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## A Disquisition on Friendship: The “Guang ‘Jue jiao lun’” 廣絕交論 of Liu Jun 劉峻

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When the renowned scholar Ren Fang 任昉 passed away in Dongyang 東陽 (modern Jinhua 金華, Zhejiang) in 508 CE, his old friend Liu Jun 劉峻, who had just taken up office in this area, discovered Ren Fang’s sons were homeless and destitute. Outraged that Ren Fang’s friends had given no support to Ren’s progeny, he composed a long essay “Guang ‘Jue jiao lun’” 廣絕交論 (Disquisition on severing relations) in which he castigates scholar-officials who often establish friendships based purely on mercenary and materialistic interests. He identifies five types of associations: *shi jiao* 勢交 (association by virtue of power and influence); *hui jiao* 賄交 (association based on wealth); *tan jiao* 談交 (association based on speech-making and conversation); *qiong jiao* 窮交 (association through destitution); *liang jiao* 量交 (association by calculation). Liu concludes his essay by denouncing the times in which he lives, and declares that he will leave human society and become a recluse on a high mountain.

**Keywords:** *juejiao* 絕交 (severing relations), *lun* 論 (disquisition), Ren Fang 任昉, Liu Jun 劉峻, “Guang ‘Jue jiao lun’” 廣絕交論 (Disquisition on severing relations)

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The final two *lun* in this list are by Liu Jun, who is better known by his *zi* 字 Xiaobiao 孝標.<sup>1</sup> Liu Jun’s childhood name was Fahu 法虎. His ancestral

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home was Pingyuan 平原 (southwest of modern Pingyuan, Shandong), but he was born in Moling 秣陵 (modern Nanjing). His grandfather Liu Zhi 劉植 served as governor of Pingyuan. His father Liu Xuanzhi 劉璇之 (also referred to as Liu Ting 劉琨) died when Liu Jun was a month old. His mother née Xu 許 returned with Jun and his elder brother Fafeng 法鳳 (later known as Xiaoqing 孝慶) to Pingyuan and took up residence in Dongyang 東陽 (modern Yidu 異都, Shandong). In 469 CE, the Xianbei 鮮卑 army of the Northern Wei invaded Dongyang, and Liu Jun and his family were captured and taken to Zhongshan 中山 (modern Ding 定 county, Hebei) where Liu Jun was sold as a slave. He was later redeemed by a wealthy man who taught him to read and write. However, Liu Jun and his family were soon transferred to Sanggan 桑乾 (east of modern Shanyin 山陰, Shanxi) on the pretext they had relatives in the south. Unable to support themselves, mother and sons entered the Shiku 石窟 Monastery in Yungang 雲岡 (west of modern Datong 大同, Shanxi).

Because Liu Jun was unable to obtain a position in the Northern Wei administration, Liu Jun and his brother in 486 CE fled to the southern capital, Jiankang 建康. It was at this time that he took the new name of Jun and the *zi* Xiaobiao. Liu Jun generally used the name Liu Xiaobiao from this time on. His residence in the capital gave Liu Jun access to many books that he had not read. He was a voracious reader and borrowed books wherever he could. Cui Weizu 崔慰祖 (d. 499 CE) from the prominent Qinghe 清河 Cui clan called him a “book addict.” Liu Jun sought a position at the court of Xiao Ziliang 蕭子良 (460–494 CE), Prince of Jingling 竟陵, but was rejected when the minister of personnel Xu Xiaosi 徐孝嗣 (433–499 CE) objected to the appointment. He was offered a position as attendant gentleman on the staff of Xiao Zihan 蕭子罕 (479–495 CE), but Liu Jun did not take up the appointment.

Liu Jun received his first official post in 493/494 CE as administrator of penal affairs under Cui Huijing 崔慧景 (438–500 CE), regional administrator of Yuzhou 豫州 (modern Anhui and parts of Jiangsu), who was a cousin of Cui Weizu mentioned above. He also may have served Xiao Yaixin 蕭遙欣 (469–499 CE) when Xiao was regional administrator of Yongzhou 雍州 (Jiangling 江陵 and Xiangyang 襄陽) in 498–499 CE.

In 502 CE, shortly after Xiao Yan 蕭衍 (464–549 CE, r. 502–549 CE) acceded as emperor of the Liang dynasty, he summoned Liu Jun together with He Zong 賀踪 (n.d.), Ren Fang 任昉 (460–508 CE), and Yin Jun 殷鈞 (484–532 CE) to edit books in the imperial collection. During the early years of his reign, Xiao Yan invited scholars to a gathering at which they were tested on the number of allusions they could recite on various topics. On one occasion, the scholars including Shen Yue 沈約 (441–513 CE) and Fan Yun 范雲 (451–503

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The theme of *jue jiao* 絕交 or “severing associations” has a venerable history in medieval Chinese writing. Thomas Jansen has written an insightful study of this topic in an article published in 2006.<sup>6</sup> The *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚 contains a special category for *jue jiao*.<sup>7</sup> The entry begins with the *Classic of Song* poem Mao 201, “Gu feng” 谷風 (Valley wind). According to the Mao commentary interpretation, this poem tells of the decline of mores that has caused “the way of friendship to be broken off” 友道絕. This interpretation was also followed by several of the other Han schools of *Classic of Song* interpretation.<sup>8</sup> We will see how this poem and one other *Classic of Songs* poem is used in Liu Jun’s disquisition.

Among the other entries are two passages from the *Han shu* 漢書. The first tells of Chen Yu 陳餘 (d. 204 BCE) and Zhang Er 張耳 (d. 202 BCE) who joined Chen Sheng 陳勝 (d. 208 BCE) in the uprisings against Qin in 209 BCE. They were such close friends “they would cut their own throats for each other.” However, they eventually had a falling out after Zhang Er joined Xiang Yu 項羽 (232–202 BCE) and Chen Yu joined Liu Bang 劉邦 (256–195 BCE). Zhang Er eventually killed Chen Yu.<sup>9</sup> The second entry recounts the relationship between Xiao Yu 蕭育 (fl. 48–7 BCE) and Zhu Bo 朱博 (fl. 41–5

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6 Thomas Jansen, “The Art of Severing Relationships (*jue jiao*) in Early Medieval China,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 126.3 (2006): 347–65.

7 See Ouyang Xun 歐陽詢, ed., *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), 21.395–99.

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The theme of *jue jiao* 絕交 or “severing associations” has a venerable history in medieval Chinese writing. Thomas Jansen has written an insightful study of this topic in an article published in 2006.<sup>6</sup> The *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚 contains a special category for *jue jiao*.<sup>7</sup> The entry begins with the *Classic of Song* poem Mao 201, “Gu feng” 谷風 (Valley wind). According to the Mao commentary interpretation, this poem tells of the decline of mores that has caused “the way of friendship to be broken off” 友道絕. This interpretation was also followed by several of the other Han schools of *Classic of Song* interpretation.<sup>8</sup> We will see how this poem and one other *Classic of Songs* poem is used in Liu Jun’s disquisition.

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5 The full text is preserved in Dao Xuan 道宣 (596–667 CE), ed., *Guang Hongming ji* 廣弘明集, *Sibu congkan chubian* 四部叢刊初編, 24.15a–18a. For an annotated text see Luo Guowei 羅國威, *Liu Xiaobiao ji jiaozhu* 劉孝標集校注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988 [rev. and rpt. 2021]), 108–30. For a study see Matsuoka Eiji 松岡榮志, “Ryū Shun to ‘Sanseishi’—Bukkyō e no kyori” 劉峻と「山棲志」—仏教への距離, *Tōyō bunka* 70 (1990): 81–113.

6 Thomas Jansen, “The Art of Severing Relationships (*jue jiao*) in Early Medieval China,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 126.3 (2006): 347–65.

7 See Ouyang Xun 歐陽詢, ed., *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), 21.395–99.

8 See Wang Xianqian 王先謙, *Shi sanjia yi jishu* 詩三家義集疏 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 18.721.

9 See *Shi ji* 史記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), 89.2571–86; *Han shu* 漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), 32.1829–43. See also Michael Loewe, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Qin, Former Han and Xin Periods* (221 BCE–24 CE) (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 43, 678–79.

BCE) who were good friends in their youth but later became disaffected after Zhu Bo rose to the post of counselor-in-chief.<sup>10</sup> Liu Jun also alludes to these two accounts in his disquisition. Two of the *jue jiao* pieces cited in the *Yiwen leiju* are letters. The first is “Bao Pang Huigong shu” 報龐惠恭書 (Letter in reply to Pang Huigong) attributed to the Jian’an 建安 writer Ying Yang 應暘 (d. 217 CE).<sup>11</sup> The second is “Yu Shan Juyuan jue jiao shu” 與山巨源絕交書 (Letter to Shan Juyuan severing our association) by Xi Kang, which is arguably the most famous *jue jiao* piece in the Chinese literary tradition.<sup>12</sup> The last pieces in the *jue jiao* category are three *lun*. The first is the “Jue jiao lun” 絕交論 (Disquisition on severing associations) by Zhu Mu 朱穆 (100–163 CE) of the late Eastern Han. The second is an excerpt from the “Qian jiao” 譴交 (Criticizing forming associations) in the *Zhong lun* 中論 (Balanced disquisitions) of Xu Gan 徐幹 (170–218 CE).<sup>13</sup> The final piece is a long excerpt from Liu Jun’s “Jue jiao lun.”

10 See *Han shu*, 78.3290–91; Loewe, *Biographical Dictionary*, 609, 738–39.

11 For edited texts see Yu Shaochu 俞紹初, *Jian’an qizi ji* 建安七子集 (Taipei: Wen shi zhe chubanshe, 1990), 176–77; Wu Yun 吳雲, ed., *Jian’an qizi ji jiaozhu* 建安七子集校注 (Tianjin: Tianji guji chubanshe, 2005), 529–32. For a translation into modern Chinese see Han Geping 韓格平, *Jian’an qizi shiwen ji jiaozhu yixi* 建安七子詩文集校注譯析 (Changchun: Jilin wen shi chubanshe, 1991), 430–32. This letter may be misattributed to Ying Yang and may have been written by Ying Qu 應璩 (190–252 CE), who was a more prolific letter writer. See Zhang Pu 張溥 (1602–1641 CE), *Han Wei Liuchao baisan jia ji tici zhu* 漢魏六朝百三家集題辭注, comm. Yin Menglun 殷孟倫 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1960 [rpt. 1981]), 88, n. 8.

12 For texts see Xiao Tong 蕭統, comp., *Wen xuan* 文選, annot. Li Shan 李善 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1986), 43.1923–49; Xi Kang 嵇康, *Xi Kang ji jiaozhu* 嵇康集校注, ed. and comm. Dai Mingyang 戴明揚 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2014), 2.194–234. For translations see Agnes Meyer, *Chinese Painting as Reflected in the Thought and Art of Li Lung-mien* (New York: Duffield, 1923), 75–87; Erwin von Zach, *Die Chinesische Anthologie: Übersetzungen aus dem Wen hsüan*, ed. Ilse Martin Fang (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958), 2: 783–89; James Robert Hightower, in Cyril Birch and Donald Keene, ed., *Anthology of Chinese Literature From Early Times to the Fourteenth Century* (New York: Grove Press, 1965), 162–66.

13 For the full text see Xu Gan 徐幹, *Zhonglun jiegou* 中論解詁, annot. Sun Qizhi 孫啟治 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2014), 12.210–42. For a translation see John Makeham, *Balanced Discourses* (New Haven: Yale University Press, and Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 2002), 153–73.

The earliest source for the “Guang jue jiao lun” is the *Wen xuan*.<sup>14</sup> The

- 14 See *Wen xuan*, 55.2365–83; *Wen xuan* 文選 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), 55.1a–13b, photo-reproduction of 1181 printing by You Mao 尤袤 (1127–1194), hereafter cited as You Mao; *Yingyin Song ben Wuchen jizhu Wen xuan* 影印宋本五臣集注文選 (Taipei: Guoli Zhongyang tushuguan, 1981), 28.1a–6a, photo-reproduction of edition printed by Chen Balang 陳八郎 in 1161, hereafter cited as Chen Balang; *Liuchen zhu Wen xuan* 六臣注文選 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 55.1a–17a, reprint of the *Sibu congkan* 1919 photo-reproduction of the *Liuchen zhu Wen xuan* printed ca. 1271 in Jianzhou 建州, hereafter cited as *Liuchen*; *Wen xuan/Munsōn* 文選 (Seoul: Chongmunsa, 1983), 55.1a–22b, held by the Kyujanggak 奎章閣 Library of Seoul National University, based on the Xiuzhou 秀州 printing of the *Liuja Wen xuan* in 1094, hereafter cited as *Liuja*; *Riben Zuli xuexiao cang Song kan Mingzhou ben Liuchen zhu Wen xuan* 日本足利學校藏宋刊明州本六臣注文選 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2008), 55.1a–14b, photo-reproduction of a printing in the 1150s in Mingzhou 明州 (modern Ningbo) held by the Ashikaga gakkō iseki toshokan 足利學校遺蹟圖書館, hereafter cited as Mingzhou. The *Yiwen leiju* (21.397–99) cites a long extract of Liu’s disquisition. The “Guang jue jiao lun” is also included in five late imperial collections: Mei Dingzuo 梅鼎祚 (1549–1615 CE), ed., *Liang wen ji* 梁文紀, *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書, 12.32b–37a; Wang Zhijian 王志堅 (1578–1633 CE), *Siliu fahai* 四六法海, *Siku quanshu*, 10.68a–73a; Zhang Pu, *Han Wei Liuchao baisan jia ji* 漢魏六朝百三家集, *Siku quanshu*, 94.16b–21a; Yan Kejun 顏可均 (1762–1843 CE), *Quan shanggu Sandai Qin Han Sanguo Liuchao wen* 全上古三代秦漢三國六朝文 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1958), “Quan Liang wen,” 57.6b–8b (3288–89); Li Zhaoluo 李兆洛 (1769–1841 CE), *Pianti wenchao* 駢體文鈔 (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1990), 20.397–400. Modern annotated texts are Gao Buying 高步瀛, ed. and comm., *Nanbeichao wen juyao* 南北朝文舉要 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1998), 450–78; Luo Guowei, *Liu Xiaobiao ji jiaozhu*, 69–97; Yu Chih-ch’eng 游志誠, *Zhaoming Wen xuan jiaodu* 昭明文選輯讀 (Taipei: Luotuo chubanshe, 1995), 180–91; Qu Shouyuan 屈守元, *Wen xuan xue zuanyao* 文選學纂要 (Taipei: Huazheng, 2004), 367–409; Cao Daoheng 曹道衡, *Han Wei Liuchao wen jingxuan* 漢魏六朝文精選 (Nanjing: Fenghuang chubanshe, 2018), 161–69. There is only one Western language translation of this work. See von Zach, *Die Chinesische Anthologie*, 957–64. For Japanese translations see Obi Kōichi 小尾郊一, *Monzen* 文選 (*Bunshō hen* 文章編), Zenshaku Kambun taiki 32 (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1976), 146–76. Takeda Akira 原田晃, *Monzen* 文選 (*Bunshō hen* 文章篇), Shinshaku Kanbun taiki 93 (Tokyo: Meiji shoin, 2001), 332–50. The following are modern Chinese translations: Chen Hongtian 陳宏天, Zhao Fuhai 趙福海, and Chen Fuxing 陳復興, ed., *Zhaoming Wen xuan yizhu* 昭明文選譯注, 6 vols. (Changchun: Jilin wen shi chubanshe, 1988–1994), 6: 1625–50; Zhang Baoquan 張葆全, ed., *Xinbian jinzhu jinyi Zhaoming Wen xuan* 新編今注今譯昭明文選, 6 vols. (Taipei: Liming wenhua, 1995), 6: 3057–78; Zhang Qicheng 張啟成, Xu Da 徐達 et al., comm. and trans., *Wen xuan quanyi* 文選全譯 (Guiyang: Guizhou renmin chubanshe,

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other early sources are the *Liang shu* 梁書 and *Nan shi* 南史.<sup>15</sup> Li Shan 李善 (d. 689 CE) *Wen xuan* (55.2365) cites the *Liang dian* 梁典 of Liu Fan 劉璠 (510–568 CE) which gives the following account of the composition of the piece:

Liu Jun saw that the various sons of Ren Fang including Xihua 西華 and his brothers were wandering homeless and unable to support themselves. None of Ren Fang's lifelong friends took them in or showed them pity. In a winter month, Xihua dressed in a cape made of bean-creeper vine and a white silk skirt, met Liu Jun on the road. Shedding copious tears, Liu Jun took pity on him. He then wrote an expansion of the “Disquisition on Severing Associations” by Zhu Gongshu 朱公叔 [= Zhu Mu 朱穆 (100–163 CE)]. When Dao Gai 到溉 (477–548 CE) saw his disquisition, he threw his armrest on the ground, and regretted this matter for his entire life.

The *Nan shi* (59.1455) contains a similar account.

Liu Jun constructs his disquisition in the form of a dialogue between a guest and host a rhetorical scheme often used in the *she lun* 設論 (hypothetical

1994), 3845–65; Zhou Qicheng 周啟成, Cui Fuzhang 崔富章, Zhu Hongda 朱宏達, Zhang Jinquan 張金泉, Shui Weisong 水渭松, and Wu Fangnan 伍方南, comm. and trans., *Xinyi Zhaoming Wen xuan* 新譯昭明文選, 4 vols. (Taipei: Sanmin shuju, 1997), 4: 2607–30. Studies include Kong Yi 孔毅, “Cong Liu Jun ‘Guang jue jiao lun’ kan Xiao Liang shiren de jiaowang zhuangtai” 從劉峻〈廣絕交論〉看蕭梁士人的交往狀態, *Guizhou shifan daxue xuebao* 101.1 (1999): 14–18; Fukui Yoshio 福井佳夫, “Ryū Kōhyō no ‘Kō zekkō ron’ ni tsuite — yūgi bungaku ron (12)” 劉孝標の「廣絕交論」について — 遊戯文學論 (12), *Chūkyō Kokubungaku* 24 (2005): 11–26; Liu Liangzheng 劉良政, “Gan jiao yu jue jiao — cong *Shi jing Xiaoya* ‘Gufeng’ dao ‘Guang jue jiao lun’” 感交與絕交 —— 從《詩經·小雅·谷風》到〈廣絕交論〉, *Anhui nongye daxue xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 16.5 (2007): 63–67; Song Huali 宋華禮, “‘Guang jue jiao lun’ Ren Fang shi zhiyi” 〈廣絕交論〉任昉事質疑, *Xiandai yuwen (wenxue yanjiu ban)* 2008.8: 15–17; Hu Xu 胡旭, “‘Guang Jue jiao lun’ xintan” 〈廣絕交論〉新探, *Xiamen daxue xuebao (zhexue shehui kexue ban)* 198 (2010): 116–22; Shao Chunju 邵春駒, “‘Guang jue jiao lun’ zuoyi xintan — jian lun Liang chu Jingzhou liang da jituan de maodun douzheng” 〈廣絕交論〉作意新探 —— 兼論梁初荊州兩大集團的矛盾鬥爭, *Nanjing shifan daxue xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 2011.2: 15–18; Wei Yunliang 衛雲亮, “‘Guang jue jiao lun’ xiezuozhijian de kaoding ji qi yiyi” 〈廣絕交論〉寫作時間的考訂及其意義, *Xinan jiaotong daxue xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 15.2 (2014): 22–26.

15 See *Liang shu*, 14.254–58; *Nan shi*, 59.1456–59.

disquisition genre).<sup>16</sup> The guest begins by asking the host about an earlier disquisition on severing associations, the “Jue jiao lun” by Zhu Mu of the Eastern Han. The Li Xian 李賢 commentary of the *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 cites an excerpt of this essay from Zhu Mu’s collected works.<sup>17</sup> Zhu Mu’s disquisition has been translated and thoroughly studied by Mark Asselin.<sup>18</sup>

Zhu Mu’s natal home was Yuan 宛 county in Nanyang 南陽 commandery (modern Nanyang city, Henan).<sup>19</sup> He was known for his filial devotion, erudition, and fearless criticism of eunuchs and members of the consort clan. In 149 CE, he was demoted to the position of court gentleman for consultation. About this time he wrote the “Jue jiao lun.” According to Zhu Mu’s biography in the *Han shu*, this disquisition was a “composition that was designed to rectify the times.”<sup>20</sup> Zhu Mu constructs the disquisition in the form of a dialogue between an anonymous critic and himself. The critic begins by questioning why Zhu Mu has ceased to engage in the activities of extending courteous greetings to people or receiving guests. Zhu Mu replies that in ancient times, human intercourse took place in public, and followed a strict ritual code. The critic then asks Zhu Mu if he can accept vilification for his stance, to which Zhu replies, “I prefer to be vilified.” Zhu Mu then offers the following characterization of contemporary court officials:

Long has the world been engaged in the pursuit of associations. Mustering a thousand chariots with no fear of the ruler, they violate ritual propriety in order to pursue them, and they turn their backs on the common good in order to follow them. In extreme cases, this is the selfish interest of a concubine. In even worse cases, men seek to cover up their faults and

16 For a detailed study of this from Dominik Decker, *Writing Against the State: Political Rhetorics in Third & Fourth Century China* (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

17 See *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1963), 43.1467–68, n. 1.

18 See Mark Laurent Asselin, “‘A Significant Season’ Literature in a Time of Endings: Cai Yong and a Few Contemporaries” (Ph.D. Diss., University of Washington, 1997), 179–88, 466–68; *A Significant Season: Cai Yong (Ca. 133–192) and His Contemporaries*, American Oriental Series 92 (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 2010), 349–51. See also Jansen, “The Art of Severing Relationships,” 352–55.

19 See his biography in *Hou Han shu*, 43.1461–76. For a detailed chronology, see Lu Kanru 陸侃如, *Zhonggu wenxue xianian* 中古文學繫年 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1985), 1: 127, 131, 147–48, 152, 157, 186–87, 189, 191, 194, 198–201, 205–6, 208, 220–21, 226–27.

20 See *Hou Han shu*, 43.1467.

other early sources are the *Liang shu* 梁書 and *Nan shi* 南史.<sup>15</sup> Li Shan 李善 (d. 689 CE) *Wen xuan* (55.2365) cites the *Liang dian* 梁典 of Liu Fan 劉璠 (510–568 CE) which gives the following account of the composition of the piece:

Liu Jun saw that the various sons of Ren Fang including Xihua 西華 and his brothers were wandering homeless and unable to support themselves. None of Ren Fang's lifelong friends took them in or showed them pity. In a winter month, Xihua dressed in a cape made of bean-creeper vine and a white silk skirt, met Liu Jun on the road. Shedding copious tears, Liu Jun took pity on him. He then wrote an expansion of the “Disquisition on Severing Associations” by Zhu Gongshu 朱公叔 [= Zhu Mu 朱穆 (100–163 CE)]. When Dao Gai 到溉 (477–548 CE) saw his disquisition, he threw his armrest on the ground, and regretted this matter for his entire life.

The *Nan shi* (59.1455) contains a similar account.

Liu Jun constructs his disquisition in the form of a dialogue between a guest and host a rhetorical scheme often used in the *she lun* 設論 (hypothetical

1994), 3845–65; Zhou Qicheng 周啟成, Cui Fuzhang 崔富章, Zhu Hongda 朱宏達, Zhang Jinquan 張金泉, Shui Weisong 水渭松, and Wu Fangnan 伍方南, comm. and trans., *Xinyi Zhaoming Wen xuan* 新譯昭明文選, 4 vols. (Taipei: Sanmin shuju, 1997), 4: 2607–30. Studies include Kong Yi 孔毅, “Cong Liu Jun ‘Guang jue jiao lun’ kan Xiao Liang shiren de jiaowang zhuangtai” 從劉峻〈廣絕交論〉看蕭梁士人的交往狀態, *Guizhou shifan daxue xuebao* 101.1 (1999): 14–18; Fukui Yoshio 福井佳夫, “Ryū Kōhyō no ‘Kō zekkō ron’ ni tsuite — yūgi bungaku ron (12)” 劉孝標の「廣絕交論」について — 遊戯文學論 (12), *Chūkyō Kokubungaku* 24 (2005): 11–26; Liu Liangzheng 劉良政, “Gan jiao yu jue jiao — cong *Shi jing Xiaoya* ‘Gufeng’ dao ‘Guang jue jiao lun’” 感交與絕交 —— 從《詩經·小雅·谷風》到〈廣絕交論〉, *Anhui nongye daxue xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 16.5 (2007): 63–67; Song Huali 宋華禮, “‘Guang jue jiao lun’ Ren Fang shi zhiyi” 〈廣絕交論〉任昉事質疑, *Xiandai yuwen (wenxue yanjiu ban)* 2008.8: 15–17; Hu Xu 胡旭, “‘Guang Jue jiao lun’ xintan” 〈廣絕交論〉新探, *Xiamen daxue xuebao (zhexue shehui kexue ban)* 198 (2010): 116–22; Shao Chunju 邵春駒, “‘Guang jue jiao lun’ zuoyi xintan — jian lun Liang chu Jingzhou liang da jituan de maodun douzheng” 〈廣絕交論〉作意新探 —— 兼論梁初荊州兩大集團的矛盾鬥爭, *Nanjing shifan daxue xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 2011.2: 15–18; Wei Yunliang 衛雲亮, “‘Guang jue jiao lun’ xiezuozhijian de kaoding ji qi yiyi” 〈廣絕交論〉寫作時間的考訂及其意義, *Xinan jiaotong daxue xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 15.2 (2014): 22–26.

15 See *Liang shu*, 14.254–58; *Nan shi*, 59.1456–59.



disquisition genre).<sup>16</sup> The guest begins by asking the host about an earlier disquisition on severing associations, the “Jue jiao lun” by Zhu Mu of the Eastern Han. The Li Xian 李賢 commentary of the *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 cites an excerpt of this essay from Zhu Mu’s collected works.<sup>17</sup> Zhu Mu’s disquisition has been translated and thoroughly studied by Mark Asselin.<sup>18</sup>

Zhu Mu’s natal home was Yuan 宛 county in Nanyang 南陽 commandery (modern Nanyang city, Henan).<sup>19</sup> He was known for his filial devotion, erudition, and fearless criticism of eunuchs and members of the consort clan. In 149 CE, he was demoted to the position of court gentleman for consultation. About this time he wrote the “Jue jiao lun.” According to Zhu Mu’s biography in the *Han shu*, this disquisition was a “composition that was designed to rectify the times.”<sup>20</sup> Zhu Mu constructs the disquisition in the form of a dialogue between an anonymous critic and himself. The critic begins by questioning why Zhu Mu has ceased to engage in the activities of extending courteous greetings to people or receiving guests. Zhu Mu replies that in ancient times, human intercourse took place in public, and followed a strict ritual code. The critic then asks Zhu Mu if he can accept vilification for his stance, to which Zhu replies, “I prefer to be vilified.” Zhu Mu then offers the following characterization of contemporary court officials:

Long has the world been engaged in the pursuit of associations. Mustering a thousand chariots with no fear of the ruler, they violate ritual propriety in order to pursue them, and they turn their backs on the common good in order to follow them. In extreme cases, this is the selfish interest of a concubine. In even worse cases, men seek to cover up their faults and

16 For a detailed study of this from Dominik Decker, *Writing Against the State: Political Rhetorics in Third & Fourth Century China* (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

17 See *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1963), 43.1467–68, n. 1.

18 See Mark Laurent Asselin, “‘A Significant Season’ Literature in a Time of Endings: Cai Yong and a Few Contemporaries” (Ph.D. Diss., University of Washington, 1997), 179–88, 466–68; *A Significant Season: Cai Yong (Ca. 133–192) and His Contemporaries*, American Oriental Series 92 (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 2010), 349–51. See also Jansen, “The Art of Severing Relationships,” 352–55.

19 See his biography in *Hou Han shu*, 43.1461–76. For a detailed chronology, see Lu Kanru 陸侃如, *Zhonggu wenxue xianian* 中古文學繫年 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1985), 1: 127, 131, 147–48, 152, 157, 186–87, 189, 191, 194, 198–201, 205–6, 208, 220–21, 226–27.

20 See *Hou Han shu*, 43.1467.

steal a reputation in order to provide for their personal needs. Affairs are abandoned, propriety takes a back seat, the common good is taken lightly, and private interest is considered important. This is because they rest or toil at their own pleasure. Confused about the proper Way, they seek their selfish interest. All they want is to provide for themselves.<sup>21</sup>

Because the received version of Zhu Mu's disquisition is a fragment, it is difficult to know what might have inspired Liu Jun to use it as his model. However, the one thread that both essays share is their strong condemnation of the scholar-officials of their age who pursue friendships mainly out of mercenary interests.

Liu Jun's disquisition is written in an elegant parallel prose style that virtually defies translation into English.<sup>22</sup> Almost every line contains a citation from or an allusion to an earlier text that I identify in my annotations. For example, the guest proposes that friendship and human associations are the normal, natural state of the world. He cites a number of examples from nature to illustrate his point:

When the field cricket chirps the locust hops;  
 When the striped tiger roars a fresh breeze arises.  
 Thus, the vapors of heaven and earth interact,  
 Mists well up, clouds billow,  
 Chirping birds call to one another,  
 Stars move, and lightning surges.

As I show in my annotations, virtually each of these lines is an allusion to an earlier text.

The guest next proceeds to the human world, and cites examples of famous friendships in earlier times. He first refers to the Former Han officials Wang Ji 王吉 (d. 48 BCE) and Gong Yu 貢禹 (124–44 BCE) who took delight

21 Ibid.

22 Liu Jun's *lun* was selected in the monumental anthology of parallel prose, *Pianwen wenchao* 駢體文鈔 compiled by Li Zhaoluo 李兆洛 (1769–1841). See the citation above. For brief discussions of Liu Jun's parallel prose see Jiang Shuge 姜書閣, *Pianwen shi lun* 駢文史論 (Beijing: Renmin wenzue chubanshe, 1986), 389–90; Ch'en Sung-hsiung 陳松雄, *Qi Liang lici henglun* 齊梁麗辭衡論 (Taipei: Wen shi zhe chubanshe, 1986), 339–44; and Chen Peng 陳鵬, *Liuchao pianwen yanjiu* 六朝駢文研究 (Chengdu: Ba Shu shushe, 2009), 177–78.

in each other's success in their official careers, and the Chunqiu era statesman Zichan 子產 (d. 522 BCE), who grieved when his friend Guozi 國子 (also known as Zipi 子皮) died. For this reason, the guest is appalled at Zhu Mu's view that associations can be severed. He says the following:

But Zhu Yizhou 朱益州 (Zhu Mu) upset the constant order,  
Violated the counsels and instructions,  
Attacked the upright and honest,  
And severed relations with friends.  
He compared the common people to goshawks and hobbies,  
Matched human genius with dholes and tigers.

The host then offers his rebuttal to the guest. He defends Zhu Mu, claiming he had "obtained the black pearl from the Scarlet River," meaning his disquisition had insight that was beneficial for the world. The guest also acknowledges that true friendship is a wonderful ideal:

One delights in another's joy and happiness,  
Commiserates with his decline and deterioration.

Even when wind and rain are intense,  
He does not still his voice;  
Or when frost and snow fall,  
He does not change countenance.

However, this kind of relationship is rare:

This is the unsullied friendship of the worthy and the man of penetrating vision,  
And is something one encounters only once in a myriad ages.

The host proceeds to explain what the normal state of affairs is with respect to human associations:

In an era of decline, people become more duplicitous,  
Deceit and deception arise like gales.  
A cavernous gorge would not surpass its precariousness,  
And even ghosts and spirits are unable to probe their changes.  
People vie for advantage as light as feather and down,

steal a reputation in order to provide for their personal needs. Affairs are abandoned, propriety takes a back seat, the common good is taken lightly, and private interest is considered important. This is because they rest or toil at their own pleasure. Confused about the proper Way, they seek their selfish interest. All they want is to provide for themselves.<sup>21</sup>

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People vie for advantage as light as feather and down,

And they pursue profit as miniscule as the tip of an awl.

And then:

Unsullied friendships come to an end,  
And opportunistic associations flourish.

The host identifies five types of association:

1. *Shi jiao* 勢交 or association by virtue of power and influence. These are relationships in which men flock to the gates of powerful men to curry favor and obtain positions. They would do anything, including killing their wives and children, to establish a relationship with such people. Liu Jun's writing here is quite lively:

People within the nine provinces trembled before their wind and dust,  
And people within the four seas were terrified of their scorching smoke.  
Upon seeing their shadow none failed to dash off like shooting stars,  
Or upon hearing their voices, all sped off like a rushing stream.  
When the master of the cock first reported the dawn,  
Chariot canopies flying like cranes formed dense shade;  
When tall gates opened at dawn,  
There was a steady line of chariots like flowing waters.  
They were all willing to shave themselves from head to heel,  
Destroy their gall, rip out their innards,  
And made a pact to burn their wives and children like Yao Li 要離 (n.d.),  
And vowed to martyr themselves like Jing Ke 荊軻 (d. 227 BCE), who  
caused the extinction of seven lineages.

2. The second category of association is *hui jiao* 賄交, which I have rendered "association based on wealth." *Hui* also means "bribe." This is a type of association in which poor men seek favor from wealthy patrons. Liu Jun's description of them is also vivid. He barely conceals his contempt for them in a number of sarcastic lines:

Then, there appear guests from isolated langes,  
Gentlemen who dwell in huts with rope hinges,  
Hoping for the last rays of light from night candles,  
Seeking the tiniest favor from a rich household.  
Like fished strung on a string, leaping like wild ducks,  
Massed and merged, imbricated like fish-scales,  
They partake of rice and millet meant for wild geese and tame ducks,

They soak up the last drops of wine from the *jia* 罍 vessel.  
 Having received favorable treatment,  
 They offer their sincere devotion.

3. The third category of association is a rather curious one that Liu Jun calls *tan jiao* 談交, association based on speech-making and conversation. In this section he describes artful talkers and debaters, including such famed speakers as Lu Jia 陸賈 (ca. 228–140 BCE) of the early Former Han, and logicians of the Warring States period such as Gongsun Long 公孫龍 (ca. 320–250 BCE). I suspect the real object of Liu Jun’s criticism here is the *qing tan* 清談 (pure conversation) fad of the Eastern Jin.

4. The fourth category of association is *qiong jiao* 窮交, or “association through destitution.” Liu Jun begins his description of this type of association by repeating the idea that the proper and constant principle of things is people are sympathetic to each other, especially when in difficult and dire straits. He alludes to the famous “Xiaoya” 小雅 poem “Gu feng” which in the Mao commentary reading was understood as a criticism of the times in which “the way of friendship had been severed.” Unlike the other types of association, Liu Jun does not seem to portray this one so negatively.

5. The last type of association is *liang jiao* 量交 or “association by calculation.” This category contains Liu Jun’s denunciation of opportunists who seek friendships only out of self-interest and with the motive of obtaining personal gain. Liu Jun again presents a wonderful series of parallel lines in which he describes the shameless behavior of these toadies:

All crawl on the ground, sinuously slithering,  
 Rubbing and massaging, licking piles.  
 With gold paste and kingfisher plumes they convey their wishes,  
 With grease and soft leather, fawning and flattering,  
 They express their sincere feelings.  
 Thus, the places where their carriages travel  
 Are certainly not to the abodes of Yi 夷 and Hui 惠,  
 And the places where they actually offer their parcels  
 Are the houses of Zhang 張 and Huo 霍.  
 Only after careful planning do they act,  
 And they do not err even by a hair’s breadth.

Liu Jun posits a single motive that determines all of these five types of relationship, mercenary interest. As Liu Jun puts it, “the principle that lies

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Liu Jun posits a single motive that determines all of these five types of relationship, mercenary interest. As Liu Jun puts it, “the principle that lies

behind these five types of association is the same as buying and selling.” He then erroneously attributes to the Later Han period scholar Huan Tan 桓譚 (23 BCE–56 CE) the saying that personal associations are comparable to the market place, to which people flock in the morning, but which becomes empty by evening.

The host briefly lists three faults that result from such self-interested relationships: 1. They make people act as wild animals, and thus virtue and morality are destroyed. 2. Friendships of this sort are not based on true devotion, and thus rifts erupt resulting in feuds and accusations. 3. Because such relationships are based on greedy self-interest, even men of good reputation fall victim to personal attack and slander.

At the end of Liu Jun’s disquisition, he brings up the matter of Ren Fang. He first describes him as a man who was a good official much admired by his contemporaries, a skilled writer who could rival Cao Zhi 曹植 (192–232 CE) and Wang Can 王粲 (177–217 CE), a man of moral integrity who was the peer of Xu Shao 許劭 (150–195 CE) and Guo Tai 郭泰 (127/128–169 CE). Finally, he was a kindly patron who helped a large number of younger men who sought his support and advice.

“Caps and canopies” gathered like fish-scales,  
 “Robes and skirts” merged like clouds,  
 Covered and screened carriages bumped axle-hub to axle hub,  
 Seated guests always filled his house.  
 Stepping across his threshold was like ascending the hall of Queli 闕里,  
 Entering his inner sanctum was tantamount to climbing the slopes of Longmen 龍門.  
 A single glance from him increased their value two-fold,  
 Being picked out of the gutter by him caused them to make long neighs.

However, after Ren Fang’s death, no one came to mourn him, and none of his so-called friends came to the aid of his destitute sons:

When Ren Fang closed his eyes in Eastern Yue,  
 They returned his bones to the shores of the Luo River.  
 The coffin curtains were still hanging,  
 But few outstanding gentlemen “soaked cloth in wine.”  
 There was no perennial grass on his grave,  
 But the countryside was devoid of guests who “moved their wheels.”  
 Oh you young orphans, you do not know how to plan your livelihood

from morning to evening.  
 You have wandered about south of the great sea,  
 And have entrusted your lives to the land of miasmic pestilence.  
 Those former talents who clasped his arm,  
 And those “metal and thoroughwort” friends  
 Have never shown the kindness of Yangshe 羊舌 (n.d.) who wept tears,  
 And did not emulate the virtue of Hou Cheng 郇成 (n.d.) who shared his  
 residence.

Liu Jun’s conclusion is filled with bitter invective. He denounces the times in which he lives as treacherous and perilous, and all he can do at this point is to leave human society and become a recluse on a high mountain. The only human associations he will have is with elaphures and deer.

Alas, how treacherous the way of the world, that things reach to this point! Even the Taihang 太行 and Mengmen 孟門 mountains are not this perilous! Thus, the man of staunch integrity detests that things are like this. He shall tear up his clothing to wrap his feet, leave this place and travel afar. He shall stand alone on the top of a tall mountain, happy to join a herd of elaphures and deer. Pure and unsullied, he shall cut himself off from the muddy murk. He is truly ashamed of this, he truly dreads it!

There are some unresolved issues concerning Liu Jun’s disquisition on severing of friendships. First, some scholars have questioned whether Ren Fang’s friends were quite so cold-hearted. Indeed, Ren Fang’s sons may not have been as destitute as Liu Jun portrays them to be.<sup>23</sup> Another issue that has been much discussed in recent scholarship is whether Liu Jun was directing his criticism at a particular person whom he faults for failing to come to the aid of Ren Fang’s sons. The usual suspect is Dao Qia 到洽 (477–527 CE). Both he and his brother Dao Gai were good friends of Ren Fang. Ren Fang praised Dao Qia as a peerless talent. However, the lines I have cited above about Ren Fang’s friends not mourning his passing have been interpreted as subtle criticism of Dao Qia and his brothers. The *Wen xuan* commentator Li Shan explicitly says this: He cites from what he titles a letter from Liu Jun to his younger brothers: “Ren Fang had availed himself [of his prestige] to praise [the Dao brothers] at the court. Ren Fang had not been deceased for

23 For a brief discussion of this hypothesis see Song Huali, “‘Guang jue jiao lun’ Ren Fang shi zhiyi.”

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 And have entrusted your lives to the land of miasmic pestilence.  
 Those former talents who clasped his arm,  
 And those “metal and thoroughwort” friends  
 Have never shown the kindness of Yangshe 羊舌 (n.d.) who wept tears,  
 And did not emulate the virtue of Hou Cheng 郇成 (n.d.) who shared his  
 residence.

Liu Jun’s conclusion is filled with bitter invective. He denounces the times in which he lives as treacherous and perilous, and all he can do at this point is to leave human society and become a recluse on a high mountain. The only human associations he will have is with elaphures and deer.

Alas, how treacherous the way of the world, that things reach to this point! Even the Taihang 太行 and Mengmen 孟門 mountains are not this perilous! Thus, the man of staunch integrity detests that things are like this. He shall tear up his clothing to wrap his feet, leave this place and travel afar. He shall stand alone on the top of a tall mountain, happy to join a herd of elaphures and deer. Pure and unsullied, he shall cut himself off from the muddy murk. He is truly ashamed of this, he truly dreads it!

There are some unresolved issues concerning Liu Jun’s disquisition on severing of friendships. First, some scholars have questioned whether Ren Fang’s friends were quite so cold-hearted. Indeed, Ren Fang’s sons may not have been as destitute as Liu Jun portrays them to be.<sup>23</sup> Another issue that has been much discussed in recent scholarship is whether Liu Jun was directing his criticism at a particular person whom he faults for failing to come to the aid of Ren Fang’s sons. The usual suspect is Dao Qia 到洽 (477–527 CE). Both he and his brother Dao Gai were good friends of Ren Fang. Ren Fang praised Dao Qia as a peerless talent. However, the lines I have cited above about Ren Fang’s friends not mourning his passing have been interpreted as subtle criticism of Dao Qia and his brothers. The *Wen xuan* commentator Li Shan explicitly says this: He cites from what he titles a letter from Liu Jun to his younger brothers: “Ren Fang had availed himself [of his prestige] to praise [the Dao brothers] at the court. Ren Fang had not been deceased for

23 For a brief discussion of this hypothesis see Song Huali, “‘Guang jue jiao lun’ Ren Fang shi zhiyi.”

very long, and his sons and nephews were drifting in ditches and trenches. Dao Qia and others saw them, but they were carefree and at ease and did not show them any concern. Liu Jun of Pingyuan detested their indifference, and wrote an expansion of the ‘Disquisition on Severing Associations’ by Zhu Mu.” However, the Hu Kejia 胡克家 editors of the Li Shan *Wen xuan* (*Wen xuan*, 55.2383) note this letter is actually by Liu Xiaochuo 劉孝綽 (481–539 CE), who detested Dao Qia after he accused Liu Xiaochuo of having an improper relationship with a young lady (perhaps his own sister).

The Japanese *Wen xuan* scholar Shimizu Yoshio 清水凱夫 (b. 1941) exploits this piece of information to formulate an elaborate theory about the compilation of the *Wen xuan*. Shimizu has spent much of his career arguing Xiao Tong 蕭統 (501–531 CE) did not compile the *Wen xuan*. In his view, the true compiler was Liu Xiaochuo. His presentation is complex and convoluted, but he bases his hypothesis primarily on two arguments. First, he notes it was common practice in the Six Dynasties period for members of the staff of princes like Xiao Tong to compile a work in the prince’s name. Shimizu asserts this is the case with the *Wen xuan*. Second, Shimizu claims to have found in the *Wen xuan* examples of pieces that Liu Xiaochuo must have chosen for personal reasons. One example is Liu Jun’s “Guang jue jiao lun.” One of Ren Fang’s friends was Dao Qia who was Liu Xiaochuo’s colleague at the Liang court. Both men were distinguished scholars and poets. However, Liu Xiaochuo often insulted Dao Qia in public and private settings. When Dao Qia was appointed censor-in-chief in 526 CE, he brought to the emperor’s attention a damning case against Liu Xiaochuo who had allegedly, when moving into his new official residence, chose the companionship of a concubine rather than caring for his aged mother. There were speculations about who this concubine may have been—some members of the court alleged she was Liu Xiaochuo’s sister.<sup>24</sup> According to Professor Shimizu, Liu Xiaochuo long harbored a grudge against Dao Qia. Thus, he included the “Guang jue jiao lun” in the *Wen xuan* to exact revenge against him.<sup>25</sup>

Shimizu’s hypothesis was not well received by some prominent Chinese scholars, notably Gu Nong 顧農 (b. 1944) and Qu Shouyuan 屈守元 (1913–2001). Professor Gu argues the “Guang jue jiao lun” was directed not only

24 See *Liang shu*, 33.480–81.

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Hu Xu 胡旭 argues Liu Jun faulted not only the Dao brothers for failing to come to the aid of Ren Fang’s sons, but also most of Ren Fang’s friends from the Lantai 蘭臺 group including Shen Yue. He also suggests Liu’s criticism may have extended to Emperor Wu himself, who though mourning Ren Fang’s passing, offered no assistance to Ren’s progeny.<sup>28</sup>

Shao Chunju 邵春駒 argues the Dao brothers were not the only friends of Ren Fang who did not offer assistance to Ren Fang’s destitute sons.<sup>29</sup> He notes that many of the men who were Ren’s associates of the Eight Companions of the Prince of Jingling Xiao Ziliang were still alive at the time of Ren’s passing. These included such illustrious figures as Shen Yue, Xiao Yan, Lu Chui 陸倕 (470–526 CE), and Xiao Chen 蕭琛 (478–529 CE). Shao also claims there is no evidence of any personal animus that Ren Fang harbored against the Dao brothers. He argues instead that the main object of his criticism was Xiao Yan himself. Shao speculates Liu Jun may have written the “Guang jue jiao lun” to criticize Xiao Yan who, according to Liu Jun’s biography in the *Liang shu* (50.702), after founding the Liang dynasty, appointed a number of literati to high court positions. However, Xiao Yan detested Liu Jun’s rash and straightforward manner, and refused to grant him a court position. Liu Jun composed the “Bian ming lun” 辯命論 (Disquisition on fate) to express his frustration at this affront.<sup>30</sup>

Shao also proposes another reason why Xiao Yan harbored animus against Ren Fang. In tenth month of Tianjian 天監 2 [5 November to 4 December

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CE) offered laconic praise for Liu Jun: “Liu Xiaobiao in holding forth an argument and discussing principles is truly without peer.”<sup>40</sup> The Ming period *Wen xuan* commentator Sun Kuang 孫曠 (1542–1613) asserted that Liu Jun’s argumentation in this disquisition is not as good as in his disquisition on fate, but in artistry and delicacy it surpasses it. He characterizes the piece as a “disquisition in *fu* 賦 style.”<sup>41</sup> Liu Jun was one of the premier parallel prose writers of the Southern Dynasties. A number of his prose pieces contains lines that exhibit elements of *fu* including parallelism, recondite allusions, elevated diction, and repetition of synonyms. In my translation that follows I attempt to replicate these features of Liu Jun’s writing.

A guest asked a host, “Is the ‘Disquisition on Severing Associations’ by Zhu Gongshu correct or is it not?”<sup>42</sup> The host replied, “Why do you ask this?” The guest said:

“When the field cricket chirps the locust hops;  
When the striped tiger roars a fresh breeze arises.<sup>43</sup>  
Thus, the vapors of heaven and earth interact.<sup>44</sup>  
Mists well up, clouds billow,

40 See Liu Zhiji 劉知幾, *Shi tong tongshi* 史通通釋, comm. Pu Qilong 浦起龍 (1679–1762 CE) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1978), 9.249.

41 Cited in Zhao Junling 趙俊玲, ed., *Wen xuan huiping* 文選彙評 (Nanjing: Fenghuang chubanshe, 2017), 4: 1783.

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44 This line is partially derived from a passage in the “Xi ci zhuàn 繫辭傳” of the *Classic of Changes*: “Heaven and earth blend together, and the myriad things transform and ripen.” See *Zhou yi zhengyi* 周易正義 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2000), 8.364–65. The *Nan shi* writes *fenyun* 氛氳 for *yinyun* 緼緼 of all other versions. The *Jingdian shiwen* notes another version writes *yinyun* 氳氳 for *yinyun* 緼緼 of the *Classic of Changes* text. These are all alternative versions of the same word meaning ‘to blend together.’ See Gao Heng 高亨, comp., *Dong Zhian* 董治安, ed., *Guzi tongjia huidian* 古字通假會典 (Jinan: Qi Lu shushe, 1989), 75.

Chirping birds call to one another,<sup>45</sup>  
 Stars move, lightning surges.<sup>46</sup>  
 Thus, when Wang Yang ascended to the court, the Venerable Gong  
 was delighted; When Han sheng passed away, Guozi grieved.<sup>47</sup>  
 Moreover, when two hearts are in harmony like *qin* and *se* zithers,  
 Words are as fragrant as thoroughwort and angelica;  
 When purposes accord like glue and lacquer,<sup>48</sup>  
 Aims accord like ocarina and flute.<sup>49</sup>  
 Sages and worthies have such matters  
 Carved on metal placards, incised on basins and receptacles,  
 Written on jade tablets, and engraved on bells and cauldrons.

45 This line is partially derived from *Mao shi* 165/1: “The [sound of] felling trees goes *zheng zheng*, / Birds chirp *ying ying*.” Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200 CE) explains that the chirping of the birds represents friendship. See *Mao shi zhengyi* 毛詩正義, in *Shisan jing zhushu* 十三經注疏 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2009), 9B.877.

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47 Wang Ji also known as Wang Yang 王陽, and Gong Yu were good friends. When Gong Yu heard Wang Yang had been appointed to the imperial court, he was so delighted he dusted off Wang’s cap. See *Han shu* 72.3066. Han sheng 罕生 also known as Han Hu 罕虎 or Zipi 子皮, was a good friend of Zichan, also known as Guozi 國子. When Zichan heard Zipi had died, he began to wail, saying “only this man understands me.” See *Zuo zhuan*, Xiang 30. These are conventional examples of men who were strongly devoted to each other.

48 The phrase “glue and lacquer” (*jiao qi* 膠漆) is a common metaphor for a strong bond between people. It first occurs in “Letter Submitted to the Imperial Court from Prison” by Zou Yang 鄒陽 (early Western Han): “When ruler and minister feel a sympathetic rapport in their hearts and are in accord in their ideals, their bond is as solid as that of glue and lacquer.” See *Han shu*, 51.2346. In the Later Han, it was used in a popular saying about the lifetime friendship of Chen Zhong 陳重 and Lei Yi 雷義: “The bond between glue and lacquer is deemed intrinsically strong, but it cannot compare with that between Lei and Chen.” See *Hou Han shu*, 81.2688. The Chen Balang, *Liujia*, and Mingzhou versions write *xie* 協 for *xie* 叶 of You Mao, *Liuchen*, *Liang shu*, and *Nan shi*. These are alternate graphs for the word meaning “accord.”

49 The two zithers *qin* 琴 and *se* 瑟, as well as the ocarina and flute, were symbols of friendship. See Cao Zhi 曹植, “Dirge for Wang Can” (*Wen xuan*, 56.2437): “Our friendship was like the *qin* and *se*.” See also *Mao shi*, 199/7: “The eldest plays the ocarina, / The second eldest plays the flute. / They are as if bound together, / But you do not know me.”

CE) offered laconic praise for Liu Jun: “Liu Xiaobiao in holding forth an argument and discussing principles is truly without peer.”<sup>40</sup> The Ming period *Wen xuan* commentator Sun Kuang 孫曠 (1542–1613) asserted that Liu Jun’s argumentation in this disquisition is not as good as in his disquisition on fate, but in artistry and delicacy it surpasses it. He characterizes the piece as a “disquisition in *fu* 賦 style.”<sup>41</sup> Liu Jun was one of the premier parallel prose writers of the Southern Dynasties. A number of his prose pieces contains lines that exhibit elements of *fu* including parallelism, recondite allusions, elevated diction, and repetition of synonyms. In my translation that follows I attempt to replicate these features of Liu Jun’s writing.

A guest asked a host, “Is the ‘Disquisition on Severing Associations’ by Zhu Gongshu correct or is it not?”<sup>42</sup> The host replied, “Why do you ask this?” The guest said:

“When the field cricket chirps the locust hops;  
When the striped tiger roars a fresh breeze arises.<sup>43</sup>  
Thus, the vapors of heaven and earth interact.<sup>44</sup>  
Mists well up, clouds billow,

40 See Liu Zhiji 劉知幾, *Shi tong tongshi* 史通通釋, comm. Pu Qilong 浦起龍 (1679–1762 CE) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1978), 9.249.

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 And Master Bo broke off his elegant tune that caused waves to flow.<sup>51</sup>  
 Fan and Zhang were devoted and loyal to each other in the nether  
 springs,  
 Yin and Ban enjoyed joyous accord all night long.<sup>52</sup>  
 Such examples of friendship stretch out in a continuous line, hither  
 and thither, Thick as haze, scattering like rain.  
 This is something an expert in reckoning could not know,<sup>53</sup>  
 Or someone good at mental calculation would be unable to fathom.

- 50 While Zhuangzi was in a funeral procession, he passed by the grave of Huizi 惠子. He told those who accompanied him the story of a plasterer, who when a tiny piece of plaster got on his nose, he asked Artisan Shi 匠石 to slice it off for him. Artisan Shi wielded his hatchet that “created a breeze,” and removed all of the plaster without injuring his friend’s nose. Artisan Shi was later summoned to perform the feat before Lord Yuan of Song, but Shi refused on the ground his friend had been dead for many years. See Guo Qingfan 郭慶藩 (1844–ca. 1896), ed. and comm., *Zhuangzi jishi* 莊子集釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1961), 8B.843. *Nan shi* writes Jiang Shi 匠石 for jiangren 匠人 of all other versions.
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- 52 Fan is Fan Shi 范式 and Zhang is Zhang Shao 張劭 of the Later Eastern Han. They became fast friends in their youth. When Zhang Shao died, he appeared to Fan Shi in a dream to tell him that he was about to be buried. Fan Shi rushed to the grave site. The mourners had tried to move the coffin, but it was too heavy. Upon Fan Shi’s arrival they were able to complete the burial. See *Hou Han shu*, 81.2677. Yin is Yin Min 尹敏 (fl. 9–72), who was a close friend of Ban Biao 班彪 (3–54 CE). They often conversed late into the night until early morning. Ban Biao said about their friendship, “Since Zhong Ziqi died, and Bo Ya smashed his zither, has there been any such joyous accord?” See Wu Shuping 吳樹平, ed. and comm., *Dongguan Han ji jiaozhu* 東觀漢記校注 (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1987), 18.800.
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 He compared the common people to goshawks and hobbies,<sup>57</sup>  
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 I have doubts about this. I beg you to explain my uncertainty.”<sup>59</sup>  
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霧涌雲蒸，  
 嚶鳴相召，  
 星流電激。  
 是以  
 王陽登則貢公喜，  
 罕生逝而國子悲。  
 且  
 心同琴瑟，言鬱郁於蘭茝，  
 道叶膠漆，志婉變於墳箴。  
 聖賢以此鏤金版而鐫盤盂，  
 書玉牒而刻鍾鼎。  
 若乃  
 匠人輟成風之妙巧，  
 伯子息流波之雅引。  
 范、張款款於下泉，  
 尹、班陶陶於永夕。  
 駱驛縱橫，  
 煙霏雨散，  
 巧歷所不知，  
 心計莫能測。  
 而朱益州  
 汨彝敘，  
 粵謨訓，  
 捶直切，  
 絕交游。  
 比黔首以鷹鷂，  
 嬖人靈於豺虎。  
 蒙有猜焉，請辨其惑。<sup>60</sup>

The host smiled warmly, laughed, and said,<sup>61</sup>  
 “You sir are what is called someone:  
 Who strums the strings to produce a pleasant tune,<sup>62</sup>

60 *Wen xuan*, 55.2365–2367.

61 The phrase “smiled warmly and laughed” 听然而笑 is drawn from a line in “*Fu* on the Imperial Park” of Sima Xiangru 司馬相如 (179–117 BCE). See *Wen xuan*, 8.361. *Liang shu* and *Nan shi* omit *er xiao* 而笑.

62 This line resonates with a line in Wang Can, “Lord’s Feast Poem” (*Wen xuan*, 20.945): “Pipes and strings give forth a pleasant tune” 管絃發徽音.

But is unaware of the changes heat and moisture have on the sound,<sup>63</sup>  
 And are one who spreads a net in a fen or marsh,  
 But does not notice the swan-geese and wild geese have flown into  
 the clouds.<sup>64</sup>  
 A sage grasps a bronze mirror,  
 Expiates on moral teaching and great achievements,  
 Soars like a dragon, contracts like an inchworm,  
 Following the rise and fall of the Way.<sup>65</sup>

- 63 These lines are partially inspired by a story recorded in the *Han shi waizhuan* 韓詩外傳 and *Shuo yuan* 說苑 that tells of a king of Zhao who was playing a zither just before sending off an emissary to the state of Chu. Before departing, the emissary said to the king, “Your Majesty’s zither playing has never been as moving as it was today.” The king replied, “The zither is well tuned.” The emissary then said “Since it is well tuned, one should record the position of the bridges.” The king replied, “This cannot be done. As the weather turns dry or humid, the strings become taut or slack.” See Qu Shouyuan 屈守元, ed. and comm., *Han shi waizhuan jianshu* 韓詩外傳箋疏 (Chengdu: Ba Shu shushe, 1996), 7.590–91; James Robert Hightower, *Han Shih Wai Chuan: Han Ying’s Illustrations of the Didactic Application of the Classic of Songs* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), 222–23; Xiang Zonglu 向宗魯, ed. and comm., *Shuo yuan jiaozheng* 說苑校證 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 12.293; Eric Henry, *Garden of Eloquence Shuoyuan* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2021), 695.
- 64 This line may have been inspired by a passage in Sima Xiangru, “Refuting the Elders of Shu” (*Wen xuan*, 44.1995): “The blazing firebird had already soared into the sphere of measureless vastness but those who came to net it were still looking into the fens and marshes.” *Liang shu* writes *hu* 鵠 (swan) for *hong* 鴻 (swan-goose). *Liang shu* and *Nan shi* write *gao* 高 (high) for *yun* 雲 (clouds).
- 65 The phrase “soaring like a dragon” (*long xiang* 龍驤) implies rising to high office and rank. Ban Gu applies this phrase to Han Xin 韓信, Peng Yue 彭越, Qing Bu 黥布, and Wu Rui 吳芮 in his recapitulation for their biographies in the *Han shu* (100.4246): “Rising like clouds, soaring like dragons, they transformed into marquises and kings.” Li Shan (*Wen xuan*, 55.2368) explains: “This means the sage in embracing a clear path and expiating on moral teaching and its influence is like the soaring of a dragon and the contraction of the inchworm. He presumably follows the rise and fall of the Way.” Li Shan cites a “Luo River text” that says, “Qin lost its bronze mirror.” According to Zheng Xuan, the bronze mirror is a metaphor for “clear path.” Liu Jun here draws on a passage in the “Commentary on the Appended Phrases” of the *Yi jing*: “The contraction of the inchworm is for the purpose of seeking to stretch itself out, the hibernation of dragons and snakes is for the purpose of preserving themselves.” See *Zhou yi zhengyi*, 8.358. On the unusual use of *wu* 汙 in the sense of “decline/recede,” see *Li ji zhengyi* 禮記正義 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2008), 8.229 “When the Way was ascendant 隆 [Confucius] elevated [the rites] accordingly, and when the Way was declining 汙, he diminished them accordingly.”

霧涌雲蒸，  
 嚶鳴相召，  
 星流電激。  
 是以  
 王陽登則貢公喜，  
 罕生逝而國子悲。  
 且  
 心同琴瑟，言鬱郁於蘭茝，  
 道叶膠漆，志婉變於墳箴。  
 聖賢以此鏤金版而鐫盤盂，  
 書玉牒而刻鍾鼎。  
 若乃  
 匠人輟成風之妙巧，  
 伯子息流波之雅引。  
 范、張款款於下泉，  
 尹、班陶陶於永夕。  
 駱驛縱橫，  
 煙霏雨散，  
 巧歷所不知，  
 心計莫能測。  
 而朱益州  
 汨彝敘，  
 粵謨訓，  
 捶直切，  
 絕交游。  
 比黔首以鷹鷂，  
 嬖人靈於豺虎。  
 蒙有猜焉，請辨其惑。<sup>60</sup>

The host smiled warmly, laughed, and said,<sup>61</sup>  
 “You sir are what is called someone:  
 Who strums the strings to produce a pleasant tune,<sup>62</sup>

60 *Wen xuan*, 55.2365–2367.

61 The phrase “smiled warmly and laughed” 听然而笑 is drawn from a line in “*Fu* on the Imperial Park” of Sima Xiangru 司馬相如 (179–117 BCE). See *Wen xuan*, 8.361. *Liang shu* and *Nan shi* omit *er xiao* 而笑.

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When the sun and moon appear as linked jade discs,<sup>66</sup>  
 He extols the grand principle of untiring effort;<sup>67</sup>  
 When clouds fly and lightning presses near,<sup>68</sup>  
 He makes clear the subtle sense of the ‘Serviceberry’ poem.<sup>69</sup>

66 According to Li Shan (*Wen xuan*, 55.2368) the linked jade discs represent a time of great peace, while the clouds and lightning stand for a time of decline. He cites a lost work titled *Yi Kun ling tu* 易坤靈圖 (Numinous chart on Kun in the *Changes*) which says “During the germination of perfect virtue, the sun and moon are like linked jade discs.”

67 Note Li Shan (*Wen xuan*, 55.2368) cites Wang Bi 王弼 (226–249 CE) who glosses *weiwei* 亹亹 as 微妙 “subtle.” However, Kong Yingda 孔穎達 glosses it as 勉 “assiduously exert oneself.” See *Zhou yi zhengyi*, 7.341. I have followed Kong’s interpretation.

68 This line is partially derived from the following passage in *Huainanzi* 淮南子: “Yin and yang press near to one another and form thunder, they surge and swell and form lightning.” See Liu Wendian, *Huainan honglie jijie*, 4.157. The Chen Balang, *Liuja*, Mingzhou, *Liang shu*, and *Nan shi* versions write *lei* 雷 (thunder) for *dian* 電 (lightning) of You Mao, *Wen xuan*, and *Liuja*.

69 The *changdi* 常棣 or “Chinese serviceberry” (*Amelanchier sinica*) occurs as an image in the first stanza of *Mao shi* 164 for brothers who are much more devoted to each other than “good friends.”

The blossoms of the *changdi*,  
 Bloom forth in great splendor.  
 Of all men of the present,  
 None are like brothers.

However, Li Shan (*Wen xuan*, 55.2368) cites *Lun yu* 9/31, which says: “The Master said, ‘Someone with whom one can study is not necessarily someone with whom one can proceed to the proper Way. One with whom one can proceed to the proper Way is not necessarily one with whom one can stand. One with whom one can stand is not necessarily one with whom one can make a proper measure of things. Confucius cites the following lines from a lost poem from the *Classic of Songs*:

The blossoms of the *tangdi* 唐棣,  
 How they flutter and turn!  
 It is not that I do not long for you,  
 But your home is so far away.

Although some sources identify *tangdi* as the same as *changdi*, they may be different plants. For a thorough discussion see Wu Houyan 吳厚炎, *Shi jing caomu huikao* 詩經草木匯考 (Guiyang: Guizhou renmin chubanshe, 1992), 68–76. The lines cited in the *Lun yu* passage are from one of the “lost songs” of the *Classic of Songs*, and thus this cannot be the same as *Mao* 164. The *Liang shu* writes *tan* 歎 (exclaim) for *zan* 贊 (extol) of all other versions.

This is like the changes of the five tones  
 Completing the sublime airs of the ‘Nine Movements.’<sup>70</sup>  
 This indicates Master Zhu obtained the black pearl from the Scarlet  
 River,  
 And spoke after consulting divine wisdom.<sup>71</sup>  
 When one comes to:  
 Binding and weaving one another’s benevolence and propriety,<sup>72</sup>  
 Cutting and polishing each other’s morality and virtue,  
 One delights in their joy and happiness,  
 Commiserates with their decline and deterioration.<sup>73</sup>  
 Whether one conveys sympathetic accord beneath the Numinous  
 Terrace,

70 The five tones are the five notes of the pentatonic scale. The “Nine Movements” are the nine sections of the legendary Shao 韶 music of antiquity. See *Shang shu zhengyi*, 5.179.

71 This line is derived from a passage in the *Zhuangzi*: “The Yellow Lord roamed north of the Scarlet River, and climbed the hills of the Kunlun peaks and looked south. He returned home, but left his dark pearl behind.” According to Sima Biao 司馬彪 (240–306 CE), the black pearl is a symbol for the Way. See Guo Qingfan, *Zhuangzi jishi*, 5A.414. Li Shan (*Wen xuan*, 55.2368) explains that principles and ways of doing this vary according to the times but just as the five notes change in a musical composition of nine movements, the result in the end is a fine piece of music. In a similar way, Zhu Mu’s “Disquisition on Cutting Off Associations” had the good result of rectifying the times. “This is like obtaining a black pearl in the Scarlet River.”

72 Li Shan (*Wen xuan*, 55.2369) cites the following passage from the *Chang yan* 昌言 (Forthright words) of Zhongchang Tong 仲長統 (180–220 CE) that resonates with this line: “The Way, virtue, benevolence, and rightness are the basic disposition of heaven. One weaves them in order to achieve their materialization, and refines them in order to achieve their inherent qualities.”

73 Li Shan (*Wen xuan*, 55.2369) paraphrases these lines to say “good friends complement each other in every matter. Their morality and virtue have the resources to be polished and burnished, their benevolence and propriety rely on them to be woven and bound. When occupied by sorrow, they commiserate together, when abiding in joy, they rejoice together.”

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Or leaves behind his traces on rivers and lakes,<sup>74</sup>  
 Even when wind and rain are intense,  
 He does not still his voice;<sup>75</sup>  
 Or when frost and snow fall,  
 He does not change countenance.  
 This is the unsullied friendship of the worthy and the man of  
 penetrating vision,  
 And is something that one encounters only once in ten thousand  
 antiquities.

主人听然而笑曰：  
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74 Li Shan (*Wen xuan*, 55.2369) identifies “spirit terrace” 靈臺 as the heart. He cites *Zhuangzi*: “The myriad evils...should not be admitted into one’s spirit terrace.” See Guo Qingfan, *Zhuangzi jishi* 8A.793. He also relates the line to another passage in the *Zhuangzi*: “Fish become oblivious of each other in rivers and lakes, and humans forget each other in the methods of the Way.” See *Zhuangzi jishi* 3A.272. Li Shan (*Wen xuan*, 55.2369) paraphrases the line as follows: “The sincere devotion of good friends is the same from beginning to end. Thus, they convey their spiritual attachment (*shen tong* 神通) deep in their hearts, and ignore each other’s traces and become oblivious of each other on rivers and lakes.” However, Yao Fan 姚範 (1702–1771) suggests Li Shan’s explanation is wrong, and the line means: “when in official service one associates with those who dwell in the court” 仕宦之通居於廊廟者. See *Yuan chun tang biji* 援鶉堂筆記, *Xuxiu Siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書, 39.67. Although I am not certain what Yao Fan’s laconic explanation means, Gao Buying accepts it and elaborates on it. See *Nanbeichao wen juyao*, 457. Gao also notes that *lingtai* 靈臺 may not mean “heart,” but refers to the Lingtai (Numinous Terrace) observatory. He cites the biography of Diwu Jie 第五頡 in the *Sanfu jue lu* 三輔決錄 that says Diwu Jie “had no patron in Luoyang 洛陽, and he had no fields or house in the countryside, and thus he took up temporary residence in the Lingtai, and sometimes he did not cook for ten days at a time. The metropolitan commandant Zuo Xiong 左雄 from Nanyang, the grand astrologer Zhang Heng 張衡, the imperial secretary Zhu Jian 朱建 of Lujiang 廬江, and Meng Xing 孟興 all were his old friends. Each of them sent him gifts of food, but he did not accept them.” See Zhao Qi 趙岐, *Sanfu jue lu* 三輔決錄, ed. Zhang Shu 張澍 and comm. Chen Xiaojie 陳曉捷 (Xi’an: San Qin chubanshe, 2006), 30. Gao Buying cites a number of passages to show that “leaving traces at rivers and lakes” refers to reclusion. See *Nanbeichao wen juyao*, 457. Thus, Li Shan’s reference to the *Zhuangzi* may be irrelevant.

75 These lines may be inspired by *Mao shi* 90/3: “In the wind and rain all seems dark, / The cock does not cease crowing.”

撫絃徽音，未達燥濕變響，  
 張羅沮澤，不覩鴻鴈雲飛。  
 蓋聖人  
 握金鏡，  
 闡風烈，  
 龍驤蠖屈，  
 從道汗隆。  
 日月聯璧，贊亶亶之弘致；  
 雲飛電薄，顯棣華之微旨。  
 若五音之變化，  
 濟九成之妙曲。  
 此  
 朱生得玄珠於赤水，  
 謨神睿而爲言。  
 至夫  
 組織仁義，  
 琢磨道德，  
 驩其愉樂，  
 恤其陵夷，  
 寄通靈臺之下，  
 遺跡江湖之上，  
 風雨急而不輟其音，  
 霜雪零而不渝其色，  
 斯賢達之素交，  
 歷萬古而一遇。<sup>76</sup>

In an era of decline, people become more duplicitous,<sup>77</sup>  
 Deceit and deception arise like gales.  
 A cavernous gorge would not surpass its precariousness,<sup>78</sup>  
 And even ghosts and spirits are unable to probe its fluctuations.

76 *Wen xuan*, 55.2367–2369.

77 This line may have been inspired by Ban Gu's recapitulation to the monograph on punishments and law in the *Han shu*: "In the age of decline [punishments and laws] were not precise, and men rejected the fundamental and contended for the nonessential. Wu Qi and Sun Bin were deceitful and deceptive, Shen Buhai and Shang Yang were cruel and fierce." See *Han shu*, 100B.4242.

78 This line may be inspired by the following passage in *Zhuangzi*: "In general, the mind of human beings is more perilous than mountains and rivers, and more difficult to understand than heaven." See Guo Qingfan, *Zhuangzi jishi*, 10.1054.

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 龍驤蠖屈，  
 從道汗隆。  
 日月聯璧，贊亶亶之弘致；  
 雲飛電薄，顯棣華之微旨。  
 若五音之變化，  
 濟九成之妙曲。  
 此  
 朱生得玄珠於赤水，  
 謨神睿而爲言。  
 至夫  
 組織仁義，  
 琢磨道德，  
 驩其愉樂，  
 恤其陵夷，  
 寄通靈臺之下，  
 遺跡江湖之上，  
 風雨急而不輟其音，  
 霜雪零而不渝其色，  
 斯賢達之素交，  
 歷萬古而一遇。<sup>76</sup>

In an era of decline, people become more duplicitous,<sup>77</sup>  
 Deceit and deception arise like gales.  
 A cavernous gorge would not surpass its precariousness,<sup>78</sup>  
 And even ghosts and spirits are unable to probe its fluctuations.

76 *Wen xuan*, 55.2367–2369.

77 This line may have been inspired by Ban Gu's recapitulation to the monograph on punishments and law in the *Han shu*: "In the age of decline [punishments and laws] were not precise, and men rejected the fundamental and contended for the nonessential. Wu Qi and Sun Bin were deceitful and deceptive, Shen Buhai and Shang Yang were cruel and fierce." See *Han shu*, 100B.4242.

78 This line may be inspired by the following passage in *Zhuangzi*: "In general, the mind of human beings is more perilous than mountains and rivers, and more difficult to understand than heaven." See Guo Qingfan, *Zhuangzi jishi*, 10.1054.

People vie for advantage as light as feather and down,  
 And they pursue profit as miniscule as the tip of an awl.<sup>79</sup>  
 And then:  
 Unsullied friendships come to an end,  
 And opportunistic associations flourish.  
 The realm under heaven is in chaos and confusion,<sup>80</sup>  
 And people are like startled birds, terrified of the thunder.  
 Yet, even though opportunistic associations share the same source,  
 their tributaries are different. Speaking in general terms, one can say  
 there are five methods.

逮叔世民訛，  
 狙詐颺起，  
 谿谷不能踰其險，  
 鬼神無以究其變，  
 競毛羽之輕，  
 趨錐刀之末。  
 於是  
 素交盡，  
 利交興，  
 天下蚩蚩，  
 鳥驚雷駭。  
 然則  
 利交同源，  
 派流則異，  
 較言其略，有五術焉。<sup>81</sup>

79 This line is partially derived from a passage in the *Zuo zhuan* (Zhao 6) in a speech by Shuxiang 叔向 in which he objects to the implementation of a strict penal code: “When the people know how to contend over minor points [of law], they will abandon ritual propriety and seek proof in written texts. Even over the tip of an awl will they all contend.” According to Du Yu 杜預 (223–285 CE), the tip of an awl is an image for a minor matter. See *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi* 春秋左傳正義 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2000), 43.1415.

80 This line has an antecedent in the following passage in Yang Xiong’s 揚雄 (53 BCE–18 CE) *Fa yan* 法言 (Exemplary sayings): “The Six States wrought chaos and confusion, on behalf of the Ying clan [Qin] they weakened the Ji clan [Zhou].” See Wang Rongbao 汪榮寶, *Fa yan yishu* 法言義疏, punc. and coll. Chen Zhongfu 陳仲夫 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 354.

81 *Wen xuan*, 55.2369–2370.

There were men whose favor equaled that of Dong and Shi,<sup>82</sup>  
 Whose authority was weightier than that of Liang and Dou.<sup>83</sup>  
 It was they who carved and engraved the hundred officials,  
 And forged and hammered the myriad things.<sup>84</sup>  
 Whenever they spit or sucked in something,  
 They gave rise to clouds and rain;  
 Whenever they inhaled or exhaled,  
 They brought down frost and dew.<sup>85</sup>  
 People within the nine provinces trembled before their wind and  
 dust,<sup>86</sup>  
 And people within the four seas were terrified of their scorching  
 smoke.<sup>87</sup>

82 Dong is Dong Xian 董賢 (23–1 BCE) who was the homosexual lover of Emperor Ai (r. 7–1 BCE) of the Former Han. Shi is Shi Xian 石顯 who was a powerful eunuch during the reign of Emperor Yuan (r. 48–33 BCE) of the Former Han. See Loewe, *Biographical Dictionary*, 67–69, 479–80.

83 Liang is Liang Ji 梁冀 (d. 159 CE), and Dou is Dou Xian 竇憲 (d. 92) who were powerful members of the consort clan during the late Eastern Han. See Rafe de Crespigny, *A Biographical Dictionary of Later Han to the Three Kingdoms* (23–200 CE) (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 170–72, 450–53.

84 This line is partially derived from the following passage in *Zhuangzi*: “Huangdi lost his wisdom all between the forging and hammering.” See Guo Qingfan, *Zhuangzi jishi*, 3.280.

85 According to Zhang Xian (*Liu chen*, 55.6b), rising clouds and rain represent beneficence, falling frost and dew represent severe punishment. This line resonates with lines from Fan Ye’s preface to the biographies of eunuchs in the *Hou Han shu*: “Their every action and move caused the mountains and seas to revolve, and every breath they inhaled and exhaled changed to frost and dew.” See *Hou Han shu*, 78.2510; *Wen xuan* 50.2208.

86 The phrase *feng chen* 風塵 (wind and dust) refers to a situation in which opportunistic officials take advantage of a chaotic situation to gain favor and power from a ruler. It is used in this sense in Ban Gu’s “Replying to the Guest’s Jests” (*Wen xuan* 45.2018): “Shang Yang 商鞅 embraced three methods with which to bore into Duke Xiao, and Li Si 李斯 flaunted exigent matters and obtained trust from the First Emperor. Those men both tread on the convergence of wind and dust, and stepped into a situation of upturn and upheaval.” Li Shan cites Xiang Dai 項岱 (n.d.) who explains that the wind issuing forth in the sky represents the ruler, and the dust rising from below represents Shang Yang and Li Si.

87 This line resonates with lines in Pan Yue’s 潘岳 “Fu on the Westward Journey” (*Wen xuan*, 10.462): “When Wang Yin, Wang Feng, Hong Gong, and Shi Xian held sway, / Their smoke scorched the four quarters, / They daunted and dazzled city and shire.”

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Upon seeing their shadows none failed to dash off like shooting stars,  
 Or upon hearing their voices, to speed away like a rushing stream.<sup>88</sup>  
 When the master of the cock first reported the dawn,<sup>89</sup>  
 Chariot canopies flying like cranes formed dense shade.<sup>90</sup>  
 When tall gates opened at dawn,  
 There was a steady line of chariots like flowing waters.<sup>91</sup>  
 They were willing to shave themselves from head to heel,  
 Destroy their gall, and rip out their innards.<sup>92</sup>  
 They made a pact to burn their wives and children like Yao Li,<sup>93</sup>  
 And vowed to martyr themselves like Jing Ke, who caused the

88 These lines resonate with the following lines from “Grave Inscription for Guo Linzong” by Cai Yong 蔡邕 (ca. 133–192 CE): “At this time gentlemen who wore sashes and pendants, / Gazed upon his outer form and appearance and attached themselves to him like shadows. / They heard his fine voice and like echoes harmonized with him, / Just like the multiple streams return to the giant sea, / And like scaly and shelly creatures pay homage to tortoise and dragon.” See *Wen xuan*, 58.2501–2.

89 The master of the cock (*jiren* 雞人) was an ancient official charged with providing chickens for the sacrifices. One of his other duties was to announce the hours of the water clock to awaken court officials. See *Zhou li zhengyi*, 37.1510.

90 As a parallel to this line, Li Shan (*Wen xuan*, 55.2370) cites the following line from “*Fu* on the Lu Capital” by Liu Zhen 劉楨 (d. 217 CE): “The chariot canopies were like flying cranes.”

91 This line partially resembles a passage in an edict by Empress Dowager Ma 馬皇后 of Emperor Ming (27–75 CE) of the Later Han: “Previously I passed by the Zhuolong Gate and I saw members of the consort family coming to pay their regards. Their carriages were like flowing water, and their horses were like dragons.”

92 See *Mengzi* 7A/26: “Mozi cares for everyone equally. If shaving himself from head to heel would benefit the world, he would do it.” The Chen Balang, *Liujia*, and Mingzhou versions write *hui* 墮 for *hui* 隳 of all other versions. Both graphs mean “ruin” / “destroy.”

93 Yao Li wished to aid King Helü 闔閭 of Wu (r. 514–496 BCE) to assassinate Prince Qingji 慶忌, the son of King Liao 僚 of Wu (d. 515 BCE). He proposed that Helü accuse him of a crime so that he could flee and ingratiate himself with Qingji. Helü arrested Yao Li and had his wife burned to death. Yao Li fled to Qingji’s estate where he attempted to assassinate him. See *Lüshi chunqiu jishi*, 11.8b–9b.

extinction of seven lineages.<sup>94</sup>

This is called association by virtue of power and influence. It is the first category.

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 寵鈞董、石，  
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 鑪捶萬物，  
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 呼噏下霜露，  
 九域聳其風塵，  
 四海疊其燠灼。  
 靡不望影星奔，  
 藉響川驚，  
 雞人始唱，  
 鶴蓋成陰，  
 高門旦開，  
 流水接軫。  
 皆願摩頂至踵，  
 隳膽抽腸，  
 約同要離焚妻子，  
 誓殉荊卿湛七族。  
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94 Liu Jun here seems to draw from parallel lines in Zou Yang's letter from prison: "As for Jing Ke causing the extermination of his seven clansmen, and Yao Li having his wife burned, this is not worth mentioning to Your Majesty." See *Wen xuan*, 39.1770. The *Liu jia* and Mingzhou versions write *zongzu* 宗族 (ancestral lineage) for *qi zu* 七族 (seven lineages). Commentators variously explain *qi zu*. The *Suoyin* 索隱 commentary to the *Shi ji* cites Zhang Yan 張晏 (Late Eastern Han) who claims they included lineages extending upward to one's great grandfather and down to one's great grandson. It also cites an unnamed source that lists the lineages as the lineages of the father, father's sister, sister's sons, daughter's sons, lineages of the mother, paternal cousins, and wife's parents. See *Shi ji*, 83.2476, n. 5. For *qi* 七 (seven) the *Liu jia* and Mingzhou versions write *zong* 宗 (ancestor) and the *Yiwen leiju* writes *wang* 亡 (destroy).

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95 *Wen xuan*, 55.2370.

There are men whose wealth equals that of Tao and Bai,<sup>96</sup>  
 Whose assets are as large as Cheng and Luo.<sup>97</sup>  
 Some lay claim to copper slopes,<sup>98</sup>  
 Or whose household stores are like the Cavern of Gold.<sup>99</sup>  
 They go out on the plain with a long retinue of riders,  
 And when residing behind their ward gates, they dine to the sounding  
 of bells.<sup>100</sup> Then, there appear guests from isolated lanes,<sup>101</sup>  
 Gentlemen who dwell in huts with rope hinges,<sup>102</sup>

96 Tao is Fan Li 范蠡 (536–448 BCE), who after assisting King Goujian 勾踐 of Yue (r. 496–465 BCE) in defeating the state of Wu, left for north China where he settled in Tao 陶 (modern Tao county, Shandong), where he was known as the Venerable Zhu of Tao 陶朱公. He made a large fortune as a merchant. See *Shi ji*, 41.1752–53, 129.3257. Bai is Bai Gui 白圭 (370–300 BCE or 463–365 BCE), a wealthy merchant from Luoyang in the Warring States period. See *Shi ji*, 129.3258–59, *Han shu*, 91.3685.

97 Cheng is Cheng Zheng 程鄭 from Linqiong 臨邛 (modern Qionglai 邛崃, Sichuan). During the early Western Han he made a fortune smelting iron. See *Shi ji*, 129.3278, *Han shu* 91.3690. Luo is Luo Pou 羅褒 who was a wealthy salt merchant and money-lender from Chengdu in the late Western Han. See *Han shu*, 91.3690.

98 Li Shan (*Wen xuan*, 55.2371) cites two lines from Yang Xiong's "Fu on the Shu Capital" that mentions the copper slopes of Shu: "In the west there are: Salt spring and iron smelters, / Orange groves and copper slopes." On the Shu copper slopes see David R. Knechtges, "A Problematic Fu of the Western Han: The 'Shu du fu' Attributed to Yang Xiong," in *Reading Fu Poetry from the Han to Song Dynasties*, ed. Nicholas Morrow Williams (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2022), 64, n. 81.

99 "The Cavern of Gold" (*Jin xue* 金穴) alludes to Guo Kuang 郭況 (10–59), brother of the first empress of Emperor Guangwu 光武 of the Eastern Han (r. 29–57 CE). Through his influence at the imperial court he was able to acquire great wealth. His estate in Luoyang was called the "Cavern of Gold." See *Hou Han shu*, 10A.403.

100 These two lines resonate with the following lines in the "Monograph on Food and Money" in the *Han shu*: "The Shu clan rode in a long line of riders by virtue of selling dried meat, and Zhang Hamlet dined to the sounding of bells by virtue of serving as horse veterinarians." See *Han shu*, 91.3694. It also may be derived from the description of Chengdu in Zuo Si 左思, "Fu on the Shu Capital" (*Wen xuan* 4.184): "Ward gates open up face to face."

101 The phrase "isolated lane" (*qiong xiang* 窮巷) was used to describe the dwelling of the Han minister Chen Ping 陳平 (d. 179 BCE): "[Chen Ping's house] was in an isolated lane that backed onto the outer wall of the town." See *Shi ji*, 56.2052.

102 This line uses a phrase from Jia Yi's "Disquisition Finding Fault with Qin" (*Wen xuan*, 51.2236): "Chen She 陳涉 was a fellow who lived in a dwelling with jars for windows and rope hinges." The Chen Balang, *Liujia*, and Mingzhou versions write *zi* 子 (master) for *shi* 士 (gentleman) of all other versions.

Hoping for the last rays of light from night candles,  
 Seeking the tiniest favor from a lustrous household.<sup>103</sup>  
 Like fish strung on a string, leaping like wild ducks,<sup>104</sup>  
 Massed and merged, imbricated like fish scales,  
 They partake of rice and foxtail millet meant for wild geese and tame  
 ducks,<sup>105</sup>

- 103 The phrase “last rays of light from night candles” is derived from a speech attributed to the Warring States general Gan Mao 甘茂. He told of an unmarried woman who lived with other women. She was so poor she was unable to afford candles. When the other women informed her that they wished to expel her from the household, she replied: “Because this handmaid has no candle, I always arrive first and sweep your rooms and spread the mats. How can you begrudge the residual light that shines on the four walls?” See Liu Xiang 劉向 coll., *Zhanguo ce jianzheng* 戰國策箋證, ed. and comm. Fan Xiangyong 范祥雍 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2006), 2.266–67. The residual light represents a tiny favor that costs the grantor virtually nothing to bestow on another person. The phrase *run wu* 潤屋 first appears in *Daxue* 大學, chapter 6: “Wealth adds luster to a household 富潤屋.” In this line the phrase means “lustrous household.”
- 104 The *locus classicus* for the phrase *yu guan* 魚貫 (fish strung on a string) is *Classic of Changes*, Hexagram 23, 6/5: “Like fish strung on a string, palace ladies enjoy favor.” The *Liang shu* writes *yong* 踊 for *yue* 躍 of all other versions. Both words mean “leap.”
- 105 Tian Rao 田饒 served at the court of Duke Ai 哀 of Lu (ca. 508–468 BCE), but the duke never paid him notice. Tian informed the duke that he was going to leave the court and fly away like a yellow swan. He explained that the yellow swan soars a thousand leagues in a single flight and lands in a pond in Duke Ai’s garden where it eats the lord’s fish and turtles, and pecks at the rice and foxtail millet. See Qu Shouyuan, *Han shi waizhuan jianshu*, 2.192–93; Hightower, *Han Shih Wai Chuan*, 62–63. This line may be an implicit comparison of a man who obtains favor from a wealthy patron to the yellow swan that alights in Duke Ai’s garden and partakes of the rice and foxtail millet. Li Shan (*Wen xuan*, 55.2371) cites a line from the now lost *Lu Lianzi* 魯連子 that resonates with this line: “Your lord’s wild geese and wild ducks have a surfeit of grain.” This line also appears in the *Han shi waizhuan* and *Shuo yuan* in an account about a lord’s inability to make good use of his servicemen. See Qu Shouyuan, *Han shi waizhuan jianshu*, 7.640; Hightower, *Han Shih Wai Chuan*, 242; Xiang Zonglu, *Shuo yuan jiaozheng*, 8.191; Henry, *Garden of Eloquence*, 459. A slightly different version of this line occurs in the *Zhanguo ce* which writes *e* 鵞 (goose) for *yan* 鴈 (wild goose). See Fan Xiangyong, *Zhanguo ce jianzheng*, 11.662.

There are men whose wealth equals that of Tao and Bai,<sup>96</sup>  
 Whose assets are as large as Cheng and Luo.<sup>97</sup>  
 Some lay claim to copper slopes,<sup>98</sup>  
 Or whose household stores are like the Cavern of Gold.<sup>99</sup>  
 They go out on the plain with a long retinue of riders,  
 And when residing behind their ward gates, they dine to the sounding  
 of bells.<sup>100</sup> Then, there appear guests from isolated lanes,<sup>101</sup>  
 Gentlemen who dwell in huts with rope hinges,<sup>102</sup>

96 Tao is Fan Li 范蠡 (536–448 BCE), who after assisting King Goujian 勾踐 of Yue (r. 496–465 BCE) in defeating the state of Wu, left for north China where he settled in Tao 陶 (modern Tao county, Shandong), where he was known as the Venerable Zhu of Tao 陶朱公. He made a large fortune as a merchant. See *Shi ji*, 41.1752–53, 129.3257. Bai is Bai Gui 白圭 (370–300 BCE or 463–365 BCE), a wealthy merchant from Luoyang in the Warring States period. See *Shi ji*, 129.3258–59, *Han shu*, 91.3685.

97 Cheng is Cheng Zheng 程鄭 from Linqiong 臨邛 (modern Qionglai 邛崃, Sichuan). During the early Western Han he made a fortune smelting iron. See *Shi ji*, 129.3278, *Han shu* 91.3690. Luo is Luo Pou 羅褒 who was a wealthy salt merchant and money-lender from Chengdu in the late Western Han. See *Han shu*, 91.3690.

98 Li Shan (*Wen xuan*, 55.2371) cites two lines from Yang Xiong’s “Fu on the Shu Capital” that mentions the copper slopes of Shu: “In the west there are: Salt spring and iron smelters, / Orange groves and copper slopes.” On the Shu copper slopes see David R. Knechtges, “A Problematic Fu of the Western Han: The ‘Shu du fu’ Attributed to Yang Xiong,” in *Reading Fu Poetry from the Han to Song Dynasties*, ed. Nicholas Morrow Williams (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2022), 64, n. 81.

99 “The Cavern of Gold” (*Jin xue* 金穴) alludes to Guo Kuang 郭況 (10–59), brother of the first empress of Emperor Guangwu 光武 of the Eastern Han (r. 29–57 CE). Through his influence at the imperial court he was able to acquire great wealth. His estate in Luoyang was called the “Cavern of Gold.” See *Hou Han shu*, 10A.403.

100 These two lines resonate with the following lines in the “Monograph on Food and Money” in the *Han shu*: “The Shu clan rode in a long line of riders by virtue of selling dried meat, and Zhang Hamlet dined to the sounding of bells by virtue of serving as horse veterinarians.” See *Han shu*, 91.3694. It also may be derived from the description of Chengdu in Zuo Si 左思, “Fu on the Shu Capital” (*Wen xuan* 4.184): “Ward gates open up face to face.”

101 The phrase “isolated lane” (*qiong xiang* 窮巷) was used to describe the dwelling of the Han minister Chen Ping 陳平 (d. 179 BCE): “[Chen Ping’s house] was in an isolated lane that backed onto the outer wall of the town.” See *Shi ji*, 56.2052.

102 This line uses a phrase from Jia Yi’s “Disquisition Finding Fault with Qin” (*Wen xuan*, 51.2236): “Chen She 陳涉 was a fellow who lived in a dwelling with jars for windows and rope hinges.” The Chen Balang, *Liu jia*, and Mingzhou versions write *zi* 子 (master) for *shi* 士 (gentleman) of all other versions.

Hoping for the last rays of light from night candles,  
 Seeking the tiniest favor from a lustrous household.<sup>103</sup>  
 Like fish strung on a string, leaping like wild ducks,<sup>104</sup>  
 Massed and merged, imbricated like fish scales,  
 They partake of rice and foxtail millet meant for wild geese and tame  
 ducks,<sup>105</sup>

- 103 The phrase “last rays of light from night candles” is derived from a speech attributed to the Warring States general Gan Mao 甘茂. He told of an unmarried woman who lived with other women. She was so poor she was unable to afford candles. When the other women informed her that they wished to expel her from the household, she replied: “Because this handmaid has no candle, I always arrive first and sweep your rooms and spread the mats. How can you begrudge the residual light that shines on the four walls?” See Liu Xiang 劉向 coll., *Zhanguo ce jianzheng* 戰國策箋證, ed. and comm. Fan Xiangyong 范祥雍 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2006), 2.266–67. The residual light represents a tiny favor that costs the grantor virtually nothing to bestow on another person. The phrase *run wu* 潤屋 first appears in *Daxue* 大學, chapter 6: “Wealth adds luster to a household 富潤屋.” In this line the phrase means “lustrous household.”
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They soak up the last drops of wine from the jade *jia* vessel.<sup>106</sup>  
 Having received favorable treatment,  
 They offer their sincere devotion.  
 Grasping a green pine, they express their loyal feelings;<sup>107</sup>  
 Pointing to the clear water, they show their fidelity.<sup>108</sup>  
 This is association based on wealth. It is the second category.

富埶陶、白，  
 貲巨程羅，  
 山擅銅陵，  
 家藏金穴，  
 出平原而聯騎，  
 居里閤而鳴鍾。  
 則有  
 窮巷之賓，  
 繩樞之士，  
 冀宵燭之末光，  
 邀潤屋之微澤。  
 魚貫鳧躍，  
 颯沓鱗萃，  
 分鴈鷺之稻梁，  
 霑玉斝之餘瀝。  
 銜恩遇，  
 進款誠，  
 援青松以示心，  
 指白水而旌信。

106 The *Shuowen jiezi* glosses *jia* 斝 as *yu jue* 玉爵 (jade wine vessel). See Duan Yucai 段玉裁 (1735–1815), *Shuowen jiezi zhu* 說文解字注, ed. Xu Weixian 許惟賢 (Nanjing: Fenghuang chubanshe, 2018), 14A.1246. The *Zuo zhuan* (Zhao 7) mentions a *jia er* 斝耳 (eared *jia*), which Du Yu also identifies as a jade wine vessel. See *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 44.1423. The *jia* made of jade is pronounced *jià* (OCM kràh). The more common type of *jia* made of bronze is pronounced *jiǎ* (OCM krâ ).

107 This line partially resonates with the following passage in the *Record of Rites*: “[Ritual propriety] in a person is like the rind of arrow bamboo, and like the heart of pine and cypress.” See *Li ji zhengyi*, 32.955.

108 This line alludes to *Zuo zhuan*, Xi 24: Upon returning to his home state of Jin after a long exile, Chong’er 重耳 said to his uncle Zifan 子犯, “If I do not have the same mind with my uncle, may this clear water attest to it.”

是曰賄交，其流二也。<sup>109</sup>

Superior grand master Lu feasted in the Western Capital,<sup>110</sup>  
 And Guo Youdao assessed men’s character in the Eastern State.<sup>111</sup>  
 The excellencies and ministers valued Lu’s considerable reputation,  
 And wearers of insignia and sashes admired Guo’s ascent to  
 immortality.<sup>112</sup>

In addition,

Bending their jaws, wrinkling their noses,  
 With snivel and spittle pouring down their faces,<sup>113</sup>  
 They let loose unbridled talk of the yellow horse,<sup>114</sup>

109 *Wen xuan*, 55.2370–2371.

110 The superior grand master Lu is Lu Jia. After Emperor Gaozu appointed him superior grand master, Chen Ping 陳平 presented him with five million cash to use as “eating and drinking expenses.” With such assets, he was able to associate with excellences and ministers of the Han court, and his reputation was much enhanced. See *Han shu*, 43.2115. The Western Capital is Chang’an, capital of the Western Han.

111 Guo Youdao 郭有道 is Guo Tai 郭泰 (127/128–169 CE) who was a prominent scholar and teacher known for his unerring judgment of character during the time of the Grand Proscription at the end of the Later Han. See Asselin, *A Significant Season*, 251–64. The Eastern State (Dongguo 東國) is Luoyang, the capital of the Eastern Han.

112 In 167, when many officials were banned from office, Guo Tai returned home. A large group of scholars sent him off. As they viewed him going into the distance on his boat, they thought he resembled an immortal. See *Hou Han shu*, 68.2225.

113 These lines are partially derived from the following lines in Yang Xiong, “Justification against Ridicule” (*Han shu*, 87B.3572): “Cai Ze was a commoner from east of the mountains. / With a crooked chin and broken nose, / Snivel and spittle poured down his face. / In the west he bowed to the prime minister of mighty Qin. / Then seizing him by the throat, choking him with his eloquence, / He slapped him on the back and took his position.”

114 The yellow horse is mentioned in one of Hui Shi’s 惠施 logical paradoxes: “A yellow horse and a black cow make three.” See Guo Qingfan, *Zhuangzi jishi*, 10B.1106.

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 繩樞之士，  
 冀宵燭之末光，  
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 分鴈鷺之稻梁，  
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114 The yellow horse is mentioned in one of Hui Shi’s 惠施 logical paradoxes: “A yellow horse and a black cow make three.” See Guo Qingfan, *Zhuangzi jishi*, 10B.1106.

And unleashed powerful arguments about the blue-green fowl.<sup>115</sup>  
 When telling of torrid heat, a cold valley turned warm,<sup>116</sup>  
 When discoursing on severe withering, spring thickets lost their  
 leaves.<sup>117</sup>  
 Soaring and sinking was determined by wherever their gaze was  
 directed,<sup>118</sup>  
 Honor or disgrace was determined by their single word.  
 Thereupon, young princes who just donned the youth cap,  
 Lordlings dressed in fine silks,  
 Whose ‘ways’ did not capture the attention of men of comprehensive  
 learning,

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- 115 Li Shan (*Wen xuan*, 55.2371) cites the following lines from a letter by Feng Yan 馮衍 (ca. 20 BCE–ca. 60 CE) to Deng Yu 鄧禹 (2–58 CE): “I contend that if one expresses spirit and conveys thought, the persuasions of Liaocheng [= Lu Zhonglian 魯仲連], and the disputation about the blue-green fowl are not worth refuting.” The disputation about the blue-green fowl refers to a logical proposition recorded in *Gongsun Longzi* 公孫龍子, which contains the following passage: “Blue-green is not a proper color. .... Between blue-green and yellow, yellow is preferred. Yellow is like horse, and properly belongs in the same category with it. Blue-green is like fowl, but when combined it wreaks havoc [on the category].” See *Gongsun Longzi*, *Siku quanshu*, 13a. This clearly is a reference to the sophistic arguments of ancient logicians.
- 116 The Chen Balang, *Liu jia*, *Liang shu*, and *Nan shi* write *yu* 燠 for *yu* of all other versions. According to Li Shan (*Wen xuan*, 55.2372), *yu* 燠 (OCM \*ʔuk) and 郁 (OCM \*ʔwək) were the same word. They both mean “extremely hot” / “torrid.”
- 117 Li Shan (*Wen xuan*, 21.1003) cites the *Bie lu* 別錄 of Liu Xiang 劉向 (79–8 BCE) that recounts when the Warring States thinker Zou Yan 鄒衍 resided in Yan, the cold weather in the valley prevented the five grains from growing. He proceeded to blow pitchpipes that caused the weather to turn warm allowing millet to grow. Li Shan (*Wen xuan*, 55.2372) cites the *Shuowen jiezi* which glosses *ku* 苦 as *ji* 急 (intense). Hu Shaoying 胡紹煥 (1792–1860) notes his passage is not in the received version of the *Shuowen jiezi*, but is in the *Guang ya*. See Wang Niansun 王念孫, *Guang ya shuzheng* 廣雅疏證, punc. and coll. Zhang Qiyun 張其昀 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2019), 81–82. Hu Shaoying mentions the *Liang shu* writes *ku* 枯 for *ku* 苦. Both graphs have the sense of “wither.” See Hu Shaoying 胡紹煥, *Wen xuan jianzheng* 文選箋證 (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 2007), 31.871.
- 118 “Soaring and sinking” (*fei chen* 飛沈) refers to the highs and lows of an official career. This line is partially derived from a passage in *Zhuangzi*: As for governance by a sage, “Wherever his hand bends or his gaze is directed, none of the people of the four directions fails to arrive [at his court].” See Guo Qingfan, *Zhuangzi jishi*, 5A.440.

And whose fame did not reach the gallery that soars into the clouds,<sup>119</sup>

Clinging to the scaly and the winged,<sup>120</sup>

And begging for the leavings of their disquisitions

Attaching themselves to the tail tips of fine steeds,<sup>121</sup>

They outdistanced geese returning to Jieshi.<sup>122</sup>

This is association based on speech-making and conversation. It is the third type.

陸大夫宴喜西都，  
郭有道人倫東國，  
公卿貴其籍甚，  
搢紳羨其登仙。  
加以  
顛頤蹙頞，  
涕唾流沫，  
騁黃馬之劇談，  
縱碧鷄之雄辯。  
敘溫郁則寒谷成暄，  
論嚴苦則春叢零葉，

119 According to Yan Shigu 顏師古, *yun ge* 雲閣 is a gallery that rises high into the clouds. See *Han shu*, 87A.3529, n. 9. It could also refer to the Yuntai 雲臺 (Cloud Terrace). See the note on Cloud Terrace below.

120 In the *Fa yan*, Yang Xiong claimed Yan Hui 顏回 and Min Ziqian 閔子騫 rose to prominence by “clinging to dragon scales and attaching themselves to phoenix wings” of Confucius. See Wang Rongbao, *Fa yan yishu*, 11.417.

121 Li Shan (*Wen xuan*, 55.2372) cites the *Shuowen jiezi* which glosses *zang* 駟 as *zhuang ma* 壯馬 (robust steed). There are variant readings for this entry in the *Shuowen jiezi*. According to Duan Yucai, *zhuang ma* 壯馬 is the correct version. See Duan Yucai, *Shuowen jiezi zhu*, 10A.817. Gu Yewang 顧野王 (519–581 CE) glosses *zang* as *jun ma* 駿馬 “fine steed.” See Chen Pengnian 陳彭年 (961–1017 CE), ed., *Chongxiu Yupian* 重修玉篇, *Siku quanshu*, 23.3b. The word *ji* 驥 that follows *zang* in this line also means “fine steed.” Perhaps *zang ji* 駟驥 is a synonym compound. *Liang shu* and *Nan shi* write *qi* 騏 (thoroughbred) for *zang* 駟 (fine steed) of all other versions. The *Liang shu* writes *mao* 髦 (mane) for *mao* 旄 (yak tail) of all other versions.

122 Jieshi 碣石 is a mountain that was located north of modern Changli 昌黎, Hebei. See Shi Weile, *Zhongguo lishi diming dacidian*, 2792. According to the *Huainanzi*, this was a refuge for homing geese. See Liu Wendian, *Huainan Honglie jijie*, 6.204.

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- 116 The Chen Balang, *Liu jia*, *Liang shu*, and *Nan shi* write *yu* 燠 for *yu* of all other versions. According to Li Shan (*Wen xuan*, 55.2372), *yu* 燠 (OCM \*ʔuk) and 郁 (OCM \*ʔwək) were the same word. They both mean “extremely hot” / “torrid.”
- 117 Li Shan (*Wen xuan*, 21.1003) cites the *Bie lu* 別錄 of Liu Xiang 劉向 (79–8 BCE) that recounts when the Warring States thinker Zou Yan 鄒衍 resided in Yan, the cold weather in the valley prevented the five grains from growing. He proceeded to blow pitchpipes that caused the weather to turn warm allowing millet to grow. Li Shan (*Wen xuan*, 55.2372) cites the *Shuowen jiezi* which glosses *ku* 苦 as *ji* 急 (intense). Hu Shaoying 胡紹煥 (1792–1860) notes his passage is not in the received version of the *Shuowen jiezi*, but is in the *Guang ya*. See Wang Niansun 王念孫, *Guang ya shuzheng* 廣雅疏證, punc. and coll. Zhang Qiyun 張其昀 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2019), 81–82. Hu Shaoying mentions the *Liang shu* writes *ku* 枯 for *ku* 苦. Both graphs have the sense of “wither.” See Hu Shaoying 胡紹煥, *Wen xuan jianzheng* 文選箋證 (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 2007), 31.871.
- 118 “Soaring and sinking” (*fei chen* 飛沈) refers to the highs and lows of an official career. This line is partially derived from a passage in *Zhuangzi*: As for governance by a sage, “Wherever his hand bends or his gaze is directed, none of the people of the four directions fails to arrive [at his court].” See Guo Qingfan, *Zhuangzi jishi*, 5A.440.

And whose fame did not reach the gallery that soars into the clouds,<sup>119</sup>

Clinging to the scaly and the winged,<sup>120</sup>

And begging for the leavings of their disquisitions

Attaching themselves to the tail tips of fine steeds,<sup>121</sup>

They outdistanced geese returning to Jieshi.<sup>122</sup>

This is association based on speech-making and conversation. It is the third type.

陸大夫宴喜西都，  
郭有道人倫東國，  
公卿貴其籍甚，  
搢紳羨其登仙。  
加以  
顛頤蹙頞，  
涕唾流沫，  
騁黃馬之劇談，  
縱碧鷄之雄辯。  
敘溫郁則寒谷成暄，  
論嚴苦則春叢零葉，

119 According to Yan Shigu 顏師古, *yun ge* 雲閣 is a gallery that rises high into the clouds. See *Han shu*, 87A.3529, n. 9. It could also refer to the Yuntai 雲臺 (Cloud Terrace). See the note on Cloud Terrace below.

120 In the *Fa yan*, Yang Xiong claimed Yan Hui 顏回 and Min Ziqian 閔子騫 rose to prominence by “clinging to dragon scales and attaching themselves to phoenix wings” of Confucius. See Wang Rongbao, *Fa yan yishu*, 11.417.

121 Li Shan (*Wen xuan*, 55.2372) cites the *Shuowen jiezi* which glosses *zang* 駟 as *zhuang ma* 壯馬 (robust steed). There are variant readings for this entry in the *Shuowen jiezi*. According to Duan Yucai, *zhuang ma* 壯馬 is the correct version. See Duan Yucai, *Shuowen jiezi zhu*, 10A.817. Gu Yewang 顧野王 (519–581 CE) glosses *zang* as *jun ma* 駿馬 “fine steed.” See Chen Pengnian 陳彭年 (961–1017 CE), ed., *Chongxiu Yupian* 重修玉篇, *Siku quanshu*, 23.3b. The word *ji* 驥 that follows *zang* in this line also means “fine steed.” Perhaps *zang ji* 駟驥 is a synonym compound. *Liang shu* and *Nan shi* write *qi* 騏 (thoroughbred) for *zang* 駟 (fine steed) of all other versions. The *Liang shu* writes *mao* 髦 (mane) for *mao* 旄 (yak tail) of all other versions.

122 Jieshi 碣石 is a mountain that was located north of modern Changli 昌黎, Hebei. See Shi Weile, *Zhongguo lishi diming dacidian*, 2792. According to the *Huainanzi*, this was a refuge for homing geese. See Liu Wendian, *Huainan Honglie jijie*, 6.204.

飛沈出其顧指，  
 榮辱定其一言。  
 於是  
 有弱冠王孫，  
 綺紈公子，  
 道不挂於通人，  
 聲未遒於雲閣，  
 攀其鱗翼，  
 丐其餘論，  
 附駟驥之旄端，  
 軼歸鴻於碣石。  
 是曰談交，其流三也。<sup>123</sup>

To be at ease in a yang season, and be miserable in a yin season,  
 This is the general condition of humankind.<sup>124</sup>  
 To join together when sad, to separate when happy,  
 This is the constant nature of all things.  
 Thus, when a spring dries up, fish blow spittle on each other,  
 And a bird, when it is about to die, makes a mournful cry.<sup>125</sup>  
 From shared misery there is common sympathy,

123 *Wen xuan*, 55.2371–2372.

124 This line resonates with Zhang Heng 張衡, “*Fu on the Western Capital*” (*Wen xuan*, 2.48): “If a person is in a yang season, he feels at ease, and if he is in a yin season, he is miserable.”

125 See *Zhuangzi jishi*, 3A.242: “When a spring dries up, the fish dwell with each other on dry land. They blow moisture on each other, and wet each other with spittle, but this is not as good as being oblivious of each other in rivers and lakes.” Cf. also: *Lun yu* 8/4: Zengzi said, “When a bird is about to die, its cry is mournful.” The Chen Balang edition writes “*yi ai ming*” 以哀鳴 for “*er ming ai*” 而鳴哀 of You Mao, *Wen xuan*, *Liuchen*, and *Nan shi*. *Liu jia* and Mingzhou write “*er ai ming*” 而哀鳴. *Liang shu* writes “*er bei ming*” 而悲鳴.

Leading one to compose the sad ‘Riverbank Song.’<sup>126</sup>  
 ‘Afraid and fearful, place me in your heart’  
 Is a sentiment made clear in the grand ode ‘Valley Wind.’<sup>127</sup>  
 This is an example of ‘cutting metal’ arising from a low and narrow  
 abode,<sup>128</sup>

- 126 This line alludes to the the following account in the *Wu Yue chunqiu* 吳越春秋 that tells of Bo Pi 伯嚭 (d. 473 BCE), also written Bo Pi 伯否, Bo Xi 伯喜, and Bo Xi 帛喜. He was a member of a noble family from Chu. After Bo Pi’s grandfather Bo Zhouli 伯州犁 was executed, he fled to Wu where he obtained a favored position at the court of Helu 闔廬. Wu Zixu 伍子胥 (d. 484 BCE) requested to have him appointed grand master. At a banquet, the Wu grand master Bei Li 被離 asked Wu Zixu why Wu could trust this man who was an aristocrat from a rival state. Zixu replied, “Pi and I share a similar grievance. Have you heard the “Riverbank Song”? It goes:

Those who share a common misery, sympathize with each other;  
 Those who share a common distress, rescue one another.  
 Birds that are scared into flight  
 Follow each other to the same nest.  
 Waters flowing down from a rapids  
 Turn and then flow together.

Who could not care for one who shares a similar fate, or not commiserate with one who has similar inclinations.” See Zhou Shengchun 周生春, ed. and comm., *Wu Yue chunqiu jijiao huikao* 吳越春秋輯校彙考 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1997), 4.45; Jianjun He, *Spring and Autumn Annals of Wu and Yue* (Ithaca and London: Cornell East Asia Studies, an Imprint of Cornell University Press, 2021), 73–74.

- 127 “Valley Wind” refers to *Mao shi* 201/2:

When you are afraid, are fearful,  
 You place me in your heart.  
 When you are at peace, are joyful,  
 You cast me aside as if throwing me away.

According to the Mao commentary to *Mao shi* 189, during the reign of King You of Zhou, mores had deteriorated to the point that “the way of friendship had been severed.” See *Mao shi zhengyi*, 13A.985.

- 128 “Cutting metal” (*duan jin* 斷金) is a phrase in the “Commentary on the Appended Statements” in the *Classic of Changes*: “When two people share the same heart, their sharpness cuts metal.” See *Zhou yi zhengyi*, 7.325. The phrase “low-lying and cramped” (*jiao ai* 湫隘) first appears in *Zuo zhuan*, Zhao 3: When Duke Jing of Yan proposed to change the residence of Yan Ying, he said to him, “Sir, your residence is low-lying, cramped, noisy, and dusty.” The Chen Balang edition writes *tong* 同 (same) for *ze* 則 (then).

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And ‘cutting one’s throat’ stemming from a friendship to death.<sup>129</sup>  
 Thus, Wu Yun washed and cleansed grand steward Pi,<sup>130</sup>  
 And King Zhang supported the wings of minister Chen.<sup>131</sup>  
 This is association through destitution. It is the fourth category.

陽舒陰慘，  
 生民大情；  
 憂合驩離，  
 品物恒性。  
 故魚以泉潤而响沫，  
 鳥因將死而鳴哀。  
 同病相憐，綴河上之悲曲；  
 恐懼置懷，昭谷風之盛典。

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130 Wu Yun 伍員 is Wu Zixu, and steward Pi is Bo Pi. “Washing and cleansing” is a figure of speech for helping absolve someone of a crime. This is a reference to Wu Zixu’s recommending Bo Pi for a position at the Wu court.

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斯則斷金由於湫隘，  
 勿頸起於苦蓋。  
 是以伍員濯漑於宰嚭，  
 張王撫翼於陳相。  
 是曰窮交，其流四也。<sup>132</sup>

Vulgar types who gallop and race,<sup>133</sup>  
 And mean-spirited sorts,<sup>134</sup>  
 Do not fail to hold the balance-weight and beam,  
 Or grasp fine silk floss.  
 The balance-weight and beam serve to measure weight,  
 Silk floss is inserted in the nostrils to ascertain asphyxia.<sup>135</sup>  
 If the balance-weight cannot be raised,  
 And if the silk floss cannot fly,  
 Even those winged dragons and fledgling phoenixes Yan and Ran,<sup>136</sup>

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Or Zeng and Shi with their eupatorium fragrance and snowy  
whiteness,<sup>137</sup>

Or Shu and Xiang who compare with gold, jade, deep pools, and the  
sea,<sup>138</sup>

Or Qing and Yun who are like axe and labris designs, and the Yellow  
and Han rivers:<sup>139</sup>

They view them like drifting dust,

137 Zeng is Zeng Shen 曾參, another disciple of Confucius. Shi is Shi Yu 史魚 who was a grand master from Wei in the Chunqiu period.

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Treat them like clay figures,<sup>140</sup>  
 And no one would be willing to expend even a small ration of  
 soybeans on them,<sup>141</sup>  
 And few would pluck out a single hair for them.<sup>142</sup>  
 If the balance-weight and beam are pressed down a miniscule  
 amount,<sup>143</sup>  
 Or the silk floss flutters slightly,  
 Even Gonggong who concealed iniquities,  
 Or Huandou who suppressed the virtuous,<sup>144</sup>  
 Or the tyrant from Southern Jing,

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- 140 According to Li Shan (*Wen xuan*, 55.2374), drifting dust and effigies of clay are images of the insignificant and menial. The phrase *tugen* 土梗 (effigy of clay) occurs in the following passage in *Zhuangzi*: Marquis Wen of Wei said, "What I have been studying are merely nothing but effigies of clay." According to Sima Biao, a *tugeng* is clay human figure that disintegrates in the rain. See *Zhuangzi jishi*, 7B.703–4.
- 141 The phrase *ban shu* 半菽 occurs in the *Han shu* biography of Xiang Yu. According to Meng Kang 孟康, *ban* is "half a *sheng* 升 measure" (ca. 100 cc. or 211 pint). The commentator Chen Zan 臣瓚 explains *ban shu* as a ration of vegetables half of which are soybeans. Yan Shigu suggests Chen Zan's interpretation is correct. See *Han shu*, 31.1803, n. 10. Hu Shaoying notes the *Shi ji* version (7.305) writes *yu shu* 芋菽 (taro and soybeans) for *ban shu*, and the *Suo yin* commentary (*Shi ji* 7.306, n. 8) cites Wang Shao 王劭 who glosses *ban* as "a capacity of half of a *sheng* measure." See *Wen xuan jianzheng*, 31.870. Whatever the correct meaning, as used in this line, *ban shu* designates a miniscule amount.
- 142 This line resonates with *Mengzi* 7A/26: "Master Yang engaged in egoism. Even if by pulling out a single hair he could benefit the subcelestial realm, he would not do so."
- 143 The phrase *zi zhu* 錙銖, literally "1/4 and 1/64 of a *liang* 兩 (ounce)," is often used to mean a miniscule amount. An early example is the following passage in *Han Feizi*: "If a weight of a thousand *jun* 鈞 obtains a boat [to carry it] it will float, but if a weight of a *zi* or *zhu* is deprived of a boat it will sink." See Wang Xianshen 王先慎, ed. and comm., *Han Feizi jijie* 韓非子集解 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1998), 8.208.
- 144 Liu Jun draws upon passages in *Zuo zhuan*, Wen 18: "Shaohao had a son of no ability.... He engaged in slander and concealed iniquities in order to vilify men of consummate virtue. The people of the realm called him Qiongqi." According to Du Yu, Qiongqi 窮奇 is another name for Gonggong 共工, one of the Four Fiends during the time of Yao. Shun had him banished. The second passage reads: "Dihongshi 帝鴻氏 had a son of no ability. He suppressed men of morality and shielded criminals.... The people of the realm called him Hundun." According to Du Yu, Hundun 渾敦 is another name for Huandou 驩兜, another of the Four Fiends who colluded with Gonggong against Yao. See *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 20.667–68.

Or Zeng and Shi with their eupatorium fragrance and snowy  
whiteness,<sup>137</sup>

Or Shu and Xiang who compare with gold, jade, deep pools, and the  
sea,<sup>138</sup>

Or Qing and Yun who are like axe and labris designs, and the Yellow  
and Han rivers:<sup>139</sup>

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Or the great villain from Dongling,<sup>145</sup>  
 All would crawl on the ground, sinuously slithering,  
 Rubbing and massaging, licking piles.<sup>146</sup>  
 With gold paste and kingfisher plumes they convey their wishes,<sup>147</sup>  
 With grease and soft leather, fawning and flattering,  
 They express their sincere feelings.<sup>148</sup>

- 145 Southern Jing (Nan Jing 南荆) refers to the bandit Zhuang Qiao 莊騫, who lived in Chu. See Xu Weiyu *Lüshi chunqiu jishi* 呂氏春秋集釋, 12.7b. Southern Jing is another name for Chu 楚. Dongling 東陵 refers to Robber Zhi 盜跖. He reputedly died at Dongling which according to Sima Biao was located near Jinan 濟南, Shandong. See *Zhuangzi jishi*, 4A.323, 326, n. 10. Gao Buyang suggests Zhuang Qiao and Robber Zhi were general names for brigands and thieves. See *Nanbeichao wen juyao*, 468–69.
- 146 The phrase *zhe zhi* 折枝, which first occurs in *Mengzi* 1A/7, has been explained in three different ways: (1) to break off a branch, (2) to rub and massage, (3) to bend the waist. “Rub and massage” perhaps is the best match with “pile licking.” See Hu Shaoying, *Wen xuan jianzheng*, 31.870; Gao Buyang, *Nanbei chao wen juyao*, 469. However, Jiao Xun 焦循 (1703–1760) suggests *zhi* 枝 could also be construed as *zhi* 肢 (limb of the body) and refers to bowing for an elder or respected person. See Jiao Xun 焦循, ed. and comm., *Mengzi zhengyi* 孟子正義, punc. and coll. Shen Wenzhuo 沈文倬 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 3.86. The “pile-licker” appears in *Zhuangzi jishi* 10A.1050: “When the King of Qin is ill he summons physicians. The physician who is able to pop a boil or drain an abscess obtains one carriage, but the one who licks his piles is given five carriages. The lower the area treated, the more carriages one obtains.”
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Thus, the places where their carriages travel  
 Are certainly not to the abodes of Yi and Hui,<sup>149</sup>  
 And the places where they actually offer their parcels  
 Are the houses of Zhang and Huo.<sup>150</sup>  
 Only after careful planning do they act,  
 And they do not err even by a hair's breadth.<sup>151</sup>  
 This is called association by calculation. It is the fifth type.

馳騫之俗，  
 澆薄之倫，  
 無不操權衡，  
 秉纖纒。  
 衡所以揣其輕重，  
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 若衡不能舉，  
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 雖顏、冉龍翰鳳雛，  
 曾、史蘭薰雪白，  
 舒、向金玉淵海，  
 卿、雲黼黻河漢。  
 視若游塵，  
 遇同土梗，  
 莫肯費其半菽，  
 罕有落其一毛。  
 若衡重錙銖，  
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149 Yi is the famous recluse Bo Yi 伯夷, and Hui is Liuxi Hui 柳下惠. They are both exemplars of integrity and morality. Confucius effusively praises them in *Lun yu* 18/8.

150 Zhang is Zhang Anshi 張安世 (d. 62 BCE). He and Huo Guang 霍光 (d. 68 BCE) were the most powerful ministers during the reign of the Former Han Emperor Xuan (r. 74–49 BCE). See Loewe, *Biographical Dictionary*, 672–74, 170–74. The phrase *baoju* 苞苴, which literally means “package,” or “parcel,” first appears in the *Record of Rites* (see *Li ji zhengyi*, 4.89): “All those who call on people with bows and arrows, packages, and square and round food baskets.” Here it is a figure of speech for offering gifts and bribes to people.

151 For *hao mang* 毫芒 (hair's breath), *Liang shu* and *Yiwen leiju* write *mang hao* 芒毫, and *Nan shi* writes *mang hao* 芒豪.

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 卿、雲黼黻河漢。  
 視若游塵，  
 遇同土梗，  
 莫肯費其半菽，  
 罕有落其一毛。  
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 南荊之跋扈，  
 東陵之巨猾，  
 皆爲匍匐逶迤，  
 折枝舐痔，  
 金膏翠羽將其意，  
 脂韋便辟導其誠。  
 故輪蓋所游，必非夷、惠之室；  
 苞苴所入，實行張、霍之家。  
 謀而後動，  
 毫芒寡忒。  
 是曰量交，其流五也。<sup>152</sup>

The principle that lies behind these five types of association is the same as buying and selling. Thus, Huan Tan compared it to the market place,<sup>153</sup> And Lin Hui used the analogy of sweet wine.<sup>154</sup>

152 *Wen xuan*, 55.2374–2375.

153 This probably is a reference to an account recorded in *Zhanguo ce*. Lord Mengchang 孟嘗君 (d. 279 BCE) had been driven from his home state of Qi and then returned. Tan Shizi 譚拾子 offered him the following advice: “The one event that is always bound to occur is death, and a principle that is invariably true is that if one is wealthy and honorable, people will go to him, but if he is poor and lowly, they will shun him. Please allow me to explain this by the analogy of the market place. In the morning the market is full, but in the evening it is empty. This is not because people care much for it in the morning, but detest it in the evening. Rather it is because they seek things to sustain themselves that they go there, and when those things are gone, they leave.” See Fan Xianghong, *Zhanguo ce jianzheng*, 11.637–38. Li Shan (*Wen xuan*, 55.2375) points out that neither the *Xin lun* 新論 nor the collected works of Huan Tan has this passage, and he suspects Liu Jun has mistakenly confused Huan Tan with Tan Shizi.

154 When Lin Hui 林回 fled his home state of Jia 賈, he threw away a jade disc worth a thousand catties of gold, but took his infant son with him. Lin Hui made the following defense of this action: “The friendship of a noble man is as bland as water, but the friendship of a petty man is as sweet as rich wine. But the blandness of the nobleman leads to affection, while the sweetness of the petty man leads to disaffection [literally “severing”]. Those who join together for no reason will also part from each other for no reason.” See *Zhuangzi jishi*, 7A.685.

Cold and heat advance in alternation,<sup>155</sup>  
 Prosperity and decline follow one upon another.  
 Sometimes there are those who first enjoy honors and later are in  
 dire straits, Sometimes there are those who are first wealthy and later  
 poor,<sup>156</sup>  
 Sometimes there are those who manage to survive only to perish  
 later,  
 Sometimes there are those who in the past were in dire straits and  
 later experienced contentment.<sup>157</sup>  
 This cycle repeats and revolves,  
 Swift as tumbling waves.<sup>158</sup>  
 In this way,  
 The predilection to seek profit never changes,  
 While the ways of deceit and deception are more than one.  
 Viewing it from this perspective,  
 The reasons why Zhang and Chen were eventually hostile to each  
 other,  
 Or why a rift finally erupted between Xiao and Yu

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155 This line resonates with the following passage in *Classic of Changes*, “Commentary on the Appended Statements,” B/3: “Cold departs and heat arrives, heat departs and cold arrives.”

156 These lines resonate with the following passage in *Shuo yuan*: Yongmen Zhou 雍門周 replied to Lord Mengchang: “Those whom your humble servant can sadden [with my zither playing] are those who were of noble status and later were reduced to menial status, those who were wealthy in the past and are now poor.” See Xiang Zonglu, *Shuo yuan jiaozheng*, 11.279.

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158 This line partially resembles Lu Ji, “Song of the Noble Man” (*Wen xuan*, 28.1294): “Things tumble and toss like waves and ripples Lu Ji, “Song of the Noble Man” (*Wen xuan*, 28.1294): “Things tumble and toss like waves and ripples.”

驩堯之掩義，  
 南荊之跋扈，  
 東陵之巨猾，  
 皆爲匍匐逶迤，  
 折枝舐痔，  
 金膏翠羽將其意，  
 脂韋便辟導其誠。  
 故輪蓋所游，必非夷、惠之室；  
 苞苴所入，實行張、霍之家。  
 謀而後動，  
 毫芒寡忒。  
 是曰量交，其流五也。<sup>152</sup>

The principle that lies behind these five types of association is the same as buying and selling. Thus, Huan Tan compared it to the market place,<sup>153</sup> And Lin Hui used the analogy of sweet wine.<sup>154</sup>

152 *Wen xuan*, 55.2374–2375.

153 This probably is a reference to an account recorded in *Zhanguo ce*. Lord Mengchang 孟嘗君 (d. 279 BCE) had been driven from his home state of Qi and then returned. Tan Shizi 譚拾子 offered him the following advice: “The one event that is always bound to occur is death, and a principle that is invariably true is that if one is wealthy and honorable, people will go to him, but if he is poor and lowly, they will shun him. Please allow me to explain this by the analogy of the market place. In the morning the market is full, but in the evening it is empty. This is not because people care much for it in the morning, but detest it in the evening. Rather it is because they seek things to sustain themselves that they go there, and when those things are gone, they leave.” See Fan Xianghong, *Zhanguo ce jianzheng*, 11.637–38. Li Shan (*Wen xuan*, 55.2375) points out that neither the *Xin lun* 新論 nor the collected works of Huan Tan has this passage, and he suspects Liu Jun has mistakenly confused Huan Tan with Tan Shizi.

154 When Lin Hui 林回 fled his home state of Jia 賈, he threw away a jade disc worth a thousand catties of gold, but took his infant son with him. Lin Hui made the following defense of this action: “The friendship of a noble man is as bland as water, but the friendship of a petty man is as sweet as rich wine. But the blandness of the nobleman leads to affection, while the sweetness of the petty man leads to disaffection [literally “severing”]. Those who join together for no reason will also part from each other for no reason.” See *Zhuangzi jishi*, 7A.685.



Cold and heat advance in alternation,<sup>155</sup>  
 Prosperity and decline follow one upon another.  
 Sometimes there are those who first enjoy honors and later are in  
 dire straits, Sometimes there are those who are first wealthy and later  
 poor,<sup>156</sup>  
 Sometimes there are those who manage to survive only to perish  
 later,  
 Sometimes there are those who in the past were in dire straits and  
 later experienced contentment.<sup>157</sup>  
 This cycle repeats and revolves,  
 Swift as tumbling waves.<sup>158</sup>  
 In this way,  
 The predilection to seek profit never changes,  
 While the ways of deceit and deception are more than one.  
 Viewing it from this perspective,  
 The reasons why Zhang and Chen were eventually hostile to each  
 other,  
 Or why a rift finally erupted between Xiao and Yu

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Can clearly be understood.<sup>159</sup>

The Venerable Zhai, feeling himself diminished, carved a message on his gate to admonish guests.<sup>160</sup> Why was he so late to realize this?<sup>161</sup>

From these five associations are produced three faults.

Ruining virtue and destroying propriety, such is the manner of wild birds and beasts. This is the first fault.

159 When Xiang Yu enfeoffed Zhang Er as King of Changshan 常山, Chen Yu led an army against him and defeated him. Zhang Er then joined Liu Bang and killed Chen Yu. In their youth, Xiao Yu 蕭育 (fl. 48–7 BCE) and Zhu Bo 朱博 (fl. 41–5 BCE) were good friends but later they had a falling out after Zhu Bo rose to the post of prime minister. See *Han shu*, 78.3290–91. Liu Jun draws upon an account about Wang Dan 王丹, courtesy name Zhonghui 仲回, who served as an official in his natal area of Xiagui 下邳 (north of modern Weinan 渭南, Shaanxi) during the reigns of Emperor Ai and Emperor Ping of the Former Han (6 BCE–6 CE). A parent of a fellow student of Wang Dan's died in Zhongshan, and the son wished to go and console him. When he informed his father of his intention, Wang Dan became furious and flogged him. He explained: "It is not easy to speak about the difficulties of the way of friendship.... Zhang and Chen were hostile to each other at the end, and there was a rift between Xiao and Zhu at the end." See *Hou Han shu*, 27.931–32.

160 The word *guigui* 規規 first appears in the "Autumn Floods" chapter of *Zhuangzi*. Cheng Xuanying 成玄英 (fl. 630–660) glosses it as "descriptive of being at a loss." See Guo Qingfan, *Zhuangzi jishi*, 6B.600, n. 6. Wang Shumin 王叔岷 (1914–2008) cites the entry for *gui* 嬰 in the *Fangyan* of Yang Xiong which it glosses as *xi* 細 (diminutive). In his commentary to this entry, Guo Pu writes the binome *guigui* 嬰嬰, which he glosses as "descriptive of something diminutively formed." See Hua Xuecheng 華學誠 et al., comm., *Yang Xiong Fangyan jiaoshi huizheng* 揚雄方言校釋匯證 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006), 109–10. Wang Shumin argues *guigui* 規規 and *guigui* 嬰嬰 are the same word meaning "to feel oneself small." See Wang Shumin 王叔岷, *Zhuangzi jiaoquan* 莊子校詮 (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiuso, 1988; rpt. 1999), 627. I have tentatively followed Wang's explanation in my translation.

161 The Venerable Zhai was the father of the famous minister Zhai Fangjin 翟方進 (d. 7 BCE). When the Venerable Zhai served as chamberlain for law enforcement, guests flocked to his gate. When he was dismissed from office, so few people came to see him he could place sparrow nets outside the gate. He later returned to the same post, and when guests wanted to visit him, he placed a placard at the gate that read: "One is now alive, the one is dead. It is at this point that one knows the true nature of friendship. One is now poor, then one is rich. It is at this point that one knows the true quality of friendship. Now one is honorable, then one is lowly, the true nature of people in this way is thus revealed." See *Han shu*, 50.2325.

It is difficult to remain steadfast in friendship and men easily become estranged. This is how feuds and accusations accumulate. This is the second fault.

Good repute falls victim to greed and glutton, thus arousing feelings of shame for the upright and honest. This is the third fault.<sup>162</sup>

The ancients knew the three faults would become maladies,<sup>163</sup>

And feared the five associations would invite calamity.

Thus, Wang Dan intimidated his son with a thorn switch,<sup>164</sup>

And Zhu Mu spoke forthrightly to make known his views on severing associations.

How sensible! How sensible!

凡斯五交，義同賈鬻，  
故  
桓譚譬之於鬪鬪，  
林回喻之於甘醴。  
夫寒暑遞進，  
盛衰相襲，  
或前榮而後悴，  
或始富而終貧，

162 This line alludes to *Zuo zhuan*, Wen 18: "The Jinyun clan had a son of no ability. He craved food and drink and coveted goods and wealth.... The people of the subcelestial realm compared him to the three iniquitous ones and called him Taotie." According to Du Yu, the two syllables of Taotie 饕餮 mean respectively "greedy for wealth" and "greedy for food." See *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, 20.670. I have loosely rendered it "greed and gluttony" to replicate the alliteration of the Chinese original.

163 Li Shan (*Wen xuan*, 3.124) cites the Mao commentary to *Mao shi* 257/3 which glosses *geng* 梗 as *bing* 病 (harm/malady) in the line "To the present day he does harm" 至今為梗. See *Mao shi zhushu*, 18.1726. In the *Hou Han shu* biography of Duan Jiong 段熲 (65.2151), *geng* 梗 is written *geng* 鯁. Wang Li 王力 identifies these two words as members of the same word family. See Wang Li, *Tongyuan zidian* 同源字典 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1982), 344.

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此則

殉利之情未嘗異，  
變化之道不得一。  
由是觀之，  
張、陳所以凶終，  
蕭、朱所以隙末，  
斷焉可知矣。

而翟公方規規然勒門以箴客，何所見之晚乎？然因此五交，是生三釁：

敗德殄義，禽獸相若，一釁也。  
難固易攜，讎訟所聚，二釁也。  
名陷饕餮，貞介所羞，三釁也。

古人

知三釁之爲梗，  
懼五交之速尤，  
故王丹威子以櫜楚，  
朱穆昌言而示絕，  
有旨哉！有旨哉！<sup>165</sup>

In the recent age there is Ren Fang of Le'an,  
A distinguished man of the realm.<sup>166</sup>  
Early in his career he tied on silver and yellow,<sup>167</sup>

165 *Wen xuan*, 55.2375–2376.

166 Ren Fang's ancestral home was Bochang 博昌 in Le'an 樂安 (modern Shouguang 壽光, Shandong).

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And long won acclaim from the people.<sup>168</sup>  
 His vigorous writings and their elegant embellishments,<sup>169</sup>  
 He drove in tandem with Cao and Wang.<sup>170</sup>  
 His outstanding qualities and superior character  
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- 168 This line is partially derived from the following passage in *Zuo zhuan*, Cheng 18: After Duke Dao of Jin acceded to his position, “all of the heads of the six ministries were acclaimed by the people.” According to the *Nan shi* (59.1454), Ren Fang was much admired by the people of the commanderies where he served as governor. While in Yixing 義興 (modern Yixing, Jiangsu), he provided food from his personal funds for victims of a famine. He is credited with saving the lives of 3,000-plus people. He also accepted only one fifth of his allotment of 800-plus piculs from the official fields, and he returned the remainder to the people. The only grain allowed his wife and children was wheat. While serving in Xin’an, Ren Fang personally inquired of the problems of the local people, and he earned a reputation for the incorruptibility of his administration. After his death in 508 CE, the people of Xin’an erected a shrine in his honor. The *Liang shu* writes *zhao* 招 for *zhao* 昭 (acclaimed) of all other versions. The *Nan shi* writes *ren* 人 for *min* 民 which perhaps is an avoidance of the taboo of the personal name of Emperor Taizong of Tang.
- 169 The phrase *li zao* 麗藻 (elegant embellishments) occurs in Lu Ji’s “Fu on Literature”: “[The writer] roams the groves and storehouses of artful patterning, / And esteems the balance and proportion of elegant embellishments.” See *Wen xuan* 17.763. In Liu Jun’s line *li zao* might also mean “symmetrical embellishments,” for Ren Fang was renowned for composing elegant parallel prose lines.
- 170 Cao and Wang are Cao Zhi and Wang Can, perhaps the most famous writers of the Jian’an and Wei period.
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He resembled Tian Wen in his esteem for retainers,<sup>172</sup>  
 And was like Zheng Zhuang in his fondness for worthies.<sup>173</sup>  
 Seeing a good man, gazing wide-eyed and lifted brow, he gripped his  
 wrist,<sup>174</sup>  
 Upon meeting a man of talent, he lifted his eyebrows and clapped his

172 Tian Wen 田文 is Lord Mengchang. He inherited his father's estate in Xue 薛 and recruited several thousand retainers to his court. See *Shi ji*, 75.2353–54.

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hands.<sup>175</sup> ‘Orpiment assessments’ came from his lips and mouth,<sup>176</sup>  
 ‘Vermilion and purple’ issued from his ‘first-of-the-month  
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- 177 Xu Shao and his friends every month engaged in evaluation assessments of people. Their judgments could make or break a man’s reputation. See *Hou Han shu* 68.2235. Vermilion was a primary color, and purple was a secondary color. “Vermilion and purple distinctions” are assessments of the relative talent of different people. See *Lun yu* 17/16. According to the *Dongguan Han ji*, the governor of Runan 汝南 Zong Ze 宗資 and others “employed men of excellence and doing so vermilion was distinguished from purple. See Wu Shuping, *Dongguan Han ji jiaozhu*, 761.
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He resembled Tian Wen in his esteem for retainers,<sup>172</sup>  
 And was like Zheng Zhuang in his fondness for worthies.<sup>173</sup>  
 Seeing a good man, gazing wide-eyed and lifted brow, he gripped his  
 wrist,<sup>174</sup>  
 Upon meeting a man of talent, he lifted his eyebrows and clapped his

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Their covered and screened carriages bumped axle-cap to axle-cap,<sup>179</sup>  
 Seated guests always filled his house.  
 Stepping across his threshold was like ascending the hall of Queli,<sup>180</sup>  
 Entering his inner sanctum was tantamount to climbing the slopes  
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Being picked up and selected for office caused them to neigh long.<sup>183</sup>  
 Those who  
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 shoulder,<sup>184</sup>  
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They wished for the ‘immaculate dust’ of Hui and Zhuang,<sup>186</sup>  
 And hoped for the good deeds of Yang and Zuo.<sup>187</sup>  
 When Ren Fang closed his eyes in Eastern Yue,  
 They returned his bones to the shores of the Luo River.<sup>188</sup>  
 The coffin curtains were still hanging,

186 This line is partially inspired by the following passage in *Huainanzi*: “When Hui Shi died, Zhuang Zhou ceased conversation because there was no one in the world with whom he could converse.” See Liu Wendian, *Huainan honglie jijie*, 19.654. The phrase *qing chen* 清塵 has two meanings: “immaculate dust” or “clear away worldly dust.” An early example of the former usage appears in “Letter Submitted to the Court Admonishing against Hunting” by Sima Xiangru (*Han shu*, 57B.2589): “[Suppose a wild animal] violates the immaculate dust of the trailing carriages” 犯屬車之清塵. According to Yan Shigu (*Han shu*, 57B.2590, n. 4), the dust is the dust that rises from the movement [of the carriages], and *qing* 清 ‘immaculate’ implies the meaning of venerable and noble, referring to the imperial entourage. A similar usage occurs in Pan Yue, “*Fu* on Recalling Old Friends and Kin,” “From an early age when I was privileged to meet him, / I was fortunate to be sprinkled with Lord Dai’s immaculate dust.” See *Wen xuan*, 16.732. In Liu Jun’s line, *qing chen* characterizes the friendship of Hui Shi and Zhuang Zhou as something pure and noble. The Chen Balang, *Liujia*, and Mingzhou versions write *Zhuang Hui* 莊惠 for *Hui Zhuang* 惠莊 of all other versions.

187 Li Shan (*Wen xuan*, 55.2378) cites *Lieshi zhuan* 烈士傳 (Traditions of martyrs) attributed to Liu Xiang which tells of two men from the state of Warring States period Yan, Yang Jiaoai 羊角哀 and Zuo Botao 左伯桃, who were “friends to the death.” Hearing that the King of Chu was a wise man, they decided to travel to his court. On the way, they encountered a snowstorm. Fearing both of them would not survive, Zuo Botao gave his clothing and food to Yang Jiaoai. He died inside a tree. On this story and its transmission see Rao Daoqing 饒道慶, “‘Yang Jiaoai she ming quan jiao’ benshi kaobian” 《羊角哀舍命全交》本事考辨, *Wenxue yichan* 2006.5: 143–45; Wang Junyi 王君逸, “Yang Jiaoai Zuo Botao gushi de yanbian ji qi wenhua neihan” 羊角哀左伯桃故事的演變及其文化內涵, *Tianzhong xuekan* 29.6 (2014): 12–15.

188 Eastern Yue refers to Xin’an 新安 where Ren Fang died. Its administrative seat was at Shixin 始新, located northwest of modern Chun’an 淳安, Zhejiang. Eastern Yue is the ancient name for modern Zhejiang. Li Shan (*Wen xuan*, 55.2378) cites the *Zhuangzi* which says when the Wu ruler Fuchai 夫差 (r. 495–473 BCE) died, “he closed his eyes at Eastern Yue.” This passage is not in the received version of the *Zhuangzi*. The shores of the Luo River is a designation for Luoyang. According to Li Shan (*Wen xuan*, 55.2378), it refers by extension to Yangzhou 揚州, the area of Jiankang, the Liang capital, which presumably was where Ren Fang was buried.

But few outstanding gentlemen ‘soaked cloth in wine.’<sup>189</sup>  
 There was no perennial grass on his grave,<sup>190</sup>  
 But the countryside was devoid of guests who ‘moved their  
 wheels.’<sup>191</sup>

Oh you young orphans, you do not know how to plan your livelihood  
 from morning to evening.<sup>192</sup>  
 You have wandered about south of the great sea,  
 And have entrusted your lives to the land of miasmatic pestilence.<sup>193</sup>

189 The phrase “soaking in wine” refers to the mourning practice of cooking a chicken, soaking silk cloth in wine, and after drying it, using it to wrap the chicken. This offering was then placed on the grave of a good friend. The cloth was soaked with water to have the aroma of the wine released. After the offering was made, the cloth was removed. See *Hou Han shu*, 53.1748, n. 1, citing Xie Cheng 謝承, *Hou Han shu*.

190 Perennial grass (*su cao* 宿草) was grass or plants that continued to grow into the following year. According to the *Record of Rites*, it was planted on the grave of a friend. See *Li ji zhengyi*, 8.233.

191 The moving wheels refers to the story about Fan Shi mentioned above. When Zhang Shao died, he appeared to Fan Shi in a dream to inform him he was about to be buried. Fan Shi rushed to the grave site. The mourners had tried to move the coffin, but it was too heavy. Upon Fan Shi’s arrival they were able to complete the burial. See *Hou Han shu*, 81.2677.

192 Li Shan (*Wen xuan*, 55.2379) cites the *Liang dian* 梁典 of Liu Fan 劉璠 that says Ren Fang had sons named Dongli 東里, Xihua 西華, Nanke 南客, and Beisou 北叟. None of them had any scholarly learning, and thus they had no employment. The phrase “oh you young orphans” 藐諸孤 occurs in *Zuo zhuan*, Xi 9.

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They wished for the ‘immaculate dust’ of Hui and Zhuang,<sup>186</sup>  
 And hoped for the good deeds of Yang and Zuo.<sup>187</sup>  
 When Ren Fang closed his eyes in Eastern Yue,  
 They returned his bones to the shores of the Luo River.<sup>188</sup>  
 The coffin curtains were still hanging,

- 186 This line is partially inspired by the following passage in *Huainanzi*: “When Hui Shi died, Zhuang Zhou ceased conversation because there was no one in the world with whom he could converse.” See Liu Wendian, *Huainan honglie jijie*, 19.654. The phrase *qing chen* 清塵 has two meanings: “immaculate dust” or “clear away worldly dust.” An early example of the former usage appears in “Letter Submitted to the Court Admonishing against Hunting” by Sima Xiangru (*Han shu*, 57B.2589): “[Suppose a wild animal] violates the immaculate dust of the trailing carriages” 犯屬車之清塵. According to Yan Shigu (*Han shu*, 57B.2590, n. 4), the dust is the dust that rises from the movement [of the carriages], and *qing* 清 ‘immaculate’ implies the meaning of venerable and noble, referring to the imperial entourage. A similar usage occurs in Pan Yue, “*Fu* on Recalling Old Friends and Kin,” “From an early age when I was privileged to meet him, / I was fortunate to be sprinkled with Lord Dai’s immaculate dust.” See *Wen xuan*, 16.732. In Liu Jun’s line, *qing chen* characterizes the friendship of Hui Shi and Zhuang Zhou as something pure and noble. The Chen Balang, *Liujia*, and Mingzhou versions write *Zhuang Hui* 莊惠 for *Hui Zhuang* 惠莊 of all other versions.
- 187 Li Shan (*Wen xuan*, 55.2378) cites *Lieshi zhuan* 烈士傳 (Traditions of martyrs) attributed to Liu Xiang which tells of two men from the state of Warring States period Yan, Yang Jiaoai 羊角哀 and Zuo Botao 左伯桃, who were “friends to the death.” Hearing that the King of Chu was a wise man, they decided to travel to his court. On the way, they encountered a snowstorm. Fearing both of them would not survive, Zuo Botao gave his clothing and food to Yang Jiaoai. He died inside a tree. On this story and its transmission see Rao Daoqing 饒道慶, “‘Yang Jiaoai she ming quan jiao’ benshi kaobian” 《羊角哀舍命全交》本事考辨, *Wenxue yichan* 2006.5: 143–45; Wang Junyi 王君逸, “Yang Jiaoai Zuo Botao gushi de yanbian ji qi wenhua neihan” 羊角哀左伯桃故事的演變及其文化內涵, *Tianzhong xuekan* 29.6 (2014): 12–15.
- 188 Eastern Yue refers to Xin’an 新安 where Ren Fang died. Its administrative seat was at Shixin 始新, located northwest of modern Chun’an 淳安, Zhejiang. Eastern Yue is the ancient name for modern Zhejiang. Li Shan (*Wen xuan*, 55.2378) cites the *Zhuangzi* which says when the Wu ruler Fuchai 夫差 (r. 495–473 BCE) died, “he closed his eyes at Eastern Yue.” This passage is not in the received version of the *Zhuangzi*. The shores of the Luo River is a designation for Luoyang. According to Li Shan (*Wen xuan*, 55.2378), it refers by extension to Yangzhou 揚州, the area of Jiankang, the Liang capital, which presumably was where Ren Fang was buried.

But few outstanding gentlemen ‘soaked cloth in wine.’<sup>189</sup>  
 There was no perennial grass on his grave,<sup>190</sup>  
 But the countryside was devoid of guests who ‘moved their  
 wheels.’<sup>191</sup>

Oh you young orphans, you do not know how to plan your livelihood  
 from morning to evening.<sup>192</sup>  
 You have wandered about south of the great sea,  
 And have entrusted your lives to the land of miasmatic pestilence.<sup>193</sup>

189 The phrase “soaking in wine” refers to the mourning practice of cooking a chicken, soaking silk cloth in wine, and after drying it, using it to wrap the chicken. This offering was then placed on the grave of a good friend. The cloth was soaked with water to have the aroma of the wine released. After the offering was made, the cloth was removed. See *Hou Han shu*, 53.1748, n. 1, citing Xie Cheng 謝承, *Hou Han shu*.

190 Perennial grass (*su cao* 宿草) was grass or plants that continued to grow into the following year. According to the *Record of Rites*, it was planted on the grave of a friend. See *Li ji zhengyi*, 8.233.

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Those former talents who clasped his arm,<sup>194</sup>  
 And those ‘metal and eupatorium’ friends  
 Have never shown the kindness of Yangshe who wept tears,<sup>195</sup>  
 And did not emulate the virtue of Hou Cheng who shared his  
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- 195 The phrase “metal and eupatorium” alludes to the *Classic of Changes*: “When two people share the same heart, their sharpness cuts metal. When two people share the same words, their sweet smell is like eupatorium.” See *Zhou yi zhengyi*, 7. 325–26. Yangshe is Yangshe Xi 羊舌肸, also known as Shuxiang 叔向. Upon seeing the son of his old friend Sima Hou 司馬侯, he stroked him and wept. See *Guo yu* 國語 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1978), 8.462.
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Alas, how hazardous and perilous the way of the world that all has reached to this point!<sup>197</sup> Even the Taihang and Mengmen mountains are not this rough and rugged!<sup>198</sup> Thus, the man of staunch integrity detests that things are like this.<sup>199</sup> He shall tear up his clothing to wrap his feet, leave this place and travel afar.<sup>200</sup> He shall stand alone on the top of a tall mountain, happy to herd with elaphures and deer.<sup>201</sup> Pure and unsullied, he shall cut himself off from the fummy murk.<sup>202</sup> He is truly ashamed of it, he truly dreads it!”

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 歸骸洛浦。  
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自昔

把臂之英，

金蘭之友，

曾無羊舌下泣之仁，

寧慕邠成分宅之德。

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# 由〈廣《絕交論》〉申論劉峻的交友之道

康達維

華盛頓大學

公元 508 年，知名文士任昉在東陽（今浙江金華）辭世，他的好友劉峻恰纔於該地就任。劉峻發現任昉的兒子無家可歸，生活貧困。憤於任昉的朋友對此視若無睹，他撰成〈廣《絕交論》〉，譴責為了金錢和利益而交往的士人。他提出五種交往形式：勢交（基於權力和影響力的交往）、賄交（基於財富的交往）、談交（基於言辭的交往）、窮交（基於貧困的交往）、量交（基於算計的交往）。劉峻在文末批評當時的風氣，並宣布他將離開世俗，退隱高山。

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