

The Mician Ethical Chapters

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Abstract. The Mwòdž 墨子 (MZ) consists of 71 numbered units, conventionally called chapters. The first 39 of these are on ethical or other doctrinal topics. Of them, 30 (MZ 8-37) are grouped in ten sets of three, which I will call triplets, each set having a collective title; 2 (MZ 38-39) form a duplet, also with a collective title; the other 7 (MZ 1-7) are individually titled singlets. Stylistic inconsistencies occur *among* and *within* triplets, in a pattern which suggests evolution over time. I here propose an order of composition of the triplets from this internal evidence, and extend that argument to the duplet and singlet chapters. I note the history of the Mician movement which this sequence implies, and compare it with contemporary evidence as a final test of the hypothesis, and as a way of providing the hypothesis with some approximate dates.

The Triplet Chapters, MZ 8-37

Some triplet and duplet chapters are lost, but their relative position is given by the table of contents in the Dàu-dzàng 道藏 text. Graham argues that the triplets are the texts of three separate Mician schools.¹ I find that they represent revisions within a single Mician movement, and that the details on which Graham bases his theory (like coverb 乎 alongside standard 於) are better accommodated by a single-school model.

Topics are Valuing **Ability** 尚賢 (MZ 8-10), Valuing **Unity** 尚同 (MZ 11-13), Universal **Love** 兼愛 (MZ 14-16), Against **War** 非攻 (MZ 17-19), Modest **Expenditures** 節用 (MZ 20-22), Modest **Funerals** 節葬 (MZ 23-25), Will of **Heaven** 天志 (MZ 26-28), On **Ghosts** 明鬼 (MZ 29-31), Against **Music** 非樂 (MZ 32-34), and Against **Fate** 非命 (MZ 35-37). I find² that something is amiss with MZ 35-37, but will retain it in the analysis. With lost chapters bracketed, the inventory is:

Abi	Uni	Love	War	Exp	Fnr	Hvn	Gho	Mus	Fate
08	11	14	17	20	[23]	26	[29]	32	35
09	12	15	18	21	[24]	27	[30]	[33]	36
10	13	16	19	[22]	25	28	31	[34]	37

Attributions. Most of these chapters begin with a variant of the initial attribution formula “Our Master Mwòdž says” 子墨子曰. MZ 39 replaces this formula for local reasons (see below); it is also found in five (MZ 3-7) of the singlet chapters, MZ 1-7. Three triplet chapters diverge from this pattern: MZ 17 does not mention Mwòdž at all, and MZ 14 and 20 refer to Mwòdž only at the *end* of the chapter.

¹Graham **Divisions** 18-28.

²As does Graham, **Divisions** 12-16.

Taking these three as dating from before the formula had become standardized, and thus as early, and regarding the formula-free MZ 17 as earliest of all, we would have:

	Abi	Uni	Love	War	Exp	Fnr	Hvn	Gho	Mus	Fate	Formula
					17						none
			14		20						final
	08	11				[23]	26	[29]	32	35	initial
	09	12	15	18	21	[24]	27	[30]	[33]	36	initial
	10	13	16	19	[22]	25	28	31	[34]	37	initial

Past Authority. MZ 14 and 17 argue only from common experience. Ancient sayings or events are cited in MZ 20 and in all other chapters. MZ 20 thus seems to be transitional to the rest, and so should be later than MZ 14. Further, we may distinguish past references *not* supported by quotation from named texts (MZ 8, 11, 15, 18, 19, 21, 25, and 26), from those which *are* so supported, the typical quote being from a Shū document. Chapters quoting Shū are higher-numbered within a triplet that also contains chapters that do *not* quote Shū, and probably reflect a later style of argument. If we adjust the table to reflect these differences, we get:³

Authority	Abi	Uni	Love	War	Exp	Fnr	Hvn	Gho	Mus	Fate	Formula
none					17						none
none			14								final
past					20						final
past	08	11				[23]	26	[29]			initial
past			15	18	21	[24]					initial
past				19	[22]	25					initial
text	09	12	16				27	[30]	32	35	initial
text								31	[33]	36	initial
text	10	13					28		[34]	37	initial

Sequence. In addition to the apparent order of accretion within each triplet, it begins to seem that the first essays in each triplet were added in chronological order, either before or after the core topic of war (MZ 17). Without violating any tendency so far noted, we can adjust the table to realize this tendency more consistently by shifting downward the chapters MZ 8 and 26 and the groups MZ 29-31 and 35-37:

Authority	Abi	Uni	Love	War	Exp	Fnr	Hvn	Gho	Mus	Fate	Formula
none					17						none
none			14								final
past					20						final
past		11				[23]					initial
past	08		15	18	21	[24]	26				initial
past				19	[22]	25		[29]			initial
text	09	12	16					[30]	32		initial
text							27			35	initial
text								31	[33]	36	initial
text	10	13					28		[34]	37	initial

³In this and the following tables, it is unclear how many chapters should be moved down with one relocated chapter originally on the same line with them. For simplicity of presentation, I have made those choices in a way that does not conflict with evidence later mentioned.

MZ 11 (“Valuing Unity”) ends with a section on Heaven which seems to belong in the “Heaven” group, MZ 26-28, but is not textually extraneous in MZ 11. Its placement is explained if when MZ 11 was written “Heaven” was not yet a recognized doctrine of the school. MZ 11 and 26 as placed on the above table already show this relationship. Similarly, ghosts are not mentioned in MZ 17, 14, 20, and 11, but *are* mentioned briefly in MZ 18 (“War”), and more elaborately in MZ 26 (“Heaven”). The next step might be to establish Ghosts as a new doctrinal topic, and this seems to occur in the lost MZ [29]. If we adjust the table to reflect the emergence (“g1”), elaboration (“g2”), and separate treatment (“g3”) of the Ghost doctrine, we might have:

Authority	Abi	Uni	Love	War	Exp	Fnr	Hvn	Gho	Mus	Fate	Formula
none					17						none
none			14								final
past					20						final
past		11				[23]					initial
past					21						initial
past/g1				18							initial
past/g2						[24]	26				initial
??/g3								[29]			??
past	08		15								initial
past				19	[22]	25					initial
text	09	12	16					[30]	32		initial
text							27			35	initial
text								31	[33]	36	initial
text	10	13					28		[34]	37	initial

The Gentlemen. The text is generally critical of the power elite, in MZ 17 called “the gentlemen of the world” 天下之君子. This term is not present in all the following chapters. In MZ 26 we find a longer form, “the *officers and* gentlemen of the world” 天下之士君子; this also occurs in MZ 15. In MZ 8, we have a more inclusive term for the ruling elite: “the king, princes, and great men” 王公大人; in MZ 19, these two are combined as 王公大人士君子. The likely sequence is MZ 26 > 15 > 8 > 19. Then:

Authority	Abi	Uni	Love	War	Exp	Fnr	Hvn	Gho	Mus	Fate	Formula
none					17						none
none			14								final
past					20						final
past		11				[23]					initial
past					21						initial
past/g1				18							initial
past/g2						[24]	26				initial
??/g3								[29]			??
past			15								initial
past	08										initial
past				19	[22]	25					initial
text	09	12	16					[30]	32		initial
text							27			35	initial
text								31	[33]	36	initial
text	10	13					28		[34]	37	initial

Bamboo and Silk. In addition to backing up citations from antiquity with quotes from ancient texts, the Micians also argued for the exact *transmission* of those texts, with a statement that they were “written on bamboo and silk; engraved on stone and bronze.” Perhaps the earliest form of this claim (coded “b1” on the table below) is in MZ 16: “I was not their contemporary, to have personally heard their words or seen their faces. It is by the fact that they wrote on bamboo and silk . . .” The *reason* for writing them is added in MZ 27 and 31: “fearing lest [the bamboo and silk records] should rot and vanish, and their descendants in later ages not be able to read them” (b2). “Bamboo and silk” statements in MZ 10, 28, 36, 37 (b3) are more perfunctory, as though the claim had become conventional. There is no such claim in MZ 13, which might be from after the felt need for this rhetorical gesture. If we add these distinctions to the table, as we may do without violating any of the distinctions previously noted, we get the following:

Authority	Abi	Uni	Love	War	Exp	Fnr	Hvn	Gho	Mus	Fate	Formula
none					17						none
none			14								final
past					20						final
past		11				[23]					initial
past					21						initial
past/g1				18							initial
past/g2						[24]	26				initial
?? /g3								[29]			??
past			15								initial
past	08										initial
past				19	[22]	25					initial
text	09	12						[30]	32		initial
text										35	initial
text/b1			16								initial
text/b2							27	31	[33]		initial
text/b3										36	initial
text/b3	10						28		[34]	37	initial
text		13									initial

The citation of texts to support tradition (in the MZ 9 and 35 rows of this table) precedes the “bamboo and silk” claim *in support* of those texts (MZ 16 and following). As with the “Master Mwòdž” formula, the rhetoric of assurance first grows stronger, and then is conventionalized; with “bamboo and silk,” it finally vanishes (MZ 13).

Coverb Hú. The basic coverb for “from, to, in relation to” in noninitial position in Warring States texts is yw 於; we sometimes find an alternate form hu 乎. Coverb yw occurs in every Mwòdž ethical chapter except in what I have suggested is the earliest, MZ 17. That lack of an otherwise standard word is another feature separating MZ 17 from everything else in the Mician ethical writings. Given its unique lack of *reference to Mwòdž*, as noted above, it is at least possible that MZ 17 is *by Mwòdž*, and that lack, or sparing use, of coverb yw was a feature of Mwòdž’s personal style.⁴

⁴Lack of coverb hu was a feature of the style of Mencius; the only case of it in the speeches in MC 1 occurs in the manifestly later composition MC 1A7. See Brooks **Interviews**.

Coverb hú in Mwòdž is then an overlay on texts which also contain coverb yw. The essays in which coverb hú occurs, with the number of occurrences,⁵ are:

MZ 08	3x	MZ 14	–	MZ 20	–	MZ 26	–	MZ 32	11x
MZ 09	17x	MZ 15	1x	MZ 21	–	MZ 27	13x	MZ 33	–
MZ 10	–	MZ 16	8x	MZ 22	–	MZ 28	–	MZ 34	–
MZ 11	–	MZ 17	–	MZ 23	–	MZ 29	–	MZ 35	–
MZ 12	22x	MZ 18	–	MZ 24	–	MZ 30	–	MZ 36	–
MZ 13	–	MZ 19	6x	MZ 25	19x	MZ 31	14x	MZ 37	19x

Where more than one chapter in a triplet has hú, the lower numbered (and presumably earlier) chapter has fewer hú. The implication is that hú usage was beginning to occur in those chapters (MZ 8 and 15), and became more firmly established in later chapters. The anomalies are in the MZ 35-37 group. (1) At least one member should be in the “post-hú” category with MZ 28, but MZ 37, seemingly the last, has hú. (2) MZ 35 with “no hú” should be in the pre-hú group before MZ 19 and 25, but the order of addition of topics requires that MZ 35 be later than the hú chapter MZ 32. In sum, these chapters cannot be placed so as to agree with all the relevant constraints. As a working solution, I note that MZ 36 substitutes “books of ancient kings” for the “eyes and ears of the people” in MZ 35 and 37 and thus seems to follow them. Accordingly, I exchange the positions of MZ 36 and 37 on the table, marking MZ 35 and 36 with asterisks to show that they are irregular in hú terms or in sequence within the triplet. No other changes are needed to put the “few hú” essays in one stratum of the table, and the “many hú” chapters (here **highlighted**) in another:

Authority	Abi	Uni	Love	War	Exp	Fnr	Hvn	Gho	Mus	Fate	Formula
none				17							none
none			14								final
past					20						final
past		11				[23]					initial
past					21						initial
past/g1				18							initial
past/g2						[24]	26				initial
?? /g3								[29]			??
past/h1			15								initial
past/h1	08										initial
past/h2				19	[22]	25					initial
text/h2								[30]	32		initial
text/h2	09	12								*35	initial
text/b1/h2			16						[33]		initial
text/b2/h2							27	31			initial
text/b3/h2										37	initial
text/b3	10						28		[34]	*36	initial
text		13									initial

Populace. Maeder **Observations** 47f notes that “myriad people” 萬民 occurs only in the “many hú” chapters, this detail reinforcing their linguistic distinctiveness.

⁵Corrected at a few points from the figures given by Stephen Durrant.

Last Steps. It remains to complete the triplet part of the present hypothesis by separating those extant chapters which share one or two lines on the previous table. The placement of the lost chapters is somewhat arbitrary; my suggestions are included, but for the most part without discussion.

MZ 19 and 25. MZ 25 refers to victory in battle 戰 and successful defense at home; this is the old conventional approach. In MZ 19 “punishment” 誅 is substituted for “battle;” this is the new idea of justified war. Then MZ [22] > 25 > 19 > [30].

MZ 9, 12, 32, and 35. The power of the state increased, and the people came increasingly under the law. In MZ 12, they need to be taught before they can be held accountable to law. In MZ 32, they are part of the system; music is opposed out of concern for their livelihood; policies are judged in terms of benefit to them. In MZ 35, the legal system and the promulgation of laws are more fully described. In MZ 9, the basis of social order is no longer the people’s understanding, but simply their fear of punishment. Consistently with this, on the structural side MZ 32, the first Music chapter, must precede MZ 35, the first Fate chapter. Then MZ 12 > 32 > 35 > 9.

MZ 27, 31, and 37. These reflect a reaction to the harsh position of MZ 9. MZ 27 assigns the origin of rǎn 仁 and yì 義 (the Mician term for justice) to Heaven, thus taking the concept of justice out of the human realm. In MZ 31, rulers no longer attend to government. The people are rebellious, and seek justice not from the law, but from the supernatural (MZ 31 is full of tales of supernatural retribution). MZ 37 threatens oppressive rulers with the loss of their states, an extraordinary line for the previously subordinate Micicians to take. Then MZ 27 > 31 > [33] > 37.

MZ 10, 28, and 36. These all reflect demoralization in difficult times. MZ 28 is distinguished from MZ 10, 13, and 36 by the formula 於先王之書 . . . 然 instead of the longer . . . 然曰 (Graham **Divisions** 12). MZ 36 groups with the formulaically earlier MZ 28 by concern for the reduced role of Heaven; MZ 10 (punishment of the innocent) groups with the formulaically later MZ 13 (to fail to report a crime is to be guilty of that crime) by the concern of both essays about corrupt and oppressive law. Then MZ 28 > 36 > [34] > 10 > 13.

The Duplet Chapters, MZ 38-39

“Against the Confucians” 非儒 is a two-chapter group, not an ill-preserved triplet. Why was no third chapter written? Probably because, on reflection, the Micicians hesitated to make a fixed doctrine of their opposition to the Confucians, and preferred instead to oppose specific policies.⁶ The incipient triplet was accordingly abandoned.

Similarly, the sharply contentious MZ 36, originally the last of the triplet against the Confucian idea of Fate, may have been moved from its climactic final position in order to mute its impact, and back down from a too direct anti-Confucian posture.

⁶The image of Confucius was becoming emblematic of Chinese culture as a whole, not just of one set of values within the culture. The Jwāngdǔ often criticizes or ridicules Confucius (as do the Micicians in parts of MZ 39), but also frequently quotes him as the spokesman for the values of that text. Similarly, in the separate series of anecdotal chapters, MZ 48:16 and 48:24 quote Confucius positively, and 48:16 explains the logic of doing so.

Placing these two chapters on the previous table is not without its uncertainties. The lost MZ 38 must follow the triplet-initial MZ 35, but at what distance, it is hard to say. MZ 39 is formally unique: a series of statements of the Confucian position which the chapter refutes. This formal structure probably explains the absence of the “Master Mwòdž” incipit, the citing of ancient texts, and the “bamboo and silk” idiom, so that these guidelines cannot here be relied on. It has coverb hú, and thus should at minimum precede MZ 28, the first post-hú chapter.⁷ I have put it above that chapter and below the last previously identified hú chapter (MZ 37). In this way, we arrive at the following relative-chronology hypothesis for MZ 8-39:

Authority	Abi	Uni	Love	War	Exp	Fnr	Hvn	Gho	Mus	Fate	Rú	Formula
none					17							none
none			14									final
past					20							final
??						[23]						??
past		11										initial
past					21							initial
past/g1				18								initial
??						[24]						??
past/g2							26					initial
?? /g3								[29]				??
past/h1			15									initial
past/h1	08											initial
??						[22]						??
past/h2							25					initial
past/h2				19								initial
??								[30]				??
text/h2		12										initial
text/h2									32			initial
text/h2										*35		initial
text/h2	09											initial
text/h2/b1			16									initial
??											[38]	??
text/h2/b2							27					initial
text/h2/b2								31				initial
??									[33]			??
text/h2/b3										37		initial
text/h2											39	alt
text/b3							28					initial
??										*36		??
text/b3									[34]			initial
text/b3	10											initial
text		13										initial

• *Sequence Hypothesis for the Mician Triplets and Duplets, MZ 8-39* •

⁷I thus reach, by a somewhat different route, the 2003 conclusion of Desmet **Anomaly**.

The Singlet Chapters, MZ 1-7

The triplet chapters were apparently not added to the school archive in exactly the order of their completion. The first chapter on a new topic seems to have been added *after* the earlier material if it was considered an expansion or development of previous doctrine (like the first version of the economic argument, MZ 20, after the core antiwar statement, MZ 17); but *at the head* of the earlier material if it defined new ideological territory (like the first version of the universal love idea, which was placed in front of all the previous material). Revisions of a thematic chapter were naturally placed after previous chapters on that theme. But with the Singlet chapters, we come to a sequence which may simply *be* a sequence.

The first question is whether the singlets are *older* than the triplets, in which case they are the core of the ethical section; or *younger* than the triplets, in which case the triplets are the core, and the presumption is that the singlets were added at the head of that material, most likely in reverse numerical order, with MZ 1 coming last. In favor of the latter option is that the singlets go beyond what is found in the triplets:

- MZ 7 三辯 “A Threefold Argument” reverses the stance of the Music chapters MZ 32-34, and accepts a certain position for court music.

- MZ 6 辭過 “Avoiding Excess” does not use the utility arguments of MZ 20-21; it equates temperance and economy with state prosperity, and excess with destruction (so also MZ 37); it also introduces the concept of yīn/yáng, which is foreign to earlier Mician doctrine, and was probably adopted from the late 04c cosmologists.

- MZ 5 七患 “Seven Concerns” goes beyond condemning attack (as in MZ 17), defining it as punishment (MZ 19) or stressing the theme of “abroad, victorious in punishment; at home, strong in defense” (MZ 9, 12, 37). It justifies war *ethically*: the righteous cannot be maintained against the unrighteous except by weapons.

- MZ 4 法儀 “Standards” makes Heaven the standard because there are no benevolent (仁) parents, teachers, or rulers. This undermines the theory of MZ 11-13, according to which superiors are the foundation of order in society.

- MZ 3 所染 “That Which is Dyed” begins with an anecdote of Mwòdž, and thus departs from the mere citation of Mwòdž in the formula 子墨子曰 “Our Master Mwòdž said,” which became standard in all chapters after MZ 17, 14, and 20.

- MZ 2 修身 “Self-Cultivation” and MZ 1 親士 “Intimacy With Officers” have a Confucian viewpoint (the assiduous servitor in MZ 2, the ruler in MZ 1), they do not refer to Mwòdž, and use the Confucian term jywǎndž 君子 “gentleman” for the ideal individual; “officers and gentlemen” 士君子 had previously been the *opponents* of the Micians. The Micians have here taken over the Confucian viewpoint. In the end, they came to *inhabit* the ground which they had earlier forborne to oppose by leaving incomplete the incipient Anti-Confucian triplet (MZ 38-39), and by muting (by a shift of order) the criticism expressed in the original Anti-Fate triplet (MZ 35-37).

The implication is that the singlet chapters were written after the triplet and duplet chapters, in a sequence running from MZ 7 to MZ 1, meant to update the doctrines of the earlier ethical chapters, which had now been formally “closed.” The last two show an assimilation to the self-identity of their former Confucian opponents.

Authority	Abi	Uni	Love	War	Exp	Fnr	Hvn	Gho	Mus	Fate	Rú	Formula
	<i>Opposition: The Peaceable Society</i>											
none					17							none
none			14									final
past					20							final
??						[23]						??
	<i>Early Statecraft: Supernatural Sanctions</i>											
past		11										initial
past					21							initial
past/g1				18								initial
??						[24]						??
past/g2							26					initial
?? /g3								[29]				??
	<i>Later Statecraft: Populism</i>											
past/h1			15									initial
past/h1	08											initial
??					[22]							??
past/h2					25							initial
past/h2			19									initial
??								[30]				??
	<i>Citing Ancient Authority</i>											
text/h2		12										initial
text/h2								32				initial
text/h2									*35			initial
text/h2	09											initial
	<i>Interschool Controversy</i>											
text/h2/b1			16									initial
??										[38]		??
text/h2/b2							27					initial
text/h2/b2								31				initial
??									[33]			??
text/h2/b3										37		initial
text/h2											39	alt
	<i>Self-Definition</i>											
text/b3							28					initial
??										*36		??
text/b3									[34]			initial
text/b3	10											initial
text		13										initial
	<i>Final Adjustments</i>											
	07											
	06											
	05											
	04											
	03											
	02											
	01											

The Mician Movement

The sequence of the ethical chapters argued for above on the basis of their formal features can be checked by noting the *content* of the resulting groups. I find that the evolution of Mician ideas as read from that sequence falls into seven distinct phases. They are indicated on the chart opposite, and summarized below.

1. Opposition

MZ 17, 14, 20, [23]

These chapters constitute an outside critique of the contemporary war state. MZ 17, probably by Mwòdž himself, denounces war as large-scale killing. In the same spirit are the disciple essays MZ 14 (advocating love, to eliminate hatreds leading to war), MZ 20 (frugality, to eliminate economic motives for war), and MZ 23 (simpler funerals, to eliminate one major extravagance). This first-generation political platform amounts to a theory of the peaceable state. It is a critique of the war state from the viewpoint of the prosperous landowner, for whom war merely interferes with business.

2. First Statecraft: Supernatural Sanctions

MZ 11, 21, 18, [24], 26, [29]

The Micicians here adopt the viewpoint of the state, and offer themselves as dutiful subordinates of the state, but the state itself is subtly Micianized. MZ 11 accepts the principle of subordination, with the Son of Heaven at the top, but with Heaven as higher yet, and punishing nonconformity with its wishes. MZ 21 accepts the Confucian sage ruler, but as an example of the Mician frugality principle. MZ 18 opposes war, but from the *state's* point of view; its consequences are bad for the state itself. Deaths mean loss of worshipers for the spirits, and wars lead to friction between rulers and populace, which could imperil the state. MZ 26 makes the MZ 11 Heaven principle into a separate doctrine, giving a non-utilitarian argument for the first Mician tenets: Heaven wishes men to love others and benefit others. Another supernatural sanction, based on popular belief in ghosts and spirits, becomes a formal doctrine in MZ 29. These six chapters work with already established beliefs, both Confucian and popular, to reach a distinctive Mician rationale for the state.

3. Second Statecraft: Populism

MZ 15, 8, [22], 25, 19, [30]

This group contains another systematic shift. MZ 15 transfers the previous Will of Heaven theory to earthly rulers: they exist to procure benefits and avoid calamities. Here is the germ of the populist theory of the state: that rulers should work for, not against, the well-being of the people. MZ 8 advocates meritocracy, but not of an elite kind: the worthy (that is, the competent) should be given office even if they are artisans or farmers. The cultural aspects of Confucian meritocratic theory are absent. The economic interest of the people, and their capacity for public service, are added to the previous model of the state. The instructions relevant for magistrates reflect a parallel Mician emphasis on logic (those texts are separately preserved in MZ 40-45): verifying statements and evaluating claims (MZ 25) and precise use of terms (MZ 19). Also in MZ 19 is the new and momentous Mician acceptance of the idea of just war: in a sense, the people's loyalty is being offered in return for the people's acceptance of the war aims of the state.

4. Citing Ancient Authority

MZ 12, 32, *35, 9

The previous essays laid the foundation for a centralized administrative structure; these imply a state which is prospering and growing stronger. They defend challenges to various Mician beliefs, and to the Mician ideal state. The main novelty is the citation of ancient texts (some not now extant). The Micians had approved of law since their first pronouncement (MZ 17), and MZ 12 now cites the liberal Shū 55 to show that punishments are cruel only when they are misused; listening to lawsuits is one of the duties of the ruler in MZ 12 and also in MZ 32. Various documents, including penal codes, are cited against the Confucian idea of Fate (MZ *35). Nepotism and favoritism are denounced in MZ 9, as is the use of intimidation rather than persuasion on the people. The public works of the ancient sages are offered, again with support from the Shū, as the right model for rulership: they benefit the people. The position in all these chapters is that the Confucian texts themselves imply a Mician model of the ideal society and its ruler, characterized by *rén* 仁 and *yì* 義.

5. Interschool Controversy

MZ 16, [38], 27, 31, [33], 37, 39

Universal Love is defended in MZ 16 against nationalistic partisanship; it insists on the accuracy of its information about antiquity by the “bamboo and silk” argument. The role of Heaven is also further emphasized: sun and moon, *yīn* and *yáng*, the four seasons, even *rén* and *yì*, all originate with Heaven; the ancients obeyed Heaven and so avoided calamities (MZ 27). Disorders are due to ignorance of the spirits, whose existence is proved by the chronicles 春秋 of the various states (MZ 31); belief in Fate as against the moral universe implied by Heaven is stridently resisted (MZ 37). Opposing the Confucians had now become a doctrinal category in itself (MZ [38]; continued in the very sarcastic 39). This stratum includes the last of the *hú* chapters.

6. Self-Definition

MZ 28, *36, [34], 10, 13

These chapters imply more difficult times, and attach even more importance to relying on Heaven. The evil age is described in MZ 28; the recommendation is to follow Heaven in everything, and not rely on men. In MZ 36, the human senses of seeing and hearing are abandoned as sources of knowledge in favor of written texts; this is the strongest of the essentially anti-Confucian Fate chapters. The last of the Meritocracy chapters (MZ 10) merely criticizes abuses of the personnel process and MZ 13 dwells on the harshness of the laws. Though the *state* was criticized, it was at some point decided to minimize the specifically anti-Confucian tone of Mician rhetoric by moving the harsh MZ 36 to its present nonfinal position in that group, and by leaving incomplete the triplet on Anti-Confucianism, which remained at two chapters. Mician ideology was frozen at ten formally recognized doctrines; a cosmologically satisfactory number. The last chapters written in this period, MZ 10 and 13, completed the only other unfinished triplets. Had it also been completed, and listed among the officially proclaimed doctrines,⁸ Anti-Confucianism would have been the eleventh.

⁸As it was not; the list in MZ 48:9 contains only the “full triplet” doctrines.

7. Final Adjustments

MZ 7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1

The triplets having been formally closed in the preceding stratum, any new ideas or modifications of old ideas had to be accommodated otherwise; as it turned out, in chapters added as updates to the front of the previous text archive. The leading ideas of these preposed chapters have already been noticed. They include a modification of the previous condemnation of music (MZ 7), implying further Mician acceptance of court culture; the further development of the yīn/yáng concept (MZ 6; first introduced in MZ 27); a further stage in the acceptance of war as an instrument of state policy (MZ 5; it had first appeared in MZ 19); a more comprehensive abandonment of human parents and rulers in favor of direct reliance on Heaven (MZ 4, already well advanced in MZ 28); the introduction of Mwòdž as a character in a story (MZ 3), a device common in the Anecdotal chapters (MZ 46-50) but not previously known in the ethical chapters proper; and in the final two preposed chapters (MZ 2 and 1), the adoption of a self-image indistinguishable from that of the Confucians, including the previously distinctive self-reference term jywǎndž 君子 “gentleman.”

On first inspection, it may be said that the formally defined strata do coordinate with doctrinal differences, and that those differences are plausible as developing over time, as the Micicians move from outside critics to inside members of the system, philosophize it in their terms, make peace with its intrinsic war aims, and cope with the increasingly harsh conditions which apply to all who serve the state.

External Evidence

Finally, I note points where these essays coordinate with emphases, and especially changes of emphasis, in other texts. In some cases (the Analects, the Mician anecdotal chapters which can be matched with that text,⁹ or reflections of contemporary events), it will be possible to add absolute dates to the relative chronology. As a starting point, I assume a date of c0390 for MZ 17.¹⁰

1. Opposition. The first layer of the Dzwǒ Jwàn (DJ)¹¹ is concerned with sacrificial propriety; it finds the Chūn/Chyōu (CC) ritual practices to be, in its terms, often unintelligible or wrong: requiring explanation or outright correction.¹² One thing this has in common with the Opposition phase of the Micicians is simply opposition: the willingness to attack a previous, or a prestigious, way of doing things.

⁹See Brooks **Analects** Appendix 3.

¹⁰As the last year of Mwòdž’s life; cf Chyén Mù 2/540 (c0392); Mei **Motse** 31-37 (0391). There are no hard data. If the HFZ story mentioned in Henry **Usurpation** were literally true, which I presently doubt, an earlier date would be required; it would also be required if LY 9:2 (dated in Brooks **Analects** to c0405), where a low-status person criticizes Confucius, reflected the Mician critique of the war society, but that passage does not seem to me to read that way. That some sort of lower-status ethical movement existed in the 05c does seem to be implied in the rejected “universal love” principle of LY 5:12 (c0470), but this is not yet the reasoned critique of the war society which we see in MZ 17; at most, its personal-ethical precursor.

¹¹Called “Sacrificial Lǐ” in Brooks **Heaven**.

¹²For an example of such criticism, see DJ 3/25:2.

The second DJ phase¹³ follows soon on the first; it develops ǐ (ritual propriety) as a positive theory. At this point, there begin to be parallels in the recommendations of the DJ and those of the first Mician disciple generation:

- [MZ 14] Universal love can produce good order in society and can eliminate war. [DJ 1/11:5] Reciprocity is the essence of ǐ; [DJ 7/4:1] Reconcile by ǐ rather than attack.
- [MZ 20] Economy in expenditure is an alternative to overtaxing and overworking the people. [DJ 7/15:8] Overtaxing the people is not ǐ; [DJ 9/13:6] Using the people at the proper seasons is ǐ.

The DJ ǐ concept is here generating some of the same social recommendations as the Mician peace program.

2. Early Statecraft. Like the preceding, this overlaps two phases of evolving DJ thought: a continuation of the Human ǐ and Passive Heaven phase and the beginning of the third DJ layer: Active Heaven and Governmental ǐ, in which Heaven rewards good personal conduct and governmental policies which benefit the people. Also relevant are the first Gwǎndź (GZ) statecraft chapters, GZ 1, 3, and 7, which articulate the principles of the centralized state, this being also the distinctive concern of this group of Mician chapters. The Micians have now adopted the government viewpoint and are themselves probably involved in government, but at a modest level; an upwardly mobile group concerned for their own and the people's welfare.

- [MZ 11, 尚同 “Advocating Unity”] Concerned to unify upper 上 and lower 下; calamities are punishments from Heaven. [DJ 9/22:3] The 上 and 下 should be 同 unified; [DJ 3/11:2] Calamities are punishments from Heaven.¹⁴
- [MZ 21, “Against Extravagance”] Criticizes the elaborate rituals of the Confucians. [DJ 10/5:4] An example of elaborate ǐ; [DJ 3/24:1] A remonstrance against extravagance.
- [MZ 18] War can lead to the demise of the state. [DJ 12/1:6] Same idea.
- [MZ 26] Heaven rewards good and punishes bad rulers. [DJ 2/6:2] Heaven rewards governance which benefits the people.
- [MZ 26] “Will of Heaven” opposes force. [DJ 12/2:3] A ruler transgresses the will of Heaven by slaughtering the people.

3. Populism. The previously incipient populist theory is here made a formal principle: the ruler exists to benefit the people, the worthy should be promoted to office, and wasteful customs and belligerent conduct are wrong. This part of the Mician writings overlaps the fourth DJ layer (Transitional Heaven, Disputed ǐ), in which doubts arise about Heaven's intentions and about ritual propriety itself.

- [MZ 15] The rǎn ruler benefits the world and avoids calamities. [DJ 9/14:6] Rulers are to guide and assist and rescue people from calamities.
- [MZ 8] Promote the worthy. [DJ 10/5:5] Employ good men. [GZ 3:15] Investigate ability when bestowing office.
- [MZ 25] A well-ordered and well-defended state cannot be taken. [DJ 11/9:2] A state which has the support of its people cannot be taken.

¹³I have called this the “Human ǐ” phase of the DJ; Brooks **Heaven** 11-14.

¹⁴Compare the more personalized but otherwise similar remark attributed to Confucius at Yén Hwéi's death: “Heaven is destroying me” (LY 11:9, c0360).

Some corresponding passages in this phase are very close verbally:

- [MZ 19] Attacks 攻 on the wicked are morally justified. [DJ 5/19:4] The Hegemon¹⁵ will punish offending states.
- [MZ 19] Getting the people to fight for the state. [DJ 3/10:1] Story of Tsáu Gwèi, a commoner who says the people will fight if they have justice. [GZ 1:3, 2;51, 3:21] How to get the people to fight for the state.
- [MZ 19] Universal love prevents calamities from arising; the benevolent praise it. [LY 12:22, **c0326**] Fán Chr asked about rvn. The Master said, Loving others.

4. Citing Ancient Authority. The chief novelty is supporting doctrine by quoting from ancient texts such as the Shū; this practice is widespread in DJ and occasional in the Analects. New topics were opposition to music (as wasteful, MZ 32), and to fate (as tending to undermine human effort, MZ 35). This Mician group extends into the Natural Heaven/Cosmic Lǐ section of the DJ, and the third of its Hegemon theories. The DJ at this time takes a marked turn to amoralism in government, and begins to notice the cosmological theories that are characteristic of Chí thought.¹⁶ That change may be attributed to Chí influence on the DJ compilers.¹⁷

- [MZ 12] Teach the people before punishing them. [LY 13:9, **c0322**]. Once the people are economically sufficient, teach them. [LY 13:29, **c0322**] When the people have been taught for seven years, they may be used in war.
- [MZ 12] Importance of public opinion. [DJ 9/31:11] Importance of public opinion. [LY 13:24] Public opinion must be examined.

Besides doctrinal parallels, contemporary texts also reveal doctrinal disagreement:

- [MZ 32] Against Music. [MC 1B1, **0316**] Defends Chí ruler's love of music, against popular resentment of his indulgence.
- [MZ 35] Defends moral calculus of righteousness; if there is a righteous ruler, the world will be well governed. [DJ 6/18:6] An appeal to Heaven to correct injustices goes unanswered.
- [MZ 9] Virtuous are not to be used like tools. [LY 2:12, **c0317**] The gentleman is not to be used like a tool. [GZ 6:3] Employing the people is like making use of grass and trees.
- [MZ 9] Governing requires special knowledge. [MC 1B9, **0316**] Same idea.
- [MZ 9] Endangering the state by not being victorious in attack and strong in defense. [GZ 6:3] Same idea.
- [MZ 9] Employing relatives and the unworthy leads to disaster. [GZ 6:3] Favoring relatives above the state interest leads to disaster.

Whether in opposition or agreement, this part of the Mwòdž seems definitely to be in the same area of statecraft concern as the other texts here cited. With the genuine Mencius (the authentic parts of MC 1),¹⁸ we are clearly past 0320, the beginning of his public career, as the echoes in the late 04c chapters of the Analects also suggest.

¹⁵Here hóu-bwó 侯伯, Chief of the Lords, the second of three DJ names for the hegemon.

¹⁶And are especially associated with Dzōu Yěn, the chief figure at the Jì-syà establishment, created in Chí after the Yěn fiasco (0314) and the departure of Mencius from Chí.

¹⁷Brooks **Heaven** 8-10. These are not the DJ passages most frequently quoted in later times.

¹⁸For the separation, see Brooks **Interviews**.

5. Defending the Doctrines. In this group of MZ chapters, positions on the issues hardened, and the Micians seem to be engaging opposing ideas more closely. Among all parties, interest in the text record increased. Relevant texts include the posthumous Mencian writings and the earlier writings of Sywǎndǒ, both from the early 03c.

- [MZ 16] Ancient kings wrote on bamboo and silk. [LY 14:14-19, **c0310**] Contests the accuracy of some supposedly ancient textual records.

- [MZ 16] Advocates universal love. [GZ 4:9, **c0310**] If talk of universal love prevails, the troops will not fight.

- [MZ 27] Heaven made the 4 seasons, yīn and yáng, rain and dew, to benefit men. [GZ 5:3, 5:39] Dynamic constancy of the 4 seasons, yīn and yáng, Heaven and Earth. [DDJ 42] This section contains the only mention of yīn and yáng in that text.

- [MZ 39, “Against the Confucians”] Not to pursue a fleeing evil enemy is wrong. [MC 4B1] Do not pursue a fleeing enemy.¹⁹

- [MZ 39] Must protest unrighteous acts. [LY 16:1, **c0285**] Must remonstrate against bad acts. [MZ 48:1, **c0285**]. Must speak out against unrighteous acts of the ruler.

- [MZ 39] Shūn and his blind father. [MC 5A1-2] Ditto.

6. Self-Definition. The Mician essays in this group insist that Heaven and not the ruler sets the standard of the world. As contemporary rulers became more autocratic, the Micians counseled subordination; they also accepted the principle of mutual responsibility for crimes. Arguments from antiquity rather than from the people’s needs or benefits tend to predominate. Sywǎndǒ continues to figure as an opponent of Mician frugality, and the Legalist hard line is represented in the Spartan western statecraft writings preserved in the Shāng-jyǎn Shū (SJS).

- [MZ 28] Heaven rectifies 正 the Emperor 天子. [MC 5A5] Heaven gave the rulership to Shūn.

- [MZ 36] Replaces people’s eyes and ears by the books of ancient kings as the test of validity. [GZ 12] The former kings did not depend on extra eyes and ears.

MZ 9 had said that Yī Yǐn was a cook when discovered by Tāng, the founder of the Shāng Dynasty. This was denied by the Mencians, and reasserted by the Micians:

- [MC 5A7] Denies that Yī Yǐn’s knowledge of cookery was responsible for his introduction to Tāng. [MZ 10] Yī Yǐn was a cook when discovered by Tāng.

We now get direct reference to the Micians (as “Mwòdǒ”) by their opponents:

- [MZ 10] An ancient worthy discovered by Wǔ-dīng wore clothing of coarse cloth, tied with ropes. [SZ 10:8] Mwòdǒ would dress men in clothing tied with twisted ropes.

The principle of co-responsibility for crime was undoubtedly of Legalist origin; its acceptance by the Micians will have been somewhat later:

- [SJS 5] Mutual responsibility for crimes. [MZ 13] Not to report a crime is the same as committing the crime.

Also relevant here is the dispute with the Analects over the three-year mourning.²⁰

¹⁹An old idea (found in the 04c DJ), but its repetition in the contemporary Mencius may have provoked the MZ 39 rejoinder, which consistently follows out the idea of just war.

²⁰Between the anecdotal chapter MZ 48 and LY 17 (**c0270**); Brooks **Analects** 258.

7. Final Adjustments. By the end of the previous group, the triplet chapters had been rounded off, and the Mician doctrines officially fixed at ten; this situation is attested in MZ 49:15 (**c0262**), but probably occurred somewhat earlier. Further Mician pronouncements, some of them revising positions taken in the triplet chapters, appear in the singlet chapters. Among the texts which echo these last Mician writings are the middle 03c Jwāngdž and the highest-numbered and presumptively latest chapters of the Dàu/Dv Jīng (DDJ).²¹

- [MZ 7] Chvng Fán defends music; Mwòdž allows it a limited role, thus reversing MZ 32-34. [MZ 48:15, **c0270**] Chvng Fán defends several Confucian positions.

- [MZ 6] The ancients wore fur coats and straw belts, and ate vegetables [simple fare]. [JZ 20:5] Confucius retired to the great swamp, wearing fur and coarse cloth and living off simple food.

- [MC 6, SZ 23] Confucian debate on human nature. [MZ 6] Mentions human nature.

- [MC 6A7] If properly nourished, men's goodness grows, but if not, it is destroyed. [MZ 5] People are gentle and kind in good years; selfish and vicious in bad years.

- [MC 3A5] Image of the child falling into a well. [MZ 5] Famine and dearth are greater calamities than dropping a child in a well.

- [MZ 4] Punishments do not make the people afraid. [DDJ 74-75] The people no longer fear death.

The opposition between Sywndž and the Micians reached a crisis over the Mician reliance on an ethical Heaven. Sywndž at the revived Ji-syà establishment in Chí, from 0257 to 0254, argued against Chí cosmology and also against its Mician analogue:

- [MZ 4] Heaven is all inclusive and impartial; it benefits those who benefit others and curses those who hate and harm others. [SZ 17:1] Heaven has nothing to do with men's good fortunes and calamities.

- [MZ 3] Deplores incapable rulers who wear out their bodies, exhaust their energies, tax their minds, and stretch their thoughts. [JZ 7:4] Deplores men who wear out their bodies and grieve their minds.²²

- [MZ 2] A virtue that does not spring from the heart will not remain. [JZ 14:5] If there is no host on the inside to receive it, it will not stay.

- [MZ 2] Just as a dirty source will yield an impure stream, unfaithful conduct will always affect one's fame. [LY 19:20, **c0253**] The gentleman hates to dwell in the lower reaches, since all the world's evils tend to accumulate there.

- [MZ 1] Men who have become famous and successful in the world have been able to endure shame and humiliation within their own state. [MC 7A18, **mid 03c**] Men of wisdom and prudence will generally be found to have been in sickness and troubles.

- [MZ 1] The sweet wells become dry, the elegant trees are oftener felled. [JZ 20:5] The straight tree is the first to be felled, the well of sweet water is the first to run dry.

- [MZ 1] The big rivers do not despise the little tributaries. [JZ 17:1] The small river is compared to the great sea.

The directionality in these pairs is often unclear, but it is unmistakable that the Mician ethical writings follow other statecraft texts through the 04c and into the 03c.

²¹For the general chronology of the DDJ, see Brooks **Formation**.

²²This chapter would later be included whole in the eclectic LSCC 2/4:1-2 (0241).

Absolute Dates. The Mician ethical series ends at the same time as the Analects, the Mencius, and the DDJ, and presumably from the same cause: the Chǔ conquest of Lǚ and the former Sùng in 0249. Within that span of 140 years, from c0390 to c0250, there are few indications of absolute date. One cluster is:

- MZ 19 ~ LY 12:22 (**c0326**) Universal love is rǚn 仁
- MZ 12 ~ LY 13:9 (**c0322**) Previous education of the people
- MZ 9 ~ LY 2:12 (**c0317**) The virtuous should not be used like tools
- MZ 9 ~ MC 1B9 (**c0316**) Need for experts in government²³
- MZ 16 ~ LY 14 (**c0310**) Issue of the accuracy of records of antiquity

And some more widely separated points of contact are:

- MZ 39 ~ LY 16 (**c0285**) Duty of remonstrance (echo of Chí conquest of Sùng)
- MZ 7 ~ MZ 48:15 (**c0270**) Attack and defense of several Confucian positions
- MZ 2 ~ LY 19 (**c0253**) Dirt flows downhill

No one knows where the Mician center was located. Some evidence favors Sùng,²⁴ and contacts between the late MZ and the JZ (which may be associated with Sùng) suggest a Sùng location in the mid 03c. The hú chapters imply a different location from the periods before and after. There may then be *three* locations for the Micicians, of which the last may be Sùng. Is there any help from chronology?

If as a first approximation we assign evenly-spaced dates to chapters between the relatively firm ones given above, we get the following for the first chapter in each of the seven phases: MZ 17 (c0390), MZ 11 (c0372), MZ 15 (c0344), MZ 12 (c0322), MZ 16 (c0310), MZ 28 (c0282), and MZ 7 (c0270). These come near to suggesting external reasons for some of the shifts we observe in the seven Mician stages.

The Early Statecraft period begins shortly after the 0376 Hán conquest of Jǜng, and the move of the Hán capital to Jǜng. A regime change and a new political climate might have provided the stimulus for Micicians already in Jǜng to enter public service.²⁵ The hú (and Populist) period, if shifted down a few years from the approximate date of 0344, might imply a relocation to Ngwèi, which had been defeated by Chí in 0343 and may have been open to the populist ideas in which Mencius (in 0320) found the Ngwèi King already interested; this might have inaugurated the hú period. The shift to Sùng at approximately 0282 would follow the expulsion of Chí from Sùng in 0285, a drastic event which presumably opened up new possibilities.²⁶

Conclusion. Political philosophy cannot be expected to develop at a constant rate; external events will have their effect. Adjusting the approximate dates in that sense, I reach the tentative Mician chapter datings which are shown in the table opposite.²⁷ They are not a solution, but they may perhaps serve as a useful point of departure.

²³MZ 9 here states the principle to which Mencius appeals in MC 1B9 (c0316). For a satiric response to Mencius's failure in Chí (0314) and his departure (0313), see MZ 47:8 (c0310).

²⁴For a Hán allusion to a story of Mwòdǒ in Sùng, see Henry **Usurpation** 223.

²⁵A similar career move was made by Shǚn Bù-hài (SJ 63). Note that the ancient ruler Yǚ, who in Shǚ 261 is associated with Hán, first appears in the Mician writings of this period.

²⁶And a refuge from disaster; Chín troops had reached the Ngwèi capital (Lyáng) in 0283.

²⁷In this table, unlike previous ones, the first chapter on a new topic is highlighted in **bold**.

Abi	Unity	Love	War	Exp	Fnr	Hvn	Ghosts	Mus	Fate	Rú
<i>Opposition: The Peaceable Society, Jv̀ng, 0390-0375</i>										
										17 (0390)
										14 (0386)
										20 (0382)
										[23] (0378)
<i>Early Statecraft: Supernatural Sanctions, Jv̀ng > Hán, 0374-0345</i>										
										11 (0372)
										21 (0367)
										18 (0362)
										[24] (0357)
										26 (0352)
										[29] (0347)
<i>Later Statecraft: Populism. Ngwèì, 0342-0324</i>										
										15 (0342)
08 (0338)										[22] (0334)
										25 (0330)
										19 (0326)
										[30] (0324)
<i>Citing Ancient Authority. Ngwèì, 0322-0317</i>										
										12 (0322)
										32 (0320)
										*35 (0319)
09 (0317)										
<i>Defending the Doctrines. Ngwèì, 0310-0287</i>										
										16 (0310)
										[38] (c0306)
										27 (0302)
										31 (0298)
										[33] (0295)
										37 (0291)
										39 (0287)
<i>Self-Definition. Sùng, 0282-0273</i>										
										28 (0282)
										*36 (0280)
										[34] (0277)
10 (0275)										
										13 (0273)
<i>Final Adjustments. Sùng, 0269-0250</i>										
07 (0270)										
06 (0266)										
05 (0263)										
04 (0259)										
03 (0256)										
02 (0253)										
01 (0250)										

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