“Friendship” in Early China.

The aim of my investigation is to retrace genesis and development of the institute of friendship in pre-Qin China. Under “friendship” I understand freely established relations, based on mutual sympathy, common interests, common ethic principles etc.

Friends (you, peng, pengyou) were mentioned in a large number of Warring States texts. You, peng and pengyou occur either in some fragments of texts usually regarded as documents related to precedent epochs – Springs and Autumns (Zuo zhuan, Shi jing, Guo yu) and Western Zhou (earliest parts of Shang Shu). The concepts you, peng and pengyou appear either in some inscriptions on ritual bronze vessels of Western Zhou and Springs and Autumns periods, and yet in Shang-Yin oracle bone inscriptions, the characters you and peng were used.

I would like to point out that the term “friendship” is not the most appropriate one to define the type of relations that existed among pengyou[s] before the Warring States period. In this respect, I would like to propose a provisory term for this kind of relationship: the “pengyouship”.

I.

I am trying to retrace the roots of ideas of “pengyouship” in Shang inscriptions, although in those texts, the characters peng and you did not have any direct relationship to the concepts of “friend” and “friendship”.

The character you in oracle bone inscriptions designated one of the types of sacral communication between men and their divine ancestors. It had a reciprocal character: the men carried on offerings to their ancestors, and this act was called you. The ancestors in response sent them their divine support - you. The ideas of mutuality and support will preserve its
meaning in the concept you later, where it will then be used to designate a group of persons connected to each other with liaisons of “pengyouship”. On the other hand, the action you linked the living and dead members of a kin group. This may refer to the fact that the “friends”-you, as follows from a number of pre-Warring States documents, belonged to the same kindred.

In a number of Western Zhou inscriptions, the concept you designated a category of persons.

"You" often was a part of one of two common combinations of words: duo you, meaning “numerous friends” and peng you. The second is usually translated as “friend(s)”, as in many later contexts each of its parts independently may signify “friend”, although “peng” often bears some negative accent, like in the collocation “peng dang” (“gang”, “faction”). However, in Western Zhou inscriptions, we hardly find any example of independent usage of “peng” designating one or another type of associates. It was mainly used as a measure word. It seems plausible that “peng” used to be the attribute of “you”. This makes us wonder which meaning could bear this “peng” to the collocation.

The primary usage of the character peng was to serve as a measure word for bunches of cowries. While being a part of the collocation peng you it sometimes included an additional graphic element – the “man”, - which related it to the domain of human being and communication. Having in mind the significance of ritual gift exchange and the considerable popularity of cowries as its object, I could agree with Vassili Kryukov upon his hypothesis that “friendship”/“pengyouship” used to be a sort of ritual relationship established on the basis of donation. However, I do not find any mention of donation between “friends” (“you”) in either the bronze inscriptions or in narrative sources. Of course, “friends” could make presents to each other, as any other people
of the time, but nothing really bears witness to the fact that donation is the foundation of “pengyouship”.

I would suggest other speculation on the meaning of “peng”. Apparently peng you occur in the same contexts, and designate the same associates, as duo you – “numerous friends”. Like the adjunct “duo”, the character peng could be a quantitative, as opposed to a qualitative, attribute of you and refer to their “multiplicity”\(^5\). Peng, probably, used to mean something like a “bunch of men”. Thus, pengyou could mean “you, bound to each other like cowries in a bunch”.

The true place of you (duo you, peng you) in the structure of Western Zhou society may be determined only upon analyzing the contexts in which they were acting.

You (duo you, peng you) most often appear in the “dedication” (gu ci) part of the inscriptions. As an integral part of most inscriptions, the “dedications” usually concerned one or another ancestor for whom sacrifices were intended. In some rare instances, the “dedications” could refer to living people with whom the caster was associated, including some “friends”. Here are some noticeable features of “friends” situation in gu ci:

1. “Friends” take part in common repasts, in which an inscribed ritual vessel is used for food ([Que Cao ding]\(^6\), [Ming gui]\(^7\)). The same vessel could be used for sacrifices in the ancestors’ temple ([Ke xu]\(^8\), [Xin ding]\(^9\), [Shi-shu gui]\(^10\)).
2. “Friends”, at times, may take part in sacrifices to the caster’s ancestors ([Qian xiaozi gui]\(^11\), [Bo-kang gui]\(^12\)).
3. The caster may express hao (“love”) ([Guai-bo gui]\(^13\)) or even xiao (“filial piety”) ([Du-bo xu]\(^14\)) towards his pengyou.
4. pengyou is sometimes mentioned with hungou (“relatives by marriage”) ([Guai-bo gui], [Ke xu]), while no other living
relatives are mentioned herewith. Ritual vessel may be dedicated to “friends” alone ([Que Cao ding], [Shi-fu gui].

“Zuo zhuan”, Xi-gong 10th year reports: “The Spirits of dead do not enjoy the sacrifices of these who are not of their kindred, and people only sacrifice to those who were of the same ancestry as themselves”.

This restriction indicates that in case 2 “friends” had to be members of zongzu. Point 4 suggests that “friends” were distinguished from “relatives by marriage”. Considering the high value of kindred in Western Zhou society, we would find that mentioning relatives by marriage with some outside “friends” while omitting kin relatives is rather strange. We hardly could imagine a solemn repast where relatives by marriage and outside “friends” were presented while kin relatives were not allowed to assist. Even so, it would seem strange if, apart from repasts, the same vessel would be used in the ancestral temple for offerings.

Point 3 also allows us to suppose that the casters and their “friends” belonged to the same zongzu. The overwhelming majority of textual evidences indicates that xiao normally was practiced within zongzu.

I suppose that in Western Zhou time pengyou used to be a common name for associates among kin relatives – members of zongzu of various generations and degree.

Casters of bronze vessels often were high officers and war-lords. Inscriptions show that their yous assisted them in official and military affairs. Frequent mention of yous in such a context led to the apprehension of the term "you" as a name of a post - "assistant”. It was the norm in Western Zhou administrative practice for an officer to be assisted by members of his zongzu when performing official duties. Later on, you apparently began to designate a post of "assistant", even if it could be held by a non-member of the office-bearer's family.
In Western Zhou time, *you* ("friendliness", or "fraternal love") became one of the most important moral principles. According to classic texts, *you* together with *xiao* ("filial piety") characterized one's right and respectful behavior, while violation of these principles revealed one’s moral degradation.

Bronze inscriptions provide a bit of information in clarifying the forms of relationships between *pengyou*. A promoted office-holder had to supervise his "friends", to endeavor to make them loyal to the central power, and the rapport between him and his pengyous often attracted the attention of Zhou rulers. Sometimes the Zhou wangs ordered their subjects to "assemble" or "gently control" (shan xiao) their *you*s.

I suppose that *you*s had a considerable degree of independence because we never see one give any imperative command to his "friends", but always shows them his respect and care. To guide *pengyou*s one should use not, for example, "authority" (wei) but "goodness" (shan).

Since the attraction of *you*s became a desired goal, I suggest that not all relatives were "friends", and this term was applied only to close associates.

II.

Bronze inscriptions of Springs and Autumns period show more evident boundaries between *pengyou*s and various kin relatives. In *Ban-shu Duo-fu pan* they are distinguished from elder and younger brothers, “all sons” (zhu zi) and relatives by marriage (hungou). Zhu Feng-han suggests, that under *xiong di* we should understand Ban-shu’s whole brothers, and his cousins under *pengyou*. In *Wang-sun I-zhe zhong* we see another division between *pengyou*s and other relatives: they are mentioned together with *fu xiong* ("fathers", or “uncles” and “elder
brothers")\textsuperscript{31}. It means that *pengyou* could be either cousins or younger brothers.

Zuo zhuan, Xiang-gong 14\textsuperscript{th} year, further suggests that "friends" are members of *zongzu*:

"For the rulers there are assigned their assistants to act as tutors and guardians to them, so that they should not go beyond their proper limits. Therefore the Son of Heaven has his dukes; princes of States (*zhuhou*\textsuperscript{32}) have their high ministers (*qing*); ministers (*qing*) have [the Heads of] their collateral families (*ce shi*); great officers (*dafu*) have the members of the secondary branches of their families (*er zong*); inferior officers (*shi*) have their friends (*pengyou*); and the common people (*shuren*), mechanics, merchants, police runners, shepherds and grooms, all have their relatives and acquaintances (*qin ni*) to aid and assist them"\textsuperscript{33}.

This statement refers to that of Huan-gong's 2\textsuperscript{nd} year: "…The Son of Heaven establishes States; princes of States (*zhuhou*) establish clans. Heads of clans (*qing*) establish collateral families (*ce shi*); great officers (*dafu*) have their secondary branches (*er zong*); officers (*shi*) have their sons and younger brothers (*zi di*) as their servants; and the common people (*shuren*), mechanics and traders, have their different relatives of various degrees (*fen qin*)\textsuperscript{34}.

Both statements relate not only to the political system but also to *zongzu*'s organisation. I suppose, they represent either forms of subordination between stem and branch kin groups and alternate generations inside *zongzu*. The second passage states that heads of branch *zus* obey to the head of the stem *zu*, which has a *qing* aristocratic rank. Members of the stem *zu* of the next generation and of a lower rank – *dafu* – control their collateral relatives belonging to the same generation\textsuperscript{35}, while the younger and those of the lowest aristocratic rank – *shi* – control the younger layer of relatives – *zi di*. All together they are *zu xiong di*\textsuperscript{36} -
members of the same zongzu, while common people (shuren) are not part of zongzu\textsuperscript{37}. Pengyou's, in the first statement, held the same place as zi di in the second. It does not mean that pengyou actually were the same as zi di\textsuperscript{38}, but it seems plausible that they were members of the zongzu, while qin ni or qin tong xing were not.

The Chu yu chapter of the Guo yu shows "friends" as participants of a clan's ritual activity. Guan She-fu, the adviser of Chu Ping-wang, informed him about annual sacrifices then the men "gathered their friends (pengyou) and relatives by marriage (hunyin) in their counties and villages, got closer to their brothers and relatives".

It is not defined if pengyou participated in sacrifices as members of lineage or gathered only later on as guests. As in Western Zhou time, in the structure of social communication, pengyou still held the same level with relatives by marriage. Comparing this text with some bronze inscriptions of the Chunqiu period, we may note that friends usually were distinguished from outside guests ("binke", "bin") as well as from caster's subordinates. Sometimes casters could use the pronoun "my" to define their intimates: "guests, my fathers and elder brothers and all shi" [Wang-sun Gao zhong]\textsuperscript{39}. The same could be used to underline the caster's closeness to his friends: "guests, officers and my friends (pengyou)" [Xu-zi zhong]\textsuperscript{40}, "guests, fathers and elder brothers and my friends (pengyou)" [Wang-sun Yi-zhe zhong]\textsuperscript{41}.

Zuo zhuan has two stories about friends, who seemingly were not relatives. These are the stories about Wu-ju and Sheng-zi, whose fathers were "you", and Wu-ju's descendant Wu Zi-xu and Shen Bao-xu, who were "you" too. I think the possibility of close private relations between non-relatives in Springs and Autumns period existed, but these two stories are not sufficient to prove that such type of relations could be defined by contemporaries as "you" ("friendship"). These stories have an
expressly didactic pattern and reflect rather the apprehensions of the Zuo zhuan's compilers\textsuperscript{42}.

In the "Book of songs" several terms refer to "friends": you ("friends"), \textit{zhu you} ("all friends", apparently same as \textit{duo you} - "numerous friends" of Western Zhou inscriptions), \textit{pengyou} ("friends"), \textit{liang peng} ("good", or "beautiful friends"), \textit{you sheng} ("friendly kin", or "friends [and] kin"). We may trace the following features of “pengyouship” upon the Minor and Great Odes of the \textit{Shi jing}:

1. "Friends belonged to the circle of the “nearest men” (\textit{jin ren})\textsuperscript{43} and played an important role in the life of a late Zhou aristocracy.

2. Normally, the circle of “friends” still included mostly kin relatives who did not welcome any outside mates.\textsuperscript{44}.

3. \textit{Pengyou} used to play an important role in the psychic life of late Zhou men. They longed for friendly support and recognition\textsuperscript{45}, and suffered if they were not well understood\textsuperscript{46}, belonged to different political circles\textsuperscript{47}, and adhered to different ways of life\textsuperscript{48}. A disruption of ties between \textit{pengyou} was seen as a symbol of moral decay in society\textsuperscript{49}.

4. Some texts of the "Book of Songs" show a person’s actual dependence on his \textit{pengyou}\textsuperscript{50}. Their influence could be so strong that under the "friends"’s pressure, one could dare to forego even the orders of the king. This negative example implies that, ideally, "pengyouship" had to serve as reinforcement of the State.

5. In the Book of Songs we find some ethic principles of late Zhou friendship. In \textit{Yi} (III. 3. 2., "Grave") a ruler was advised to be "gracious" (\textit{hui}) with pengyous\textsuperscript{51}. The principle of "grace" applied to the ruler seems to ascend to
the more common principle of "goodness" (shan), appropriated to Western Zhou "pengyouship". Besides, recognizing the value of one's own moral cultivation in friendly relations may be seen in the advise of Ji zui (III. 2. 3, "Drunk with wine") to the ruler - to attract friends with wei yi ("grave and dignified manners", or "authority and righteousness")

6. The same texts and the bronze inscriptions show that the good relations with pengyou often were a matter of special interest of leaders of various level.

III.

In this part I would present just a sketch of the most common features of the Warring States friendship.

1. The "pengyouship" is turning into a real "friendship" as an association based not on the kinship but free individual choice. It could be established or severed depending on the situation.

2. Friendship could be based on various grounds, such as common activity and neighbourship, learning from one particular teacher, common interests, common moral principles and philosophy.

3. Friendship was acknowledged as one of the fundamental forms of human relations. It was often compared with and normally regarded as secondary to kinship. Seldom there were exceptions, like in the Mo-zi conception of "universal love" or Zhuang-zi's ideas of friendship. Some features of
kin relations have been preserved in the Warring States time friendship. Some types of responsibility between friends were similar to those of relatives.  

4. Apparently, as a rule, friends had equal social status and lived in the same country. But due to intensification of migrations and social mobility, spatial and social boundaries of friendship were distinctly flaring.  

5. During the warring States period some moral principles of friendship were defined, such as trust (or faith, fidelity - *xin*) and loyalty (*zhong*). The principle of fidelity actualised by fulfilling certain liabilities. Even if friends had rather close relations, they were not entirely open to each other. They could support, help, and influence each other according to the old principle of goodness (*shan*) elaborated in Western Zhou time. But in the case of some disaccord, they avoided potential conflicts; expression of disapproval in the open was not covered by the terms of friendly relations.  

6. Friendship was considered by administrative ideologists to be a useful mean of maintaining peace in society. Friends were also given certain roles in ritual performances.  

**Summary.**  

1. The meaning of the terms *you/pengyou* and their other variations was changing during the periods of Western Zhou, Chunqiu and Zhanguo. The term "friendship" primarily applied to members of one kindred, later was extended to relationships between non-relative associates.
2. Although the same terms were applied to different types of human relationships, there were some common features between "pengyouship" and "friendship". The latter often copied the models appropriate to the first one and very seldom was regarded as a fundamental alternative.

3. Friendship and even "pengyouship" implied a kind of free-will association. While the "pengyouship" was transforming into friendship, the degree of independence among "friends" was increasing.

4. Both "pengyouship" and friendship were highly ritualised. Their rights to influence each other were limited.

5. All the time the State aimed to set the "right" friendship to its use.75

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75 For example, in the inscription on the Ling fangyi we read: "Now it is when we command you two men, Kang and Ze, flanked to the left and to the right by your officers, to serve with your friends ("you")" ([Shaughnessy Edward L. Sources of Western Zhou History. Inscribed bronze vessels., 1992]. Unfortunately, I cannot get this book and have to use a copy its pre-print version, provided by the author to V. Kryukov. Thus I cannot give a correct pagination. In my copy it is p. 249). E. Shaughnessy translates you as "friends". As I have mentioned above I would prefer to use the original term (you) instead English word "friend".

76 Although in late Western Zhou inscription on the Duo You ding we read a formula “yong peng yong you” (“to use [this vessel] for association-peng and friendship-you” ([Yin Zhou jinwen jihu, Sichuan, 1984-86. P. 575], where the words peng and you separately designated some nuances of “friendship”.

77 Cowries were highly appreciated in Shang and Western Zhou times. They were a popular object of captures during Shang military campaigns. According to endowment inscriptions on ritual vessels, cowries constituted one of most common categories of Shang and Western Zhou gifts. One peng is generally believed to consist of 10 cowries.


79 An indirect endorsement of this guess may be found in Zhanguo ce. The name of Han kingdom officer Gong-zhong Chi is seen in two graphic variants. The first one is composed of the graph ren ("men") at its left side and of the graph duo ("many", "numerous") at its right side. The second is mistakenly written as peng ("bunch of cowries"). The Song time commentator Bao Biao explained this error by similarity of these two characters. However, peng and duo, rather alike in standard Han shape, in Western Zhou time clearly differed from each other. We could admit that the proximity of their semantic fields led to their graphic resemblance. Though that is not more than speculation, I consider the fact of easy substitution of peng and duo both in "Zhanguo ce" and in Western Zhou inscriptions.

82 Guo Mo-ruo, ibid. Vol. VII. P. 123.
83 Yu Xing-wu, Shang Zhou jinwen luyi. Beijing, 1957. # 89.
84 Zhu Feng-han. P. 308.
qin tong xing – "near relatives with the same family name" (see [Chang Kuan g-chi, The Lineage Antropological Perspectives. Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, 1976]).

System of the Shang and Chou Chinese and Its Political Implications, in: Early Chinese Civilization: Zu drevnih kitaicev / Forms of social organization of Ancient Chinese; Moscow, 1967). It included also a group of kin relatives but a group of related families" (M. V. Kryukov, Formy socialnoi organizacii drevnih kitaicev / Forms of social organization of Ancient Chinese; Moscow, 1967). It included also relatives of marriage. “Zu” or "zongzu" did not include all kin relatives but direct descendants and members of branch lines up to five generations. More distant relatives were not members of zongzu but qin tong xing – "near relatives with the same family name" (see [Chang Kuang-chi, The Lineage System of the Shang and Chou Chinese and Its Political Implications, in: Early Chinese Civilization: Antropological Perspectives. Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, 1976]).


19. The term xiao in Western Zhou time included, but was not limited to, the meaning of “filial piety” expression. First of all it designated a type of sacred ceremony, sacrifice in ancestral temple. Usual subjects of xiao were son and deceased father, grandson and grandfather, or more distant direct descendant and his ancestor. Bronze inscriptions show some cases of expression of xiao by an younger brother towards his elder brother and by one towards his relatives by marriage (hungou). Warring States philosophers set “filial piety” as a moral principle applicable not only to kin but some other types of relations: between a ruler and a subject, youngsters and elders, but “xiao” is mentioned in such a context very seldom. Trice I found the usage of the xiao principle as a model of relations with pengyou, all in rather late texts. The first, “to be not loyal to the ruler, is not xiao, not to respect officers, is not xiao, to be not sincere with friends, is not xiao (Li ji, Ji yi), is quoted with small difference in Lu-shi chun-qi 14:1 Xiao xing. In this second case it is followed by the phrase which shows that xiao is taken as abstract and wide concept: “To fight and not to be courage is not xiao. The third case is in the Yan-zi chun-qi, 22: “The dao of a nobleman is to love his elder and younger brothers, to respect all fathers (zhu fu – father and parental uncles), to take care of all sons (zhong zi – his own sons and children of his kindred), to be honest and faithful with friends (pengyou). When this text was compiled, the term pengyou already designated not kin relatives but the very friends. However, in its author’s perception friends were as close to one as his kindred. Anyway, before Warring States period we would not find any evidence of xiao performance to people not related by kindred or marriage.

20. Zuo zhuang, 2-nd year of Wen-gong: “When a prince comes to the rule of a State, he shows his affection for the States whose princes are related to him by affinity, cultivates all relationship by marriage, and takes a head wife to attend to the grain vessels of the temple. This is filial piety, and filial piety is the beginning of propriety” [Legge, the Tso Chuen. P. 235].

21. The data of written sources related to Western Zhou period, - early chapters of the "Book of History", - do not contradict to this supposition. Zhang Chiping has studied the meaning of character you in Kang Gao (Chiping Zhang, 1998, 17 Oct, #964). Cheng-wang accused his rebelled uncles. Here is my interpretation of his words: "If my father who was [their] elder brother, is dead, and his yours attack his son, would the people nursed by him encourage [the rioters] and not come to his rescue?" I agree with Zhang Chiping's interpretation of graph you in this sentence as "younger brothers". In Da Gao chapter Cheng-wang called up local leaders to join him in the struggle against his rebelled uncles. He addressed to them as to er shu bang jun ("you, rulers of many states"), or wo you bang jun ("rulers of states friendly to me"). This wo you may be understood as simply "those with whom I have good relations". But if we mean what, according Xun-zi, then Cheng-wang was young and Zhou-gong was the regent, 53 of 71 hereditary possessions were granted to the members of Zhou ruling family, we could allow that Cheng-wang accosted to local rulers-members of his own clan as to wo you.

22. "Shi Lu did not follow the wang in the campaign against Yu-fan tribe. Lei sent his you Hong to convey it to Bo Mao-fu" (Shi Lu ding, [Guo Mo-ruo. Vol. 6. P. 26a.]). "I order to you: respectfully
clear up your heart, and at the head of your you defend the wang's life!” (Shi Hong ding, [Guo Mo-ro. Vol. VII. P. 139b]). Wang said: “Use [ceremonial robe, weapon and jade regalia] to lead your [deceased] father's guan you (officers [and] you or officers among [your father's] you)” (Shi Kui-fu gui, [Guo Mo-ro. Vol. VI. P. 78b]).

23 The word you, as noted above, in the Shang-Yin epoch comprised the meaning of “assistance” (from the part of divine ancestors). This idea of assistance preserved in the concept of friendship / pengyouship afterwards.

24 "Wang ordered to Wu-bo: "with your troops assist to Mao-fu leftwards”. Wang ordered to Lu-bo: "with your troops assist to Mao-fu rightwards". The order run: "With your zus follow [Mao]-fu in this campaign" (Ban gui, [Guo Mo-ro. Vol. VI. P. 20b]).

25 "Xiao and you make Qiang to not retreat on morning and evening" ([Qiang pan. Yin Zhou jinwen jilu. P. 197]). Shi-fu made this vessel-hu, …, [he] will use it for friendliness (you), to drink wine with friends (you)” ([ Shi-fu gui, San dai jinwen, 12.14.2.]).

26 Keih-loo feasts and is glad; /…./ He entertains and feasts his friends (zu you - M.K.)/…/ And who are there? / There is Chang Chung, the filial and brotherly (xiao you - M.K.)” ([Legge, The She King. P. 284]).


28 "Wang ordered: "Continue to assemble your vous"” (Jun-fu gui, [Guo Mo-ro. Vol. VI. P. 58b]).

29 'Wang said: 'Gently control your vous for they [act] properly, do not dare to wallow in drink, do not dare to retreat" (Mao-gong ding, [Guo Mo-ro. Vol. VII. P. 135a]).

30 Zhu Feng-han, P. 311.


32 Hereinafter I insert original terms into the Legge's translation.

33 Legge, the Tso Chuen. P. 466.

34 Legge, the Tso Chuen. P. 41.

35 Are there? / There is Chang Chung, the filial and brotherly (xiao you - M.K.)” ([Legge, The She King. P. 284]).

36 Members of the steam and brunch zus of the same zongzu, whose kinship traced to the common grand-grand father, related to each other as zu xiong di – “elders and younger brothers, members of [zong]zu”.

37 More distant relatives were not zu xiong di but qin tong xing – “relatives with the common family name”, which presumable correspond to “relatives and acquaintances” (qin ni) and “relatives of various degree” (fen qin) mentioned in these texts.

38 Members of the steam and brunch zus of the same zongzu, whose kinship traced to the common grand-grand father, related to each other as zu xiong di – “elders and younger brothers, members of [zong]zu”.

39 Like brothers, “beautiful friends” do not provide actual assistance but only express their compassion.

41 Guo Mo-ro, Vol. VII. P. 139b].

42 Especially the Guo yu's version about Wu-ju and Sheng-zi’s deceased fathers providing both their sons their ancestral aid seems to me rather extravagant for the Qunqiu epoch. Even in latest times the closeness of these personalities made people wonder. For example, in the History of the Song dynasty we read: “Even they did not have common ancestry, they treated each other better then all brothers in the land between four seas. Thus Bao Shu-ya partaged his treasures with Jing Zhong and did not distrust him, and Gui-sheng meeting with Wu-ju, recalled the past. … They were such men, as if descending from the common father!” (Song shu. Le zhu. www.sinica.edu.tw/bin-ftnsw3/ Juan 93. P. 2289).

43 "Of the all nearest men nobody is like brothers, … even if everybody have beautiful “friends”” (Fa mu, II, I, 5). Forasmuch the brothers are distinguished among “all nearest men”, it means that the intimate circle was not limited by brothers, Since they are compared in this text with “beautiful friends” and “friendly kin”, those also were or pretended to be its members.

44 The Chan di (II, I, 4, "Cherry-Tree") reflects a conflict between nearest kin relatives - elder and younger brothers (or cousins) and "friends". The latter are named liang peng - "beautiful friends". This appellation appears ironic and sarcastic, because the image of those "friends" in this poem is not the best one; "When brothers are hard pressed / Even good friends / At the most do but heave a sigh“.

45 Unlike brothers, “beautiful friends” do not provide actual assistance but only express their compassion.
It means that a man of Late Zhou time could be satisfied with the empathy of his mates, but from the close relative's point of view it was not enough to accept some peng into the circle of "nearest men" (jin ren).

The 5th stanza of this poem attires my attention. Whaley translates it:
But then the times of mourning and violence are over,
When all is calm and still,
Even brothers
Are not equal of friends (you sheng).
Logically, following this statement we could expect to read about ungrateful fellow, who forgets his brothers which helped him so much and relapses into dalliance with his "beautiful friends". However we do not see anything suchlike:
All your brothers are here together,
Peaceful, happy and mild.
Your wives and children chime as well
As little zither with big zither.
Your brothers are in concord,
Peaceful, merry, in great glee.

I suggest this contradiction may be understood if we allow that there is a difference between "liang peng" and you sheng. The first expression relies to outside mates, while the second means "friends and kin" or "friendly kin", like in the next poem, Fa mu (II, 1, 5; "The Woodman's Axe). It begins with the statement that "even a bird searches for its friend's (you) voice". Hence, "how much must man / needs search out friends and kin (you sheng)". However, in the next three stanzas we do not find any other "friends" but relatives - paternal and maternal uncles and elder and younger brothers.

The question of the precedent text - "even you have brothers, are they not like you sheng?" - probably intends to prove that in fact brothers, and not liang peng, are the true "friends" (you sheng).

Fa mu, Chang di.
Sang ruan.
Yu wu zheng.
Shi yue zh jiao.
Sang ruan.

In Yu wu zheng (II, IV, 10, "Rain without limit") we see a protagonist between two fires:
By saying [the order] cannot be followed,
You offend against the Son of Heaven.
By saying [the order] will be followed,
You excite the resentment of your friends.

This person has an uneasy choice: to continue serving the Zhou ruler, or to act according to his zongzui's (supposedly, if pengyou were its members) or another alliance's (if they were non-kin associates) interests. I think, in the time of consequent degradation of centralized Zhou state a lot of noblemen were put into such a dilemma.

A piece of one poem not preserved in the present "Book of Songs" but quoted in "Zuo zhuan" use a collocation youpeng instead pengyou:
From that distant chariot,
They call me with the bow.
Do I wish to go?
But I am afraid of my friends.

This fraction is quoted by Gong-zi Wan who refuses to accept a high post in the Qi kingdom, because he is afraid to "disgrace a high position an so accelerate the slanders of other officers" (Legge, the Tso Chuen. P. 103). The quoted poem does not reflect his situation directly, it is used just as allegory. We may guess about its story: someone is invited to join a military campaign, but he depends on his "friends" who are not interested in this affair. Who could initiate this campaign - the Son of Heaven, or a local ruler? I think, it must be one authorized leader, otherwise the protagonist should fear not his "friends" but authorities' punishment.

Be gracious to friends and companions / And to the common people... " ([Whaley. P. 264]).

[He has that] to attract pengyous, attract them with authority and righteousness" (Shi jing, III. 2. 3).

In Lun yu we find recommendations about the choice of friends (9:25; 12:24; 15:10; 16:4). In Mencius and Zhuang-zi there are few stories, which show a friendship established upon the good will of the sides. For the example of friends' separation see Mencius's story about a friend who did not acquit a promise, and his friend should cast him off.
63 According to the Zhuang-zi aimed to prove that friends could be closer and understand the True Man better than his 
62 Mo-zi opposing the "particular love" ([Lun yu, 16:4], [E. Bruce Brooks, A. Taeko Brooks. The Original Analects. Sayings of Confucius and His Successors. NY, 1997. P. 155]).
61 'If one is not trusted by his friends, he will not obtain the confidence of his sovereign. There is a way 
60 'If one is not trusted by his friends, he will not obtain the confidence of his sovereign. There is a way 
59 'Yu-kung Sze learned archery from Yin-kung T'o, who again learned it from me. Now, Yin-kung T'o 
58 For Dzvngdz said, The gentleman with his culture gath ers friends, and with his friends supports rvn" ([LY 12:24], [Brooks. P. 96]).
57 Dzvngdz said, The gentleman with his culture gathers friends, and with his friends supports rvn" ([LY 12:24], [Brooks. P. 96]).
56 "Confucius said, What is helpful is the Three Befriendings, and that is harmful is Three Befriendings. To befriend the upright, to befriend the candid, to befriend those who have heard much: these are helpful. To befriend the partisan, to befriend those who prize weakness, to befriend the glib: these are harmful" ([Lun yu, 16:4], [E. Bruce Brooks, A. Taeko Brooks. The Original Analects. Sayings of Confucius and His Successors. NY, 1997. P. 155]).
55 'In the fields of a district, those who belong to the same nine squares render all friendly offices to one another in their going and coming, aid one another in keeping watch and ward, and sustain one another in sickness" ([The works of Mencius. Translated, and with Critical and Exegetical Notes, Prolegomena, and Copious Indexes by James Legge. NY. Dover. 1990. III:1:III. P. 245]).
54 'Yu-kung Sze learned archery from Yin-kung T'o, who again learned it from me. Now, Yin-kung T'o 
53 'For the drift of the question. All, however, were friends together" ([Zhuang-zì, VI.9], translation by [Legge, 
52 "Zze-sze, Tze-yu, Tze-li and Tze-lai, these four men, were talking together, when some one said, 'Who 
51 "Zze-sze, Tze-yu, Tze-li and Tze-lai, these four men, were talking together, when some one said, 'Who 
50 'Guan-zi argued that 'Love concedes to the accord between a ruler and the people, between friends, 
49 the similar classification is provided by the Zhong yong chapter of Li ji, which also names five types of 
48 'Tze-sze, Tze-yu, Tze-li and Tze-lai, these four men, were talking together, when some one said, 'Who 
47 'If one is not trusted by his friends, he will not obtain the confidence of his sovereign. There is a way 
46 'If one is not trusted by his friends, he will not obtain the confidence of his sovereign. There is a way 
45 'Yu-kung Sze learned archery from Yin-kung T'o, who again learned it from me. Now, Yin-kung T'o 
44 'Yu-kung Sze learned archery from Yin-kung T'o, who again learned it from me. Now, Yin-kung T'o 
43 'Yu-kung Sze learned archery from Yin-kung T'o, who again learned it from me. Now, Yin-kung T'o 
42 'Yu-kung Sze learned archery from Yin-kung T'o, who again learned it from me. Now, Yin-kung T'o 
41 'Yu-kung Sze learned archery from Yin-kung T'o, who again learned it from me. Now, Yin-kung T'o 
40 'Yu-kung Sze learned archery from Yin-kung T'o, who again learned it from me. Now, Yin-kung T'o 
39 'Yu-kung Sze learned archery from Yin-kung T'o, who again learned it from me. Now, Yin-kung T'o 
38 "For Zhuang-zì there are the basic existential questions, such as the attitude towards the life and death: 
37 "For Zhuang-zì there are the basic existential questions, such as the attitude towards the life and death: 
36 'Confucius said, What is helpful is the Three Befriendings, and that is harmful is Three Befriendings. To befriend the upright, to befriend the candid, to befriend those who have heard much: these are helpful. To befriend the partisan, to befriend those who prize weakness, to befriend the glib: these are harmful" ([Lun yu, 16:4], [E. Bruce Brooks, A. Taeko Brooks. The Original Analects. Sayings of Confucius and His Successors. NY, 1997. P. 155]).
35 'Yu-kung Sze learned archery from Yin-kung T'o, who again learned it from me. Now, Yin-kung T'o 
34 'Yu-kung Sze learned archery from Yin-kung T'o, who again learned it from me. Now, Yin-kung T'o 
33 'Yu-kung Sze learned archery from Yin-kung T'o, who again learned it from me. Now, Yin-kung T'o 
32 'Yu-kung Sze learned archery from Yin-kung T'o, who again learned it from me. Now, Yin-kung T'o 
31 'Yu-kung Sze learned archery from Yin-kung T'o, who again learned it from me. Now, Yin-kung T'o 
30 'Yu-kung Sze learned archery from Yin-kung T'o, who again learned it from me. Now, Yin-kung T'o 
29 'Yu-kung Sze learned archery from Yin-kung T'o, who again learned it from me. Now, Yin-kung T'o 
28 'Yu-kung Sze learned archery from Yin-kung T'o, who again learned it from me. Now, Yin-kung T'o 
27 'Yu-kung Sze learned archery from Yin-kung T'o, who again learned it from me. Now, Yin-kung T'o 
26 'Yu-kung Sze learned archery from Yin-kung T'o, who again learned it from me. Now, Yin-kung T'o 
25 'Yu-kung Sze learned archery from Yin-kung T'o, who again learned it from me. Now, Yin-kung T'o 
24 'Yu-kung Sze learned archery from Yin-kung T'o, who again learned it from me. Now, Yin-kung T'o 
23 'Yu-kung Sze learned archery from Yin-kung T'o, who again learned it from me. Now, Yin-kung T'o 
22 'Yu-kung Sze learned archery from Yin-kung T'o, who again learned it from me. Now, Yin-kung T'o 
21 'Yu-kung Sze learned archery from Yin-kung T'o, who again learned it from me. Now, Yin-kung T'o 
20 'Yu-kung Sze learned archery from Yin-kung T'o, who again learned it from me. Now, Yin-kung T'o 
19 'Yu-kung Sze learned archery from Yin-kung T'o, who again learned it from me. Now, Yin-kung T'o 
18 'Yu-kung Sze learned archery from Yin-kung T'o, who again learned it from me. Now, Yin-kung T'o 
17 'Yu-kung Sze learned archery from Yin-kung T'o, who again learned it from me. Now, Yin-kung T'o 
16 'Yu-kung Sze learned archery from Yin-kung T'o, who again learned it from me. Now, Yin-kung T'o 
15 'Yu-kung Sze learned archery from Yin-kung T'o, who again learned it from me. Now, Yin-kung T'o 
14 'Yu-kung Sze learned archery from Yin-kung T'o, who again learned it from me. Now, Yin-kung T'o 
13 'Yu-kung Sze learned archery from Yin-kung T'o, who again learned it from me. Now, Yin-kung T'o 
12 'Yu-kung Sze learned archery from Yin-kung T'o, who again learned it from me. Now, Yin-kung T'o 
11 'Yu-kung Sze learned archery from Yin-kung T'o, who again learned it from me. Now, Yin-kung T'o 
10 'Yu-kung Sze learned archery from Yin-kung T'o, who again learned it from me. Now, Yin-kung T'o 
9 'Yu-kung Sze learned archery from Yin-kung T'o, who again learned it from me. Now, Yin-kung T'o 
8 'Yu-kung Sze learned archery from Yin-kung T'o, who again learned it from me. Now, Yin-kung T'o 
7 'Yu-kung Sze learned archery from Yin-kung T'o, who again learned it from me. Now, Yin-kung T'o 
6 'Yu-kung Sze learned archery from Yin-kung T'o, who again learned it from me. Now, Yin-kung T'o 
5 'Yu-kung Sze learned archery from Yin-kung T'o, who again learned it from me. Now, Yin-kung T'o 
4 'Yu-kung Sze learned archery from Yin-kung T'o, who again learned it from me. Now, Yin-kung T'o 
3 'Yu-kung Sze learned archery from Yin-kung T'o, who again learned it from me. Now, Yin-kung T'o 
2 'Yu-kung Sze learned archery from Yin-kung T'o, who again learned it from me. Now, Yin-kung T'o 
1 'Yu-kung Sze learned archery from Yin-kung T'o, who again learned it from me. Now, Yin-kung T'o 

Another example which seems to be an attempt to build family-like relations with friends, is the idea of Zi-lu to share with friends propriety, in particular, "carriages and horses, and light mantles, ...and not mind if they ruined them" ([Lun yu 4:26], [Brooks. P. 149]). The Zhou li ("The Rituals of Zhou") states that one should revenge to the enemy of his friend as to his paternal cousin's ([Zhou li] attempts to reduce other types of human liaisons to kin relations, comparing the State ruler to the father, a commander to the full brother, and a friend to the cousin) ([(Song Yirang, Zhou li zhengyi, Wang youwenku, ed. by Wang Yun-wu. Vol. 7. Juan 26. P. 59)]).

Since the possibility to befriend people of different social status and in various locations became a subject of rather late chapters of Lun Yu (1:1; 15:10) or Meng-zi (V:II:VIII), or Zhuang-zi (V.5) we may suggest that it was apprehended as an extension of existing boundaries of friendship.

"When dwelling in some country, serve the worthy among its dignitaries; befriend the rvn among its officers (shi – M.K.)" (LY 15:10, [Brooks. P. 137]). I suppose, this advice is dedicated to wayfaring intellectuals of the lower aristocratic layer – shi, - who traveled through the length and breadth of Tianxia, leaving their old friends in their native land and meeting new mates wherever they came. I guess, for these migrants it was rather difficult to make friends with unfamiliar people in far places, and for the native inhabitants it was no less strange to accept the outlandish newcomers. The first saying of the Lun yu, probably, refers to the same situation: 'To have friends coming from far places: is not also delightful!' (LY 1:1, [Brooks. P. 143]). This recommendation is to stimulate communication between local and entrant people and to impress on them that it is enjoyable.

The Meng-zi more narrowly explains the possibility of spatial extent of friendly ties: 'Mencius said to Wan Chang, 'The scholar whose virtue is most distinguished in a village shall make friends of all the virtuous scholars in the village. The scholar whose virtue is most throughout a State shall make friends of all the virtuous scholars of that State. The scholar whose virtue is most throughout the kingdom shall make friends of all the virtuous scholars of the kingdom'" ([The works of Mencius. V:II:VIII. P. 391])

'Wan Chang asked Mencius, saying, 'I venture to ask the principles of friendship.' Mencius replied, 'Friendship should be maintained without any presumption on the ground of one's superior age, or station, or the circumstances of his relatives. Friendship with a man is friendship with his virtue, and does not admit of assumptions of superiority'" ([The works of Mencius. V:II:III. P. 376]). Following, men of equal virtue even with different social circumstances, could make friends. Zhuang-zi ascribes to Ai-gong the words “me and Confucius, we are not ruler and subject, we are friends by virtue (de you)" to show that for a true friendship a social status is nothing to virtue.

Dzngdz said, I daily examine myself... In associating with friends, have I been unfaithful?" (LY 1:4, [Brooks. P. 146]).

'Dz-gong asked about friendship. The Master said, Inform them with loyalty and guide them with goodness. But if that do not suffice, then stop." (LY 12: 23, [Brooks. P. 96]).

Speaking of the image of a learned man Zi-xia said that "in associating with friends he always keep his word" (yan er you xin) ([Lun yu 1:7], [Brooks. P. 146]). Mo-zi while speaking of friends also points out that the "words have to be trustful" (yan bi xin) (See again the Mencius stories about the hapless husband and about a warrior who did not shoot in his teacher's friend.

Inform them with loyalty and guide them with goodness (shan – M.K.)" (LY 12:23, [Brooks. P. 96]).

"Dz-you said, If in serving his prince he is accusatory, he will be disgraced. If with friends he is accusatory, he will become estranged from them" ([Lun yu 4:26], [Brooks. P. 149]). Friends did not instruct each others, that was a prerogative of someone of higher status, for example, of a teacher: "Someone who edifies me, and does it properly, is my teacher; someone who agrees with me, and does it properly, is my friend; someone who blarneys to me, is my enemy. Thus, the "Someone who edifies me, and does it properly, is my teacher; someone who agrees with me, and does it properly, is my friend, get close to friends and hates enemies" ([Xun-zi, II; http://www.sinica.edu.tw/ftms-bin/ftmsw3]), Xun-zi has neatly defined the area of friend's possibilities to enter into one's modus vivendi - they should balance between criticism and flattery.

Zhou li designed several ways to use friendship for the administrative goals. By nine dyads [the Taizai] interconnects the people of the kingdom. The first is to say "pasture", serves to get people using the land; second is to say "majority", serves to get people using the nobility; third is to say tutorship, serves to get the people using the wisdom; the fourth is to say "learned men", serve to get people using the dao; the fifth is to say the clan (zong), serves to get people using zis [relationship]; the sixth is to say "mastership", serves to get people using the benefit; the seventh is to say "officialdom", serves to get people using administration; the eighth is to say "friendship" (you), serves to get people using responsibility; the ninth is to say "nature resources", serve to get people using wealth ([(Song Yi-rang, Vol. I. Juan 3. P. 75)])

This extension was not exceptional - similar things happened to the term "xiao" ("filial piety") (see the footnote #19), or "jia" ("family", "lineage") applied to a school.

I do not discuss here the "negative" friendship, which was considered dangerous for the State.