
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)

The *Wen xuan* 文選 contains thirteen *lun* 論 or disquisitions. They include the following works:

1. “Guo Qin lun” 過秦論 (Disquisition finding fault with Qin) by Jia Yi 賈誼 (ca. 200–168 BCE)
2. “Feiyou xiansheng lun” 非有先生論 (Disquisition of Master Non-existent) by Dongfang Shuo 東方朔 (fl. 140–130 BCE).
3. “Si zi jiang de lun” 四子講德論 (Disquisition of four masters discussing virtue) by Wang Bao 王褒 (n.d.).
4. “Wang ming lun” 王命論 (Disquisition on the mandate of kings) by Ban Biao 班彪 (3–54 CE).
5. “Lun wen” 論文 (Disquisition on literature) by Cao Pi 曹丕 (187–226 CE).
6. “Liudai lun” 六代論 (Disquisition on the six dynasties) by Cao Jiong 曹罔 (fl. 243 CE).
7. “Bo yi lun” 博奕論 (Disquisition on *boyi*) by Wei Yao/Zhao 韋曜 / 昭 (ca. 204–273 CE).
8. “Yang sheng lun” 養生論 (Disquisition on nurturing life) by Xi/Ji Kang 嵇康 (223–262 CE).
9. “Yun ming lun” 運命論 (Disquisition on cycles and fate) by Li Kang 李康 (ca. 190–ca. 240 CE).
10. “Bian wang lun” 辨亡論 (Disquisition on the destruction of a state) by Lu Ji 陸機 (261–303 CE).
11. “Wu deng lun” 五等論 (Disquisition on the five ranks) by Lu Ji.
12. “Bian ming lun” 辯命論 (Disquisition discoursing on fate) by Liu Jun 劉峻 (462–521 CE).
13. “Guang ‘Jue jiao lun’” 廣絕交論 (Expanding on the ‘Disquisition on Severing Associations’) by Liu Jun.

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

1 Liu Jun has biographies in two standard histories. See *Liang shu* 梁書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973), 50.701–7; *Nan shi* 南史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 49.1218–20. For a chronology see Wang Mei 王玫 and Wang Jiangyu 王江玉, “Liu Xiaobiao nianpu jianbian” 劉孝標年譜簡編, *Wenxian* 1998.3: 3–16. For a comprehensive study of Liu Jun’s life and works see Li Jinfeng 李金鳳, “Liu Xiaobiao shengping zhushu kao” 劉孝標生平著述考 (M.A. thesis, Shandong University, 2012). For biographies in Japanese and English see Morino Shigeo 森野繁夫, “Ryū Kōhyō den” 劉孝標傳, in *Obi hakushi taikyū kinen Chūgoku bungaku ronshū* 小尾博士退休記念中國文學論集 (Tokyo: Daiichi gakushūsha, 1976), 339–62; Su Jui-lung, “Liu Jun,” in *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature*, vol. 2, William H. Nienhauser, Jr., ed. (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1998), 97–99.

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 劉琕) 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

CE) deferred to Xiao Yan. However, when it came to the topic of “brocade coverlet,” Liu Jun enumerated ten-plus allusions. Xiao Yan reputedly was deeply offended by Liu Jun’s impudence and never again invited him to the literary gatherings.

In 508 CE, Liu Jun was appointed administrator in the revenue section under Xiao Xiu 蕭秀 (475–518 CE), Xiao Yan’s younger brother who had just taken up the post of regional governor of Jingzhou 荊州 (administrative seat Jiangling, modern Jingzhou, Hubei). Xiao Xiu had a strong interest in literature and scholarship, and he commissioned Liu Jun to compile the *Leiyuan* 類苑 (Garden of literary extracts arranged by category), a large compendium in 120 *juan* 卷.² Although this work circulated before Liu Jun completed it, he did not finish it for several more years.³ Around this same time Liu Jun began writing a commentary to the *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語, a work for which he is best known.⁴

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- 2 The *Leiyuan* is listed in the monograph on bibliography in the *Sui shu* as a work in 120 *juan*. See *Sui shu* 隋書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973), 34.1009. The *Sui shu* also cites the *Qi lu* 七錄 catalogue of Wang Jian 王儉 (452–489) which lists the *Lei yuan* as a work in 82 *juan*. This text may be an incomplete version that circulated privately. See Yao Zhenzong 姚振宗 (1842–1906 CE), *Sui shu Jingji zhi kaozheng* 隋書經籍志考證, comps. Liu Kedong 劉克東, Dong Jianguo 董建國, Yin Cheng 尹承, in *Ershiwu shi yiwen jingji zhi kaobu cuibian* 二十五史藝文經籍志考補萃編, ed. Wang Chenglüe 王承略, Liu Xinming 劉心明 (Beijing: Qinghua daxue chubanshe, 2014), 15.1261. The *Lei yuan* is also listed as a 120-*juan* text in the bibliography monographs of the *Jiu Tang shu* and *Xin Tang shu*. See *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 47.2045; *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju: 1975), 59.1562. Ca. 1238 the Southern Song book collector Chen Zhensun 陳振孫 (1179–1262) reported that the *Leiyuan* was no longer extant. See Xu Xiaoman 徐小蠻 and Gu Meihua 顧美華, coll. and punc., *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 直齋書錄解題 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), 14.423.
- 3 According to Hu Daojing 胡道靜, Liu Jun first intended to begin compiling the work, but was not able to do so. He delayed beginning the compilation until ca. 511. See *Zhongguo gudai de leishu* 中國古代的類書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), 44. Zhao Hankun 趙含坤 proposes the time of compilation between 511 CE and 521 CE. See *Zhongguo leishu* 中國類書 (Shijiazhuang: Hebei renmin chubanshe, 2005), 11. Liu Quanbo 劉全波 argues for a range of dates after 508–509 CE, and no later than 511 CE. See *Wei Jin Nanbeichao leishu bianzuan yanjiu* 魏晉南北朝類書編纂研究 (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 2018), 153.
- 4 On Liu Jun’s commentary see Wang Nengxian 王能憲, *Shishuo xinyu yanjiu* 世說新語研究 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1992 [rpt. 2000]), 84–95; Xiao Hong 蕭虹, *Shishuo xinyu zhengti yanjiu* 世說新語整體研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2011), 88–100.

Ca. 509 CE, Liu Jun left Jiankang to take up residence in southern Dongyang 東陽 (modern Jinhua 金華, Zhejiang). While in Dongyang, Liu Jun was held in high regard by local scholars. He also explored the area’s mountains and wrote a treatise about them titled “Shan qi zhi” 山棲志 (Memoir of a mountain refuge).⁵ Liu Jun died in Dongyang in 521 CE.

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 2006.⁶ The *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚 contains a special category for *jue jiao*.⁷ 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.⁸ 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.⁹ The second entry recounts the relationship between Xiao Yu 蕭育 (fl. 48–7 BCE) and Zhu Bo 朱博 (fl. 41–5

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.¹⁰ 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).¹¹ 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.¹² 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).¹³ 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 wenzue 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 jiegu* 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*.¹⁴ 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 *Liu jia Wen xuan* in 1094, hereafter cited as *Liu jia*; *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 wenzue 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 taikei* 32 (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1976), 146–76. Takeda Akira 原田晃, *Monzen* 文選 (*Bunshō hen* 文章篇), *Shinshaku Kanbun taikei* 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 jinzhū 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,

other early sources are the *Liang shu* 梁書 and *Nan shi* 南史.¹⁵ 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’ xiezuo shijian 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).¹⁶ 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.¹⁷ Zhu Mu’s disquisition has been translated and thoroughly studied by Mark Asselin.¹⁸

Zhu Mu’s natal home was Yuan 宛 county in Nanyang 南陽 commandery (modern Nanyang city, Henan).¹⁹ 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.”²⁰ 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.²¹

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.²² 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 wenxue chubanshe, 1986), 389–90; Ch'en Sung-hsiung 陳松雄, *Qi Liang lici heng lun* 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,

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

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.²³ 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.²⁴ 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.²⁵

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.

25 See Shimizu Yoshio: *Shin Monzengaku: Monzen no xinkenkyū* 新文選學：《文選》の新研究 (Tokyo: Kenbun shuppan, 1999), 136–42; Shimizu Yoshio, *Liuchao wenxue lunwen ji* 六朝文學論文集, trans. Han Jiguo 韓基國 (Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 1989), 38–41.

at Dao Qia, but all of Ren Fang’s friends who failed to come to the aid of his destitute sons. He also notes Liu Xiaochuo was one of Ren Fang’s close friends. If he chose this piece to expose the insensitivity and ingratitude of Dao Qia, he is also implicating himself in this same kind of behavior, for Liu Xiaochuo was also a close friend of Ren Fang.²⁶ Qu Shouyuan suggests the main point of the “Guang jue jiao lun” is not to attack Dao Qia. He argues the piece is better understood as a complaint about the difficult conditions of the times that resulted in children of the stature of Ren Fang encountering such hardship.²⁷

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.²⁸

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.²⁹ 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.³⁰

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

26 Gu Nong 顧農, “Yu Qingshui Kaifu xiansheng lun *Wen xuan* bianzhe wenti” 與清水凱夫先生論文選編者問題, *Qi Lu xuekan* 1993.1; rpt in *Zhongwai xuezhe Wen xuan xue lunji* 中外學者文選學論集, ed. Yu Shaochu 俞紹初 and Xu Yimin 許逸民 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1998), 495–97.

27 See Qu Shouyuan 屈守元, “Xin *Wen xuan xue*’ chuyi” 新文選學芻議, in *Wen xuan xue xinlun* 文選學新論 (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1997), 51–60.

28 See Hu Xu, “Guang jue jiao lun’ xintan,” 116–22.

29 See Shao Chunju, “Guang jue jiao lun’ zuoyi xintan,” 15–18.

30 For this piece see *Wen xuan*, 54.2344–64.

503 CE] a Wei army raided Sizhou 司州 which had its administrative seat in Yiyang 義陽 commandery (modern Xinyang 信陽, Henan).³¹ Li Shan (*Wen xuan* 40.1803) cites the *Liang dian* of Liu Fan that states Emperor Wu issued an edict ordering the regional inspectors of Yingzhou 潁州 and Jingzhou to dispatch an army to relieve the siege. At this time the regional inspector of Yingzhou was Cao Jingzong 曹景宗 (457–508 CE), and the regional inspector of Jingzhou was Emperor Wu’s younger brother Xiao Dan 蕭憺 (478–522 CE). When the relief forces from Yingzhou and Jingzhou reached Sanguan 散關, they halted and did not advance. Upon learning Sizhou had fallen, Cao Jingzong withdrew his army. Unable to repel the enemy assault, Cao Jingzong lost the Sanguan garrisons. Ren Fang presented a petition of impeachment to the imperial court accusing Cao Jingzong of cowardice and recommended that he be dismissed from office.³² Shao Chunju suggests Emperor Wu would not have been pleased at Ren Fang’s accusations against Cao Jingzong, who was a loyal supporter of his during his campaign to overthrow the Southern Qi regime. He also may have been offended by the imprecations on his close relative Xiao Dan.³³

Scholars differ on the dating of Liu Jun’s disquisition. Writing in 1996, Cao Daoheng 曹道衡 proposed that Liu Jun composed the “Guang jue jiao lun” after Liu Jun left Jingzhou where he served on the staff of Xiao Yan’s younger brother Xiao Xiu. Cao notes Ren Fang died in 508 while serving as governor of Xin’an 新安 located northwest of modern Chun’an 淳安, Zhejiang. During this time Liu Jun was on his way to Dongyang 東陽, which is modern Jinhua 金華, Zhejiang. As Liu Jun passed through Xin’an he encountered Ren Fang’s destitute sons. Cao suggests Liu Jun composed his disquisition not long after Ren Fang’s death in 508 CE and no later than 511 CE.³⁴ Writing in 2000, Cao Daoheng and his collaborator Liu Yuejin 劉躍進 assigned this piece to 508.³⁵

31 See Shi Weile 史為樂, ed., *Zhongguo lishi diming dacidian* 中國歷史地名大辭典 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2005), 872–73.

32 For the text of this impeachment see *Wen xuan*, 40.1b–5b.

33 See Shao Chunju, “‘Guang jue jiao lun’ zuoyi xintan,” 17.

34 See Cao Daoheng 曹道衡, “Guanyu *Wen xuan* zhong liupian zuopin de xiezuo niandai 關於《文選》中六篇作品的寫作年代,” *Wenxue yichan* 1996.2: 26–28; rpt. *Cao Daoheng wenji* 曹道衡文集 (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 2019), 3: 156–60.

35 See Cao Daoheng 曹道衡 and Liu Yuejin 劉躍進, *Nanbeichao wenxue biannian shi* 南北朝文學編年史 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2000), 381–82.

Han Hui also dates the piece to 508 CE.³⁶

Lizhi 力之 rejects the date of 508 CE and Cao Daoheng’s range of after 508 CE to no later than 511 CE. He argues Liu Jun would not have encountered Ren Fang’s sons wandering in the Dongyang countryside until after the three-year mourning period was over. He assigns the date of composition to the winter of Tianjian 9 or 10 (510 or 511 CE).³⁷

Wei Yunliang 衛雲亮 rejects the date of 508. He notes when Ren Fang passed away Dao Gai was not in the capital but was serving as governor of Jian’an which was located far away in the area of modern Fujian. Thus, he could not have had the ability to provide assistance to Ren Fang’s sons. He also notes that after Ren Fang died, he appointed Shen Yue and the academician He Zong to examine the catalogue of Ren Fang’s book collection. For those works that were not in the imperial library they went to Fang’s residence to obtain them. Wei surmises that after Ren Fang had died, his sons must still have been at home for some time before they began their homeless wandering in the countryside. Wei concludes that Liu Jun composed this piece in 512 when he had abandoned his official career and went into reclusion out of despair at the social and political environment of the early Liang period.³⁸

The earliest assessment of the “Guang jue jiao lun” is from the Tang period scholar Wang Tong 王通 (584–617 CE) who expressed contradictory views of Liu Jun’s piece. According to the “Wang dao” 王道 (The way of kingship) chapter, when Wang Tong read the “Disquisition on Breaking Off Relations,” he remarked: “How regrettable that by singling out the Venerable Ren, he vilifies him! The Venerable Ren thereafter could not be regarded as one who understood people.” In the “Li ming” 立命 (Establishing the mandate) chapter Wang Tong is more complimentary. He said to a disciple “His five associations and three faults [show that] Liu Jun for his part understood speech.”³⁹ The Tang historiographer Liu Zhiji 劉知幾 (661–721

36 See Han Hui 韓暉, *Wen xuan bianji ji zuopin xinian kaozheng* 《文選》編輯及作品繫年考證 (Beijing: Qunyan chubanshe, 2005), 363.

37 See Li Zhi 力之, “*Wen xuan* Liu Xiaobiao Xu Fei zuopin zhi zuo shi bian — ‘guanyu *Wen xuan* zhong liupian zuopin de xiezuonianda’i yiyi ji qita” 《文選》劉孝標徐悱作品之作時辨——〈關於《文選》中六篇作品的寫作年代〉異議及其他, *Guangxi Shifan daxue xuebao* (*Zhexue shehui kexue ban*) 廣西師範大學學報 (哲學社會科學版) 2009.3: 6–11.

38 See Wei Yunliang, “‘Guang jue jiao lun’ xiezuoshijian de kaoding ji qi yiyi,” 22–26.

39 See Zhang Pei 張沛, comm., *Zhong shuo jiaozhu* 中說校注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2013), 1.37, 9.236. The phrases “understand people” (*zhi ren* 知人) and “understand speech” (*zhi yan* 之言) allude to *Lun yu* 29/3: “If one does not understand speech, he has no way to understand people.”

CE) offered laconic praise for Liu Jun: “Liu Xiaobiao in holding forth an argument and discussing principles is truly without peer.”⁴⁰ 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.”⁴¹ 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?”⁴² 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.⁴³
Thus, the vapors of heaven and earth interact.⁴⁴
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.

42 Zhu Gongshu is Zhu Mu of the late Eastern Han.

43 *Cao chong* 草蟲 is *Gryllus testaceus* (field cricket) and *fuzhong* 阜蟲 is *Oxya chinensis* (grasshopper/locust). See Hu Miao 胡淼, *Shi jing de kexue jiedu* 《詩經》的科學解讀 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2007), 32–33. Liu Jun draw upon lines in *Mao shi* 14/1: “Chirp, chirp cries the field cricket, / Hop, hop goes the locust.” On the association of the tiger with the wind, see Liu Wendian 劉文典 (1889–1958), ed. and comm., *Huainan Honglie jijie* 淮南鴻烈集解 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1989), 3.83: “When the tiger roars, the valley wind arrives.” *Liang shu* writes *shou* 獸 (beast) for *hu* 虎 (tiger) of all other versions.

44 This line is partially derived from a passage in the “Xi ci zhuan 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* 網緼 of all other versions. The *Jingdian shiwen* notes another version writes *yinyun* 氳氳 for *yinyun* 網緼 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,⁴⁵
 Stars move, lightning surges.⁴⁶
 Thus, when Wang Yang ascended to the court, the Venerable Gong
 was delighted; When Han sheng passed away, Guozi grieved.⁴⁷
 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,⁴⁸
 Aims accord like ocarina and flute.⁴⁹
 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.

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- 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.
- 46 *Liang shu* writes *ji* 擊 (strike) for *ji* 激 (surge) of all other versions.
- 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, *Liu jia*, 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.”

The artisan ceased his sublime art that created a breeze,⁵⁰
 And Master Bo broke off his elegant tune that caused waves to flow.⁵¹
 Fan and Zhang were devoted and loyal to each other in the nether
 springs,
 Yin and Ban enjoyed joyous accord all night long.⁵²
 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,⁵³
 Or someone good at mental calculation would be unable to fathom.

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- 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.
- 51 Master Bo (Bozi 伯子) is the renowned zither player Bo Ya 伯牙, whose most appreciative listener was Zhong Ziqi 鍾子期. When Bo Ya played with his mind focused on flowing water, Zhong Ziqi said, “How excellent! This swells and surges like flowing waves.” When Zhong Ziqi died, Bo Ya smashed his zither and refused to play again, because he had no one who “understood his tone.” See Xu Weiyu 許維遙, ed. and comm. *Lüshi chunqiu jishi* 呂氏春秋集釋 (Beijing: Beijing shi Zhongguo shudian, 1985), 14.6a. The *Liang shu* and *Nanshi* write Bo Ya 伯牙 for Bozi.
- 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.
- 53 The phrase *qiao li* 巧曆 (expert in reckoning) first appears in a passage in *Zhuangzi*: “If one goes forth from this point, even one skilled in reckoning would not be able to grasp it.” See Guo Qingfan, *Zhuangzi jishi*, 1B.79. The Chen Balang, *Liuchen*, *Wen xuan*, Mingzhou, and *Nan shi* versions write *li* 歷 for *li* 曆 of You Mao, *Liujia*, *Liuchen*, and *Liang shu*. This graphs are often interchangeable in the sense of “reckon” / “calculate.”

But Zhu Yizhou upset the constant order,⁵⁴
 Violated the counsels and instructions,⁵⁵
 Attacked the upright and honest,
 And severed relations with friends.⁵⁶
 He compared the common people to goshawks and hobbies,⁵⁷
 Matched human genius with dholes and tigers.⁵⁸
 I have doubts about this. I beg you to explain my uncertainty.”⁵⁹
 客問主人曰：朱公叔絕交論爲是乎？爲非乎？主人曰：客奚此之問？
 客曰：
 夫草蟲鳴則阜蟲躍，
 雕虎嘯而清風起。
 故網罟相感，

- 54 Zhu Yizhou 朱益州 is Zhu Mu. When he died, he was given the posthumous title of regional governor of Yizhou. See *Hou Han shu*, 43.1473.
- 55 Zhang Xian 張銑 (*Liuchen* 55.3b) suggests *yue* 粵 should be written *yue* 越 (violate), which is the reading found in the *Liang shu* version. Gao Heng cites numerous examples of alternations between these two graphs. See *Guzi tongjia huidian*, 612.
- 56 This line resonates with a passage in *Liezi* 列子: “Gongsun Mu shut himself off intimate acquaintances, and he severed relations with his friends.” See Yang Bojun 楊伯峻, ed. and comm., *Liezi jishi* 列子集釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1978; rpt. 2011), 7.225.
- 57 This line is partially inspired by the following passage in the *Zuo zhuan* (Wen 18) in which Grand Scribe Ke 太史克 says: “Upon seeing one who does not treat his ruler with ritual propriety punish him like goshawks and hobbies pursue tiny birds.” According to the *Erya*, *zhan* 鷂 is equivalent to *chenfeng* 晨風. See Hao Yixing 郝懿行, ed. and comm., *Erya yishu* 爾雅義疏, punc. and coll. Wang Qihe 王其和, Wu Qingfeng 吳慶峰, and Zhang Jinxia 張金霞 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2017), 978. Hu Miao 胡淼 identifies *chenfeng* as *Falco subbuteo subbuteo*, Eurasian hobby, and *ying* 鷹 as *Accipiter gentilis*, northern goshawk. See *Shi jing de kexue jiedu*, 207, 420. The *Liang shu* and *Nan shi* write *shi* 視 (view) for *bi* 比 (compare) of all other versions.
- 58 This line may have been inspired by the following passage in the “Grand Declaration” of the *Classic of Documents*: “It is humankind that is the divine genius of the myriad things.” See *Shang shu zhengyi* 尚書正義 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2007), 10.401. Li Shan (*Wen xuan*, 55.2367) cites the lost Taoist text *Youqiuzi* 幽求子 by Du Yi 杜夷 which says “Men who are not benevolent harbor in their hearts [the nature of] dholes and tigers.” The *Liang shu* writes *ren lun* 人倫 (human relationships) for *ren ling* 人靈 (human genius).
- 59 This line partially resonates with the following line from *Lunyu*, 12/10: “Zizhang asked about exalting virtue and resolving uncertainty.” *Nan shi* writes *bian* 辯 for *bian* 辨 of all other versions. These words are often interchangeable in the sense of “to resolve” [a problem].

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，志婉變於塤箎。
 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，
 嬾人靈於豺虎。
 蒙有猜焉，請辨其惑。⁶⁰

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

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,⁶³
 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.⁶⁴
 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.⁶⁵

- 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-geese). *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.”

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

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* 晝晝 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, *Liuji*, Mingzhou, *Liang shu*, and *Nan shi* versions write *lei* 雷 (thunder) for *dian* 電 (lightning) of You Mao, *Wen xuan*, and *Liuji*.

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.’⁷⁰
 This indicates Master Zhu obtained the black pearl from the Scarlet
 River,
 And spoke after consulting divine wisdom.⁷¹
 When one comes to:
 Binding and weaving one another’s benevolence and propriety,⁷²
 Cutting and polishing each other’s morality and virtue,
 One delights in their joy and happiness,
 Commiserates with their decline and deterioration.⁷³
 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.”

Or leaves behind his traces on rivers and lakes,⁷⁴
 Even when wind and rain are intense,
 He does not still his voice;⁷⁵
 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：
 客所謂

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，不覩鴻雁雲飛。
 蓋聖人
 握金鏡，
 闡風烈，
 龍驤蠖屈，
 從道汗隆。
 日月聯璧，贊壘壘之弘致；
 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。⁷⁶

In an era of decline, people become more duplicitous,⁷⁷
 Deceit and deception arise like gales.
 A cavernous gorge would not surpass its precariousness,⁷⁸
 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.⁷⁹
 And then:
 Unsullied friendships come to an end,
 And opportunistic associations flourish.
 The realm under heaven is in chaos and confusion,⁸⁰
 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。⁸¹

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,⁸²
 Whose authority was weightier than that of Liang and Dou.⁸³
 It was they who carved and engraved the hundred officials,
 And forged and hammered the myriad things.⁸⁴
 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.⁸⁵
 People within the nine provinces trembled before their wind and
 dust,⁸⁶
 And people within the four seas were terrified of their scorching
 smoke.⁸⁷

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.”

Upon seeing their shadows none failed to dash off like shooting stars,
 Or upon hearing their voices, to speed away like a rushing stream.⁸⁸
 When the master of the cock first reported the dawn,⁸⁹
 Chariot canopies flying like cranes formed dense shade.⁹⁰
 When tall gates opened at dawn,
 There was a steady line of chariots like flowing waters.⁹¹
 They were willing to shave themselves from head to heel,
 Destroy their gall, and rip out their innards.⁹²
 They made a pact to burn their wives and children like Yao Li,⁹³
 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.⁹⁴

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

若其
 寵鈞董、石，
 權壓梁、竇。
 雕刻百工，
 鑪捶萬物，
 吐漱興雲雨，
 呼噏下霜露，
 九域聳其風塵，
 四海疊其燠灼。
 靡不望影星奔，
 藉響川鶩，
 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。
 是曰勢交，其流一也。⁹⁵

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).

95 *Wen xuan*, 55.2370.

There are men whose wealth equals that of Tao and Bai,⁹⁶
 Whose assets are as large as Cheng and Luo.⁹⁷
 Some lay claim to copper slopes,⁹⁸
 Or whose household stores are like the Cavern of Gold.⁹⁹
 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.¹⁰⁰ Then, there appear guests from isolated lanes,¹⁰¹
 Gentlemen who dwell in huts with rope hinges,¹⁰²

- 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 羅裒 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.¹⁰³
 Like fish strung on a string, leaping like wild ducks,¹⁰⁴
 Massed and merged, imbricated like fish scales,
 They partake of rice and foxtail millet meant for wild geese and tame
 ducks,¹⁰⁵

- 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.

They soak up the last drops of wine from the jade *jia* vessel.¹⁰⁶
 Having received favorable treatment,
 They offer their sincere devotion.
 Grasping a green pine, they express their loyal feelings;¹⁰⁷
 Pointing to the clear water, they show their fidelity.¹⁰⁸
 This is association based on wealth. It is the second category.

富埒陶、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。¹⁰⁹

Superior grand master Lu feasted in the Western Capital,¹¹⁰
 And Guo Youdao assessed men’s character in the Eastern State.¹¹¹
 The excellencies and ministers valued Lu’s considerable reputation,
 And wearers of insignia and sashes admired Guo’s ascent to
 immortality.¹¹²
 In addition,
 Bending their jaws, wrinkling their noses,
 With snivel and spittle pouring down their faces,¹¹³
 They let loose unbridled talk of the yellow horse,¹¹⁴

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.

And unleashed powerful arguments about the blue-green fowl.¹¹⁵
 When telling of torrid heat, a cold valley turned warm,¹¹⁶
 When discoursing on severe withering, spring thickets lost their
 leaves.¹¹⁷
 Soaring and sinking was determined by wherever their gaze was
 directed,¹¹⁸
 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,

- 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,¹¹⁹

Clinging to the scaly and the winged,¹²⁰

And begging for the leavings of their disquisitions

Attaching themselves to the tail tips of fine steeds,¹²¹

They outdistanced geese returning to Jieshi.¹²²

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
顛頤蹙頰，
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，
 聲未適於雲閣，
 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。¹²³

To be at ease in a yang season, and be miserable in a yin season,
 This is the general condition of humankind.¹²⁴
 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.¹²⁵
 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.’¹²⁶

‘Afraid and fearful, place me in your heart’

Is a sentiment made clear in the grand ode ‘Valley Wind.’¹²⁷

This is an example of ‘cutting metal’ arising from a low and narrow abode,¹²⁸

- 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).

And ‘cutting one’s throat’ stemming from a friendship to death.¹²⁹
 Thus, Wu Yun washed and cleansed grand steward Pi,¹³⁰
 And King Zhang supported the wings of minister Chen.¹³¹
 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。
 故魚以泉涸而啣沫，
 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。

129 This line alludes to *Zuo zhuan*, Xiang 14: Fan Xuanzi 范宣子 said to Juzhi 駒支, Viscount of the Rong: “Formerly Qin drove your ancestor Wuli 吾離 from Guazhou 瓜州. Mantled in cogon grass garments and hooded in thorns and brambles, he gave allegiance to our late Jin lord.” According the *Erya*, *shan* 苫 is a covering or thatch made of *bai mao* 白茅 (cogon grass). See Hao Yixing, *Erya yishu*, 520–21. Kong Yingda explains in the *Zuo zhuan* passage the Rong lord Wuli had no silk clothing and was clothed in plants. See *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhenyi*, 32.1052. According to Liu Liang (*Liuchen*, 55.10a), the garb made of cogon grass represent poverty and low status, which is to say that the bonds of friendship are strong when men live in an impoverished and menial condition. The phrase “cutting one’s throat” (*wen jing* 刎頸) characterizes a bosom friendship that is so strong both men would commit suicide on each other’s behalf. See the reference to the examples of Chen Yu 陳餘 and Zhang Er 張耳 in n. 131 below. The Chen Balang edition miswrites *ku* 苦 (bitter) for *shan* 苫.

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.

131 Minister Chen is Chen Yu 陳餘. He and Zhang Er 張耳 joined together in the uprisings against Qin. Zhang Er is called King Zhang because Liu Bang appointed him King of Zhao. Chen Yu and Zhang Er were such close friends “they would cut their own throats for each other.” However, they eventually had a falling out. See *Shi ji*, 89.2571. Another early example of a bosom friendship characterized as *wen jing zhi jiao* 刎頸之交 is that between Qing Hong 慶鴻 and Lian Fan 廉范 in the early Eastern Han who were the subject of a popular ditty: “Formerly there were Guan and Bao, later there were Qing and Lian.” Guan is Guan Zhong 管仲, and Bao is Bao Shuya 鮑叔牙 who were close companions in the state of Qi during the Spring and Autumn period. See *Hou Han shu*, 31.1104.

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。¹³²

Vulgar types who gallop and race,¹³³
 And mean-spirited sorts,¹³⁴
 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.¹³⁵
 If the balance-weight cannot be raised,
 And if the silk floss cannot fly,
 Even those winged dragons and fledgling phoenixes Yan and Ran,¹³⁶

132 *Wen xuan*, 55.2373.

133 Li Shan (*Wen xuan*, 55.2374) cites the *Ruanzi zheng lun* 阮子政論, a now lost text by Ruan Wu 阮武 (Sanguo period) that says: “Groups who form associations are repudiated by those who gallop and race.”

134 The phrase *jiao bo* 澆薄, which I have rendered “mean-spirited,” appears in the *Hou Han shu* biography of Zhu Mu explaining why he composed the “Chong hou lun” 崇厚論 (Disquisition on esteeming magnanimity): “[Zhu Mu] was constantly moved by the mean-spiritedness of the times, and admired and esteemed sincerity and generosity. Thus, he composed ‘Disquisition on Esteeming Magnanimity.’” See *Hou Han shu*, 43.1463. The Chen Balang and *Liu jia* editions write “*chi wu zhi lun, jiao bo zhi su*” 馳騫之倫，澆薄之俗 for “*chi wu zhi su, jiao bo zhi lun*” 馳騫之俗，澆薄之倫 of all other versions.

135 According to the *Yili*, “one places fine silk floss in the mouth [of a person who is about die] to await [the stopping of] breath.” See *Yili zhushu* 儀禮注疏 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2008), 40.1219. According to Zheng Xuan, silk floss was placed on the mouth and nostrils as means for observing the cessation of respiration. See *Li ji zhengyi*, 53.1696.

136 Yan is Yan Hui, and Ran is Ran Qiu 冉求, both disciples of Confucius. Li Shan (*Wen xuan*, 55.2374) cites a passage from the *Xiangyang ji* 襄陽記 of Xi Zuochi 習鑿齒 (d. 384 CE) that characterizes Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮 (181–234 CE) as a sleeping dragon and Pang Tong 龐統 (179–214 CE) as a fledgling phoenix. The comparison of able men to dragons and phoenixes is similar to the characterization of Bing Yuan 邴原 (d. 217 CE) and Zhang Fan 張範 (d. 212 CE) by Cui Yan 崔琰 (d. 216 CE) who praised them as “dragon quills and phoenix wings” 龍翰鳳翼. See *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), 11.351.

Or Zeng and Shi with their eupatorium fragrance and snowy
whiteness,¹³⁷

Or Shu and Xiang who compare with gold, jade, deep pools, and the
sea,¹³⁸

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

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.

138 Shu is Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (ca. 179–ca. 104 BCE), and Xiang is Liu Xiang. The phrases “gold and jade” and “deep pools and the sea” are figures of speech referring to men of vast learning. The following passages in the *Lun heng* contain examples of this trope: “A vastly learned scholar is the gold and jade of the age;” “Zijun [=Liu Xin] was the ‘bag of learning’ of the Han court, and the deep sea of brush and ink [literary composition].” See Huang Hui 黃暉, ed. and comm., *Lunheng jiaoshi* 論衡校釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1990), 13.607, 16.695. The *Liang shu* and *Nan shi* write *quan* 泉 (fount) for *yuan* 淵 (deep pool).

139 Qing 卿 is Sima Xiangru, whose courtesy name was Zhangqing 長卿, and Yun 雲 is Yang Xiong, whose courtesy name was Ziyun 子雲. This line also resonates with several passages in the *Lunheng*: Huang Hui, *Lunheng jiaoshi*, 29.1170: “Those in the Han who have written books are many. Sima Zichang [Sima Qian] and Yang Ziyun [Yang Xiong] are the Yellow and Han rivers. The rest are the Jing and Wei rivers;” Huang Hui, *Lunheng jiaoshi*, 12.550: “Before a piece of embroidery is put to the needle, or a piece of brocade is woven, how are they different from ordinary silk threads or common silk fabric? After adding the artistry of multi-colored variegations and applying designs made with needle and thread, the elegant patterns are dazzling and resplendent with axe, labris, wild fowl, mountain, dragon, sun, and moon designs. The elegant patterns of a learned scholar are like the multi-colored artistry of silk threads and silk fabric.” Liu Xiang’s paraphrase of this line reads: The elegant patterns of Sima Zhangqing and Yang Ziyun are like the beauty of axe and labris designs, and the breadth of the Yellow and Han rivers. See *Liuchen*, 55.11a. Zhu Jian 朱珔 (1769–1850) argues the phrase *he han* 河漢 does not refer to the Yellow and Han rivers, but rather is the Han River in the sky, i.e., the Milky Way. See *Wen xuan jishi* 文選集釋, in *Qingdai Wen xuan xue mingzhu jicheng* 清代文學學名著集成, ed. Xu Yimin 許逸民 (Yangzhou: Guangling shushe, 2013), vol. 17, 24.19a (785). Gao Buying notes the *Liang shu* writes *jiang* 江 (Yangtze River) for *he* 河. He suggests Liu Xiang’s reading is correct. See *Nanbeichao wen juyao*, 467.

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

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

- 145 Southern Jing (Nan Jing 南荆) refers to the bandit Zhuang Qiao 莊蹻, 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.”
- 147 “Gold paste” (*jin gao* 金膏) is mentioned in the *Mu Tianzi zhuan* as one of a number of magical potions that King Mu of Zhou was shown in the palace of the Yellow River God. According to Guo Pu 郭璞 (276–324 CE), gold paste is “like jade paste, both of which are pure liquors.” See *Mu Tianzi zhuan* 穆天子傳, *Sibu beiyao* 四部備要, 1.6a. Joseph Needham et al. suggest this concoction “may already imply amalgamation, a favourite process of the Taoist alchemists.” See *Science and Civilization in China*, vol. 5, Chemistry and Chemical Technology. Part III: Spagyric Discovery and Invention: Historical Survey from Cinnabar Elixirs to Synthetic Insulin. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 4, 120.
- 148 The phrase “grease and soft leather” occurs in “Divining a Dwelling Place” in the *Chu ci*: “Would you rather be slippery and slick like grease and soft leather?” This is also a conventional image for sycophantic behavior. See Hong Xingzu 洪興祖, ed. and comm., *Chu ci buzhu* 楚辭補注, punc. and coll. Bai Huawen 白化文 and Xu Denan 許德楠 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 6.177. The phrase “fawning flatterer” as a designation for a harmful friend comes from *Lun yu* 16/4: “There are three kinds of friends that are harmful: fawning flatterers, devious dissemblers, and glib gabbers.”

Thus, the places where their carriages travel
 Are certainly not to the abodes of Yi and Hui,¹⁴⁹
 And the places where they actually offer their parcels
 Are the houses of Zhang and Huo.¹⁵⁰
 Only after careful planning do they act,
 And they do not err even by a hair's breadth.¹⁵¹
 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，
 纒所以屬其鼻息。
 若衡不能舉，
 纒不能飛，
 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，
 纒微影撇，
 雖共工之蒐慝，

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.

驩兜之掩義，
 南荊之跋扈，
 東陵之巨猾，
 皆爲匍匐透迤，
 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。¹⁵²

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,¹⁵³ And Lin Hui used the analogy of sweet wine.¹⁵⁴

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,¹⁵⁵
 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,¹⁵⁶
 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.¹⁵⁷
 This cycle repeats and revolves,
 Swift as tumbling waves.¹⁵⁸
 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.
- 157 This line resonates with Pan Yue, “Fu on the Mouth Organ” (*Wen xuan*, 18.857): “And then one first experiences contentment and ends in dire straits, / One formerly basks in glory and later is haggard and worn.”
- 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.”

Can clearly be understood.¹⁵⁹

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

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.¹⁶²

The ancients knew the three faults would become maladies,¹⁶³
And feared the five associations would invite calamity.

Thus, Wang Dan intimidated his son with a thorn switch,¹⁶⁴

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.
- 164 On Wang Dan’s flogging of his son, see n. 159 above. According to the “Record of Learning” in the *Record of Rites*, two types of switches were used to flog students to inculcate in them a sense of awe and dignity: *jia* 夏 and *chu* 楚. See *Li ji zhengyi*, 46.1429. *Jia* 夏, which is also written *jia* 榎, and *jia* 檟, is *Catalpa bungei*, is Manchurian catalpa. *Chu* is *Vitex negundo*, chaste tree. See Gao Mingqian 高明乾, ed., *Zhiwu gu Han ming tu kao* 植物古漢名圖考 (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2006), 397, 409.

或初存而未亡，
或古約而今泰，
循環翻覆，
迅若波瀾。

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！¹⁶⁵

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

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).

167 According to Yan Shigu, the “silver and yellow” (*yin huang* 銀黃) refer to silver seals and gold seals). See *Han shu*, 90.3661, n. 11. For more detailed information on this term see Xu Wenjing 徐文靖 (1667–1756 CE), *Guancheng shuoji* 管城碩記, coll. and punc. Fan Xiangyong 范祥雍 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1999; rpt. 2006), 28.518.

And long won acclaim from the people.¹⁶⁸
 His vigorous writings and their elegant embellishments,¹⁶⁹
 He drove in tandem with Cao and Wang.¹⁷⁰
 His outstanding qualities and superior character
 Linked yokes with Xu and Guo.¹⁷¹

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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.
- 171 Xu and Guo are Xu Shao and Guo Tai, who were celebrated in their time for their integrity and astute judgment of human character. See *Hou Han shu*, 68.2234. The Chen Balang, *Liujia*, Mingzhou, and *Liang shu* versions write *te* 特 (outstanding) for *zhi* 峙 (erect) of You Mao, *Wen xuan*, *Liuchen*, and *Nan shi*. Li Shan (*Wen xuan*, 55.2377) notes the occurrence of the phrase *ying zhi* 英峙 in the *Sanguo zhi*. He cites Pei Songzhi 裴松之 (372–451 CE) who mentions that some versions write *ying te* 英特, which Pei deems the correct reading. See *Sanguo zhi*, 12.370, n. 1. Gao Buying adopts *ying te* in his version. See *Nanbeichao wen juyao*, 472. *Nan shi* writes *heng* 衡 for *heng* 橫 of all other versions. Hu Shaoying notes Li Shan’s commentary writes *heng* 衡 in his citation of a line from Lu Ji’s “Disquisition on the Fall of a State.” He also notes Li Shan cites the commentary of Bao Xian 包咸 to the *Lunyu* which glosses *heng* 衡 as *e* 軛 (yoke). Thus, he suggests the graph in the main text must have been written *heng* 衡. See *Wen xuan jianzheng*, 31.871.

He resembled Tian Wen in his esteem for retainers,¹⁷²
 And was like Zheng Zhuang in his fondness for worthies.¹⁷³
 Seeing a good man, gazing wide-eyed and lifted brow, he gripped his
 wrist,¹⁷⁴
 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.

173 Zheng Zhuang 鄭莊 is Zheng Dangshi 鄭當時 (fl. 154–120 BCE). His courtesy name was Zhuang. During the reign of Emperor Jing of the Former Han, he served on the staff of the heir designate. During his leave periods, he cultivated associations with famous gentlemen. Later in his career, he insisted that all who came to visit him in his office be treated with the utmost respect regardless of their status. See *Han shu*, 20.2324.

174 The phrase *xu heng* 盱衡 first occurs in a petition to the court by Chen Chong 陳崇 (fl. 3–10 CE) in which he said the following about Wang Mang 王莽: “At this time the Duke [Wang Mang] put into action his original insight, and displayed an unprecedented majesty. Gazing wide-eyed with lifted brow 盱衡 and stern demeanor, he rose up with martial wrath.” See *Han shu*, 99A.4056. According to Meng Kang (*Han shu*, 99A.4056, n. 6), *heng* 衡 is the area above the eyebrows, presumably the temple or forehead. He explains *xu heng* means “to lift one's brow and raise one's eyes.” According to the *Suo yin* commentary of Sima Zhen 司馬貞 (679–732 CE), when a courageous man spurs himself into action, he first grips his right wrist with his left hand. See *Shi ji*, 86.2533, n. 2. This phrase is variously written *e wan* 扼腕, *e wan* 搯擊, or *e wan* 搯腕.

hands.¹⁷⁵ ‘Orpiment assessments’ came from his lips and mouth,¹⁷⁶
 ‘Vermilion and purple’ issued from his ‘first-of-the-month
 evaluations.’¹⁷⁷
 Thereupon,
 ‘Caps and canopies’ converged like wheel spokes,¹⁷⁸
 ‘Robes and skirts’ merged like clouds.

- 175 To illustrate the phrase *yang mei* 揚眉 Li Shan (*Wen xuan*, 55.2377) cites the following passage from the *Da Dai li ji*: “Confucius, changing expression, and raising his eyebrows...” 孔子愀然揚眉. The received version of *Da Dai Li ji* writes *mei* 糜 for *mei* 眉. See Fang Xiangdong 方向東, ed. and comm., *Da Dai Li ji huijiao jijie* 大戴禮記匯校集解 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2008), 1.10. According to Yan Shigu (*Han shu*, 99C.4173, n. 1), *mei* 糜 and *mei* 眉 are variant graphs for the same word meaning “eyebrow.” This line and the previous line contain phrases that occur in Zuo Si, “Fu on the Shu Capital” (*Wen xuan*, 4.186): “[The elite of the Three Shu] “glibly chat, playfully discourse, / Grip wrists, and clap hands” 劇談戲論, 扼腕抵掌.
- 176 *Cihuang* 雌黃 (orpiment) was used as a cosmetic and to correct characters in a text. See Shen Gua 沈括, *Xin jiaozheng Mengxi bitan* 新校正夢溪筆談, comm. Hu Daojing 胡道靜 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 1.26; Wang Hong and Zhao Zheng, trans., *Brush Talks from Dream Brook* (Chengdu: Sichuan People’s Publishing House, 2008), 25. In this line, it refers to oral criticisms of people. According to the *Jin shu*, Wang Yan 王衍 (256–311 CE) “was quite skilled at abstruse speech, and he solely focused his discussions on Laozi and Zhuangzi. He always grasped a sambar tail chowry with a jade handle that was the same color as his hand. Whenever he was uneasy about the principles or logic of an argument, he would immediately make corrections. The people of his time called it ‘orally issued orpiment.’” See *Jin shu* 晉書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 43.1236.
- 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.
- 178 The phrase “caps and canopies” (*guan gai* 冠蓋), which is metonymy for “high officials,” resonates with a line in Ban Gu’s “Fu on the Western Capital” (*Wen xuan*, 1.8): “Caps and canopies are as thick as clouds.”

Their covered and screened carriages bumped axle-cap to axle-cap,¹⁷⁹
 Seated guests always filled his house.
 Stepping across his threshold was like ascending the hall of Queli,¹⁸⁰
 Entering his inner sanctum was tantamount to climbing the slopes
 of Longmen.¹⁸¹ A single glance from him increased their value two-
 fold,¹⁸²

179 According to the *Shuowen jiezi*, the *zi* 輜 and *ping* 駟 carriages were covered conveyances. On the *ping* the covering was on the front, and on the *zi* it was on the rear. See Duan Yucai, *Shuowen jiezi zhu*, 14A.1251. For a brief explanation based on archaeological evidence see Sun Ji 孫機, *Handai wuzhi wenhua ziliao tu shuo* 漢代物質文化資料圖說 (Zengding ben 增訂本) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2008), 116.

180 Queli 闕里 (Watchtower ward) was the village in which Confucius lived. See *Han shu*, 67.2925–26. It was located in Qufu 曲阜, Shandong. For a brief discussion see Huang Lizhen 黃立振, “Queli kaolüe” 闕里考略, *Kongzi yanjiu* 2003.1: 114–16.

181 Liu Jun alludes to *Lun yu* 11/15: “You [Zilu] has not yet entered the inner chamber, but he has ascended the hall.” Fang was the protégé of a group of scholars and officials from less distinguished families. Named the Lan tai ju 蘭臺聚 or Magnolia Terrace Gatherings (Magnolia Terrace was the name for the censorate in Han times), the group included Liu Xiaochuo 劉孝綽 (481–539 CE), Liu Bao 劉苞 (482–511 CE) and Liu Ru 劉儒 (483–541 CE) of Pengcheng 彭城, Lu Chui 陸倕 (470–526 CE) and Zhang Shuai 張率 (475–527 CE) of Wu commandery, Yin Yun 殷芸 (471–529 CE) of Chen commandery, Liu Xian 劉顯 (481–543 CE) of Pei, and the brothers Dao Gai and Dao Qia. Membership in the Lan tai Association was also referred to as “climbing Longmen” 登龍門. Longmen or Dragon Gate is the name of a gorge on the Yellow River. Anciently it was thought that even turtles and fish found it difficult to swim up it. Those that succeeded were transformed into dragons. As a phrase referring to entering the entourage of a senior scholar, “climbing Longmen” was first applied to the Eastern Han anti-eunuch literatus Li Ying 李膺 (110–169 CE). Ren Fang’s group was also called “Longmen zhi you” 龍門之游 or the “Longmen Associates.” See *Hou Han shu*, 67.2195, *Liang shu*, 14.247.

182 Liu Jun alludes to a passage in the *Zhangguo ce*. The Warring States persuader Su Dai 蘇代 informed Chunyu Kun 淳于髡 that someone reported to the renowned horse tamer Bo Le 伯樂, “I have a splendid steed that I wish to sell. For three days it has stood in the market, and no one has said anything about it. I wish you would look at it from all angles, and as you leave, look back at it. Your humble servant would then request you be presented with the expenses of a single morning at the market. Bo Le then looked at the horse from all angles. When he left, he looked back at it, and by the next morning, it was worth ten times the original price.” See Fan Xiangyong, *Zhangguo ce jianzheng*, 30.1731–32.

Being picked up and selected for office caused them to neigh long.¹⁸³
 Those who
 Flapped their seal cords at the Cloud Terrace rubbed shoulder to
 shoulder,¹⁸⁴
 Those who dashed across the vermilion staircase left footprint after
 footprint.¹⁸⁵ With none of them did he fail to knit close friendships,
 Or form tight bonds of amity.

- 183 The neighing horses is another allusion to *Zhanguo ce*. Han Ming 汗明 offered a persuasion to Lord Chunshen 春申君 in which he said the following: "The great steed was harnessed to a salt carriage, and he pulled it up the Taihang Mountains.... Halfway up the slope he faltered, and leaning on the carriage shafts, he stopped. Bo Le happened to encounter him, and dismounting his chariot, he clasped his hands on the horse and wept. He removed his ramie coat and covered the horse with it. The horse then lowered its head and snorted, looked up and neighed with a sound that reached to the heavens. It was like the sound of metal and stone musical instruments. Why did he do this? Because he perceived Bo Le truly understood him. Now for a long time I have been living in straitened circumstances in isolated alleyways and caves of the provinces where I have been soiled by my humble and lowly status. Today you have unexpectedly picked me up. Should I not neigh for your majesty about my tribulations in Liang?" See Fan Xiangyong, *Zhanguo ce jianzheng*, 17.908–9. The version of the *Zhanguo ce* cited by Li Shan writes *jianba* 薦拔 for *jianfu* 翦拂 of the *Wen xuan* text. According to Li Shan (*Wen xuan*, 55.2378), these two words have the same meaning and pronunciation. Some versions of the *Zhanguo ce* write *fu* 拂 for *ba* 拔. Huang Pilie 黃丕烈 (1763–1825 CE) cites Li Shan's commentary to argue *fu* 拂 is the correct reading. He also suggests *fu* 拂 and *ba* 拔 are the same word that has the meaning of "pick up" "select." See *Zhanguo ce: fu chongke zha ji* 戰國策：附重刻札記, *Congshu jicheng chubian* 叢書集成初編, vol. 3687, 4B.31. See also Wang Niansun, *Guang ya shuzheng*, 250. *Jianfu* is also equivalent to *jianba* 薦拔 which means "recommend and select," a sense that may be implied in this line.
- 184 Cloud Terrace (Yun tai 雲臺) was a group of raised buildings located in the Northern Palace in Eastern Han Luoyang. Emperor Guangwu often held court there. Emperor Ming ordered portraits of thirty-two distinguished generals and statesmen painted there. See Hans Bielenstein, "Lo-yang in Later Han Times," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 48 (1976): 26.
- 185 According to the *Han guan dianzhi yishi xuanyong* 漢官典職儀式選用 of Cai Zhi 蔡質 (fl. 171–178 CE), the staircase of the imperial palace was painted with red lacquer, and thus it was called the vermilion staircase (*dan chi* 丹墀). See Sun Xingyan 孫星衍, ed., *Han guan liuzhong* 漢官六種, punc. and coll. Zhou Tianyou 周天游 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1990), 206.

They wished for the ‘immaculate dust’ of Hui and Zhuang,¹⁸⁶
 And hoped for the good deeds of Yang and Zuo.¹⁸⁷
 When Ren Fang closed his eyes in Eastern Yue,
 They returned his bones to the shores of the Luo River.¹⁸⁸
 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, *Liu jia*, 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.’¹⁸⁹
 There was no perennial grass on his grave,¹⁹⁰
 But the countryside was devoid of guests who ‘moved their
 wheels.’¹⁹¹

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

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.

193 The Chen Balang, *Liu jia*, *Liuchen*, and Mingzhou versions write *zhang* 鄣 for *zhang* 嶂 of You Mao. Both words mean “barrier of peaks.” The *Liang shu* and *Nan shi* write *zhang* 瘴 (miasma), which is the more likely reading. The remote south is known for diseases caused by miasmas such as malaria and leprosy. See Marta E. Hanson, *Speaking of Epidemics in Chinese Medicine* (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 69–80. Li Shan (*Wen xuan*, 55.2379) notes the *Liang dian* does not mention Ren Fang’s sons having traveled this far south, and he speculates this is simply Liu Jun’s way of describing the extreme extent of their homelessness. However, Wang Shihan 汪師韓 (ca. 1707–ca. 1780) objects to Li Shan’s suggestion arguing the place mentioned in this line is a “real” one, and thus the event must also be true. See *Wen xuan Li zhu buzhen* 文選李注補正, in *Qingdai Wen xuan xue mingzhu jicheng* 清代文選學名著集成, ed. Xu Yimin 許逸民 (Yangzhou: Guangling shushe, 2013), vol. 7, 4.15b (222).

Those former talents who clasped his arm,¹⁹⁴
 And those ‘metal and eupatorium’ friends
 Have never shown the kindness of Yangshe who wept tears,¹⁹⁵
 And did not emulate the virtue of Hou Cheng who shared his
 residence.¹⁹⁶

194 “Clasping the arm” refers to the friendship of Zhu Hui 朱暉 (12–88 CE) and Zhang Kan 張堪 (fl. 20–ca. 46 CE). They were both from Nanyang 南陽, and were good friends in their youth. Zhang Kan once clasped Zhu Hui’s arm, and said “I wish to entrust my wife and children to Master Zhu.” Zhu did not dare reply. The two men served in different areas and did not see each other for a long time. When Zhang Kan died, there was a famine in Nanyang, and Kan’s wife and children were impoverished. Zhu Hui went to see them, and upon discovering their straitened condition, he supported them by giving them fifty *hu* of grain every year and five cloth measures of silk. See Wu Shuping, *Dongguan Han ji jiaozhu*, 16.676.

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.

196 Viscount Cheng of Hou 郈成子, a minister from Lu, went on a diplomatic mission to Jin. On the way, he passed through Wei, where the steward of the right Gu Chen 穀臣 invited him to attend a drinking party in his honor. Gu Chen brought out an orchestra, but did not have it play. He gave Viscount Cheng a jade disc as a parting gift. On his return journey to Lu, Viscount Cheng passed through Wei, but he did not pay his regards to Gu Chen. When his driver questioned him about this, Viscount Cheng replied, “The reason he had me stop and gave me a drinking party is because he wished to share his pleasure with me. The reason he brought out an orchestra but did not have it play is because he wished to inform me of his anxiety. The reason he gave me a jade disc is because he wanted to entrust it to me. From this I could see that turmoil was about to occur in Wei.” After traveling for thirty leagues, Viscount Hou heard Ning Xi 甯喜 (d. 546 BCE) had revolted in Wei and killed Gu Chen. Viscount Hou immediately turned around his carriage and went to mourn for Gu Chen. After arriving home, he sent someone to bring Gu Chen’s wife and children to his home. He gave them a separate dwelling place and supported them with a portion of his salary. When Gu Chen’s son grew up, Viscount Hou gave him the jade disc. See Fu Yashu 傅亞庶, ed. and comm., *Kongcongzi jiaoshi* 孔叢子校釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2011), 5.332–33; Yoav Ariel, *K’ung-ts’ung-tzu A Study & Translation of Chapters 15–23 with a Reconstruction of the Hsiao Erh-ya Dictionary* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996), 39–40; Xu Weiyu, *Lüshi chunqiu jishi*, 20.29b–30b; John Knoblock and Jeffrey Riegel, *The Annals of Lü Buwei* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 541.

Alas, how hazardous and perilous the way of the world that all has reached to this point!¹⁹⁷ Even the Taihang and Mengmen mountains are not this rough and rugged!¹⁹⁸ Thus, the man of staunch integrity detests that things are like this.¹⁹⁹ He shall tear up his clothing to wrap his feet, leave this place and travel afar.²⁰⁰ He shall stand alone on the top of a tall mountain, happy to herd with elaphures and deer.²⁰¹ Pure and unsullied, he shall cut himself off from the fummy murk.²⁰² He is truly ashamed of it, he truly dreads it!”

- 197 The alliterative binome *xianxi* 險巖 (hazardous and perilous) first occurs in the *Chu ci* poem “Seven Admonitions” attributed to Dongfang Shuo: “How level and easy was the course of Zhou; / Now it is weed-choked, rugged and perilous.” For *xianxi* 險巖 of You Mao, *Wen xuan*, and *Liuchen* Chen Balang, Mingzhou and *Nan shi* write *xianyi* 險巖, *Liuji* writes *xianxi* 險巖, and *Liang shu* writes *xianyi* 險 .
- 198 The Taihang 太行 Mountains stretched over what is now modern Shanxi, Hebei, and Henan. The Mengmen 孟門 Mountains are located west of modern Ji 吉 county, Shanxi. They extend along the two banks of the Yellow River. This line resonates with the following passage in which Confucius says, “When one comprehends the inherent quality of virtue, even Mengmen and Taihang are not perilous.” See Xu Weiyu, *Lüshi chunqiu jishi*, 19.9b.
- 199 According to Li Shan (*Wen xuan*, 55.2380), the man of staunch integrity is Liu Jun. This line partially resonates with the following passage in *Han Feizi*: “If men who accumulate wealth that is double that of peasants, and reach an elevated status higher than that of plowmen or those who engage in warfare, then men of staunch integrity will be few, and men who command a high price in the marketplace will be many.” See Wang Xianshen *Han Feizi jijie*, 19.455–56.
- 200 Gongshu Ban 公輸般 had made siege ladders that he wished to use for an attack on Song. When Mozi heard about this, he set off for Chu. He tore up his clothing to wrap his feet. He traveled ten days and ten nights and reached Ying, the capital Chu, where he received in an audience with the King of Chu. See Xu Weiyu, *Lüshi chunqiu jishi*, 21.11b.
- 201 This line partially resembles a passage in the *Chu ci* poem “Seven Admonitions” attributed to Dongfang Shuo: “The high mountains are tall and towering; / The rivers rush and roil. / The day of my death will soon arrive; / I will share the burial pit with elaphurus and deer.” See *Chu ci buzhu*, 13.236–37. This line also resonates with *Lun yu* 18/6: Confucius said, “With wild birds and beasts one should not herd.” According to Kong Anguo, the phrase “herding with wild birds and beasts” implies dwelling in reclusion in the mountains and forests. See Liu Baonan 劉寶楠, ed., *Lun yu zhengyi* 論語正義 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1990), 18.723.
- 202 The phrase “*fen zhuo* 霧濁 (fummy murk) appears in the *Chu ci* poem “Nine Lamentations” by Liu Xiang: “I inhaled the refined vapors and expelled the fummy murk.” See *Chu ci buzhu*, 16.282.

近世有樂安任昉，海內髦傑，
 早縮銀黃，
 夙昭民譽。
 邁文麗藻，方駕曹、王，
 英時俊邁，聯橫許、郭。
 類田文之愛客，
 同鄭莊之好賢。
 見一善則盱衡扼腕，
 遇一才則揚眉抵掌。
 雌黃出其脣吻，
 朱紫由其月旦。
 當此之時，
 公運獨見之明，
 奮亡前之威，
 盱衡厲色，
 振揚武怒。
 於是
 冠蓋輻湊，
 衣裳雲合，
 輜駟擊鞞，
 坐客恆滿。
 蹈其闕闕，若升闕里之堂，
 入其隩隅，謂登龍門之阪。
 至於
 顧眄增其倍價，
 剪拂使其長鳴。
 影組雲臺者摩肩，
 趨走丹墀者疊迹。
 莫不
 締恩狎，
 結綢繆，
 想惠、莊之清塵，
 庶羊、左之徽烈。
 及瞑目東粵，
 歸骸洛浦。
 總帳猶懸，門罕漬酒之彥：
 墳未宿草，野絕動輪之賓。
 藐爾諸孤，朝不謀夕，
 流離大海之南，

寄命鄣癘之地。

自昔

把臂之英，

金蘭之友，

曾無羊舌下泣之仁，

寧慕邱成分宅之德。

嗚呼世路險巇，一至於此！太行孟門，豈云漸絕。是以耿介之士，疾其若斯，裂裳裹足，棄之長驚。獨立高山之頂，歡與麋鹿同羣，噉噉然絕其霧濁，誠恥之也！誠畏之也！²⁰³

²⁰³ *Wen xuan*, 55.2377–2380.

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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。

關鍵詞：絕交 論 任昉 劉峻 廣絕交論