

An Exceptional Portrait of Yang Zhu and Mozi: Beyond the Mencian Track

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Abstract

This paper examines the coupling in early texts of two masters, Yang Zhu 楊朱 and Mo Di 墨翟. The two thinkers are most famously paired in the *Mencius* as the prominent preachers of extreme doctrines, while they are also sometimes presented in other early texts such as the *Zhuangzi* and *Han Feizi* as useless debaters on trivial topics. These alternative portrayals of Yang-Mo are usually simplified as a second-rate imitation or repetition of the standard Mencian depiction. The paper argues that such a reading represents a serious misunderstanding of the pre-imperial textual transmission. Unfamiliarity with Yang-Mo as sophists may also be the result of the unconscious acceptance of Mencius' description. The unconventional portrayal of Yang-Mo, very likely relatively unrelated to Mencius' portrayal, had its own history in early China. Presented in various contexts, this alternative Yang-Mo image was once circulated in various forms for different intended audiences.

Keywords: Yang-Mo, Yang Zhu and Mozi, Mencius, *Zhuangzi*, *Han Feizi*, open textual culture

Neobičajen portret Yang Zhuja in Mozija: onkraj mencijanske steze

Izveček

Članek obravnava povezovanje dveh mojstrov, Yang Zhuja 楊朱 in Mo Dija 墨翟, v zgodnjih besedilih. Najbolj znano besedilo, ki oba misleca predstavi kot dvojico, je knjiga *Mencij*, ki ju obravnava kot pomembna pridigarja skrajnih doktrin. Kot par pa sta včasih predstavljena tudi v drugih zgodnjih besedilih, kot sta *Zhuangzi* in *Han Feizi*, kjer pa sta obravnavana kot nesposobna razpravljavca o trivialnih temah. Te alternativne upodobitve dvojice Yang-Mo običajno poenostavljajo kot drugovrstne imitacije ali ponavljanja ustaljene mencijanske upodobitve. Članek razpravlja o tem, da takšna branja kažejo resno nerazumevanje predcesarskega prenosa besedil. Nepoznavanje dvojice Yang-Mo kot razpravljavca o sofizmih je lahko prav tako rezultat nezavednega sprejetja Mencijevih opisov. Nekonvencionalne upodobitve para Yang-Mo, ki so bile zelo verjetno bolj ali manj nepovezane z Mencijevimi upodobitvami,

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sežejo v zgodnjo Kitajsko. Predstavljene so bile v različnih kontekstih, tako da je ta alternativna podoba para Yang-Mo nekoč krožila v različnih oblikah, namenjenih različni ciljni publiki.

Ključne besede: Yang-Mo, Yang Zhu in Mozi, *Zhuangzi*, *Han Feizi*, odprta besedilna kultura

When Yang and Mo Were Presented in a Non-Mencian Context¹

The expressions “*Yang Mo*” 楊墨 and “*Yang Zhu Mo Di*” 楊朱墨翟 (hereafter “Yang-Mo” for both) in early texts (ca. 4th–1st centuries BCE), such as the *Mencius* 孟子, *Zhuangzi* 莊子, and *Han Feizi* 韓非子, have been a focus of recent studies on early Chinese intellectual history.² Many of these have demonstrated the profound influence of Mencius’ 孟子 (ca. 371–289 BCE) portrait of the two masters, Yang Zhu 楊朱 (ca. 440–360 BCE) and Mozi 墨子 (ca. 479–391 BCE).³ These two thinkers are coupled in Mencius’ depiction because, in his eyes, they were the most prominent schools in his time that define the two furthestmost points of the spectrum of thought: Yang Zhu promotes the selfish doctrine of “acting for oneself” (*weirwo* 為我) while Mozi altruistically “cares equally for all” (*jian’ai* 兼愛).⁴ The literature on Mencius’ portrayal

- 1 An earlier draft of this paper was presented at the KU Leuven Workshop “How to Become a Philosopher: The Many Lives of Yang Zhu”. I thank the discussant Paul van Els and other participants of the workshop for their comments, as well as the two anonymous reviewers of *Asian Studies* for their constructive feedback. I am especially indebted to Carine Defoort whose suggestions significantly helped improve the paper. This research was supported by the FWO project G060817N: “Mozi and Yang Zhu from Heretics to Philosophers: Caught in Another Web? The Genealogy of “Chinese Philosophy” in Three Major Steps.
- 2 Both expressions can either refer to the two historical figures (Yang Zhu and Mozi as thinkers and perhaps the founders of intellectual schools) or thinkers affiliated with Yang and Mo traditions (the followers of Yang Zhu’s and Mozi’s teachings; the Yangists and Mohists).
- 3 Mencius’ portrayal has had an enormous influence on later scholars since at least the Song dynasty (960–1279) onward. The image of Mencius’ Yang-Mo was repeatedly imitated by several later Confucians, including Yang Xiong 揚雄 (ca. 53 BCE–18 CE), Wang Chong 王充 (ca. 27–100 CE), Han Yu 韓愈 (ca. 768–824 CE), Zhu Xi 朱熹 (ca. 1130–1200 CE), and Wang Yangming 王陽明 (ca. 1472–1529 CE). It served as a recurrent trope by which the tasks of later Confucians were compared to that of Mencius, who attempted to rescue the precarious intactness of Confucius’ Way from the increasing threat of heresy.
- 4 The translation of *jian’ai* as “caring equally for all” might not adequately represent the Mohist view as seen in the text *Mozi*. This term would be better rendered, on the basis of the three chapters of *Mozi* titled “Jian’ai”, as “inclusive care” or “caring inclusively”. However, this translation might represent the view of the *Mencius*, in which *jian’ai* is related to the image of “benefiting the world by wearing off one’s hairs” (摩頂放踵利天下, 7A26). For relevant discussion, see Defoort 2013 and 2018. My translation “caring equally for all” is inspired by her works.

of Yang-Mo can be broadly divided into three trends. Firstly, there has been increasing scepticism about the reliability of Mencius' portrayal. In line with Hu Hong's 胡宏 (1105–1161 CE) distrust, modern scholars such as Tang Yue 唐鉞 and Qian Mu 錢穆 suggested that the conflation of Yang and Mo in history was largely a result of Mencius' rhetorical invention, rather than a genuinely equal status of Yang and Mo in popularity during Mencius' time (Tang 1982 vol. 4, 540–53; Qian 1994, vol. 5, 285–87).⁵ Besides this claimed popularity, Mencius' attribution of the two extreme doctrines to the two masters was also questioned (Defoort 2018). Studies in the second trend have more historical interest in the portrayal's influences. Scholars have traced the use of the term “Yang-Mo”, throughout Chinese history, as a symbol of extremism and heresy (Lyell 1962; Andreini 2014) or as a rhetorical trope used against intellectual rivals (Defoort 2020). The third trend focuses on the reconstruction of Yang-Mo's philosophical positions (Shi 2004; Zhang 2014; He 2015, 2–13) and the implications of Mencius' accusations (Li 2009; Yang 2014; Shi 2015).⁶ This paper offers a different contribution

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- 5 Back in the Song dynasty, the Confucian scholar Hu Hong 胡宏 (1105–1161) already expressed his doubt about Mencius' depiction of Yang-Mo. (Hu 1987, 281–82) In the 1930s, Mencius' portrayal's authenticity was intensely questioned in the “Doubting the Antiquity” (*yigu* 疑古) movement by several articles published in the magazine “Gushi Bian 古史辨” (*Debates on Ancient History*), esp. vol.4 (first published in 1933). Kwong-loi Shun also points out that “there is little evidence that Yangist teachings were influential during Mencius' time, and this has led some scholars to suggest that Mencius exaggerated the movement's influence” (Shun 2000, 36). For a pair of prominent schools that really existed in early China, they should have left more written traces if compared with the tens or nearly hundreds of pre-Qin and Han mentions of another pair of prominent schools Ru-Mo (*Ru Mo* 儒墨, *Kong Mo* 孔墨 *Kongzi Mozi* 孔子墨子, *Kong Qiu Mo Di* 孔丘墨翟). Regarding the current studies on the uses of “Ru-Mo” in early China, see Nylan 2009; Harbsmeier 2013; and Lee 2014.
- 6 There has been an abundant discussion about the reconstruction of Yang Zhu's philosophical position. Most scholars believe that the teachings of Yang Zhu must have been quite influential during Mencius' time; otherwise, Mencius would not have warned his readers so forcefully of the threat of Yang Zhu's thought. To fill the gap in ancient intellectual history, on the one hand, modern scholars associate Yang Zhu with more ascertained traditions such as Daoism (along with Laozi and Zhuangzi) and the reclusive hermits who “escape from the world” (*bi shi* 辟世). For example, Feng Youlan 馮友蘭 (1895–1990) and A. C. Graham consider the fragments from the *Lunyu* (14.37; 14.38; 14.39; 18.6; 18.7; 18.8) as resources to understand the root of Yangist thought. On the other hand, as Feng Youlan puts it, modern scholars tend to consider the thought of Yang Zhu “must be deduced from scattered references in a number of works by other writers” (see Feng 1948, 60–65). A. C. Graham considers that there are several chapters containing Yang Zhu's thought without mentioning his name, such as the five chapters from the *Lushi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 (namely, “Taking Life as Basic” 本生, “Valuing the Self” 重己, “Honoring Life” 貴生, “The Essential Desires” 情欲, and “Being Attentive to Aims” 審為) and the four chapters from the *Zhuangzi* (namely, “Abdicating the Throne” 讓王, “Robber Zhi” 盜跖, “Discourse on Swords” 說劍, and “The Old Fisherman” 漁父) (see Graham 1989, 53–56). Since *Zhuangzi* chapter 8 mentions the “disputation” (*bian* 辯) of Yang and Mo, Graham regarded these “Yangist” chapters from the *Zhuangzi* and *Lushi Chunqiu* as examples of the very disputation of Yang, whose style differs from that of the Mohist disputation (see Graham 1989, 55–56; 2001[1981]: 221–23; 2003: 88–89, 92).

to this topic, in which the non-Mencian portrayals of Yang-Mo rather than Mencius' is brought to the fore. This alternative focus enables us to reconsider how textual culture was actively involved in the formation of the Yang-Mo combination in early texts. The paper argues that the coupling of Yang Zhu and Mozi in some early texts is better seen as a product of dynamic development in a highly open and fluid textual culture rather than, as is usually assumed, the imitation or repetition of a stable Mencian depiction of Yang-Mo.

The *Mencius* is not the only early text that combines Yang and Mo.⁷ Several pre-modern scholars have already noticed that Yang Zhu and Mozi are also paired in the *Zhuangzi*, but most of their interest was still on Mencius' claims against the two heretical figures.⁸ Modern views of the Yang-Mo combination have also been largely shaped by the *Mencius*. Even those who find fault with Mencius' view are still substantially indebted to or framed by his depiction. They might reject the informational, descriptive, evaluative, or interpretive stance of Mencius' portrayal—the proclaimed popularity of Yang-Mo, the mottos ascribed to them, and Mencius' interpretation and disapproval of these—but yet accept some aspects of it, such as its originality, the pairing of Yang-Mo, the opposition between them, and even their existence. Furthermore, Mencius' portrayal generally enjoys a special status as the prime (or even the sole) source of information about the coupling of Yang-Mo in early China. Almost all studies of the Yang-Mo coupling frame their investigation in terms of this privileged portrayal. When they sometimes take into account of other descriptions of Yang-Mo, such as those in the *Zhuangzi* and *Han Feizi*, their primary purpose is generally to fit these “minor” descriptions into the frame of Mencius' portrayal.⁹ Setting aside the preoccupation with the *Mencius*, we will be more aware of other alternative early descriptions in which the non-Mencian elements figure prominently, such as the theme of fruitlessness (*wuyong* 無用) and the combination of Yang-Mo and Zeng-Shi (*Zeng Shi* 曾史 or *Zeng Shen Shi Qiu* 曾參史鱗).

7 Apart from the three mentions in the *Mencius* (3B9, 7A26, 7B26), there are ten more mentions of Yang-Mo in other pre-Qin and Han texts—three in the *Zhuangzi* (ch. 8, 10, 12), one in the *Han Feizi* (ch. 47), one in the *Hanshu* 漢書 (“Yang Xiong Zhuan” 揚雄傳), one in the *Fayan* 法言 (ch. 2), three in the *Lunheng* 論衡 (ch. 84), and one in the *Fengsu Tongyi* 風俗通義 (ch. 7). Half of these mentions are more or less repetitions of Mencius' portrayal, which leads to the impression that the early descriptions of Yang-Mo are probably derived from Mencius' exaggeration. Yang Zhu and Mozi together are also sometimes affiliated with a group of thinkers, such as the mentions in the *Zhuangzi* chapter 24, *Huainanzi* 淮南子 chapter 13, and *Zhonglun* 中論 chapter 11.

8 The Song dynasty *Zhuangzi* commentator Lin Xiyi 林希逸 (1193–1271) pointed out that “Mencius castigates Yang and Mo, and it is frequent that this text [i.e., the *Zhuangzi*] also uses the term ‘Yang-Mo’ to refer to them together (孟子闢楊墨，此書亦以楊墨兼言者屢矣)” (Ling 1998, 885). In the Yuan dynasty, Jin Luxiang 金履祥 (1232–1303) in his commentary on Zhu Xi's *Mengzi ji zhu* 孟子集注 also noted that “the text *Zhuangzi* as well often speaks of the disputation of Yang and Mo (莊子書亦盛言楊墨之辨)” (Jing 1991, 31).

9 Examples such as Zhang 2014; Shi 2015; He 2015.

It is not surprising that Yang Zhu and Mozi could be portrayed in a wide variety of ways. The intended audience of the Yang-Mo portrayals may have deeply influenced how the two masters were presented, as these images vary from the radical preachers of the immoral doctrines “acting for oneself” and “caring equally for all” that threatened the very core of Confucian values, to the prominent debaters on unprofitable topics such as the “hard and white” (*jianbai* 堅白) and the “same and different” (*tongyi* 同異). This paper suggests that the inconsistencies in the early portraits of Yang-Mo are not a matter of accuracy but rhetoric. The disparate descriptions of Yang-Mo are more likely meant as literary or rhetorical devices that produce different impacts on different audiences. The variance of portrayals may also, to some extent, reveal the bias of the authors. Instead of considering the non-Mencian depictions of Yang-Mo as inaccurate or the second-rate repetition of Mencius’ portrayal, this paper perceives all early portrayals of Yang-Mo equally as to some extent rhetorical. This allows us to problematize the privileging of Mencius’ portrayal over the other, and revalue the underappreciated non-Mencian portrayal of Yang-Mo in early texts. This portrayal can still be traced on the basis of the coherent descriptions from *Zhuangzi* chapter 8 (“Webbed Toes” 駢拇), chapter 10 (“Ransacking Coffers” 胠篋), chapter 12 (“Heaven and Earth” 天地), and *Han Feizi* chapter 47 (“Eight Persuasions” 八說).¹⁰ To fully explore this undervalued portrayal of Yang-Mo, the paper, in its first two sections, provides a detailed reading of the passages where Yang and Mo are presented as useless sophists and contrasted with virtuous practitioners and then, in the third section, a discussion of the textual relations between these Yang-Mo passages and those in the *Mencius* is presented, in which their textual statuses are reconsidered in light of recent studies and with reference to the concept of open *versus* closed texts.

The Portrait of Yang-Mo as Disputers of Useless Words

The early portrayal based on the descriptions in the *Zhuangzi* and *Han Feizi* (henceforth the *Zhuangzian-Hanfeizian* portrayal) is first marked by its distinctive emphasis on the futility and unprofitability of the disputation of Yang-Mo.

10 The term “Yang-Mo” appears thrice in the *Zhuangzi* (8/22/3-19; 10/25/12-20; 12/34/3-9). “Yang” is also mentioned together with four other debating rivals in the “Xu Wugui” 徐無鬼 chapter (24/69/19-23): “There are four positions of Ru, Mo, Yang, and Bing [i.e., Gongsun Long 公孫龍]. Adding you, master [i.e., Huizi 惠子], it makes five (儒, 墨, 楊, 秉四, 與夫子為五).” Other Yang Zhu stories in the *Zhuangzi* include an anecdote about Yangzi 陽子, who was lodging in the inn with two concubines, one pretty and one ugly (20/56/9-11), and two dialogues between Lao Dan 老聃 and Yang Ziju 陽子居, which is believed to be another name for Yang Zhu (7/20/19-23; 27/80/26-27/81/4). In one of these Yang Ziju passages, Yang Ziju’s question receives the same criticism from Lao Dan as the “disputers” (辯者) do in another *Zhuangzi* passage (12/31/15-20).

In *Zhuangzi* chapter 8, the images of having “webbed toes” (*pianmu* 駢姆) and “extra fingers” (*zhizhi* 枝指) are used as metaphors for the fanatical obsession with artificial standards and skills which corrupt people’s “inborn nature” (*xing* 性).¹¹ Prominent figures in different fields are chosen as illustrations: Li Zhu 離朱 is obsessed with his examination and classification of colours and patterns, Music Master Kuang 師曠 with that of sounds, and Zeng-Shi with morality. Having “webbed toes” in their obsession with useless “disputation” (*bian* 辯), the likes of Yang and Mo also lose their inborn nature:

Are those who have webbed toes in their disputation not artfully manoeuvring the phrases as if stacking balls on top of each other or tying knots, sending their minds wandering amid the “hard and white” and the “same and different”, and arduously praising those useless words? That is exactly what [the likes of] Yang and Mo do.¹²

駢於辯者，纍瓦[丸]結繩竄句，遊心於堅白、同異之間，而敝跬譽無用之言非乎？而楊墨是已。(Zhuangzi 8/22/9-10)

Yang Zhu and Mozi are here depicted as manipulating words like stacking balls and tying knots, which display a marvellous but useless skill. Instead of being the advocates of the subversive ideas of “acting for oneself” and “caring equally for all”, they are portrayed as thinkers disputing over issues such as the “hard and white” and the “same and different”.

A cautious distrust of this description may arise out of the traditional attribution of these two issues to other figures.¹³ For example, Qian Mu (1895–1990), who perceives the coupling of Yang–Mo as a result of exaggeration, argues that Yang–Mo in this *Zhuangzi* description should be rendered as a “false” combination that

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- 11 For a detailed discussion of the themes of artificial standards and inborn nature, see Baggio 2014.
- 12 Except for the texts where passages are more conveniently signified by a number and a letter, such as the *Mencius*, all my references to primary sources would be from D. C. Lau *ICS Ancient Chinese Texts Concordance Series* (1993–2002). All my translations from the *Zhuangzi* are based on Mair (1998) and Ziporyn (2009).
- 13 The two issues are more famously attributed to other “sophists”. A more likely member of these debaters is Gongsun Long 公孫龍 (ca. 320–250 BCE), who was said to “excel at the disputation on ‘the hard and white’” (善為堅白之辯) in *Shiji* 76 (平原君虞卿列傳). He was also said to dispute over both issues in *Shiji* 74 (孟子荀卿列傳), *Huainanzi* 11 (“Equalizing the Customs” 齊俗訓), and *Zhuangzi* 17 (“Autumn Floods” 秋水). Another connection is that there is a chapter called “On the Hard and White” (堅白論) in the received text named after Gongsun Long. One other candidate is Hui Shi 惠施 (or Huizi 惠子, ca. 370–310 BCE), who is said to be obsessed with the “hard and white” in *Zhuangzi* chapter 2 and chapter 5. In *Zhuangzi* chapter 33, he is also said to “have the proper understanding of the disputers” (曉辯者) and be resonant with their delight in sophistry.

patterns itself on Mencius' portrayal (Qian 1994, 285–87). Considering Yang as a meaningless constituent, he proposes to read this passage as a description of the later Mohists instead of real Yang-Mo.¹⁴ Qian's reading is an illustration of a general attitude towards this description: a lack of appreciation of its uniqueness and informativeness not only because of Mencius' influence but also because of a preoccupation with factuality. Although recognizing the rhetorical nature of Mencius' portrayal, he is still enthralled by the quest for a plausible explanation of this description on a sound "factual" basis. This determined his opinion of what a proper portrayal of Yang-Mo should be.

Yang-Mo as Disputers *versus* Zeng-Shi as Practitioners

The second characteristic feature of the Zhuangzian-Hanfeizian portrayal is Yang-Mo's recurrent attachment to another pair of figures: Zeng Shen (ca. 505–432 BCE) and Shi Qiu (or Shi Yu 史魚, ca. 534–493 BCE). The former was a disciple of Confucius, famous for his practice of "filial piety" (*xiao* 孝), the latter a minister of Wei 衛 considered as a representative of "moral straightness" (*zhi* 直) or "loyalty" (*zhong* 忠). These two figures, in *Zhuangzi* chapter 8, are depicted as those who "have extra fingers in their humaneness (*zhi yu ren* 枝於仁)" by "pulling up the [artificial] virtues and blocking the inborn nature in exchange for a good name, thus making the people of the world trumpeting and drumming forth in pursuit of unreachable standards (擢德塞性以收名聲, 使天下簧鼓以奉不及之法) (*Zhuangzi* 8/22/8–9)". In contrast with the disputers Yang and Mo, who express their pursuit of useless distinctions using their mouths, the practitioners Zeng and Shi express the pursuit of inauspicious moral standards through their deeds. The two pairs of figures, therefore, are often juxtaposed with each other. For example, in *Zhuangzi* chapter 10, although being mixed with other "experts" such as Li Zhu and Music Master Kuang, Yang-Mo and Zeng-Shi are closely tied up with each other in the same sentence:

14 In Qian's opinion, Yang merely serves as a meaningless constituent so as to follow Mencius' combination. He also considered that Mo here is unrelated to the early Mohists, who normatively advocated the core Mohist doctrines such as "caring equally for all". Alternatively, it refers to the later Mohists, who developed delicate linguistic techniques in the descriptive analysis of Mohist theories and engaged themselves in the discussion of the "hard and white". Qian's impression is probably based on *Zhuangzi* chapter 33 ("Tianxia" 天下), in which some of the later Mohist schools are depicted as "denouncing each other with the disputations about the 'hard and white' and the 'same and different'" (以堅白、同異之辯相訾, *Zhuangzi* 33/98/23–25). This impression may also be enhanced on the basis of some relevant passages from the so-called "Mohist Canons" (*Mojing* 墨經).

Only when the (virtuous) deeds of Zeng and Shi are pared back, the (eloquent) mouths of Yang and Mo are gagged, and the humaneness and righteousness are discarded, will the virtues of all under Heaven begin to merge in obscurity.

削曾史之行，鉗楊墨之口，攘棄仁義，而天下之德始玄同矣。(Zhuangzi 10/25/17)

In *Zhuangzi* chapter 12, the pair of Zeng-Shi is first contrasted with the robber Zhi 盜跖 (and the tyrant Jie 桀) in terms of morality, followed by a remark on Yang-Mo a few lines later:

Though there may be a divergence in the practice of righteousness between [the tyrant] Jie and [the robber] Zhi, on the one hand, and Zeng and Shi, on the other hand, they are the same in terms of having lost their original nature (...) Yet Yang and Mo went striding around and thinking that they had attained something, but that is not what I would call the attainment. If what you attain brings confinement, then can that be attainment? If so, then the dove or the owl in a cage may also be considered attainment.¹⁵

[桀]跖與曾史，行義有間矣，然其失性均也 (...) 而楊墨乃始離跂自以為得，非吾所謂得也。夫得者困，可以為得乎？則鳩鴟之在於籠也，亦可以為得矣。(Zhuangzi 12/34/6-7)

The combination of Yang-Mo and Zeng-Shi also appears in *Han Feizi* chapter 47.¹⁶ Here the disputatious intellects Yang Zhu and Mozi are contrasted with the virtuous practitioners Bao Jiao 鮑焦 and Hua Jiao 華角. The contrast between these two pairs of figures is implicitly associated with another contrast between the intellects Kong and Mo 孔墨 and the practitioners Zeng and Shi:

15 Going by the fragments in Cheng Xuanying's 成玄英 *Zhuangzi* commentary and *Zhuangzi* chapter 11, Liu Shipai 劉師培 argued that there should be a missing character "Jie" 桀 before "Zhi" 跖.

16 Back in the 1930s, Luo Genze already pointed out that since the term "Zeng-Shi" only appears in the four Outer Chapters of the *Zhuangzi* and several chapters of the *Han Feizi* (some of which also contain the combination of Yang-Mo). Luo argues that these passages in the *Zhuangzi* and *Han Feizi* are very likely to be composed by the same author or school. "Apart from these fragments, few have mentioned Zeng and Shi. Therefore, it is highly suspicious that these fragments are written by a single hand or school. (除此數篇外，很少提到曾史的，則這幾篇的同出一派或一人之手，是有極大嫌疑的。)" (Luo 1958, 287) The passages that contain Zeng-Shi are from *Hanfeizi* chapter 26, chapter 38, and chapter 46. However, putting aside the enthusiasm for tracing authorship and dates of transmitted texts, these passages might be more safely seen as different early fragments sharing the same textual pattern.

What only incisive intellects can understand should not be made an order, because the people are not all incisive. What only the worthies can practice should not be made a law, because the people are not all worthy. Yang Zhu and Mo Di are universally regarded as men of incisiveness. Regardless of how incisive, they should not be promoted as officials because they intervened in the turmoil in their time but yet did not solve it in the end. Bao Jiao and Hua Jiao are universally regarded as worthies. Regardless of how worthy, they could not be turned into farmers and warriors because Bao Jiao dried up to death like a tree while Hua Jiao drowned himself in a river. Therefore, the intelligent should make full use of their disputation to investigate what the ruler wants to investigate; the able should make full use of their conduct to practice what the ruler values as meritorious. Now that the rulers of this time consider useless debates as incisiveness and honour unprofitable activities, seeking in this way to achieve wealth and strength for the state is impossible. The erudite, learned, disputatious, and intelligent people are like Kong [Qiu] and Mo [Di]. However, since Kong and Mo never engaged in agricultural work, what did the state gain from them? People who cultivate filial piety and reduce their desires are like Zeng [Can] and Shi [Qiu]. However, since Zeng and Shi never engaged in offensive warfare, how did the state benefit from them?¹⁷

察士然後能知之，不可以為令，夫民不盡察。賢者然後能行之，不可以為法，夫民不盡賢。楊朱、墨翟，天下之所察也，干世亂而卒不決，雖察而不可以為官職之令。鮑焦、華角，天下之所賢也，鮑焦木枯，華角赴河，雖賢不可以為耕戰之士。故人主之所察，智士盡其辯焉。人主之所尊，能士盡其行焉。今世主察無用之辯，尊遠功之行，索國之富強，不可得也。博習辯智如孔、墨，孔、墨不耕耨，則國何得焉？修孝寡欲如曾、史，曾、史不戰攻，則國何利焉？ (*Han Feizi* 47/140/9-14)

In this *Han Feizi* passage, Yang Zhu and Mozi are similarly portrayed as the most illustrative examples of incisive intellects who attempted to solve the problems of their time with useless disputation, and Zeng and Shi as examples of moral practitioners. Although Yang-Mo is no longer tied up

17 This rendition is modified on the basis of W. K Liao's work (1959) and a translation provided by Christoph Harbsmeier's *Thesaurus Linguae Sericae* (http://tls.uni-hd.de/home_en.lasso).

with Zeng-Shi, their respective roles of disputers and practitioners remain the same.¹⁸

The common feature shared by these passages from the *Zhuangzi* and *Han Feizi* is that Yang-Mo always play the role of distinguished disputers and Zeng-Shi of famous moral practitioners. What all the portrayals of Yang-Mo share, including Mencius', is their association with *bian*, as two Yang-Mo passages in the *Mencius* (3B9 and 7B26) also explicitly mention the topic of disputation. However, Mencius' mentioning of Yang-Mo's disputation is outlined in a very different scenario, namely with Yang-Mo and their followers as dangerous opponents with whom the Confucians must dispute. As opposed to the theme of Mencius' portrayal of Yang-Mo (i.e., the perilousness of Yang-Mo's teachings), these non-Mencian descriptions of Yang-Mo (together with Zeng-Shi) focus on their futility and lack of profit. The descriptions in the *Zhuangzi* rather emphasize that they have lost their inborn nature while that in the *Han Feizi* highlights that they contribute nothing to the prosperity of the state. The fact that the same Yang-Mo as useless disputers are described by different texts with variations in contexts might be a sign that this Yang-Mo portrayal was once circulated in various forms. The fluid descriptions were probably the product of the reuse of a basic portrayal adapted to fulfil the needs of different authors. This could explain why among the different textual styles there are several shared formulaic elements, such as the pairing between Yang-Mo and Zeng-Shi, the roles of eloquent disputers and moral practitioners, and the theme of uselessness. That is to say, this portrayal had its own history in early China, which was very likely relatively unrelated to Mencius' portrayal, or at least should not be simplified as just one of its imitations or repetitions. This textual fluidity will be discussed later in the next section of this paper.

18 Here, Yang-Mo and Ru-Mo are related in terms of both being disputatious intellects. In other early and medieval texts, it seems that sometimes Ru-Mo and Yang-Mo are interchangeable. There are similar expressions in *Zhuangzi* 11 and 12 (*Zhuangzi* 11/27/11-12; 12/34/6-7), where both Ru-Mo and Yang-Mo are portrayed as "starting to stride around" (乃始離跂). In a *Zhuangzi* 10 quote in Lu Zhongxuan's 盧重玄 Tang dynasty *Liezi* commentary, the role of Yang-Mo seems to be replaced by Ru-Mo, which is different from the received *Zhuangzi*:

Hence the *Zhuangzi* says: "If we glue up the eyes of Li Zhu, then all the people of the world will acquire a keen vision. If we break the fingers of Carpenter Shu, then all the people of the world will be skillful. If one wants to bring together the learning of Ru and Mo, feeling confident about one's judgment of right and wrong and regarded oneself as profuse..."

故莊子曰：膠離朱之目，故天下皆明矣；戾工輪之指，故天下皆巧矣。合儒墨之學，矜是非之名以為富... (Yang Bojun 1979)

Moreover, Chu Boxiu 褚伯秀 (fl. ca. 1246), in his compiled annotation to the *Zhuangzi*, replaced the pair of Ru-Mo with Yang-Mo in his commentary on *Zhuangzi* 11: "For this very reason we know that what is called sagacious, wise, humane, and righteous may serve as foot chains and manacles; Zeng and Shi and Yang and Mo may also be the useful tools exploitable for Jie and Zhou. (由是知世所謂聖知仁義未必不為桁楊桎梏，曾史楊墨未必不為桀跖利器。)" See Chu 1983.

The role of useless disputers is thus, unsurprisingly, not exclusively played by Yang-Mo. Several early texts also share the same motif (i.e., uselessness) and similar contrast (i.e., the disputers *versus* practitioners), in which the role of Yang-Mo can be replaced by other similar actors, such as Gongsun Long, Huizi, the pair of Ru and Mo, Shen [Dao] 慎道 and Mo, and Hui Shi and Deng Xi 鄧析. All these actors are playing the role of disputers, and sometimes related to the vague thesis of the “hard and white”. This disputers–practitioners contrast also sometimes extends to a wider contrast, namely between masters of different fields. In this broader contrast, famous masters such as Li Zhu, Music Master Kuang, and Carpenter Chui are classified according to which sense organ is involved in their skills (see Appendix).

One may consider these descriptions of Yang-Mo to be less informative because the role of disputers can be played by other figures too, and thus the roles themselves seem more important than the actual figures, who turn out to be replaceable. Their informational value is then diminished by the likelihood that they are not an intentionally faithful portrayal of Yang-Mo, but a recurrent theme contingently in the shape of Yang-Mo. However, this conclusion is again caused by a fixation with the factuality of a portrayal, which may not be entire adequate in the case of the *Mencius*. This alternative portrayal may, moreover, be a bit disappointing compared to Mencius’ unique portrayal of Yang Zhu promoting “for oneself” and “not pulling out a hair” (7A26) and Mozi “caring equally for all” and “wearing smooth from the crown to the heels” (摩頂放踵, 7A26). In contrast, the portraits of Yang-Mo in the *Zhuangzi* and *Han Feizi* are far from unique descriptions—they could describe any other early debaters. This difference gives the impression that the latter portraits are less informative. However, the metaphors of pulling out hair and wearing smooth one’s body are, in fact, also not exclusive to Yang-Mo.¹⁹ If the description about hair nevertheless serves as an informative portrayal of Yang-Mo, why not the role of useless disputers as well? Furthermore, other figures such as Shen Dao, in comparison, would not be expected to have a unique depiction—scholars are more comfortable with Shen Dao merely being one of the seemingly replaceable actors of disputers.

The two abovementioned traits—the futility theme and coupling of Yang-Mo and Zeng-Shi—define a type of Yang-Mo portrayal that is distinct from Mencius’ characterization. But the ascendancy of Mencius significantly influenced the understanding of Yang-Mo, thus diminishing the status of alternative Yang-Mo portrayals. To fully break through the unquestioned dominance of Mencius’ depiction, we still need to reconsider the textual relations between different early portrayals of Yang-Mo.

19 For the discussion of Yang Zhu and the image of hairs, see Defoort 2018.

Interrelations between the Early Mentions of Yang-Mo

The dominance of Mencius' portrayal of Yang-Mo over that in other texts, including the *Zhuangzi* and *Han Feizi*, to some extent rests on the assumption of *Mencius*' chronological precedence. Qian Mu explicitly articulated this presupposition in 1935.²⁰ Being one of the scholars who have noticed that there are also mentions of Yang-Mo in the *Zhuangzi*, he explained this commonality as "merely owing to the fact that the text [*Zhuangzi*] came after the *Mencius* and adopted the name of Yang-Mo (特其書出《孟子》後，襲用楊墨之名)" (Qian 1994, 286). What Qian expressed here was and has largely remained a prevalent opinion. It relies on the view of *Mencius* as a highly reliable text that can be ascribed to authors of middle Warring States, namely Mencius and his followers. As for the *Zhuangzi*, its Outer and Miscellaneous Chapters are supposed to be produced by the many hands of late Warring States or Western Han (ca. 3–1 cent. BCE) writers.²¹ These opinions together could lead to the conclusion that the Yang-Mo passages in the Outer Chapters of the *Zhuangzi* (ch. 8, 10, 12) are later texts that might have been influenced by those in the *Mencius* (3B9, 7A26, 7B26). The same holds for the Yang-Mo passage in the even more reliably dated late Warring States text *Han Feizi* (ch. 47).²² The interrelations between those Yang-Mo passages, however, can be revisited in the light of some recent studies. To argue that the mentions of Yang-Mo in the *Mencius* may not necessarily be the origin of the others, I discuss three points: the complex composition of the *Mencius*, the location of the Yang-Mo passages in the remarkably homogeneous part of the *Zhuangzi*, and the concept of "open textual culture" as a useful analytical tool.

20 One other reason might be that Mencius' portrayal is more arresting and better known than the others. Esther Klein's insight into the Inner Chapters of *Zhuangzi* is perhaps again applicable in this case. For scholars working on early texts, it is a habit of mind to consider insightful and refined works as masterpieces by great masters in early times. It is natural to presume the ingenious Mencius' portrayal to be the origin of the relatively less elegant descriptions of Yang-Mo in other texts. However, "a work of genius can arise in almost any time". The elegance of a portrayal could also be a result of later refinement of primitive ones. See Klein, 2011, 306.

21 It is widely accepted that the relatively more coherent Inner Chapters, which are supposed to be the work of the historical Zhuangzi (ca. 369–286 BCE), are a more reliable source of Warring States thought than the other parts of the received *Zhuangzi*. For a reflection of this prevalent opinion, see Klein 2011.

22 According to Bertil Lundahl, there is a group of chapters for which there is external evidence in the *Shiji* 史記 and *Huainanzi* to support Han Fei's (ca. 281–233 BCE) authorship. These "safest" chapters include chapters 11, 12, 22, 30–39, 49, 50. Connecting to the theme of "self-defeating behaviour", which is brought up in the chapter 49, and echoing the topics of several "safest" chapters, *Han Feizi* 47, "Eight Persuasions" 八說, is widely regarded as a chapter written by Han Fei himself. See Lundahl 1992, 139–69.

It is a prevalent opinion that the *Mencius* is a more reliable source of Warring States thought than most transmitted texts. The reason for this, as Michael Hunter (2014) pointed out, is perhaps *Mencius*' consistency in thought and language.²³ However, some scholars considered the composition of the *Mencius* no less complex than other transmitted texts. For example, Bruce and Taeko Brooks argue that the *Mencius* can be more plausibly seen as a text of different layers due to its seeming inconsistencies. In their view, the Yang-Mo passages, which occur in books III and VII of *Mencius*, belong to the latest layer of the text (just before the Chu 楚 conquest of Lu 魯 in 249 BCE) (Brooks and Brooks 2002, 242–43, 256–58), while most scholars regarded them as representative of the historical Mencius. Michael Hunter also contends that at least some fractions of the received *Mencius* can be dated to the Han period (Hunter 2014, 74–75). Even though their views of the dates might also, to different degrees, be problematic, these considerations are sufficient to appreciate the likelihood that the Yang-Mo passages in the *Mencius* may not necessarily predate and thus influence those in the *Zhuangzi* and *Han Feizi*.

The second point is about the location of the Yang-Mo passages in the received *Zhuangzi*. Compared to the *Mencius* and *Han Feizi*, the received *Zhuangzi* is more obviously an assembly of different groups of material. The division of the *Zhuangzi* into different sections, such as “inner”, “outer”, and “miscellaneous”, has played an essential role in its complex textual history, and the Inner Chapters are conventionally viewed as a more authentic section. Scholars adopting this view, like Qian Mu, might perceive the Yang-Mo passages in the *Zhuangzi*, which are located in the non-Inner Chapters, as less reliable records of the thought of the historical Zhuangzi (ca. 369–286 BCE), who is supposed to have lived approximately at the same time as Mencius.²⁴ However, this view has been challenged by recent studies (Klein 2011).²⁵ If the Inner Chapters are not necessarily more privileged, the location of the Yang-Mo passages in the Outer Chapters of the *Zhuangzi* should no longer be a valid reason for considering them as less reliable or less important.

23 D. C. Lau considers that the *Mencius* is “extraordinarily well preserved” and A. C. Graham believes that it is “unusual among the early philosophical texts in raising no problems of authenticity” (Hunter 2014, 58–59).

24 Qian mistrusted the Yang-Mo passages in the *Zhuangzi* for their being in the Outer and Miscellaneous Chapters (外雜諸篇), which are clearly not written by a single hand and in a single period. In contrast, the Inner Chapters (內篇), which are considered to be written by the historical Zhuangzi, seem more reliable and only mention the pair of Ru-Mo (Qian 1994, 285).

25 Esther Klein proposed the possibility that the Inner Chapters did not exist before Liu An's 劉安 (c. 179–122 BC) compilation of the *Huainanzi*, for most of the textual parallels of the *Zhuangzi* found in other earlier texts are from the Outer and Miscellaneous instead of the Inner Chapters.

Scholars have also noted that the three mentions of Yang-Mo in *Zhuangzi* chapters 8, 10, and 12 come from a group of texts that are generally considered among the most coherent parts of the received *Zhuangzi* (Graham 2001, 197).²⁶ Going by similarities in terms and topics, many scholars believe that this homogeneous corpus could be attributed to a single (group of) author(s) (Luo 1958, 284–88; Guan 1961, 319–58; Zhang 1983; Graham 2003; Liu 2003, 84–88, 134–47; Baggio 2014). This homogeneity encourages scholars to treat this group of texts as a coherent textual unit. Most of their discussions rest upon the belief that texts with similar traits could be dated to the same period. Accordingly, they tend to perceive similar phrases (such as “Yang-Mo”) and textual parallels found in presumably more reliable texts whose dates are more established (such as the *Han Feizi*) as the evidence to determine the date of this textual unit (Luo 1958, 284–88; Graham 2003, 84; Baggio 2014, 13–18; Li 2018). However, as Esther Klein has pointed out, the complex nature of the received *Zhuangzi* as a compiled, edited and often rearranged text suggests the possibility that its coherence and consistency may be due to the editing process (Klein 2011, 310). We should avoid over-interpreting the textual consistency as a sign of single authorship, and thus dating the entire textual group in the same period. An alternative is to consider these similarities as the result of a compilation in which similar texts were selected, assembled, or edited on the basis of their primitive forms. To more clearly explain what I mean by “primitive forms”, I refer to the concept of “open text”.

Qian Mu considered that the mentions of Yang-Mo in the *Zhuangzi* are the “adoption and continuation” (襲用) of Mencius’ original combination of Yang-Mo. However, this kind of thinking, according to Du Heng’s research, is perhaps a view “applying the logic of closed texts onto a largely open textual culture” (Du 2018, 25). In her dissertation, Du pointed out that there are two different ways of imagining early textual cultures, namely, a world of “open texts” whose contents are substantially fluid and adaptable, and that of “closed texts”, whose contents are already “packaged together and stabilized as an integral whole” (ibid., 23).²⁷ A text is “open” when “the majority of its users are not preoccupied with its faithful reproduction”, whereas a text is “closed” when “the majority of textual producers are concerned with its accurate replication” (ibid., 11).²⁸ As a result, concepts such

26 As A. C. Graham pointed out, “Within the medley of a book called Chuang-tzu, there is one other writer with an identity as distinctive as that of the Chuang-tzu who wrote the Inner Chapters. He is the author who wrote the first three Outer Chapters (chapters 8–10) and the introductory essay of the fourth, whom we shall call the “Primitivist” (Graham 2001, 197).

27 Du borrowed and modified this terminology from Gerald Bruns. In Bruns’ meaning, a closed text is “the results of an act of writing that has reached a final form” (Bruns 1980, 113).

28 Accordingly, the users-producers of open texts are mainly interested in “making use of this pre-existing text to fulfill different needs in their own contexts”. The users of closed texts, instead, are absorbed in “preserving the text itself, often associating it with an earlier production context (real or imagined)” (Du 2018, 11).

as “authenticity”, “citation”, and “imitation” of a text are only meaningful in closed textual culture. Du also identified the problem that the current view of early texts has to a degree been influenced by how closed texts are expected to behave, even though pre-imperial Chinese texts were mostly open and did not circulate like modern books.

An alternative way to view the mentions of Yang-Mo in early texts can largely benefit from insights formulated by Du Heng on the nature of open *versus* closed texts. The Yang-Mo passages in the *Zhuangzi* and *Han Feizi*, as explored in the previous section, were very likely once open texts since there are many formulaic repetitions among them and similar passages in other early texts. A possible way of imagining the formation history of these Yang-Mo passages from their primitive forms as a “primordial soup” (ibid., 4) of open texts to their final form as closed texts goes as follow. In Table 1, I distinguish between four different stages of development. In the first stage, there were independently circulating textual units about thinkers who are associated with disputation, and some users-producers of these open texts specified these disputers as Yang-Mo. Next, these Yang-Mo open texts were adapted into two different types, namely, the portrayal of Yang-Mo as a dangerous threat and unprofitable disputers; these may have been the sources of what is known as, respectively, Mencius’ portrayal and the Zhuangzian-Hanfeizian portrayal of Yang-Mo. The third stage is a transitional period when these Yang-Mo texts were adapted and packaged with other texts to form different kinds of relatively stabilized texts (namely, Confucian and the so-called “Daoist” or “Legalist” texts). That is to say, they were gradually finalized as the form that is perhaps very close to their current one in the received texts. I call the texts at this stage closing texts because they might not yet have been considered by their composers and users as closed texts attributable to particular authors. In the final stage, they were eventually completely closed with the help of not only the functioning of “para-text” (namely, author name and chapter and book title) but also accredited repetitions (namely, references and citations) from other texts.²⁹

29 Du uses “para-text” to refer to “the textual elements that produce the body authorial”. These elements are often the devices that are “employed to identify, circumscribe, and stabilize a textual unit against the backdrop of ever present tendencies toward variation”, and reflect “the wishes and efforts of the human agents involved the textual productions in any medium”. This term was coined by Gérard Genette. In his original use, it refers to the textual elements, such as the title, author name, and preface, that surround the main text (Genette 1997, 1–2; Du 2018, 2, 26–27; 2019, 264).

Table 1

primordial soup of open texts (pre-Imperial China)	open texts about Yang-Mo (or other thinkers) associated with disputation		
	open texts about Yang-Mo as dangerous debating rivals	open texts about Yang-Mo (or other thinkers) as unprofitable disputers	
closing texts (relatively stabilized packaged texts)	closing texts about Yang-Mo as threats to the Confucians	closing texts about Yang-Mo as masters who have lost their inborn nature	closing texts about Yang-Mo as masters contribute little to the prosperity of the state
closed texts (Imperial China)	Yang-Mo passages as the part of the <i>Mencius</i> (3B9, 7A26, 7B26); with accredited repetitions in the <i>Fayan</i> , <i>Lunheng</i> , and <i>Fengsu Tongyi</i>	Yang-Mo passages as the part of the <i>Zhuangzi</i> (ch. 8, 10, 12)	Yang-Mo passage as the part of the <i>Han Feizi</i> (ch. 47)

To reconsider the question of whether the mentions of Yang-Mo in the *Mencius* influenced those in the *Zhuangzi* and *Han Feizi*, it seems that we should not regard the interrelations between them as what has been described as “reception” or “intertextuality”. In the alternative model, the interrelations already occurred at the stage when they were open. Therefore, the best possible deduction from it is that some pre-existing open texts about Yang-Mo already existed before the compilation of these received texts. We should admit some degree of uncertainty about the various dates of these emerging texts and our inability to answer the question of which Yang-Mo portrayal is the earliest and most original.³⁰ With this admission, our readings of the Yang-Mo passages in the *Zhuangzi* and *Han Feizi* will be less troubled by the seductive but indeterminable question of whether these mentions of Yang-Mo came after and were influenced by the ones in the *Mencius*.

30 Even if we were able to answer the question of whether the Yang-Mo in the *Zhuangzi* post-dates that in the *Mencius*, the premise that the earlier instance of a term is the source of the latter one would still be problematic. It is equally possible that these mentions are unrelated incidents or joint effects of a common cause—perhaps the real prominence of these two schools at that time is the common cause of the mentions of Yang-Mo in different texts (but for some reasons the number of mentions is limited). In any case, it seems that it is nearly impossible to prove that the Yang-Mo in the *Zhuangzi* is influenced by that in the *Mencius*.

Conclusion: Yang-Mo beyond Mencius' Portrayal

In our re-examination of the Yang-Mo passages, we found that the images of Yang-Mo in the *Zhuangzi* and *Han Feizi* are unique due to both their accusation of useless verbal disputation and the coupling of sophists and moral-practitioners. We also realized that an unbiased reading of these Yang-Mo portraits could only be arrived at with effort due to the profound and variegated influences of Mencius' depiction. Unfamiliarity with Yang-Mo as sophists may be the result of the unconscious acceptance of Mencius' depiction of them as advocates of extreme egoism and altruism. Or we might, like Qian Mu, be suspicious of Mencius' portrayal but still retain its special status as the prototype for other early descriptions. These influences have marginalized a unique type of Yang-Mo portrayal that once dynamically circulated in an open textual culture. Like the blind men figuring out the nature of an elephant, we can learn when opening up to a variety of views and experiences. It is certainly unwise to privilege one individual's perception without accepting new experiences. How much more so in the case of learning and conceptualizing a historical pair of masters from the remote past for whose existence there is so little textual evidence.

Appendix: Fragments with the Shared Motif of Uselessness and the Shared Contrast (“Disputers-Practitioners” or “Disputers-Practitioners-Experts”)

Text	Disputatious intellects	(Im)moral practitioners	Other masters
<i>Zhuangzi</i> 8 “Webbed Toes” 駢拇	Yang and Mo 楊墨 (disputation 辯, the “hard and white” and the “same and different” 堅白同異)	Zeng and Shi 曾史 (humaneness 仁); Bo Yi and Robber Zhi 伯夷盜跖	Li Zhu 離朱 (keen eyesight 明); Music Master Kuang 師曠 (keen hearing 聰)
	go awry and indulge in humane and righteous deeds and be crafty in the use of keen hearing and eyesight 淫僻於仁義之行、多方於聰明之用; humane and righteous conduct 仁義之操; practices of perversity and excess 淫僻之行		
<i>Zhuangzi</i> 10 “Ransacking Coffers” 舛篋	the mouths of Yang and Mo 楊墨之口	the deeds of Zeng and Shi 曾史之行	the ears of the blind-musician Kuang 瞽曠之耳 (keen hearing 聰); the eyes of Li Zhu 離朱之目 (keen eyesight 明); the fingers of Carpenter Chui 工倕之指 (dexterity 巧)
	[only when] humaneness and righteousness are discarded will the virtues of all under Heaven be intermingled into obscurity 攘棄仁義，而天下之德始玄同		

<i>Zhuangzi</i> 11 “Preserving and Accepting” 在宥	all the Ru and Mo arouse 儒墨畢起; it was then that Ru and Mo started striding around and flipping back their sleeves among fetters and manacles 儒墨乃始離跂攘臂乎桎梏之間	the deeds of Robber Zhi and Zeng and Shi 盜跖、曾史之行; on the lower part there were Jie and Zhou, on the upper part there were Zeng and Shi 下有桀跖上有曾史	
<i>Zhuangzi</i> 12 “Heaven and Earth” 天地	Yang and Mo were starting to put on airs and think that they had achieved something 楊墨乃始離跂自以為得	Though there may be a divergence in the practice of righteousness between Jie and Zhi and Zeng and Shi, they are the same in terms of having lost their original nature 跖與曾史，行義有間矣，然其失性均	
<i>Han Feizi</i> 41 “An Enquiry about Disputes” 問辯	although their sayings are extremely incisive 言雖至察; regarding convoluted as accurate and broad culture as discrimination 以難知為察，以博文為辯; the words of the “hard and white” and the “widthlessness” 堅白無厚之詞	although their deeds are highly determined 行雖至堅; considering difference from the masses as talent, and opposition to superiors as resilience 以離群為賢，以犯上為抗; men wearing the garments of Ru and girding the swords of the cavaliers 儒服帶劍者	
<i>Han Feizi</i> 47 “Eight Theories” 八說	Yang Zhu and Mo Di 楊朱墨翟 (incisive 察, understanding 知); the intelligent 智士; useless debates 無用之辯; Kong and Mo 孔墨 (erudite, learned, disputatious, intelligent 博習辯智)	Bao Jiao and Hua Jiao 鮑焦華角 (worthy 賢, practicing 行); the able 能士; unprofitable activities 遠功之行; Zeng and Shi 曾史 (cultivating filial piety and reducing desires 修孝欲寡)	
<i>Xunzi</i> 8 “The Teachings of the Ru” 儒效	What gentlemen would call “wise; disputatious; incisive” (...) Causing Shen [Dao] and Mo [Di] to make no progress in disseminating their doctrines, or causing Hui Shi and Deng Xi not to insinuate artfully their investigations. 君子之所謂知/辯/察者 (...) 慎墨不得進其談，惠施鄧析不敢竄其察	What gentlemen would call “worthy” 君子之所謂賢者	

<p><i>Zhuangzi</i> 2 “Qiwulun” 齊物論</p>	<p>Huizi 惠子 (leaning against the parasol trees 據梧)</p>		<p>Zhao Wen 昭文 (playing zithe 鼓琴) Master Kuang 師曠 (beating rhythm with a stick 杖策)</p>
<p>三子之知幾乎(...)以堅白之昧終 The intelligence of these three masters was virtually complete (...) some ended their days in the obscurities of the discussion of the “hard and white”.</p>			
<p><i>Huainanzi</i> 11 “Placing Customs on a Par” 齊俗訓</p>	<p>Gongsun Long, who always refutes a disputation and counters an argument, who differentiates between the same and the different and the hard and the white, cannot share his course with the masses 公孫龍折辯抗辭，別同異，離堅白，不可與眾同道也</p>	<p>The Northerner Wu Ze, who condemned Shun and threw himself into the abyss of Qingling, cannot serve as the model of the world. 北人無擇非舜而自投清冷之淵，不可以為世儀</p>	<p>Chang Hong and Music Master Kuang, who foretell fortune and predict without failure, cannot share the same job as the masses. Luban and Mozi, who carved the wood to make a kite and flew it and the kite did not come down for three days, cannot not be made carpenters. 萇弘師曠，先知禍福，言無遺策，而不可與眾同職。魯般墨子以木為鳶而飛之，三日不集，而不可使為工也。</p>

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