were full, prepared against misfortunes. Armour and weapons were not left in disuse and the soldiers and the people were not tired, ready to punish the unsubmissive. Thus the ruler could become a tyrant over the empire.

The present rulers are quite different from this when they make their clothes. Having what is warm and light in winter and what is light and cool in summer, they would yet heavily tax the people, robbing them of their means of livelihood, in order to have elaborately embroidered and gorgeous garments. Hooks are made of gold and ornaments on the girdle consist of pearls and jades. Women are employed to make the embroidery and men to do the carving. All these are for the adornment of the body. They really add little to its warmth. Wealth is squandered and energy wasted all for naught. So, then, when clothing is made not for the body but for brilliant appearance, the people will be wicked and unruly and the ruler extravagant and deaf to good counsel. It will be impossible to keep the country out of disorder. If the rulers sincerely desire the empire to have order and hate to see it in disorder, they must not indulge in making clothing excessively.

Before the art of cooking was known, primitive people ate only vegetables and lived in separation. Thereupon the sage (3) taught the men to attend to farming and to plant trees to supply the people with food. And the sole purpose of securing food is to increase energy, satisfy hunger, strengthen the body and appease the stomach. He was frugal in spending wealth and simple in habits of living, and so the people became rich and the country orderly.

With the present rulers all is different. They would heavily tax the people in order to enjoy elaborately the different meats and fish and turtle cooked in various ways. (The lord of) a large state is served with a hundred courses and (that of) a small state, with tens of courses, which will cover a table space of ten square feet. The eyes cannot see all the dishes, the hands cannot handle them all, and the mouth cannot taste them all. In winter they will freeze, and in summer they sour. As the ruler serves himself thus, naturally his assistants imitate him. And so the rich and high in rank are wasteful and extravagant, while the solitary and miserable are hungry and cold. It is impossible to keep such a state out of disorder. If the rulers sincerely desire the empire to have order and hate to see it in disorder, they must not indulge in excessive eating and drinking.

Before the primitive people know how to make boats and carts they could neither carry a heavy load nor travel a great distance. Thereupon the sage-king (4) made boats and carts to facilitate the people. The boats and carts were made durable and convenient so that they would carry much and travel far. Such an undertaking takes little wealth but produces many benefits. Naturally the people found it agreeable and convenient. The people were not tired out and yet the ruler's needs were all supplied. So, people were attracted to him.

When the present rulers make boats and carts, it is quite different. Having made them durable and convenient, they would yet heavily tax the people to decorate them. The carts are decorated with embroidery and boats with carving. Women have to stop weaving to do the embroidery so the people are left cold. While men have to abandon agriculture to do the carving and so the people become hungry. When the ruler builds such boats and carts for himself, naturally his assistants imitate him. Therefore the people become victims of both hunger and cold, and they commit wickedness. Much wickedness is followed by heavy punishment, and heavy punishment places the country in disorder. If the rulers sincerely desire the empire to have order and hate to see it in disorder, they must not indulge themselves in constructing boats and carts excessively.

Every creature living between Heaven and earth and within the four seas (5) partakes of the nature of Heaven and earth and the harmony of the Yin and the Yang. (6) Even the greatest sages cannot alter this. How do we know? When they taught about Heaven and earth, they dwelt on the upper and the lower spheres and the four seasons, the principles of Yin and Yang and human nature, the phenomena of men and women, birds and animals, and that of the sexes. Even the early kings could not escape from the fundamentals of nature. Even the great sages of ancient times must keep a household. (7) Only, as their conduct was not unfavorably affected, there was no dissatisfaction among the people, and as women were not kept within the palace (to be spinsters) there were few bachelors in the empire. As women were not kept within the palace and as there were few bachelors abroad, the population in the empire was large.

The present rulers of large states retain as many women as a thousand in their household and those of small states as many as a hundred. Therefore men in the empire are mostly without wife and women without husband. The functions of men and women are prevented and the population becomes small. If the rulers sincerely desire the population to be large and hate to see it small, they must not indulge in retaining too many women.

Now, in these five things (8) the sages are temperate and economical while the wicked men are indulgent and excessive. Temperance and economy bring prosperity while indulgence and excess lead to destruction. One must not indulge in excess in these five things. When husband and wife do not indulge in excess, Heaven and earth will be harmonious; when wind and rain are not in excess, the five grains will ripen; and when excessive clothing is not indulged in, the body will be comfortable.

Book I, Chapter VII
"Threefold Argument" (1)

Cheng Fan (2) asked Mozi: "Sir, you say the sage-kings did not have music. But, anciently, when the feudal lords were tired of attending to government, they found recreation in music of bells and drums. When the ministers and gentlemen were tired of attending to office they found recreation in music of yǔ (3) and shē (4). And the farmers ploughed the fields in spring, weeded them in summer, reaped the harvest in autumn, and stored the grains in winter. Then they would enjoy music of jars and vases. (5) Sir, you say the sage-kings did not have music. This would be comparing them to the horse placed under yoke and never released, and the bow drawn and never unstrung. Is this not impossible for the ordinary human being?"

Mo-tzu replied: In ancient times, Yao and Shun lived in huts and yet they made codes of propriety and composed music. (6) Tang sent Jie to exile on the ocean and installed himself ruler of the empire. Having achieved success and without cause for anxiety, he added to the music of the former kings that of his own composition, called "The Salvation" (7) and also instituted the "Jiuzhao." King Wu conquered the Yin dynasty and executed Zhou and installed himself ruler of the empire. Having achieved success and having no cause of anxiety, he added to the music of the former kings that of his own composition, called "Xiang." King Cheng of Zhou again added to the music of the former kings that of his own composition, named "Zouyǔ." The reign of King Cheng was not so good as that of King Wu, that of King Wu was not so good as that of Tang the Successful, and that of Tang the Successful was not so good as that of Yao and Shun. So, then, he who has the more elaborate music has the less efficient government. Judging from this, music is not anything to govern the empire with.

Cheng Fan objected: "Sir, you have said the sage-kings did not have music. This shows they did. How then can you say the sage-kings did not have music?"

Mozi said: The desire of the sage-kings (8) was to cut down excesses. Eating is of course profitable, but it takes so little intelligence to eat when one is hungry that it may be said to be nil. Now the sage-kings had music, but it was so little that it may also be said to be nil.

Book II, Chapter VIII
"Exaltation of the Virtuous" (1) (I)

Mozi said: Now, all the rulers desire their provinces to be wealthy, their people to be numerous, and their jurisdiction to secure order. But what they obtain is not wealth but poverty, not multitude but scarcity, not order but chaos -- this is to lose what they desire and obtain what they avert. Why is this? (2)

Mozi said: This is because the rulers have failed to exalt the virtuous and to employ the capable in their government. When the virtuous are numerous in the state, order will be stable; when the virtuous are scarce, order will be unstable. Therefore the task of the lords lies nowhere but in multiplying the virtuous.

But what is the way to multiply the virtuous?

Mozi said: Supposing it is desired to multiply good archers and good drivers (3) in the country, it will be only natural to enrich them, honour them, respect them, and commend them; then good archers and good drivers can be expected to abound in the country. How much more should this be done in the case of the virtuous and the excellent who are firm in morality, versed in rhetoric, and experienced in statecraft -- since these are the treasures of the nation and props of the state? They should also be enriched, honoured, respected, and commended in order that they may abound.

When the ancient sage-kings (4) administered the government they declared: "The unrighteous will not be enriched, the unrighteous will not be honoured, the unrighteous will not be favoured, (5) the unrighteous will not be placed near." Upon hearing this, the rich and honoured of the country all began to deliberate, saying: "What I have been depending on was wealth and honour. Now the Lord promotes the righteous without discrimination against the poor and humble. Hence I may not do unrighteousness." Upon hearing this, the favoured also began to deliberate, saying: "What I have been depending on was favour. Now the Lord promotes the righteous without discrimination against those thus far neglected. Hence I may not do unrighteousness." Upon hearing this, those placed near began to deliberate, saying: "What I have been depending on was intimacy. Now the Lord promotes the righteous without discrimination against the distant. Hence I may not do unrighteousness." Upon hearing this, the distant also began to deliberate, saying: "I used to think, being distant I had nothing to depend on. Now the Lord promotes the righteous without discrimination against the distant. Hence I may not do unrighteousness." Vassals of distant districts as well as youths in the palace, and multitudes within the state boundaries as well as the rustics living on the four borders, upon hearing this, all competed in doing righteousness.

Now what is the reason for all this?

It is only with material goods that the superior can employ his subordinates, and it is only with statecraft that the subordinates can serve their lord. Take, for example, the rich man who built his walls high and left only one gate. When the burglar had entered, the man closed the gate and searched for him, and the burglar had no more exit. Why? Because the man had the vantage-point. (6)

Therefore in administering the government, the ancient sage-kings ranked the morally excellent high and exalted the virtuous. If capable, even a farmer or an artisan would be employed -- commissioned with high rank, remunerated with liberal emoluments, trusted with important charges, and empowered to issue final orders. For, if his rank were not high, people would not respect him; if his emoluments were not liberal, people would not have confidence in him; if his orders were not final, people would not stand in awe before him. To place these three (honours) upon the virtuous is not so much to reward virtue, as to bring about the success of the enterprise (of government). (7) Therefore ranks should be standardized according to virtue, tasks assigned according to office, and rewards given according to labour spent. When emoluments are distributed in proportion to achievements, officials cannot be in constant honour, and people in eternal humility. If a person is capable promote him, if incapable, lower his rank. Give prominence to public approval and keep back private grudges (in the matter of selecting men). Here, then, is the principle.

So, in days of old, Yao (8) brought forward Shun (8) from Fu-tse (9) and entrusted him with the government, and the world had peace. Yü (8) brought forward Yi (8) from Yin Fang (9) and entrusted him with the government, and the nine districts became organized. T'ang (8) brought forward Yi Yin (8) from the kitchen (10) and entrusted him with the government and his plans were successful. King Wen (11) brought forward Hung Yao (11) and T'ai Tien (11) from their rabbit nets (12) and entrusted them with the government and the Western land (13) showed respect. Therefore, during those days the officials of high rank and liberal emoluments all carefully and anxiously executed their duties; and the farmers and artisans all encouraged one another in exalting virtue. Therefore, the scholars are really to be officials and governors. As long as there were scholars (in government), the plans (of the ruler) were not defeated and he had no hardships to endure; his name was established and success achieved; his excellence became known and yet evils were not spread. This is all due to the employment of the scholars.

Therefore Mozi said: The virtuous who are prosperous must be exalted, and the virtuous who are not prosperous must be exalted too. If it is desired to continue the ways of Yao and Shun, to exalt the virtuous is indispensable. Now, exaltation of the virtuous is the root of government.

Book II, Chapter IX
"Exaltation of the Virtuous (II)"

Mozi said: Now, in caring for the people, ruling the state, and governing the country, the rulers desire permanency and stability. But why do they not learn that exaltation of the virtuous is the foundation of government?

How do we know exaltation of the virtuous is the foundation of government?

When the honourable and wise run the government, the ignorant and humble remain orderly; but when the ignorant and humble run the government, the honourable and wise become rebellious. Therefore we know exaltation of the virtuous is the foundation of government.

The ancient sage-kings greatly emphasized the exaltation of the virtuous and the employment of the capable. Without special consideration for relatives, for the rich and honoured, or for the good-looking, they exalted and promoted the

virtuous, enriched and honoured them, and made them governors and leaders. The vicious they kept back and banished, depossessed and degraded, and made labourers and servants. Thereupon people were all encouraged by rewards and threatened by punishments and strove with each other after virtue. Thus the virtuous multiplied and the vicious diminished in number. Such is exaltation of the virtuous. Then the sage-kings watched their words and observed their conduct, found out their capabilities and carefully assigned them their offices. Such is employment of the capable.

Accordingly those who were capable to govern the country were made to govern the country, those who were capable to administer the court were made to administer the court, and those who were capable in managing the districts were made to manage the districts. All those who had charge of the country, the court, and the districts were then the virtuous of the land.

When the virtuous rules the country, he starts the day early and retires late, hearing lawsuits and attending to the government. As a result, the country is well governed and laws are justly administered. When the virtuous administers the court he retires late and wakes up early, collecting taxes from passes, markets, and on products from mountains, woods, waters, and land to fill the court. As a result, the court is filled and wealth is not wasted. When the virtuous manages the districts, he goes out before sunrise and comes back after sunset, plowing and sowing, planting and cultivating, and gathering harvests of grains. As a result, grains are in plenty and people are sufficiently supplied with food.

Therefore when the country is well governed the laws are well administered, and when the court is filled the people are wealthy. For the higher sphere, the rulers had wherewith to make wine and cakes to do sacrifice and libation to Heaven and the spirits. For the countries outside, they had wherewith to provide the furs and money to befriend neighbouring feudal lords. For the people within, they had wherewith to feed the hungry and give rest to the tired. Above all these, they had means to cherish the virtuous. Therefore from above, Heaven and the spirits enrich them from without, the feudal lords submit themselves to them from within, the people show them affection, and the virtuous become loyal to them. Hence they could have satisfaction in planning and success in execution. In defence they are strong and in attack victorious. Now the way that enabled the sage-kings of the Three Dynasties, namely Yao, Shun, Yǐ, Tang, Wen and Wu (1), to rule the empire and head the feudal lords was no other than this (principle of exaltation of the virtuous).

However, if there is only the principle while the technique of its application is not known, then it would seem to be still incomplete. Therefore there should be laid down three rules. What are the three rules? They are: (1) when their rank (that of the virtuous) is not high, people would not show them respect; (2) when their emoluments are not liberal, people would not place confidence in them; (3) when their orders are not final, people would not stand in awe before them. So the ancient sage-kings placed them high in rank, gave them liberal emoluments, trusted them with important charges, and decreed their orders to be final. And all this was done not merely to reward their subordinates; it was to fulfil their trust (2).

Thus runs an Ode: "I am instructing you to take worries and cares of the world as your own; I am teaching the order of ranks for the virtuous and talented. Who can handle heat without rinsing his hands (in cold water)?" (3) This is to show how in the past the rulers could not do without befriending subordinates and helpers. It was like the necessity of rinsing in handling hot objects to relieve the hands.

The ancient sage-kings concentrated on acquiring, and employing the virtuous -- honouring them with high ranks, and assigning land to them--unwearied to the end of their lives. The virtuous men on the other hand only hoped to find an enlightened ruler to serve -- exhausting all the powers of the four limbs to attend to the king's business -- untired to the end of their lives. When there were any excellences and virtues they were attributed to the emperor. Thus excellences and virtues belonged to the emperor while complaints and slanders were directed against the subordinates. Peace and joy abode with the king while worries and sorrows were lodged with the officials. This was how the ancient sage-kings administered the government.

The present ruler, imitating the ancients, also want to employ the virtuous in government by exalting them. Ranks given them are very high, but the emoluments do not follow proportionally. Now, to be high in rank but receive small emoluments will not inspire people's confidence. The virtuous would say to themselves: "This is not real love for me, but only to make use of me as a means." Now, how can people be affectionate to their superiors' when they are only (treated as) means? Therefore an ancient king said: "He who is too ambitious in government will not share his tasks with others. He who over-treasures wealth will not offer big emoluments to others." When tasks are not assigned and emoluments are not given, it may be asked wherefrom would the virtuous come to the side of the rulers?

And when the virtuous are not at the side of the rulers, the vicious will be on their right and left. When the vicious are on the right and left, then commendations will not fall on the virtuous and punishments will not be upon the wicked. If the rulers follow these in governing the states, in the same way rewards will not go to the virtuous and punishment not to the wicked. When rewards really do not go to the virtuous and punishment not to the wicked, then the virtuous

will find no encouragement, neither the wicked any obstruction. At home the vicious are not filial to their parents, and, having left their home town, they would not recognize their elders. They move about without restraint and disregard the rules of propriety about sexes. When trusted with the administration of the court, they would steal; when trusted to defend a city, they would raise an insurrection. When the lord meets with death, they would not follow him and commit suicide; when the lord has to flee the country, they would not accompany him in banishment (4). In judging lawsuits they are not just, and in dividing property they are partial. In planning they are not helpful, in execution they are inefficient. Neither in defence are they strong, nor in attack are they victorious. Now, the reason that the wicked kings of the Three Dynasties, namely, Jie, Zhou, You, and Li (5), misruled the country and upset their states was no other than this (employment of the vicious).

Why is this so? Because they understood petty affairs but were ignorant about things of importance. When the rulers cannot get a coat made they will employ able tailors. When they cannot have an ox or a sheep killed they will employ able butchers. In these two instances they do know they should exalt the virtuous and employ the capable for business. But when it comes to the disorder of the country and danger of the state, they do not know they should exalt the virtuous and employ the capable for government. Rather, they would employ their relatives, they would employ the rich without merit, and the good-looking. But as to the employment of the rich without merit and the good-looking -- will these necessarily prove themselves wise and intelligent? To let these rule the country is to let the unwise and unintelligent rule the country. And disorder can then be predicted.

Moreover, the rulers employ their minds by the attractiveness of their appearance, and show them favour without finding out their knowledge. As a result, those who are not capable to rule a hundred men are assigned to posts over a thousand, and those who are not capable to rule a thousand are assigned to posts over ten thousand. What is the reason for this? Why, such positions are high in rank and rich in emoluments. Therefore the specially favoured are picked for them. But to make those incapable of ruling a thousand men rule ten thousand is to increase their duty tenfold. The business of the government comes daily. It is to be attended to every day, yet the day cannot be lengthened by tenfold. To govern, again, requires knowledge. When knowledge is not increased by ten times, while a tenfold task is assigned, it will evidently result in attending to one and neglecting nine. Though the task be attended to day and night, still it cannot be well executed. And the reason for this is because the rulers do not understand that they should exalt the virtuous and employ the capable in government.

Thus exaltation of the virtuous and employment of the capable with the consequent success in government is presented above in the earlier paragraphs. And the depreciation of the virtuous with the resulting confusion in government is presented here in these paragraphs. If the rulers now want to govern their states so that they will be permanent and unshakeable, why do they not learn that exaltation of the virtuous is the foundation of government?

Besides, is this principle merely a conception of Mozi? It is the way of the sage-kings and the tenet of "Ju Nian," (6) a book of an ancient king. And, thus it is recorded: "(He) sought out the wise men to protect and aid you." (7) And thus states the "Oath of Tang": "I then sought for the Great Sage, with whom I might unite my strength and mind to govern the empire." (8) All these show how the sage-kings never failed to exalt the virtuous and employ the capable in government. The sage-kings of old comprehended only this -- to exalt the virtuous and employ the capable in government and nobody else; so the whole world was benefited.

In times of old, Shun cultivated land at Mt. Li (9) made pottery by the River (9), and was engaged in fishing in Lake Lei (9). Yao discovered him at Fuze (9). Exalting him, Yao made him Emperor and handed to him the government of the empire and the rule over the people. Yi Zhi once served in the bridal party of the daughter of the Prince of Xin (10), and later voluntarily served Tang as his cook. Tang discovered him. Exalting him, Tang made him his Prime Minister and handed to him the government of the empire and the rule over the people. Fu Yŷe once wore garments of coarse cloth tied with ropes, working as an artisan at Fu Yan (9). Wu Ding discovered him (11). Exalting him, Wu Ding made him High Duke and handed to him the government of the empire and the rule over the people.

Why is it that these people starting in humility arrived at honour, starting in poverty arrived at wealth? It is because these rulers understood the importance of exalting the virtuous and employing the capable in government. Therefore, none of the people were hungry yet without food, cold yet without clothing, tired yet without rest, disturbed yet without peace. And, the ancient sage-kings in exalting the virtuous and employing the capable in government were following the ways of Heaven. Even Heaven does not discriminate among the poor and the rich, the honourable and the humble, the distant and the near, and the related and the unrelated (to those in power). The virtuous were promoted and exalted; the vicious were kept back and banished.

Now, who were those that, possessing wealth and position, still strove after virtues and were rewarded? They were the sage-kings of the Three Dynasties, namely, Yao, Shun, Yŷ, Tang, Wen and Wu (12). How were they rewarded? When they governed the empire, they loved all the people universally and benefited them, and led them in doing honour to Heaven and service to the spirits. As they loved and benefited the people, Heaven and the spirits rewarded them, appointing them to be Sons of Heaven, and parents of the people. And, thereupon people praised them, calling them sage-kings even unto this day. These then were those that, possessing wealth and position, still strove after virtues and were rewarded.

Now, who were those that, possessing wealth and position, yet practiced evil and were punished? They were the wicked kings of the Three Dynasties, namely, Jie, Zhou, You, and Li (13). How do we know they were those? When they governed the empire they disliked all the people inclusively and oppressed them and led them to curse Heaven and the spirits. Oppressing and destroying the people, they were punished by Heaven and the spirits; their corpses were mangled and lacerated, their children and grandchildren were scattered and dispersed, their family hearths were extinguished and descendants exterminated. And, thereupon the people railed at them, calling them wicked kings even unto this day. These, then, are those that, possessing wealth and position, yet practised evil and were punished.

Now, who were those that were related (to the ruler) but not virtuous and were visited by punishment? Count Gun (14) was of direct royal descent but had degenerated in the royal virtues. So he was banished to the wilderness of YŶ YŶ where (in the prison) light could not reach him, neither did the emperor show any favour. Such was he who was related but not virtuous and was visited by punishment.

Now, who were those that were employed by Heaven because of their capability? YŶ, Ji, and Gao Tao were they. How do we know that? It is found in the "Penal Code of LY," a book of an early king, thus: "The Emperor (Yao) inquired among his subjects, and complaints were made against the Miaos (barbarians)." Again, "As the feudal lords have been appointed without insight, even the widows and the widowers are not protected. Dignity is revered only when it is accompanied with magnanimity; enlightenment is respected only when it is accompanied with magnanimity. Thereupon three chiefs were commissioned to care for and console the people: (1) Bo Yi delivered the laws and statutes and taught therewith the people; (2) YŶ reduced the Flood and recovered the land, and gave names to hills and rivers; (3) Ji descended (from his rank) and sowed seeds to encourage good farming. The benefits of the achievements of these three chiefs all fell upon the people." (15) This is to say that the three sages were careful in speech, vigilant in conduct, penetrating in thought, studying and planning for every detail and benefit of the world--with this to do service to Heaven on high, Heaven will bless their virtue; to bestow it to the people below, the people will be visited by its benefits lasting beyond their lifetime.

Thus said the ancient kings: "Now, this way, when followed broadly to govern the world, will not be found to be too slender; when followed narrowly, will not be too unwieldy; when followed with discretion, will benefit the people beyond their lifetime." Referring to it, the "Eulogy of Zhou" sings: "The virtue of the sage shining upon the world is lofty as Heaven, wide as earth, high as the mountain, unbreakable and infallible; luminating as the sun, brilliant as the moon, eternal with heaven and earth." This is to describe how enlightening and all-embracing, deep-rooted and, therefore, permanent is the virtue of the sage. Therefore the virtue of the sage is really inclusive of heaven and earth.

Now, the rulers want to be lord over the empire and be head of the feudal lords. But how can it be done without virtue and righteousness? Their way must be by overpowering and overawing. But what makes them adopt this? It simply pursues the people to death. But life is what the people eagerly desire, and death what they greatly dread. What is desired is not obtained, but what is dreaded befalls them ever so often. From antiquity to the present, none has yet been able to be lord over the empire and head of the feudal lords by this way. Now the rulers desire to be lord of the world and head of the feudal lords and want to have their ideas prevail all over the world, and their names established in posterity. But why do they not learn that exaltation of the virtuous is the foundation of government? This was the actual conduct of the sages.

Book II, Chapter X "Exaltation of the Virtuous (III)"

Mozi said: All the rulers in the world desire their states to be wealthy, their people to be many, and their government and jurisdiction to be orderly. But they do not understand to govern their states and people by exaltation of the virtuous. They have missed, indeed, the foundation of government. But can we not point this out to them by means of parallels?

Now, supposing, in governing his state, a feudal lord should proclaim: "All those who can shoot (with an arrow) and drive (a chariot) well I shall reward and honour; all those who cannot I shall punish and disgrace." If, then, we should inquire among the people of the state as to who would rejoice and who would be afraid, I suppose naturally those who could shoot and drive would rejoice and those who could not would be afraid.

I have followed this (line of argument) and led them supposedly to proclaim: "All the loyal and faithful I shall reward and honour; all the disloyal and unfaithful I shall punish and disgrace." If now we should inquire among the people of the state as to who would rejoice and who would be afraid, I suppose naturally the loyal and faithful would rejoice and the disloyal and unfaithful would be afraid. Therefore the state and the people are to be governed by exalting the virtuous, so that those in the state that do good will be encouraged and those that do evil will be obstructed.

To govern the empire seems then to consist of encouraging the good and obstructing the evil. But why is it that I have esteemed the way of Yao, Shun, YŶ, Tang, Wen, and Wu? (1) Because they administered the government in such a

way that those in the empire that did good would be encouraged and those that did evil would be obstructed. So, then, the principle of exaltation of the virtuous is identical with the way of Yao, Shun, Yǐ, Tang, Wen, and Wu.

The gentlemen (2) of to-day all exalt the virtuous in their private speech and conduct. But when it comes to the administration of the government for the public, they fail to exalt the virtuous and employ the capable. Then I know the gentlemen understand only trifles and not things of significance.

How do I know it is so?

Suppose the ruler had a cow or a sheep which he could not have killed, he would surely look for a skilful butcher. Or if he wanted a garment which he could not have made, he would surely look for a skilful tailor. For these, the ruler would not employ his relatives, the rich without merit, and the good-looking, because he knew clearly they were incapable. He was afraid they would spoil the things to be attended to. So, in these, the rulers do not fail to exalt the virtuous and employ the capable.

Again, if the ruler had a sick horse that he could not have cured, he would surely look for an experienced veterinary doctor. Or if he had a tight bow which he could not draw, he would surely look for a skilful workman. For these, the ruler would not employ his relatives, the rich without merit, and the good-looking, because he knew clearly they were incapable. He was afraid they would spoil the things to be attended to. So, in these matters the rulers do not fail to exalt the virtuous and employ the capable.

But when it comes to the affairs of the state all is different. The relations of the rulers, the rich without merit, and the good-looking are all promoted. Then does it not seem that the rulers love their states not even as much as they love a tight bow, a sick horse, a garment, or a cow or a sheep? Therefore I know the gentlemen of the world understand only trifles and not things of significance. This is like trying to make messengers of the dumb and musical directors of the deaf.

To the contrary, in governing the empire the sage-kings of old enriched and honoured those who were not necessarily their relatives, the rich without merit, or the good-looking. At one time Shun cultivated land at Mt. Li (3), made pottery by the River, engaged in fishing in Lake Lei (3), and went peddling in Changyang (3). Yao discovered him at Fuze (3), made him emperor, and handed him the government of the empire and the rule over the people. Yi Yin (4) once took part in the bridal party of the daughter of the Prince of Xin, and then was employed as a cook. Tang discovered him and exalted him to be High Duke, handing him the government of the empire and the rule over the people. Once Fu Yue (5) lived in the District of Beihai (3) and built the prison walls. His clothing was of coarse cloth and tied with ropes. Wu Ding discovered him and exalted him to be High Duke, handing him the government of the empire and the rule over the people.

Now, when Yao exalted Shun, Tang exalted Yi Yin, and Wu Ding exalted Fu Yue was it because they were their relatives, the rich without merit, or the good-looking? It was only because that by adopting their views, carrying out their plans, and following their ways, Heaven on high would be blessed, the spirits in the middle would be blessed, and the people below would be blessed. Therefore they were promoted and exalted.

Having understood the principle of exalting the virtuous in government, the ancient sage-kings inscribed it on bamboos and silk (6) and engraved it on the dishes and vases (7), to hand it down to their descendants. Thus we find in the "Penal Code of Lǐ" (8), a book of an ancient king (9), the following: "The king said: 'Ho! come, ye rulers of states and territories, I will tell you how to make punishments a blessing. Now it is yours to give repose to the people: -- what should you be most concerned about the choosing of? Should it not be proper men? What should you deal with the most reverently? Should it not be punishments? What should you calculate the most? Should it not be to whom they should reach?'" (This is to say) with insight in choosing men and considerateness in meting punishments, you can catch up with the ways of Yao, Shun, Yǐ, Tang, Wen, and Wu. How? By exaltation of the virtuous. Again in the book "Shu Nian" (10), another book of an ancient king, we find: "He looked for wise men to protect and aid you." (11) This is to say, when the ancient kings reigned over the empire they invariably selected the virtuous and made them officials and aids.

The gentlemen in the world like riches and honour, and dislike poverty and humility. Now how can you obtain the former and avoid the latter? There is no better way than to practise virtue. What then is the way to practise virtue? Let him who has strength be alert to help others, let him who has wealth endeavour to share it with others, let him who possesses the Dao (the way of nature and life) teach others persuasively. With this, the hungry will be fed, the cold will be clothed, the disturbed will have order. When the hungry are fed, the cold are clothed, and the disturbed have order -- this is procuring abundant life.

But those whom the rulers now are enriching and honouring are all their relatives, the rich without merit, and the good-looking. What can there be that guarantees these to be wise? When the unwise are charged with the government

of the country, disorder in the country can be predicted. Now the gentlemen of the world like riches and honour, and dislike poverty and humility. But how can you obtain the former and avoid the latter? There seems to be no other way than to be the rulers' relatives, the rich without merit, and the good-looking. Evidently one cannot become these by learning.

So, when the art of judging is not understood, although some virtuous people may even compare with Yǐ, Tang, Wen, and Wu, there will be no commendation. And, although a relative of the ruler may be lame and dumb, deaf and blind, and evil like Jie and Zhou, there will be no condemnation. Therefore reward does not fall on the virtuous or punishment on the evil. As those rewarded are without merit, those punished are naturally without guilt. And so, people all became disintegrated in heart and dissipated in body, and despairing in doing good. With all their strength unused, they would not help one another; with all unused supplies rotting and fermenting, they would not share with one another; hiding the excellent Dao they would not show it to others. As a result of this, the hungry are not fed, the cold are not clothed, and the disturbed are not given order.

In the days of old, Yao had Shun, Shun had Yǐ, Yǐ had Gao Dao, Tang had Yi Yin, King Wu had Hong Yao, Tai Dian, Nangong Kuo and San Yisheng -- therefore the world was harmonious and people were prosperous. And those near felt contented and those distant were attracted. Wherever the sun and the moon shone, boats and vehicles could reach, rain and dew visited, and life depended on grains (12); few were not converted (to good) by this. Hence if the rulers in the world now desire to do magnanimity and righteousness and be superior men, and desire to strike the way of the sage-kings on the one hand and work for the benefit of the country and the people on the other; then it is indispensable that the principle of Exaltation of the Virtuous be understood. Now, exaltation of the virtuous is indeed the blessing of Heaven, the spirits, and the people, as well as the foundation of government.

Book III, Chapter XI
"Identification with the Superior (1) (I)"

Mozi said: In the beginning of human life, when there was yet no law and government, the custom was "everybody according to his own idea." (2) Accordingly each man had his own idea, two men had two different ideas and ten men had ten different ideas -- the more people the more different notions. And everybody approved of his own view and disapproved the views of others, and so arose mutual disapproval among men.

As a result, father and son and elder and younger brothers became enemies and were estranged from each other, since they were unable to reach any agreement. Everybody worked for the disadvantage of the others with water, fire, and poison. Surplus energy was not spent for mutual aid; surplus goods were allowed to rot without sharing; excellent teachings (Dao) were kept secret and not revealed. The disorder in the (human) world could be compared to that among birds and beasts. Yet all this disorder was due to the want of a ruler.

Therefore (Heaven) (3) chose the virtuous in the world and crowned him emperor. Feeling the insufficiency of his capacity, the emperor chose the virtuous in the world and installed them as the three ministers. Seeing the vastness of the empire and the difficulty of attending to matters of right and wrong and profit and harm among peoples of far countries, the three ministers divided the empire into feudal states and assigned them to feudal lords. Feeling the insufficiency of their capacity, the feudal lords, in turn, chose the virtuous of their states and appointed them as their officials.

When the rulers were all installed, the emperor issued a mandate to all the people, saying: "Upon hearing good or evil one shall report it to a superior. What the superior thinks to be right all shall think to be right; what the superior thinks to be wrong all shall think to be wrong. When the superior is at fault there shall be good counsel, when the subordinates show virtue there shall be popular recommendation. To identify one's self with the superior and not to unite one's self with the subordinates -- this is what deserves encouragement from above and praise from below.

"On the other hand, if upon hearing good or evil one should not report to a superior; if what the superior thought to be right one should not think to be right; if what the superior thought to be wrong one should not think to be wrong; if when the superior was at fault there should be no good counsel if when the subordinates showed virtue there should be no popular recommendation; if there should be common cause with subordinates and no identification with the superior -- this is what deserves punishment from above and condemnation from below." The superior made this the basis of reward and punishment. He was clear-sighted and won his people's confidence.

Now the head of the village was the most high-minded and tender-hearted man of the village. He notified the people of the village, saying: "Upon hearing good or evil you shall report it to the head of the district. What the head of the district thinks to be right, all shall think to be right. What he thinks to be wrong, all shall think to be wrong. Put away from your speech that which is not good and learn his good speech. Remove from your conduct that which is not good and learn his good conduct. How then can there be disorder in the district?"

Now, how was order brought about in the district? There was order in the district because the head could unify the standards of the district. The head of the district was the most high-minded and tender-hearted man of the district. He notified the people of the district, saying "Upon hearing good or evil you shall report it to the lord. What the lord thinks to be right all shall think to be right, what he thinks to be wrong all shall think to be wrong. Remove from your speech that which is not good and learn his good speech. Take away from your conduct that which is not good and learn his good conduct. How then can there be disorder in the state?"

Now, how was order brought about in the feudal state? There was order in the state because the feudal lord could unify the standards in the state. The lord of the state was the most high-minded and tender-hearted man of the state. He notified the people of the state, saying: "Upon hearing good or evil you shall report it to the emperor. What the emperor thinks to be right all shall think to be right; what the emperor thinks to be wrong all shall think to be wrong. Take away from your speech that which is not good and learn his good speech. Remove from your conduct that which is not good and learn his good conduct. How then can there be disorder in the empire?"

Now, how is order brought about in the empire? There was order in the empire because the emperor could unify the standards in the empire. If, however, the people all identify themselves with the Son of Heaven but not with Heaven itself, then the jungle (4) is still unremoved. Now, the frequent visitations of hurricanes and torrents are just the punishments from Heaven upon the people for their not identifying their standards with the Will of Heaven. Therefore, Mozi said: The sage-kings of old devised the five punishments (5) to rule the people in order to be able to lay hands on those who did not identify themselves with their superiors -- a device of the same nature as threads are tied into skeins and a net is controlled by a main rope.

Book III, Chapter XII "Identification with the Superior (II)"

Mozi said: As we look back to the time when there was yet no ruler, it seems the custom was "everybody in the world according to his own standard." Accordingly each man had his own standard, ten men had ten different standards, a hundred men had a hundred different standards -- the more people the more standards. And everybody approved of his own view and disapproved those of others, and so arose mutual disapproval. Even father and son and brothers became enemies, since they were unable to reach any agreement. Surplus energy was not employed for mutual help; excellent teachings (Dao) were kept secret; surplus goods were allowed to rot without sharing. The disorder in the (human) world could be compared with that among birds and beasts. The lack of regulations governing the relationships between ruler and subject, between superior and subordinate, and between elder and younger; and the absence of rules governing the relationships between father and son and between older and younger brothers, resulted in disorder in the world.

Knowing the cause of the confusion to be in the absence of a ruler who could unify the standards in the world, (Heaven) (1) chose the virtuous, sagacious, and wise in the world and crowned him emperor, charging him with the duty of unifying the wills in the empire. Having been crowned, the emperor, realizing the impossibility of unifying the world just by his own senses of hearing and sight, chose the understanding, virtuous, sagacious, and wise of the world and installed them as the three ministers, sharing with them the duty of unifying the standards in the empire. The emperor and the three ministers being in office, they felt the vastness of the empire and the difficulty of unifying all the peoples in mountains and woods and those far distant. Therefore they systematically divided up the empire, and appointed numerous feudal lords, charging these with the duty of unifying the standards in each state. The feudal lords in turn felt the difficulty of unifying the standards in their states just by their own senses of hearing and sight. Therefore they chose the virtuous of the state to be their ministers and secretaries and all the way down to the heads of districts and villages, sharing with them the duty of unifying the standards in the state.

When the lords of the country and the heads of the people had been appointed, the emperor issued mandates, instructing the people: "Discovering good you must report it to your superior, discovering evil you must report it to your superior. What the superior thinks to be right all shall think to be right; what the superior thinks to be wrong all shall think to be wrong. When there is virtue among the people there shall be popular recommendation; when the superior is at fault there shall be good counsel. You shall identify yourself with the superior and not associate with your subordinates. So doing, one deserves encouragement from his superiors and praise from the people.

"On the other hand, if upon discovering good you should not report it and upon discovering evil you should not report it; if you should not think to be right what the superior thinks to be right, and wrong what the superior thinks to be wrong; if there should be no recommendation when there is virtue among the people and no good counsel when the superior is at fault; and if you should unite with the subordinates but differ from the superior -- you deserve heavy punishment from your superiors and condemnation from the people." Therefore the sage-kings of old were very judicious and faithful in their punishments and rewards. And so all the people aspired to the rewards and commendation from the superior and dreaded his condemnation and punishment.

Thereupon, in accord with the policy of the emperor, the village head proceeded to unify the purposes in the village. Having accomplished this, he led the people of the village to identify themselves with the head of the district, saying: "All you people of the village are to identify yourselves with the head of the district, and are not to unite with the subordinates. What the head of the district thinks to be right all shall think to be right; what he thinks to be wrong all shall think to be wrong. Put away your evil speech and learn his good speech; put away your evil conduct and learn his good conduct. For the head of the district is naturally the (most) virtuous of the district. If all the people in the district follow the example of their head, how then can the district be disorderly?"

Now, how is it that the head of the district was so successful in governing the district? It was just because he could unify the purposes of the whole district that the district was so orderly. Having accomplished this he in turn led the people of his district to identify themselves with the feudal lord, saying: "All you people of the district shall identify yourselves with the lord of the state, and shall not unite with the subordinates. What the lord thinks to be right all shall think to be right; what he thinks to be wrong all shall think to be wrong. Put away your evil speech and learn his good speech; put away your evil conduct and learn his good conduct. For the lord of the state is naturally the (most) virtuous of the state. If all the people in the state follow the example of their lord, how then can the state be in disorder?"

Now, why was the feudal lord so successful in governing the state? It was just because he could unify the purposes in the state that the state is orderly. Having accomplished this he in turn led the people of his state to identify themselves with the emperor, saying: "All you people of the state shall identify yourselves with the emperor and shall not unite with the subordinates. What the emperor thinks to be right all shall think to be right; what he thinks to be wrong all shall think to be wrong. Put away your evil speech and learn his good speech; put away your evil conduct and learn his good conduct. For the emperor is naturally the (most) high-minded and tender-hearted man of the empire. If all the people of the empire follow his example, how then can the state be disorderly?"

Now, why was the emperor so successful in governing the empire? It was just because he could unify the purposes in the empire that the empire is orderly.

But to carry the process of identification with the superior up to the Son of Heaven and not further up to Heaven itself -- then the jungle (2) from Heaven is yet unremoved. Thereupon Heaven would send down cold and heat without moderation, and snow, frost, rain, and dew untimely. As a result, the five grains (3) could not ripen and the six animals (4) could not mature; and there would be disease, epidemics, and pestilence.

Now the repeated visitations of hurricanes and torrents are just punishments from Heaven -- punishments to the people below for not identifying themselves with it. Therefore the sage-kings of old appreciated what Heaven and the spirits desire and avoided what they abominate, in order to increase benefits and to avoid calamities in the world. With purification (5) and baths and clean wine and cakes they led the people to make sacrifice and libation to Heaven and the spirits. In such services to the spirits they dared not use wine and cakes that were unclean, sacrificial animals that were not fat, or jade and silk that did not satisfy the standard requirements. The proper time for the spring and autumn sacrifices they dared not miss. Judging lawsuits, they dared not be unjust. Distributing properties, they dared not be unfair. Even when at leisure they dared not be disrespectful. When the sage-kings made such (good) rulers, Heaven and the spirits commended their leadership from above, and the people cherished it from below. To work under the hearty approval of Heaven and the spirits is to obtain their blessings. To work under the appreciation of the people is to obtain their confidence. Administering the government like this, consequently they would succeed in planning, accomplish their ends in executing, be strong in defence and victorious in attack. And the reason for all this lies in their employing the principle of Identification with the Superior in government. And this is how the sage-kings of old administered their government.

People might then ask: At the present time rulers are not absent from the empire, why then is there disorder in the empire?

Mozi said: The political leaders of the present day are quite different from those of old (6). The case is parallel to that of the Five Punishments (7) with the Prince of Miao (8). In ancient times, the sage-kings made the code of the Five Punishments and put the empire in order. But when the Prince of Miao established the Five Punishments they unsettled his empire. Can it be that the Punishments are at fault? Really the fault lies in their application. The "Penal Code of LY" among the books of the ancient kings, says: "Among the people of Miao punishments were applied without employing instruction and admonition. They made a code of five tortures and called it law." (9) This is to say, those who know how to apply punishments can govern the people with them. And those who do not know, make five tortures out of them. Can it be that the punishments are at fault? Only, when their application is not to the point do they become five tortures. And, also, "Shu Ling" (10), among the books of the ancient kings, says: "The same mouth can produce friendship or produce war." This is to say that he who can use the mouth well will produce friendship, and he who cannot will stir up the enemies and the besieging barbarians. Can it be that the mouth is at fault? The fault really lies in its use which stirs up the enemies and the besieging barbarians.

Hence the installing of the ruler in the ancient days was intended to govern (11) the people. Just as there is one thread to hold together the others in a skein and a main rope to a fishing net, so the ruler is to hold together all the evil and wicked in the empire and bring their purposes into harmony (with their superiors). Thus "Hsiang Nien" (12), among the books of the ancient kings, says: "Now the empire is established and the capital is located: (Heaven) installed the emperor, kings, and lords not in order to make them proud, and (Heaven) appointed the ministers and the officials not in order to make them idle -- it was to apportion duties among them and charge them with the maintenance of the Heavenly justice." This is to say that when God and the spirits in the past established the capital and installed the rulers, it was not to make their ranks high, and their emoluments substantial, and to give them wealth and honour, and let them live in comfort and free of care. It was really to procure benefits and eliminate adversities for the people, and to enrich the poor and increase the few, and to bring safety where there is danger and to restore order where there is confusion -- it was for this that the political leaders were appointed. And so the ancient sage-kings administered their government accordingly.

The lords at the present, however, do just the reverse. Administration is carried on to court flattery. Fathers and brothers and other relatives and friends are placed at the right and left and appointed rulers of the people. Knowing that the superior appointed the rulers not for the welfare of the people, the people all kept aloof and would not identify themselves with the superior. Therefore purposes of the superior and the subordinates are not unified. This being so, rewards and commendations would not encourage the people to do good, and punishments and fines would not restrain them from doing evil.

How do we know this would be so?

In governing the country, the ruler proclaims "Whoever deserves reward I will reward." Suppose the purposes of the superior and the subordinates are different, whoever is rewarded by the superior would be condemned by the public. And in community life the condemnation of the public is supreme. Though there is reward from the superior, it will not be an encouragement. In governing the country, again, the ruler proclaims: "Whoever deserves punishment I will punish." Suppose the purposes of the superior and the subordinates are different, whoever is punished by the superior would be applauded by the public. And in community life the approval of the public is supreme. Though there is punishment from the superior, it will not be an obstruction. Now, in governing the country and ruling the people, if rewards cannot encourage the people to do good and punishments cannot restrain them from doing evil, is this not just the same as in the beginning of human life when there were no rulers? If it is the same with rulers or without them, it is not the way to govern the people and unify the multitude.

As the ancient sage-kings could observe the principle of Identification with the Superior, when they became rulers the purposes of the superior and the subordinates became interchangeable. If the superior reserved for himself special facilities the subordinates could share them. If the people had any unrighted wrongs or accumulated injuries, the superior would remove them. Therefore, if there was a virtuous man thousands of li away, though his clansmen did not all know it (the fact) and people in the same district did not all know it, the emperor could reward him. And if there was an evil man thousands of li away, though his clansmen did not all know it (the fact) and people in the same village did not all know it, the emperor could punish him. Thereupon all the people in the world were astonished, and carefully avoided doing evil, saying: "The emperor is like a spirit in his hearing and sight." But the ancient kings said: "It was no spirit but only the ability to make use of others' ears and eyes to help one's own hearing and sight, to make use of others' lips to help one's own speech, to make use of others' minds to help one's own thought, to make use of others' limbs to help one's own actions." When there are many to help one's hearing and sight then of course one can hear and see far; when there are many to help one's speech then one's good counsel can comfort many; when there are many to help one's thought then one's plans can be shaped speedily; when there are many to help one's actions then one can accomplish one's undertaking quickly. So there was no other reason for the success and great fame of the ancient sages than that they could carry out the principle of Identification with the Superior in their administration.

One of the "Eulogies of Chou" among the works of the ancient kings says: "They came to see his Majesty. Daily they sought the code of propriety." (13) This describes how in times of old, the feudal lords came to the emperor's court both spring and autumn to receive strict instructions from the emperor and ruled their states accordingly when they returned; and there was none among those who came under such an administration that dared not submit completely. And, at that time, none dared to confuse the instructions from the emperor. And thus runs an Ode: "My team is of white horses with black manes. The six reins look luxuriant. They trot and gallop. The considerations (of the emperor) are all-inclusive." (13) Further: "My team is of dark grey horses. The six reins look like silk. They trot and gallop. The plans (of the emperor) are all-inclusive." (14) This is to say that upon discovering either good or evil the ancient feudal lords always hurriedly drove to the emperor and reported it to him. Therefore rewards fell upon the virtuous and punishment upon the wicked. The innocent was not prosecuted and the guilty was not set free. And all this is the result of practising the principle of Identification with the Superior.

Therefore, Mozi said: Now, if the rulers and the gentlemen of the world sincerely desire to enrich their country and multiply their people, and to put the government and jurisdiction in order and stabilize the state -- if so, then they cannot afford to fail to understand the principle of Identification with the Superior, which is the foundation of government.

Book III, Chapter XIII
"Identification with the Superior (III)"

Mozi said: The interest of the wise (ruler) lies in carrying out what makes for order among the people and avoiding what makes for confusion.

But what is it that makes for order among the people?

When the administration of the ruler answers to the desires of the people there will be order, otherwise there will be confusion.

How do we know it is so?

When the administration of the ruler answers to the desires of the subjects, it manifests an understanding of the approvals and disapprovals of the people. When there is such an understanding, the good will be discovered and rewarded and the bad will be discovered and punished, and the country will surely have order.

When the administration of the ruler does not answer to the desires of the subjects, it shows a lack of understanding of the approvals and disapprovals of the subjects. When there is no such understanding then the good will not be discovered and rewarded and the bad will not be discovered and punished. With the good unrewarded and the evil unpunished, such a government will surely put the country into disorder. Therefore when rewards and punishments do not answer to the desires of the people, the matter has to be carefully looked into.

But how can the desires of the people (being so many and various) be met?

Therefore Mozi said : It can be done only by adopting the principle of Identification with the Superior in government.

How do we know the principle of Identification with the Superior can govern the empire?

Why not then examine the administration and the theory of government of the ancient times? In the beginning there was no ruler and everybody was independent. Since every one was independent, there would be one purpose when there was one man, ten purposes when there were ten men, a hundred purposes when there were a hundred men, a thousand purposes when there were a thousand men and so on until the number of men became innumerable and the number of different purposes became innumerable with it. And all of them approved their own ideas and disapproved those of others. And there was strife among the strong and struggle among the weak.

Thereupon Heaven (1) wished to unify the standards in the world. The virtuous was selected and made emperor. Conscious of the insufficiency of his power alone to govern the empire, the emperor chose the next best (in virtue and wisdom) and honoured them to be the three ministers. Conscious of the insufficiency of their powers alone to assist the emperor, the three ministers in turn divided the empire into feudal states and assigned them to feudal lords. Conscious of the insufficiency of his power alone to govern all that were within his four borders, the feudal lord in turn selected his next best and commissioned them ministers and secretaries. Conscious of the insufficiency of their power alone to assist their feudal lord, the ministers and secretaries again selected their next best and appointed them district heads and clan patriarchs.

Therefore, in appointing the three ministers, the feudal lords, the ministers and secretaries, and the district heads and clan patriarchs, the emperor was not selecting them for wealth and honour, leisure and ease. It was to employ them to help in administration and jurisdiction. Hence, when Heaven established the empire and located the capital and commissioned the sovereign, kings, lords, and dukes, and appointed secretaries, scholars, professors, and elders -- it was not to give them ease, but only to divide up the task and let them help carry out the light of Heaven.

Why are the superiors now unable to govern their subordinates, and the subordinates unwilling to serve their superiors? It is because of a mutual disregard.

What is the reason for this? The reason is a difference in standards. Whenever standards differ there will be opposition. The ruler may think a man good and reward him. The man, though rewarded by the ruler, yet by the same act provokes the condemnation of the people. Therefore those who do good are not necessarily encouraged by rewards. The ruler may think a man evil and punish him. This man, though punished by the ruler, yet at the same time receives the approval of the people. Therefore those who do evil are not necessarily obstructed by punishments. Thus reward and honour from the ruler cannot encourage the good and his denunciation and punishment cannot prevent the evil. What is the reason for this? The reason is a difference in standards.

But how can the standards in the world be unified?

Mozi said: Why not let each member of the clan organize his purposes and identify them with those of the patriarch?
(2) And let the patriarch give laws and proclaim to the clan: "Whoever discovers a benefactor to the clan shall report it; whoever discovers a malefactor to the clan shall report it. Whoever reports the benefactor of the clan upon seeing one is equivalent to benefiting the clan himself. Knowing him the superior will reward him, hearing of him the group will praise him. Whoever fails to report a malefactor of the clan upon seeing one is equivalent to doing evil to the clan himself. Knowing him the superior will punish him, hearing of him the group will condemn him." Thereupon all the members of the clan wish to obtain reward and honor and avoid denunciation and punishment from their superior. Seeing the good they will report; seeing the evil they will report. And the patriarch can reward the good and punish the evil. With the good rewarded and the evil punished, the clan will surely have order. Now, why is it that the clan becomes orderly? Just because the administration is based on the principle of Identification with the Superior.

Now that the clan is in order, is that all there is of the way of governing the feudal state?

By no means. The state is composed of many clans. They all like their own clan and dislike other clans. And there is strife among the strong and struggle among the weak. Therefore the clan patriarchs should again organize the purposes in the clan and identify them with those of the feudal lord. The feudal lord also should give laws and should proclaim to the state: "Whoever discovers a benefactor of the state shall report it; whoever discovers a malefactor of the state shall report it. Whoever reports a benefactor of the state upon seeing one is equivalent to benefiting the state himself. Knowing him the superior will reward him, hearing of him the people will praise him. Whoever fails to report a malefactor of the state upon seeing one is equivalent to doing evil to the state himself. Knowing him the superior will punish him, hearing of him the people will condemn him."

Thereupon all people in the state wish to obtain reward and honour and avoid denunciation and punishment from their superior. Seeing the good they will report, seeing the evil they will report. And the feudal lord can reward the good and punish the evil. With the good rewarded and the evil punished, the feudal state will surely have order. Now, why is it that the state becomes orderly? Just because the administration is based on the principle of Identification with the Superior.

Now that the feudal state is in order, is that all there is to the way of governing the empire?

By no means. The empire is composed of many states. They all like their own state and dislike other states. And there is strife among the strong and struggle among the weak. Therefore the feudal lord should again organize the purposes in the state and identify them with those of the emperor. The emperor also should give laws and should proclaim to the empire: "Whoever discovers a benefactor of the empire shall report it; whoever discovers a malefactor of the empire shall report it. Whoever reports a benefactor of the empire upon seeing one is equivalent to benefiting the state himself. Knowing him the superior will reward him, hearing of him the people will praise him. Whoever fails to report a malefactor upon seeing one is equivalent to doing evil to the empire himself. Knowing him the superior will punish him, hearing of him the people will condemn him."

Thereupon all the people in the empire will wish to obtain reward and honour and avoid denunciation and punishment from their emperor. Seeing the good and the evil they will report. And the emperor can reward the good and punish the evil. With the good rewarded and the evil punished, the empire will surely have order. Now why is it that the empire becomes orderly? Just because the administration is based on the principle of Identification with the Superior.

Now that the empire becomes orderly, the emperor will further organize the purposes in the empire and identify them with the Will of Heaven.

Therefore Identification with the Superior as a principle can govern the empire when used by the emperor, it can govern the state when used by the feudal lord, and it can govern the clan when used by the clan patriarch. To be found not wanting when used on a large scale to govern the empire, and not useless when employed on a small scale to govern a clan -- this is said of such a principle. Hence the proverb: "To govern the world-empire is the same as to rule a single family clan; to command all the people in the world is the same as to order a single individual."

Does any one think that all this is just a fancy of Mozi, and that this teaching did not exist among the sage-kings of old? Really they were of the same opinion. All the sage-kings administered their government by the principle of Identification with the Superior, therefore the world became orderly. How do we know it is so? It is recorded in the "Grand Oath" among the books of the ancient kings: "If an unscrupulous man discovers a case of intrigue and deception and fails to make it known, he shall be punished equally." (3) This is to say that whoever discovers any crime and does not report it will be taken as committing a crime of the same order.

Therefore in governing the empire, the ancient sage-kings chose only the excellent for the outposts as well as for the offices near him. As there were many to help him see and bear, he succeeded before others in planning, and completed before others in executing, and his good name was spread before others. Just because he could trust his staff in the administration, the benefits were as we have stated. There is an ancient proverb saying: "The sight of one eye cannot compare with that of two, the hearing of one ear cannot compare with that of two, the grasp of one hand cannot compare with that of two." Now, just because he could trust his staff in the administration the sage-king received such benefits. Therefore during the reign of the ancient sage-king over the empire, if there was a virtuous man more than a thousand li away he could reward him before the people in the same district and village all got to know it. And if there was a wicked man about a thousand li away he could punish him before the people in the same district and village all got to know it. Though it may be supposed that the sage-king was keen in hearing and sight, how could he see all that is beyond a thousand li at one look, how could he hear all that is beyond a thousand li at one hearing? In fact the sage-king could see without going there and hear without being near. Yet what kept the thieves, robbers, bandits, and highwaymen moving all over the empire without being able to find refuge anywhere? There is the beauty of adopting the principle of Identification with the Superior in government.

Therefore Mozi said: Whoever orders his people to identify themselves with their superior must love them dearly. For the people will not obey orders except when they are ordered with love and held in confidence. Lead them with wealth and honour ahead, and push them with just punishments from behind. When government is carried on like this, even though I wanted to have some one not to identify himself with me, it would be impossible.

Therefore Mozi said: If the kings, dukes, and important personages of the world now sincerely want to practise magnanimity and righteousness and be superior men, if they want to attain the way of the sage-kings on the one hand and contribute toward the benefit of the people on the other, they cannot leave the principle of Identification with the Superior unexamined and un-understood. Identification with the Superior is, indeed, the foundation of government and essence of orderliness.

Book IV, Chapter XIV
"Universal Love (I)" (1)

The wise man who has charge of governing the empire should know the cause of disorder before he can put it in order. Unless he knows its cause, he cannot regulate it. It is similar to the problem of a physician who is attending a patient. He has to know the cause of the ailment before he can cure it. Unless he knows its cause he cannot cure it. How is the situation different for him who is to regulate disorder? He too has to know the cause of the disorder before he can regulate it. Unless he knows its cause he cannot regulate it. The wise man who has charge of governing the empire must, then, investigate the cause of disorder.

Suppose we try to locate the cause of disorder, we shall find it lies in the want of mutual love. What is called disorder is just the lack of filial piety on the part of the minister and the son towards the emperor and the father; As he loves himself and not his father the son benefits himself to the disadvantage of his father. As he loves himself and not his elder brother, the younger brother benefits himself to the disadvantage of his elder brother. As he loves himself and not his emperor, the minister benefits himself to the disadvantage of his emperor. And these are what is called disorder. When the father shows no affection to the son, when the elder brother shows no affection to the younger brother, and when the emperor shows no affection to the minister, on the other hand, it is also called disorder. When the father loves only himself and not the son, he benefits himself to the disadvantage of the son. When the elder brother loves only himself and not his younger brother, he benefits himself to the disadvantage of the younger brother. When the emperor loves only himself and not his minister, he benefits himself to the disadvantage of his minister, and the reason for all these is want of mutual love.

This is true even among thieves and robbers. As he loves only his own family and not other families, the thief steals from other families to profit his own family. As he loves only his own person and not others, the robber does violence to others to profit himself. And the reason for all this is want of love. This again is true in the mutual disturbance among the houses of the ministers and the mutual invasions among the states of the feudal lords. As he loves only his own house and not the others, the minister disturbs the other houses to profit his own. As he loves only his own state and not the others, the feudal lord attacks the other states to profit his own. These instances exhaust the confusion in the world. And when we look into the causes we find they all arise from want of mutual love.

Suppose everybody in the world loves universally, loving others as one's self. Will there yet be any unfilial individual? When every one regards his father, elder brother, and emperor as himself, whereto can he direct any unfilial feeling?

Will there still be any unaffectionate individual? When every one regards his younger brother, son, and minister as himself, whereto can he direct any disaffection? Therefore there will not be any unfilial feeling or disaffection.

Will there then be any thieves and robbers? When every one regards other families as his own family, who will steal? When every one regards other persons as his own person, who will rob? Therefore there will not be any thieves or robbers.

Will there be mutual disturbance among the houses of the ministers and invasion among the states of the feudal lords? When every one regards the houses of others as one's own, who will be disturbing? When every one regards the states of others as one's own, who will invade? Therefore there will be neither disturbances among the houses of the ministers nor invasion among the states of the feudal lords.

If every one in the world will love universally; states not attacking one another; houses not disturbing one another; thieves and robbers becoming extinct; emperor and ministers, fathers and sons, all being affectionate and filial -- if all this comes to pass the world will be orderly. Therefore, how can the wise man who has charge of governing the empire fail to restrain hate and encourage love? So, when there is universal love in the world it will be orderly, and when there is mutual hate in the world it will be disorderly. This is why Mozi insisted on persuading people to love others.

Book IV, Chapter XV
"Universal Love (II)"

Mozi said: The purpose of the magnanimous is to be found in procuring benefits for the world and eliminating its calamities. But what are the benefits of the world and what its calamities?

Mozi said: Mutual attacks among states, mutual usurpation among houses, mutual injuries among individuals; the lack of grace and loyalty between ruler and ruled, the lack of affection and filial piety between father and son, the lack of harmony between elder and younger brothers -- these are the major calamities in the world.

But whence did these calamities arise, out of mutual love?

Mozi said: They arise out of want of mutual love. At present feudal lords have learned only to love their own states and not those of others. Therefore they do not scruple about attacking other states. The heads of houses have learned only to love their own houses and not those of others. Therefore they do not scruple about usurping other houses. And individuals have learned only to love themselves and not others. Therefore they do not scruple about injuring others. When feudal lords do not love one another there will be war on the fields. When heads of houses do not love one another they will usurp one another's power. When individuals do not love one another they will injure one another. When ruler and ruled do not love one another they will not be gracious and loyal. When father and son do not love each other they will not be affectionate and filial. When older and younger brothers do not love each other they will not be harmonious. When nobody in the world loves any other, naturally the strong will overpower the weak, the many will oppress the few, the wealthy will mock the poor, the honoured will disdain the humble, the cunning will deceive the simple. Therefore all the calamities, strifes, complaints, and hatred in the world have arisen out of want of mutual love. Therefore the benevolent disapproved of this want.

Now that there is disapproval, how can we have the condition altered?

Mozi said it is to be altered by the way of universal love and mutual aid.

But what is the way of universal love and mutual aid?

Mozi said: It is to regard the state of others as one's own, the houses of others as one's own, the persons of others as one's self. When feudal lords love one another there will be no more war; when heads of houses love one another there will be no more mutual usurpation; when individuals love one another there will be no more mutual injury. When ruler and ruled love each other they will be gracious and loyal; when father and son love each other they will be affectionate and filial; when older and younger brothers love each other they will be harmonious. When all the people in the world love one another, then the strong will not overpower the weak, the many will not oppress the few, the wealthy will not mock the poor, the honoured will not disdain the humble, and the cunning will not deceive the simple. And it is all due to mutual love that calamities, strife, complaints, and hatred are prevented from arising. Therefore the benevolent exalt it.

But the gentlemen of the world would say: "So far so good. It is of course very excellent when love becomes universal. But it is only a difficult and distant ideal."

Mozi said: This is simply because the gentlemen of the world do not recognize what is to the benefit of the world, or understand what is its calamity. Now, to besiege a city, to fight in the fields, or to achieve a name at the cost of death

-- these are what men find difficult. Yet when the superior encourages them, the multitude can do them. Besides, universal love and mutual aid is quite different from these. Whoever loves others is loved by others; whoever benefits others is benefited by others; whoever hates others is hated by others; whoever injures others is injured by others. Then, what difficulty is there with it (universal love)? Only, the ruler fails to embody it in his government and the ordinary man in his conduct.

Formerly, Lord Wen of the state of Jin (about 630 B.C.) liked the uncouth uniform of the soldier. And so all his ministers and officers wore sheepskin jackets, carried their swords in leather girdles, and put on silk-spun hats. (1) Thus attired, they attended the Lord when they went in and paced the court when they stayed out. What was the reason for this? It was that what the ruler encourages the ruled will carry out. And Lord Ling of the state of Chu (about 535 B.C.) liked slender waists. And so all his ministers and officers limited themselves to a single meal (a day). They tied their belts after exhaling, and could not stand up without leaning against the wall. Within a year the court looked grim and dark. What was the reason for this? It was that what the ruler encourages the ruled will carry out. Again, Lord Goujian of the state of Yue (about 480 B.C.) liked the warrior's courage, and trained his subjects accordingly. He had his palace boat set on fire. To test his soldiers he proclaimed that all the treasures of the state were contained therein. And he beat the drum himself to urge them on. Hearing the drum the soldiers rushed on in disorder. More than a hundred strong perished in the flames. Thereupon the Lord beat the gong to let them retreat.

Therefore Mozi said: Now, things like scanty diet, coarse clothing, and the achievement of a name at the cost of death are those in which people find difficulty. Yet when the ruler encourages them the multitude can stand them. Besides, universal love and mutual aid are different from these. Whoever loves others is loved by others; whoever benefits others is benefited by others; whoever hates others is hated by others; whoever injures others is injured by others. Then what difficulty is there with it (universal love)? Only, the ruler fails to embody it in his government and the ordinary man in his conduct.

Nevertheless, the gentlemen in the empire think that, though it would be an excellent thing if love can be universalized, it is something quite impracticable. It is like carrying Mt. Tai and leaping over the Ji River.

Mozi said: The illustration is a faulty one. Of course to be able to carry Mt. Tai and leap over the Ji River would be an extreme feat of strength. Such has never been performed from antiquity to the present time. But universal love and mutual aid are quite different from this. And the ancient sage-kings did practise it.

How do we know they did? When Yǐ was working to bring the Deluge under control, he dug the West River and the Youdou River in the west in order to let off the water from the Qu, Sun, and Huang Rivers. In the north he built a dam across the Yuan and Gu Rivers in order to fill the Houzhidi (a basin) and the Huzhi River. Mt. Dizhu was made use of as a water divide, and a tunnel was dug through Mt. Lungmen. All these were done to benefit the peoples west of the (Yellow) River and various barbarian tribes, Yan, Dai, Hu, Ho, of the north. In the east he drained the great Plain and built dykes along the Mengzhu River. The watercourse was divided into nine canals in order to regulate the water in the east and in order to benefit the people of the District of Ji (2). In the south he completed the Yangtze, Han, Huai, and Ru Rivers. These ran eastward and emptied themselves into the Five Lakes. This was done in order to benefit the peoples of Jing, Qi, Gan, Yue, and the barbarians of the south. All these are the deeds of Yǐ. We can, then, universalize love in conduct.

When King Wen was ruling the Western land, he shone forth like the sun and the moon all over the four quarters as well as in the Western land. He did not allow the big state to oppress the small state, he did not allow the multitude to oppress the singlehanded, he did not allow the influential and strong to take away the grain and live stock from the farmers. Heaven visited him with blessing. And, therefore, the old and childless had the wherewithal to spend their old age, the solitary and brotherless had the opportunity to join in the social life of men, and the orphans had the support for their growth. This was what King Wen had accomplished. We can, then, universalize love in conduct.

When King Wu was about to do service to Mt. Tai it was recorded thus: "Blessed is Mt. Tai. Duke of Zhou by a long descent is about to perform his duty. As I have obtained the approval of Heaven, the magnanimous arise to save the people of Shang Xia (3) as well as the barbarians (from the tyranny of Emperor Zhou). Though (Emperor Zhou) has many near relatives, they cannot compare with the magnanimous. If there is sin anywhere, I am solely responsible." (4) This relates the deeds of King Wu. We can, then, universalize love in conduct.

Therefore Mozi said: If the rulers sincerely desire the empire to be wealthy and dislike to have it poor, desire to have it orderly and dislike to have it chaotic, they should bring about universal love and mutual aid. This is the way of the sage-kings and the way to order for the world, and it should not be neglected.

Mozi said: The purpose of the magnanimous lies in procuring benefits for the world and eliminating its calamities. Now among all the current calamities, which are the most important? The attack on the small states by the large ones, disturbances of the small houses by the large ones, oppression of the weak by the strong, misuse of the few by the many, deception of the simple by the cunning, disdain towards the humble by the honoured -- these are the misfortunes in the empire. Again, the lack of grace on the part of the ruler, the lack of loyalty on the part of the minister, the lack of affection on the part of the father, the lack of filial piety on the part of the son -- these are further calamities in the empire. Also, the mutual injury and harm which the unscrupulous do to one another with weapons, poison, water, and fire is still another calamity in the empire.

When we come to think about the cause of all these calamities, how have they arisen? Have they arisen out of love of others and benefiting others? Of course we should say no. We should say they have arisen out of hate of others and injuring others. If we should classify one by one all those who hate others and injure others, should we find them to be universal in love or partial? Of course we should say they are partial. Now, since partiality against one another is the cause of the major calamities in the empire, then partiality is wrong.

Mozi continued: Whoever criticizes others must have something to replace them. Criticism without suggestion is like trying to stop flood with flood and put out fire with fire. It will surely be without worth.

Mozi said: Partiality is to be replaced by universality. But how is it that partiality can be replaced by universality? Now, when every one regards the states of others as he regards his own, who would attack the others' states? Others are regarded like self. When every one regards the capitals of others as he regards his own, who would seize the others' capitals? Others are regarded like self. When every one regards the houses of others as he regards his own, who would disturb the others' houses? Others are regarded like self. Now, when the states and cities do not attack and seize each other and when the clans and individuals do not disturb and harm one another -- is this a calamity or a benefit to the world? Of course it is a benefit. When we come to think about the several benefits in regard to their cause, how have they arisen? Have they arisen out of hate of others and injuring others? Of course we should say no. We should say they have arisen out of love of others and benefiting others. If we should classify one by one all those who love others and benefit others, should we find them to be partial or universal? Of course we should say they are universal. Now, since universal love is the cause of the major benefits in the world, therefore Mozi proclaims universal love is right.

And, as has already been said, the interest of the magnanimous lies in procuring benefits for the world and eliminating its calamities. Now that we have found out the consequences of universal love to be the major benefits of the world and the consequences of partiality to be the major calamities in the world; this is the reason why Mozi said partiality is wrong and universality is right. When we try to develop and procure benefits for the world with universal love as our standard, then attentive ears and keen eyes will respond in service to one another, then limbs will be strengthened to work for one another, and those who know the Tao will untiringly instruct others. Thus the old and those who have neither wife nor children will have the support and supply to spend their old age with, and the young and weak and orphans will have the care and admonition to grow up in. When universal love is adopted as the standard, then such are the consequent benefits. It is incomprehensible, then, why people should object to universal love when they hear it.

Yet the objection is not all exhausted. It is asked, "It may be a good thing, but can it be of any use?"

Mozi replied: If it were not useful then even I would disapprove of it. But how can there be anything that is good but not useful? Let us consider the matter from both sides. Suppose there are two men. Let one of them hold to partiality and the other to universality. Then the advocate of partiality would say to himself, how can I take care of my friend as I do of myself, how can I take care of his parents as my own? Therefore when he finds his friend hungry he would not feed him, and when he finds him cold he would not clothe him. In his illness he would not minister to him, and when he is dead he would not bury him. Such is the word and such is the deed of the advocate of partiality.

The advocate of universality is quite unlike this both in word and in deed. He would say to himself, I have heard that to be a superior man one should take care of his friend as he does of himself, and take care of his friend's parents as his own. Therefore when he finds his friend hungry he would feed him, and when he finds him cold he would clothe him. In his sickness he would serve him, and when he is dead he would bury him. Such is the word and such is the deed of the advocate of universality.

These two persons then are opposed to each other in word and also in deed. Suppose they are sincere in word and decisive in deed so that their word and deed are made to agree like the two parts of a tally, and that there is no word but what is realized in deed, then let us consider further: Suppose a war is on, and one is in armour and helmet ready to join the force, life and death are not predictable. Or suppose one is commissioned a deputy by the ruler to such far countries like Ba, Yue, Qi, and Jing, and the arrival and return are quite uncertain. Now (under such circumstances) let us inquire upon whom would one lay the trust of one's family and parents. Would it be upon the universal friend or upon the partial friend? It seems to me, on occasions like these, there are no fools in the world. Even if he is a person

who objects to universal love, he will lay the trust upon the universal friend all the same. This is verbal objection to the principle but actual selection by it -- this is self-contradiction between one's word and deed. It is incomprehensible, then, why people should object to universal love when they hear it.

Yet the objection is not all exhausted. It is objected: Maybe it is a good criterion to choose among ordinary men, but it may not apply to the rulers.

Let us again consider the matter from both sides. Suppose there are two rulers. Let one of them hold partiality and the other universality. Then the partial ruler would say to himself, how can I take care of the people as I do of myself? This would be quite contrary to common sense. A man's life on earth is of short duration, it is like a galloping horse passing by. Therefore when he finds his people hungry he would not feed them, and when he finds them cold he would not clothe them. When they are sick he would not minister to them, and upon their death he would not bury them. Such is the word and such is the deed of the partial ruler.

The universal ruler is quite unlike this both in word and in deed. He would say to himself, I have heard that to be an upright ruler of the world one should first attend to his people and then to himself. Therefore when he finds his people hungry he would feed them, and when he finds them cold he would clothe them. In their sickness he would minister to them, and upon their death he would bury them. Such is the word and such is the deed of the universal ruler.

These two rulers, then, are opposed to each other in word and also in deed. Suppose they are sincere in word and decisive in deed so that their word and deed are made to agree like the two parts of a tally, and that there is no word but what is realized in deed, then let us consider further: Suppose, now, that there is a disastrous pestilence, that most people are in misery and privation, and that many lie dead in ditches (1). (Under such circumstances) let us inquire, if a person could choose one of the two rulers, which would he prefer? It seems to me on such occasions there are no fools in the world. Even if he is a person who objects to universal love, he will choose the universal ruler. This is verbal objection to the principle but actual selection by it -- this is self-contradiction between one's word and deed. It is incomprehensible, then, why people should object to universal love when they hear it.

Yet the objection is still not exhausted. It points out that universal love may be magnanimous and righteous, but how can it be realized? Universal love is impracticable just as carrying Mt. Tai and leaping over rivers. So, then, universal love is but a pious wish, how can it be actualized?

Mozi replied: To carry Mt. Tai and leap over rivers is something that has never been accomplished since the existence of man. But universal love and mutual aid has been personally practised by six ancient sage-kings.

How do we know they have done it?

Mozi said: I am no contemporary of theirs, neither have I heard their voice or seen their faces. The sources of our knowledge lie in what is written on the bamboos and silk, what is engraved in metal and stones, and what is cut in the vessels to be handed down to posterity (2). The "Great Declaration" proclaims: "King Wen was like the sun and the moon, shedding glorious and resplendent light in the four quarters as well as over the Western land." This is to say that the love of King Wen is so wide and universal that it is like the sun and the moon shining upon the world without partiality. Here is universal love on the part of King Wen; what Mozi has been talking about is really derived from the example of King Wen.

Moreover it is true not only in the "Great Declaration" but also with the "Oath of Yŷ" (3). Yŷ said (therein) "Come all you hosts of people, take heed and hearken to my words. It is not that I, a single person, would willingly stir up this confusion. The Prince of Miao is more and more unreasonable, he deserves punishment from Heaven. Therefore I lead you to appoint the lords of the states and go to punish the Prince of Miao." It was not for the sake of increasing his wealth and multiplying his felicitations, and indulging his ears and eyes but for that of procuring benefits for the world and eliminating its annoyances that Yŷ went to war against the Prince of Miao. This is universal love on the part of Yŷ, and what Mozi has been talking about is really derived from the example of Yŷ.

Again it is true not only in the "Oath of Yŷ" but also with the "Oath of Tang." Tang said: "Unworthy Lŷ presumed to do sacrifice with a first-born male animal to Heaven on high and mother Earth, saying, 'Now there is a great drought from heaven. It happens right in my, Lŷ's, time. I do not know whether I have wronged Heaven or men. Good, I dare not cover up; guilt, I dare not let go -- this is clearly seen in the mind of God. If there is sin anywhere hold me responsible for it; if I myself am guilty may the rest be spared.'" (4) This is to say that though having the honour of being an emperor and the wealth of possessing the whole world, Tang did not shrink from offering himself as sacrifice to implore God and the spirits. This is universal love on the part of Tang, and what Mozi has been talking about is really derived from the example of Tang.

Still again, it is true not only in the "Oath of Yü" and the "Oath of Tang" but also with the "Poems of Zhou." (5) To quote: "the way of the (good) emperor is wide and straight, without partiality and without favouritism. The way of the (good) emperor is even and smooth, without favouritism and without partiality. It is straight like an arrow and just like a balance. The superior man follows it, (even) the unprincipled looks on (without resentment)." Thus the principle that I have been expounding is not to be regarded as a mere doctrinaire notion. In the past, when Wen and Wu administered the government both of them rewarded the virtuous and punished the wicked without partiality to their relatives and brothers. This is just the universal love of Wen and Wu. And what Mozi has been talking about is really derived from the examples of Wen and Wu (6). It is incomprehensible then why people should object to universal love when they hear it.

Yet the objection is still not exhausted. It raises the question, when one does not think in terms of benefits and harm to one's parents would it be filial piety?

Mozi replied: Now let us inquire about the plans of the filial sons for their parents. I may ask, when they plan for their parents, whether they desire to have others love or hate them? Judging from the whole doctrine (of filial piety), it is certain that they desire to have others love their parents. Now, what should I do first in order to attain this? Should I first love others' parents in order that they would love my parents in return, or should I first hate others' parents in order that they would love my parents in return? Of course I should first love others' parents in order that they would love my parents in return. Hence those who desire to be filial to one another's parents, if they have to choose (between whether they should love or hate others' parents), had best first love and benefit others' parents. Would any one suspect that all the filial sons are stupid and incorrigible (in loving their own parents)?

We may again inquire about it. It is said in the "Da Ya" (7) among the books of the ancient kings: "No idea is not given its due value; no virtue is not rewarded. When a peach is thrown to us, we would return with a prune." This is to say whoever loves others will be loved and whoever hates others will be hated. It is then quite incomprehensible why people should object to universal love when they hear it.

Is it because it is hard and impracticable? There are instances of even much harder tasks done. Formerly, Lord Ling of the state of Jing (8) liked slender waists. In his time people in the state of Jing ate not more than once a day. They could not stand up without support, and could not walk without leaning against the wall. Now, limited diet is quite hard to endure, and yet it was endured. While Lord Ling encouraged it, his people could be changed within a generation to conform to their superior.

Lord Goujian of the state of Yue admired courage and taught it to his ministers and soldiers three years. Fearing that their knowledge had not yet made them efficient he let a fire be set on the boat, and beat the drum to signal advance. The soldiers at the head of the rank were even pushed down. Those who perished in the flames and in water were numberless. Even then they would not retreat without signal. The soldiers of Yue would be quite terrified (ordinarily). To be burnt alive is a hard task, and yet it was accomplished. When the Lord of Yue encouraged it, his people could be changed within a generation to conform to their superior.

Lord Wen of the state of Jin liked coarse clothing. And so in his time the people of Jin wore suits of plain cloth, jackets of sheep skin, hats of spun silk, and big rough shoes. Thus attired, they would go in and see the Lord and come out and walk in the court. To dress up in coarse clothing is hard to do, yet it has been done. When Lord Wen encouraged it his people could be changed within a generation to conform to their superior.

Now to endure limited diet, to be burnt alive, and to wear coarse clothing are the hardest things in the world, yet when the superiors encouraged them the people could be changed within a generation. Why was this so? It was due to the desire to conform to the superior. Now, as to universal love and mutual aid, they are beneficial and easy beyond a doubt. It seems to me that the only trouble is that there is no superior who encourages it. If there is a superior who encourages it, promoting it with rewards and commendations, threatening its reverse with punishments, I feel people will tend toward universal love and mutual aid like fire tending upward and water downwards -- it will be unpreventable in the world.

Therefore, universal love is really the way of the sage-kings. It is what gives peace to the rulers and sustenance to the people. The gentleman would do well to understand and practise universal love; then he would be gracious as a ruler, loyal as a minister, affectionate as a father, filial as a son, courteous as an elder brother, and respectful as a younger brother. So, if the gentleman desires to be a gracious ruler, a loyal minister, an affectionate father, a filial son, a courteous elder brother, and a respectful younger brother (9), universal love must be practised. It is the way of the sage-kings and the great blessing of the people.

Suppose a man enters the orchard of another and steals the other's peaches and plums. Hearing of it the public will condemn it; laying hold of him the authorities will punish him. Why? Because he injures others to profit himself.

As to seizing dogs, pigs, chickens, and young pigs from another, it is even more unrighteous than to steal peaches and plums from his orchard. Why? Because it causes others to suffer more (2), and it is more inhumane and criminal.

When it comes to entering another's stable and appropriating the other's horses and oxen, it is more inhumane than to seize the dogs, pigs, chickens, and young pigs of another. Why? Because others are caused to suffer more; when others are caused to suffer more, then the act is more inhumane and criminal.

Finally, as to murdering the innocent, stripping him of his clothing, dispossessing him of his spear and sword, it is even more unrighteous than to enter another's stable and appropriate his horses and oxen. Why? Because it causes others to suffer more; when others are caused to suffer more, then the act is more inhumane and criminal.

All the gentlemen of the world know that they should condemn these things, calling them unrighteous. But when it comes to the great attack of states (3), they do not know that they should condemn it. On the contrary, they applaud it, calling it righteous. Can this be said to be knowing the difference between righteousness and unrighteousness?

The murder of one person is called unrighteous and incurs one death penalty. Following this argument, the murder of ten persons will be ten times as unrighteous and there should be ten death penalties; the murder of a hundred persons will be a hundred times as unrighteous and there should be a hundred death penalties. All the gentlemen of the world know that they should condemn these things, calling them unrighteous. But when it comes to the great unrighteousness of attacking states, they do not know that they should condemn it. On the contrary, they applaud it, calling it righteous. And they are really ignorant of its being unrighteous. Hence they have recorded their judgment to bequeath to their posterity. If they did know that it is unrighteous, then why would they record their false judgment to bequeath to posterity?

Now, if there were a man who, upon seeing a little blackness, should say it is black, but, upon seeing much, should say it is white; then we should think he could not tell the difference between black and white. If, upon tasting a little bitterness one should say it is bitter, but, upon tasting much, should say it is sweet; then we should think he could not tell the difference between bitter and sweet. Now, when a little wrong is committed people know that they should condemn it, but when such a great wrong as attacking a state is committed people do not know that they should condemn it. On the contrary, it is applauded, called righteous. Can this be said to be knowing the difference between the righteous and the unrighteous? Hence we know the gentlemen of the world are confused about the difference between righteousness and unrighteousness.

Book V, Chapter XVIII
"Condemnation of Offensive War (II)"

Mozi said: If the rulers of to-day sincerely wish to be careful in condemnation and commendation, judicious in rewards and punishments, and temperate in government and jurisdiction; ... (1)

Therefore Mozi said: There is an ancient saying that, when one is not successful in making out plans then predict the future by the past (2) and learn about the absent from what is present. When one plans like this then one can be intelligent (3).

Now, about a country going to war. If it is in winter it will be too cold ; if it is in summer it will be too hot. So it should be neither in winter nor in summer. If it is in spring it will take people away from sowing and planting; if it is in autumn it will take people away from reaping and harvesting (4). Should they be taken away in either of these seasons, innumerable people would die of hunger and cold. And, when the army sets out, the bamboo arrows, the feather flags, the house tents, the armour, the shields, the sword hilts -- innumerable quantities of these will break and rot and never come back. The spears, the lances, the swords, the poniards, the chariots, the carts -- innumerable quantities of these will break and rot and never come back. Then innumerable horses and oxen will start out fat and come back lean or will not return at all. And innumerable people will die because their food will be cut off and cannot be supplied on account of the great distances of the roads. And innumerable people will be sick and die of the constant danger and the irregularity of eating and drinking and the extremes of hunger and over-eating. Then, the army will be lost in large numbers or entirely; in either case the number will be innumerable. And this means the spirits will lose their worshippers, and the number of these will also be innumerable.

Why then does the government deprive the people of their opportunities and benefits to such a great extent? It has been answered: "I covet the fame of the victor and the possessions obtainable through the conquest. So I do it."

Mozi said: But when we consider the victory as such, there is nothing useful about it. When we consider the possessions obtained through it, it does not even make up for the loss. Now about the siege of a city of three li or a guo (5) of seven li -- if these could be obtained without the use of weapons or the killing of lives, it would be all right. But (as a matter of fact) those killed must be counted by the ten thousand, those widowed or left solitary must be counted by the thousand, before a city of three li or a guo of seven li could be captured. Moreover the states of ten thousand chariots (6) now have empty towns to be counted by the thousand, which can be entered without conquest; and their extensive lands to be counted by the ten thousand (of mu) (7), which can be cultivated without conquest. So, land is abundant but people are few. Now to pursue the people to death and aggravate the danger feared by both superiors and subordinates in order to obtain an empty city -- this is to give up what is needed and to treasure what is already in abundance. Such an undertaking is not in accordance with the interest of the country.

Those who endeavor to gloss over offensive wars would say: "In the south there are the lords of Jing and Yue, and in the north there are the lords of Qi and Jin. When their states were first assigned to them, they were but a hundred li square in area, and but a few tens of thousands in number of people. By means of wars and attacks, their areas have increased to several thousand li square and the people to several million. So, then, offensive wars are not to be condemned."

Mozi said : The four or five states may have reaped their benefits, still it is not conduct according to the Dao (8). It is like the physician giving his drugs to the patients. If a physician should give all the sick in the world a uniform drug, among the ten thousand who took it there might be four or five who were benefited, still it is not to be said to be a common (commonly beneficial) medicine. Thus a filial son will not give it to his parent and a loyal minister will not give it to his king (9). After the empire was in the ancient time divided into states a great many of them died of attacks -- the earlier cases we hear of through the ear, the recent cases we saw by the eye. How do we know it is so? In the east there was the state of Ju. It was a small state situated in the midst of big states. It did not show respect and obedience to the big states, and the latter therefore did not like it or favour it. So, on the east Yue cut and appropriated its land by force, and from the west Qi swallowed it up altogether. And it was due to offensive wars that Ju died between two big states. And it was due to offensive war too that in the south Chen and Cai were extinguished by Wu and Yue. And it was also due to offensive wars that in the north Bu Tu He perished among Yan, Dai, Hu and Mo.

Therefore Mozi said: If the rulers now really desire gain and avert loss, desire security and avert danger, they cannot but condemn offensive wars.

Those who endeavor to gloss over offensive wars would say: "These states perished because they could not gather and employ their multitudes. I can gather and employ my multitudes and wage war with them; who, then, dares to be unsubmitive?"

Mozi said: You might be able to gather and employ your multitudes, but can you compare yourself with the ancient He LY of Wu? He LY of Wu (about 510 B.C.) in the ancient days drilled his soldiers seven years. With armour on and weapons in hand they could cover three hundred li (in a day) before encamping (for the night). Passing Zhulin, they emerged at the narrow Pass of Min. They engaged in battle (with the state of Chu) at Boju. Subduing Chu, (He LY) gave audience to Song and Lu. By the time of Fu Chai (10) he attacked Qi in the north, encamped on the Wen River, fought at Ai Ling and greatly defeated Qi and compelled surety from them at Mt.Tai. In the east he attacked Yue, crossing the Three Rivers and the Five Lakes, and compelled surety at Guiji. None of the nine tribes dared to show disrespect. Reaching home, however, he would not reward the orphaned or give to the numerous rustics. He depended on his own might, gloated over his success, praised his own cleverness, and neglected instructing and training his people. He built the Monument of Gusu (11) which was not completed even in seven years. By this time (the people of Wu) felt tired and disheartened. Seeing the friction between the superior and the subordinates in Wu, Goujian of Yue gathered his multitudes to take revenge. He broke into its kuo on the north, moved away its royal boat, and surrounded its palace. And thus Wu perished.

Some time ago Jin had six ministers and Zhibo (about 455 B.C.) was the most powerful. He considered the large area of his land and the great number of his people, and desired to attack the feudal lords in order to have a rapid spread of his courageous name through war and battle. So he ranked his brave warriors and arranged his boat and chariot forces. He attacked (the house of) Zhongxing and seized it. This showed to him that his plans were satisfactory. Then he attacked Fan and totally defeated him. Thus he absorbed three families into one. He did not stop even there. but surrounded Minister Xiang of Zhao at Jinyang. By this time Han and Wei came together and deliberated, saying: "An ancient proverb says: 'When the lips are removed the teeth will become cold.' The house of Zhao dying in the morning we would be following it in the evening; the house of Zhao dying in the evening we would be following it in the morning. A poet sings : 'If the fish would not act while yet in water, what can it do when it is already placed on land?'" Thereupon the three ministers worked with united strength and a single mind, opening passes and blazing trails, putting on armour and arousing the warriors. With Han and Wei from without and Zhao from within, they battled Zhibo and totally defeated him.

Therefore Mozi said : An ancient proverb says: "The superior man would not go to water but to man for a mirror." (12) In water as a mirror one sees only one's face; in man as a mirror one can predict good and bad luck." Have those who

now regard offensive wars as beneficial made use of Zhibo's story? It is plainly discernible to be not auspicious but ominous.

Book V, Chapter XI X
"Condemnation of Offensive War (III)"

Mozi said: What does the world now praise to be good? Is not an act praised because it is useful to Heaven on high, to the spirits in the middle sphere, and to the people below? Certainly no other reason is needed for praise than to be useful to Heaven on high, to the spirits in the middle, and to the people below. Even the stupid would say it is praiseworthy when it is helpful to Heaven on high, to the spirits in the middle, and to the people below. And what the world agrees on is just the way of the sage-kings.

Now the feudal lords in the empire still attack and assault each other. This is to praise the principle without understanding its real meaning. They resemble the blind man who uses with others the names of black and white but cannot discriminate between such objects. Can this be said to be real discrimination?

Therefore, deliberating for the empire, the ancient wise men always considered the real (meaning of the) principles, and acted accordingly. Hence they were no more uncertain in their actions. All desires, far or near, were satisfied, and Heaven, the spirits, and the people were all blessed. Such was the way of the wise men. Governing the empire, the ancient magnanimous men always worked for mutual satisfaction with the large states, brought the empire into harmony, and centralized all that was within the four seas. Then they led the people in the empire diligently to do service to God, hills and rivers, and the spirits and ghosts. Many were the benefits to the people and great was their success. Thereupon Heaven rewarded them, the spirits enriched them, and the people praised them. The high honour of Son of Heaven was conferred upon them and the great wealth of the whole world was given to them. Their names partake of (the permanence and greatness of) Heaven and Earth and are not forgotten even to this day. Such is the way of the wise and such is the way by which the ancient kings came to possess the world.

The rulers and lords of to-day are quite different. They all rank their warriors and arrange their boat and chariot forces; they make their armour strong and weapons sharp in order to attack some innocent state. Entering the state they cut down the grain fields and fell the trees and woods; they tear down the inner and outer walls of the city and fill up the ditches and ponds; they seize and kill the sacrificial animals and burn down the ancestral temple; they kill and murder the people and exterminate the aged and weak; they move away the treasures and valuables. The soldiers are encouraged to advance by being told: "To suffer death is the highest (service you can render), to kill many is the next, to be wounded is the lowest. But if you should drop out from your rank and attempt to sneak away, the penalty will be death without moderation." Thus the soldiers are put to fear.

Now to capture a state and to destroy an army, to disturb and torture the people, and to set at naught the aspirations of the sages by confusion -- is this intended to bless Heaven? But the people of Heaven are gathered together to besiege the towns belonging to Heaven. This is to murder men of Heaven and dispossess the spirits of their altars and to ruin the state and to kill the sacrificial animals. It is then not a blessing to Heaven on high. Is it intended to bless the spirits? But men of Heaven are murdered, spirits are deprived of their sacrifices, the earlier kings (1) are neglected, the multitude are tortured and the people are scattered; it is then not a blessing to the spirits in the middle. Is it intended to bless the people? But the blessing of the people by killing them off must be very meagre. And when we calculate the expense, which is the root of the calamities to living (2), we find the property of innumerable people is exhausted. It is, then, not a blessing to the people below either.

Now that the armies are intended for mutual destruction, it is evident: If the general be not courageous, if soldiers be not brave, if weapons be not sharp, if drills be not frequent, if the force be not large, if generals be not harmonious, if power be not august, if a siege be not enduring, if an assault be not speedy, if people be not strongly bound together, if determination be not firm -- if this be so, the (other) feudal lords will suspect. When feudal lords entertain suspicion, enemies will be stirred up and cause anxiety, and the morale will be weakened. On the other hand, if every preparation is in good shape and the state goes out to engage in war, then the state will lose its men and the people will neglect their vocations. Have we not heard it said that, when a warring state goes on an expedition, of the officers there must be several hundred, of the common people there must be several thousand, and of the soldiers and prisoners there must be ten thousand, before the army can set out? It may last for several years, or, at the shortest, several months. So, the superior will have no time to attend to government, the officials will have no time to attend to their offices, the farmers will have no time to sow or reap, the women will have no time to weave or spin: that is, the state will lose its men and the people will neglect their vocations. Besides, the chariots will break and horses will be exhausted. As to tents, army supplies, and soldiers' equipment -- if one-fifth of these can remain (after the war) it would already be beyond expectation. Moreover, innumerable men will be missing and lost on the way, and will become sick from the long distances, meagre rations, hunger and cold, and die in the ditches. Now the calamity to the people and the world is tremendous. Yet the rulers enjoy doing it. This means they enjoy injuring and exterminating the people; is this not perversity?

The most warring states in the empire to-day are Qi, Jin, Chu, and Yue. These four states are all successful in the world. Even if their people be increased tenfold, still they could not consume all that their land could produce. That is, they are in need of men while they have a surplus of land. Still they strove against each other to possess more land. This is to neglect what is needed and to value what is already in plenty.

The warring lords would gloss over (their conduct) with arguments to confute Mozi, saying: "Do you condemn attack and assault as unrighteous and not beneficial? But, anciently, Yǐ made war on the Prince of Miao, Tang on Jie, and King Wu on Zhou. Yet these are regarded as sages. What is your explanation for this?"

Mozi said: You have not examined the terminology of my teaching and you do not understand its motive. What they did is not to be called "attack" but "punishment."

Anciently, the three Miao tribes were in great confusion. Heaven ordered their destruction. The sun rose at night. It rained blood for three days. Dragons emerged in the temple and dogs cried in the market place. Ice came in summer and earth cracked until water gushed forth. The five grains appeared in mutation. At these, the people were greatly shocked. Gao Yang (3) then gave command (to Yǐ) (3) in the Yuan Palace. Yǐ held the imperial jade order in hand and set forth to conquer Miao. Amidst thunder and lightning, a god with the face of a man and the body of a bird was revealed to be waiting upon (Yǐ) with the gui (4) in hand. The general of Miao was brought down by an arrow (5) and the Miao army was set in great confusion. And the Miao tribes became less and less significant ever after. Having conquered Miao, Yǐ set apart the hills and rivers (by names), and ordered things into high and low. With sacrifices he set up the four bordering countries, and neither spirits nor men revolted (any more). So there was peace in the world. This was the reason why Yǐ made war on the Miao.

When it came to King Jie of Xia, Heaven gave severe order. Sun and moon did not appear on time. Winter and summer came irregularly. The five grains were dried up to death. Ghosts called in the country, and cranes shrieked for more than ten nights. Heaven then commissioned Tang in the Biao Palace, to receive the great trust that had been given to Xia, as the conduct of Xia fell into great perversity. Only then dared Tang to lead his multitude and enter the borders of Xia. And he let the deserters of the enemy destroy the cities of Xia. Soon after, a god came and told him: "The conduct of Xia is in great confusion. Go and punish him. I will surely let you destroy him, as I have my orders from Heaven." Heaven ordered Zhuyong (6) to send down fire on the northwestern corner of the city of Xia. Thus Tang led the men of Jie and conquered Xia. He then gave audience to the feudal lords at Bo (7). He revealed and made known the will of Heaven and spread it in the four directions, and none of the feudal lords in the empire dared to show disrespect. This was the reason why Tang punished Jie.

When it came to the regime of King Zhou of Shang, his conduct was not acceptable to Heaven. Sacrifices were not according to seasons. Even in the night... (8) It rained sand for ten days at Bo. The nine caldrons moved from their place. Witches appeared in the dark and ghosts sighed at night. Some women turned into men. Flesh came down from Heaven like rain. Thorny brambles covered up the national highways. Yet the king became even more dissolute. A red bird holding a gui by its beak alighted on Mt. Qi (9), proclaiming: "Heaven decrees King Wen of Zhou to punish Yin (10) and possess its empire." Tai Dian then came to be minister to (King Wen). The charts emerged out of the River and chenghuang (11) appeared on land. Thereupon King Wu ascended the throne. Three gods spoke to him in a dream, saying: "Now that we have submerged Zhou of Yin in wine, you go and attack him. We will surely let you destroy him." So, King Wu set out and attacked Zhou, and replaced Shang with Zhou. Heaven gave King Wu the Yellow Bird Pennant. Having conquered Yin he continued the order of Tang and assigned the worship of the ancestors of Zhou to the feudal lords. Connexions with the barbarians of the four borders were established, and none in the world dared to show disrespect. This was the reason why King Wu punished Zhou.

Speaking about the work of these three sages, it is not to be called attack but punishment.

The warring lords would again gloss over (their conduct) with arguments for offensive war against Mozi, saying: Do you condemn attack and assault as unrighteous and not beneficial? But, in ancient times, Xiong Li was assigned to the state of Chu (about 1100 B.C.) in the Mt. of Sui. Yi Kui started at Youju, and became lord of Yue. Uncle Tang and Lǐ Shang were first appointed to rule over the states of Jin (1107 B.C.) and of Qi (about 1120 B.C.) respectively. All these started with a few hundred li square of land. On account of their capture of other states, now each of them has a quarter of the empire. What is your explanation for this?"

Mozi said: You have not examined the terminology of my teachings and you do not understand the underlying principle. In ancient times the emperor commissioned feudal lords numbering more than ten thousand. On account of absorption of one state by another, all of the more than ten thousand states have disappeared with only the four remaining. This is like the physician who attends more than ten thousand patients but cures only four. Such an one is not to be said to be a good physician.

The warring lords would again gloss over (their conduct) with arguments, saying: "(I wage war) not because I am still discontented with my gold and jade, my children and my land. I want to have my name as a righteous ruler established in the world and draw the other feudal lords to me with my virtue."

Mozi said: If there were some one who would establish his righteous name for justice in the world and draw the feudal lords to him with his virtue, the submission of the whole world to him could be awaited while standing. For the world has long been in turmoil and war, and it is weary like the boy at playing horse (12). If only there were some one who would first benefit the other feudal lords in mutual good faith! When some large state acts unrighteously, he would join in the sorrow; when some large state attacks some smaller one he would join in the rescue; when the outer and the inner walls of the city of the small state are in ruin he would demand their repair; when cloth and grains are exhausted he would supply them; when money and silk are insufficient he would share his own -- to befriend the large state in this way, the large state will be pleased, to befriend the small state in this way, the small state will be pleased. With the others tired out and one's self at ease, one's armour and weapon (13) would be stronger. When with kindness and mercy we help the people in their need, the people will be drawn over. When good government is substituted for aggressive war, the country will be benefited many fold. When the expense of the army is limited and the evils of the feudal lords removed, then we shall enjoy prosperity. Let the control (of the army) be judicious and the cause be righteous. Be lenient to the people and place confidence in the army -- with this to meet the forces of the feudal lords, there can be no equal in the world. And the benefits to the world will be innumerable. This is what will benefit the world, yet the rulers do not understand making use of it: such may be said to be ignorance of the great thing in the world.

Therefore Mozi said : Now if the rulers and the gentlemen of the world sincerely desire to procure benefits and avert calamities for the world -- if they desire to do righteousness and be superior men, if they desire to strike the way of the sage-kings on the one hand and bless the people on the other -- if so, the doctrine of Condemnation of Offensive War should not be left unheeded.

Book VI , Chapter XX
"Economy of Expenditures (I)"

When a sage rules a state the benefits of the state will be increased twice. When he governs the empire, those of the empire will be doubled. This increase is not by appropriating land from without. But by cutting out the useless expenditures it is accomplished. In issuing an order, taking up an enterprise, or employing the people and expending wealth, the sage never does anything without some useful purpose. Therefore wealth is not wasted and people's resources are not exhausted, and many are the blessings procured.

In making clothing, what is the purpose? It is to keep out the cold in winter and heat in summer. The good of clothing is measured in terms of the amount of warmth it adds in winter and coolness in summer: what is merely decorative and does not contribute to these is to be let alone.

In building palaces and houses, what is the purpose? It is to keep out the wind and the cold in winter and heat and rain in summer, and to fortify against thieves. What is merely decorative and contributes nothing to these should be let alone.

In forging armour and shields and the five weapons (1), what is the purpose? It is to prepare against invasion and revolts, bandits and thieves. When these happen, with armor, shields, and the five weapons one will succeed, without them one cannot succeed. Therefore the sages forged armour, shields, and the five weapons. And their good is measured in terms of lightness, sharpness and unbreakability: what is merely decorative and contributes nothing to these should be let alone.

In building boats and vehicles, what is the purpose? A vehicle is to go on land and a boat is to sail rivers and valleys in order to transport the wealth in the four quarters. The good of boats and vehicles is measured in terms of the amount of facility and convenience they afford: what is merely decorative and contributes nothing to these should be let alone.

Now, in making all these things none is done without its use in view. Therefore wealth is not wasted and people's resources are not exhausted, and many are the blessings procured.

Besides, (the sages) again gave up all such hobbies as collecting pearls and jade, and pet birds, and animals such as dogs and horses, in order to replenish clothing, houses, armour, shields, and the five weapons, and boats and vehicles. And these were multiplied several times. But to increase these is not difficult. What, then, is difficult to increase? To increase the population is difficult.

In ancient times, the sage-kings said: "No man of twenty should dare to be without a family; no girl of fifteen should dare to be without a master." Such were the laws of the sage-kings. Now that the sage-kings have passed away, the people have become loose. Those who like to have a family early sometimes marry at twenty. Those who like to have a family late sometimes marry at forty. 'Albon the late marriages are made up by the early ones, (the average) is still later than the legal requirements of the sage-kings by ten years. Supposing births are given to children on an average of one in three years, then two or three children should have been born (by the time men now marry). This is not just to urge men to establish families early in order to increase the population. But also... (2)

Those who govern the empire to-day diminish the people in more ways than one: Employing the people they exhaust them, levying taxes they make them heavy. People fall into poverty and innumerable persons die of hunger and cold. Moreover the rulers make war and attack some neighbouring states. It may last a whole year, or, at the shortest, several months. Thus man and woman cannot see each other for a long time. Is not this a way to diminish the people? Living in danger, eating and drinking irregularly many become sick and die. Hiding in ambush (3), setting fire, besieging a city, and battling in the open fields, innumerable men die. Are not ways of diminishing the people getting numerous with the government of the rulers of to-day? They did not exist when the sage-kings administered the government. (In the government by the sagacious), many ways of increasing the population will arise.

Therefore Mozi said: To cut out expenditures is the way of the sage-kings and a great blessing to the world.

Book VI, Chapter XXI
"Economy of Expenditures (II)"

Mozi said: The ancient illustrious kings and sages ruled over the empire and headed the feudal lords because they loved the people loyally and blessed them with many benefits. Loyalty calls out confidence. And, when blessing is shown in addition, the people were not wearied during their whole life and did not feel tired until their death. That the ancient illustrious kings and sages could rule over the empire and head the feudal lords is just because of this.

And the ancient sage-kings authorized the code of laws of economy, saying: "All you artisans and workers, carpenters and tanners, potters and smiths, do what you can do. Stop when the needs of the people are satisfied." What causes extra expense but adds no benefit to the people the sage-kings would not undertake.

The ancient sage-kings authorized the code of laws regarding food and drink, saying: "Stop when hunger is satiated, breathing becomes strong, limbs are strengthened and ears and eyes become sharp. There is no need of combining the five tastes (1) extremely well or harmonizing the different sweet odours. And efforts should not be made to procure rare delicacies from far countries."

How do we know such were the laws? In ancient times, when Yao was governing the empire he consolidated Jiaoze (2) on the south, reached Youdu on the north, expanded from where the sun rises to where the sun sets on the east and west, and none was unobedient or disrespectful. Yet, even when he was served with what he much liked, he did not take a double cereal or both soup and meat. He ate out of an earthen liu and drank out of an earthen xing, and took wine out of a spoon. With the ceremonies of bowing and stretching and courtesies and decorum the sage-king had nothing to do.

The ancient sage-kings authorized the code of laws regarding clothing, saying: "Be satisfied with clothes of blue or grey silk in winter which are light and warm, and with clothes of flax-linen in summer which are light and cool." What causes extra expenditure but does not add benefits to the people the sage-kings would not allow.

Because the ferocious and cunning animals were destroying men and injuring the people, the ancient sage-kings taught the people the use of weapons, saying: "Carry a two-edged sword which penetrates when it pierces and severs when it cuts. When struck with the flat side it does not break, this is the utility of a sword. To be light and strong and afford convenience of action, such is the utility of armour.

A vehicle is used to carry weight and to travel great distances. It should be safe to ride and easy to pull; safe to ride so as not to hurt the rider, easy to pull so as to reach the destination speedily. This is the utility of the vehicle. Because the wide rivers and broad valleys were once not crossable the sage-kings ordered boats and oars to be made. And these were made just so that they could cross the river. Even when the High Duke or a feudal lord arrived, the boat and the oars were not changed and the ferryman put on no decorations. Such is the utility of the boat.

The ancient sage-kings authorized the code of laws limiting funeral expenditure, saying: "Of shrouds. there shall be three pieces in order to be enough to hold the rotting flesh. The coffin shall be three inches thick, to be sufficient to hold the rotting bones. The pit shall be dug not deep enough to reach water, but just so deep that the gases will not escape. When the dead is buried the living shall not mourn too long."

In those ancient days, at the beginning of the race, when there were no palaces or houses, people lived in caves dug at the side of hills and mounds. The sage-kings felt quite concerned, thinking that the caves might keep off the wind and cold in winter, but that in summer it would be wet below and steaming above which might hurt the health of the people. So palaces and houses were built and found useful. Now, what is the standard in building palaces and houses? Mozi said: Just so that on the side it can keep off the wind and the cold, on top it can keep off the snow, frost, rain, and dew, within it is clean enough for sacrificial purposes, and that the partition in the palace is high enough to separate the men from the women. What causes extra expenditure but does not add any benefit to the people, the sage-kings will not undertake.

Book VII, Chapter XXVI
"Will of Heaven (I)"

Mozi said: The gentlemen of the world all understand only trifles but not things of importance.

How do we know? We know this from one's conduct in the family. If one should offend the patriarch of the family, there are still the homes of the neighbours in which to seek shelter. Yet parents, brothers, and friends all keep on reminding one to be obedient and careful. For, how can one offend the patriarch and stay in the family?

Not only is this true about conduct in the family, but also in the state. If one should offend the lord of the state there are still the neighbouring states whither he may flee. Yet parents, brothers, and friends all keep on reminding one to be obedient and careful. For, how can one offend the lord of the state and stay in it?

From these there are yet shelters to flee to, yet there are such constant counsels. Should there not be more counsels in a case from which there is nowhere to flee? As the saying goes: "Sinning in broad daylight, whither can one flee?" Really there is nowhere to flee. For, Heaven clearly discerns it even if it be in the woods, valleys, or solitary caves where there is no man.

But, contrary to our expectation, regarding Heaven, the gentlemen of the world do not understand mutually to give counsel. This is how we know the gentlemen in the world understand only trifles and not things of importance.

Now, what does Heaven desire and what does it abominate?

Heaven desires righteousness and abominates unrighteousness. Therefore, in leading the people in the world to engage in doing righteousness I should be doing what Heaven desires. When I do what Heaven desires, Heaven will also do what I desire.

Now, what do I desire and what do I abominate? I desire blessings and emoluments, and abominate calamities and misfortunes. When I do not do what Heaven desires, neither will Heaven do what I desire. Then I should be leading the people into calamities and misfortunes. But how do we know Heaven desires righteousness and abominates unrighteousness? For, with righteousness the world lives and without it the world dies; with it the world becomes rich and without it the world becomes poor; with it the world becomes orderly and without it the world becomes chaotic. And if Heaven likes to have the world live and dislikes to have it die⁽¹⁾, likes to have it rich and dislikes to have it poor, and likes to have it orderly and dislikes to have it disorderly. Therefore we know Heaven desires righteousness and abominates unrighteousness.

Moreover, righteousness is the standard. A standard is not to be given by the subordinates to the superior but by the superior to the subordinates. Therefore, while the common people should spare no pains at work they may not make the standard at will. There are the scholars to give them the standard. While the scholars should spare no pains at work, they may not make the standard at will. There are the ministers and secretaries to give them the standard. While the ministers and secretaries should spare no pains at work, they may not make the standard at will. There are the high duke and feudal lords to give them the standard. While the high duke and the feudal lords should spare no pains at work, they may not make the standard at will. There is the emperor to give them the standard. The emperor may not make the standard at will (either). There is Heaven to give him the standard.

That the emperor gives the standard to the high dukes, to the feudal lords, to the scholars, and to the common people, the gentlemen in the world clearly understand. But that Heaven gives the standard to the emperor, the people do not know well. Therefore the ancient sage-kings of the Three Dynasties, Yŷ, Tang, Wen, and Wu, desiring to make it clear to the people that Heaven gives the standard to the emperor, fed oxen and sheep with grass, and pigs and dogs with grain, and cleanly prepared the cakes and wine to do sacrifice to God on High and the spirits, and invoked Heaven's blessing. But I have not yet heard of Heaven invoking the emperor for blessing. So I know Heaven gives the standard to the emperor.

The emperor is the most honourable of the world and the richest of the world. So, the honoured and the rich cannot but obey the will of Heaven. He who obeys the will of Heaven, loving universally and benefiting others, will obtain rewards. He who opposes the will of Heaven, by being partial and unfriendly and harming others, will incur punishment. Now, who were those that obeyed the will of Heaven and obtained rewards, and who were those that opposed the will of Heaven and incurred punishment?

Mozi said: The ancient sage-kings of the Three Dynasties, Yǐ, Tang, Wen, and Wu, were those that obeyed the will of Heaven and obtained reward. And the wicked kings of the Three Dynasties, Jie, Zhou, You, and Li, were those that opposed the will of Heaven and incurred punishment.

How did Yǐ, Tang, Wen, and Wu obtain their reward?

Mozi said: In the highest sphere they revered Heaven, in the middle sphere they worshipped the spirits, and in the lower sphere they loved the people. Thereupon the will of Heaven proclaimed: "All those whom I love these love also, and all those whom I benefit these benefit also. Their love to men is all-embracing and their benefit to men is most substantial." And so, they were raised to the honour of Sons of Heaven and enriched with the heritage of the empire. They were succeeded by descendants for ten thousand (2) generations to continue the spread of their righteousness all over the world. And people praise them unto this day, calling them righteous sage-kings.

How did Jie, Zhou, You, and Li incur their punishment?

Mozi said: In the highest sphere they blasphemed against Heaven, in the middle sphere they blasphemed against the spirits, and in the sphere below they oppressed the people. Thereupon the will of Heaven proclaimed: "From those whom I love these turn away and hate, and those whom I want to benefit they oppress. Their hate of men is without limit and their oppression of men the most severe." And, so, they were not permitted to finish out their lives (3), or to survive a single generation. And people condemn them unto this day, calling them wicked kings.

How do we know Heaven loves the people? Because it teaches them all. How do we know it teaches them all? Because it claims them all. How do we know it claims them all? Because it accepts sacrifices from them all. How do we know it accepts sacrifices from all? Because within the four seas all who live on grains (4) feed oxen and sheep with grass, and dogs and pigs with grains, and prepare clean cakes and wine to do sacrifice to God on High and the spirits. Claiming all the people, why will Heaven not love them?

Moreover, as I have said, for the murder of one innocent individual there will be one calamity. Who is it that murders the innocent? It is man. Who is it that sends down the calamity? It is Heaven. If Heaven should be thought of as not loving the people, why should it send down calamities for the murder of man by man? So, I know Heaven loves the people.

To obey the will of Heaven is to accept righteousness as the standard. To oppose the will of Heaven is to accept force as the standard. Now what will the standard of righteousness do?

Mozi said: He who rules a large state does not attack small states: he who rules a large house does not molest small houses. The strong does not plunder the weak. The honoured does not demean the humble. The clever does not deceive the stupid. This is beneficial to Heaven above, beneficial to the spirits in the middle sphere, and beneficial to the people below. Being beneficial to these three it is beneficial to all. So the most excellent name is attributed to such a man and he is called sage-king.

The standard of force is different from this. It is contradictory to this in word and opposed to this in deed like galloping with back to back. Leading a large state, he whose standard is force attacks small states; leading a large house he molests small houses. The strong plunders the weak. The honoured disdains the humble. The clever deceives the stupid. This is not beneficial to Heaven above, or to the spirits in the middle sphere, or to the people below. Not being beneficial to these three, it is beneficial to none. So, the most evil name in the world is attributed to him and he is called the wicked king.

Mozi said: The will of Heaven to me is like the compasses to the wheelwright and the square to the carpenter. The wheelwright and the carpenter measure all the square and circular objects with their square and compasses and accept those that fit as correct and reject those that do not fit as incorrect. The writings of the gentlemen of the world of the present day cannot be all loaded (in a cart), and their doctrines cannot be exhaustively enumerated. They endeavour to convince the feudal lords on the one hand and the scholars on the other. But from magnanimity and righteousness they are far off. How do we know? Because I have the most competent standard in the world to measure them with.

Mozi said: Those gentlemen in the world who want to practise magnanimity and righteousness cannot but examine the origin of righteousness. Since we want to examine the origin of righteousness, then where does it originate?

Mozi said: Righteousness does not originate with the stupid and humble but with the honourable and wise. How do we know it does not originate with the dull and humble but with the honourable and wise? For, righteousness is the standard. How do we know righteousness is the standard? For, with righteousness the world will be orderly and without it the world will be disorderly. Therefore righteousness is known to be the standard. As the dull and the humble cannot make the standard, and only the wise and honourable can, therefore I know righteousness does not come from the stupid and humble but from the honourable and wise.

Now who is honourable and who is wise? Heaven is honourable, Heaven is wise. So, then, righteousness must originate with Heaven. People in the world would say: "That the emperor is more honourable than the feudal lords and that the feudal lords are more honourable than the ministers, we clearly see. But that Heaven is more honourable and wise than the emperor, we do not see."

Mozi said: I know Heaven is more honourable and wise than the emperor for a reason: When the emperor practises virtue Heaven rewards, when the emperor does evil Heaven punishes. When there are disease and calamities the emperor will purify and bathe himself and prepare clean cakes and wine to do sacrifice and libation to Heaven and the spirits. Heaven then removes them. But I have not yet heard of Heaven invoking the emperor for blessing. So I know Heaven is more honourable and wise than the emperor. And, this is not all. We also learn of this from the book of the ancient kings which instructs us the vast and ineffable Dao of Heaven. It says: "Brilliant and perspicacious Heaven on High, who enlightens and watches over the earth below!" (1) This shows Heaven is more honourable and wise than the emperor. But is there yet any one more honourable and wise than Heaven? Heaven is really the most honourable and wise. Therefore, righteousness surely comes from Heaven. And hence Mozi said: If the gentlemen of the world really desire to follow the way and benefit the people, they must not disobey the will of Heaven, the origin of magnanimity and righteousness.

Now that we must obey the will of Heaven, what does the will of Heaven desire and what does it abominate? Mozi said: The will of Heaven abominates the large state which attacks small states, the large house which molests small houses, the strong who plunder the weak, the clever who deceive the stupid, and the honoured who disdain the humble -- these are what the will of Heaven abominates. On the other hand, it desires people having energy to work for each other, those knowing the way to teach each other, and those possessing wealth to share with each other. And it desires the superior diligently to attend to government and the subordinates diligently to attend to their work. When the superior attends to the government diligently, the country will be orderly. When the subordinates attend to work diligently, wealth will be abundant. When the country is orderly and wealth is abundant, within the state there will be wherewith to prepare clean cakes and wine to sacrifice to God and the spirits, and in relation with outside countries there will be wherewith to furnish rings, stones, pearls, and jades by which to befriend surrounding neighbours. With the grudges of the feudal lords inactive and fighting on the borders suspended, and the people within provided with food and rest, the emperor and the ministers and the superiors and subordinates will be gracious and loyal respectively, and father and son and elder and younger brothers will be affectionate and filial respectively. Therefore when the principle of obeying the will of Heaven is understood and widely practiced in the world, then justice and government will be orderly, the multitudes will be harmonious, the country will be wealthy, the supplies will be plentiful, and the people will be warmly clothed and sufficiently fed, peaceful and without worry. Therefore Mozi said: If the gentlemen of the world really desire to follow the way and benefit the people they must carefully investigate the principle that the will of Heaven is the origin of magnanimity and righteousness.

The rule of Heaven over the world is not unlike the rule of the feudal lord over the state. In ruling the state does the feudal lord desire his ministers and people to work for mutual disadvantage? If leading a large state one attacks small states, if leading a large house one molests small houses -- if by doing this one seeks reward and commendation (from the feudal lord) he cannot obtain it. On the contrary, punishment will visit him. Now, the rule of Heaven over the world is not unlike this. If leading a large state one attacks small states, if leading a large house one molests small houses -- if by doing this one seeks reward and commendation (from Heaven) he cannot obtain it. On the contrary, punishment will visit him. When (man) does not do what Heaven desires, but does what Heaven abominates, Heaven will also not do what man desires but do what he abominates. What man abominates are disease and calamities. Therefore not to do what Heaven desires but do what it abominates is to lead the multitudes in the world to calamity. Therefore the ancient sage-kings studied what Heaven and the spirits would bless and avoided what they would curse in order to procure benefits for the world and avoid calamities. Thereupon, Heaven made heat and cold temperate, the four seasons harmonious, the Yin and Yang and rain and dew timely. The five grains are enabled to ripen and the six animals to mature. And disease, pestilence, and famine did not happen. Therefore Mozi said: If the gentlemen of the world really desire to follow the Dao and benefit the people they must be mindful of the principle that the will of Heaven is the origin of magnanimity and righteousness.

In the world those who lack benevolence are unfortunate. If a son does not serve his father, a younger brother does not serve his elder brother, or a subordinate does not serve his superior, then all the gentlemen of the world will call him unfortunate. Now Heaven loves the whole world universally. Everything is prepared (2) for the good of man. Even the tip of a hair is the work of Heaven. Substantial may be said of the benefits that are enjoyed by man. Yet there is no service in return. And they do not even know this to be unmagnanimous and unfortunate. This is why I say the gentlemen understand only trifles and not things of importance.

Moreover I know Heaven loves men dearly not without reason. Heaven ordered the sun, the moon, and the stars to enlighten and guide them. Heaven ordained the four seasons, Spring, Autumn, Winter, and Summer, to regulate them. Heaven sent down snow, frost, rain, and dew to grow the five grains and flax and silk (3) that so the people could use and enjoy them. Heaven established the hills and rivers, ravines and valleys, and arranged many things to minister to man's good or bring him evil. He appointed the dukes and lords to reward the virtuous and punish the wicked, and to gather metal and wood, birds and beasts, and to engage in cultivating the five grains and flax and silk to provide for the people's food and clothing. This has been taking from antiquity to the present. Suppose there is a man who is deeply fond of his son and has used his energy to the limit to work for his benefit. But when the son grows up he returns no love to the father. The gentlemen of the world will all call him unmagnanimous and miserable. Now Heaven loves the whole world universally. Everything is prepared (4) for the good of man. The work of Heaven extends to even the smallest things that are enjoyed by man. Such benefits may indeed be said to be substantial, yet there is no service in return. And they do not even know this to be unmagnanimous. This is why I say the gentlemen of the world understand only trifles but not things of importance (5).

Yet this does not exhaust my reasons whereby I know Heaven loves man dearly. It is said the murder of an innocent individual will call down a calamity. Who is the innocent? Man is. From whom is the visitation? From Heaven. If Heaven does not love the people dearly, why should Heaven send down a visitation upon the man who murders the innocent? Thus I know Heaven loves man dearly.

This is still not all by which I know Heaven loves man dearly. There are those who love the people and benefit the people and obey the will of Heaven and obtain reward from Heaven. There are also those who hate the people and oppress the people and oppose the will of Heaven and incur punishment from Heaven. Who are those that love the people and benefit the people, obey the will of Heaven and obtain reward from Heaven? They are the ancient sage-kings of the Three Dynasties, Yao, Shun, Yü, Tang, Wen, and Wu. What did Yao, Shun, Yü, Tang, Wen, and Wu do? They engaged themselves in universality and not partiality (in love). Loving universally, they did not attack the small states with their large states, they did not molest the small houses with their large houses. The strong did not plunder the weak, the many did not oppress the few, the clever did not deceive the stupid, the honoured did not disdain the humble. Such a regime was agreeable to Heaven above, to the spirits in the middle sphere, and to the people below. Being helpful to these three, it was helpful to all. And this was Heavenly virtue. The most excellent names in the world were gathered and attributed to them, and they were called magnanimous, righteous, beloved of man and beneficial to the people, obedient to the will of Heaven and rewarded of Heaven.

Besides this, it is also recorded on the bamboos and silk, cut in metals and stones, and engraved on the dishes and cups to be handed down to posterity. What is this for? It is to mark out those who loved the people and benefited them, obeyed the will of Heaven and obtained reward from Heaven. Thus the ode of Huang Yi says: "God said to King Wen, 'I cherish your intelligent virtue. It was not proclaimed with much noise or gesture. It was not modified after the possession of the empire. How instructively and naturally submissive to the scheme of Heaven!'" (6) Because he was obedient to God's scheme, He rewarded him with Yin (7) and honoured him to be emperor and enriched him with the empire. And his fame is not forgotten even unto this day. Hence we are enabled to know who are those that loved the people and benefited them, obeyed the will of Heaven and obtained reward from Heaven.

Now, who are those that hated the people and oppressed them, opposed the will of Heaven and incurred punishment from Heaven? They are the ancient wicked kings of the Three Dynasties, Jie, Zhou, You, and Li. What did they do? They were selfish and ungenerous. Being selfish they attacked the small states with their large states, they molested the small houses with their large houses. The strong plundered the weak, the many oppressed the few, the clever deceived the ignorant, the honoured disdained the humble. Such a regime was not helpful to Heaven above, to the spirits in the middle sphere, or to the people below. Since it was not helpful to these three it was helpful to none. And they were called the enemies of Heaven. The most evil names in the world were gathered and attributed to them, and they were called unmagnanimous, unrighteous, haters of man and oppressors of the people, disobedient to the will of Heaven and punished by Heaven. Besides this, it is also recorded on the bamboos and silk, cut in the metals and stones, and engraved on the plates and cups to be handed down to posterity. What is this for? It is to mark out those that hated the people and oppressed them, opposed the will of Heaven and incurred punishment from Heaven. Thus relates the "Great Declaration": "Zhou went beyond the proper limits and became insolent. He would not worship God and pushed away the ancestors and spirits without offering them sacrifices. And he said: 'Fortune is with me,' and neglected and betrayed his duty. Heaven thereupon deserted him and withdrew its protection." (8) Heaven deserted Zhou and withdrew its support because Zhou opposed the will of Heaven. Hence we are enabled to know who are those that hated the people and oppressed them, opposed the will of Heaven and incurred punishment from Heaven.

Therefore the will of Heaven is like the compasses to the wheelwright and the square to the carpenter. The wheelwright tests the circularity of every object in the world with his compasses, saying: "That which satisfies my compasses is circular. That which does not is not circular." Therefore whether an object is circular or not is all known, because the standard of circularity is all established. The carpenter also tests the squareness of every object in the world with his square, saying: "That which satisfies my square is square; that which does not is not square." Therefore whether any object is square or not is all known. Why so? Because the standard of squareness is established. Similarly, with the will of Heaven Mozi will measure the jurisdiction and government of the lords in the empire on the one hand, and the doctrines and teachings of the multitudes in the empire on the other. If some conduct is observed to be in accordance with the will of Heaven, it is called good conduct; if it is in opposition to the will of Heaven it is called bad conduct. If a teaching is observed to be in accordance with the will of Heaven it is called good teaching; if it is in opposition to the will of Heaven it is called bad teaching. And if a government is observed to be in accordance with the will of Heaven it is called good government; if it is in opposition to the will of Heaven it is called bad government. With this as the model and with this as the standard, whether the lords and the ministers are magnanimous or not can be measured as (easily as) to distinguish black and white. Therefore Mozi said: If the rulers and the gentlemen of the world really desire to follow the way and benefit the people they have only to obey the will of Heaven, the origin of magnanimity and righteousness. Obedience to the will of Heaven is the standard of righteousness.

Book VII, Chapter XXVIII
"Will of Heaven" (III)

Mozi said: What is the reason for the disorder in the world? It is because the gentlemen of the world all understand trifles but not things of importance. How do we know they understand trifles but not things of importance? Because they do not understand the will of Heaven. How do we know they do not understand the will of Heaven? By observing the conduct in the family. If a man commits a misdemeanour in the family he still has other families in which to seek shelter. Yet, father reminds son, the elder brother reminds the younger brother, saying: "Be obedient, be careful in conduct in the family. If one is not obedient and careful in conduct in the family how can he live in the state?" If a man commits a misdemeanour in the state he still has other states in which to seek shelter. Yet father reminds son and the elder brother reminds the younger brother, saying: "Be obedient. Be careful. One cannot live in a state and be disobedient and careless." Now all men live in the world and under Heaven. When a man sins against Heaven there is nowhere to seek shelter. But people do not think of warning each other. Thus I know that they do not understand things of importance. And Mozi said: Be obedient. Be careful. Be sure to do what Heaven desires and avoid what Heaven abominates.

Now, what does Heaven desire and what does Heaven abominate? Heaven desires righteousness and abominates unrighteousness. How do we know this? Because righteousness is the standard. How do we know righteousness is the standard? Because with righteousness the world will be orderly; without it the world will be disorderly. So, I know righteousness is the standard.

Now a standard is never given by the subordinate to the superior, it is always to be given by the superior to the subordinate. Hence the common people may not make the standard at will. There are the scholars to give them the standard. The scholars may not make the standard at will. There are the ministers to give them the standard. The ministers may not make the standard at will. There are the feudal lords to give them the standard. The feudal lords may not make the standard at will. There is the high duke to give them the standard. The high duke may not make the standard at will. There is the emperor to give him the standard. The emperor may not make the standard at will. There is Heaven to give him the standard. The gentlemen of the world all understand that the emperor gives the standard to the world but do not understand that Heaven gives the standard to the emperor. The sages, explaining this, said: "When the emperor has done good, Heaven rewards him. When the emperor has committed wrong, Heaven punishes him. When the emperor is unjust in reward and punishment and not judicious in hearing lawsuits, Heaven visits him with disease and calamities, and frost and dew will be untimely." The emperor will then have to feed oxen and sheep with grass and dogs and pigs with grains and prepare clean cakes and wine to pray and invoke Heaven for blessing. I have not yet heard of Heaven praying and invoking the emperor for blessing. So, I can say Heaven is more honourable and wise than the emperor. Therefore righteousness does not come from the ignorant and humble but from the honourable and wise. Who is honourable? Heaven is honourable. Who is wise? Heaven is wise. And, so, righteousness assuredly comes from Heaven. And the gentlemen of the world who desire to do righteousness therefore must obey the will of Heaven.

What is the will of Heaven that is to be obeyed? It is to love all the people in the world universally. How do we know it is to love all the people in the world universally? Because (Heaven) accepts sacrifices from all. How do we know Heaven accepts sacrifices from all? Because from antiquity to the present day there is no distant or isolated country but what feeds oxen and sheep, dogs and pigs with grass and grains, and prepares clean cakes and wine to worship God, hills and rivers, and the spirits. So we know Heaven accepts sacrifices from all. Accepting sacrifice from all, Heaven must love them all. Take the lords of Chu and Yue for instance. The lord of Chu accepts offering from all within the four borders of Chu, therefore he loves the people of Chu. And, the lord of Yue accepts offering from all within the

four borders of Yue, therefore he loves the people of Yue. Now Heaven accepts offerings from all the world and so I know Heaven loves all the people in the world.

That Heaven loves all the people of the world is proved not only by this. In all the countries in the world and among all the people who live on grains, the murder of one innocent individual brings down one calamity. Now who is it that murders the innocent? It is man. Who is it that sends down the calamity? It is Heaven. If Heaven really did not love the people, why does Heaven send down calamities for the murder of the innocent?

Furthermore, Heaven loves the people dearly, Heaven loves the people inclusively. And this can be known. How do we know Heaven loves the people? Because of the certain reward to the good and punishment to the evil from the virtuous (Heaven). How do we know the virtuous (Heaven) certainly rewards the good and punishes the evil? I know this from the (examples of) the sage-kings of the Three Dynasties. Anciently, the sage-kings of the Three Dynasties, Yao, Shun, Yǐ, Tang, Wen, and Wu, loved the world universally and proceeded to benefit them. They converted the desires of the people and led them to worship God, hills and rivers, and the spirits. Heaven was pleased because they loved what it loved and benefited what it would benefit, and bestowed rewards upon them, placing them on the throne, crowning them emperor, upholding them as the standard, and calling them sage-kings. Here we have the proof of reward of the good.

Anciently, the wicked kings of the Three Dynasties, Jie, Zhou, You, and Li, hated all the world and proceeded to oppress them. They converted the desires of the people and led them to blaspheme against God, hills and rivers, and the spirits. Heaven was offended because they hated those whom Heaven loved and oppressed those whom Heaven would benefit, and Heaven decreed punishments upon them, letting fathers and sons be scattered, their empire be put to an end, their state be lost to them, and capital punishment fall upon them. Thereupon, the multitudes in the world condemned them, the condemnation lasting all through the ten thousand generations, the people calling them wicked kings. Here we have the proof of punishment of the evil.

Those gentlemen of the world who desire to do righteousness have only to obey the will of Heaven. To obey the will of Heaven is to be universal and to oppose the will of Heaven is to be partial (in love). According to the doctrine of universality righteousness is the standard; in the doctrine of partiality force is the basis of government. What is it like to have righteousness as the basis of government? The great will not attack the small, the strong will not plunder the weak, the many will not oppress the few, the clever will not deceive the ignorant, the honoured will not disdain the humble, the rich will not mock the poor, and the young will not rob the old. And the states in the empire will not ruin each other with water, fire, poison, and weapons. Such a regime will be beneficial to Heaven above, to the spirits in the middle sphere, to the people below. Being beneficial to these three it is beneficial to all. This is called the virtue of Heaven; whoever practises this is a sage, magnanimous, gracious, and righteous, loyal, affectionate, and filial, and all such good names in the world will be gathered and attributed to him. Why so? Because such conduct is in accordance with the will of Heaven.

Now, what is it like to have force as the basis of government? The great will attack the small, the strong will plunder the weak, the many will oppress the few, the clever will impose upon the ignorant, the honoured will disdain the humble, the rich will mock the poor, and the young will rob the old. And the states in the empire will ruin each other with water, fire, poison, and weapons. Such a regime will not be helpful to Heaven above, to the spirits in the middle sphere, or to the people below. Not being helpful to these three, it is not helpful to any. This is called the enemy of Heaven. He who practises this is a bad man, not magnanimous, not gracious, and unrighteous, disloyal, unaffectionate, and unfilial, and all such evil names in the world are gathered and attributed to him. Why so? Because such conduct is in opposition to the will of Heaven.

Hence Mozi established the will of Heaven as his standard, just as the wheelwright uses his compasses and the carpenter uses his square as their standards. The wheelwright with his compasses and the carpenter with his square can judge the circularity and the squareness of objects. Similarly, with the will of Heaven as the standard, Mozi can tell that the gentlemen of the world are far from righteousness.

How do we know the gentlemen of the world are far from righteousness? For, the lords in the large states compete in saying: "Being a big state, if I do not attack the small states, in what way am I big?" Therefore they mustered their warriors and soldiers, and arranged their boat and chariot forces to attack some innocent state. They broke into its borders, cut down its fields, felled its trees, tore down its inner and outer city walls, and filled up its moats and ditches, burned its ancestral temples and seized and killed its sacrificial victims. Of the people the strong were killed, the weak were brought back in chains and ropes. The men were turned into servants and grooms and prisoners. The women were made to be waitresses (to pour wine). Yet, the warring lord did not even know that this is unmagnanimous and unrighteous. He announced to the neighbouring lords: "I have attacked a state, defeated an army, and killed so many generals." And the neighbouring lords did not know that this is unmagnanimous and unrighteous either, but with furs and silk sent envoys to offer congratulations. And the warring lords were even doubly ignorant of its being unmagnanimous and unrighteous. They recorded it on the bamboos and silk and kept them in the archives so that the descendants would imitate their royal ancestors, saying: "Why not let us open up the archives and let us learn of the achievements of our ancestors?" Then they would surely not learn: "Such and such is the regime of

Wu," but would learn: "I have attacked states, reversed armies, and killed so many of their generals." Now that the warring lords do not understand this to be unmagnanimous and unrighteous, and neighbouring lords do not understand this to be unmagnanimous and unrighteous, therefore attacks and assaults go on generation after generation without end.

What do I mean when I say people do not understand things of importance but understand trifles? Supposing some one entered the orchard and garden of another and took the other's peaches and prunes, melon and ginger, he will be punished by the superior when caught and condemned by the public when heard of. Why? Because he did not share the toil but takes the fruit and appropriates what is not his. How much more is this true with him who jumps over another's fence and maltreats the children of the other; of him who digs into another's storehouse and carries away the others gold, jade, silk, and cloth; of him who breaks into another's fold and steals the other's oxen and horses; and of him who kills an innocent person? In the government of the lords of to-day all -- from the one who kills an innocent person to the one who jumps over another's fence and maltreats the other's children, who digs into another's warehouse and carries away his gold, jade, silk and cloth, who breaks into another's fold and steals his oxen and horses, and who enters another's orchard and garden and takes his peaches and prunes, melons and ginger -- all these are punished quite the same as they would be even in the government of Yao, Shun, Yŷ, Tang, Wen, and Wu. Now the lords and chiefs in the world all attack and absorb others. This is a thousand and ten thousand times worse than killing one innocent individual, a thousand and ten thousand times worse than jumping over another's fence and maltreating his children or digging into another's storehouse and carrying away his gold, jade, silk, and cloth, a thousand and ten thousand times worse than breaking into another's fold and stealing his oxen and horses, or entering another's orchard and garden and taking his peaches and prunes, melons and ginger. Yet, they claim it to be righteous.

Mozi said: This is meant to confuse us. And is this at all different from confusion in the distinctions between black and white, and sweet and bitter? Suppose a man who upon being shown a little blackness says it is black, but upon being shown much blackness says it is white. He will have to admit that his sight is confused and that he cannot tell the difference between black and white. Suppose a man when served with a little bitter says it is bitter, but when served with much bitter says it is sweet. Then he will have to admit that his taste is impaired and that he cannot tell the difference between sweet and bitter. In the government of the present lords, the murderer of an individual is imprisoned by the state. This... (1) But the murderer of many men of the neighbouring states is upheld as righteous. How is this different from confusing the distinction between black and white and sweet and bitter?

Therefore Mozi established the will of Heaven to be the standard. Not only Mozi established the will of Heaven to be the standard, it is also the theme of an ode in the "Da Ya" (2) among the books of the ancient kings: "God said to King Wen, 'I cherish your intelligent virtue. It was not proclaimed with much noise or gesture. It was not modified after the possession of the empire. Instinctively and naturally submissive to the scheme of God.'" (3) This is to proclaim that King Wen used the will of Heaven as standard and was submissive to God's scheme. If the gentlemen of the world really desire to practise magnanimity and righteousness and be superior men, seeking to attain the way of the sage-kings on the one hand and to procure blessings to the people on the other, they must not neglect to understand the will of Heaven. The will of Heaven is truly the standard of righteousness.

Book IX, Chapter XXXV
"Anti-Fatalism (I)"

Mozi said: At present, in governing the states the rulers all desire to have their countries wealthy, their population large, and their administration orderly. But instead of wealth they obtain poverty, instead of an increase they obtain a decrease in population, instead of order they obtain chaos; i.e. they lose what they like but obtain what they dislike. What is the reason for this? Mozi said: It is due to the large number of fatalists among the people.

The fatalists say: "When fate decrees that a man shall be wealthy he will be wealthy; when it decrees poverty, he will be poor; when it decrees a large population, this will be large; and when it decrees a small population this will be small; if order is decreed, there will be order; if chaos, there will be chaos. If fate decrees old age, there will be old age; if untimely death, there will be untimely death. Even if a man sets himself against his fate, what is the use?" With this doctrine the rulers are urged above and the people are kept away from their work below. Hence the fatalists are unmagnanimous. And their doctrines must be clearly examined.

Now, how is this doctrine to be examined? Mozi said: Some standard of judgment must be established. To expound a doctrine without regard to the standard is similar to determining the directions of sunrise and sunset on a revolving potter's wheel. By this means the distinction of right and wrong, benefit and harm, cannot be known. Therefore there must be three tests. What are the three tests? Mozi said: Its basis, its verifiability, and its applicability. How is it to be based? It should be based on the deeds of the ancient sage-kings. How is it to be verified? It is to be verified by the senses of hearing and sight of the common people. How is it to be applied? It is to be applied by adopting it in government and observing its benefits to the country and the people. This is what is meant by the three tests of every doctrine.

Some of the gentlemen of the world assume there to be fate. Now let us examine the deeds of the sage-kings. In ancient times, the confusion produced by Jie was replaced by an orderly government by Tang, the chaos of Zhou was turned into order by King Wu. The times did not alter and the people did not change, yet under Jie and Zhou the world was chaotic and under Tang and Wu it was orderly. Can it be said that there is fate?

But the gentlemen of the world still assume that there is fate. Now let us look at some of the writings of the early kings. The writings of the early kings that were issued to the whole country and distributed among the people were the laws. Did any of the laws of the early kings ever say: "Blessing cannot be invoked and disaster cannot be avoided; reverence will not do any good and cruelty will not do any harm"? The standards according to which lawsuits were tried and punishments were meted out were the codes of punishment. Did any of the codes of punishment of the early kings say: "Blessing cannot be invoked and disaster cannot be avoided; reverence will not do any good and cruelty will not do any harm"? The inspiration by which the armies were organized and the soldiers were commanded to advance or to retreat came from the declarations. Did any of the declarations of the early kings say: "Blessing cannot be invoked and disaster cannot be avoided; reverence will do no good and cruelty will do no harm"? Mozi said: I have not enumerated the good books of the empire completely. As they cannot be exhaustively enumerated, I limit myself to the most prominent ones, namely, the three (1) above mentioned. And try as we may, we cannot find any belief in the doctrine of fatalism. Should it not then be abandoned?

To adopt the fatalists' doctrine is to overthrow righteousness in the world. To overthrow righteousness in the world will establish fate, which is a temptation to the people. And to offer people temptation is to destroy the people. Now, why is it that we desire righteousness to be with the superiors? Because when the righteous are in authority, the world will have order, God, hills and rivers, and the spirits will have their chief sacrificer, and the people will be visited by the great blessings therefrom. How do we know? Mozi said: In ancient times, Tang was given a fief at Bo. Taking allowance for the irregular boundary lines, his land amounted to about a hundred li square. He worked with the people for mutual love and reciprocal benefit, and shared with them what was in abundance. And he led his people to reverence Heaven and worship the spirits. Thereupon, Heaven and the spirits enriched him, the feudal lords befriended him, the people loved him, and the virtuous came to him. Within a single generation he ruled over the empire and headed the feudal lords.

Again in ancient times, King Wen was assigned to the state of Qi Zhou. Making allowance for the irregular boundary lines, his land amounted to about a hundred li square. He worked with his people for mutual love and reciprocal benefit. So those near him enjoyed his government and those distant submitted themselves to his virtues. All who heard of King Wen rose up and rushed over to him. The stupid and insolent and those weak in limbs remained where they were and complained: "Why not let the land of King Wen extend to this place. Wouldn't I then also be a subject of King Wen?" Thereupon Heaven and the spirits enriched him, the feudal lords befriended him, the people loved him and the virtuous came to him. Within a single generation he ruled over the whole empire and headed the feudal lords. As we have said: When the righteous are in authority the world will have order, God, hills and rivers, and the spirits will have their chief sacrificer, and the people will be visited by the great benefits therefrom. And this is how we know it to be so.

The ancient sage-kings published laws and issued orders to be standards of reward and punishment, and to encourage the virtuous and to obstruct the evil. And so the people were filial to their parents at home and respectful to the elders in the village or the district. They observed propriety in conduct, moderation in going out and coming in, and decency between men and women. And when they were made to look after the court they would not steal, when they were made to defend a city they would not raise an insurrection. When the lord met with death they would commit suicide, and when the lord was banished they would follow him. This is what the superior will reward and what the people will applaud. Now, the fatalists say: "Whoever is rewarded by the superior is destined to be rewarded. It is not because of his virtue that he is rewarded." Under these conditions the people would not be filial to their parents at home, and respectful to the elders in the village or the district. They would not observe propriety in conduct, moderation in going out and coming in, or decency between men and women. And, if they were made to look after the court they would steal, if they were made to defend a city they would raise an insurrection. If the lord met with death they would not commit suicide, and if the lord were banished they would not accompany him. This is what the superior will punish, and what the people will condemn. The fatalists say: "Whoever is punished by the superior is destined to be punished. It is not because of his vice that he is punished." Believing in this, the ruler would not be righteous, the minister would not be loyal, the father would not be affectionate, the son would not be filial, the elder brother would not be brotherly, and the younger brother would not be respectful. The unnatural adherence to this doctrine is responsible for pernicious ideas and is the way of the wicked.

Now how do we know fatalism is the way of the wicked? In ancient times, the miserable people indulged in drinking and eating and were lazy in their work. Thereupon their food and clothing became insufficient, and the danger of hunger and cold was approaching. They did not acknowledge: "I was stupid and insolent and was not diligent at work." But they would say: "It is but my lot to be poor."

The ancient wicked kings did not control the sensuality of their ears and eyes and the passions of their mind. They did not follow their ancestors and so they lost their country and ruined their state. They did not know that they should

confess: "I am stupid and insolent and was not diligent in attending to government." But they would say: "It is but my fate to lose it." The "Announcement of Zhong Hui" says: "I have heard that the man of Hsia issued orders, pretending them to be fate of Heaven. God was displeased and destroyed his forces." (2) This tells how Tang showed Jie's belief in fate to be wrong. "The Great Declaration" says: "Zhou became insolent and would not worship God and pushed away the ancestors and spirits without offering them sacrifices. And he said: 'Fortune is with my people,' and neglected and betrayed his duty. Heaven thereupon deserted him and withdrew its protection." (3) This tells how King Wu showed Zhou's belief in fate to be wrong.

If the doctrine of the fatalist were put to practice, the superiors would not attend to government and the subordinates would not attend to work. If the superior does not attend to government, jurisdiction and administration will be in chaos. If the subordinates do not attend to work, wealth will not be sufficient. Then, there will not be wherewith to provide for the cakes and wine to worship and do sacrifice to God, ghosts and spirits above, and there will not be wherewith to tranquillize the virtuous of the world below; there will not be wherewith to entertain the noble guests from without, and there will not be wherewith to feed the hungry, clothe the cold, and care for the aged and weak within. Therefore fatalism is not helpful to Heaven above, nor to the spirits in the middle sphere, nor to man below. The eccentric belief in this doctrine is responsible for pernicious ideas and is the way of the wicked.

Therefore Mozi said: If the gentlemen in the world really desire to have the world rich and do not want to have it poor, desire to have it orderly and dislike to have it in confusion, the doctrine of fatalism must be rejected. It is a great calamity to the world.

Book IX, Chapter XXXVI
"Anti-fatalism" (II)

Mozi said: To make any statement or to publish any doctrine, there must first be established some standard of judgment. To discuss without a standard is like determining the directions of sunrise and sunset on a revolving potter's wheel. Even skilful artisans could not get accurate results in that way. Now that the truth and error (of a doctrine) in the world is hard to tell, there must be three tests. What are the three tests? They are the test of its basis, the test of its verifiability, and the test of its applicability. To test the basis of a doctrine we shall examine the will of Heaven and spirits and the deeds of the sage-kings. To test its verifiability we shall go to the books of the early kings. As to its applicability it is to be tested by its use in the administration of justice and government. These then are the three tests of a doctrine.

Among the gentlemen of to-day some think there is fate, some think there is no fate. That I am able to judge whether there is fate or not is by the sense testimony of the multitude. If some have heard it and some have seen it I shall say there is fate. If none has heard it, if none has seen it, I shall say there is no fate. Why not then let us inquire into the sense testimony of the people? From antiquity to the present, since the beginning of man, has any seen such a thing as fate, or has heard the sound of fate? Of course, there is none. If the common people are considered stupid and their senses of hearing and sight unreliable, then why not inquire into the recorded statements of the feudal lords? But from antiquity to the present, since the beginning of man, has any of them heard the sound of fate or seen such a thing as fate? Of course, none of them has. Again, why not let us inquire into the deeds of the sage-kings? The ancient kings promoted the filial sons and encouraged them to continue to serve their parents, and respected the virtuous and gentle and encouraged them to continue to do good. They published their orders to instruct (the people), and made reward and punishment fair to encourage (the good) and obstruct (the evil). In this way confusion could be reduced to order and danger could be converted to peace. If anyone doubts this, let us recall: In ancient times the confusion of Jie was reduced to order by Tang, and that of Zhou by King Wu. Now, the times did not change and the people did not alter. Yet when the superior changed a regime the subordinates modified their conduct. Under Tang and Wu it was orderly, but under Jie and Zhou it was disorderly. Hence peace and danger, order and disorder, all depend on the government of the superior. How can it be said everything is according to fate? So, assertions about there being fate are quite false.

The fatalists tell us: "This doctrine has not been invented by us in a late generation. Such a doctrine has appeared and been handed down since the Three Dynasties. Why do you, sir, now oppose it?" (In answer,) Mozi asked: Was it from the sages and good men of the Three Dynasties or from the wicked and the vicious of the Three Dynasties that the fatalistic doctrine came? How can we find this out? In the beginning secretaries and ministers were careful in speech and intelligent in conduct. They could persuade their ruler above and instruct the people below. Thus they obtained reward from their ruler and applause from the people. And the fame of those secretaries and ministers has come down to the present day. The whole world remarks: "This is the result of endeavour." And it will never say (1): "I see fate there."

On the other hand, the wicked kings of the Three Dynasties did not control the lust of their ears and eyes and did not restrain the passions of their heart. When they went out they indulged in racing, hunting, and trapping. When they stayed indoors they revelled in wine and music. They did not attend to the government of the country and of the people, but they did much that was of no use. They oppressed the people, causing the subordinates not to love their

superior. Hence the country became empty and without any future, and they themselves were in punishment and disaster. But they would not confess and say: "I am stupid and insolent and poor in administering the government." But they would say: "It is but my fate to perish." Even the miserable people of the Three Dynasties were like this. Within they could not well serve their parents, without they could not well serve their ruler. They disliked politeness and frugality but liked licence and ease. They indulged in drinking and eating and were lazy. The means of food and clothing became insufficient and they placed themselves in danger of hunger and cold. They would not confess: "I am stupid and insolent and was not diligent at work." But they would say: "It is but my fate to be poor." Such, then, also were the miserable people of the Three Dynasties.

Fatalism has been glossed over and taught the stupid people. This was of great concern to the sage-kings, and they put it down on the bamboos and silk and cut it in metals and stone. Among the books of the early kings, "The Announcement of Zhong Hui" says: "I have heard the man of Xia issue orders, pretending them to be fate of Heaven. God was displeased and destroyed his forces." (2) This shows how King Jie of Xia believed in fate and how both Tang and Zhong Hui thought it to be wrong. Among the books of early kings "The Great Declaration" says: "Zhou became insolent and would not worship God, and pushed away the ancestors and spirits without offering them sacrifices. And he said: 'Fortune is with my people,' and neglected and betrayed his duty. Heaven thereupon deserted him and withdrew its protection." (3) This shows how Zhou believed in fate, and how King Wu proclaimed it to be wrong with "The Great Declaration." Again, "The Three Dynasties and Hundred States" (3) says: "Do not place too much faith in the fate in Heaven." So "The Three Dynasties and Hundred States" also says there is no fate. Also "Shao Gong" (4) in the same way discredits the belief in fate. It says: "Assuredly there is no fate in Heaven. Let us two not teach false doctrines. (One's destiny) does not come from Heaven, but is shaped by one's self." And it is said in the odes and books of Shang and Xia: "Fate is born of the wicked kings."

So, then, if the gentlemen of the world desire to distinguish right and wrong, benefit and harm, fate of Heaven must be strenuously discredited. To hold there is fate is the great disaster of the world. And therefore Mozi refuted it.

Book IX, Chapter XXXVII
"Anti-fatalism" (III)

Mozi said: In order to expound a doctrine there must be established some standard of judgment. To expound without a standard is similar to determining the directions of sunrise and sunset on a potter's wheel that is turning. I should think even such obvious distinctions as that between the directions of sunrise and sunset cannot be thus determined. Therefore every doctrine must stand three tests. What are the three tests? They are the test of its basis, the test of its verifiability, and the test of its applicability. How is it to be based? It is to be based on the deeds of the early sage-kings. How is it to be verified? It is to be verified by the testimony of the ears and eyes of the multitude. How is it to be applied? It is to be applied by being adopted in government and its effects on the people being shown. These are called the three tests.

When the ancient sage-kings of the Three Dynasties, Yŷ, Tang, Wen, and Wu, ruled, they said: "We must promote the filial sons and encourage them in serving their parents, and we must honour the virtuous and good men and instruct them in doing good." In this way they administered the government and published instructions, rewarded the good and punished the evil. It seems in this way the confusion in the world could be reduced to order, and the danger of the state could be transformed into safety. If this is doubted, (let us recall): In ancient times, the disorder of Jie was reduced to order by Tang, that of Zhou was reduced to order by King Wu. Then the times did not change nor did the people alter. Yet when the superior changed regime the subordinates modified their conduct. With Jie and Zhou the world was chaotic, under Tang and Wu it became orderly. That the world became orderly was due to the endeavour of Tang and Wu. That the world was chaotic was due to the sin of Jie and Zhou. Judging from this, safety and danger, order and chaos all depend on the way the superior conducts the government. How can it be said, there is fate? In ancient times when Yŷ, Tang, Wen, and Wu ruled the empire, they said: "We must feed the hungry, clothe the cold, give the weary rest, and the disturbed peace." Thus their good name was heard all over the world. Can this be ascribed to fate? It is really due to endeavour. The virtuous and gentle of today respect virtue and pursue the ways and means (to benefit the world). Hence they are rewarded by the rulers above and praised by the people below. And their good name is heard all over the world. Can this be ascribed to fate? This is also due to their endeavour.

Now, were those who believed in fate the sages of the Three Dynasties or the wicked of the Three Dynasties? Judging from the nature of this doctrine, it could not be the sages of the Three Dynasties, but must be the wicked that believed in fate. The ancient wicked kings of the Three Dynasties, Jie, Zhou, You, and Li, were honoured as emperors and possessed the whole world in wealth. Yet they could not control the sensuality of their ears and eyes, but gave rein to their passions. Going out they would race, hunt, and trap. Staying indoors they revelled in wine and music. They did not attend to the government of the country and the people, but did much that was of no use. And they oppressed and violated the people. Thus they lost their ancestral temple (1). They would not confess: "I am insolent and stupid. I did not attend to government diligently." But they would say: "It is but my fate that I lose it." Even the insolent people of the Three Dynasties were like this. They could not well serve their parents and their lord. They greatly hated politeness and frugality but liked licence and ease. They indulged in eating and drinking and were lazy at work. Their means of

clothing and food became insufficient, and they incurred the danger of hunger and cold. They would not confess: "I am stupid and insolent, I am not diligent in my work." But they also said: "It is but my fate that I am poor." Thus the insolent people of the Three Dynasties also believed in fate.

The ancient wicked kings originated it and the miserable people practised it. It was shaking the convictions of the multitudes and converting the stupid. And this was already of great concern to the ancient sage-kings. They put it down on the bamboos and silk and cut it in metal and stone and engraved it on dishes and cups to be handed down to their descendants. In what books are they embodied? "Zong De" (2) of Yǐ says: "When promises are not fulfilled even a subject of Heaven will not be protected. When one has touched the evil star, Heaven will visit him with its curse. When one is not careful about one's conduct, how can fate of Heaven protect him?" "The Announcement of Zhong Hui" says: "I have heard that the man of Xia issued orders, pretending them to be fate of Heaven. God was displeased and destroyed his armies." (3) He made use of what did not exist as if it had existed, and therefore it was called pretension. If he declared to be existent what really existed, how would this be pretension? In ancient times, Jie believed in fate and acted accordingly. Tang here showed it to be wrong through "The Announcement of Zhong Hui." "The Great Declaration" says: "Therefore the Prince Regent Fa (4) said: 'Ah, my lords, Heaven blesses the virtuous. Its way is clear. Example need not be sought far. It is in the King of Yin. He claimed each man had his own fate, worship should not be practised, sacrifices were of no avail, and wickedness could do no harm. God withdrew his blessing and the nine districts are lost to him. God is not pleased and is visiting him with ruin. Hence it is that our Zhou (the dynasty, the empire) is given by the Great God.'" (5) That is, Zhou believed in fate and acted accordingly. King Wu refuted him in "The Great Declaration." So, why not examine the records of Yǐ, Xia, Shang, and Zhou, and see that all of them held there is no fate? How would you account for this?

And Mozi said: In expounding a doctrine or elaborating a system the gentlemen of the world should not do it just to exercise their voice and tongue and practise their lips. It must aim at being applied in the government of the country, the district, and the people. Now the rulers go to court early and retire late, hearing lawsuits and attending to government and meting out justice for the whole day, and dare not be negligent. Why do they do this? They think diligence will bring about order, and negligence chaos; diligence will produce safety, and negligence danger. Therefore they dare not be negligent. The ministers and secretaries exhaust the energy in their limbs and stretch the wisdom of their minds within to look after the court and without to collect taxes from passes, markets, and products from mountains, woods, ponds, and fields to fill the treasury, and dare not be negligent. Why do they do this? They think diligence will procure honour and negligence dishonour; diligence will procure glory and negligence disgrace. Therefore they dare not be negligent. The farmers set out at daybreak and come back at dusk, diligently sowing seeds and planting trees to produce much soy beans and millet, and dare not be negligent. Why do they do this? They think diligence will result in wealth, and negligence in poverty; diligence will produce plenty, and negligence famine. Therefore they dare not be negligent. The women get up at dawn and retire in the night, diligently weaving and spinning to produce much silk, flax linen, and cloth, and dare not be negligent. Why do they do this? They think diligence will produce wealth and negligence poverty; diligence will produce warmth and negligence cold. Therefore they dare not be negligent.

Now, if they should believe in fate and behave accordingly, the rulers would be negligent in hearing lawsuits and attending to government; the ministers and secretaries would be negligent in attending to court; the farmers would be negligent in sowing seeds and planting trees; the women would be negligent in weaving and spinning. When the rulers are negligent in hearing lawsuits and attending to government and the ministers and secretaries in attending to court, then I should think the world would be in chaos. When the farmers are negligent in sowing seeds and planting trees and the women in weaving and spinning, then according to my opinion clothing and food for the world will be insufficient. As to the result of the application of the doctrine of fatalism to the government of the empire, to worship Heaven and the spirits above with it Heaven and the spirits will not be pleased, and to nurture the people below with it they will not be benefited but will be demoralized and cannot be employed. And, within, defence will not be strong, and, without, attack will not be victorious. And that for which the wicked kings of the Three Dynasties, Jie, Zhou, You, and Li, lost their country and ruined their state was just this (doctrine).

Therefore Mozi said: If the gentlemen of the world really desire to procure benefits for the world and destroy its calamities they cannot but vigorously refute the doctrine of fatalism. For fatalism was an invention of the wicked kings and the practice of miserable men. It was not a doctrine of the magnanimous. Therefore those who practise magnanimity and righteousness must examine it and vigorously refute it.

Book IX, Chapter XXXIX
"Anti-Confucianism" (II) (1)

The Confucianist says: Love among relations should depend upon the degree of relationship, and honour to the virtuous should be graded (2). This is to advocate a discrimination among the near and the distant relations and among the respectable and the humble. But, according to his code of propriety: Mourning for the death of the parent should be three years; for the wife or the eldest son three years; for an uncle, a brother, or one of the other sons, a year; and for a near relative, five months. If the periods are based on the degree of relationship, evidently mourning

for the closer relative should be longer and for the more distant shorter. Thus the wife and the eldest son are the same as the parents (in nearness). If the periods are based on degrees of respect which are severally due then it means that the wife and the eldest son are respected as much as the parents, and the uncles and brothers are placed on the same level with the other sons. What perversity can be greater than this?

When his parent dies he first lets him lie there without dressing him for burial. He climbs on the roof, looks into the well, reaches into the rat holes, and searches in the washing basins to look for the dead man (3). Assuming that the man still exists this procedure is certainly stupid. If he does not exist this insistent search is the height of hypocrisy.

When a Confucianist takes a wife (4), he has to escort her in person, dressed in ceremonial garments as a servant. He drives the cart himself, as if waiting on a revered parent. The dignity and solemnity of the marriage ceremony compare with that of sacrifice and worship. High and low are turned upside down. Father and mother are disobeyed. Parents are brought down to the level of the wife and the wife is exalted to interfere with service to parents. Can such conduct be called filial? The Confucianist tells us: "A wife is taken to share in continuing the worship and sacrifice (to ancestors) and the son will attend to the ancestral temple, therefore they are highly regarded." We answer him: This is all false representation. For, his brothers attend to the ancestral temple for tens of years. Yet when they die he will mourn for them only one year. The brothers' wives continue the worship and sacrifice of his ancestors. Yet, there is no mourning (upon their death) whatsoever. Then the three years' mourning for the death of his wife and eldest son is evidently not for the reason of their attending to the ancestral temple and continuing the worship and sacrifice. Now, to be partial to one's wife and son is already quite wayward. Yet the Confucianist pretends it to be for the sake of the parents. This is partiality to the most favourite but neglect of the most important. Isn't this great perversity?

Further, he holds tenaciously to the dogma of fate and argues: "Old age or early death, poverty or wealth, safety or danger, order or chaos are destined by the fate of Heaven and cannot be modified. Failure or success, reward or punishment, luck or adversity, are all settled; the wisdom and power of man can do nothing." When the different officers believe this they will neglect their several duties. When the common people believe this they will neglect their work. Lax government will lead to disorder; inefficient agriculture will lead to poverty. And poverty is the root of disorder and insurrections. Yet the Confucianists take this teaching about fate to be the Dao and the principle of life. This is to destroy the people of the empire.

Moreover, the Confucianist glosses over the elaborate ceremonials and music to make man extravagant; he extends mourning and pretends grief to cheat his parents. He introduces fate and causes poverty, and lives in idleness. He overthrows the fundamentals and avoids work, and is indolent and proud. Self-indulgent in drinking and eating and too lazy to work, he often suffers from hunger and cold and is in danger of freezing and starvation, without ability to avert them. He behaves like a beggar; grasps food like a hamster, gazes at things like a he-goat, and rises up like a wild boar. The gentlemen all laugh at him. He becomes angry and exclaims: "What does the undisciplined man know about the good Confucianist?" In spring and summer he begs for grains. When the five grains are all gathered in he resorts to the funerals (5). All the sons and grandsons are taken along and are filled with drink and food. It is sufficient for him to manage but a few funerals. He depends on others' houses for his wealth and uses others' fields to uphold his dignity. When a death takes place in a rich family he will rejoice greatly, for it is his opportunity for clothing and food.

The Confucianist says: "The superior man must be ancient in mode of speech and in dress before he can be magnanimous." We answer him: The so-called ancient speech and dress were all modern once. When the ancients first used that speech and wore that dress they would not be superior men (according to the Confucianists' criteria). Do you therefore mean to say that one has to wear the dress of the non-superior man and speak the speech of the non-superior man before he can be magnanimous?

Again, the Confucianist says: "The superior man conforms to the old but does not make innovations." (6) We answer him: In antiquity Yi invented the bow, Yǐ invented armour, Xi Zhong invented vehicles, and Qiao Cui invented boats. Would he say, the tanners, armourers, and carpenters of to-day are all superior men, whereas Yi, Yǐ, Xi Zhong, and Qiao Cui were all ordinary men? Moreover, some of those whom he follows must have been inventors. Then his instructions are after all the ways of the ordinary men.

Again he says: "When the superior man is victorious he does not pursue the fleeing enemy. When the enemy is kept at bay he does not shoot. When the enemy retreat he will help them pushing their carts." We answer him: If the magnanimous are here referred to, they have no occasion for strife. The magnanimous remind each other of the principle of right and wrong and of what is to be accepted and what is to be rejected. He who has no cause follows him who has it. He who has no knowledge follows him who has knowledge. Running short of argument he would acknowledge defeat, seeing good he would be converted. How can there be any strife? If the contestants are both wicked, though the victor does not pursue the fleeing enemy, though he does not shoot the enemy at bay, though he helps pushing the enemy's carts in retreat -- though he does all these, still he cannot be a superior man. On the other hand, suppose a sage starts out to destroy a curse on behalf of the empire. He raises an army to punish the wicked and cruel state. When he is victorious, let us suppose him to follow the Confucian way and command his army: "Don't pursue the fleeing enemy. Don't shoot when the enemy is at bay. Help them pushing the carts when they retreat." The

wicked men will thus be set free and the curse of the world will not yet be removed. This is to harm the parents of the multitudes and greatly to ruin the world. Nothing can be more unrighteous!

Again the Confucianist says: "The superior man is like a bell. It will sound when it is struck. It will remain silent when it is not struck." We answer him: The magnanimous, in serving his superior, should be loyal, and in serving his parents, should be filial. When there is excellence (in the superior) he should adore, when there is fault he should give counsel. This is the way of a minister. Now, if one sounds only when struck, and remains silent when not struck, then he will hide his knowledge and spare his efforts, waiting to be questioned before he answers. Even if there is some great advantage at stake to the lord or parents, he will not speak up without being asked. And, if a great invasion or insurrection is approaching or a conspiracy is afoot, and none know it but he; yet even in the presence of his lord and parents he will not speak up without being questioned. What a criminal, producing confusion! Such a man will not be loyal as a minister, filial as a son, respectful in serving an elder brother or gentle in treating the people.

When benefit is in sight, the only fear should be that counsel may be late. When the ruler starts something not beneficial, one should fold his hands high on the breast and look down and utter with difficulty: "This I have not learned." Upon emergency one should withdraw and set out on a long journey (7). For, every principle, doctrine, and standard of magnanimity and righteousness are to be used on the large scale to rule men and on the small scale to hold office; widely, to exercise a universal influence and, narrowly, to cultivate one's person. What is not righteous should not be tolerated; what is not according to principle should not be practised. One should endeavour to procure benefits for the empire directly and indirectly, avoiding that which brings no profit: such is the way of the superior man. But what we hear of the conduct of Kong Mo (8) is diametrically opposed to this.

Lord Jing of Qi asked Yanzi: "What kind of a man is Confucius?" Yanzi answered not. The Lord reiterated the question and there was still no answer. Lord Jing said: "Many have told me about Kong Mo and all said he was a virtuous man. Now that I am asking you about him, why should you not answer?" Yanzi replied: "Ying (9) is not wise and cannot know virtuous men. Yet Ying has heard that a virtuous man must be one who, upon entering a state, will endeavour to bring about friendly relations between the ruler and the ministers and dissolve the grudges between superior and subordinates. This man Confucius once visited the state of Jing. He heard of the plans of Duke Bo and told them to Shi Qi. As a result, the lord almost perished and Duke Bo was executed (10). Ying has also heard that the virtuous man does not obtain confidence of the superior by flattery or that of the subordinates by threat. If his counsels are listened to by the lord they will benefit the people, if his instructions are followed by the subordinates they will benefit the superior. His speech is plain and easy to understand and his conduct is plain and easy to follow. His righteous conduct enlightens the people and his thoughtful counsel convinces the lord and his ministers. Now, this man Confucius with elaborate plans conspired with the rebels and with devious plots committed depravity. To persuade the subordinates to plot against their superior and tell the ministers to assassinate their lord is not the conduct of a virtuous man. To enter a country and join with its traitors is not akin to the righteous. To urge those who are known to be disloyal to revolt does not fit the way of the magnanimous. Plotting against one at a distance and condemning one behind his back, his conduct enlightening not the people and his counsel convincing not the lord -- how Confucius is different from Duke Bo, your servant Ying does not see. This is why I did not answer you." Lord Jing said: "Oh! I have been benefited. If it were not for you, I would never in my life understand Kong Mo to be of the same kind as Duke Bo."

Kong Mo visited the state of Qi and saw Lord Jing. Lord Jing was pleased and was going to assign Ni Xi (11) to him. He told Yanzi about it. Yanzi said: "Please do not. A scholar of his school would sit crouching and take things easy, therefore he cannot be made to teach the subordinates. He likes music and will corrupt the people, and therefore cannot be trusted to govern. He believes in fate and will neglect his duty, therefore he cannot be given an office. He lays emphasis on mourning, and makes much of grief, therefore he cannot be made to take care of the people. He will be formal in dress and affected in manners, therefore he cannot lead the multitudes. Kong Mo dresses elaborately and puts on adornments to mislead the people, promotes music and dancing to attract the multitudes, performs elaborate ceremonies of going up and coming down the steps, and practises the etiquette of rushing and soaring (12) to dazzle the multitudes. With all his extensive learning he cannot plan for the world; with all his laborious thought he cannot help the people. A whole lifetime cannot exhaust his learning; the grown man cannot observe his ceremonies; and even the wealthy cannot enjoy his music. He elaborates and adorns his improper ways to keep the lords busy; he profusely furnishes sounds and music to corrupt the people. His principles cannot instruct the world; his learning cannot lead the multitudes. Now you, my lord, commission him to change the customs of Qi. It really is not the way to lead a country and bring forward the multitudes." The Lord said: "This is well."

Thereupon the Lord gave him valuable gifts but retained the commission, received him with respect but did not inquire into his teaching. Kong Mo became angry, angry with Lord Jing and Yanzi. So, he placed Chi Yi Ze Pi in the following of Tian Chang (13), and communicated his plans to Hui-tzu (14) of the South City. Then he returned to Lu. Before long, Qi desired to attack Lu. He remarked to Zi Gong (15): "Oh, Qi, now is the time to do the great deed." Thereupon he sent Zi Gong to Qi and, through the introduction of Huizi of the South City, saw Tian Chang. Zi Gong persuaded him to attack Wu (instead of Lu). He also told Gao Guo Bao Yan (16) not to interfere with Tian Chang's insurrection. Then he went on and persuaded Yue to attack Wu. For three years, both Qi and Wu were threatened with ruin. The bodies of those killed amounted to hundreds of thousands. And this was the revenge of Kong Mo (17).

Kong Mo was once the Chief Justice of Lu. But he abandoned the cause of the lord and entered the service of Jisun (18). Jisun was the Chancellor of Lu but deserted his trust and ran away (19). As he was trying to force the gate against the guards, Kong Mo lifted the beam (for him).

Once, Kong Mo was in straits between Cai and Chen having only vegetable soup without even rice to eat (20). After ten days of this, Zi Lu (21) cooked a pig for him. Kong Mo did not inquire whence the meat came, and ate. Zi Lu robbed some one of his garment and exchanged it for wine. Kong Mo did not inquire whence the wine came, and drank. But when Lord Ai received Confucius, Confucius would not sit on a mat that was not placed straight and would not eat meat that was not cut properly (22). Zi Lu went to him and asked: "Why the reverse to what you did on the borders of Chen and Cai? Kong Mo answered: "Come, let me tell you. Then, our goal was to keep alive. Now our goal is to behave righteously." Now when hunger-stricken he was not scrupulous about the means of keeping alive, and when satiated he acted hypocritically to appear refined. What foolery, perversion, villainy, and pretension can be greater than this!

Kong Mo was lounging with his disciples. He remarked: "When Shun saw Gu Sou (23), he felt uneasy. The empire at the time must be in danger. Was not Dan, the Duke of Zhou, unmagnanimous? Why did he resign from his public office and retire to his private home? (24) This shows Kong Mo's conduct and the attitude of his mind.

His followers and disciples all imitated him: Zi Gong and Ji Lu (25) assisted Kong Li (26) and committed high treason against the state of Wei. Yang Huo rebelled against Qi. Fei Gan was entrusted with Zhong Mou and became independent. Qi Diao had a ferocious appearance. Nothing can be more... (27) than this! Of course the disciples and pupils, following a teacher, will advocate his doctrines and imitate his conduct. Only, they are not as powerful and not as clever. Now, since such was the conduct of Kong Mo, the Confucian scholars are naturally to be objects of suspicion.