

“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 persons¹.

"*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 associates². 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 cowries³. 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 donation⁴. 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 herewith¹⁵. Ritual vessel may be dedicated to “friends” alone ([*Que Cao ding*], [*Shi-fu gui*])¹⁶.

“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 ancestry¹⁷ as themselves”¹⁸

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 *zongzus*¹⁹. The overwhelming majority of textual evidences indicates that *xiao* normally was practiced within *zongzu*²⁰.

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 degree²¹.

Casters of bronze vessels often were high officers and war-lords. Inscriptions show that their *yous* assisted them in official and military affairs²². Frequent mention of *yous* in such a context led to the apprehension of the term “you” as a name of a post - “assistant”²³. It was the norm in Western Zhou administrative practice for an officer to be assisted by members of his *zongzu* when performing official duties²⁴. 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 principles²⁵. According to classic texts, *you* together with *xiao* ("filial piety") characterized one's right and respectful behavior²⁶, while violation of these principles revealed one's moral degradation²⁷.

Bronze inscriptions provide a bit of information in clarifying the forms of relationships between *pengyous*. 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"²⁸ or "gently control" (*shan xiao*)²⁹ their *yous*.

I suppose that *yous* 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 *pengyous* one should use not, for example, "authority" (*wei*) but "goodness" (*shan*).

Since the attraction of *yous* 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 *pengyous* 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*³⁰. In *Wang-sun I-zhe zhong* we see another division between *pengyous* and other relatives: they are mentioned together with *fu xiong* ("fathers", or "uncles" and "elder

brothers”)³¹. It means that *pengyous* could be either cousins or younger brothers.

Zuo zhuan, Xiang-gong 14th 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*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"³³.

This statement refers to that of Huan-gong's 2nd 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*)"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 generation³⁵, 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*³⁶ -

members of the same *zongzu*, while common people (*shuren*) are not part of *zongzu*³⁷. *Pengyous*, in the first statement, held the same place as *zi di* in the second. It does not mean that *pengyous* actually were the same as *zi di*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 *pengyous* 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, *pengyous* 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*]³⁹. The same could be used to underline the caster's closeness to his friends: "guests, officers and my friends (*pengyou*)" [*Xu-zi zhong*]⁴⁰, "guests, fathers and elder brothers and my friends (*pengyou*)" [*Wang-sun Yi-zhe zhong*]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 "yous", and Wu-ju's descendant Wu Zi-xu and Shen Bao-xu, who were "yous" 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 compilers⁴².

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

1. "Friends belonged to the circle of the "nearest men" (*jin ren*)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.⁴⁴
3. *Pengyous* used to play an important role in the psychic life of late Zhou men. They longed for friendly support and recognition⁴⁵, and suffered if they were not well understood⁴⁶, belonged to different political circles⁴⁷, and adhered to different ways of life⁴⁸. A disruption of ties between *pengyous* was seen as a symbol of moral decay in society⁴⁹.
4. Some texts of the "Book of Songs" show a person's actual dependence on his *pengyous*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 *Yi* (III. 3. 2., "Grave") a ruler was advised to be "gracious" (*hui*) with *pengyous*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")⁵².

6. The same texts and the bronze inscriptions show that the good relations with *pengyous* 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 situation⁵³.
2. Friendship could be based on various grounds, such as common activity and neighbourship⁵⁴, learning from one particular teacher⁵⁵, common interests⁵⁶, common moral principles⁵⁷ and philosophy⁵⁸.
3. Friendship was acknowledged as one of the fundamental forms of human relations⁵⁹. It was often compared with and normally regarded as secondary to kinship⁶⁰. Seldom there were exceptions, like in the Mo-zi conception of "universal love"⁶¹ or Zhuang-zi's ideas of friendship⁶². 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 relatives⁶³.

4. Apparently, as a rule, friends had equal social status and lived in the same country⁶⁴. But due to intensification of migrations and social mobility, spatial⁶⁵ and social⁶⁶ 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*)⁶⁷ and loyalty (*zhong*)⁶⁸. The principle of fidelity actualised by fulfilling certain liabilities⁶⁹. 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*)⁷⁰ 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 relations⁷¹.
6. Friendship was considered by administrative ideologists to be a useful mean of maintaining peace in society⁷². Friends were also given certain roles in ritual performances⁷³.

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 associates⁷⁴.

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 use⁷⁵.

¹ 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".

² 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 jilu*, Sichuan, 1984-86. P. 575), where the words *peng* and *you* separately designated some nuances of "friendship".

³ 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.

⁴ See Kryukov V.M., "Ritualnaya kommunikacia v drevnem Kitae"/ "Ritual communication in Ancient China", Moscow, 1997, p. 89.

⁵ 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.

⁶ Guo Mo-ruo, *Liang Zhou jinwenci daxi kaoshi*. Vol. VI. P. 68.

⁷ Zhu Feng-han. *Shang-Zhou jiazhu xintai yanjiu*. Tianjin, 1990. P. 307.

⁸ Guo Mo-ruo, *ibid.* Vol. VII. P. 123.

⁹ Yu Xing-wu, *Shang Zhou jinwen luyi*. Beijing, 1957. # 89.

¹⁰ Zhu Feng-han. P. 308.

¹¹ *San dai jinwen*, 7.28.3. "Qian, filial son, with his *yous* made the sacrificial vessel for his father □-nan and [mother] Wang-ji'. Qian sacrificed to his deceased parents with his "friends". As follows, those "friends" most likely were his full brothers.

¹² *San dai jinwen*, 8.45.1. "Bo-kang made this precious vessel-gui to feast his *yous*, to wine his [deceased paternal] grandfather and grandmother". The same vessel was used for treating "friends" and sacrifices to, probably, their common ancestors. Thus, these "friends" could be Bo-kang's cousins.

¹³ Guo Mo-ruo. Vol. VII. P. 147b.

¹⁴ Guo Mo-ruo. Vol. VII. P. 153b.

¹⁵ Other relatives – “uncles and elder brothers” may be mentioned with *pengyous* in Chunqiu, or late Western Zhou inscriptions.

¹⁶ Zhu Feng-han. P. 309.

¹⁷ The original text employs the term “zu”: "people do not sacrifice to those who did not belong to their "zu" (Legge, the Tso Chuen, p. 156). "Zu", "zong", or "zongzu" was a patronimic organization, "not 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 by marriage. “Zu”/“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: Anthropological Perspectives*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, 1976]).

¹⁸ *The Chinese Classics*, by James Legge. Hong Kong University press, 1960. Volume V. The Ch'un Ts'ew with the Tso Chuen. P. 157.

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-qiū* 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-qiū*, 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 zhuan*, 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 *yous* 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-ruo. 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 ardered 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-foo feasts and is glad; /.../ He entertains and feasts his friends (*zhu 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]).

²⁷ Kang Gao: 'L'empereur dit: 'Foung, on doit detester ces grands criminels, mais bien plus encore le fils qui manque de piete filiale, le frere qui n'aime pas son frere (*bu xiao bu you* - M.K.)"' ([Chou king. Texte chinois avec une double tradition en francais et en latin. S. Couvreur S.J. 4-e edition. Sien Hsien, 1934. P. 240]).

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

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

³⁰ Zhu Feng-han, P. 311.

³¹ Guo Mo-ro, Vol. 8. P. 160b.

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 Mention of *zi di* – sons and younger brothers - in the next line means that the term *er zong* imply members of the elder generation – *fu xiong* – “uncles and elder brothers”.

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* – “elder 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 Zhu Feng-han compares these texts and concludes that *pengyou* were the same as *xiong di*. I think, it was not so in Western Zhou time. It would be strange if only younger relatives were mentioned in ritual inscriptions while the elders were omitted.

³⁹ Yin Zhou jinwen jilu / The corpus of Yin and Zhou bronze inscriptions. Sichuan, 1994. P. 68.

⁴⁰ Guo Mo-ruo. P. 178b.

⁴¹ Guo Mo-ruo. P. 160b.

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 personages' relations 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 zhuan*. www.sinica.edu.tw/bin-ftmsw3/ 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"⁴⁴. 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 friends⁴⁴ (*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 glee⁴⁴.

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, I, 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*)"⁴⁴. 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*).

⁴⁵ *Fa mu, Chang di.*

⁴⁶ *Sang ruan.*

⁴⁷ *Yu wu zheng.*

⁴⁸ *Shi yue zhi jiao.*

⁴⁹ *Sang ruan.*

⁵⁰ 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 zongzu'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 and 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.

⁵¹ "Be gracious to friends and companions / And to the common people..." ([Whaley. P. 264]).

⁵² "[He has that] to attract pengyous, attract them with authority and righteousness" (*Shi jing*, III. 2. 3).

⁵³ 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.

⁵⁴ "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 in, 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:I:III. P. 245]).

⁵⁵ 'Yu-kung Sze learned archery from Yin-kung T'o, who again learned it from me. Now, Yin-kung T'o is an upright man, and the friends of his selection must be upright also" ([The works of Mencius. IV:II:XXIV.2. P. 329]).

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]).

⁵⁷ Dzvnngdz said, The gentleman with his culture gathers friends, and with his friends supports rvn" ([LY 12:24], [Brooks. P. 96]).

⁵⁸ For *Zhuang-zi* there are the basic existential questions, such as the attitude towards the life and death: "Tze-sze, Tze-yu, Tze-li and Tze-lai, these four men, were talking together, when some one said, 'Who can suppose the head to be made from nothing, the spine from life, and the rump-bone from death? Who knows how death and birth, living on and disappearing, compose the one body? - I would be friends with him.' The four men looked at one another and laughed, but no one seized with his mind the drift of the question. All, however, were friends together" ([*Zhuang-zi*, VI.9], translation by [Legge, The writings of Kwang-Tze. P. 247]).

⁵⁹ *Guan-zi* argued that 'Love conduces to the accord between a ruler and the people, between friends, between elder and younger brothers, between fathers and sons" ([*Guan-zi*, 66 pian]). *Meng-zi* provided a five-points classification: 'Between father and son, there should be affection; between sovereign and minister, righteousness; between husband and wife, attention to their separate functions; between old and young, a proper order; and between friends, fidelity" ([The works of Mencius. III:I:IV.8. P. 376]). The similar classification is provided by the *Zhong yong* chapter of *Li ji*, which also names five types of relations: between "sovereign and subject, father and son, husband and wife, elder and younger brother and friends" ([*Li ji*, *Zhong yong*, <http://www.sinica.edu.tw/ftms-bin/ftmsw3>]). *Wang zhi* chapter of the *Yi li* inscribes friendship into the list of "seven instructions" on the sixth place: "father and son, elder and younger brother, husband and wife, sovereign and subject, elders and youngsters, friends and guests.

⁶⁰ 'If one is not trusted by his friends, he will not obtain the confidence of his sovereign. There is a way of being trusted by one's friends: - if one do not serve his parents so as to make them pleased, he will not be trusted by his friends" ([The works of Mencius. IV:I:XII. P. 376]). The similar doctrine is set in the *Zhong yong*.

⁶¹ Mo-zi opposing the "particular love" (*bie ai*) to the "universal love" (*jan ai*), showed following example. A person having the "particular love", could not treat his "friend's life as his own, his friend's relatives as his own", and, accordingly, did not feed his friend then he was famish, did not give him clothes then he was suffering from cold, did not care of him, then he was ill, and did not bury him, then he died. At the contrary, one who professed the "universal love", treated his friend's life as his own, his friend's relatives as his own, and helped his friend in every distress (See [*Mo-zi*, *Jian ai*, <http://www.sinica.edu.tw/ftms-bin/ftmsw3>])

⁶² *Zhuang-zi* aimed to prove that friends could be closer and understand the True Man better than his relatives. In his tales relatives act according to social norms, feel sorrow then the True Man is ill or death, but only his friends are able to comprehend that all is going according the constitution of things, and did not express commiseration because of illness or death.

⁶³ According to the *Lun yu*, Confucius took care of his friends' funerals, what normally was a responsibility of relatives: "when a friend dies, and there is nowhere else to turn, he says, Bury him at my expence" ([*Lun yu*, 10:16], [Brooks. P. 64.]).

Mencius tells to Qi Xuan-wang a story about a fellow who entrusted "his wife and children to the care of his friend, while himself went into Ch'u to travel, and ... on his return, he should find that the friend had let his wife and children suffer from cold and hunger" ([The works of Mencius, I.II.VI]). A charge of one's friend to take care of his family appears normal to Mencius and his interlocutor, although I suppose, that in earlier times one would entrust his spouse and children to the members of his clan. Probably this example given by Mencius was not speculative but taken from life, and a certain "friends" really failed into such an unpleasant situation. Why? Could really a friend demand of his friend such a service in the society with absolute priority of kinship? This dramatic situation probably happened because of exact transfer of kin liabilities model onto friendly relations.

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 Yi-rang, *Zhou li zheng yi*, *Wang you wenku*, ed. by Wang Yun-wu. Vol. 7. Juan 26. P. 59]).

⁶⁴ 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.

⁶⁵ "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. 145]). 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 extend 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])

⁶⁶ '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.

⁶⁷ Dzvgdz said, I daily examine myself... In associating with friends, have I been unfaithful?" (LY 1:4, [Brooks. P. 146]).

⁶⁸ '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]).

⁶⁹ 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.

⁷⁰ "Inform them with loyalty and guide them with goodness (*shan* – M.K.)" (LY 12:23, [Brooks. P. 96]).

⁷¹ "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 *junzi* honours his teacher, 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.

⁷² *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 *zu's* [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])

⁷³ "Confucius dit: "De quelle maniere dois-je pleurer? Je plererais un frere dans le temple des ancetres, un ami de mon pere devant la grand porte du temple des ancetres, un maitre dans mes appartements particuliers, un companion ou un ami devant la grande porte de mes appartements particuliers..." ([Li Ki, Memoires sur les bienseances et les ceremonies. Texte chinois avec une double traduction en francais et en latin par S. Couvreur S. J. Deuxieme edition, tome premier. Ho Kien Fou, 1913. Chapitre II. T'an koug. Partie I. P. 137]).

⁷⁴ 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.

⁷⁵ I do not discuss here the "negative" friendship, which was considered dangerous for the State.