

## Notes

### P R E F A C E

1. Perkins (2014), p. 14. Put another way, we are fundamentally changed by whatever we give repeated time and energy to. That may be why making money is the new religion, the ultimate concern, for so many. But to see how ridiculous is this sort of trust, one need only review the debate between Robber Zhi and Kongzi or between Never Enough and Sense of Concord, in the *Zhuangzi*. Wealth doesn't bring peace of mind, first because there is always rapid hedonic adaptation to greater wealth, and second because great wealth brings in its wake lots of brand-new worries (how to secure and maximize it).

2. L'Engle (2007).

3. Byung-Chul Han (2015) is now the premier philosopher alerting us to our increasing inability to confront negative experiences. If the novelist Marylinne Robinson is to be believed, ours is the first generation that thinks it can live well without history and culture. Here one thinks also of the benefits of "healing" over "curing" when confronting the human predicament. I recall the description of giraffes in Barber (2015), p. 250: they move in herds, and they seldom interact — much like people.

4. Woolf, quoted in Solnit (2014), p. 85.

5. James (1993), p. 101.

6. Williams (1993), pp. 20 and 251.

7. Foucault's term for the basic facts of our existence that are occluded by the "prevailing wisdom" is "regimes of truth." A good example in the antique world would be that "slavery is just"; a good example in contemporary life would be "the individual, autonomous, rational being" who purportedly can act "rationally" and "behind a veil of ignorance."

8. Crawford (2015), p. 7.

9. Druckerman (2015).

10. Russell (1955), p. xiv; cf. Sivin (2016), p. 23.

11. Tissot, quoted in Laqueur (2003), p. 205, but with no note appended.

12. Marche (2015): "In a world without faces, compassion is a practice that requires discipline, even imagination. Social media seems too easy; the whole point of its pleasure is its sense of casual familiarity. . . . The neurological research demonstrates that empathy,



far from being an artificial construct of civilization, is integral to our biology. . . . The new facelessness hides the humanity of monsters and of victims both.”

13. Merwin (2014).

## INTRODUCTION

1. Xunzi, for example, speaks of deriving a “comprehensive way” (*zhou dao* 周道), after combining the best features of other thinkers’ more limited work. See *Xunzi* 5.6; Hutton (2014), p. 36, reads this as “Way of Zhou,” not as “comprehensive way,” which undermines the contrast in *Xunzi* 16.9; Hutton (2014), p. 277. Meanwhile, Yang Xiong speaks of “borrowing” (qu 取) from others, as in *Fayan* 4.6.

2. Besides my own writings, begun in 2000, there is Schaberg (1999). Pages 6–7 of that essay are particularly good on the public character of the ruler’s actions.

3. Erlmann (2010).

4. German has no single word for “pleasure.” Instead, one might use roughly related words like *Genuss*, derived from *Nutzen*, “use,” so the pleasurable becomes the useful. There is *Lust*, which also means “desire”; its antonym would be *Unlust*, which means having no desire or drive, “apathy.” Then there is *Vergnügen*, which comes from *genug*, making the pleasurable understood as “what suffices.” And there is *Spass*, which really means “joke.” It seems that all the German words refer to something that comes either before the pleasurable experience or after it. True, the Rhineland dialect has a word for pleasure, but it is borrowed from French: *Pläsier*.

5. Of course, we find some few exceptions to this general rule, because every language is a living language, changed by contacts and linguistic combinations. In modern Chinese, *le* has lost much of its early distinctiveness in the binomial expressions in which it appears.

6. Both *le yu* 樂與 and *le gong* 樂共 convey this idea. See “taking pleasure in being together with (*yu*) worthy men [at the feast]” 樂與賢者共之也. See the *Odes*, Mao no. 171.

7. Of course, Mencius was persuading, not theorizing, and there are limits to sharing, as I explain in the chapter. Mencius would not ask the king to share his concubines. At this point, it may be useful to apply a distinction I learned from Farquhar (2002). Need, for Farquhar, is construed as “invariant and inescapable,” but pleasure refers to the “variable, contingent, and fleeting domain of subjectivity” (p. 477). Thus, to examine the pleasures of certain practices yields quite different answers than one would get if one looked instead to explain those practices as functions of human needs.

8. See Bauer (1976).

9. *Zuozhuan*, Lord Xiang 31.5. Legge (1865–1895), vol. 5, p. 564; Durrant, et al., p. 1281. Haun Saussy (personal communication) thinks it best that I make it clear that these “hosts” and “guests are” in a fraught situation, but hardly less fraught than is implied by the biological term “host.” Readers should note meanwhile that the *Zuozhuan* that we know today differs substantially from the Han-era *Zuozhuan*. See Tashima (2017).





10. *Zuozhuan*, Lord Xiang 30.13. Legge, (1865-1895), vol. 5, p. 517; Durrant, et al. p. 1269.

11. As “Xing zi ming chu,” strips, 8-9 (p. 179), says, “Learning and emulation (*xue* 學) sometimes drive it [the physical person].”

12. I here borrow language from Davidson (1997), p. 282. Jin Shiqi (2009) shows how closely interwoven are diplomatic, political, and medical concerns in the discourse of two influential texts of the time, the *Zuo* and *Guoyu*. Self-restraint in those texts turns out to be the key to both a long life and a strong state.

13. The importance of single-mindedness, being fixed on a single, constant goal, is especially emphasized in chapter 1 of the *Xunzi* entitled, “Encouraging Learning.” However, single-mindedness of purpose is not sufficient to guarantee the ruler’s morality and safety. In one anecdote, the ruler of Jin ran into trouble when he “failed to take any pleasure in governing men,” preferring horses to his subjects. He was therefore faulted for “only planning for the pleasures of the eye and ear, without cultivating the glorious merit handed down from the former rulers.” See *Yanzi chunqiu* 1.9/4/14.

14. One theorist notes, “Some [ideal] people in the past eschewed the pleasures of high salary. Such people, when they saw profit, felt no special delight, so they were immune to blandishments.”

15. *Mencius*, book I, is certainly the most famous text to propose this, but *Yanzi chunqiu* 5.14.44.11 makes the same argument. Cf. *Shuoyuan* (ICS) 14.6.113,6-14 and 19.35.169/9-12. Pleasure-taking is wrong only when it is “selfish” (when it breaks community, because of its extravagant use of scarce resources or because it reduces human beings to the status of commodities or mere providers). When one speaks of “sharing pleasures,” however, the sharing has its limits. Mencius says that the ruler is to provide his people with opportunities for pleasure, but the ruler is not literally, for instance, to share his concubines with his subjects.

16. For an interesting passage that describes the new order, in which “different gradations of sacrificial meat” become part of a much larger system to induce the common people to identify with the aspirations of their ruling elite, even as they are forced to prepare for war, see *Guanzi*, vol. 2, pp. 12 and 35 (Zhi Weicheng [1996]), translated in Rickett (1998), p. 319. Xunzi posits a clear continuum from the old, lineage-based sacrificial communities to the newer, larger groups in his chapter “On Music”: “When music is in the temple of the royal ancestors, ruler and subject, superior and inferior, listen to it together, all of them attuned in reverence; when it is in the household, father and son, elder and younger brother, listen to it all together, all attuned in kinship; when it is performed in the neighborhood, elder and younger listen to it together, all attuned in obedience.”

17. The *Zuozhuan* supplies abundant evidence of the collapse of the old system for the distribution of sacrificial meats. Whole states are brought down when Hua Yuan, a Song commander, slaughters a sheep to feed his troops, but fails to give a share to his charioteer Yang Zhen, who then brings about Hua Yuan’s defeat by leading the Song army into Zheng





territories. See Lord Xuan, Year 2.1; cf. *Shiji* 14.612. What begins as a squabble over food is also a contributing factor in state struggles in Qi when ducks are substituted for chicken and soup offered instead of meat in the court meals served to the Qi noblemen Ziya and Ziwei. The noblemen's anger sets off a series of conspiracies and counterconspiracies that eventually result in the exile of the powerful usurper. See Lord Xiang, Year 28.9.

18. My coauthored forthcoming translation of the *Documents* classic will explicate many of these *ming* 命.

19. *Hanshu* 87B.3563: 故平不肆險·安不忘危 (said by Yang Xiong, though proverbial wisdom).

20. *Shiji* 127.3221: "The greater a person's understanding of the Way, the more security that man enjoys. But the greater his power, the more danger threatens him."

21. The Enlightenment thinkers were so aware of this that I have borrowed this pithy summation of the basic observations of John Locke and Alexis de Tocqueville from Delbanco (2000).

22. *Analects* 13/15 is a hypothetical sentiment offered as "words that might destroy a state." The second question, which takes off from a quotation popularly attributed to Montesquieu, seems to encapsulate so many sentiments recorded in the early histories (see later chapters) that I adopt it here for conciseness: "If we only wanted to be happy, it would be easy; but we want to be happier than other people, which is almost always difficult, since we think them happier than they are."

23. I am not unaware of some emperors' efforts to attain immortality nor of the court language that casts them as divine beings who transcend this world, but I believe those examples are singled out for condemnation by the more subtle thinkers throughout the period. These thinkers' writings are my main subject.

24. See *Zhuangzi* 17, for Zhuangzi's empathy with the "fish on the river Hao" episode (discussed in Chapter 5), which suggests this, as does much of Xunzi's rhetoric.

25. In other words, these thinkers did not have to meet modern standards of philosophical truth, a signal advantage, to this author's way of thinking.

26. *Lüshi chunqiu* (ICS), 21/4.

27. Graham (1978), A 75.

28. Poo (1998).

29. *Chunqiu fanlu yizheng* 1.19 gives the reason for altering the color of vestments, the form of the ritual music used, and so on, saying that such changes "make clear . . . and visible" the legitimacy of the authorities.

30. Cf. the judgment of *Hanshi waizhuan* (ICS) 9.19/69/11: "Troubles come from anger; disasters from trifles."

31. *Shiji* 8.285–86. Consider Schaberg (2001), p. 227: "They [the historiographers of the *Zuo* and *Guoyu*] were especially interested in the idiosyncratic architectural choices of ordinary men and the extravagant projects of powerful rulers."



32. For good reason, what began as analytical persuasions ends as ostensible entertainments in the form of prose poems. Once the empire was united, there was only one court at which to offer advice and, from a sense of secure monopoly, the emperor was less likely to accept the bitter pill of open remonstrance. This state of affairs is something that the *fu* writers openly bemoan. Yang Xiong, for example, “portrays the Zhanguo as a time of greater freedom for the talented scholar, who finding himself unappreciated at one court could offer his services elsewhere.” For further information, see Gong Kechang (1997); and *Hanshu* 87B.3570, 57B.2582, for explicit references to the *fu* as substitute for remonstrances for those who do not “dare” offend the emperor. In Eastern Han, justifications for indirect remonstrance multiply. I recommend a work on one sort of indirect remonstrance, the *she lun* 設論 (“hypothetical discourses”), Declerq (1998), esp. chapter 1.

33. One must not forget punishments, a subject of much discussion.

34. Mark Edward Lewis’s oft-cited notion that the Eastern Han had no conscript armies is hard to sustain in view of local realities on the ground. See Lewis (2007), pp. 138–39.

35. This happened under Shundi, in 132 CE. See *Dong Han huiyao*, 27.292. A similar story is found in Ying Shao’s *Fengsu tongyi*.

36. Balazs (1964), p. 188.

37. Here I think of the focus on punishments in the works of most advisors, including those listed by Balazs, also of the establishment of the “Nine Rank” (Jiupin zhongzheng) system, meant to secure people in their hereditary ranks.

38. *Hou Hanshu* 61.2032 (biography of Huang Qiong 黃瓊); cf. *Zhong lun* 12; Makeham (1994), p. 14. Surprisingly, Xunzi had not anticipated this problem, because he assumed that men would “grow into” their adoptive roles. That is why I do not agree with Moeller and D’Ambrosio (2017), p. 49, when they write, “If one of the Confucians’ major contributions to moral discourse in ancient China is the introduction of dual correspondence to debates on matching names and actualities, then naturally one of their biggest concerns should be falsity.”

39. In his essay “More Joy on Earth than in Heaven,” Qian Zhongshu quotes two passages from two different fourth-century CE works to “reveal the innermost thoughts of Daoists who pursue immortality.” The first is a question “Could Heaven possibly contain such happiness as is found here on earth?” and the second is a statement: “the search for immortality is actually based on attachments to the things one desires in the mortal world.” Both represent attempts to prolong one’s earthly pleasures as long as possible. See Qian’s essay translated in R. Egan (1998), pp. 332–33. The paradises of popular Buddhism were envisioned, of course, as places where the earthly pleasures could be sustained *ad infinitum*.

40 On this, see Feuillas (2011).

41. On this, see Fuller (2013), p. 329, summarizing Su Shi’s position on aesthetics and meaning.



42. Cf. Harold Bloom's assertion that most modern writers feel Oedipal urges toward their illustrious predecessors. For example, Zhu disparaged the view championed by Yang Xiong and followers that even people with the best insights can apprehend the cosmic orders or the meaning of life and death only through partial and dim intuitions (not direct knowledge), in brief flashes of insight into the Mystery (*xuan* 玄), whose contours are mainly inaccessible to human faculties. This view was common to Yang Xiong and to Su Shi, among other thinkers and writers. Zhu Xi, separating *li* 理 (inherent principle) from *qi* 氣 (material stuff) in unprecedented ways, nonetheless asserted that the sages' minds were radically intelligible to other sages, regardless of era, thereby erasing time and its inexorable passage or diminishing its consequences, at least. On Zhu Xi, see Chu Ping-tzu (1998), pp. 111-12, citing Zhu's 學聖人之道乃能知聖人之心.

43. Like a Confucian version of the Protestant Luther, Zhu Xi emphasized personal self-abnegation and self-cultivation, privileging this over social cultivation in new ways. One need not supply many examples here, but one starting place to think about these changes might be Zhu's redefinition of the hallowed phrase *shen qi du* 慎其獨, which originally meant referred, in the *Zhongyong*, to "cautious behavior in domestic social relations," rather than "caution [about one's innermost thoughts] even when one is the earlier texts' "clearly defined" and "attentive to duty." Zhu's greater emphasis on purity and reverence (*qing* 清 and *jing* 敬) in place of the earlier texts' "clearly defined" and "attentive to duty." For the former term, see Lynn (1994), p. 235. *Jing* 敬 in Han texts (including the *Documents* classic) tended to mean "attentive to duty," and not necessarily "reverent," though respect and reverence were often implied in attentiveness to duty. I am interested in Fredric Jameson's notion that introspection and autocritique are mutations of older religious practices — an attempt to work out personal salvation in the absence of any confidence in a soteriological universe. But I leave the psychology of Zhu Xi to others who are better versed in his writings. See Gardner (1990); Darrobers (2015).

44. *Zhu Xi wenji* 3,32.1243 ("Da Zhang Jingfu si" 答張敬夫四, Fourth Reply to Zhang Jingfu). The translation follows (with minor modifications) Fuller (2013), p. 337.

45. The effect of Zhu's teachings was to further the trend whereby "In general, later writers . . . shifted from a description of what they were seeing to what was in their mind's-eye." See Xiaoshan Yang (2003), p. 22, said of "later poets, like Wang Can," but an observation that is easily extended to many later men of letters.

46. Goody (2006).

47. "The Age of Anxiety," *The New York Times*, June 16, 2017, reprint of D. Smith (2012).

48. Veyne (1988), p. 33.

49. On this I have written elsewhere, in Nylan (2015b).

50. If thinkers such as Li Zehou are correct, they would be calling us, Chinese and non-Chinese, to our better natures. Generally, the early thinkers under review in this book imagined each person equipped with a "singularity" of dispositions and talents that the person brings to each individual moment, as the chapters that follow will show.





## CHAPTER ONE: COMING ATTRACTIONS

1. Malraux, (1926), pp. 75–76.
2. For the explicit analogy between healing the body and ruling the realm, see, e.g., *Shiji* 5.193: 一國之政猶一身之治.
3. Regarding methods to prolong a given pleasure, a typical citation from the period says, “The essential task in the pleasures of [sexual] play is to be slow and prolonged.” See Harper (1998), p. 438. Some serious writers on pleasure have thought the possibility of “prolonging pleasure” may be a snare and a delusion, although the idea since time immemorial has been used to induce humans to “bear much suffering.” See Qian Zhongshu (2001), vol. 12, pp. 14–18. Who is in the circle of “leaders” the rhetoric often does not specify, and the terms usually translated as “people” (*ren* 人 and *min* 民) can sometimes refer to commoners and sometimes to the ruler’s men, as commentaries to the *Documents* classic show.
4. Of course, I know that *le* appears as one of the set of the so-called Six Emotions in a standard list, as in *Xunzi yinde* 62/17/1. Note that surprise does not appear on the list, though it is frequently remarked upon. See Vankeerberghen (1995), esp. pp. 528–29. *Le* in compounds or in pairs frequently assumes the coloration of the words it is paired with, and Harbsmeier’s linguistic theories on default go a long way to explain the variations.
5. The classical masters mention a huge range of objects or commodified persons.
6. For most discussions, I will speak simply of the “heart,” for that word sufficed in classical Chinese to include the operations of both the heart and mind (as it did, coincidentally, in European discourse before Descartes).
7. For *le de* 樂德, see, e.g., *Analects* 6/9; 16/5; *Mencius* 6A/16. In another anecdote, Confucius notes that he is genuinely happy, although driven by destitution to eat wild herbs, since the only true destitution is to be without virtue; see Lewis (1999), p. 232. It is “taking pleasure in Heaven,” in goodness, or in the “Way of Yao and Shun” (three synonymous activities) that allows men such as Yan Hui, who subsist on a bowlful of rice and a ladleful of water, to remain unalterably happy (*bu gai qi le* 不改其樂) while experiencing hardships that would make life unendurable to others. For *le tian*, see *Zhouyi yinde* 40/Hsi A/4 (15). Related to these are the pleasures attendant upon hearing good advice (*Mencius* 4B.20).
8. That sort of love was probably first discussed philosophically by the Sicilian and Tuscan poets (followed by Dante), inheritors of the traditions of the Provençal troubadours. That sort of emotion is more psychological and speculative. See Shaw (2014), p. 99. Moreover, many early poems take love as a destructive passion in human life. Before Dante, the theme of love as an ennobling passion that increases human sensitivity to another person was seldom explored.
9. This list is hardly exhaustive. *Le dao* 樂道 also occurs, for example. It is predominately the relational pleasures that the noble man is said to “attend to” punctiliously.





See, e.g., *Xinshu* (ICS) 3.68.15, which would have the noble man “attend to his companions” as well as to cultivating his own person (1.2/4/9). We also find the adjectival use of *le* from earliest times, as in the *Odes* (Mao no. 113). For an early adverbial use, see *Analects* 14.13.

10. For the earlier associations, see *Xunzi yinde* 39/11/51. Cessation from fear can itself be seen as a form of enjoyment. The sages were said to fashion representations of the fearful aspects of life (wild beasts, vengeful spirits, etc.) so that ordinary men might confront them and thereafter “enjoy . . . a respite” from fear. See *Zuozhuan*, Lord Xuan, Year 3. By definition, pleasure taken to the point of excess leads to *ai*. See *Yanzi chunqiu* (ICS), 11.5.11. The problem is, desire “hacks at one’s inborn nature” and “shortens one’s lifespan” (*Hanshu* 20.2669, quoting traditions in Mao ode no. 1 and possibly the “Bensheng” 本生 chapter of the *Lüshi chunqiu*). See *Lüshi chunqiu jiaoshi* (1984), 1.21. *You* is clearly bad, except in modern New Confucian theories, such as that by Hsü Fu-kuan (1996), which makes *youhuan* 憂患 (anxiety and concern) the characteristic stance of the good person toward the faulty world.

11. See Perkins (2014), arguing against the utilitarian views ascribed to Mozi.

12. Li has graciously accepted my critique that *legan wenhua* cannot be reduced to the usual translation of “optimistic culture,” since his work describes a far more complex and potentially fulfilling scenario. “Optimism” is usually *leguan* 樂觀, anyway. See Nylan (2016b).

13. While many thinkers would speak of a “general good mood” as one type of pleasure, I do not, since a good mood does not presuppose a relational pleasure. Moreover, as noted by Hurka (2011) in chapter 1, it is “much harder to control is overall mood, because there seems to be a partly innate and partly learned temperament that strongly influences our everyday level of feeling.” Neuroscience explains mood in terms of the distribution of electrical activity in the brain, with “happy people” showing more activity in the left frontal lobe, perhaps because they have a higher level of the neurotransmitter serotonin.

14. Csikszentmihalyi (1990); D. Hall (1993).

15. As the eighteenth-century thinker Joseph Butler noted in his *Fifteen Sermons Preached at the Rolls Chapel* (1729), the pleasure often comes *after* the act, when you reflect upon it. Moral approbation and delayed gratification come in here. However, Immanuel Kant even insisted that past pleasures (memories of it) are “empty.” I usually disagree with Kant’s opinions, and here I disagree.

16. Aka “propositional attitude.”

17. Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle *seem* to say that a life full of contemplation is a better life than any other, even if it is not the most pleasant life. The Stoics and Immanuel Kant said the most virtuous life is the best life. Karl Marx thought the best life would be one in which we can freely exercise our creativity; Nietzsche, one in which we can freely exercise our will to power. See Hurka (2011), p. 5. Of course, the consequentialist argues that the “morally right act” is the one that most enhances the aggregate of welfare of all affected.” See *ibid.*, pp. 5 and 12.



18. See Wittgenstein's acid remark to G. E. Moore, which pronounced the good, the beautiful, and the true all to be philosophically incoherent, as analyzed in Edmonds and Eidinow (2001). More recently, see Chappell (2014), particularly chapter 1.

19. Aristotle (*Nicomachean Ethics* 1095a15–22) claimed that we all agree that the good is *eudaimonia*, but there is disagreement among us about what *eudaimonia* is.

20. See Parfit (1984), appendix 1: "What Makes Someone's Life Go Best," especially the final paragraph; cf. Ross (1930), chapter 5. As Hurka (2011), p. 7, writes, "Morality requires you to take some care for others, but also not to neglect one's own state." Epicurus and Jeremy Bentham, among others, would say that whatever gives you the most pleasure is the best life *for you*.

21. Ascribed to Josh Billings (d. 1885), the American humorist (aka Henry Wheeler Shaw).

22. Our academic traditions (East and West) tend to dismiss "pleasure" as a topic unsuitable for serious reflection, judging from the responses I have had across the continents when I tell people what I have been working on.

23. To answer his critics, Jefferson was not equating "happiness" with "acquiring property." He may well have drawn upon Adam Ferguson's *An Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767), which says that "if, in reality, courage, and a heart devoted to the good of mankind, are the constituents of human felicity, the kindness which is done infers a happiness in the person from whom it proceeds, not in him on whom it is bestowed; and the greatest good which men possessed of fortitude and generosity can procure to their fellow creatures is a participation of this happy character." That is because "If this be the good of the individual, it is likewise that of mankind; and virtue no longer imposes a task by which we are obliged to bestow upon others that good from which we ourselves refrain; but supposes, in the highest degree, as possessed by ourselves, that state of felicity which we are required to promote in the world." Ferguson (1980), pp. 55 and 54.

24. These are poor translations for the Greek *eudaimonia*, for example.

25. Hurka (2011), pp. 21–22.

26. For example, the French philosopher Michel Onfray would emphasize the strong ethical imperative for humans to work toward the abolition of suffering in all sentient life. Why would we think the abolition of suffering (as opposed to unnecessary suffering) is even possible?

27. On this point, see Barr (1961).

28. As Chekhov wrote in his short story "Gooseberries," "At the door of every contented, happy man, somebody should stand with a little hammer, constantly tapping, to remind him that unhappy people exist, that however happy he may be, sooner or later life will show him its claws, some calamity will befall him—illness, poverty, loss—and nobody will hear or see, just as he doesn't hear or see others now."

29. Cf. Ehrenreich (2009).



30. This is the title of the best-selling book by Daniel Gilbert. The Chinese thinkers invariably problematize good fortune won through luck, because it may easily be lost through ill luck.

31. Moore (2004). And let us not omit “stress” from the list.

32. *Lüshi chunqiu* 4.4. Perhaps the early thinkers would have agreed with Ryle (1953), who wrote that all painful sensations have a location, whereas pleasure has no “felt location.” This presents a serious challenge to the pleasure-pain dichotomy or duality.

33. For example, the excavated “Five Conducts” (“Wu xing” 五行) texts from Guodian and Mawangdui, as analyzed in M. Csikszentmihalyi (2004).

34. Similarly, the most common antonym for *xi* 喜 (short-term delight) is anger (*nu* 怒), but we also see fear (*ju* 懼), feelings of loss (*bei* 悲 or *ai* 哀), hatred or resentment (*hen* 恨)—all feelings that drain the person’s physical vitality.

35. G. E. Moore, for example, professed himself worried about “a perpetual indulgence in bestiality.” For Moore’s “Bestiality Argument,” see W. Shaw (1995).

36. As Feldman (2004), p. 23, writes, “no careful hedonist would want to maintain that *pleasant things* are intrinsically good; they want to maintain that it is the pleasure we get from pleasant things that is intrinsically good: the taking of a warm shower after being cold is hardly “intrinsically good,” though it is certainly a pleasure. In the case of early China, the *Odes* present the slogan *carpe diem* in the “Shan you shu” (Mao ode 115, “On the Mountain is the Thorn-Elm”), which says, “Why not daily strike the zither? / Daily take pleasure in joys and prolong the days, / For when you have withered and died, / Other people will take up residence in your home.”

37. Frankena (1973), p. 84. See the “Letter of Menoeceus,” in *The Epicurus Reader*, Inwood and Gerson (1994), p. 30. Epicurus disdains “the pleasures of the profligate or . . . of consumption” (*ibid.*, pp. 30–31). What we know of Epicurus consists of a few alleged quotations and some commentary written long after his death, so there is no way to confirm the accuracy of the quotations that come from the third-century CE thinker Diogenes Laertius, *The Lives of the Eminent Philosophers*, book 10.

38. See Feldman (2004), p. 4, for this summary.

39. It would be impossible to check every instance of *le* through databases, given that the same graph is also used for music. But I have been reading pleasure talk for over a decade now and looking for exceptions. I have found them to be few and far between, aside from the cases where the meaning of *le* tends to be blunted or watered down, as one graph paired with a second in a binomial expression.

40. “To grieve in joy and to enjoy grief—both bespeak a loss of heart and mind (*sangxin* 喪心),” which will prompt an early death (*Zuozhuan*, Lord Zhao, Year 25.1).

41. One early text describes it as a “correspondence between inner and outer,” which fits our expectations based on the physiological descriptions. This puzzles me, but it may





mean nothing more than that the inner response matches the external stimuli, or that the body is well-integrated and thus whole.

42. *Yi Zhoushu*, “Du xun jie” 度訓解, *juan 1, pian 1*.

43. “Anger and delight” (*nu xi* 怒喜) seem to refer to the temporary external manifestation of one’s internal reactions to an agitated flow of *qi* within the body, whereas “concern and pleasure” (*you le* 憂樂) seem to connote lingering states of the heart, mind, and body. In the *Huainan zi*, for example, it is said that “the constitution of humans is such that if something invades and violates [one’s person], one feels anger. When one feels anger, one’s blood is in full flow; when one’s blood is in full flow, one’s *qi* is aroused. When one’s *qi* is aroused, anger breaks out. When anger breaks out, then one has that which will release one’s dissatisfactions” (*Huainan zi* [ICS] 8/62/10–66/2).

44. See *Fayan* 6.12, for example.

45. As the *Zuozhuan* says, “To be prepared for both crisis and peace can be called ‘auspicious.’” See Lord Zhao, Year 5.8.

46. *Ai* 愛 also means “to spare” others, on account of one’s concern for their well-being, but that meaning seems less pertinent here.

47. Cf. *ni* 溺, “to drown in” or “be mired in” a pleasure.

48. *Shu* 舒, to cite one example, signifies the privilege of physical ease, comfort, or release that a superior enjoys in contrast to his subordinates who scurry about to do his bidding; it also is used of music swelling. Not surprisingly, the appearance of the noble man is often described by this term, but some texts allege that true virtuosity in behavior — the sign of a cultivated person — requires considerably more discipline. If carried too far, *shu* — which is often coupled with words such as *shen* 伸 (“to extend,” “uncurl,” “unfurl”) — functions as a synonym for words such as *fang* 放 or *si* 肆 (“to let loose,” “be without restraint,” “indulge”) or *huan* 緩 (“to slacken”). Ideally, one is “at ease and secure, but not casual” (安而不舒), because overcasual behavior betrays arrogant disregard of the dignity of the others, if not odious smugness. But “the noble man can also be relaxed,” according to *Liji*, 13/30 “Yu zao” 玉藻 chapter. Cf. *Huainanzi*, chapter. 13 (“Fanlun xun” 汎論訓), which describes the noble man as *butiao* 不窵 (“not puffed up” or “self-satisfied”): 舒天下而不窵. The expression *fei jiao fei shu* 匪交匪舒 goes back to the *Odes*. Certainly, the wise administrator is more often said to be lenient or magnanimous (*kuanshu* 寬舒) than indulgent (*shu*).

49. This word is routinely mistranslated as “cheerfulness.”

50. This may be the closest Chinese counterpart to the classical Greek virtue of “great-souledness” or “magnanimity.”

51. I cannot begin to list all the possible binomes here.

52. The early Chinese texts frequently specify time frames for pleasurable experiences, nearly always indicating whether a response is likely to sustain (if lasting) or consume (if brief). Presumably, the later texts take these well-established durations for granted,





because they do not tend to keep stipulating them. Equally remarkable is the trend whereby some few expressions, originally reserved for carefree, even careless activities came, by the late Western Han, to be associated with conduct associated formerly with *le*, the sublime pleasures to be had from sagely action. I have discussed this in connection with the word *wan* (“to take pleasure in”) extensively in Nylan (2011).

53. Often mistranslated as “response-reaction,” the term *ganying* does not describe a mechanistic cause-and-effect theory. See Nylan (2018), discussing an omen treatise; cf. an unpublished paper on *jingshen* by Nylan (2015c). *Gan* tends to be applied to the initial sudden encounter with a percept and *ying* with outcomes, but both *gan* and *ying* are part of the same resonating process.

54. This is a strong claim, but one that I have made earlier, in Nylan (2001c). Sivin (2016), p. 17, establishes this point by citing a line ascribed to Zeng Shen, a disciple of Kongzi. As we will see, these notions play out differently in different texts. Mencius, for example, seems to imagine a more stable basis for the person’s human nature in the four “sprouts” of goodness, whereas Xunzi, to my mind, posits greater permeability. The *Zhuangzi* idealizes those who see that this is so, as in *zhi ren wu ji* 至人無己 (1.3). For the body and its equipment as radically permeable, see Nylan (2011). The “self” or an identity is built when one internalizes social roles and imputes virtue and worth to the performance of those roles. Moeller and D’Ambrosio (2017), p. 120, speak of the “radical transitoriness and insubstantiality of all things.” I agree with the former and not with the latter, which adopts a Buddhist-inflected reading. I would also ascribe to good “Confucian” texts this notion of the permeable and changeable body.

55. That Descartes was also fascinated by this, and so his writings cannot be reduced to *cogito ergo sum*, is the starting point for Erlmann (2010).

56. Mencius famously labels “desires for food and sex” natural and necessary; see also Wile (1992), p. 44. Very few thinkers in early China, in consequence, thought that the desires and impulses can be eradicated. For example, Liu Xin specifically said that it would lessen one’s *qi* if one tried to curb one’s desires too much. See *Lunheng* 13 (“Ben xing” 本性).

57. I argue elsewhere that in the early period, the “barbarians” were not presumed to be brutes. In a paper entitled “Humans as Animals and Things in Pre-Buddhist China,” given at the “Buddhist Beasts” conference at the University of British Columbia (Vancouver) (April 20-22, 2018), I argue that human beings also have more refined *qi* (*jing qi* 精氣) than animals, for reasons that are not well explained in the early writings. In the same paper, I examine the notion of *chengren* 成人 (“becoming a fully-developed person”). This paper will be published by the conference organizers.

58. Xunzi has much to say about “governing the *xin*” 心政 in his chapter “Against Physiognomy” (“Fei xiang” 非相), *juan* 5. Ying Shao’s *Fengsu tongyi* originally contained a chapter devoted to that topic, but it is now lost.

59. Cf. the modern talk of carving neural pathways.





60. See the “Xing zi ming chu” essay, for example.

61. *Mencius* 6A/15.

62. For this reason, the feeling described as *le* combats weariness and the sense of defeat; as the proverb goes, “Pleasure forestalls a sense of bitterness.”

63. The term for leakage is *xie* 泄. Leakage is discussed in Nylan (2013). Besides the seventh chapter of the *Huainan zi*, the best source for early ideas about leakage is the first chapter of the *Huangdi neijing*, which sets out the basic premises in this passage: 恬憺虛死，真氣從之，精神內守，病安從來。是以志閑而少欲，心安而不懼，形勞而不倦，氣從以順，各從其欲，皆得所願。

64. For example, the *Yi Zhoushu* (“Xiao kai jie” 小開解 *pian*) says, “If the court’s counsels are leaked, then your own person will not be secure” (see Grebnyev 2016, p. 94). The analogy between leakages of the body and leaked secrets at court is explicit here and in the early medical treatises.

65. See, e.g., *Huainan zi* 7 (“Jingshen xun” 精神訓 chapter.)

66. Mei Cheng’s “Qi fa” (after Mair’s [1988] translation, modified). See Yan Kejun, *Quan Shanggu* . . . , 1/449, ll. 7–9. Guodian, “Zhiyi” (Black Robes), section 2.

67. “The nature of human beings is inclined to equilibrium, but wants and desires harm it.” (See *Huainan zi*, chapter 11.)

68. See *Hanshu* 27A.1318, which identifies eating and drinking outside that context as ominous. The classical masters mention a huge range of objects or commodified persons that, under the right conditions, may yield frissons of delight, including: massive palaces, terraces, or parks; fine horses and dogs; lovely women; amusing dwarfs and jesters; sumptuous clothes; exquisite foods and wines; captivating music; fine rhetoric; and baubles and luxuries (what the *Huainan zi* calls “rarities and toys, pearls and jades”). Judging from such lists, many welcome sensations were thought to entail either immediate sensual gratification or the feeling we call “pride of ownership” in first-rate possessions.

69. Hence, the *Analects*’ injunction against undue pride in *wen zhang* 文章 (“insignia of culture”), unless cultural forms be used in the service of a well-identified and worthy aim.

70. *Analects* 16/7.

71. Section 5 of the Guodian “Zi yi” chapter.

72. This is the opening argument to the *Xunzi*, “Li lun” 禮論 (“On Ritual”) chapter, *juan* 19.

73. *Hanshu* 11.1037, based on *Shiji* 24.1206.

74. This the argument upheld in the Han Feizi, “Five Vermin” (“Wudu” 五蠹) chapter, *pian* 49.

75. See *Wenzi* 文子, chapter 3 (“Jiu shou” 九守), which cites *Laozi, zhang* 12. Cf. Ge Hong, *Shenxian zhuan*, 1/4b–5a, translation after Bauer (1976), p. 106, who follows Giles (1948).

76. Cf. Sluga (2014), p. 166: “Human beings are capable of judging even when they have no such standards. But such judgments start from common prejudices, and we need to





figure out not so much how to dispel prejudices but how to build upon them to gain a better understanding of the ‘really existing current situation.’”

77. I distinguish these from modern “cost-benefit” analyses, which aim at purely financial calculations.

78. See the opening lines of “Xing zi ming chu” (ca. 300 BCE).

79. For the concept of “no ruler” or “no master,” see, e.g., *Zhuangzi, juan 2* (“Qi wu lun” 齊物論): 其有真君存焉。

80. *Han Feizi, pian* (“Wai qu shuo, B” 外儲說下), *pian 35*: 此明夫恃人不如自恃也·明於人之為己者不如己之自為也。

81. For the sake of argument or out of genuine belief, a few thinkers took the controversial stance that commoners, enjoying far fewer resources, might find it easier than those in command to choose their pleasures wisely. For instance, one extreme opinion alleged: “The people there have neither wishes nor desires. They own everything naturally. They know neither the joy of living nor the distaste for death. Consequently, they have no such thing as premature death. They know neither love of self nor detachment from others. Consequently, neither affection nor hatred exists for them. They do not turn away from others or rebel, nor do they turn toward others and obey. Thus profit and loss have no existence for them. They have nothing they love or to which they feel attached, nothing they fear or shy away from.” This “No Desires” estimate of the common folk (repugnant to many and, frankly, incredible) may originally have been formulated merely with undisciplined rulers in mind, to counteract the tenacious belief that when supplies of pleasures are finite, all people are all the more apt to struggle over them. See *Liezi* 2.13–14; translation modified from Graham (1960), pp. 34–35.

82. We know Yang Zhu only from his enemies’ accounts. By those accounts, Yang Zhu noted the paradox by which the very conventional careerist moves, designed to acquire a state of mind free of unnecessary anxiety, may sometimes cause a person to choose death or low rank, even if these acts of high courage mean the absolute cessation of pleasure.

83. Here, they strike me as far more sensible than modern Western philosophers looking for universal absolutes.

84. This adapts a saying by Alexander Pope relating “self-love and the social.” But the adaptation works for the early Chinese, so long as we understand “self-love” as “embedded love” for one’s physical person within social networks.

85. Aristotle used the same metaphor in the *Nicomachean Ethics*.

86. By 323 BCE, all the local lords who had once acknowledged the Zhou overlord had announced their intentions to unify “all under Heaven,” by assuming the titles of kings. Their belief that the wars would end and civil society be reconstituted on a new basis had spurred the pleasure rhetoric. I would, for certain historical purposes, designate 316 CE as the end of the classical period, for by that date, the old capitals of Luoyang and Chang’an had fallen to the northern seminomadic groups, along with the whole of the North China





Plain. But when it comes to innovations in the pleasure discourse, the classical period ends appreciably earlier. We begin to see much greater emphasis on control mechanisms from ca. 140 CE on, almost certainly because the empire was collapsing.

87. Mencius would have assented to the thesis that “as bats have sonar, humans have their special moral faculty.” See Nagel (1979), pp. 165–180. Cf. Crisp (2002), especially p. 57.

88. See Rosemont (2015).

89. The phrase in quotation marks is from Hurka (2011), pp. 127–30.

90. Sheldon Pollock, private communication (January 27, 2016).

## CHAPTER TWO: GOOD VIBRATIONS

1. Lehoux (2012), pp. 6–7.

2. A line in Mao Ode no. 1 says of the happy couple, “With the *qin* and *se* [or, in the manner of those two instruments] to befriend her,” emphasizing the instruments played together.

3. Readers may recall the bird song / resonance / fellowship themes in “Fa mu” 伐木 (Mao Ode no. 165), where “seeking its companion’s call” 求其友聲 becomes a refrain, and related commentaries. Xunzi’s talk of communal drinking inspires the section on community banquets in this chapter, and it will figure again in Chapter 4. Note, meanwhile, that in early Greece, music was known mainly through two performance venues: the sympotic feasts in private homes, featuring mostly flutes, and the grand choral performances sponsored by the polis.

4. Some animals, usually believed to represent the ideals of their kind (e.g., the phoenix among birds and the unicorn or dragon among beasts, as mentioned in *Fayan* 6.6), also have acute sympathetic powers, but they are exceptions and so were analogized to sages, the most exceptional form of being among people. Van Ess (2005–2006) notes that “music appeals even to animals,” as we see in the “Shundian” 舜典 chapter, *Shangshu* 2.1, with Kui 夔 as Music Master; Legge (1865–1895), vol. 2, pp. 47–49.

5. E.g., *Chuniqu fanlu* (“Tonglei xiangong” 同類相動, *pian* 57) says, “Try tuning musical instruments. The *gong* or *shang* note struck upon one lute will be answered by the *gong* or *shang* note from other stringed instruments, which sound by themselves (*ziming* 自鳴).” Cf. *Zhuangzi* 24; *Shiji* 24.1235. Modern theories would only slightly modify this statement, as noted elsewhere in this chapter.

6. On the magnet, see Needham (1954–), vol. 1. *Gui guzi* is possibly the earliest reference, but that book may date to the fourth century BCE or to Han; in any case, that text plus the *Han Feizi* have unambiguous references to the “south pointer.” Diviner’s boards by early Western Han, if not earlier, made use of magnetic properties.

7. Readers should note that I am working hard to avoid the words “self-expression,” which students of literature are apt to introduce into their readings of the early texts. I doubt that early Chinese writers were concerned with “self-expression,” and I am





sure that they did not deploy their writings to pursue such an idea. See note 16 on self-expression below.

8. The work of Martin Kern has emphasized this. However, I do not concur with Kern's assessment that *Shiji* 24 borrows from its *Hanshu* counterpart, as stated in Kern (1999).

9. For music as the mark of humanity, see the third epigram at this chapter's opening. *Liji*, "Yueji," 38.16b-17a; Legge (1865-1895), vol. 2, pp. 92-93. Cf. *Shiji* 24.1203. As Sterckx (2000), p. 30, points out, the Han or immediate post-Han *Bird Classic*, known only through a commentary by Zhang Hua 張華 (232-300 CE), states that magpies impregnate each other through the influence of tunes and cranes through the crossing or joining of sounds. Other texts mention insects buzzing or birds calling above and females impregnated below. Thus, one promised effect of music is to bring things and people into closer contact (*jiao* 交), this being the natural sign or outcome of mutual resonance and sympathy.

10. See the cycle of fifths calculation found in the *Guanzi*, as in Rickett (1998), p. 263. The calculation of twelve pitch standards may appear first in the *Lüshi chunqiu*. At least some music historians posit a possible etymological relation between *lü* 呂 (pitch) and 侶 ("to accompany"); see Falkenhausen (1993), p. 433 n.3.

11. That friends not be the same in temperament is shown in many texts, including *Hanshu* 92.3709: 操行雖異，然相親友。

12. *Liu Xiaobiao ji*, *juan* 2, item 10, "Guang juejiao lun" 廣絕交論: 心同琴瑟，言鬱郁於蘭茝；道叶膠漆，志婉變於埴麋, said of the ocarina and flute. The phrase *xin tong* 心同 is very common in the early literature, being employed twice in the *Shangshu*, once in the *Chuci*, once in the *Zhanguo ce*, and so on. Perhaps it helps that *tong* sometimes means "wine cup," according to Zheng Xuan's commentary to the *Shangshu*, because wine helps to lubricate the party.

13. For the first extension of social connections beyond the family and training in ethics via training in ritual, see *Analects* 1/2, 4-8. *Yanzi chunqiu* 2.22 calls it one's "filial duty" to be true to one's friends.

14. For zither music as an analogy for adept governing, see *Xinxu* (ICS), ("Zashi" 雜事), *juan* 2; for friendship as the "glue" binding the court and realm together, see many texts, including the *Xunzi* and Yang Xiong's *Fayan*. (The term for "glue" is "lacquer," *qi* 漆.)

15. Note that faithful service to government is not always opposed to making close friends. *Liezi* 4/23/15 has a passage describing the good life of a man plagued by illness who could not serve in government, but who could serve friends. It does not condemn the "private relation," presumably because his illness made government service impossible: 固不可事國君，交親友，御妻子，制僕隸。

16. See Hu Ying (2016), pp. 11-12: "Poetry has always been as much a means of socialized self-realization as private self-expression in the Chinese literati context. . . . In its author's expectation of an audience, a poem [in China] is thus much more like a letter or even a group letter than the Romantic image of the solitary musings of a lonely poet." See note 7.





17. Goodman (2006), p. 93, makes this point in talk of a court musician's connections with "revolutionaries and scoffers at social norms."

18. See, e.g., *Shiji* 24.1187: 樂者為同，禮者為異。

19. Judging from some Chinese texts, crossing gender boundaries was considered more "transgressive" in late imperial China than in early and middle-period China. See Andrea Goldman, *Opera and the City*, for examples. However, the picture is far from uniform. Chroniclers of other classical civilizations note their frank sexuality; see the introduction to C. Williams (2012).

20. Rouzer (2001), chapter 1.

21. *Liezi* 5.56–57 (excerpted from the fuller description of the utopian *Liezi* myth of the ideal country of Zhongbei 終北), translation from Graham (1960), pp. 102–103. The original reads 其民孳阜亡數，有喜樂，亡衰老哀苦。其俗好聲，相攜而迭謠，終日不輟音。

22. See *Kongcongzi* (ICS) 3.10 (A23b5).

23. *Jizha* in the *Zuozhuan* is said to "observe" music, as noted in Cheng Dachang (2008), *juan* 1, pp. 11–12. Here one recalls Murdoch (1993), chapter 1, which says it is human nature to posit and long for coherence, given our partial perceptions and sense of self.

24. See "Min zhi fumu," in *Shanghai bowuguan cang Zhanguo Chu zhu shu*, which speaks of "music without sound, and rites without physical expressions." This sort of paradox, once thought to appear first in Six Dynasties' "pure talk," we now can trace to much earlier times. Yang Xiong, for example, compares himself to the "The painter who would paint the formless / Or a zither player who strums to music without sounds."

25. For "primordial freshness," see *Taiping yulan*, *juan* 1795 (易是類謀); for "self-possession" in which people "realized their best selves," see *Hanshu* 75.3160–78.

26. Supposedly, "When the sages first arose, they did not know about surnames or given names. They blew on pipes and listened to the sounds and in this manner distinguished the surnames" and also, as it happens, learned who they themselves were, as the biography of Jing Fang reveals. *Zhuangzi*, chapter 2, for example, imagines the air or *qi* as moving through things via the panpipes of heaven, earth, and man, setting off all manner of sounds, but ideally in such a way that "each gets to be itself" and nothing forces the sounds' "roaring like waves, whistling like arrows, screeching, gasping, crying, wailing, moaning, howling." The *Xunzi* and commentaries to Mao Ode no. 165 insist that "from the Son of Heaven on down to the common people," every single person needs friendship and music "to complete and perfect him."

27. Hence the conventional binomial expression linking "tutor and friend." The whole process of making and keeping social contacts leaves its marks on the body, whether the social contacts are with good people or with bad. Below, there is mention of gestures made by false friends; book 10 of the *Analects* shows the postures that are suitable to the gentleman, including bowing, crawling, bending over, shrinking, and so on. As *Xunzi* 2.1 ("Xiu shen" 脩身) Hutton (2014), p. 8, says, 故君子隆師而親友，以致惡其賊。好善無厭。受諫而能戒。雖欲無進。得乎哉。





28. Note that I am trying very hard to avoid the modern language of choice, which implies more individual autonomy than I can find in early and middle-period China. There are numerous stories about this, perhaps the most famous being that where Duke Ping of Jin and Duke Ling of Wei wanted to listen to the Pushui Music, associated with the evil last king of Shang; disasters duly followed the musical performance. See *Han Feizi* (“Ten Faults” 十過). This is quoted in multiple contexts. An anonymous reader suggests that the real point of the story is that the music was arranged as pretext for an assassination attempt on Zhao Dun, but the story is extracted in Han sources, where it figures mainly to illustrate the disastrous consequences attending a misuse of musical performance pieces.

29. For the idea that whom one selects as friends is the clearest marker of whom one is as a person, see *Da Dai Liji* (“Wen Wang guan ren” 文王官人), *pian* 72. The idea is, one must be discriminating; contrarily, to have lots of friends is a sign of lack of discrimination, because one can’t really be close to that many people, not close enough to learn from them. Compare *Shuoyuan*, chapter 12. In *Lüshi chunqiu* 24/6.2 (“Gui dang” 貴當 *pian*); Knoblock and Riegel (2000), p. 621, seeing a person’s friends is judged to be better than physiognomizing him. *Lunheng* (“Lei hai” 累害), *pian* 2, says that careful selection of friends constitutes the best gauge of a person’s character. The phrase *zhi yin* (see below) is typically employed when using the sound created by a person (either the voice or with an instrument) to gauge a person’s character.

That these presumptions may have been true even in Western Zhou times is suggested by the bronze inscriptions analyzed by Maria Khayutina (1999), who writes: “the rapport between him [a person] and his *pengyou* often attracted the attention of Zhou rulers.” For “transcending the need for choice,” one might see *Fayan* 2.14, 9.4, which takes the theme of “selectivity” 擇 and plays with it. Wang Ji 王績 (d. 644), an eccentric, had described himself as “without thought or concern, lying anywhere, not choosing the spot,” invoking passages in the *Zhuangzi*.

30. See *Guliang zhuan*, Lord Zhao, Year 1: “If their hearts’ commitments are known already, but the person fails to advertise his friends’ reputations, it is the fault of the friend.” This is widely cited. *Liangshu* 27.402, has Ren Fang not even trying to hide the fact that this poem will make his friend famous (余獲田蘇之價，爾得海上之名). “I obtain a worthy as valuable as Tian Su and you get to be famous around the world.” The reference to Tian Su is from *Zuozhuan*, Lord Xiang, Year 7, as in Legge (1865-1895), vol. 5, p. 432.

31. *Analects* 1/3-7; 12/23-24.

32. *Shiji* 24.1176. The Second Emperor of Qin supposedly was especially inclined to be addicted to bad music (*Shiji* 24.1177).

33. Performance of friendship had different (and more public) venues in early China, it seems.

34. See Bagley (2000), pp. 35-64, speaking of the oldest musical bell sets. The correspondence occurs with the proportions/intervals, which derive from the physical properties





of vibrating columns of air and the circle of fifths, whereas the pitches to which these notes correspond are not fixed through time, as Robert Ashmore has reminded me. (A sixteenth-century C would be a B on today's piano.) So I speak here of what nonspecialists have noted of the early period.

35. The two senses are “glee” in the sense of high spirits and “glee” as in “glee club.” So far as we know, the two Chinese senses were never written with different characters. See M. Richter (2013), p. 41. Richter speculates (n, 16), “That an orthographic distinction between these two important words was never introduced in Chinese writing, even to the present day, is probably owing to the fact that the inseparable connection between music and the emotional response it evokes . . . plays a central role in ritual.” It is also significant that two different words were written with the same character, *sheng* 聖, in antiquity to mean “sage” and “hear” (e.g., 聽) in some early manuscripts, such as the Shanghai Museum title “Min zhi fumu.”

36. See Mote (1972), and Keightley (1993). Both tend to emphasize the gulf, whereas I do not.

37. Here one thinks of Wendell Berry's *Standing by Words* (2011), on the diminished role of the artist in modern life. Going far beyond Tipper Gore in her preoccupation with music were the conspiracy theories about A = 440 Hz, which had people claiming that the Rockefeller Foundation was making war on “free” consciousness by “imposing” standard tuning for musical pitches. For the crazies, see [www.medicalveritas.org/musical-cult-control](http://www.medicalveritas.org/musical-cult-control) or [www.thedailybeast.com/are-we-all-mistuning-our-instruments-and-can-we-blame-the-nazis](http://www.thedailybeast.com/are-we-all-mistuning-our-instruments-and-can-we-blame-the-nazis); they actually fielded a presidential candidate.

38. Henry Rosemont (private communication) has remarked repeatedly upon the gap between cultures such as that of early China, which tended to prefer to read change and process, rather than ontological fixity into the cosmic processes imitated in constructive human interactions. Cf. Sterckx (2000), especially p. 46.

39. The talk of “hazy outlines” draws upon Goodman (2006), especially p. 58.

40. Readers are urged to consult *Analects* 1/1, 1/14, 4/25, 4/26, 5/1, 5/25, 6/20, 7/16, 7/22, 7/32, 7/37, 7/38, 8/2 (where “kin” really refers loosely to “intimates,” whether kin or not); 9/12, 9/30 (on kinds of friends); 9/31, 10/22–23, 11/26, 12/5, 12/24, 13/28, 16/5, 17/25 (about generic or specific women?), 19/19, 19/23, and 19/25. See also *Analects* 13/20; 12, where friendship is “worked at” and “achieved,” rather than “fated.” Yan Hui appears as the intimate friend of Kongzi in *Analects* 2/9, 9/11, 9/20, 11/4, 11/7–11, 11/19. For taking the air and going home singing, see *Analects* 11/26; see Fingarette (1983). Similarly, there are a striking number of statements celebrating friendship in Yang Xiong's *Fayan*, beginning with *Fayan* 1.6, where the purpose of friendships is said to be “to polish oneself.” In addition, compare the nine readings of specific lines in the song “Martial” (*Wu* 武), as recorded in *Shiji* 24.1226–30, where the legendary Kongzi attributes great moral suasive power to music; also the remark ascribed to Kongzi, “For altering manners and changing customs, there is nothing like music.” (*Xiaojing* 6/18b).





41. Alexander Nehamas has noted that the vocabulary of friendship is not particularly well developed in any society, ancient or modern, so far as he knows. This point is made repeatedly in Nehamas's Gifford Lectures (2016).

42. *Shishuo xinyu* 9/48; Mather (1976), p. 262.

43. *Shishuo xinyu* 9/62; Mather (1976), p. 265.

44. *Cao Pi ji, juan 5*, "Yu Wu Zhi shu" 與吳質書.

45. Mao Ode no. 186 ("White Colt" 白駒) also couples a bundle of fresh grass (such as is used for mats) with a "man like jade" (the gentleman of superior cultivation).

46. The phrase is *xuan ta liu bin* 懸榻留賓. *Hou Hanshu* 53.1746, said of Chen Fan 陳蕃, who is quite discriminating in his choices of friends, making this intimate gesture only for Xu Zhi 徐穉 (mentioned just above) and for a second person, according to *Hou Hanshu* 66.2159. This phrase is repeated in the first anecdote included in the *Shishuo xinyu*.

47. Hence the story of Ji Kang, who purportedly repented his earlier refusal to teach a melody to Yuan Jun, with the result that at Ji Kang's execution, the melody was "no more." See *Shishuo xinyu* 6/2; Mather (1976), p. 180.

48. In the story of the Wendi's male favorite, sharing a peach is first taken as a sign of intimacy and then became a sign of lese majesté. For music as "taking pleasure in that which gives birth" to the person, see *Hanshu* 22.1043.

49. The first extant piece of notated music comes from the sixth century CE, as noted in Bagley (2004), p. 55, n.12.

50. Of course, the best musicians were supposedly blind, since this facilitated a focus on hearing.

51. Our texts, being neither unmediated speech nor transparent reflections of social practices, are not fragments of reality to be "unveiled," analyzed, and "pieced together." I myself doubt whether the phenomenon of "unmediated speech" can be said to exist, since casual speech makes so many allusions. But the term comes from Bakhtin, who distinguishes between "primary speech genres" (i.e., unmediated speech communion, e.g., "genres of salon conversations, genres of table conversation, intimate conversions among friends, intimate conversations within the family, and so on") and "secondary or complex speech genres," such as novels, scientific papers, commentaries, and so on. Schäfer (1986), is relevant here, as in C. Williams (2012), especially the Introduction. That we lack comedies like those of the Greeks and Romans is particularly regrettable.

52. See Shusun Tong's statement, given in *Shiji* 99.2722 (五帝異樂，三王不同禮).

53. Sacks (2007), p. 161, asserts that music synchronized motor responses among listeners; as "we anticipate the beat, we train ourselves to establish models or templates."

54. The *qin* and *se* are depicted by the fifth century BCE. The *qin*, which rests on the player's lap, became a seven-string fingerboard instrument sometime during the Han (it having previously been either a five-stringed or ten-stringed instrument). Typically, the Han *se* was a lute with twenty-five strings and moveable bridges. The *zheng* was a





twelve-string to sixteen-string version of the *se*; the *se* was played in a percussive manner, frequently with two hands. By Han times, the *qin* was regarded primarily as a solo instrument (potentially dedicated to exploring the possibilities of sound and the mysteries of natural law), while the *se* was used for accompaniment or as an ensemble instrument.

55. For the latter, see *Shiji* 24.1178; also Davidson (1997), esp. p. 119. Something about money has it closely associated with prostitution, enslavement, inconsequential or fleeting relations, and hence the betrayal of friendship in antiquity. See Nylan (2015), on *Shiji* 129, “Assets Accumulating.”

56. Wei Wendi also discusses friendship in the context of ruler and minister (君臣) and relations between officials “in service” and commoners (*shi shu* 士庶). See, for example, Zhou Yiqun (2010), chapter 2, especially pp. 137–47, which makes the case that these refer to quasi-kin relations of great closeness. As *Shiji* 24.1220 puts it, music is all about harmony, so that’s why there is music specific to every human relation, from ruler-subject to father-son and sibling-sibling. As Camille Villa says, “There are no lifelong friends, only friends that outlast a life” (personal communication by a Berkeley undergraduate).

57. Comparing *Shiji* 24, the “Yueji” chapter from *Liji* (*juan* 17), to the *Hanshu* “Lülue zhi,” and the *Hou Hanshu* treatises by Sima Biao (d. 306).

58. I hazard this observation, but it may just be an artifact of the texts we have at our disposal.

59. Brindley (2007), posits a transition from seeing music as a cultural phenomenon, amenable to human intervention, to seeing music as a cosmic phenomenon, not liable to human interventions. See note 110 below. Brindley argues that Han thinkers believed that if music was seen as cosmic (not man-made), then there would have to be constraints on its developments, in the sense that humans would have to conform to it and could have no role in fashioning it (p. 20). I would say instead that after the gradual conflation of the cultural and the cosmic over the course of Han, both were thought amenable to human intervention. Brindley also paints a picture whereby sounds gain in theoretical significance because the concept of *qi* as cosmic breath developed; sound was related to winds, and there was more divination by wind over time; and sound conveys authentic human emotions of dispositions. I would disagree: while the mathematic relations of musical harmony became a major preoccupation and source of wonder, musical performances were increasingly perceived as less vital to good governance and personal cultivation, which is suggested by the fact that the “perfect music” by Six Dynasties is silence. Brindley tries to posit a historical development, but there are just too few Zhanguo texts for us to posit chronological changes. One could cite the legend of Meng Jiangnü, the subject of Idema (2008).

60. Here I think of Mozi’s objections to the court musical performances, also of the small role that music plays in the Salt and Iron Debates and the decision to dispense with many court musicians during Yuandi’s reign. See *Hanshu* 9.280.

61. Here I am trying to avoid the public-private dichotomy, for it cannot be located in





the early sources; instead, we see a court-domestic family dichotomy, with the autonomous person usually pitied in the sources, rather than celebrated as a model.

62. Mencius, for example, claims that emperor Yao “befriended” 友 Shun. Contrast Hsu Dao-lin (1970–71) and Kutcher (2000), whose sweeping conclusions may hold better for late imperial China. Aat Vervoorn (2004) remarks that friendship often comes last in the lists of human relations not because it is the least important, but because it is the most advanced. To take one example, the Han-era “Sangfu *ji*” compilation expands two mourning circles in the *Yi li* “Sangfu” to include friends. Meanwhile the “Sanfu zhuan” introduces a “principle of honor” or respect or authority (*zun* 尊), which may facilitate or move in the same direction. It then relies on the notion of social roles, rather than kinship relations, to ascertain the criteria for how to mourn publicly, and it invokes the principle of being “intimate” (*qin* 親) friends or kin. The Four Rules for Mourning 喪服四制 talk of *en* 恩 (obligations due to intimacy?). In the Han era, we find less and less emphasis over time on regarding kinship as the *sole* guiding principle of social relations (as Joachim Gentz [2008a], [2010] shows), combined with a softening of the otherwise too rigid view of human relationships.

63. See Bodman (1982), figure 2 (p. 24), figure 4 (p. 25), figure 6 (p. 26). This is the so-called “Jannings *hu*.”

64. On this, see DeWoskin (1982), p. 37.

65. Ying Shao catalogued more than twenty instruments; his *Fengsu tongyi* included details about their construction and dimensions. Modern researchers rely on the standard Sachs-Hornbostel four categories based on acoustical principles. Wind instruments included the ocarina, pipes of all sorts, and mouth organs.

66. The same theories described a scale first having four and then having five tones in an octave. Bagley (2004), p. 53, n.11, notes that the tetratonic scale was popular in the ninth to seventh century BCE, but our extant sources do not mention it after the Western Zhou.

67. In Nylan (2015c), an unpublished conference paper, *shenming* 神明, is construed both as “the gods of heaven and earth” and as “divine insight,” with *shenming* the medium that permits communication between inside and outside. Some relatively late theories saw music and sound transmitted by *qi*. Divination by wind was one early form of popular divination, and certain instruments supposedly induced the arrival or dispersal of yin or yang *qi*. *Lüshi chunqiu*, 5/5.2 (“Gu yue” 古樂); Knoblock and Riegel (2000), p. 146, for example, talks of using the five-string *se* to induce yin *qi* to come, and creating the panpipes of a specific size to relieve a surplus of yin.

68. *Shiji* 24.1220.

69. The passage mentions the Ya and Song, two sections of the *Odes* classic, often translated, for better or for worse, as *Elegantiae* and *Hymns*.

70. *Shiji* 24.1202.

71. *Shiji* 24.1225.





72. The *Zhouli* 22.1b, describes music's effect in the following expression: "through playing, it moves things."

73. See Sterckx (2000), p. 38. Music Master Kuang interprets bird language, and Zhan He made predictions on the basis of oxen lowing.

74. See *Xunzi*, 19 ("Li lun" 禮論, "On Rites"): cf. *Shangshu dazhuan* 1.32–33; *Hanshi waizhuan* 1/16; Hightower (1952), translation, pp. 24–25.

75. *Hanshu* 22.1036.

76. The fullest version of this story is told in *Liezi*, 5/31/1–5, translated in Graham (1960), pp. 109–110. I have used Graham's translation as the basis here, supplementing it with material from other sources.

77. See *Hanshu* 36.1230 for the phrase 夫至音不合眾聽·故伯牙絕弦. The status implications of the latter phrase are obvious. The classical allusion to the story of Bo Ya and Zhong Ziya is explained below. *Qianfu lun* (ICS) 31 (本明忠) uses lines from the *Odes* ("calling crane in the dark; the right man harmonizes with it") to describe the search for true friends' utterances through the vehicle of sound and music. *Fengsu tongyi* 6.236, has Bo Ya visualizing a mountain, then a river.

78. This charming story is told in the "fragments" (*yiwén*) section of the *Fengsu tongyi*, entitled "Qing yu" 情遇 ("Emotional Encounters"), which was preserved in *Taiping yulan* 572.1a–1b; and *Yuefu shiji*, *juan* 60.

79. DeWoskin (1982), p. 11; *ibid.*, p. 44, continues, the five tones (*wuyin*) were not conceived as fixed pitches usually, rather as a "movable doh scale." These five relate are without fixed pitch, but with intervallic significance. *Ibid.*, p. 96, points out that tones differ from sounds in two ways: tones never occur singly; rather, they exist dynamically in graduated array, and tones are the object of intelligent apprehension, intelligent production, or both. That Jizha accurately appraises the histories and fortunes of various domains by observing the performance of music and odes associated with them (*Zuozhuan*, Lord Xiang, Year 29.13) shows that "knowing music" (*zhiyin*) is also "knowing people" (*zhiren*), for Jizha offers unerring advice to his contemporaries on how to negotiate the dangers of public life.

80. *Shiji* 24.1184. *Shiji* 24.1220 identifies music as "the [supremely] human way." The treatises on music in both the *Liji* (*Record of Rites*) and the *Shiji* (*Historical Records*) comment that animals "recognize and understand sound" (*zhi sheng* 知聲), but "do not understand tones or timbre" (*bu zhi yin* 不知音). *Liji* (Ruan Yuan ed.), 37/7b–8a; *Shiji* 24.1184 implies an ascending hierarchy of sound-tone-music. Zheng Xuan's commentary to the *Liji* expands this, but narrows the application, saying that birds and beasts "do not know the transformations into *gong* and *shang* notes." See *Liji* 37/8a (not in Legge [1885]). The above statement seems the "official line" in late Zhanguo and Han; it also seems to be the basis for the observation in an Outer Chapter in the *Zhuangzi* that a temple bird cannot appreciate ritual music (*Zhuangzi* 18.621). However, some writings suggest that animals understand



tones perfectly well. A treatise from Yinqueshan, for example, says: “If you play the *guxian* pitch, the cricket will climb into the hall” (a reference to Mao Ode no. 114). See Yates (1994), p. 129, no. 2436.

81. See Sacks (2007), pp. 268–69.

82. *Shiji* 47.1925. Compare *Analects* 9.5.

83. The instruction by the Music Master Xiang seems to have come from Han Ying’s *Hanshi waizhuan* 5.7, the collection of stories by Sima Qian’s contemporary. See Hightower (1952), pp. 167–68. Cf. *Zhuangzi*, *juan* 27; Watson, *Complete*, pp. 235–36, which says that a change came over Confucius in his sixtieth year. Note that here and below, I routinely modify Watson’s generally excellent translations.

84. *Shiji* 47.1925. “Music as what perfects one” recalls *Analects* 8/8 (the stage after the rites).

85. *Shiji* 47.1936. Another example is Jizha’s ability, when hearing the “airs” of the different states, to identify correctly the moral standing and fate of each place as recorded in *Zuozhuan*, Lord Xiang, Year 29.8. In *Kong congzi* 3.10, Kongzi was playing his lute, and Minzi analyzed it, and said to Zengzi that the quality of the music “has become gloomy and somber,” whereas before it was pure and penetrating, harmonizing and submerging in the perfect Way.” Why? Kongzi replied that he was encouraging a cat to catch a mouse, so he produced such a tone. Kongzi praised Minzi for being so sensitive to the tones produced in music; he was clearly a true connoisseur. One can tell everything about a person’s state of mind from the music he plays. Compare *Mencius* 5B/8; Lau (1970), p. 158.

86. Kawakami, et al. (2013), recounting a study in the journal *Frontiers in Psychology*, by the director of the Emotional Information Project of the Japan Science and Technology Agency (September 20, 2013). I borrow this speculation by Kawakami not because I am certain that it is true for all listeners, but because it seems to echo the Kongzi episode.

87. *Lüshi chunqiu*, 5/2.1, 2.4 (“Da yue” 大樂); Knoblock and Riegel (2000), pp. 136 and 138.

88. Langer (1957), p. 209. Of course, Langer’s notion of music does not correspond to the full range of musical experiences in early China, as signified by *le*, since that includes musical spectacles and dance. Picken (1977), p. 109, writes, “It must be emphasized that the fundamental and most distinctive characteristics of music are neither modal nor rhythmic . . . but formal.”

89. *Lüshi chunqiu*, 6/3.5 (“Yin chu” 音初); Knoblock and Riegel (2000), pp. 162–63. The final line reads 正德以出樂·和樂以成順·樂和而民鄉方矣, conflating the people’s following the man of virtue with their being attracted to the right, because his music is harmonious. Of course, the music can effect good only if the person making it has already cultivated his character, as the passage insists at the point of ellipsis.

90. On this, see Nylan and Wilson (2010), chapter 1.

91. See Henricks (1983), pp. 86–87; R. Egan (1997). The piece is mentioned in *Shishuo xinyu*, *juan* 36. This belief then is attributed to the analysis of a person’s writings. Note the tie-in with the title of the essay ascribed to Ji Kang. See also Ji Kang’s inquiry into musical



aesthetics in an essay on *qin* (zither) playing, which is the subject of Robert van Gulik's (1941) translation and study; numerous passages in the *Wenxin diaolong* discuss this topic.

92. *Shangshu dazhuan* 1.33; *Hanshi waizhuan* 1/16; Hightower (1952), p. 24. For spirits conjoin, see *Hanshu* 30.1723.

93. Significantly, *Shiji* 24 puts music first and rites second, pp. 1187–88 and 1191; cf. Sacks, pp. 268–69. *Shiji* 24.1177 says: “The movement of a human heart is caused by things. Being moved by things, it moves, and therefore it takes shape in sound. Sounds respond to one another, and hence is born the *bian* 變 (aural changes). When *bian* complete a piece, this we dub a ‘sound.’ When sounds are ranged side by side, this we deem to be ‘music.’ And when shields and feathered pennons are added, this we call ‘musical performance.’” The *Shiji* adds to this the observation that different tones in the music incite the heart to feel pleasure, delight, anger, sorrow, plus incorruptibility (*lian*) and balance. “These six predispositions are not part of the human nature. A person is moved by things and later is motivated to act. For this reason, the sage-kings are careful about the means by which one moves a person.” (*Shiji* 24.1179). *Shiji* 24.1186 clarifies Sima Qian's meaning: “When they are moved by things and motivated to act, that is the demeanor [i.e., the external visible manifestation] of that basic human nature. Things arrive at [the body's surface, and so are perceived], one uses knowledge or consciousness to assess them, and only afterward do likes and dislikes take form in it [the heart].”

94. This may explain why Sima Qian's masterwork includes two separate treatises dealing with music, rather than lumping rites and music together, in the fashion of most later standard histories. The *Hanshu* treats music and rites together, somewhat subordinating musical performance to the rites. However, the *Hanshu* treatises include a single treatise devoted to the technical/mathematical aspects of music (along with the calendar).

95. *Liji*, 17.15 (“Yue ji” 樂記 chap): 唯樂不可以為偽, quoted in *Shiji* 24.1214.

96. See *Fayan* 4.12; cf. *Fengsu tongyi* 3.7 (“Yan li” 愆禮 chapter), which quotes the *Odes* in support of this view. *Xunzi* 27.89; Hutton (2014), p. 313, says that from the noble man on down to the common people, not a one but needs friendship to complete and perfect him. Nearly the same claim is made for music by Xunzi. See Mao Ode no. 165 (“Fa mu” 伐木). See also, for the powerful civilizing effect of music, Ban Gu's “Eastern Capital Rhapsody,” in *Wen xuan*, Knechtges (1982), vol. 1, p. 167. Cf. *Hanshu* 22.1070, for the belief that performance of the rites and music was crucial to perfection in “mastering the Way.”

97. In early and middle-period China, I contend, “cultivation” generally meant “social cultivation,” whereas with the Buddhists and Southern Song Neo-Confucians, cultivation primarily referred to internal and private processes.

98. Ji Kang, “Qin fu,” *Ji Kang ji jiaozhu*, *juan* 2.83.

99. *Shishuo xinyu* 2.62; Mather (1976), p. 64. The last subclause is implied by the Chinese phrasing and added to make sense of the translation. However, Su Shi in reading these lines took them to mean that there was a surfeit of emotion, which was excised by the practice.





I have omitted the paradoxical conclusion of the anecdote here. It says, “I always fear the young ones will detect this [my use of music for the private, psychological purpose of venting my sadness], and so spoil the zest in this pleasure.” Robert Ashmore (private communication, May, 2017) takes it that the younger generation will have their delight spoiled, whereas Mather (2002) takes it that Wang fears that *his* zest for pleasure will be spoiled.

100. See Liu Chengzhi’s letter to Sengjiao, quoted in A. Richter (2015), p. 98. One might also refer to Zhao Zhi’s famous letter to his cousin Xi Fan, from whom he is parted by great distances. For the “weariness of longing,” see Xiao Yi’s letter to the Buddhist monk Liu Zhizhang (458–552), quoted in *ibid.*, p. 103, or Xiao Gan’s letter to Xiao Ziyun, quoted in *ibid.*, p. 121.

101. *Wen xuan*; Knechtges (1982), vol. 3, p. 317. The zithers are *qin* and *se* 琴瑟, with different numbers of strings (the *qin* having fewer). Most writings suggest that the *se* refers to instruments with movable bridges and *qin* refers to those that are “fretless,” without them. However, it is not clear that these two characters always had these meanings, nor is it possible to determine which came first. *Shishuo xinyu* includes a number of anecdotes about whistlers, many of whom are skilled in social repartee; see Mather (2002), pp. 52, 354–55, 406, 423, 429 (items 1/40, 18.1, 23/17, 24/1, 24/14). Ruan Ji was doubtless the most famous whistler; Xie Wan meanwhile showed that whistling could signify rudeness and arrogance, rather than the insouciance of the fine gentleman.

102. See the *Yi Zhoushu huijiao jizhu* (“Da Wu” 大武), p. 106, which characterizes *qi* 戚 (kin, quasi-kin, “intimates”) as relations vital to governing (*zheng* 政). “Intimate friends and allies” are specifically listed as one of the four categories of *qi*. Cf. the “Da kai wu jie” 大開武解, p. 263, which Liu Shipai specifically relates to the “Da Wu” passage, saying that *guan tongshi* 官同師 (= 同門) is a gloss for *peng* 朋 (“allies in the same office,” where *shi* almost certain refers to bureaucratic patrons or bosses, rather than ordinary teachers).

103. *Xunzi jijie*, 20/462. I am aware of the controversy over whether Xunzi is the real author of the treatise on music now included in his collected works, as doubted in Itano (1960). I do not find Itano’s arguments convincing, however. Worse are those by Alexandrakis (2006), because she seems to state that Xunzi, unlike Plato, ignored what she called the “form” of music (rhythm, cadence, harmony, and so on), which she terms “objective” structures, in an exclusive focus on the emotional content of the music, which she relates to the sensual and subjective. This is a disappointing misreading of Xunzi, if ever there was one. As for the dating of the Shiji “Treatise on Music,” see note 8 (above) for this chapter; also note 104 (below).

More similarities than differences can be found in Plato’s notion of physical culture (mainly dancing and wrestling) and in Xunzi’s notions, because Plato’s notions concern “the presentation of works of poetical inspiration with the care of the preservation of dignity and decorum . . . which aims at physical fitness, nobility, and beauty, insures an appropriate flexion and tension . . . endowing them all with the grace of movement which is,





incidentally, extended to every form of dance and pervades all intimacy.” Moreover, Plato, like Xunzi, says that “rhythm and harmony find their way to the inmost soul and take the strongest hold upon it, bringing with them and imparting grace . . . because omissions and the failure of beauty in things badly made or grown would be most quickly perceived by one who was properly educated.” Also, “the standard by which music should be judged is the pleasure it gives . . . . We may take it that the finest music is that which delights the best men, the properly educated.” See Plato, *Laws*, 795; *Republic*, 401d–e and 658e–659c. The *Xunzi* makes the case in the “Xiu shen” chapter that “when one sees the good/a good, a person will always tidy himself up and become decorous in the attempt to preserve this in his own person.” See Yang Liang’s commentary to *Xunzi jijie*, *juan 2*, p. 20.

104. Originally, the phrase *zuo yue ze* 作樂者 may have referred to the sage-kings’ institution of music (hence my “devise”), but I would argue that the adverb *fan* (“in general”) broadens the statement to all men of charismatic virtue who reproduce the same effect (hence my “participate in”). Hans van Ess (2005–2006), p. 51, citing this passage, concurs, because he translates it as “Generally speaking, to make music. . . .” He translates *jie* 節 as “restrain,” rather than “modulate,” its meaning in music. I am aware that some believe this treatise from which this statement is drawn to be a later pastiche, rather than an original early first-century BCE work, but, on other grounds, I believe the *Shiji* “Treatise on Music” to be *mainly* an earlier work its *Hanshu* counterpart.

105. *Shiji* 24.1176. Storr (1992) stresses that the primary function of music is collective and communal, to bring and bind people together. Sacks (2007), pp. 166 and 380, concurs, noting that the rhythm is internalized identically. He characterizes the rhythm as “primal” and “restorative” (p. 382).

106. Music was said to be “spellbinding” for the listeners, as well as for the throngs in the extrasocial world.

107. Sima Qian identifies the heart of music in *Shiji* 24.1204 and 24.1219.

108. This downgrading may have come in response to the protests lodged against the wasteful Bureau of Music (*yuefu*). For more on these protests, see Loewe (1974), chapter 6, pp. 193–210.

109. Similarly, in the fifth-century CE compilation of the *Hou Hanshu* ascribed to Sima Biao (d. 306), no separate treatise focuses on music, aside from the technical/mathematical aspects of music (discussed along with calendrical matters), though lengthy treatises in several *juan* on rites and on sacrifice appear in that same work. There is no evidence that most treatises were written by professionals; the readership for the ever more abstract theories, with rare instances, would have been “informed gentleman” with broad interests, rather than professional musicians or specialists. A smattering of impressive phrases, a sprinkling of difficult numbers—that was enough to establish the bona fides of the writers of treatises on music.

110. A second *Hanshu* treatise, this one devoted to pitch standards and the calendar, like so many self-conscious classicizing works, focuses on the precise numerological ratios





for the musical and celestial harmonies (*Hanshu* 21A.956–959). In a fairly long passage, the treatise relates the Yellow Emperor's order to a certain Ling Lun to acquire bamboo from the shady side of the paradisiacal Mt. Kunlun so that this magical stuff could be fashioned into the first pitch, the Yellow Bell, the basis for the other pitch standards. That one bell's proportions then generated the other pitch standards by a simple mathematical formula, with each contributing in its turn to the appropriate growth of the myriad things. The musical pitches therefore partake at once of the man-made realm, given their invention by extraordinary culture heroes, and of the macrocosmic order, over which now yin and now yang *qi* reigned in symmetrical alternation. See Ho Pengyoke (1996).

In the *Hanshu* account, all musical, mathematical, and astronomical computations derive from the number nine, the “number of the Yellow Bell,” it being nine *cun* long or ninety *fen*. *Cun* 寸 is often translated “inches,” while *fen* 分 here refers to the ten subdivisions of the inch.

111. Several of the early classicizers (e.g., Yang Xiong) were famously tone-deaf. Another possibility is that music was too implicated in the “false classicism” of the usurper Wang Mang and his adviser, Liu Xin, or both. The Music Bureau was supposedly “revived” under Wang Mang, who purportedly backed the restoration of antique rites and music. See *Hanshu* 22.1031–34. Nylan and Vankeerberghen (2015) provides details.

112. *Hanshu* 11.1037; copied directly from *Shiji* 24.1206, judging from today's sources.

113. *Hanshu* 22.027. The relevant phrases are *xiang tiandi* 象天地 and *tong shen ming* 通神明. The term *shenming* in Han-era Chinese has two distinct meanings: the gods of heaven and earth, the cosmos, and “divine insight,” as in *Fayan* 8.12, where it describes Confucius.

114. *Hanshu* 22.1027. Apparently, less emphasis came to be put upon music as natural inducement to goodness and more on the necessity for constraint.

115. *Hanshu* 22.1028: 和親之說難形，則發之於詩歌詠言，鐘石箏弦。“Hard to form or shape” is my translation for *nan xing* 難形.

116. See Yang Liang's commentary to *Xunzi* in *Xunzi jijie*, *juan* 1, p. 12, which speaks of *zhong he yue* 中和悅.

117. Many *Shiji* stories, beginning with the “Basic Annals of the Five Emperors,” draw upon earlier literature where music masters act as chief advisors at court. For the first such story in *Shiji*, which cites the “Yao dian” 堯典 chapter of the *Shangshu*, see *Shiji* 1.39.

118. *Hanshu* 22.1073 and 30.1756.

119. See *Hanshu* 22.1031–33. See Loewe (1974), chapter 6, pp. 193–210, for the controversies in late Western Han regarding the Bureau of Music. The virtues of silence are supposedly described by Kongzi in the *Liji*: “When there is music without sound, there is no [inappropriate] movement of the spirit or willing opposition to it . . . . When there is music without sound, it is daily heard in the four quarters of the kingdom,” translation after Legge (1885), vol. 1, p. 280, for the *Liji*.





120. Lovers of Jane Austin will recall that Lady Catherine says her daughter would be a fine musician, if only she had ever tried to play.

121. For *Yanshi jiaxun* 19.11 (p. 354); Teng (1968), p. 205.

122. Jizha in *Zuo* is described as “observing music” (*guan le*), i.e., musical spectacles, as noted in Cheng Dachang (2008), *juan* 1, pp. 11–12.

123. See Bagley (2005), esp. p. 41. Cf. Lee (1979), p. 16.

124. *Xunzi* 20.1; Hutton (2014), p. 218.

125. *Xunzi* 19.10; Hutton (2014), p. 209: 損有餘·益不足. To add to deficiencies and subtract from superfluities is the goal of all action, as noted in *Laozi*, section 77. As *Zuozhuan*, Lord Zhao, Year 20.8, says: “Harmony is like broth. Water, fire, vinegar, meat juice juices, salt, and plum are used to boil fish and meat. They are then cooked with firewood, and the chef harmonizes and levels [the taste]. He adds to what is lacking and dilutes what is in excess. The superior man eats it [the product] to still his heart.” Note, however, that “harmony” with the One is quite a complicated concept in China, not just a unitary impulse. For *he er bu tong*, see note 11 above. As experts in the “Zhongyong” know, harmony (*he*) is a central concept in the “Zhongyong,” where it apparently refers to a remarkable balance and attainment of the Way that is projected outward into the realm from an inner equilibrium in social relations (天下之達道也), which nourishes all phenomenal existence. For further information, see Nylan and Wilson (2010), pp. 100–137.

126. Hence Xunzi’s objections to Mozi, which are one of the subjects of Xunzi’s essay “On Music.” *Xunzi* 20.1; Hutton (2014), pp. 218 and 221. Later in the chapter, he describes music as what can “penetrate to the root and encompass/exhaust all change.” See *Xunzi* 20.5; Hutton (2014), p. 223. The *Lüshi chunqiu* chapter entitled “Great Music” (Da yue 大樂) is also preoccupied with unity and integrity as the basis for the health of the body and body politic. One may consult Knoblock and Riegel (2000), pp. 136–39 (*juan* 5) for details.

127. Shakespeare, *Troilus and Cressida*, scene 3, “Before the Grecian Camp.”

128. An anecdote recorded in the *Guanzi* made this abundantly plain. Duke Huan of Qi was admiring his bell chime in the company of his minister Guan Zhong and commented on how pleasing the bells sounded. Guan Zhong responded that music is pleasing only when a state is well governed, but in a state such as Duke Huan’s, in which government was neglected, the sound of bells was sad. Duke Huan approved of this rather audacious speech. Drawing a sword, he cut the silk ropes holding the bells and chimes so that they fell to the ground; he immediately embarked on a comprehensive program of government reform that brought peace and stability to his realm. Only after Guan Zhong approved his governance did he order that the bells and chimes be reinstalled in their frames and remark that at last it was possible to take pleasure in music. See Rickett (1985), pp. 350–51.

129. *Xunzi* 20.5; Hutton (2014), p. 223.

130. In this way, music can be analogized to the *jingshen* (refined spirit) in humans, and that may explain the extraordinary effect of musical performance on animal behavior and





human conduct. Sterckx (2000), p. 35, describes a world “stratified according to the receptiveness of each . . . category [of being] to the performative effects of musical melody.”

131. *Xunzi* 20.4; Hutton (2014), p. 222.

132. *Xunzi* 20.1; Hutton (2014), p. 219.

133. “Yue ji,” translation modified slightly from DeWoskin (1982), epigram.

134. *Lüshi chunqiu* 5/4.3; Knoblock and Riegel (2000), pp. 143–44.

135. For each age producing its own music, see *Lüshi chunqiu*, 5/5 (“Gu yue” 古樂 chapter); for each month having its own music, see *Lüshi chunqiu*, 6/2 (“Yinlü” 音律 chapter).

136. *Lüshi chunqiu* 6/4.1 (“Zhi le” 制樂); Knoblock and Riegel (2000), p. 163.

137. This theory is articulated in full in the early sixth century CE, when the *Wenxin diaolong* was compiled.

138. Goodman (2006), p. 60.

139. Such as Ban Gu’s systematizing account, or Zheng Xuan’s portrait of the distant past, much of which is questionable, as recent studies have shown.

140. At the court of Cao Cao, the singing of the *Odes* verses was not considered “high music,” but low. See Goodman (2006), p. 72 n.39. Goodman’s essay mentions disputes over casting bells, while Bagley (2000) leads one to consider that early disputes may have focused on choosing precast bells. Of course, different pronunciations and transcriptions may have been reserved for materials specifically relating to the Classics as the common cultural coin of the realm.

141. See Wilhelm (1978), p. 124 and p. 130 nn.9–10; cf. Loewe (1974), chapter 6. Musicians at the time of Han Wudi (r. 141–187 BCE) played pieces they ascribed to Shang along with the latest Zheng airs, seeing little distinction between the two.

142. Huan Tan, cited in Pokora (1975), entries 51 and 122 (corresponding to *Taiping yulan* 15.11b, 565.5b). Both Yang and Huan served as libationers for a *Music Classic* of some sort when Wang Mang was in power.

143. Shusun Tong followed Qin rituals. Wudi’s music for strings and winds borrows popular songs; Cao’s “errors” in using popular tunes were “corrected,” according to the *Wenxin diaolong*, by Fu Xuan (217–278), Zhang Hua (232–300), and Du Kui (fl. ca. 180–255). See Shih (1970). Xu Gan’s (171–218) *Zhong lun* said much the same. See Makeham (2002), pp. 89–93 and 155.

144. *Hanshu* 22.1044 gives several examples.

145. After the discovery of the Jixian texts, however, some talked of restoring such a classic on the basis of the excavated manuscripts. I am indebted to Cameron Moore (personal communication) for this information.

146. *Hanshu* 22.1075. Among the reformers named in the Treatise are Jia Yi, Dong Zhongshu, Wang Ji, Liu Xiang, and others. For the generally laudatory approach taken by the *Hanshu*, see Clark (2008).

147. The Jin court succeeded the “restored” Shu-Han dynasty. For this, see Goodman (2006), especially p. 66; also C. Egan (2010), p. 69. Goodman (2006), p. 67, notes the





musicologists' concern with "earlier" precedents, which resulted in frequent name changes for pieces.

148. See, e.g., *Hanshu* 22.1033, reporting the find of a set of chimestones under Chengdi (r. 33–7 BCE).

149. "Ancient" can mean as recently as "the Qin dynasty," if we're talking about Han. See *Shiji* 24.1175, for one example.

150. See Mittag (1993), esp. p. 204; Laurence Picken dated these melodies back to Tang, but other specialists date them to Song (i.e., the very recent past for Zhu). The character used for the drinking ceremony, *xiang* 饗, shows two men, face to face, eating, and (probably) listening to music, as does the phrase 饗酒, which merely adds the "wine." This is how oracle bone inscriptions and Western Zhou specialists explain it, at any rate, according to Professor Zhu Yuanqing (Fudan), at the Princeton *Shangshu* conference, May 18, 2013.

151. The gradual transition from bell to string culture apparently entailed a shift from an emphasis on absolute pitch standards to a focus instead on the intervals associated with the extramusical numerology of the calendar and astronomy.

152. Note that the term for "soundless music" dates back to ca. 300 BCE, though it is rare, one early citation to the *Laozi* coming from the Heshang gong commentary, not the base text. See note 121 above for parental concerns that musical performances for the court might lower the status of members of the governing elite.

153. *Shiji* 24.122–24. Initially Zheng and Wei were hardly the only places to be accused of producing debauched music, though eventually, "Zheng and Wei" became a shorthand for "morally suspect music." Sima Qian, for example, after explaining the particular weakness of Wei music (too fussy, effeminate, and weak), identifies two other kinds of bad music, that from Song (too tied up with banqueting and singing girls) and from Qi (too brash and arrogant). Ban Gu's *Hanshu*, given the proliferation of anecdotes on the subject of music, adds to the previous list of sources of bad music the tunes from Sangjian, Pushang, and Zhao, saying they are all famously bad. See *Hanshu* 22.1042. For Pushang music, see, e.g., *Shiji* 24.1235–36.

The excoriation for the tunes from Zheng and Wei, probably comes from Kongzi's statement "Upon my return to Lu from Wei, I fixed/corrected (*zheng*) the music, so that the Ya and Song each got their place" (quoted in *Hanshu* 22.1042). Of course this same statement could have been used to say that the music of Zheng and Wei eventually was superior to the music from the other states. Lord Wen of Wei was said to "love antiquity" (*haogu* 好古), but he quickly fell into a stupor whenever he heard ancient music, according to *Hanshu* 22.1042. Given the strong sense of the regional differences, the Bureau of Music preserved local songs from Zhao, Dai, Qin, and Chu, under Li Yannian and Han Wudi, as noted in *Hanshu* 22.1044.

154. As Mittag (1993), p. 208, notes, in his writings, Zhu Xi says nothing about singing the *Odes*, though he wanted his disciples to "read them thoroughly" (*shudu* 熟讀) and to recite (*fengsong* 諷誦) them.





155. Zhang Huang (1527–1608), like Zheng Qiao, hypothesized that the musical aspects of the *Odes* were forgotten as soon as the *Odes* became the subject of scholastic disputation. Academicians argued over lyrics, because they knew nothing about music. See Zhang’s “Yue yi shengge wei zhu yi,” in *Tushi Bian* 圖書編 (Siku quanshu, vol. 972), 115/34a.

156. I refer to the fall of the northern capitals at Chang’an and Luoyang in 311 and 316 to the barbarians, which left the entire North China Plain under foreign occupation.

157. See Zhu Xi’s *Shi jizhuan*, commentary on Mao Ode no. 1.

158. Modern neuroscience concurs. “More than a decade ago, our research team used brain imaging to show that music that people described as highly emotional engaged the reward system deep in their brains — activating subcortical nuclei known to be important in reward, motivation and emotion. Subsequently we found that listening to what might be called “peak emotional moments” in music — that moment when you feel a “chill” of pleasure to a musical passage — causes the release of the neurotransmitter dopamine, an essential signaling molecule in the brain.” See Zatorre and Salimpoor (2013).

159. Social cultivation was thought to be achieved after the daily practice of personal cultivation in domestic settings.

160. Beecroft (2010), p. 347, notes that this is the contention of the “Yueji” (“Record of Music”) chapter in the *Liji*. Nora (1989), p. 9, says much the same: that while “history binds itself strictly to temporal continuities, to progression and to relations between things,” memory “takes root [only] in things, in the concrete, in spaces, gestures, images, and objects.” One might compare the preface to the *Odes*, in *Wen xuan* 45/21a, which says that nothing can compare to music in “correcting the outcomes of human action, moving Heaven and earth, and influencing spirits.”

161. *Shiji* 24.1221. On this, see Wong (2015).

162. *Shiji* 24.1214.

163. Roland Barthes, “Listening,” cited in Erlmann (2010), p. 21 n.28.

164. Herbert Fingarette, in conversation with me, on May 4, 2017. Compare *Analects* 3/23 (said of the ideal music of antiquity): “Their music, in so far as we can find out about it, began in strict unison. Soon the musicians were given more liberty, but the tone remained harmonious, brilliant, consistent, right on to the close.” See also Brindley (2012), p. 149.

165. Schopenhauer spoke of the “dissolution of individuation” in aesthetic experience. See Schopenhauer (1819), esp. sections 31–34. (Because the Chinese does not valorize individuation to the same degree, I use language close to his, but registering a difference.)

166. Cf. August Wilhelm Schlegel’s new understanding of rhythm, as recounted in Wellmann (2017), p. 20 n.28.

167. For Derrida’s reading, see the section “Tympan,” in Erlmann (2010), pp. 47–68, especially p. 60.

168. *Jiaoshi Yilin*, “Tong ren” 同人 verse: 同人·所受大喜·福祿重來·樂且日富.

169. An essay on the *qin* from Eastern Han (Yan Kejun, *Hou Han wen*, *juan* 15), uses the



phrase *guzhe shengxian wan qin yi yang xin* 故者聖賢玩琴所以養心. *Shiji* 24.1220, possibly citing *Xunzi*, says, “When ruler and subject, superior and subordinate, join together to hear music performed at the ancestral shrine, each and every one will be feeling harmonious and reverent. When old and young join together to hear music performed at the lineage temples and village centers, each and every one will be feeling harmonious and accommodating.” *Shiji* 24.1206 says, “The [sages’] music joined with the harmony of the *qi* of life.”

170. This language is borrowed from Lehoux (2012), p. 178, with slight modification (changing “will” to “can”). Lehoux (2012), p. 199, writes: “Harmony was, it seems, a very good explanation for a very broad range of phenomena, uniting the highest good with the highest rationality: cosmos, god, soul, happiness, and ethical duty. What more could anyone ask of an explanation?” The whole of Lehoux (2012), chapter 8, “Dreams of a Final Theory,” has aided my thinking.

171. One might compare the comment made by Jane Brody (2017): “Dozens of studies have shown that people who have satisfying relationships with family, friends, and their community are happier, have fewer health problems, and live longer.”

172. Bagley (2000), p. 61.

173. Girolamo Fracastoro’s *De sympathia*, translated in Erlmann (2010), p. 45. As this book was going to press, *The New York Times* published an article on the neural similarities found in close friends. See Natalie Angier, “You Share Everything with Your Bestie. Even Brain Waves” (April 16, [www.nytimes.com/2018/04/16/science/friendship-brain-health.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/16/science/friendship-brain-health.html)). See also Natalie Angier, “Why We’re So Nice: We’re Wired to Cooperate,” *New York Times*, July 23, 2002 ([www.nytimes.com/2002/07/23/science/why-we-re-so-nice-we-re-wired-to-cooperate.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2002/07/23/science/why-we-re-so-nice-we-re-wired-to-cooperate.html)).

174. According to the *Lüshi chunqiu*, 14/2.1 (“Ben wei” 本味); Knoblock and Riegel (2000), p. 309, “the transformations within the cauldron are quintessential, marvelous, refined and delicate (精妙微纖). The mouth cannot express this in words; the mind cannot illustrate it by analogy.” There the cauldron probably stands for community.

175. *Shangshu* (“Yueming” 說命下), paragraph 1 in the received version (not the “found” manuscript in the *Tsinghua corpus*); Legge (1865–1895), vol. 2, p. 259. Here, the one close friend is a ruler, who seeks to learn from his friend and advisor, a minister.

176. Here, I think of Yi-fu Tuan (1977), writing on “space,” to which he imputes three meanings: the physical space where things happen, the relation between “air”/ empty space and place, and the scope of personal experience. A person must use perceptions (taste, smell, sight, touch, hearing) to experience these things, and the person’s perceptions will be affected or colored by his or her sense of history (imagination about lived experiences). Both music and friendship relate to all three types of space, it seems to me.

177. It does so partly because siblings are held to be *you* (“intimate friends” or “amiable”) in several of the *Odes* and in *Analects* 2/21.

178. Murdoch (1993), p. 496.



179. Waley (1918), p. 5, wrote, “To the European poet, the relation between man and woman is a thing of supreme importance and mystery. To the Chinese, it is something commonplace, obvious—a need of the body, not a satisfaction of the *emotions*. These he reserves entirely for friendship.” A host of poems and letters give the lie to this broad generalization, including Pan Yue’s (d. 300) deeply moving “In Mourning for My Dead Wife”; Lu Ji’s “Fu on Lamenting the Departed”; and the lament for a dead husband, in *Wen xuan*, translated in Knechtges (1982), vol. 3, pp. 177 and 183–92. Still, this chapter seeks to describe in more general terms what was said of close friendships of the deeply affective type.

180. *Hou Hanshu* 67.2217 and 68.2227.

181. Seneca, in Pakaluk (1991), p. 122. Of course, Seneca’s view did not tally with that of many others, even in his own time. See C. Williams (2012), chapter 1.

182. Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1155a4–6. Cicero holds similar views when he states “that without friendship life is not worth living.” See Cicero, *De amicitia*, in Pakaluk (1991), p. 110 (Hackett). For Aristotle, “complete friendship is the friendship of good people similar in virtue,” and people “remain friends if they have similar characters and come to be fond of each other’s characters.” See *Nicomachean Ethics* 1156b7–8 and 1157a11–12. Maria Khayutina says that the Western and Eastern Zhou inscriptions attest that “men suffered if they were not well understood.” Her unpublished paper cites several of the Odes.

183. See Picken (1977).

184. See Nehamas (2016), lecture 3. Below, I give a selection of “severing relations” pieces. Each selection, in attempting to justify the break, offers such vague portraits of the once idyllic friendships that it seems to confirm the sheer impossibility of specifying in any precise or predictable way the original basis for strong attractions.

185. Some would try to label certain stories Confucian, Daoist, or Legalist. This sectarian view of the distant past is anachronistic.

186. Much of this synopsis of the relations between Guan Zhong and Bao Shuya draws heavily upon Eric Henry’s (1987) superb summary of the legends, which could not be bettered. Other early tales of friendship that are clearly not between relatives come from the *Zuozhuan* include Lord Xiang, Year 26.10, which recounts the friendship between Wuju 伍舉 and Shengzi 聲子, whose fathers were “you,” and Lord Ding, Year 4.3, which talks of the close friendship between Wuju’s descendant, Wu Zixu 子胥, and Shen Baoxu 申包胥. Clearly, the possibility of close relations existed between nonkin persons by Chunqiu times. I thank Li Wai-yee and Maria Khayutina for directing me to these stories.

187. Zichan of Zheng was also famous, but his state was puny compared with Qi.

188. *Analects* 17/7.

189. *Analects* 3/22, for example.

190. *Hanshi waizhuan* 4.3; Hightower (1952), pp. 125–26. Of course, Guan Zhong’s influence over Duke Huan was never doubted. Still worse, according to *ibid.*, was that of Wu Zixu’s loyalty to Fu Chai.





NOTES

191. See *Guoyu*, “Qi yu,” *juan* 6, item 1; also *Zuozhuan*, Duke Zhuang, Lord 9.

192. My circumlocution, since different editions have “princes” or “common people” for those to whom Guan Zhong is attached.

193. *Hanshi waizhuan* 10/2; Hightower (1952), p. 319.

194. *Liezi* (SBBY), 6/3b–6a. I am indebted to the superb article, Henry (1987), for many of these references.

195. Cf. Sima Qian’s remark in his “Letter to Ren An,” which is the subject of Durrant, et al. (2016).

196. *Hanshi waizhuan* 7/24; Hightower (1952), p. 247, translation modified.

197. See *Xin lun*, cited in Yan Kejun, 13/5a–6a; Pokora (1975), pp. 16–18, translation modified.

198. *Ibid.*

199. Hui Shi supposedly drafted the state laws on behalf of King Hui of Wei. See *Huainan zi*, chapter 12.

200. *Wu* (literally “not having”) is often (mis)translated in the pre-Buddhist context as “nonbeing”; in early cosmogonic texts, it refers instead to whatever is “formless” or invisible, whereas *you* (literally “having”) refers to visible things and relations, people and events.

201. My translation here follows closely the translation of *Zhuangzi*, *juan* 6, offered by Watson, *Complete*, pp. 48–49, with some abbreviation by me.

202. Zhang Hanmo (2012) disputes the authenticity of the letter, along with *Shiji* 130, but his reasons for doing so are not compelling. My own view is that the letter is a work of literary improvisation, but attempts at this late date to determine which scenario is true are probably doomed to failure, and this is not a terribly interesting question anyway. For further information, see Durrant, et al. (2016).

203. Sima Qian uses the same language for assassin-retainers.

204. See *Shiji* 107.2839–56 and 101.2747; cf. *Hanshu* 52.2375, 62.2733.

205. The final appraisal comes from *Shiji* 107.2856.

206. As Wei Sheng died by drowning, trustworthiness being his curse, says *Zhuangzi* *juan* 29; Watson, *Complete*, p. 257.

207. *Zhuangzi* *juan* 29; Watson, *Complete*, p. 257.

208. The *Shiji* quotes Yu Rang to this effect, but *Zhanguo ce* 18:4/617 also says this, suggesting the saying is proverbial.

209. “Good manners” and “mutual deference” (as Hume noted) serve a purpose similar to the rules of justice: they empower the less powerful and approximate the conditions of equality, enhancing a sense of mutual vulnerability and stable interdependence. They can even give rise to informal rights and dues. It takes the cooperation of the powerful to get rights and civilities respected. See Baier (1991), pp. 131–32, quoting Hume (1978), p. 261.





210. For example, the *Zuozhuan* names as the most visible token of the Jin state's achievement as Zheng's gift to Jin of chariots, musicians, and sets of bells and chime stones. See Lord Xiang, Year 11.5. See also *Zuozhuan*, Lord Zhuang, Year 24.2. The talk here is about betrothal gifts specifically, but the statement gives us a sense of how pervasive gift giving was among elites who wished to forge ties with each other.

211. *Mencius* 3B/5; Lau (1970), p. 69.

212. *Mencius* 5B/4; Lau (1970), p. 115.

213. Take, for example, Confucius's willingness to meet with Nanzi, despite his disciple's questioning of the propriety of such a visit. See *Analects* 6/28.

214. This is the same lesson that the Old Master (Laozi) teaches Confucius in *Shiji* 47, "Kongzi shijia."

215. *Liji* 10B.24 ("Tangong, xia" 檀弓下); Legge (1885), vol. 1, pp. 198–99. This idea that one can rely only on "old friends" dates at least to the *Shangshu* 13.10 ("Dagao" 大誥), where the king speaks to "you old friends" (爾惟舊人). *Zuozhuan*, Lord Huan, Year 2.2, has "cultivate old friends" (修舊好). Of old friends, *Hanshu* 50.2325 says that they can be tested over the course of a lifetime, especially when the worldly fortunes of one party change dramatically: 一死一生·乃知交情; 一貧一富·乃知交態; 一貴一賤·交情乃見.

216. Mozi criticizes the classicists, as followers of Kongzi, for overvaluing such horizontal relations as that between husband and wife. See *Mozi* 9.7, *pian* 39 ("Fei Ru xia" 非儒下). One counterindication can be seen in the rhetoric of the "calling card" tablets examined by Korolkov (2012). Gifts typically accompanied presentation of these calling cards. Korolkov sees the presentation of these calling cards and gifts as the necessary social grease that allowed the bureaucratic arms of government to function. The Yinwan tomb's occupant, Shi Rao, had cultivated a vast network of connections extending to three commanderies and probably to Chang'an, as well. Cf. Giele (2015).

217. *Hou Hanshu* 56.1824 (biography of Wang Chang 王暢, one of the Shanyang Wangs and governor of Nanyang). Wang Chang, who initially disapproved of factionalism and cliques, was advised to become more tolerant in his attitude toward such things, punishing less, and "morality [in the commandery under him] thereupon made some headway" (*jiaohua sui xing* 教化遂行).

218. The local drinking ceremonies are compared to the district archery contests, because both ceremonies school participants in the forms of ritual yielding. One important source for the local drinking ceremonies is *Xunzi*, 20.5; Hutton (2014), pp. 222–23.

219. I mention the *Zuozhuan* in particular (and not the *Gongyang* and *Guliang*) because of the much larger role that wine offerings (*xiang* 享) play there in depicting social relations, good and bad.

220. These practices are attested at Yinwan by the archaeological record.

221. As in Liu Zongyuan's story of Song Qing (宋清), where Song is talked of in this way (as *yi* 異, as *wang* 妄, as *miu* 謬). For "sticks to his own ways" (執其道不廢), see the same story,





in Liu Zongyuan (2013), vol. 4, 17.1161–72 (“Song Qing zhuan” 宋清傳). That others see the good friend as stubborn and silly just proves how rare are true friends.

222. *Liji* (“Li qi” 禮器) 10.24; Legge (1885), vol. 1, p. 406, paragraph 6. Bodde (1975), pp. 354–72, deals with banquets mainly in one chapter, “Entertaining the Aged,” on a particular ceremony. Xunzi’s remarks on the communal drinking rite seem to be the source of the *Liji* reflections. These serve as a useful reminder of the distance between our notions of music and the classical *yue*.

223. This observation mimics that registered by Nevett (2010), p. 4.

224. The *Yili* contains a chapter entitled “Ritual of the District Wine Drinking” (*xiang yin jiu li* 鄉飲酒禮), which, like the word “sym+pot” (“share the wine”) puts the emphasis on the convivial wine drinking, rather than on the food items. The more famous *Liji* chapter clearly explains the ritual outlined there. Xunzi is but one of the many thinkers to find this ritual important.

225. The term “household” refers to a group of people living under the same roof; “family,” to those related to each other by what are perceived (then or now) as close blood ties. Among elites in antiquity, households frequently included a number of unrelated persons, such as friends, lodgers, servants, or slaves, though slavery in China was always quite limited when compared with classical Greece and Rome. Nevett (2010), p. 19, speaks of the “complex layering of different social roles within the house” in antiquity.

226. The phrase “beautiful words and flattering laughs” is applied to these parties, where people were “slippery as fat and supple as leather,” anxious to play the sycophants to the more powerful. See Lu Sida’s “On a Life of Labor.” Much the same can be said of elites in classical Greece and Rome. As Lehoux (2012), p. 7, writes, public appearances were an “important part of the formalized Roman social networks known as *patronage* and *amicitia*.” For a detailed description of one grand wedding feast that quickly devolved into a drunken brawl when the parties did not maintain the courtesies, see *Shiji* 107.2849. (The feast ended in legal investigations and the execution of several of the participants, including General Guan Fu and Marquis Dou Ying.)

227. In Greece, this was the dedicated room called the *andron* inside the home, and in China, this was a separate building, a kind of community center. See Nevett (2010), p. 49. In China, this origin is spoken of in *Zuozhuan*, Lord Yin, Year 5. See Chen Zhi (2009), (based on *Wenwu* and *Guangming ribao* from 2008 to 2011), which notes that the Tsinghua corpus, discussed by Li Xueqin, include a “Qidu ye” 耆都夜 manuscript, which purports to describe a wine celebration immediately after King Wu’s military conquest of Li 黎, dated to the eighth year of his reign; this event is frequently dated to King Wen’s reign, however.

228. See Nylan (2016c), whose subject is the social valences of seeing and being seen.

229. This is Mencius’s famous distinction between “those who labored with their *xin*” (those who governed) versus those who labored with their bodies. See *Mencius* 3A.4.





230. See Kent (1991), p. 32 n.1. One good illustration comes from the tale of the sage Shun, who demonstrated his qualifications to be appointed as sage-emperor by the harmonious way he ruled his household. See the treatments of Shun as late as the Song period (anonymous) *Classic of Women's Filial Piety*, trans. in Ebrey (2001), pp. 47–70.

231. See Rouzer (2001), especially chapter 1.

232. *Wen xuan*, Knechtges (1982), vol. 1, pp. 361–63, translation slightly modified.

233. Note the parallels between the *Shangshu*, “Wu yi” chapter, and the “Qidu ye” 耆都夜 Tsinghua manuscripts (as in note 227 above).

The year is drawing to a close.  
 If we do not enjoy ourselves now,  
 The days and months will have slipped by.  
 Do not be so riotous  
 As to forget your homes.  
 Amuse yourselves, but let there be no wildness!  
 Good men are always on their guard.

Attributed to the Duke of Zhou, Mao Ode no. 117 (“Xishuai” 蟋蟀) commemorates a victory celebration. Mao Ode no. 248 (“Fu yi” 晷鬻) is also about the pleasures of the wine feast.

234. *Zuozhuan*, Lord Cheng, Year 12.4.

235. For this, see *Liji* 44.5 (“Yan yi” 燕義); Legge (1885), vol. 2, p. 457, paragraph 5.

236. Some of the *Rites* classics reversed (or muddled, at least) the usual order in which character was to be taught, first in the family circle and then in the larger world. Supposedly Kongzi said that proper family reverence (filial and fraternal duty) could be taught easily once the principle of honoring one's elders was firmly fixed in the people's minds and hearts.

237. As the *Lüshi chunqiu* 22/4.1 (“Yi xing” 壹行); Knoblock and Riegel (2000), p. 575, says of ten relations (one of which is “close friends”): “Generally speaking, people think there are ten types of contacts that can make one secure” 凡人倫以十際為安者也).

238. *Liji* 10.15; Legge (1885), vol. 1, p. 442.

239. Rouzer (2001), p. 25, insists that “the dark side to an oath of friendship may very well be this struggle for hierarchical placement.” Methinks he overstates, always looking for the dark side.

240. *Liji*, 44.4 (“Yan yi” 燕義); Legge (1885), vol. 1, p. 456, par. 4.

241. This, of course, is what the “Li yun” chapter of the *Rites* advocates as Kongzi's highest ideal, despite the emphasis on “graded love” (*ren* 仁), rather than universal love. Cf. *Analects* 1/10, where the Master “gets things” by being extraordinarily courteous. This way of thinking is hardly confined to Confucian writings — the same point is frequently reiterated in other writings.

242. “Process of unselfing” is the term preferred by Murdoch (1993), p. 17.





243. See *Zuozhuan*, Lord Cheng, Year 12.1, taking “discern disasters or blessings” to mean “see how things will turn out with those men.” Two aspects of learning to be tested in an ideal world were “how to discuss the subjects of their studies and to select their friends.” If they passed those tests, they were said to have accomplished “small attainments.” See *Liji* 16.5 (“Xue ji” 學記); Legge (1885), vol. 2, p. 83, paragraph 5. As one famous physiognomist reportedly said, “I cannot tell a man’s fortune from his looks, but I am able to observe his friends” and so divine his character and consequent fortune in life. See *Lüshi chunqiu* 24/6.2 (“Gui dang” 貴當); Knoblock and Riegel (2000), p. 621.

244. Cf. Yeats: “Think where man’s glory most begins and ends / And say my glory was I had such friends.” For the case of early China and scenes of evaluating men for office, see M. Richter (2005); the choice of friends and music was considered particularly significant when evaluating men’s characters. As the *Guodian* manuscript says, “The *qi* 氣 of delight, anger, grief, and sorrow constitute the human inclinations. When they appear visibly outside, then [it is because] things have drawn them out” (喜怒哀悲之氣，性也。及其見於外，則物取之也). See *Guodian* (*Jingmen shi bowuguan*, 1998), p. 179, strip 1, of “Xing qing lun” 性情論.

245. See Bourdieu (1990) on the “misrecognition” of the gift, as opposed to the “immediate,” “brutal,” exposition of market exchanges.

246. I am thinking here of Sima Qian’s statement that men will be willing to die for those who actually recognize their worth or potential worth, just as women will get dressed up for those men who love them. Yet friendship is inevitably colored by other relations that seem akin to it, those of romantic love or of political alliances. We must ask also whether friendships among women take the same form as those among men. The most frequent analogy constructed between love and friendship doesn’t apply, it seems, to romantic love per se (contra the usual analysis), but only to one particular type of romantic love where the male partner sees something of special worth in addition to erotic allure in the female. For further thoughts on eroticism, see Harbsmeier (1995).

247. See, e.g., *Shiji* 24.1187: 樂者為同，禮者為異。Hence the phrase cited above, “From the Son of Heaven on down to the common people.”

248. For the importance of *kuan*, or “tolerance” (said in one speech to be the “most important of the Five Teachings”), see *Hou Hanshu* 56.1824 (as above); also Ji Kang’s “Letter to Shan Tao” (“Yu Shan Juyuan juejiao shu” 與山巨源絕交), in which Ji famously constructs himself as “narrow,” rather than broad-minded. See *Ji Kang yizhu*, 2.270–84; Minford and Lau (2000), pp. 463–67.

249. For the importance of “fitting in” so as not to make others uncomfortable, see *ibid.* Note that while the most common gloss for *shu* is “likening to oneself” (i.e., empathy), another gloss defines *shu* as “not requiring of others more than they can do.”

250. *Liji* 1.29 (“Quli, shang” 曲禮上); Legge (1885), vol. 1, p. 81 (renumbered as 13.54).

251. *Hou Hanshu* 56.1824 (biography of Wang Chang, governor of Nanyang), as above (note 217). It is in this precise context that I would place remarks like those ascribed





to Zhuangzi (or Kongzi's persona in the *Zhuangzi*): "Of men like this," Kongzi/Confucius supposedly remarked, "They wander beyond the realm . . . They borrow the forms . . . unaware of where they start or finish. Idly they roam beyond dust and dirt, wandering free and easy in the service of no action." A comment by Iris Murdoch is relevant here: the "dutiful man may be content with too little, the mere observance of duty, following a rule without imagining that something else is required" to become a whole human being. See Murdoch (1993), p. 494.

252. This phrase is used in Ji Kang's letter to Shan Tao; see note 248 above. One could compare Nietzsche's summary of the Macedonian king's response to the Athenian philosopher: "I honor the pride of this independent sage, but I should honor his humanity even more if the friend in him had triumphed over his pride." See Nietzsche (1974), p. 124, quoted by Derrida (1997), p. 63. One might cite the *Liji* 1.11 on the importance of the rituals of giving and receiving "in distant antiquity," without which there is no ritual: "The rites honor reciprocity [lit. 'coming and going']."

253. See, e.g., *Quan Hanwen*, juan 50, "The letter sent to the throne alleging that Wang Feng 王鳳 is hogging the show."

254. Lord Huan, Year 2. Contrast the anecdote that immediately follows, where "Jingzhong entertained Lord Huan with wine. As they were making merry, the lord said, 'Let's continue this by torch light. Jingzhong refused: 'I have divined about this day, but I have not divined about the night. So I dare not.'"

255. Mao Ode no. 220: 賓之初筵. Other drinking poems in the *Odes* are: Mao Ode no. 161 ("Lu ming" 鹿鳴); Mao Ode no. 164 ("Changdi" 常棣); Mao Ode no. 171 ("Nan you jia yu" 南有嘉魚); Mao Ode no. 217 ("Kuibian" 頍弁); Mao Ode no. 246 ("Xing Wei" 行葦); Mao Ode no. 247 ("Ji zui" 既醉); and Mao Ode no. 248 ("Fu yi" 鳧鷖). For Ode 220, see Kennedy (1959).

256. Zhu Xi attributed this poem to Lord Wu of the state of Wei (under King You, r. 780–770 BCE), who, by Zhu Xi's (1130–1200 AD) commentary to the *Odes*, was a reformed drunk and so severely opposed to drinking. But "Drinking wine is very lucky, / provided it is done with decency."

257. A very similar story about a drunken banquet is told in *Zuozhuan*, Lord Xuan, Year 2. Cf. *Shi yi ji* ("Record of Gathering Fragments"), 6.144–45.

258. *Zuozhuan*, Lord Cheng, Year 14.1, citing Mao Ode no. 215 ("Sanghu" 桑扈).

259. Mao Ode no. 117 ("Xishuai" 蟋蟀).

260. *Shishuo xinyu* 17.1; Mather (1976), p. 346.

261. This criticism comes from "Refuting Daoist Gu's Discourse on the Chinese and Barbarians," in *Hong ming ji*, T2102:52.45c; a translation can be found in J. Chen (2011).

262. *Hou Hanshu*, 83.2772–73.

263. Many of these stories are treated in Nylan (1983).

264. See Xie Cheng 謝承, quoted in *Hou Hanshu*, 53.1744. Cf. *Hou Hanshu* 53.1747, which tells of Xu Zhi's mourning for Guo Tai's (Guo Linzong) mother.





265. Cf. *Xunzi*, “On Ritual,” which stresses that while ordinary people believe mourning feeds and comforts the dead, the true gentleman realizes that mourning has the capacity to define the gentleman who acknowledges his debts to others, without threats, sanctions, or contracts forcing him to do so.

266. As Baier (1991), p. 143, notes (contra Robert Nozick and others), the “ego” or “self” is a “fairly fluidly bounded thing . . . apt to get entangled with others and caught in the outer fringes of other living things.” The same point for the early Chinese texts has been made by Nylan (2001c) and Sommers (2008).

267. As an anonymous reader points out, Xu Zhi’s behavior finds an echo in the *Shiji* chapter on “Assassin Retainers” (*juan* 86).

268. Locke (1970), section 143, defines civility as “that decency and gracefulness of Looks, Voice, Words, Motions, Gestures and of the whole outward Demeanor, which takes in Company and makes those with whom we may converse easy and well pleased.” Locke emphasizes the importance of teaching children to show such civility.

269. This is inspired by an observation by Hirschman (1984), who says of trust (among other “moral resources”): “These are resources whose supply may well increase rather than decrease through use . . . they do not remain intact if they stay unused; like the ability to speak a foreign language or to play the piano, these moral resources are likely to become depleted and to atrophy if not used.”

270. *Shuowen jiezi*: 同志為友。從二·又相交, cited in *Taiping yulan* 4061a. *Bohu tong* (section 19) cites the *Liji* saying 同門曰朋·同志曰友。The latter characterizes all major relations, including those between lord and subject, father and son, and husband and wife, as alike in having this *tongzhi* quality of commitment, though the *Bohu tong* puts friendship in another category of important relations. There are numerous instances of friends who decide to part, once their aims and commitments no longer coincide. Ji Kang and Shan Tao come to mind (see below), as does the friendship between Kong Zijian and his friend Cuiyi, recounted in *Kongcong zi*, 22/8, Ariel (1989), pp. 111–12. Their break came when Zijian decided that his former friend was too set on “glory through wealth and honor.” See Blakeley (2008), p. 329: “a mutual recognition of a shared perspective” on life. Cf. *Guoyu*, “Jin yu” 4.35 (not translated by Crump), which speaks of those who share kinship as likely to have the “same *de* 德” or character, and those of the same character, to have the same heart. As Baier (1991), p. 120, writes, “To trust is to let another think about and take action to protect and advance something the person trusting cares about, to let the trusted care for what one cares about.”

271. For the quotation, see *Analects* 15/39. Chinese texts continually raise interesting questions about shared interests as the grounding for long-lasting friendship. As late as the Northern Song, we have the charming tale of Li Qingzhao and Zhao Mingcheng, whose early conjugal delights — made possible by their shared interests in collecting books and manuscripts — eventually turn sour, as we learn from Li’s self-serving account, when





Zhao's obsession with knowledgeable collecting leaves her without a partner in innocent book play.

Shared interests were not necessarily the key to true friendship. Sima Qian writes of the man whose "tone" he understood, General Li Ling: "Our likes and dislikes lay in different directions; we never so much as drank a cup of wine together or shared the joys of intimate friendship. But I observed that he was clearly a man of superior ability . . . I believed him to be truly one of the finest men of the nation."

272. Regarding the term *xin qi* 心期, rendered here as "heart-to-heart" flirtations between two revelers, indicated by locking of the eyes, this also refers, via the time element, to the notion that a future appointment to have sex will be found, though there is no time at present (cf. the modern term *yanyi xinqi* 眼意心期).

273. *Ji* 及 (meaning, "and later it came to pass . . .") frequently appears in narratives detailing the course of a close friendship, in large part because early narratives invariably attend to the effect that changing times and circumstances may have on close friendships. Qian Zhongshu (2001), p. 1575, says, "To be united in heart and similar in commitments, to seek each other out and suit each other perfectly, to the extent that one disregards one's position and forgets the outward appearances, this is to be friends forever because of affection" (同心合志·求聲投契·以至於略名位而忘形骸·發乎情而永為好). (I am indebted to Trenton Wilson for giving this essay to me.) However, these friendships that come together should not be confused with "casual hookups" (容悅偶合). Cf. "Trusting is rarely something we *decide* to do," Baier (1991), p. 123.

274. Contrast Scanlon (1988), which advances a "contractualist" view of morality where "well-being is not as important for rational decision-making" as the early and middle-period writers of classical Chinese would make it out to be. Of course, in early and middle-period China, friendship was often constructed against the societally mandated interactions based on "kinship, civic identity, or commercial activity," as in classical Greece. Cf. Konstan (2010), p. 6. *Shuoyuan* 3.4 describes a good father's intention to select his son's friends for him, just as he selects good teachers for him, since both will affect his character development.

275. *Han Wei Liuchao yibai sanjia ji*, 81/27b, citing Wu Yun, also *Chu zhi shou chun zuo* 初至壽春作.

276. See Xu Gan's "Qian Jiao" essay in *Zhong lun*, *juan* 12; Makeham (2002), pp. 168–69. To this list of gestures by false friends on the make, one could add others, but all tend in a similar direction. Many such gestures are mentioned in the *Shu Capital Rhapsody*, as typical (if lamentable) behavior (see the note immediately below). Cf. *Hou Hanshu* 82.2705.

277. To those named here, one can add those who "glibly chat" (劇談) and "playfully analyze or opine" (戲論) or whose talk is exaggerated or boasting or pompous (高談大語); who "jab their palms [to make a point]" (抵掌) and whose "eyes are wide" (擲目) or "whose eyebrows are raised archly" (揚眉). Worst of all, most probably, is the adoption





of the mannerisms or attitude of a servant girl or concubine (婢妾之態). The stabbing of palms and raising of eyebrows happens after the sycophants grow more confident of their patronage by the powerful. I am grateful to Trenton Wilson for pointing out to me this cluster of gestures. These gestures epitomize flattery and the superficiality of contacts. One should note that the phrase “dust off one’s cap” is unusual, in that it has different connotations: *tan guan* 彈冠 always describes friendships among members of the governing elite, but the term operates in contradictory ways. So far as we know, the expression first appears in the *Chuci* as a gesture indicating one’s firm intention to “rid oneself of the filth and corruption” associated with office-holding, as when the old *Chuci* fisherman “dusts off his cap” and “washes out his ears” to indicate his adamant refusal to talk with any career-minded opportunists. But the same set phrase soon reappears as a moving gesture signifying the gratification that friends take in one another’s accomplishments (usually in office), as well as a willingness to yield or defer to the other. (The implication of the phrase is that the one performing the “dusting” may soon be promoted, in turn, through the offices of the newly powerful friend.) This attitude is illustrated through the story of the two intimate friends of the Western Han dynasty, Wang Ji (d. ca. 48 BCE) and Gong Yu in *Hanshu*.

278. Bourdieu (1990), pp. 98, 107, emphasizes the lack of clarity about when and where the gift between real friends will be paid; indeed, the importance of the gift lies in the imprecision attached to it, since monetary transactions are precise by nature. As Ramona Naddaff observed (personal communication, May 2017), this is giving without any expectation of return. Cf. J. Davidson (1997), esp. p. 119, which remarks that something about the nature of money epitomizes prostitution and enslavement, in this being totally different from ritual gifts or gifts exchanged through friends. Another way to think of this is provided by Baier (1991), p. 173, when she writes of “delay[ing] the accounting of their use of discretionary power . . . for reasons” we expect to have been good. *Ibid.*, p. 174: “If to trust is to be willing to delay the accounting, then when trust is successfully sustained, some accounts are bound to be outstanding.” Even today in China (Taiwan and the PRC), it is an insult for a friend to make another friend an exact return for a favor, because such exactitude is construed as commercial.

279. Cf. Nietzsche, who wrote that “language can never adequately render the cosmic symbolism of music, because music stands in symbolic relation to the primordial contradiction and primordial pain in the heart of the primal unity, and therefore symbolizes a sphere which is beyond and prior to phenomenal existence. Rather, all phenomena, compared with it, are merely symbols; hence *language*, as the organ and symbol of phenomena, can never by any means disclose the innermost heart of music.” See Nietzsche, in Kaufmann (2000), p. 55.

280. In chapter 6 of the *Zhuangzi*, two story sets about four friends show them not answering the questions posed; significantly, however, the friends instinctively prefer to “look at each other and smile” in silent recognition. See note 285 below.





281. According to Shen Pei 申培, the commentator, the commentary defines the gift of a poem (chanted to music in this period) to a friend. Music and friendship are in this way brought together. See ICS Concordance series (CHANT), for Shen Pei's commentary on Mao Ode no. 31 (5.5): 朋友相贈之詩, 賦也。

282. The phrase *xuyong haosi* 虛詠濠肆 comes from Yuan Qiao's letter to Chu Pou, in *Jinshu* 83.2167–2168. Jansen (2006), p. 362, refers to this letter, but offers no comment on the philologically difficult phrase.

283. *Liji* (Ruan Yuan ed.), “Yueji” 37.9b, quoted in *Shiji* 24.1177.

284. Thomas S. Kuhn, in the acknowledgements to *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, speaks of the value of his friendship with Stanley Cavell, “who is the only person with whom I have ever able to explore my ideas in incomplete sentences.” Kuhn (1979), p. xi.

285. This is a point made by Blakeley (2008), p. 320. Then, too, the basic distinctions such as life/death and pleasing/nonpleasing, are misleading, but language is built upon dichotomies and so flounders when they are left behind. But Confucius in the *Zhuangzi* stories appreciates that the four friends know something he does not know; however, he knows it without being able to act on it or verbalize it adequately.

286. “True knowing” is wordless or preverbal, as Han Yu writes in a letter to Cui Qu; see Shields (2004), p. 71. Also, laughter allows agreement to be reached, confirming the bonds of true friendship without recourse to explanations in ordinary prose.

287. Lehoux (2012), p. 139, citing Pliny, *Natural History* 37.61: “Here the peace and war of Nature with itself be told, the hatreds and friendships of things deaf and dumb . . . which the Greeks call *sympathy* and *antipathy*, in which all things participate.” We expect coherence and connectivity among cosmic and social phenomena, as did the early thinkers in China, so that one known truth in one branch of knowledge should reveal hidden truths of another.

288. Zhuangzi and Hui Shi are hardly the only friends to talk obsessively, however. A letter quoted in *Quan Han wen* 13 (“Letter to Zilin”) says, “I have heard that you and your friends talk until late in the night about the Classics and traditions.” One should also note the excitement that is sometimes expressed at the receipt of a friend's letter, as in the letter sent by Ma Rong to Dou Bo, in *Yiwen leiju*, quoted in Zang Rong (2009), p. 51. “Conversational companions” (*tanxiao* 談交) is a whole category in itself, with men such as Lu Jia slotted there, not to mention the *qingtan* figures of the late Eastern Han and Wei-Jin Nanbeichao.

289. See *Analects* 4/24, 5/25, 12/3, 17/19, for examples of Kongzi's wariness about speaking much or being glib. Hence the modern presupposition that intimacy that follows self-disclosure is more or less absent in accounts of friendship in early China.

290. This the “Xi ci zhuan,” part A, to the *Zhou Yi* states plainly (書不盡言·言不盡意), and the statement, ascribed to Kongzi, is much cited in Han times.

291. Here I reiterate the point that the early writers of classical Chinese see friendships





as somehow fated. Needless to say, no actions are ever, perhaps, with human beings, foregone conclusions. This point has been stressed by Nehamas in his sixth Gifford Lecture.

292. See Fingarette (1983), p. 341, for the “intense moment of silence.”

293. *Analects* 15/41; Simon Leys’s translation (1997) is adopted here. One communicates meaning, but there is so much more to communicate in life.

294. See *Shiji* 129; also Nylan (2015), the discussion of Fan Li.

295. See *Hanshi waizhuan* 1.16 同聲相應之義也。詩云：鐘鼓樂之；Hightower (1952), pp. 24–25. The phrase “enters the spirit” occurs in connection with *xianggan* in the “Xici, B” section of the *Yijing*.

296. See “Min zhi fumu” for this. If these Shangbo strips are genuine, resort to this paradox occurs much earlier than is usually thought.

297. See *Xin lun*, cited in Yan Kejun, 13/5a–6a; Pokora, pp. 16–18, translation modified. This is nearly a quotation from the *Changes* commentary, according to *Fengsu tongyi* 3.6.

298. Preface in *Maoshi zhengyi* 9.3/142C.

299. For the first claim, see *Zhuangzi*, 24 (“Xu Wugui” 徐无鬼), talking of the loss of Hui Shi: “I have no one to use as the basic material [when becoming a friend]; no one with whom I can discuss it” (吾無以為質矣，吾無與言之矣); for the second, see *Fayan* 2.2.

300. *Hanshi waizhuan* 8.11; Hightower (1952), pp. 265–66.

301. For the phrase “friends without qualification,” see Aristotle’s *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1157b4, which says this of friends whose character is good.

302. Ji Kang, “Letter to Shan Tao,” as in note 248 above.

303. For dignity, see Rosen (2012); also Kateb (2011); Nylan (2012). According to modern theorists of friendship, “When interpreted from within the perspective of love, the experience of loneliness is transformed into an awareness of our singular identity. This identity is accepted and affirmed by a true friend.” Sadler (1970), p. 201. “The person who is a friend must be appreciated as a unique self rather than simply a particular instance of a general class.” Suttles (1970), p. 100.

304. As knowing friendships alert people to human differences. Friendship is moreover a mechanism of individuality, as is art (with music the chief art in early China). Our friendship makes us feel differently and interpret actions differently; we see our friends as more exceptional and consequential than they are, and we see ourselves in their actions (also as more exceptional consequential that we are). Fingarette (1983), p. 332, declares that there is no “self” in the modern sense in Confucius: “to cultivate the self” or “to conquer oneself” means merely to “commit one’s energies to developing according to ritual,” where ritual is something external to the self. This insight grounds much of what follows. The *Kongzi* of the *Analects* places most emphasis on the social self, as do all the other early thinkers for whom we have masterworks. Nylan (1996) argues against finding “individualism” in the early sources, as does Rosemont (2015), contra Brindley (2010).

305. *Analects* 15/29. Friendship, then, provides both the focus and the motivation to





act upon that image; one needs inspiration to live up to that heroic vision. Contrast this with the tests that show that we act as we believe others will act. Thus, when Confucius describes the most enlightened person as “one who loves and spares himself” (rather than causing “others to love him” or even altruistically “loving others”), it is the intimate friend, presumably, who has facilitated this magnificent achievement, which consists of learning the high art of cultivating one’s best self—and gradually moving toward becoming it, which state or condition generally prompts movements in other things and people toward their own realizations.

306. “People need to be critical and demanding with their friends, and amicable with their brothers,” says the *Analects* 13/28 (said by Zilu). On remonstrance, see Ames and Rosemont (2016), chapter 3. For the duty of friends to remonstrate, see Tan (2001); also Rosemont (2014). The Chinese, in a much milder way, got to the same place that Nietzsche reached in his angry fulminations. They saw, as did Nietzsche in his *Genealogy of Morals*, that a person (the agent) does not *lie behind or beyond* the sum of the series of acts in which she engages. Xunzi is only one of many thinkers to state this clearly: that avowed desires and intentions are not “real” unless substantiated in actions, failed or successful, and we are often self-deceived about the character of our own actions, as well as deceived about the acts of others.

307. This point is underscored in *Qianfu lun*, *juan* 30 (交際 “Jiao ji”), on forging connections, which deems making friends a basic “human” inclination.

308. *Analects* 13/3. After all, exemplary people who prove compelling to others may fail to understand many things, but they had better not fail to understand themselves.

309. I argue, contra many, that *you* does not “require a measure of personal autonomy.” See Rouner (1994), p. 1. The intensity of the longing for friendship when that longing goes unfulfilled is the subject of many famous poems in classical Chinese, as well as the majority of “hypothetical discourses” (*she lun* 設論). For the latter, see Declercq (1998). Both custom and morality mandated allegiance to one’s ruler.

310. Konstan (1997), p. 1. Some argue, as Konstan’s introduction notes, that friendship did not even exist in the West (or elsewhere, by implication) before the Renaissance; this chapter would dispute this factoid, as does Konstan’s book. Cooper (1977), p. 645, concurs: “But clearly enough, in the actual course of events, the first meeting may well be quite accidental and subsequent stages in the development of the [friends’] relationship quite unmotivated.” Cooper continues: “It is clear . . . that, on Aristotle’s view, civic, and not just personal friendship is an essential component in the flourishing human life” (p. 648). Aristotle’s *Politics* 1252a recognizes that many human ties do not result from deliberate choice. Of course, Pico della Mirandola’s oration (posthumously entitled *Dignitate hominis*, “On the Dignity of Man”) sets the tone for most modern rhetoric in claiming that what sets man apart is his free will. Man *chooses* his own destiny.

311. For example, the work of Gilbert Ryle, Elizabeth Anscombe, and Herbert Fingarette.





312. I am trying very hard here to avoid the language of “debt” and “obligation,” both of which derive from “market” contacts and monetary transactions.

313. One good example comes from the Han era *Bohu tong*, which said that one could not only share property with a friend, but also die for him, if one’s parents were no longer living. See Tjan (1949–1952), vol. 2, pp. 562–63. The locus classicus of “dying for a friend” comes from the Han-era *Liji*. For further information, see Kutcher (2000), p. 1620. During the Eastern Jin dynasty (317–420), Vice Censor Fu Xian defiantly celebrated his friendship with Lu Hongji, though Lu had been disgraced at court, which disgrace might have landed Fu in trouble. The *Shishuo xinyu* 23.29; Mather (1976), p. 410, gives one tale of a reckless friendship that defied the rituals: “Wei Junzhang [Wei Yong 永] served under Wen [Qiao 嶠]. Wen was very close to him. Wen would often pick up some wine and dried meats and visit Wei. They would sit across from each other, legs sprawled, quite unceremoniously, drinking all day. When Wei visited Wen, he would do the same.”

314. Farquhar (2002), p. 255, makes this point. For earlier periods, see Nylan (2010b).

315. *Fayan*, 1.6.

316. See Konstan (1997), introduction, writing on the anthropological turn in classics departments.

317. See the Que Cao *ding* (tripod) and Ming *gui*, in Yu Xingwu (1957), no. 89; Guo Moruo (1957), vol. 6, p. 68; vol. 7, p. 123.

318. See Ke *xu*, Xin *ding* 鼎, and Shi-shu *gui* 簋, cited in Zhu Fenghan (1990), p. 308. For the information about “friend” as it appears in bronze inscriptions, I am grateful to Maria Khayatuna’s unpublished paper of 1999, “Friendship in Early China.” Khayatuna notes that *pengyou* is sometimes mentioned with *hungou* (“relatives by marriage,” as in the bronzes Guai-bo *gui*, Ke *xu*, while no other living relatives are mentioned. She writes, “Other relatives — ‘uncles and elder brothers’ — may be mentioned with *pengyou* in Chunqiu or late Western Zhou inscriptions.”

319. Zha Changguo (1998); Zhu Fenghan (1990).

320. Khayatuna cites the *Qiang pan*, in *Yin Zhou jinwen jilu*, p. 197; also *Shi-fu gui*, in *San dai jinwen*, 12.14.2.

321. As note 270 above notes, the *Shuowen* says 同志為友.

322. While few Chunqiu statesmen crossed borders in search of better appointments, this was common during the Zhanguo era.

323. See their biographies in *Hou Hanshu* 81 (“Du xing” 獨行). I thank Nicolas Zuffery for pointing me to this biography, whose beginning moves the reader with its simplicity and ends with miracles. If we borrowed the language of Albertus Magnus, what we have with “friends unto death” is unqualified friendship (*amicitia honesti*). See Cunningham (2008), p. 242–44.

324. By and large, the early and middle-period texts speak of male-male bonding in terms of political associations, this having as a countermodel intimate friendship,





something that partook of the cosmic model. On this Rouzer (2006), especially p. 59, is clear, but he overdoes the negative connotations of political associations, as do most others writing of friendship in China. Accordingly, while one's *peng* (ally or colleague) can play one false, by definition, one's true friend or *you* cannot. If "friendship" became a mere means toward an end, becoming "instrumental friendship," it was viewed with great suspicion as tending toward collusion or factionalism. Contrast Aristotle, who categorized "instrumental friendships" (i.e., alliances) as one of the three classic types of friendship. The Chinese acknowledged that such alliances were forged, but because they could be abruptly broken off as self-interest dictated, they did not regard instrumental friendships as a sufficiently satisfying and enriching experience to qualify as a supreme pleasure. Aristotle's views are taken up in Norris (2017).

325. See *Liangshu* 14.254, 27.401–402. (The phrase first appears in the fifth-century *Hou Hanshu*). Ren's critics, Liu Xiaobiao among them, called him a master of a peculiar form of alchemy — turning money into fame: "The great men of the world bring him strings of silver and gold in the morning and are made famous by nightfall, [thanks to Ren's patronage]." Tian (2007), p. 115, points to a similar passage from *Nan shi*: "Ren Fang was particularly close to Yin Yun, Liu Bao, the brothers Dao Gai and Dao Qia, Liu Ru, Liu Xiaochuo, Liu Xian, Lu Chui, and Zhang Shuai." For alchemy, see Little and Eichman (2000).

326. As noted above, we moreover have but a small fraction of the texts that once existed, making positivist claims about historical development a foolhardy venture.

327. For the *Bohu tong*, see note 270 above. The 79 CE conference at the Bohu (White Tiger) Pavilion, as reported by Ban Gu, basically adopted Dong Zhongshu's theories of "Tian ren ganying," which also invested the ruler with the highest cosmic powers. In Dong's idea, the "Three Ties" 三綱 are lord-subject, father-son, and husband-wife, and the "Six Threads" 六紀 include: paternal uncles, elder sibling-younger, clansmen (*zuren* 族人), maternal uncles (*jiu* 舅), teachers and elders (*shizhang* 師長), and friends and allies (*pengyou* 朋友). Of the last, the ideal type was *pengyou you jiu* 朋友有舊, "old friends and allies" (also a kind of hierarchical order). See *Bohu tong shuzheng* 8.35; Tjan, translating subsection 193d–e, in vol. 2, pp. 562–63. See Loewe (2015a).

328. *Fengsu tongyi* 7.11, entry on Chen Fan 陳蕃, puts it this way: "only when one has gone through life and death will one understand the inclinations toward contacts, and only when one has experienced both high rank and low will those inclinations toward contacts appear clearly" (一死一生，乃知交情。一貴一賤，交情乃見). The *Yi Zhoushu*, *pian* 58 ("Guan ren jie" 官人解), says that "observing whom he makes friends with is one good test of a man's character." *Liji* 18.2 ("Xue ji" 學記); Legge (1885), vol. 2, p. 83, says seven years of study allows the promising student to have the good sense to know how to choose friends wisely. The "Zhongyong" makes serving one's friends loyally and well one of the four "tests" of a person's practical wisdom. *Xinshu* 9.2 ("Da Zheng, xia" 大政下) says that it's impossible to make friends, unless one is a worthy person oneself: (故不肖者之為身也，不可以接友).





329. *Nan Qi shu* 47.1421 criticized Fan Zhen 范縝 for being a poor friend to his peers, given his love of danger and his abstract theories (好危言高論, 不為士有所安).

330. For translations, see Legge (1865–1895), vol. 1, pp. 49 and 135; the first four-character phrase comes from Mao Ode no. 82 (女曰雞鳴). As *shuo* 說 does not often in early classical Chinese refer to “vows” (“sayings” is more usual), *shuo* here may well mean *yue* 悅 (“gratifications,” pleasures”). See Mao Ode no. 31 (“Ji gu” 擊鼓); Legge (1865–1895), vol. 1, pp. 49–50. Some would argue that *chengshuo* should be read as *shuocheng*, as such reversals are common in the *Odes*.

331. For Cao Pi’s “Lun wen” 論文, see *Quan Hou Wei wen* 8.82–84.

332. Vervoorn (2004). Kutcher (2000), arguing on the basis of late imperial sources, casts friendship as transgressive by nature; also Rouzer (2006), who tends to presume Kutcher is right, even if Rouzer adds that true friendships could supply “counter-models to political associations,” which “tended towards instability and violence.” That Kutcher’s talk is anachronistic for early China is proven by the *Bohu tong*, which lists Three Ways 三道 and Three Bonds 三綱: friends, fathers-sons, and ruler-subordinates. Here I argue against several prominent Sinologists. For example, Hall and Ames have made much of the fact that “an argument can be . . . made that *all* relationships were ultimately construed in familial terms.” Hall and Ames (1994), p. 90 n.27, cites A. King (1995). The italics are in the original essay by Hall and Ames. Zhou Yiqun (2010), p. 154, strongly asserts that “kinship provided the paradigm for all strong relationships that could be described as ‘dear and friendly’ in the Zhou ideology of sociability,” arguing that no independent vocabulary had emerged to describe intimate friendships. This seems a poor test, however, since, as Alexander Nehamas has noted, the vocabulary of friendship is not particularly well developed in any society, ancient or modern, so far as he knows. One example where “one makes a friend of an elder brother” is Mao Ode no. 241 (*Huang yi* 友其兄). Knapp (2011), pp. 1–4 and 95–96, observes, for the case of early imperial Rome’s “invisible” subjects, that very few relations (husband-wife, parent-child) were problematized, since no other choices existed for either men or women, aside from the most privileged members of society. The same was probably true for the early empires in China.

333. See *Liji* 18.2 (“Xue ji” 學記); Legge (1885), vol. 2, p. 85. Friendship is associated with devotion to classical learning (study of rites and music) by no less a figure than Kongzi, according to *Da Dai Liji, pian* 62 (“Wudi de” 五帝德).

334. See the *Liji* “Xue ji” chapter, in Legge (1885). Cf. Mao Ode no. 164 (“Chang di” 常棣), which identifies “good allies” 良朋 prone to “heaving long sighs” as reluctant to help in times of crisis, especially when the crisis (“affliction and distress”) continues for a long period of time, in contrast to brothers. The same poem, in a later stanza, says that outside of crises, “even brothers / Are not the equal of intimate friends” 友生. Because the aforementioned crises may present dangers and so involved family decisions, rather than individual ones, this language is not particularly contradictory. The citation of the *Analects*





with this Ode underscores the message that friends are more valuable than kin, except in times of prolonged crisis. Compare Mao Ode no. 119 (“Di du” 杖杜), which contains the line “Surely you do not mean there are no other men for allies? But surely they are not as good as my own siblings?” (豈無他人·不如我同父). In that Mao Ode no. 217 (“Kui bian” 類弁) argues for reserving wine and baked meats for one’s brothers, it suggests the existence of other societal norms coexisting in the same society. I focus here on several poems that do not figure in Zhou Yiqun (2010).

335. For members of the governing elite, there was arguably no such thing as “private” life in the modern sense. “Privacy” is almost certainly a modern concept and value. Even in the domestic sphere, the old aristocratic display ideals operated throughout the period under examination.

336. For example, the Guodian, “Yu cong 3,” identifies friendship as “the way of the ruler and subject,” while “Yucong 1” says, “Ruler and minister are like friends; they select each other.” See *Guodian Chumu zhujian*, strip 87, 179; strip 6, 209. Similarly, *Shuoyuan* 1.20 says “the minister of a king has the title of minister but his actual role is that of a friend.”

337. *Mencius* 6B/2, may be one of the earliest texts to use *di* 弟 as a noun, when it describes the emperor Yao “befriending” Shun.

338. For example, in Mao 241, *you* refers to friendship between the brothers Wang Ji and Taibo, while Mao 34 portrays lovers as friends. As noted by Pines (2002), after 221 BCE, in the postunification period, the emperor gradually assumes the right to instruct his officials, rather than be instructed by them. In consequence, the much-vaunted notion of ruler-minister friendship gradually fades away. *Bohutong* uses the same language of friendship as that binding the important relations binding lord-subject, father-child, and husband-wife. See *Bohu tong shuzheng* 8.35; Tjan (1949–1952), pp. 559–63. Qi Liang’s wife wails at the loss of her husband. See Idema (2008). The Nineteen Old Poems talk of wives and husbands as companions.

339. To cite a few examples: *Liji* 25.35 (“Ji yi” 祭意), and Legge (1885), vol. 2, p. 226, which says 朋友不信·非孝也. Cf. *Lüshi chunqiu* 14/1.9 (Xiaoxing 孝行); Knoblock and Riegel (2000), p. 306; *Hanshi waizhuan* 9.25. Hightower (1952), pp. 313–14, calls the aid that friends render one of three types of pleasure the just man knows. *Shiming* 4.1 defines “friendship” as “abundance, to be protective of one another.” Vervoorn (2004) construes the theme of friendship in early China as a way to talk about personal conduct *beyond* the kin group and as the basis of thinking about extrakin moral obligations toward society and state. Unfortunately, in one false step, Vervoorn misconstrues friendship as a relationship of choice; choice is not a major premodern preoccupation, as Herbert Fingarette noted in relation to the *Analects*, although it emphatically defines modern notions of autonomy. As Vervoorn (2004) notes, as far back as the Shang oracle bone inscriptions, *you* refers to the help that Heaven renders the Shang royal line. *Dongguan Hanji* 2.2 makes *xiao* and *you* (here toward brothers) the most essential features of the sage and sagely rule. *Dongguan*





*Hanji* 8.2 says that Dong Shun regards all his friends “like sons.” Similarly, *Yanzi chunqiu* 2.22 (景公欲厚葬梁丘據晏子諫 entry) makes being trustworthy with friends a part of filial piety. Zhang Heng’s (78–139) “Sikong Chen gong lei” 司空陳公諫, in *Quan Hou Han wen* 55, talks of the virtue “within [the house]” being filial duty and that “outside” being friendliness.

340. *Xunzi*, 23.14; Hutton (2014), p. 257, which is the last paragraph. The ruler’s good friends are key to his efforts to become a hegemon, as well; see *Xunzi* 32.2; Hutton (2014), p. 339. However, the *Laozi* never mentions *you*. *Liji* 6.8–11 (“Wen wang shi zi” 文王世子) makes friendships one of four props for good order, the others being filial duty, love for one’s children, and observing precedence by age.

341. Pines (2002).

342. *Ibid.* In the early texts, see, e.g., *Shuoyuan* 1.20. In a passage that follows the retelling of the story of Bo Ya and Zhong Ziqi, Liu Xiang continues: “Even though there is a worthy person, if you do not have the means [financial or psychological] to treat him well, then how is a worthy man going to be loyal to you?” A good ruler will “make intimate friends of the old trusted advisors” 友故舊 (*Guoyu* 10/90a). There are lots of examples, including *Shuoyuan* 13.26, *Shuoyuan* 13.26; *Xunzi* 9 (“Wang zhi”). *Guodian Chumu zhujian*, “Yu cong” 語叢, 209, 197 (strips on 97, 179), says, “Friendship is the way of the ruler and subject.” *Shuoyuan* 1.20 says, “The minister of a king has the title ‘minister’ but his actual role is friend.” *Lüshi chunqiu* 19/3.4 (“Shang de” 上德); Knoblock and Riegel (2000), pp. 487–88, includes the tale of a *shi* named Meng Sheng saying that the true *shi* is subject, friend, and teacher to the ruler. To my mind, the closest the ancient Greek tradition comes to this type of expression is in the *Phaedrus*, where Phaedrus asserts that he wishes to be Socrates’s friend, and dialogue or dialectic is possible only with friendship.

Remonstrance is one of the favors that friends offer friends, because remonstrances from someone who “understands” one’s distinctive aims and character will more likely be listened to and not cause offense. See *Huainan zi* 11.1 (“Qi su xun” 齊俗訓), which says that “friends don’t resent one another” (不相怨德). Cf. *Shuoyuan* 1.30. *Shuoyuan* 2.04 portrays the ideal ruler as friendly and respectful.

343. This paragraph comes from Xu Gan’s “Castigating Contacts” (“Qian jiao”), in *Zhong lun*, *juan* 12; Makeham (2002), pp. 152–73. Xu (171–218), a junior contemporary of Cai Yong, wrote this piece because the ability to form proper associations was so important to unofficial and official life.

344. *Shangshu* 17.4 (“Shao gao”), speaks of “befriending the people,” *yumin* 友民 (although that *min* may refer to the “king’s men”).

345. See, e.g., *Shuoyuan* 15.09, explaining that Zhi Bo of Jin “inside the state, shared his assets; and outside the state, shared his labors.” Dominance, as such, can have no place in friendship, since to dominate means to subvert or frustrate the other of his or her claim to equality, and even to utilize them as a means to one’s own ends. See Deutsch (1994), p. 20.

346. Said of Zichan in *Zuozhuan*, Lord Zhao 13: 子產，君子之求樂者也。





347. See *Zhuangzi*, 31.1 (“Yufu”).

348. See, e.g., Mao Ode no. 34, where the word *you* refers to a lover; and Knechtges, *Wen xuan* (1982), vol. 3, pp. 183–92, where the wife laments her deceased husband as friend: “And I am bound up in deep cares, with no one I may confide in.”

349. Cf. *Dongguan Hanji* 16.1, which uses the expression “way of teacher and friend” (深相敬愛·接以師友之道). *Liji* 16.5 (“Xue ji” 學記); Legge (1885), vol. 2, p. 85, says, “To learn alone, without friends, makes one a solitary boor who is ill-informed” (獨學而無友·則孤陋而寡聞). *Xunzi*, 2.1; Hutton (2014), p. 9, distinguishes the role of teachers and friends, but argues both can edify, if they are the right sort. Kongzi remarked elsewhere, in another Han text, that “Yan regarded him as a father” (回也視予猶父也).

350. As Vervoorn (2004) recognizes, the family is primary only because it is generally the earliest setting in which socialization takes place; hence the family aids in moral development. But Kongzi is preoccupied with extending feelings of mutual affection and care well beyond the family to other human beings.

351. Cf. Zhou Yiqun (2010), p. 139.

352. Rouner (1994), p. 71. The modern notion of friendship, East or West, ultimately derives from Aristotle’s division of friendships into three kinds: those based in mutual pleasure or utility; friendships that retain some degree of self-centeredness, despite the precondition for friendship that the one friend wish the other well for his own sake; or, ideally, friendships based on mutual regard for the friend’s good character, which also implies “wanting for the friend what he thinks good.” For Aristotle, only the last of the three types signifies “perfect” or “complete” friendship of goodwill toward the other. For the inherent self-centeredness of the first two types of friendship in Aristotle, see Cooper (1977), p. 625. Cooper makes the case that all three types of friendship, insofar as they concerned themselves with the actual virtue/character of friends, really wished the other person well (especially pp 640–41). As Cooper says, “Friendship requires, at a minimum, some effective concern for the other person’s good (including his profit and his pleasure) out of regard for him” (p. 644); otherwise, the people are not friends, but sexual partners or partners in a commercial transaction. See also Evans (1997).

353. Hence the frequency with which the reader encounters *xiangli* 鄉里 stories, where local men and women judge people’s character and propensities. See the *Qian Han ji*, *pian* 21.369 for a “local saying” about Wang Yang 王陽 and his wife.

354. In Qian Zhongshu (2001), p. 1575, in an essay on friendship, the phrase is 交友而甘退居交際者有之.

355. *Shiji* 80.2433 (said of the exemplary men of antiquity); cf. *Yanshi jiaxun*, *juan* 12.6; Teng (1968), p. 123.

356. *Shiji* 120.3113–14. The first time Zhai Gong was superintendent of trials was in 130–127 BCE; his reappointment is not dated. “Gong” is a courtesy title. According to Loewe, this Zhai Gong is not the father of Zhai Fangjin, though they may be related. See Loewe (2000), p. 671.



357. See, e.g., Lu Sidao's (535–586) essay “Laosheng lun” (“On a Life of Labor”), quoted in *Suishu* 57.1400.

358. *Shiji* 75.2362: “Now you have lost your high position, so your guests have all left. This is insufficient reason to blame these men and cut off intercourse with [potential] clients and retainers [like me]” (今君失位，賓客皆去，不足以怨士而徒絕賓客之路).

359. Similarly, an earlier story in the *Zhanguo ce*, for example, shows a certain client of Tian Wen 田文, Lord of Mengchang, comparing instrumental friendships to a marketplace: “Can I fail to blame the officials and dignitaries of Qi [the state in which Tian Wen operated]?” “Yes!” “If one is wealthy and noble here, people draw near, but if one is poor and lowly, people stay away. Allow me to use the metaphor of a market. The market is full in the morning and emptied out at night. This is not because people like it in the morning and dislike it at night. It's because they go to the place when they are seeking something, and when that something is no longer there, they leave.” See *Zhanguo ce*, “Qi” 齊四 4, *pian* 44.4.

360. See *Shiji* 23.1160. Cf. the *Guanzi* 15/46 (“Mingfa” 明法): “Petty officers maintain their positions by cultivating contacts, rather than making their official duties their business” 小臣持祿養交，不以官為事. *Han Feizi* 16.2 (“Sanshou” 三守) uses the same expression 持祿養交, as does *Xunzi* 13.1; Hutton (2014), pp. 313–14. The *Zhuangzi*, 20.4, equates “roaming to make [career] contacts” (*jiao you* 交遊) with “forming groups chaotically” (*luan qun* 亂群), condemning such conduct. For this sort of roaming, one might watch the TV episode of *Parks and Recreation* where one character is described in this way: “He’s a tourist. He vacations in people’s lives, takes pictures, puts them in his scrapbook, and moves on. All he’s interested in are stories. Basically, he’s selfish.”

361. Liu Zongyuan (2013), vol. 4, 17.1161–72 (“Song Qing zhuan” 宋清傳). Wang Fu, a rough contemporary of Zhu Mu’s and Cai Yong’s (see below) was a self-described recluse who was fond of loudly complaining about his peers’ failure to elevate him to office. If Wang is to be believed, his contemporaries were apt to prize “new acquaintances” and forget “old friends,” on the grounds that the poor and friendless only drain one’s resources while damaging one’s reputation. A poor scholar himself, Wang Fu claims to feel the slights most acutely: The ordinary fellow on the make figures that “if there is an advantage to be had, he will become intimate [with an outright stranger]. As his intimacy increases, he will grow in affection. As his affection increases, he will grow in thinking [the new friend] correct. And as his regard for that correctness increases, he will increasingly find the other man worthy.” However, “if the poor do not visit others, they are held to be arrogant, but should they come around too often, they are suspected of trying to sponge free meals.” Peers put him down; his wife nags endlessly. Worse, when his best and most noble friends are truly in need, the man of worth seldom has the resources to lend a helping hand, so even that most worthy of men finds his friendships in tatters. While those without principles grow daily in the estimation of others, so long as there is something



to be gained by the “friendship,” if there is no monetary advantage to be had, the undiscerning, but honest friend may come to question the character and utility of his blameless friend. “For this reason, even a new friendship will tend to become more intimate with each day, so long as it is contracted with someone rich and exalted in rank, and even an old friendship with someone poor and of humble station will tend to become more distant day by day.” See *Qianfu lun jian jiaozheng* 2.20. See Ebrey (1993), pp. 69–71 which omits a few passages.

362. We should remember that letters (ostensibly “private”) were also circulated. See B. Smith (1968), warning against reading any writing as “private meditation.”

363. See the *Fengsu tongyi*, chapter 4 (“Guo Yu” 過譽) critique of uncompromising recluses: 隱以為義，枉以為厚，偽以為名，此眾人之所致譽，而明主之所必討。

364. Chu Pou’s daughter was Emperor Mang’s legal consort, and she became empress dowager and regent in 357 CE; once his daughter became empress dowager, most people at the court felt that Sima Yu should allow Chu Pou to “hold the principal power at court.” See *Shishuo xinyu* 2.54; Mather (1976), p. 59. Warm admiration for Chu Pou’s character is expressed in *Shishuo xinyu* 1.34; Mather (1976), p. 16.

365. *Jinshu* 83.2167–2168. Jansen (2006), p. 362, refers to this letter, but offers no comment on it.

366. The story of Mi Zixia is repeated in many sources, including *Shuoyuan* 17.04.

367. To take one example: Ji Kang asserts that he trusts Shan Tao in many conventional respects, but Ji does not trust Shan Tao to act to further Ji’s own development. In the hierarchy of important trusts, the highest place goes to trusting another to further one’s own unique potentials. This Shan Tao failed to do, Ji tells us.

368. See Knechtges (2011), p. 230.

369. See Nylan (1996), for these concerns. Also Baier, “Trust,” p. 112.

370. For Zhu’s “Chong hou lun” 崇厚論, see Jansen (2006), pp. 352–55 and 361–62. Zhu Mu’s essay, written in the form of a hypothetical dialogue (*she lun*) is very short; the extant version may be only a fragment of the original. This essay dates to the 150s CE, when Zhu Mu had reached high office in the provinces, if not the capital. Liu Jun 劉峻 (464–522) wrote a long “expansion” of this piece, now included in *Wen xuan* 55.2365–80. It may not be coincidental that Zhu hails from Nanyang, one center of factionalism.

371. For Zhu’s second essay, see *Hanshu* 43.1468; cf. *Qian Hou Hanwen* 28.630. The former friend, Liu Bozong, possibly acted inappropriately when he took off mourning while paying his visit to the local district magistrate’s office, which Zhu Mu then occupied. Regarding this letter, Jansen (2006), p. 353, remarks that this is the only case known to him of a letter “severing relations” ending with this sort of a corroborative poem. Zhu’s former friend was the only one to have acted inappropriately.

372. *Hanshu* 43.1474. Cai supposedly deemed Zhu’s essay on severing relations a “genuinely moving” piece “showing [admirable] self-possession.”





373. *Cai Zhonglang ji (wajji)*, *juan 2 正交論*. Cf. *Analects* 1/15–16; 4/14; 12/23; 14/13;.

374. Cf. *Zhanguo ce* 30.1108; *Shiji* 80.2433, which cite the proverbial saying alleging that the Ancients, in cases where relations were severed, “did not try to blacken [the former friend’s] reputation” 不出惡聲.

375. *Analects* 1/6; cf. 15/20. Only friendships with cultivated men of noble actions can be advertised anyway.

376. The most famous of these characterological analyses to survive is Liu Shao’s 劉紹 *Renwu zhi* 人物志 (compiled ca. 230 CE). However, these analyses cropped up everywhere in late Eastern Han, including in chapters 3 through 5 of *Fengsu tongyi* and in *Qianfu lun*. We know also that character assessments were included in the local dossiers compiled for potential candidates for office.

377. Xu Gan (171–218), a junior contemporary of Cai Yong, wrote his “Castigating Contacts” to push this same theme further, since the ability to form proper associations was so important to unofficial and official life. The four-character phrase from *Zhuangzi* offers perhaps the most disgusting image of sycophancy: 吮癰舐痔.

378. Like a few historians of medieval Europe, notably Althoff (2002), I would argue that the early and middle periods in China had a very highly developed sense of public space, though that “space” tended to be in their letters and stories, rather than in their courts, halls, and plazas. In letters and stories, events played out in considered ways that meant even displays of extreme emotions were masterfully choreographed tools of communication. One is tempted to speak of the “court of public opinion” in this connection.

379. That assessment appears in *Wenxin diaolong* 25,929. My translation modifies High-tower slightly. For the text of the letter, see *Ji Kang yizhu*, 2.270–84; cf. Holzman (1997).

380. The Chinese is *zuxia gu bu zhi zhi* 足下故不知之, where the second *zhi* (usually thought to stand for Ji Kang himself (“you do not understand me”) is more likely to mean “you do not get it [the situation].”

381. I translate *wu wei* 無為 as “to avoid polarizing” or “oppositional” behavior, following a suggestion by Shigehisa Kuriyama (January 26, 2013, conversation).

382. Ji Kang specifically mentions Ruan Ji’s protection by Sima Zhao — protection he could not expect to claim as kin to the ruling family about to be overthrown and also an arch enemy of Zhong Hui 種會 (d. 264), a successful general and longtime advisor to the Simas.

383. Lü Lihan (1996); Jansen (2006); Wang and Fu (2011). See also Shields (2015).

384. Lü Lihan (1996), p. 359, speculates that Ji Kang’s self-denigration was meant to forestall criticism and therefore save Ji Kang’s skin once he accepted a high court office. Jansen argues that Ji Kang meant to save his friend from trouble and that the letter becomes a “precautionary measure to exculpate Shan Tao from any doubt concerning his loyalty to the [Sima] regime” to which Ji Kang was openly opposed.

385. *Jinshu* 43.1223.





386. The metaphor comparing Ji Kang to a solitary pine tree comes from Shan Tao, quoted in *Shishuo xinyu*, 14.5; Mather (1976), p. 331.

387. Jansen speculates that the lack of historical allusions in the second letter, “Letter to Lü Changti Severing the Friendship,” also made it less compelling to later readers.

388. “The melody is no more” anecdote is from *Shishuo xinyu* 6.2; Mather (1976), p. 190. For an idealized portrait of Ji Kang, see Laing (1974), figures. 1–2; also Spiro (1990). As Eleanor Lipsey, a musicologist, observes (private communication, May 2015), this story does not say that Ji Kang composed this melody. There are claims elsewhere that he did, claims contradicted by other traditions. No one knows.

389. See *Analecets* 7.5 for a much-cited passage; *Mencius* 5B/8 is the locus classicus for the articulation of the ideal of “making friends in history” (imaginatively immersing oneself in the examples of exemplary men long dead). Many have remarked that only in China can one be “friends in history,” engaging the authors of fine texts or exemplary historical figures so deeply in one’s imagination that one allows them to shape one’s character and thinking, though such people may be long dead. I find this ideal in other cultures (e.g., those in Latin), though it may be more pervasive in China.

390. See the exchange of letters between Yang Xiong and Liu Xin, which hint that Yang was implicated in a crime when the fellow native of Shu whom he had recommended for palace service was involved in a sex scandal. The details of the scandal are not clear, but the letters appear to be genuine. See Knechtges (1977). For a definitive study of the Letter to Ren An, see Durrant et al. (2016).

391. For examples, see *Xian Qin Han Wei Jin Nanbei shi* 12.1.11. At the same time, “important variants of trust . . . take the form of toleration of absence and distance,” according to Baier (1991), p. 144.

392. *Shishuo xinyu* 1.7; Mather (1976), 4; cf. *Shishuo xinyu jiaojian* 1.7.

393. The oils from a person’s skin were thought to persist on books, marking them indelibly with the “moisture,” “grace” (*ze* 澤), and smell of the person. A woman’s saliva remained on the cups she used; a man’s residue on his books, according to *Liji* 11.24 (“Yuzao” 玉藻). Cf. *Mencius* 4B/22. It is important to realize that the senses, especially sight, were typically cast as responses to touch in early China, as in early Greece. For more on this, see Nylan (2008b).

394. This is a point registered by Alexander Nehamas in his six Gifford Lectures.

395. The question is whether friends can sever relations as a group, or whether it must be done one-on-one. (Probably the latter.)

396. For further information, see Kröll (2015).

397. Too often academics simply lament that the rhetoric provides us with no usable “data.” See Schäfer (1986) and Silva (1996) on topical discussions, and the methodological issues attached to them.

398. For example, the seventh chapter of *Fengsu tongyi* is composed of sets of antithetical approaches adopted by prominent people to the patron-client obligations, both of





which enjoyed considerable support in Ying's time (see, e.g., the case of Zhou Jing, the governor of Henei, versus Minister over the Masses Han Yan). Ying clearly condemns both approaches as being "out of line."

399. The *Liji* is a late Western Han pastiche of many earlier sources, including Xunzi's chapter on music. Many erroneously assume that because it is one of the Five Classics, it dates to the pre-Qin period. The "Yueji" chapter has been thoroughly summarized in Brindley (2006), (2007), (2012).

400. As I noted in the Preface, Bernard Williams (1993) argues that the Ancients are "in better shape" than we today, in that they did not cordon off moral from pragmatic reasoning. One anonymous reader suggested that the Dou Ying story be slotted in the category of "political miscalculation," but Han readers took it as a cautionary tale about friendship.

401. See Berry (2015), pp. 33, 42, 54, 107, 46, 47. Cf. Berry (2011), p. 60.

### CHAPTER THREE: MENCIOUS

1. See also *Mencius* 3B/9. The standard text of the *Mencius* dates to the time of Zhao Qi (d. 201), the commentator. All references in the text are the standard book and chapter numbers of the *Mencius*. For further information, see Loewe (1993), pp. 331–36. Translations are based on those of D. C. Lau for Penguin (1970), still the best in the field, but modified where appropriate. This is the place to acknowledge my debt to Harrison Huang, with whom I cowrote a much earlier version of this chapter. Harrison contributed much of the discussion on literary theory, especially the topic of the "family resemblance" between the *Mencius* and the *fu*, also to critical thinking about the language games in the *Mencius*. By his own account (personal communication, June 16, 2016), the discussion of the broader landscape of classicism and early traditions was my "load." I learned a great deal from him.

2. This *Odes* citation is quoted by Mencius in 1A/7.

3. This is probably because the Four Books have been read in light of the changing preoccupations of Anglo-European philosophy and religion since the days of Matteo Ricci in the early seventeenth century. Matteo Ricci was the earliest translator into a Western language of the Four Books, the corpus that includes the *Mencius*. For further information, see Mungello (1988), pp. 252–72. Undoubtedly, the most sophisticated reading of the *Mencius* is that given by Shun (1997), which never mentions the topics of pleasure or desire, though these figure in every single book of the *Mencius*. Readers are advised to consult Riegel (1997), who should be credited with introducing the topic of pleasure to the early China field.

4. For the *Analects* citations, and the historical background to the pleasure discourse described here, see Nylan (2003).

5. See *Analects*, books 4 and 15; the latter (15/24) defines *shu* not as "likening to oneself," but rather as upholding the precept that "what one does not want for himself one does not prescribe to or force upon others" (己所不欲，勿施於人).





6. Because the dialogues in Book 1 are not between teacher (superior) and student (inferior), as those in the *Analects*, but between adviser/entertainer and ruler/patron, the success of the dialogic relationship rests on the interlocutor-ruler feeling that he gains from the exchange. Book 1 is also remarkable for its false starts, that is, what Mencius refuses to talk about despite his patron/ruler's requests. E.g., see *Mencius* 1A/7.

7. The most important passage on prioritizing the desires is perhaps *Mencius* 6A/10.

8. For one example of such an argument, see *Mencius* 1A/7: "The Ancients greatly surpassed others in no other respect but being good at extending (*tui* 推) the rationale for what they did." Cf. 1B/3. For a discussion of the original provenance of *tui* as a concept in Mohist logic, see Nivison and van Norden (1996), pp. 40–41 and 96–101.

9. Once people recognize their inherent nobility of spirit, they no longer "envy other people's enjoyment of fine food . . . or fineries." See *Mencius* 6A/17. Sennett (2012), p. 120, writes on Castiglione's view that "civility, more than a personality trait, is an exchange in which both parties make one another feel good about the encounter. . . . It is a win-win exchange." Mencius knows civility.

10. One modern philosopher of the emotions imagines expansion outward in terms of progress inward: "Imagine that each of us lives at the center of a set of concentric circles, the nearest being our own self, the furthest being the entire universe of living creatures. The task of our moral development is to move the circles progressively closer to the center, so that we regard our parents and children like ourselves, our other relatives like our parents, and strangers like our relatives." See Ben-Ze'ev (2000), p. 260. Mencius would have us incorporate ever more people into our circle of care and thereby enlarge ourselves.

11. This is implied in several passages in Book 1, as we will see, but it is most clearly articulated in *Mencius* 4B/19 and 2B/4.

12. The clearest statement of this is *Mencius* 4A/10.

13. For this quotation, see *Mencius* 4A/12. Readers of classical Chinese should note that *quan* 全 and *cheng* 誠 are constantly linked in the early sources, for both refer to the state of being integral, integrated, and intact. As stated earlier, Lau's 1970 Penguin translation remains the standard, even though Lau's analysis of Mencius's arguments needs amplification and emendation. Mencius is not a second-rate debater aiming for propositional rigor. That explains why his views were far more persuasive than Lau — or Waley before him — cared to acknowledge. The views of Henry (2004) have inspired these translation efforts. Henry argues, contra the common wisdom, that *ren* 仁 and *zhi* 智 ("knowing") both presume the shared idea of extrapolating from "what is near at hand" (one's own person) to "what is far away" (others).

14. *Mencius* 4A/12.

15. *Mencius* 7A/4.

16. *Mencius* 1A/1.





17. *Mencius* 6B/8.
18. The word *zei* 賊 always refers to violent, aggravated crimes in early law.
19. *Mencius* 6B/8 most clearly shows this.
20. Note also that the *Mencius* provides a very clear portrayal of King Hui of Liang's stunning lack of virtue in *Mencius* 7B/1.
21. *Mencius* 5A/6.
22. See, e.g., *Mencius* 5B/15: 知生於憂患而死於安樂也.
23. In the theoretical literature, this feat might be compared to “enactment.” For further information, see Branigan (1984), 73, and Flitterman-Lewis (1990), p. 13.
24. The Mao preface to this ode derives the “magical” and “efficacious” quality of King Wen's structures from his “magical” and “efficacious” (also *ling* 靈) virtue. The word *ling* is more often these days translated as “numinous,” but that translation may not work for many readers.
25. No listener/reader of the *Mencius* would have been unaware of the counterexample to King Wen, the last king of Shang, who purportedly had all manner of violent activities take place in his “pleasure parks.”
26. *Mencius* 1A/3.
27. *Mencius* 1A/4. *Mencius* 2B/4 persuades a powerful person that he would not tolerate someone in his employ who failed to turn up for duty. Cf. *Mencius* 3B/8–9 and 4A/1, where Mencius advises zero tolerance for unnecessary suffering. *Mencius* 4A/14, for that reason, seems to oppose war, although Mencius can envision exceptions where war is sanctioned and necessary.
28. *Mencius* 1A/3, 7.
29. *Mencius* 1A/3. *Mencius* 2B/7 and 3A/5 consider the satisfactions of burying the beloved dead well. This focus on burying the dead as one of the basic human desires is understandable in a culture where death has not been sanitized and kept from sight.
30. *Mencius* 2B/10, which seems related to Book 1.
31. This phrase, “father and mother of the people,” appears an astonishing thirty-nine times in the *Mencius*. Clearly, for *Mencius*, it encapsulates the ruler's chief duty.
32. *Mencius* 1A/5. At the same time, in an important qualification, Mencius would sharply distinguish his principle of “sharing one's pleasures” from trying to please everyone: “If a person in authority has to please every one separately, he will not find the day long enough” (*Mencius* 4B/2). In other words, a king or an administrator must think in broad generalities about the common good, rather than consider a range of disparate and highly idiosyncratic personal goods.
33. *Mencius* 1A/6. Curie Virág (2017), chapter 3, p. 113, tries to make an interesting case for Gaozi's water analogy, but, unfortunately, the case she constructs presumes that Gaozi knows the *Shangshu* chapter entitled “Hong fan.” This presumption is almost certainly ill-founded, because that work was not likely in circulation in Mencius's time. See my forthcoming translation of the *Shangshu* from the University of Washington Press.





34. According to *Lüshi chunqiu jian* 8.5 (“Shi jun lan” 恃君覽, “Ao ci” 驕恣 pian), Lord Xuan of Qi was noted for the grand scale of his palaces. One supposedly stretched over more than 100 tracts of land (or *mu*), and each audience hall could have held 300 households. None dared remonstrate with the king. (Not Mencius himself, but another remonstrant, said that if the lord pays no heed to admonitions, it’s the same as if he had no men.) According to the ritual texts, the posthumous title Huan is given to rulers credited with territorial expansion. A common formula is “To expand the territories and bring into submission those far away (*pitu fuyuan* 辟土服遠) is called Huan.” See *Duli tongkao*, *juan* 64.

35. Of course, Mencius is dissembling here. He knows quite a number of traditions about the famous hegemony, if *Mencius* 6B/7 is any indication. Cf. *Analects* 7/21, where the Master is described as one who never speaks about “feats of strength.”

36. Cicero, *De finibus*, 5.31, says, not even “the wild beasts . . . lack cleverness for the exercise of forethought” and shudder at the prospect of pain or death. (Said by Pacuvius.)

37. *Mencius* 1A/7.

38. *Ibid.*

39. Even in the ancient Greek thinkers, there is surprisingly little interest in what is an early preoccupation in classical Chinese: the part pleasure plays in the explanation of action or motivation for action. The Greeks thought that an avoidance of excess avoided self-assertion and self-indulgence as the two extremes. By contrast, the early Chinese texts generally make self-assertion and self-indulgence the flip sides of the same coin.

40. That it would be “logical” to infer that the king wanted to save money or simply “saw one and not the other” is taken for granted here. An anonymous reader likens Mencius’s rhetorical moves here to “non-logical logic.” That the context for an action matters to the ethical decision is a point taken up in the dialogues with Gaozi in 6A and elsewhere. See below.

41. Cf. Chappell (2014), especially the introduction.

42. As the current neuroscientific understanding has it, “Like sand on a beach, the brain bears the footprints of the decisions we have made, the skills we have learned, the actions we have taken.” See Sharon Begley, quoted in Damasio (2003); Davidson with Begley (2012), p. 260; also Begley (2007). I think here of Sluga (2014).

43. *Mencius* 1A/7.

44. *Ibid.* This is the final dialogue in the first book of the *Mencius*. The definition of *ren* is borrowed from Henry (2004). The key section that begins “If you applied those insights . . .” follows an eight-character meter and keeps the same end rhyme four times. For a discussion of rhetorical features and patterning in Mencius’s language, see Huang (2002). The pronoun *zhi* 之 in the closing phrase *shu neng yu zhi* 孰能禦之 (translated as “Who can stop you?”) encompasses and logically collapses several possible renderings, so that the phrase means simultaneously: Who can stop peoples from all lands from flocking to your kingdom? What other rulers could stop you since the people all submit to you?



Who could stop you from attaining your heart's desire? and, finally, Who could stop a true king such as this? In some sense, these alternatives signify the same desirable goal. Cf. *Mencius* 1A/6.

45. *Mencius* 1A/7. The same claims are made in another passage quoted below.

46. See Kahneman (2012), p. 53. The idea is that such rhymed passages do not induce cognitive strain, and thus their logic does not seem to require special attention. The effect of repetition on liking is strong and real (*ibid.*, p. 67).

47. *Mencius* 1A/7. Compare *Mencius* 3A/3.

48. See *Analects* 14/42 and 15/14.

49. *Mencius* 4B/16, but this insight propels the discussion in Book 1.

50. I do not use “diplomatically” to mean either “hypocritically” or “unmindfully.” I think here of the nineteenth-century diplomat Duc de Joinville, who spoke of an ideal he called “re-pairing” in conversation: to forestall or mitigate damage to (i.e., repair) the expression of conflicts, so that the parties involved can imagine themselves well paired. Wittgenstein’s rule was to keep silent about things that lie beyond clear and concise language; Joinville’s to “mishear” parts of the conversation while providing a bridging apparatus between conversational partners.

51. *Mencius* 4A/8.

52. Cf. Zeldin (1998), on conversation: the good listener detects common ground more in what another person assumes than in what he or she says.

53. Cf. Sennett (2012), p. 126: “We are different from each other, as we are divided within ourselves: let’s talk!”

54. Recall Bakhtin’s “dialogic” to define a discussion that does not resolve itself by finding common ground; through the process of exchange, people may become more aware of their own views and expand their self-understanding. Sennett (2012), p. 19, has us think about the Platonic dialogues, in which Socrates proves a “very good listener” by restating “in other words” “what his discussants declare—but the restatement is not exactly what they have actually said, or indeed intended.”

55. Cf. *Analects* 12/12, where the Master says, “Behave when away from home as if in the presence of an important guest. Deal with the common people as if you were officiating at a solemn sacrifice. Do not do to others what you would not like yourself.”

56. Neuroscientists, philosophers, and humanists all agree, however, that a rich social environment for humans absolutely requires this sort of moral development on the part of most, if not all members of a community.

57. The point of the psychologist Erik Erikson’s work is this: that cooperation is the basis for development, insofar as we learn how to coexist constructively before we learn how to adopt a more critical stance. In Erikson’s lingo, a child becomes “individuated” when it is capable of self-criticism, instead of being dependent on cues from authority figures. The early sources grant, contrary to the common view of them, that people have



characteristics in common and also a configuration of characteristics that is unique to each of them.

58. *Mencius* 6A/17.

59. More literally, “To act in all things with a conscious effort to think from the other’s position — nothing works better for seeking humaneness.”

60. See *Mencius* 6A/9. This tactic works, it says, because “if one does not give one’s whole mind to it, one will never master it.” Conversely, if one devotes one’s whole effort to something, one will master it. But see also: “The trouble with people is that they are far too eager to assume the role of teacher.” Lest we moderns think we are heirs to a more logical modernity, let us examine the thought of Alexander Pope, who argued that, “*properly educated*, humans would discover that the pursuit of pleasure could conduce to general social cohesion and advantage,” and, as Pope said, “self love and social [would be] the same.” See Porter and Roberts (1996), p. 14 n.38. Obviously, there’s the same leap in Enlightenment philosophy that we find in the *Mencius* in this regard.

61. *Mencius* 4A/12: 反身不誠...不信於友...

62. Compare *Mencius* 3B/9.

63. For the first citation, see *Shuoyuan* 13.21 (“Guan Zhong Dissuades Duke Huan of Qi from Attacking Lu”), where the saying is ascribed to Confucius. For the second, see *Mencius* 7B/25. While Mencius also urges “a reduction of the desires” in 7B/25, in most of his writings he emphasizes the necessity to recognize one’s own desires and to extend that recognition to the desires of others.

64. *Mencius* 7B/25.

65. *Mencius* 1B/1.

66. Of course, later readers would be shocked at Mencius’s provocative equation of the two types of music, but I doubt if this statement was provocative in Mencius’s day. After all, latter-day sages can create music, and their products are at once new and “in the spirit” of the more ancient sage-kings.

67. *Mencius* 1B/1.

68. Wang Li (2000), p. 519. In the *Zuozhuan*, Lord Xiang, Year 29, the Western Zhou traditions of music and dance, supposedly preserved at the court of Lu, are performed for the visitor Jizha. Jizha, after each performance of a musical piece, gives an evaluation that assigns the piece to an era and correlates it with some stage of moral-emotional development. Favorable pronouncements characterize the historical agent’s balance by the formula “x, but not extreme x” (as in “taking pleasure, but not abandoning oneself”). On the completion of the performance of the final piece, which represents the pinnacle of cultural achievement, Jizha says that though there may be other pleasures, he dare not request them. Music, like pleasure taking, should stop at the point of perfect harmony and go no further. For further information, see Schaberg (2001), pp. 86–95.

69. An anonymous reader objects, sure that *you* 由 should be read as the homonym *you*





猶 (“to be like”), on the grounds that Mencius cannot possibly be saying what he appears to say, given the absolute breach between ancient music and modern music in the minds of Han and post-Han readers. I think it better to read the text as it stands, because Mencius gains much by equating the two, despite a later reader’s sense of things. For more on this breach, see Chapter 2.

70. See Sennett (2012), p. 5. I define “cooperation” as does Sennett: “an exchange in which the participants benefit from the encounter. . . . They cooperate to accomplish what they can’t do alone.” For trust, see Baier (1991) and Johnstone (2011). Johnstone makes the case that in the modern world, we are continually being asked to use impersonal trust as replacement for personal trust (as when Americans talk to a sales agent for a company in Mumbai), with predictably disastrous results. Needless to say, it is harder to build relations of trust among people who differ in their stations, attainments, and temperaments. But “natural cooperation begins with the fact that we cannot survive alone.” See Sennett (2012), p. 71.

71. *Mencius* 1B/1.

72. Cf. *Mencius* 5B/8: “When one is not content with making friends with the best gentlemen in the realm, one goes back in time and communes with the Ancients.”

73. *Mencius* 1B/4. The implication here is that the pleasures will be short-lived and the worries last a long time. In many other texts, those short-term pleasures would be called *xi*, rather than *le*, as noted in Chapter 1, but here Mencius, by design, wants to concede the point that the ruler deems them real pleasures, something more substantial than the term *xi* warrants. Mencius shows the close relation between “curbing” and “loving” the ruler in his explanation of the ode (see note 75).

74. *Mencius* 1B/4. Here Mencius reports on a dialogue between Yanzi, a prime minister of Qi, and an earlier king of Qi.

75. *Mencius* 1B/4. Here Mencius unpacks the ode.

76. *Mencius* 1A/7 most clearly constructs a win-win situation, but he is good at doing this in other passages, as well. The king is suitably gratified (*yue* 悅) by the prospect of a win-win situation.

77. *Mencius* 1B/5.

78. Compare the arguments of the “Great Commentary” to the *Changes*, as summarized in Peterson (1982) and Yang (1992), chapter 2.

79. *Mencius* 1B/7–8.

80. The ruler, Mencius tells us in 2B/4–5, is remiss if he treats the people less well than he would treat his cattle and sheep. The ruler should discharge officials and even resign himself if he or his officials cannot take care of his flock.

81. Human nature is predisposed to similar experiences. “The way the mouth is disposed to taste; the eye to color; the ear to sound; the nose to smell, and the four limbs to rest: such is human nature, yet therein lies also heaven’s decree [i.e., what is preordained]. That is why the





gentleman does not describe it as nature [since heaven's decree is more important].” *Mencius* 7B/24. *Mencius* 5A/1 explains why sex, wealth, and honor are not sufficient causes for worry for the good man. *Mencius* 6A/6 says clearly that “a man is *capable of becoming good*” (italics mine), and that is what he means when he talks of human nature being good.

82. *Mencius* 2A/1.

83. *Mencius* 4B/7, which neatly summarizes earlier conclusions.

84. *Mencius* 7B/14, which summarizes earlier conclusions.

85. *Mencius* 2A/2.

86. Cf. *Mencius* 4B/14: “A noble person steepes himself in the Way because he hopes to find it within his person. When that happens, the person takes his ease therein, and when he is at ease in it, he can draw deeply from its resources. When a person can draw deeply upon its resources, he finds its source wherever he turns. That explains why a noble person steepes himself in the Way.” Translation after Lau (1970), p. 90.

87. Cf. *Mencius* 4B/28.

88. As Mencius remarks, “That things are unequal is part of their nature. . . . But common to all humans is reason and a sense of what is right.” *Mencius* 3A/4 and 6A/7, 14.

89. For many examples, see Henry (2004).

90. Mencius observes that people regularly have the experience of reversing their earlier judgments after further consideration. The park in the capital area, for example, is not so big (forty *li* square), but if it deprives the farmers of their livelihoods, then it functions merely as a trap for the people living in the environs the capital. In such a case, it must be judged to be too big.

91. *Mencius* 2A/2.

92. *Analects* 6/30.

93. *Mencius* 1A/7, reiterated in 2A/2.

94. Similarly, the excavated *Xing zi ming chu* says that although all human beings have *xing*, their hearts lacks stable resolve (*zhi*).

95. As Confucius says (*Analects* 5/11), “To know it [the Way] is not as good as delighting in it.” For another passage emphasizing the simplicity of moral choice, see *Mencius* 7A/35.

96. If the person is not to cripple his own potential, he must “seek the cause [of his conditions] within himself.”

97. Here is a case where *liangzhi* 良知 (“knowledge of the good” or “good knowledge” that predisposes one to act well) is implicitly invoked. I do not think *liangzhi* can be equated with “conscience,” though this translation is standard. Compare those who say that every belief is a desire. More modestly, the two cannot be separated. Moreover, both beliefs and desires can exert normative force.

98. *Mencius* 2A/7.

99. *Mencius* 4A/12. The progression of the passage here is reminiscent of the “Zhongyong,” now available in a fine new translation by Plaks (2003). The term *cheng* 誠





(usually [mis]translated as “sincerity”) has a phonetic component meaning “wholeness,” “completion,” or “perfection.” For Mencius, cultivating oneself preserves one’s original wholeness.

100. *Mencius* 7A/1.

101. *Mencius* 6A/7 lays out the three conditions for attaining goodness: one must have the inclination for it (natural or acquired); the social environment must encourage good behavior; and the person must invest a great deal of time and effort into attaining the goal. Mencius’s conditions are far more complex than those put forward by other theorists. But compare Sluga (2014), p. 66, who observes that “what we call . . . action is a peculiar amalgam of physiologically determined patterns of behavior, acquired conditioned reflexes, childhood fixations, habituations, conscious learning, deliberate choice, and an appropriately descriptive language that interprets all this. . . . Actions are not elementary phenomena but composite processes” made possible “by a variety of factors, inherited and learned.”

102. See *Mencius* 6A/10: “There are things a man wants more than life and there are also things he loathes more than death. . . . Here is a basketful of rice and a bowlful of soup. Getting them will mean life; not getting them will mean death. Yet when these are given with abuse, even a wayfarer would not accept them, and when these are offered after they have been trampled upon, even a beggar would not accept them.” In Weberian analysis, humiliation occurs when an inferior has no choice in the matter and the master dictates; still worse is when the superior denies the person in the inferior position any “face.” Structural inequalities (hierarchies) per se do not undermine trust when equality is not expected. Judging from the American experience, the hardest to swallow is the tribalist’s denial of common humanity, rather than actual inequalities. As de Waal notes in his studies of chimpanzee communities, “Hierarchy is a cohesive factor, which puts limits on competition and conflict.” See de Waal (1982), pp. 208–209. Reciprocity is equally important in early China. See Yang Lien-sheng (1957).

103. *Mencius* 6A/14.

104. When King Xuan admits a fondness for martial valor (*hao yong* 好勇), Mencius does not discourage this penchant, but asks that he enlarge and extend (*da* 大) it. See *Mencius* 1B/3.

105. *Mencius* 4A/10, 12.

106. *Mencius* 7A/3. Cf. *Analects* 7/30: “The Master said, ‘Is benevolence really far away? No sooner do I desire it than it arrives.’”

107. Here one recalls Roland Barthes’s injunctions to listen to the fainter vibrations of the sensorium largely numbed by “civilization”; Mencius and Xunzi differ from Barthes in thinking that civilization (ritualized contacts) is as likely to develop as to numb these faint vibrations.

108. *Mencius* 6B/1.





109. Mencius speaks of *liang xin* 良心 (my “well-disposed hearts”; other’s “conscience”) in *Mencius* 6A/8, devoted to Ox Mountain. See note 97 above.

110. *Mencius* 6A/8. For another passage that links beauty with the ethical culture, see *Mencius* 2A/19.

111. One may compare Roy Baumeister’s notion of “ego depletion.” Emotional effort used in an early stage leaves ego-depleted people (his term), who are more liable to succumb more quickly to the urge to give up, diminishing their self-control. Baumeister’s findings are summarized in Kahneman (2012), pp. 41–44.

112. *Mencius* 3A/4. “There are those who use their minds and there are those who use their muscles. The former rule; the latter are ruled. Those who rule are supported by those who are ruled. This is a principle accepted by the whole Empire.” In Mencius’s ideal state, a ranking by the relative strength of one’s desire to do good would correspond perfectly with the sociopolitical hierarchy. Unfortunately, most people, “once they have a full belly and warm clothes on their back,” degenerate to the level of animals, if they are allowed to live idle lives, without education and discipline. *Ibid.* This is the reason why the true king appoints a minister of education for the people after he has ensured their economic well-being.

113. *Mencius* 6A/6.

114. *Mencius* 6A/6, 16. Rather bizarrely, Perkins (2014), p. 129, argues, in a generally interesting book, that *xing* is not human nature. Vankeerberghen (2005–2006) provides the best account of the weighing process.

115. *Mencius* 6A/2–4.

116. *Mencius* 7A/38: *jian xing* 踐行 (a hapax). D. C. Lau’s translation renders this as “move his figure [properly],” attributing such perfect movement to the sage.

117. *Mencius* 3A/1. Cf. *Mencius* 4B/32; “Even Yao and Shun were the same as anybody else”; and 6A/7: “Now things of the same kind are all alike. Why should we have doubts when it comes to man? The sage and I are the same kind. . . . What is common to all hearts? Reason and rightness. The sage is simply the man first to discover the common elements in our hearts.”

118. *Mencius* 3A/1.

119. *Mencius* 6A/2.

120. *Mencius* 6A/6. Both verbs are implied in the Chinese sentence *fu si er yi* 弗思耳矣.

121. See *Mencius* 3B/4–5 for details.

122. *Mencius* 2B/12.

123. *Mencius* 2A/5. Rhymes are on the end lines with the words “under” (*xia* 下), “outlying districts” (*ye* 野); “roads” (*tu* 塗); and “those” (*zhe* 者). Note the similarity with *Mencius* 1A/7 cited above.

124. *Mencius* 5B/1.

125. *Mencius* 5A/1.



126. *Mencius* 5A/2.

127. For an extended treatment of the notion of returning to one's beginnings in Mencius, see Huang (2002).

128. *Mencius* 7B/37.

129. *Mencius* 6B/3.

130. *Mencius* 7A/25: "He who gets up with cockcrow and never tires of doing good is the same kind of man as Shun [the sage]." Cf. *Mencius* 1A/7.

131. *Mencius* 2B/9.

132. *Mencius* 3B/2.

133. *Mencius* 6A/7, for example, has the protagonist Mencius saying, "The sages are the same sort of person as I am" (聖人與我同類者).

134. *Mencius* 7A/4.

135. *Mencius* 3A/3.

136. *Mencius* 3A/3.

137. *Mencius* 4B/26. Cf. *Mencius* 7A/13–14: "Good government wins the wealth of the people; good education wins their hearts." "The people under a leader of the local lords are happy; those under a true king are expansive and content. . . . A noble man transforms where he passes and works wonders where he abides. . . . Can he be said to bring but small benefit?"

138. *Mencius* 7A/17.

139. *Mencius* 5A/3, said of a brother in an anecdote. This is applicable to any evildoer in the Mencian accounts.

140. *Mencius* 4B/28.

141. *Mencius* 4B/28.

142. *Mencius* 6B/2.

143. *Mencius* 4A/1.

144. See Nylan (2016a) on the reception of Xunzi. Judging from the extant sources, Xunzi's writings on that topic occupy but a small fraction of his entire corpus and until the advent of Buddhism and its propagation attracted relatively little attention. Perhaps this is because Yang Xiong's formulation (that human nature is a mixture of fine and ugly tendencies) was presumed to have resolved the dispute between Mencius and Xunzi.

145. I say "supposedly," because we cannot be sure that the slogans are really those of Mencius and Xunzi, in view of the activist editing that occurred in early and middle-period China, right up through the Song (see Cherniack [1994] and Nylan [2011]). I resist, very much, the translation of *e* as "evil" or "bad," since Xunzi is not discussing an ontological condition of human beings (akin to original sin), but rather their propensity to act in destructive ways if unschooled in the beauties of the Way. Xunzi emphasizes the transformability of this original nature, again and again, into an improved "second nature" (also called *xing*), making "evil" or "bad" (which emphasizes the unchangeable character of



human beings) a poor (i.e., misleading) translation. Elsewhere, Xunzi calls human nature “unlovely” (Curie Virág’s translation for *bu mei* 不美).

146. As students of early texts know, the radicals for logographs are often missing, so Han arguments associate *xian* and *gan* rightly. Xunzi writes, 易之咸。見夫婦。夫婦之道不可不正也。君臣父子之本也。咸感也。 See *Xunzi* 27.38; Hutton (2014), p. 297. The last lines speak of the noble lowering itself before those below, of men humbling themselves before women, and of preferring the weak and pliable approaches to the hard.

147. *Ibid.* See also *Xunzi jijie* (“Dalüe” 大略), 495. The notion that the love and sex of husband and wife are the beginning of all other fruitful and constructive social relations reappears repeatedly in the *Record of Rites* and in other Han texts.

148. See, e.g., *Mencius* 7A/13: “The people under a leader of the local lords are happy; those under a true king are expansive and content.” For Mencius, the influence of the ruler upon his subjects is powerful and pervasive. He continues with improbable statements: “Because of this, they bear no ill will when put to death. . . . They move daily toward goodness without realizing who it is that brings this about.”

149. The inner/outer, *nei/wai* dichotomy in the *Mencius* is not the same as in Western philosophy. It does not principally concern surface versus reality, but rather what is and is not subject to alteration by externalities, including cycles of fate. Both Nylan (2001) and Geaney (2011) emphasize the lack of a strong, Western-style inner/outer distinction, because the bodily self is so permeable, changeable, and open to influences.

150. Contra Perkins (2014), chapter 4 (especially p. 123), which states that “Heaven is invoked only when bad things happen.” Perkins, p. 127, cites Chen Daqi and Pang Pu, who argue that Heaven is but another name for the social world, “the power of the human collective.” But the analysis offered by Chen and Pang tell us more about the Chinese Communist Party’s emphasis on secular humanism than about the *Mencius* text.

151. *Hanshu* 23, the economic treatise translated by Swann, contains many debates on the proper level of taxation. For regular and irregular gifts from the ruler in Han times, see McKnight (1982).

152. *Gui* is a term taken up in every book of the *Mencius*, usually in this sense of “tendering allegiance to,” “treating as a virtual home.” Compare Chapter 7 below “returning home.”

153. *Mencius* 7A/22. *Mencius* 3A/3 gives the description of King Wen’s classic well-field system (a myth?). Much the same lesson is given in *Shuoyuan* 5.8, 5.12 (“*Gui de*” 貴德), where Yanzi suggests that men seldom forget a kindness or a slight, so generosity is worth it, so long as it makes the kingdom of Qi invulnerable to attack.

154. *Hou Hanshu* 5.227. Archaeologically excavated examples of these dove staffs have been found in Gansu province.

155. *Hanshu* 9.279.

156. *Hanshu* 8.258.



157. *Hanshu* 8.285, 24A/1142.

158. *Hanshu* 29.1688. Mention was made of “public birth houses” in Ying Shao’s *Fengsu tongyi*.

159. E.g. *Hanshu* 4.113; 6.174, 180, 196, 207; 8.239, 248, 255, 257; etc.

160. *Hanshu* 8.248.

161. One can derive a different picture for charity during Western Han than that supplied in Lewis (2009). As noted in Li Lingfu (2009), p. 202, Gong Yu 貢禹 wanted a lot of land in Shanglin Park to be given back to the neighboring peasants to farm. It is not clear, however, that Yuandi responded positively to Gong Yu’s memorial, contrary to Li Lingfu’s account. Under Han Chengdi, we know that parts of the park (in the east, south, and west) were given over to the poor or commoners (*ibid.*). Long ago, such welfare provisions led one superb scholar to describe late Western Han as a “proto-welfare state.” See Hulsewé (1987). The great expense incurred with the imperial charities was first mentioned, so far as I know, by Lü Simian (d. 1952) in his *Lü Simian dushi zhaji*, vol. 2, pp. 598–600 and 603–604. Based mainly on the *Documents* classic and the *Yi Zhoushu* materials, I am currently writing a book entitled *The Politics of the Common Good in Early China*.

162. Compare *Shuoyuan* 15.14 (“Kongzi Gives Advice to Lord Ai of Lu”).

163. See Ben-Ze’ev (2000), p. 260, and note 10 in this chapter.

164. Sunstein and Thaler (2008).

165. E.g. Tao (2010), pp. 212–36.

166. Guodian, “Chengzhi wen zhi,” strips 18–19. *Ibid.*, strips 19–20, continues: “When he returns to such acts of guiding him, the people necessarily cleave to this and place great value on him. Can he afford not to be cautious? Thus the noble man does not make much of how much the requital is, nor treat as a far-distant concern what they seek from him. Rather, examining and reflecting upon his own actions, he is able to know others. For this reason, if a person [a ruler] desires that others cherish him, he must first cherish others. If he desires that others must first respect him, he must first respect others.” (The essay has been given this title by its modern editors.)

167. See General Assembly Resolution 217A, especially Article 29. For Wood’s “The Supreme Principle of Morality,” which is bolstered by numerous references to Kant, see <https://web.stanford.edu/~allenw/webpapers/SupremePrincipleMorality.pdf>.

168. *Mencius* 3A/4, said of his model, Confucius.

169. *Ibid.*

170. I am indebted to Boyson (2012), p. 57, for this wording.

171. *Mencius* 3B/5.

172. H. Huang (2002). The term “rhapsodies” has been proposed by David R. Knechtges; it has been opposed by Paul Kroll.

173. The *fu* reflect a heightened consciousness of the higher stakes involved in the ruler’s pursuit of pleasure after unification in 221 BCE, when the Son of Heaven held such vast



territories in his possession. These continuities between the dialogues in the *Mencius* and the rhapsodic forms may have prompted Yang Xiong 揚雄, the foremost *fu* writer of his time, to defend Mencius in the *Exemplary Figures* or *Fayan* 法言.

174. *Mencius* 4A/27.

#### CHAPTER FOUR: XUNZI

1. “Fashion themselves” is a direct challenge to Edward Slingerland’s “externalist” model for Xunzi, which pays surprisingly little heed to the language of the text. See Slingerland (2003), p. 218. I also part company with Curie Virág (2017), p. 166, who mischaracterizes an earlier version of my argument, equating the pursuit of beauty in one’s own person with “self-interest,” when I do not talk of self-interest in her sense of the word. Perhaps she mistakes my meaning, or perhaps she needs a straw man to argue against.

2. Mistakenly, scholars assume that Xunzi labels himself as an atheist. Not quite. He does say that the dead are unconscious and decomposing. But he presents himself as an agnostic when it comes to the existence or nonexistence of the unseen powers. What he is adamant about is the fact that no acts attributed to the gods or Heaven (e.g. floods, droughts) need disorder human society if rulers and their courts have taken appropriate relief measures.

3. Perhaps this is why *Shiji* 121.3116 says that Xunzi, in tandem with Mencius, made Kongzi’s teachings “glossing and appealing” (*run se* 潤色). The locus classicus for this binomial expression is *Analects* 14/8.

4. Though Xunzi addresses his arguments to men like himself (potential or actual candidates for office-holding), his language is ungendered and may thus apply to women, as well. He is an engaged master of language and a teacher of rhetoric; in that sense only—without any pejorative sense—I refer to his “rhetoric.”

5. As an historian, I would emphasize the process by which a number of disparate materials were eventually made into a single compilation attributed to a historical figure, Xunzi (fl. 264–238 BCE). This process of compilation was reportedly undertaken by Liu Xiang 劉向 (77–6 BCE), who dramatically cut a number of passages and devised chapter titles for the revised chapters while “editing” the materials. These titles attached to the extant Xunzi chapters often mislead the reader about the chapter’s contents. (I am indebted to Nicolas Standaert of Leuven University for this observation.) To take but two examples: the “Rectifying Names” (Zhengming 正名) chapter discusses the issue of “rectifying names” only in its opening section, after which it moves on to a complex discussion of human nature, desire, and motivation, nor does the title “Human Nature Is Ugly” (Xing e 性惡) show how close Xunzi is to Mencius, once the topic is culture, rather than endowed nature.

As an historian, I generally look for coherence within each separate chapter (representing one or more persuasions on a topic), rather than in a text as a whole, since writings circulated in much smaller units during the pre-Han and Han periods. Still, I accept the philosopher Eric Hutton’s characterization of the *Xunzi* as sufficiently consistent across



chapters to justify speaking of major themes threading through the extant text. For simplicity's sake, then, I will hereafter use *Xunzi* and the *Xunzi* as if the relation between ascribed author and textual production were unproblematic. I will also employ other book titles and person's names (e.g., Zhuangzi and the *Zhuangzi*) in a similar manner. Readers should note that *Sanjian jiandu heji* (1990), pp. 44–50, discusses a fragment attributed to the *Xunzi* compilation that was found in Bajiaolang 八角廊, Ding County 定縣, Hebei.

6. Curiously, Curie Virág (2017), p. 175, gives a one-sided view of *Xunzi*'s ideas about desires, casting them mainly as the sort of fixations that “interfere with the attainment of true knowledge.” But that is to give a Protestant account of *Xunzi* and to ignore numerous passages in *Xunzi* that give a positive picture of the role of desires in transforming the basic endowment into an improved second nature. Indeed, in Han times, *Xunzi*'s positive view of the potential desires to move wise men to deliberate was echoed in many sources, including *Shiji* 129, on money making.

7. Only three chapters out of thirty-two in the *Xunzi* do not mention pleasure.

8. Readers should know that the current thirty-two-chapter *Xunzi* represents one tenth of the original writings ascribed to him in late Western Han, according to the remnants preserved of Liu Xiang's *Bielu* 別錄. For more on this, see Chapter 6.

9. In talking of the “corporeal self” or “physical person” (*shen* 身), the *Xunzi* sometimes asserts that “all human beings” have the potential to become divinely efficacious (*shen* 神) and compellingly graceful (*de* 德), though it is doubtful that he is always making general propositions about humanity. At other points, however, *Xunzi* seems to imply that the “noble man” can be drawn only from the ranks of the cultivated members of the sociopolitical elite, men who are not themselves farmers, merchants, and artisans. As is often true of Zhanguo writings, the terms *jun* 君 and *junzi* 君子, *ren* 人 (“human,” “man”) and *gua ren* 寡人 (“the ruler”), tend to be conflated. It is possible, then, that *Xunzi* does not conceive of a real farmer who understands the Way, and hence does not enunciate a real theory of “human nature.” Certainly his rhetoric, by design (given its presumed audience) or by unconscious presumption, allows members of the sociopolitical elite to feel justly superior to their sociopolitical inferiors, so long as they employ worthy men — i.e., people like *Xunzi*. For *Xunzi*, the Way refers not to the cosmic way, but to the sociopolitical orders created by the sages in response to the exigencies of their times and adapted by their latter-day followers as needed. Chief among these sociopolitical orders are the ritual orders, orders of nobility and precedence, and the penal code. See below.

10. H-Y 9/4/24: “Those who are secure in [their] benefits are always pleased and relaxed . . . those who are pleased and relaxed always live to a great age.” All references are to the *Xunzi yinde* 荀子引得. Sinological Index Series Supplement no. 22. Beijing: Harvard-Yenching Institute, 1950.

11. The term *mei* 美 (“beautiful,” “fine”) appears eighty-one times in the *Xunzi*, and *cheng* 誠 (“integrity,” “integral”) seventy-three times.



12. For the record, I began in conferences to talk about the noble man's ways to style himself as a virtual god a few years before Puett (2002) came out; as it happens, Puett and I discussed this topic early on. However, Puett and I do not agree substantially about the limits and usage pertaining to this word *shen* as seen in context (see below), so this may not matter.

13. Han exegetes generally gloss this phrase, which is also found in the “Zhongyong,” in one of two ways: “to guard one's singularity,” as in the main text, and “being cautious when he is on his own” (usually meaning, “not at court” and “in his domestic circle”). For more on this, see Nylan and Wilson (2010), especially chapter 4; also Riegel (2016), p. 216 n.25: “The phrase *junzi shen qi du ye* 君子慎其獨也, seen in recently excavated manuscripts and known from a number of classical sources, appears for the first time in extant literature in the ‘Bu gou’ 不苟 chap. of the *Xunzi* [juan 3], a highly-crafted representation of Xunzi's most mature thinking and his masterful ability to exploit the aphorisms and poetical imagery of ancient Chinese philosophical discourse. In this line Xunzi portrays the Gentleman's careful attention (*shen* 慎) to his inner and most authentic self (*du*) as a characteristic that distinguishes him from lesser beings [H-Y 7/3/30].” Later exegetes, less comfortable with the notion of “singularity,” will take it to mean “in the privacy of his thoughts,” or “in the privacy of his own room.”

14. Xunzi's insistence on the aesthetic delights of moral charisma, both for the charismatic figure and for the beholders is decidedly at odds with the conventional view of Xunzi as a strict law-and-order man. Recent scholarship (e.g., that of Herbert Fingarette, Roger Ames, Henry Rosemont, and Li Zehou) has sought to highlight the importance of the aesthetic for distinctive developments in Chinese thought. While I believe accounts of those developments to be sometimes skewed by East/West generalizations that can be traced back to early modern methods of biblical interpretation, I accept the notion that “art and the more ‘practical’ side of life came to be profoundly interdependent, enfolded like pleats in fabric.” See Pearce, et al. (2001), p. 3. For the usual East/West contrasts, apparently derived from biblical interpretation, see Barr (1961).

15. H-Y 10/4/33, 43; 13/5/24.

16. For a typical analogy between food and sex, see “Tianxia zhidao tan,” one of the Mawangdui medical texts, translated in Harper (1998), p. 432. There, “the sage, when conjoining male to female,” is said to be like a person eating [nourishing food], since partaking of both good food and good sex “assists life.” Also see the frequent discussions that “use a minor desire [like sex] to illustrate a major desire [like ritual],” as in the “Wuxing pian” commentary on lines 4–6 of Mao Ode no. 1. For further information, see *Mawangdui Hanmu boshu*; Ikeda Tomohise (1990); and Pang Pu (1979); and Csikszentmihalyi (2006). Murdoch (1993), p. 21, comments that those who find these urges “intuitively obvious” could hardly articulate the defining character of sex or food.

17. H-Y 10/4/42; 85/22/67. The passage continues, “and certain things they eschew, even though the distance and difficulties [to procure them] are slight . . . Humans in general





all pursue what they think will do [in a given case] and reject what they think will not do.” Ellipses are used to break the passages, but note that I have reversed the order of the passages within the quote, believing that change will make better sense to the reader.

18. H-Y 85/22/56–60: “As a general rule, those who contend that ‘order requires that we first reduce the number of our desires’ are those who lack the means to moderate the desires. . . . ‘Having desires’ and ‘lacking desires’ belong to different categories: those of life and death, not those of order and disorder [i.e., only the dead lack desires].”

19. H-Y 87/23/25–27. Xunzi says of the *tian guan* (e.g., ear, eye, nose, mouth, and bodily form corresponding to sight, smell, taste, and touch) “that they can, each of them, have what they make contact with” (*neng ge you jie* 能各有接). See H-Y 62/17/11; cf. H-Y 81/21/62, which talks of the “desires of the ear and eye to make contact.” My vocabulary differs slightly from that adopted by Tri and Despeux (2003–2004) and Santangelo (2006a), (2006b), coming closer to that of A. Cheng (1997), perhaps. While I prefer to use the translation “dispositions” for *qing* 情, in this following Eric Hutton, they identify the Six Emotions (*liu qing* 六情) of “liking and disliking, delight and anger, sorrow and pleasure” with the “feelings.” The emotions refer, by their account, to the movements produced by our responses; sentiments to the sensory response itself; and feelings to an intermediate state, prior to action, but more deeply imbedded than the sensory response. I am not at all sure that Xunzi observes these distinctions consistently or, indeed, whether these distinctions are his. The length of the reaction to and result of the phenomenon seems to determine Xunzi’s choice of vocabulary, not the relative embeddedness of the sensation. See Santangelo (2007).

20. H-Y 39/11/45–47.

21. H-Y 10/4/44.

22. H-Y 83/22/2–3. Because other accounts mention the six dispositions, Xunzi seems to adopt the conventional account.

23. See Graham (1993), p. 34, with reference to “ancient Chinese thought” in general.

24. It is not altogether clear how the operations of the heart/mind relate to the operations of the dispositions: whether they somehow modify the dispositions or interpose themselves between the dispositions and the body’s move to act. The clearest statement on this comes in the “Zhengming” chapter, but the passage there is liable to different interpretations.

25. The crudity of a child’s understanding in the practical realm is matched by the crudity of moral understanding: “When humans are born, they are indisputably petty. . . . All they have is an eye for is profit.” This is my analogy, not that of Xunzi, who seldom speaks of children, except as works in progress.

26. This observation stems from the opening paragraphs of Xunzi’s chapter “On Ritual.” If I am right in this, Xunzi’s observations tally with those of Kahneman (2012).

27. Hence the importance to the moral cultivation of acquaintance with the ZhuXia 諸夏 (“all the Xia”) customs, assumed to be infinitely better than those of the barbarian





polities and societies. “By analogy, that the man of Yue is comfortable in Yue, and the man of Chu is comfortable in Chu, and that noble men seek comfort in Xia refinement . . . this is not because their knowledge, abilities, basic constitution, and natures make them so [dramatically different]; this is because the principles by which they pay attention to faults and customs differ.” See H-Y 10/4/40.

28. H-Y 67/18/53.

29. H-Y 11/4/54. Note that Xunzi allows little for personal idiosyncrasy.

30. Because *cheng* is typically glossed in late Zhanguo and Han times as *quan* 全 (“whole”), I take the negative to mean “unwhole.” In other contexts, this might mean “inauthentic.”

31. H-Y 75/19/101 and 73/19/70–73.

32. Before the ellipsis, H-Y 86/22/81–86; after the ellipsis, H-Y 86/22/82. Note here that I have used two words to translate the terms *zhi* and *mei*, since I believe the semantic range in Chinese to cover two meanings in English.

33. H-Y 46/18/6. H-Y 46/18/7–11, tries to uncouple the associations that appear in Xunzi between *shan* 善 (“what is good”) and *cheng* 誠 (“what has integrity and wholeness”).

34. Zhuangzi, for example, seems to focus more on “keeping oneself [physically] intact” than Xunzi. See my arguments in chapter 5 about the extant *Zhuangzi*. Xunzi, by the way, comes very close to the position on pleasure articulated in *Nicomachean Ethics* 1174a13–19, p. 273: that pleasure, like perception, is “complete” at any time, since it represents an unimpeded actualization (*energeiai*) achieved with full attention and vigor in accordance with one’s natural capacities or dispositions.

35. H-Y 70/19/1.

36. H-Y 70/19/6.

37. HY 2/1/34. Or, as one commentator says, “They do not explicate anything.”

38. See the concluding remarks in the *Xunzi*, chapter 17, “Tian lun” (H-Y 64/17/53), which says that humans are propelled to improve their conditions and themselves by their having many desires. This statement recalls Plotinus, *Ennead*, vol. 5 translated by A. H. Armstrong, 6 (24), 5, 9 (Loeb), p. 213: “It is desire that engenders thought.”

39. H-Y 79/21/21. Similarly misguided are those who adopt the slogan “Regard nothing as pleasure” as a way of stilling their desires. Compare H-Y 76/20/1, with *Zhuangzi* 18 (“Zhile” 至樂 chapter), or H-Y 46/18/11.

40. HY 11/4/62–64. The end of this translation follows Knoblock (1988–1994), vol. 1, p. 193.

41. Mencius 6B/1, as noted in Chapter 3, speaks of crossing moral lines, as does the “Wuxing pian” citation of Mao Ode no. 1, “Guanju” (lines 4–6). Cf. H-Y 87/23/18–22. Riegel (1997) suggests that this argument goes back to pre-Qin times. The “found” Shanghai Museum bamboo essay entitled “Kongzi Shi lun” 孔子詩論 (“Kongzi, on the Odes”) relies on the same analogies as those in the Mawangdui and Guodian manuscripts, which are discussed in Riegel (1997).





42. It is no less easy to gauge another's responses to a particular experience accurately, as the sage knows: "One uses one's own being to measure other humans; one uses one's own disposition to measure that of others." H-Y 14/5/35.

43. For Xunzi on this weighing of conflicting goals, see H-Y 79/21/29, where the key phrase is "to lay out together the myriad sorts of things and at the middle hang a balance for them."

44. H-Y 12/4/70.

45. H-Y 85/22/63-67.

46. Tremain (1999), p. 484.

47. See H-Y 86/22/447, which aims to challenge the slogan "Let the desires and dispositions be reduced." Xunzi continues, "Even so [with the desires], one is not necessarily made insecure with them. That being the case, the noble man speaks of [or is led by] what is the constant or general rule, while the petty man speaks of [or is led by] miracles."

48. See H-Y 10/4/41-42 for the quotation. Xunzi laments the propensity for contemporary courts to celebrate sophisticated paradoxes (e.g. "High mountains and deep abysses are level"), since notions of ethical causation may weaken over time if an unthinking population is encouraged in the predilection for the bizarre and inexplicable.

49. H-Y 14/5/35-36.

50. Cf. Conrad (2009), p. 116: "No man engaged in a work he does not like can preserve many saving illusions about himself. . . . It is only when our appointed activities seem by a lucky accident to obey the particular earnestness of our temperament that we can taste the comfort of complete self-deception."

51. H-Y 10/4/32-37.

52. H-Y 25/8/117.

53. H-Y 10/4/37, which thought continues to 10/4/39-46; cf. H-Y 5/2/40; 25/8/110.

54. For the first quotation see, H-Y 10/4/37; for the second, 4/2/12, where the "despicable person" is shown to be one who "harms himself." An important part of Xunzi's claims, however, is that we not only do injury to ourselves when we engage in despicable behavior, but we injure the society we live in. He speaks, for example, of, "the common calamity of all those in our world, and a great misfortune and harm to others" (11/4/57).

55. H-Y 83/22/6. "Now, man's nature is such that when he is hungry he will want to be sated with food; when he is cold he will want to be warmed; and when he is weary he will want rest. That is the human condition." H-Y 87/23/18. If the mouth and belly do not perceive a genuine lack, then they are termed "ill." Cf. H-Y 83/22/6.

56. H-Y 88/23/31-34.

57. For the citation, see H-Y 37/11/1. The parallels here in the work of Xunzi and Bourdieu are strong. Here, regrettably, I part company with Eric Hutton, who doesn't like the idea that *xing* 性 in the Xunzi can mean both "human nature" and "second nature." I see a few passages in which *xing* cannot refer to the endowed nature at birth, however, as noted in my editorial notes to Hutton (2014b).





58. H-Y 80/21/35-41. Xunzi's phrase is "empty [of preconceptions], one [i.e. unified in one's thinking], and still [not inclined to precipitate action or premature fears]."

59. *Qiong* describes the two extremes, the person totally depleted of energy and other resources and thus "at his or her wit's end" and the person who has fully attained his or her best self.

60. I have learned a great deal from the M.A. thesis of Nicolas Constantino (2016).

61. "It is simply what happens when one repeatedly decides in the same way — that is, when one's reasoning is consistent and coherent, and one finds that repeated deliberations turn up no reason to reverse one's view. The increasing consistency of behavior and response that builds up as this happens is thus not a non-rational force threatening the agent's next exercise of rationality." Improvement is not merely a function of self-control, in other words. See Annas (1993), pp. 48-49.

62. H-Y 83/22/3-4 gives two definitions for *xing*. The first is "the wherewithal at birth." The second definition is: "the [first] *xing*'s harmonious accord with what was born [the endowment] and its fine coherence in response; what it does not work at but what is so of itself." The commentators generally take the second definition to refer to the response of humans to external phenomena. The second definition is sufficiently ambiguous that it could refer to the second nature, which now "naturally" [without "working at"] chooses to act upon the desire that deliberation deems right and practical..

63. For the first quote, H-Y 3/2/1; for the second, H-Y 5/2/40.

64. H-Y 3/1/43-44: "When a person misses one shot out of a hundred in archery, he cannot be called a good archer. When a person on a thousand-*li* journey breaks down a few paces from the destination, he cannot be called a good driver. When a person fails to make sense when categorizing things [evaluating them], when a person is less than wholehearted in his pursuit of humaneness and duty, then he cannot be called good at learning."

65. Before the ellipsis, H-Y 25/8/113-115; after the ellipsis, H-Y 10/4/47.

66. H-Y 89/23/70.

67. H-Y 25/8/113.

68. H-Y 10/4/47. Interestingly, it is not Mencius, but his interlocutor who asserts that every person may become a sage. See Mencius 6B/2.

69. H-Y 6/2/45.

70. *Shiji* 121.3116 credits Xunzi with making Kongzi's teachings more glossy and appealing, as noted above.

71. H-Y 41/11/79. See Riegel (1997).

72. *Mencius*, Book 1, suggests to the ruler that it is fine — and furthermore, the basis for morality — to be predisposed to like sex (*hao se* 好色), wealth (*hao huo* 好貨), music (*hao yue* 好樂); the most extreme expression of this view is to be found in *Mencius* 7A/15. Xunzi importantly adds ("liking and so sparing living beings" (*hao sheng* 好生) and "liking





benefit and profit” (*hao li* 好利), and, perhaps most importantly, the disposition to “like or therefore want glory or honor” (*hao rong* 好樂), which greatly complicates the pleasure calculation while strengthening motivation.

73. As Graham (1993), p. 41, says, “all classifications of value start by distinguishing the spontaneously desired and disliked.”

74. Graham (1983) addresses some of these points from a different angle. He uses the example of the choice between pear and peach (p. 13). The other examples are mine. However, many recent students of Chinese philosophy (e.g. Ames and Rosemont [1999] and Nylan [2015b]) argue that the Chinese grammar, which typically takes the form of “If . . . then” situational sentences, obviates much of the problem of moving from “is” to “ought.” The Chinese are not looking, in the main, for universal truths, but what proves efficacious in the moment and in the future.

75. See *Shiji* 24.1175; S. Cook (1997), p. 19, discusses *jie* (“modulation”; “nodes” of bamboo and “junctures” or “rhythms” in other contexts), with reference to this.

76. See the opening lines to *Xunzi*, *juan* 19, “On Ritual.”

77. Jameson (1983), p. 1. Ricoeur (1983) argues that time is principally perceived as anticipated and as reflected upon in retrospect, which makes the present largely a construction of these two perceptions. Substitute “pleasure” for “time” in Xunzi’s arguments, and you have the same idea.

78. As the *Hanfeizi*, 25/56/16–19 observes, “Now, as we all know, the people will always be concerned with the concerns of the person who is concerned with the people’s concerns. And the people will always take pleasure in the pleasures of the person who takes pleasure in the people’s pleasures.” On the other hand, as Jia Yi noted, if the ruler “allows the people pleasure [inappropriately], the people’s misery will only increase; [in some cases] one may [temporarily] cause the people misery, but the people will find their pleasures increased [over time in consequence of wise policies].” See *Xinshu* 3.3.20.16–18. These observations, which seem to be implicit in Xunzi’s treatment of the pleasure problem, are drawn from thinkers who looked to Xunzi as inspiration.

79. Hence Xunzi’s strictures in his sixth chapter against both the bestial impulses (exhibited in the unrestrained passions and in an overbearing manner) and the “*Ru*” impulses (exhibited in the failures to let oneself appreciate the pleasures afforded by convivial opportunities). Numerous passages in the Xunzi inveigh against overindulgence in pleasure, luxury, and indolence. See H-Y 17/7/2.

80. *Xunzi*, *juan* 10. H-Y 32/10/19–20 speaks of the necessity for sufficient incentives to inspire the people to work hard on behalf of others. H-Y 33/10/33 speaks of the need to inspire people to acts of generosity by generous acts on the part of their superiors.

81. H-Y 77/20/22.

82. H-Y 70/19/1–3.

83. H-Y 70/19/5.





84. What demonstrates to Xunzi's satisfaction (the pun intended) the final coexistence of sublime pleasure with a strong sense of constraints is the fact of music performance itself (whose Chinese character not coincidentally, to Xunzi's way of thinking, borrows the very sign for "pleasure").

85. Xunzi says that the greatest injury to the realm comes from "petty men in positions of authority" who "inspire fear in the people" by inflicting unjust burdens on the commoners. "It injures the realm for the ruler of a large country to be fond of receiving [i.e., exacting] minor profits. It injures the realm for the ruler out of a fondness for new sounds and colors, pavilions and archery courts, parks and gardens, to require increasingly more for his satisfaction. And it injures the realm for the ruler not to be fond of cultivating rectitude in what he already has, but rather to desire the possessions of others constantly, with an insatiable and ravenous appetite. When these three perversities lie within the breast of the ruler and to them is added a fondness for using men given to expediency and opportunism . . . then the realm's influence will be trivial, its reputation shameful, and its altars of soil and grain certainly endangered." See H-Y 42/11/104-43/11/134.

86. H-Y 31/10/5-32/10/24. (Note, however, that in chapter 23, on the deplorable aspects of human nature, Xunzi emphasizes that most people, comfortable with their own pettiness, cannot be induced through any means to make the effort to become sages, though such a possibility is open to them.) For humans' necessity to form groups, see H-Y 32/10/22. H-Y 32/10/25-33/10/34 makes the point that the work of many (in carving and polishing jade, in incising and inlaying metal, in embroidering fabrics, and so on) allows the ruler to give his full attention to the nurturance of his inner power, secure in the knowledge that others are willing to die in his defense.

87. H-Y 34/10/61-63 describes the powerful effect that great luxury items, such as bells, embroidered clothes, and carved jade have upon the lower orders. If ritual institutions are in place, the penal code then need only be applied to those benighted persons who are arrogant and foolhardy enough to think that they can operate entirely outside societal laws. The entire chapter of *Xunzi*, *juan* 19, elaborates such notions.

88. H-Y 34/10/63-64.

89. For the first quotation, see H-Y 76/20/05; 76/20/8, 11. (Where there is clearly a play on the two words, then I use both to translate *le*.) For the second quote, see H-Y 39/11/47-50. For the third, on targets, see H-Y 39/11/47-50.

90. All this is demonstrated in the opening lines to Xunzi's chapters devoted to ritual and to music.

91. Mozi 墨子 and Yanzi 晏子, by contrast, had advised the ruler to work primarily through prudent fiscal policies.

92. See the so-called Wu Ban stele (tradit. ca. 148 CE), cited in Rong Geng (1936), *kaoshi* section, 5b. A similar phrase used of the court's representatives is that they should "discern



and display for commoners [right conduct]" (*Hou Hanshu* 39.1307). I had already devised the term "public display" culture when my former colleague Gary McDonogh (Bryn Mawr College), recommended Habermas (1989), especially the introduction, which uses the same term to explain the eventual creation of the modern public space.

93. In the *Liji* 23.15b–16a (Ruan Yuan ed., 1815), the *Liji* is defined as the "school/traditions of Xunzi." Both the *Xunzi* (H-Y 44/12/17) and the *Hanshi waizhuan* 4.11 define the prince as one "who distributes largesse according to the rituals [including the sumptuary regulations]." It is under this rubric of distribution of largesse that I would put the public announcements of amnesties. See McKnight (1982). Note also that the H-Y 17/6/34–35 identifies the noble *shi* 士 of the good old days as one who loved to distribute largesse . . . being ashamed to be wealthy on his own."

94. See the entire chapter devoted to this topic (*Xunzi*, *juan* 19). Since Xunzi repeatedly states, first, that the dead are not conscious, and second, that the ideal person should be free of slavish reliance upon others, his insistence on the pleasures to be derived from commemoration after death seems downright bizarre at first. After all, building and keeping a collective memory depends upon others. But he is not on this one point alone merely acceding to time-honored societal preoccupations. The establishment of a good name, in effect, represents at once (for the person) a triumph over death and obscurity and (for society) an assertion of justice. This assertion seems like common sense; even many of us who identify ourselves as agnostics or atheists work to secure a good reputation. Nearly all of Xunzi's points are made in a modern work, Rappaport (1999), especially p. 451.

95. "Fairly," because Xunzi would insure that sumptuary regulations correlate with contributions to society, rather than with hereditary status.

96. H-Y 47/12/80.

97. H-Y 11/4/51–52: "If a noble man has no leverage or position by which to approach them, then he has no means to open their minds and hearts and influence them. How, then, should men's mouths and bellies come to know ritual and duty? And how would they come to know how to yield to others or feel shame? By what avenue would they come to accumulate [good deeds]? All they would do is jabber and feed themselves; all they would do is sniff out good smells and stuff themselves. If men have no teacher and no rules by which to live, then their hearts and minds will act like their mouths and bellies [i.e., they will be indiscriminating]. If men have no teacher and no model, then their hearts and minds must [contrive somehow] to rectify their mouths and bellies." (Cf. H-Y 44/12/15: "They model themselves upon the superior's will, and are encouraged by his deeds, and they come to find security and pleasure in him.") It is not clear whether Xunzi addresses one problem that Yang Xiong fully recognizes: What is the dividing line between imitation (which cannot transform the nature) and emulation (which does)? See Nylan's (2013) translation of the *Fayan*, entitled *Exemplary Figures*, 2/12, which describes the case of someone "whose family name is Kong and whose style is Zhongni, who enters his [Confucius's] gate, who



ascends to his hall, who leans on his armrest, who puts on his clothes,” but fails to emulate Confucius in more substantial matters.

98. H-Y 84/22/44-48, translation after Cua (1985), pp. 12, 46, 67, with minor modifications.

99. Xunzi is, I believe, quite careful to distinguish the innate endowment at birth as *tian qing* 天情 from the “nature” after birth, which is malleable, as he does throughout his chapter 17, “On Heaven.” Texts as various as the “Hong fan” chapter of the *Documents* classic and the *Hanfeizi* (“Two Handles” chapter) consider how to motivate subject populations through their natural desire for material goods, as in the classic formulation by Xunzi in the essay “On Ritual.” But thinkers such as Yang Zhu refused to countenance the idea that the ruler’s will constituted the common good. Their rhetoric, of course, did not win out at many courts. As for second nature, when human beings are urged to reduce, alter, or refine their desires, they are offered the prospect that such a course will optimize their chances for such blessings as long life and fame.

100. The formula *shu zhi* 孰知 (“who [could] know . . . ?” “who would have known?”) seems simultaneously to direct our attention to the straightforward question (“Who [in the group or as ruler] knows [the obvious]?”) and to emphasize the apparent—but not real—paradox.

101. This phrase appears eleven times in five separate chapters.

102. H-Y 51/13/44.

103. H-Y 76/20/17.

104. H-Y 35/10/92.

105. H-Y 12/4/75.

106. H-Y 46/12/52.

107. H-Y 9/4/20: “The *tiao* and *qian* are fish that float on the surface of the water. If they are stranded on the beach, should they long for (*si*) the water, then they have no way to get there” (translation following Knoblock). Zhuangzi’s famous metaphor of the fish in its element (not out of it) comes from chapter 2. For the second quote, see H-Y 12/4/76.

108. H-Y 39/11/49. One senses that Xunzi would have felt comfortable with a distinction proposed by a modern poet, that between a task and (all-consuming and edifying) work. In any case, such an ideal state “is the most powerful instrument for benefit in the world.” See D. Hall (1993).

109. H-Y 17/6/39.

110. H-Y 10/4/41.

111. H-Y 47/12/71-72.

112. See, e.g., H-Y 12/4/71.

113. See note 12 above.

114. For the lack of slavish subordination to the will of others, see below. The appeal to honor was strong with Xunzi’s contemporaries and students, but note the potential



conflict (which Xunzi as a good rhetorician minimizes) between this independence of mind and the requirements of the well-ordered realm under the ruler's will. The *Zuozhuan* offers similar examples that define beauty as "what does no harm," focusing on the diplomatic occasions for good or ill presented by the ritual drinking banquet. See Schaberg (2001), pp. 227–29. I am one who would date the *Zuozhuan* to a time relatively late, even if it had not been thoroughly reorganized and re-edited in the post-Han period by Du Yu. (See also Chapter 2.)

115. I have borrowed this phrase from Zhang Heng 張衡 (*Hou Hanshu* 59.1898–99, n.1), which constitutes a pastiche of several lines from the Xunzi. For the *junzi*'s disinclination to lay blame on Heaven (or fate) or other people, since he "knows himself," see H-Y 9/4/21.

116. The commentary speaks of what is "unseen" and "unheard" in relation to his singularity. See *Xunzi jijie* 3.46.

117. H-Y 7/3/26–32. Cf. H-Y 99/27/84, for the correspondence of inner and outer; H-Y 108/32/2. The notion that "integrity and wholeness and fineness" are preconditions to "moving others" is explicit in a very late chapter in *Zhuangzi*, chapter 31, which attributes it to Confucius. For the sagely Way as a "display" of humaneness (as below), see Cua (1985), especially p. 160.

118. H-Y 2/1/18.

119. H-Y 2/1/31.

120. H-Y 12/5/2. See also *Xunzi jijie* 3.48.

121. H-Y 78/20/40–47. The phrase "with the more senior going first" more literally would be translated as "by seniority" (*yi chi* 以齒). Hence Xunzi's criticisms of the insufficiently cultivated classicists (the *su Ru* 俗儒), who do not seem to appreciate the pleasures of the banquet, but sit dumbly and stare blankly. In Xunzi's ideal, too, "being the pattern [for others], that is what will bring about substantive results."

122. Cf. Castiglione (1528). But whereas for Castiglione grace derives from "a certain nonchalance [*sprezzatura*] that conceals all artistry and makes whatever one says or does seem uncontrived and effortless," for Xunzi, grace is the product of making one's body and mind fully ritualized.

123. For the first point, see Adorno (1997), 4. For the fourth point, see Murdoch (1993), p. 3. Note that Plato (*Republic*, book 10) insists that "goodness, being lucid and quiet and calm, cannot be expressed in art." Xunzi's explication of ritual makes it fairly obvious that the precise interpretation made of a given ritual can vary from person to person, though the power of reception does not. For the fifth point, compare Wittgenstein (1961), October 7–9: "The work of art is the object seen *sub specie aeternitatis*; and the good life is the world seen *sub specie aeternitatis*. This is the connection between art and ethics." For the sixth point, see Berger (2001), p. 8: an artwork gives us pleasure, he argues, because "it increases our awareness of our own potentiality . . . [It] promises in some way or another the possibility of an increase, an improvement." Finally, consider Keynes (1949), "My Early Beliefs," pp. 6



and 113, quoting G. E. Moore, “By far the most valuable things which we know or can imagine are certain states of consciousness which may be roughly described as the pleasures of human intercourse and the enjoyment of beautiful objects.” Xunzi, of course, fails to address the presumption that there is an underlying unity among pleasures. This sort of problem intrigues Ryle (1953).

124. H-Y 2/1/32: 古之學者為己，今之學者為人。君子之學也，以美其身。

125. Because the graph with the grass radical is so often paired in Han times with “virtue” (as in *Fayan* 7/8, which speaks of “ornamenting one’s character,” and *Taixuan jing* 87/64/27 and 90/69/5), I suspect here an emendation by a later editor. Hence the possible overtranslation of the binomial phrase, designed to capture both possible readings.

126. H-Y 3/1/44–51. Knoblock (1988–1994), vol. 1, p. 142, reads this phrase as “being resolute from inner power,” presumably referring to “virtue acquired through discipline.” Note also that Knoblock would make the entire passage a comment upon textual learning, whereas I take the passage to describe the noble man’s perfection as an embodiment of learning and an exemplary model of correct action. Cf. H-Y 16/6/31: “He is complete as Heaven and earth, which embrace the myriad things . . . All would submit to such a person.”

127. H-Y 84/22/44. For some examples of European fascination with the fragile and the fragmentary, see Harries (1994).

128. H-Y 6/3/13–14.

129. H-Y 86/22/88: Such a man “values himself and makes other things work for him.” See the discussion below.

130. H-Y 81/21/67.

131. H-Y 86/22/85–86, only slightly modified from Knoblock (1988–1994), vol. 3, p. 138).

132. See H-Y 4/2/20; H-Y 3/1/49; H-Y 63/17/26. Cf. H-Y 84/22/46 and H-Y 86/22/88. Several passages in the *Zhuangzi* speak to the importance of “treating things as things” and “refusing to be turned into a thing by [other] things [or entities]”; see H-Y 28/11/66; compare Graham (1981), p. 121.

133. H-Y 2/1/32.

134. H-Y 12/4/71.

135. H-Y 86/22/79. Cf. H-Y 4/2/19.

136. H-Y 105/29/32. The passage continues, “and once he gets [his rightful place], then he also takes pleasure in his administration of affairs.” H-Y 86/22/87 says “That is why he can be without the finest examples of the myriad sorts and still be able to be sufficiently nourished with respect to pleasure.” For another translation that makes this passage more abstract, see Cua (1985), p. 161.

137. *Fayan* 3/3.

138. H-Y 105/29/32.

139. H-Y 90/23/84.

140. This is a standard pun in late Zhanguo and Han texts.





141. H-Y 80/21/47.

142. The quotation comes from Forster (1955), p. 70. Or as Geuss (2008), p. 11, writes, aspirations and even illusions have considerable “motivational power.”

143. Horace (65–8 BCE), *Ars poetica* 1.334. I am indebted to Martin Kern for this reference.

## CHAPTER FIVE: VITAL MATTERS

1. Similarly, both Xunzi and Mencius agree that pleasure is not just living a life free of disturbance (like a person in a coma, for example), but living the sort of life best suited and therefore most fulfilling to the specific being in question and species of being. Cf. Byung-Chul Han (2015), p. 30: “Being alive itself—an extremely complex phenomenon—is boiled down to vital functions and capacities” in contemporary society, so that both the body and the human being as a whole become a “performance machine [*Leitungsmachine*] that is supposed to function without disturbance and maximize achievement.” Cf. p. 50: “The capitalist economy absolutizes survival. It is not concerned with the *good life*. It is sustained by the illusion that more capital produces more life, which means a great capacity for living.”

2. *Shuoyuan* 5.11 (“Guide” 貴德): 人情安則樂生. Cf. *Qian Hanji*, “Basic Annals of Xuandi”: 夫人之情·安則樂生; *Hanshu* 51.2370: 夫人情安則樂生. For the phrase *le ming sheng* 樂明神 (“love the divine,” also “vital spark”), see *Quan Hou Han wen* 13.1.5: 言體第四.

3. *Lüshi chunqiu* 11.3: 誠辱則無為樂生. 若此人也·有勢則必不自私矣.

4. Although the *Zhuangzi* is a composite text by many authors, here, I prefer to treat the *Zhuangzi* as the Chinese themselves saw it: as a lengthy text whose multivalent chapters hang together. See the Appendix to this chapter.

5. *Zhuangzi*, *juan* 5; Watson (1968), p. 39, hereafter cited as *Complete*, uses this remarkable phrase. See below for more extensive discussion of this injunction.

6. See Klein (2010). Many Chinese scholars still imagine a single author for most or all of the work, whereas Euro-American scholars do not. I asked a hardworking undergraduate, Scott Davis, to track the anecdotes that are routinely mentioned in the English-language secondary sources, and five (four from the Inner Chapters) crop up in nearly every piece, while surprisingly few others do so. Hence the talk of “laziness.” (Those who would like a copy of Davis’s research may e-mail me.) See note 21.

7. Of the modern agendas, none is worse than that of Yu Dan (2007), which makes Zhuangzi a proponent of just “going with the flow” of whatever the Chinese Communist Party and neoliberal capitalism dictate.

8. A chapter title, but also a recurrent theme in the *Zhuangzi*.

9. Yearley (2010).

10. Note that my considered use of the term “rightly” means that Zhuangzi, in my reading, is no relativist. He values life and vitality above all.

11. *Zhuangzi*, *juan* 6; Watson *Complete*, p. 49.





12. Trenton Wilson (UC-Berkeley), in an unpublished seminar paper, demonstrates conclusively that the two characters are conflated in Han and pre-Han times, as early extant editions show, regulating and “balancing” the faculties’ reception and categorization of percepts. This puts that phrase, often interpreted in light of Buddhist ascetic practices of considerable austerity, in a new and more active context, it seems to me — a context that accords better with early practices. The term *qi* 齊 is regularly linked with *jie* 節 (moderating tones and other entities) and with “stilling” (*jing* 靜) the faculties. The “Ji tong” 祭通 chapter of the *Liji*, a “Comprehensive Summary of Sacrifices,” includes the phrase, “What the word *zhai* or *qi* communicates is the idea of even balance; one balances what is imbalanced so as to bring to presence that which is more balanced” (which may or may not be the spirits). See Legge (1885), vol. 2, p. 239. What is at stake here is this: while the conventional translation (“fasting of the mind”) presumes a retreat from the world in the monastic tradition, I take it to be a return (*fan* 反) or reset or renormalization of functions that no longer conduce to clear thinking. The opening lines of chapter 2 show that listening to the world is the marvel.

13. I learned the term “vision presence” from early conversations in 2000–2001 with Raoul Birnbaum, to whom I register a profound debt. *Hanshu* 62.2710 claims that “the Dao people are famous for teaching how to concentrate and unify *renjing* 人精 (most refined essential *qi*).”

14. I am well aware that the conventional reading would have the binomial phrase *xingqu* 形軀 refer to the tree trunk, but elsewhere in the same chapter (as in another *Zhuangzi* chapter) *xingqu* refers to a person’s bodily form. Contrast Watson, *Complete*, p. 152: “If I find one [tree] of superlative form . . .” I think the statement about “joining” refers to a union of suitable tree and woodworker.

15. Alternately, reading *yi* 疑 as *ni* 擬 (“to decide,” “to imitate”), following Wang Shumin (1988), p. 709 n.13.

16. *Zhuangzi*, *juan* 19 (“Da sheng” 達生); Watson, *Complete*, pp. 152–53.

17. Of the two graphs, *qi* is probably the earlier, and I suspect that *zhai* was used, after the Buddhist ascetic notions became more widespread, to disambiguate the terms. See note 12 above.

18. Said by Matisse in 1952, at the Hotel Regina, Nice, while working.

19. Cf. “The world is wrong. You can’t put the past behind you. It’s buried in you; it’s turned your flesh into its own cupboard. Not everything you learn is useful, but it all comes from the world to be stored in you.” See Rankine (2014), p.105.

20. See, e.g., Shang (2006).

21. I have generated, with the help of a Berkeley undergraduate, Scott Davis, a database listing which stories are quoted in the secondary literature on *Zhuangzi* in English. Nearly all philosophical pieces dwell on one of five stories (all but four in the Inner Chapters): the Peng bird (chapter 1), the butterfly (chapter 2), Butcher Ding (chapter 3), the metaphor of the mind as mirror (chapters 5 and 6), and words as traps (chapter 26), with the happy fish



(chapter 17) in a distant sixth place. Note the emphasis on the Inner Chapters in philosophical treatments of the *Zhuangzi*.

22. *Zhuangzi*, *juan 32*; Watson, *Complete*, p. 281.

23. Compare Kahneman (2012). Kahneman writes, “The situation has provided a cue; this cue has given the expert access to information stored in memory, and the information provides the answer. Intuition is nothing more and nothing less than recognition” (p. 11). But “the spontaneous search for an intuitive solution sometimes fails — neither an expert solution nor a heuristic answer comes to mind. In such cases, we often find ourselves switching to a slower, more deliberate and effortful form of thinking” (p. 13). Kahneman calls gut feelings System 1, and effortful thinking, System 2. Slingerland (2003) and his catchy slogan “effortless action” capture little about the *Zhuangzi*.

24. *Zhuangzi*, *juan 16*, “Mending One’s Basic Nature”; Watson, *Complete*, p. 124 (modified, with Watson reading the last line, “But the fate of the times was too much awry”). The same chapter talks of these men of old living in the midst of chaos and confusion (i.e., the sociopolitical realm).

25. “In antiquity . . . the yin and yang were in harmony and still; the ghosts and spirits worked no mischief.” “When a man has a truth within himself, his spirit may move among external things.”

26. Sometimes I use the word *daemon* (standard English rendering of the Greek more properly rendered as *daimôn*) to refer, in the manner of Socrates, to an indwelling god that animates and informs the person. Waley (1958), in his introduction to the *Way and Its Power* (his translation of Laozi’s *Daode jing*), traces the growing sense during the Zhanguo period that a god (once induced to take residence temporarily during religious observances) permanently resides in each person’s soul. The *Zhuangzi* is full of such lines as “you treat your animating spirit like a total stranger” (see below).

27. *Zhuangzi*, *juan 1*; Watson, *Complete*, p. 8; *Zhuangzi*, *juan 2*, before the ellipsis; after the ellipsis, *Zhuangzi*, *juan 27* (Watson, *Complete*, p. 236) puts this into the mouth of Yancheng Ziyou.

28. See the last lines of *Zhuangzi*, *juan 6*; Watson, *Complete*, p. 54.

29. At the same time, those enjoying high cultural literacy tended to exalt their powers and privileges by drawing into their rhetoric “all manner of visible, invisible, and exceptional qualities, ‘energies,’ beings, and resources.” See Helms (1993), pp. 7–8.

30. That is why ritual is associated with the gods, because it exerts no visible force, yet compels people to act in certain ways, if it is done properly. See Fingarette (1972), for this notion. The contrast between the invisibility of the gods versus the visibility of their deeds is also the subject of *Huainan zi*, *juan 12* (“Daoying xun” 道應訓). Notably, *Hanshu* 89.23630 avers, “When neither the officers nor the common folk knew where he got his information from, they all deemed it the work of the gods of heaven-and-earth” (其識事聰明如此·吏民不知所出·咸稱神明). Note the Han definition of the term *shenming*, as above.



31. Compare with those “Supreme Pleasure” arguments this passage drawn from *Zhuangzi*, *juan 2*; Watson, *Complete*, p. 8. Here I think of Chemero (2009).

32. This is a point continually registered in Forster (1946).

33. D. Davidson (2006), p. 28. Cf. Bratman (1999), who argues that intentions for the future are distinct from beliefs and desires in being elements in an agent’s planning that help coordinate his actions; they are not merely results of practical reasoning, but fixed points that help determine the structure of that reasoning. “True ideas are those we can assimilate, validate, corroborate, and verify . . . . The truth of any idea is not a stagnant property inherent in it. Truth *happens* to an idea,” because we can assimilate it, according to William James (1907), p. 97, quoted in Lehoux (2012), p. 236.

34. Modern scholarship on China too frequently traffics in correlative thinking, an incoherent concept, defined in one or more of the following ways: mechanical response-reaction theories in operation; “prerational” or “pre-moral” modes of thought in non-Western traditions, Western traditions being deemed “moral” and “rational”; and enumeration of topics by lists, i.e., a mnemonic technique found in nearly all early cultures, East or West, where orality plays a larger role in cultural transmission. Correlative thinking, as an ill-defined concept, explains little; we need to eschew continual resort to it, if we are to develop sharper analyses of early thinking in China.

35. *Zhuangzi*, *juan 2*; Watson, *Complete*, p. 8. *Zhuangzi* is less interested in cause-and-effect (impact-response) theories, where change is imposed on the recipient by a more powerful party. *Zhuangzi* is interested mainly in the resonance theories of his day, which imagine sympathetic exchanges that leave both parties different.

36. *Ibid.*

37. Cf. Plutarch, *De placitis*, no. 4, 8.5.

38. E.g., *Chunqiu fanlu* (“Tonglei xiangdong” 同類相動 *pian*), which says, “Try tuning musical instruments. The *gong* or *shang* note struck upon one lute will be answered by the *gong* or *shang* note from other stringed instruments, which *sound by themselves* (*ziming* 自鳴).” Cf. *Zhuangzi*, *juan 24*; also *Shiji* 24.1235. Exploration of the properties of the magnet no later than Han times only seemed to confirm the strength of such mysterious ties. The *Gui guzi* is possibly the earliest reference to the magnet, but the dating of that book is either fourth century BCE or Han; in any case, that text plus the *Han Feizi* have ambiguous references to the “south-pointer.” Diviner’s boards by early Western Han, if not earlier, made use of magnetic properties.

39. Here I borrow the language of Erlmann (2010), p. 10.

40. Contraptions and machines do not facilitate vitality, it seems. “A calculating mind” purportedly “spoils the heart” until “the soul’s vitality knows no rest and . . . the Way will cease to buoy you up.” See *Zhuangzi*, *juan 12*; Watson, *Complete*, p. 91.

41. Because the *Zhuangzi* certainly did not exist in its current form before the Western Han, I regard the *Wenzi* and *Lüshi chunqiu* as “earlier” texts, though dating of the early





masterworks is invariably fraught. Note that the two graphs *zhi* 至 and *zhi* 致 were not distinguished in Han times. Like Meulenbeld (2012), I see the images of “withered wood” and “dead ashes” in the *Zhuangzi*’s descriptions of the True Man of Old as possibly a residue of earlier ritual practices of burning sacrificial victims, humans along with beasts.

42. The term comes from *Zhuangzi*, *juan* 2; Watson, *Complete*, p. 17.

43. *Zhuangzi*, *juan* 6; Watson, *Complete*, p. 43.

44. For these quotations, see *Zhuangzi*, *juan* 6; Watson, *Complete*, pp. 42–43; *Zhuangzi*, *juan* 24; Watson, *Complete*, p. 212. In *juan* 11, they are defined as those who never feel “ashamed before their gods,” totally pure beings, with no admixture of anything, even in their bodily frames (which sounds like an immortal to me). In chapter 13, they are described as too pure to even be friends with such sage-kings as Fuxi and Huangdi, primeval sage-kings. They are, in *juan* 33, said to be as magnanimous as the Dao/cosmos itself towards all others. At the same time, the *zhi ren* is not always distinct from the *zhen ren*, only sometimes. For a case where the *zhi ren* seems like the magical *zhen ren*, see *Zhuangzi*, *juan* 2 and 19; Watson, *Complete*, pp. 15 and 146. I suspect, but cannot hope to prove, that textual emendation has brought the *zhi ren* closer to the *zhen ren*.

Three weeks before this book was due in final form at Zone, I was lucky enough to be asked to read the new book by Han-Georg Moeller and Paul D’Ambrosio entitled *Genuine Pretending*. They have confirmed my gut feeling that “authenticity” (*zhen*) is a problem for *Zhuangzi*. What could be less authentic than this *zhen ren*? (Ditto sometimes for the *zhi ren*, but not always.)

45. I see no sign, for example, that *Zhuangzi* urges mysticism upon us.

46. *Zhuangzi*, *juan* 4; Watson, *Complete*, p. 22 said of the *zhi ren* of antiquity by Confucius: “They first preserved and stored it [their insights, their spirit] in themselves and later, in other people.” For the escape from receiving and assigning blame, see *Zhuangzi*, *juan* 19; Watson, *Complete*, p. 154. Talk of “wandering” in pleasure appears repeatedly in the *Zhuangzi*.

47. Chen Xuanying (fl. 631–655) says: “This means there are principles whereby one can attain happiness and keep oneself alive, but he doesn’t know about others’ propensity to choose or reject them.” I translate differently.

48. *Liezi* 6 (“Li ming” 立命) has a variation of these questions, without the opening lines.

49. The idea is that they will not be cut down by assassins or lose their lives in battles or feuds.

50. Expanding upon the definition of *wu* 無 (mostly, “without visible effect”). The term here is not *wuwei*.

51. The conventional translation of *wuwei* 無為 as “nonaction” couldn’t be more misleading. A. C. Graham in his writings suggested “non-purposive action”; because I’ve watched undergraduates puzzle over what that might mean, I give it another try here.

52. Guo Xiang 郭象 (d. 312) takes the “myriad things carrying on” in almost Mencian





fashion to refer to the political realm: “When the common folk have a sufficiency, then I myself [as ruler] can pretty much survive.” I do not buy this gloss for a minute, because I believe Zhuangzi here is evoking another association (that Heaven “does not speak,” but “things in the cosmos carry on”), even if there is no doubt that Zhuangzi often has the political realm in mind.

53. Italics mine. Guo Xiang blithely ignores Zhuangzi’s statements such as: “Man goes through life with worry as his companion. To be careworn for so long before dying — how bitter that is!” In my view, this means that Guo casts this as a rumination on mere survival. See *Zhuangzi*, *juan 18*; Watson, *Complete*, p. 140.

54. *Cheng* is regularly glossed as *quan* 全 in texts, so the word means “integrality,” “integral,” “whole,” and “intact.” This quality is to be distinguished from “sincerity,” if only because Hitler was sincere.

55. See *Zhuangzi*, *juan 15*; Watson, *Complete*, p. 121.

56. Zhuangzi is not a relativist, contra many modern readings.

57. That wealth, political power, a fine name, and long life are the four pursuits for members of the governing elite during the early empires many Han texts make plain. See, for example, *Shiji* 61.2127, citing a poem ascribed to Jia Yi.

58. For the phrase *zhi zu* 知足, see *Zhuangzi*, *juan 28*; Watson, *Complete*, p. 246, where Zhuangzi’s idea is put into the mouth of Kongzi/Confucius, talking to Yan Hui. This means a refusal to let oneself be entangled by thoughts of gain and fears of loss.

59. *Zhuangzi*, *juan 2*; Watson, *Complete*, p. 8, prefers “grandiose, sly, and petty.” I follow Wang Shumin (1988), p. 50 n.5, but it hardly matters, because the idea is always one of great variety.

60. However, Wang Shumin (1988), p. 50 n.6, following several commentaries, says that with their great fears, such as that of mortality, “they do not know enough to experience fear” (*bu zhi weiju* 不知畏懼), in which case people who are “greatly awakened” or “fully awake” look upon life and death equally with those who are filled with fears. I am not convinced.

61. See Wang Shumin (1988), p. 51 n.10.

62. *Xu* 洫 usually refers to moats or cut ditches cut. It also refers to any deep holes cut, including the female vagina. See Harper (1998).

63. For the discussion of this passage, see Perkins (2014), p. 23.

64. *Zhuangzi*, *juan 4*; Watson, *Complete*, p. 25: 絕迹易·无行地難.

65. For the metaphor of the journey, see many chapters in the *Zhuangzi* in all three of its sections.

66. A change of pronouns has been made, but the words are those of Hadot (2002), p. 31; however, they might as well be Zhuangzi’s, in my view.

67. A. Davidson (2015), p. 21, notes, “In 1921, Frank Knight, an economist at the University of Chicago, wrote a powerful paper that differentiated risk from uncertainty. The



word ‘risk,’ he argued should apply to phenomena that can be modeled mathematically. But ‘uncertainty,’ he said, is something else altogether: it is the deep unknown. Predicting where the stock market will be in a week or a month or a decade is a risk. We might disagree on the number, but we agree on the basic data and measuring tools. Uncertainty describes those things we can’t begin to measure and don’t even know exist.” Think the Heisenberg uncertainty principle.

68. This story comes from *Zhuangzi*, *juan 26*; Watson, *Complete*, pp. 227–28.

69. Being in a daze (*xiaoyao you* 逍遙遊) is glossed as *wuwei* 無為 in *Zhuangzi*, *juan 14*; Watson, *Complete*, p. 114.

70. *Zhuangzi*, *juan 1*; Watson, *Complete*, p. 1. Cf. *ibid.*, *juan 14*; Watson, *Complete*, p. 111: “Those who listen to it but do not hear its proper sound, see it but do not hear its proper form — they fill heaven-and-earth [i.e., the cosmos], the entire space that wraps up all six directions. You want to listen to it, but have no connection to it, and thus you are deluded.”

71. *Zhuangzi* here implicitly argues against the view, common in *Zhanguo* and *Han* texts, that sagehood derives from “superhuman perceptions,” rather than from a “store of knowledge” or “an ability to impart simple truths.” See Csikszentmihalyi (2006), pp. 169–70, who suggests that even the divine (*shen* 神) — a quality associated with the *xin* — is fallible.

72. Note the story of the Peng bird (as noted above), in *Zhuangzi*, *juan 1*; Watson, *Complete*, p. 1.

73. *Zhuangzi*, *juan 21*; Watson, *Complete*, pp. 169–70.

74. *Zhuangzi*, *juan 5*; Watson, *Complete*, pp. 34–35.

75. *Zhuangzi*, *juan 12*; Watson, *Complete*, pp. 95–96.

76. *Zhuangzi*, *juan 2*; Watson, *Complete*, pp. 9–10.

77. In *Zhuangzi*, *juan 3*, the Butcher Ding story, the butcher, after a certain point, no longer uses his eyes to see (不以目視) a particular ox, but instead proceeds by his intuitions to discern the invisible (as translated above). In the Inner Chapters, there are no fewer than thirty-seven instances where *zi* 自 appears (sometimes as the “self” but without the strong, modern connotations). What the person actually consists of and what constitutes a human being are two of the most insistent questions posed by the *Zhuangzi*.

78. *Zhuangzi*, *juan 6*; Watson, *Complete*, p. 47.

79. For the intrusiveness of the gaze, see, e.g., *Zhuangzi*, *juan 6*; Watson, *Complete*, p. 50, where Kongzi says of the sage: “Why should they show themselves off (*guan* 觀) for the sake of the common herd’s ears and eyes?”

80. See, for example, *Zhuangzi*, *juan 5*; Watson, *Complete*, pp. 37–38; and *Zhuangzi*, *juan 7*; Watson, *Complete*, pp. 57–58.

81. For the distorting effects of early mirrors, see Nylan (2008b), pp. 89–132.

82. Here I knowingly argue against most interpreters of *Zhuangzi*. Watson, *Complete*, p. ix wrote, “The central theme of the *Chuang Tzu* may be summed up in a single word:



freedom.” Watson seems to see Zhuangzi as thinking it possible to be free of constraints and conventions by a change in attitude and hence from all the ills to which human beings are prey. Fung Yu-lan equally talks about “absolute freedom”; see Fung (1937), p. 243, translation by Bodde. Graham also prefers a Zhuangzi who can attain freedom through “controlled breathing” and a launching out of the confines of self into a realm without limits. See Graham (1985), p. 171. Zhuangzi is a realist, by my construction. R. King (2017) does an admirable job of scuppering such talk. As he points out (pp. 5–7), even if we accepted Graham’s account of the ideal Zhuangzian sage moving with “reactive spontaneity” (which I do not), this makes the connection between freedom and spontaneity highly problematic. “Release” from the bonds of one’s own making is the best freedom the Zhuangzi promises.

83. Still, I am entirely puzzled by the opening line of the chapter on *Zhuangzi* offered by Curie Virág (2017) in her stimulating analysis: “The *Zhuangzi* is often read as an ascetic text, in view of its recurring emphasis on the misguidedness and self-destructive quality of human emotions and desires.” I know of no such readings, though I cannot claim to have read every piece of secondary literature on the *Zhuangzi*. Certainly, I question Virág’s notion that Zhuangzi champions “right emotions.”

84. *Zhuangzi*, *juan* 4; Watson, *Complete*, p. 27. This speech is put into the mouth of Kongzi/Confucius, but in many chapters that speaker stands in for Zhuangzi. Other similar passages could be cited.

85. This last subclause echoes King (2017), p. 1. “Why would one be a ruler, if that did not mean doing as one pleases?” or “What is power, if it not be to gratify the senses and drives?” See *Huainan zi* 7 (“Jingshen” 精神), pp. 105–106. *Analec*s 13/15 condemns this sort of common belief. Western philosophy’s belief in the “autonomous, rational human being” is clearly an extrapolation from the earlier notion of the Unmoved Mover.

86. This portrait of man as the Unmoved Mover simply transfers theological epithets and powers to thinking (usually construed as secular) human beings in the Enlightenment and post-Enlightenment; ergo, “Prometheus Unbound.” The sheer ludicrousness of this powerful construction has been taken up by many fine thinkers, including Ehrenreich (2009) and Rosemont (2015).

87. Cf. *Zhuangzi*, *juan* 19; Watson, *Complete*, p. 146: 凡有貌象聲色者皆物也。物何以相遠。夫奚足以至乎先。

88. *Zhuangzi*, *juan* 22; Watson, *Complete*, p. 181.

89. See *Zhuangzi*, *juan* 2; Watson, *Complete*, p. 16.

90. Cf. Jan Böhmermann, German comic, in *The New York Times*, December 5, 2015, <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/05/world/europe/jan-bohmermann-germany-comic.html>.

91. This riffs on an essay on loss, Schulz (2017). As all astute readers of the *Zhuangzi* notice, the “Supreme Pleasure” chapter includes many anecdotes designed to loosen death’s hold on us, some of which bemoan the frantic existences that ordinary people eke





out. It is in that context that I would put the famous conversation with the skull, which argues much the same as the Lady Li story. For the skull, see *Zhuangzi*, *juan 18*; Watson, *Complete*, pp. 141–42. For Lady Li, see *Zhuangzi*, *juan 2*; Watson, *Complete*, p. 16.

92. *Zhuangzi*, *juan 12*; Watson, *Complete*, p. 89.

93. See *Zhuangzi*, *juan 28*; Watson, *Complete*, pp. 242–43, speaking of Suihe’s legendary pearl. Cf. Byung-Chul Han (2015), p. 30: “The rigid, rigorous separation between life and death casts a spell of ghostly stiffness over life itself. Concern about living the good life yields to the hysteria of surviving . . . It takes *livingness* from life, which is much more complex than simple vitality and health.”

94. Guo Xiang, commentary to “Supreme Pleasure,” *Zhuangzi*, *juan 19*; Watson, *Complete*, pp. 139–44. The best treatment of Guo is Ziporyn (2003).

95. *Zhuangzi*, *juan 5*; Watson, *Complete*, p. 35.

96. *Zhuangzi*, *juan 21*; Watson, *Complete*, p. 168.

97. *Shiji* 100.2735.

98. *Zhuangzi*, *juan 21*; Watson, *Complete*, p. 170.

99. *Zhuangzi*, *juan 18*; Watson, *Complete*, pp. 140–41. It is good to remember that book 10 of Plato’s *Republic* also is written about the context of formal and public lamentations.

100. *Zhuangzi*, *juan 18*; Watson, *Complete*, p. 143.

101. Gaita (1991), p. 117, continues: On the other hand, “only a being for whom life can be problematic can have a spiritual life, and therefore a soul.” Also “An animal can suffer, but it cannot curse the day it was born. An animal can be afraid, but it cannot be ashamed of its fear . . . An animal can be happy, but it cannot be joyous . . . An animal cannot give of its substance to certain pursuits and be admonished for doing so. One could go on almost indefinitely. The problems of life’s meaning cannot arise for an animal. Only a being for whom life can be problematic can have a spiritual life and therefore have a soul.” *Ibid.*, p. 148.

102. *Zhuangzi*, *juan 5*; Watson, *Complete*, p. 41.

103. *Zhuangzi*, *juan 19*; Watson, *Complete*, pp. 150–51. Wu (1990), p. 215, takes *wangliang* to refer to only the outline or contour of a shadow, not a ghost.

104. *Zhuangzi*, *juan 2*; Watson, *Complete*, p. 9.

105. *Zhuangzi*, *juan 11*, shows Zhuangzi thinking that good governing improves the capacity of people to take pleasure in their lives, while *juan 12* defines good governing in terms of *wuwei*, action that is responsive to the needs at hand and without harsh impositions. Too many passages describe good governance by enlightened kings (*mingwang zhi zhi* 明王之治) for us to assume that Zhuangzi urges us to flee the world. Cf. “There are things he [the impossibly ideal True Man] could not keep from doing.” *Zhuangzi*, *juan 6*; Watson, *Complete*, p. 44.

106. “Men,” as in many early texts, usually means “leading men at court,” as many studies have shown.





107. *Zhuangzi*, *juan 11*; Watson (2013), *Complete*, pp. 82–83. Zhuangzi tells us our priorities, certainly: one's priorities should be looking to develop or recover one's own unique sense of things, then serving the great families with local power (as “fringes and leftovers”), and finally governing an empire (“superfluous affairs”).

108. *Zhuangzi*, *juan 4*; Watson, *Complete*, p. 30.

109. *Zhuangzi*, *juan 4*; Watson, *Complete*, pp. 25–26. See note 12 above for *qi* (“to balance”) and *zhai* (“to fast”).

110. Put another way, one empties the self when one is “full to the brim” with self-importance, but “emptying oneself out” is not the single method to use in engagements with others; it is one of several strategies to be deployed, depending on context.

111. *Zhuangzi*, *juan 2*; Watson, *Complete*, p. 16: 其寐也魂交.

112. *Zhuangzi*, *juan 2*; Watson, *Complete*, p. 16.

113. I see no need to presume that any process of *depersonalization* has occurred when Zhuangzi is dreaming; only that he has stepped back temporarily from the familiar world when he is awake.

114. See *Zhuangzi*, *juan 6*; Watson, *Complete*, p. 51.

115. *Ibid.*

116. As Kongzi says of Wenbo, “With that kind of man, one glance tells you that the Way is there before you. What room does that leave for any possibility of speech?” See *Zhuangzi*, *juan 21*, “Tian Zifang”; Watson, *Complete*, p. 167.

117. *Zhuangzi*, *juan 22*; Watson, *Complete*, pp. 177–78.

118. *Zhuangzi*, *juan 13*; Watson, *Complete*, p. 99, speaking of 天樂.

119. *Zhuangzi*, *juan 23*; Watson, *Complete*, p. 196.

120. *Zhuangzi*, *juan 27*; Watson, *Complete*, p. 234.

121. “Sage, was du willst, solange dich das nicht verhindert, zu sehen, wie es sich verhält. (Und wenn du das siehst, wirst du Manches nicht sagen.)” See Wittgenstein (2009), p. 79.

122. A similar term was used by Worthen (2017).

123. This is the point at which Zhuangzi parts company with Xunzi, for Xunzi credits the *xin* with being a reliable enough processor of sensory data, since the *xin* also stores memory, experience, and learning. The ears and eyes cannot be made more acute by learning, says Xunzi, but the *xin* can be so made. Should the *xin* become in any way unsettled, however, “external things will be anything but clear.” See *Xunzi jijie* 17.309, 21.405, 23.436.

124. *Zhuangzi*, *juan 5*; Watson, *Complete*, p. 35. What the constant *xin* is Zhuangzi does not explain; perhaps it is whatever impulses direct the universe. I dispute the common wisdom that Zhuangzi argues for relativism or the human inability to understand. *Zhuangzi*, *juan 2*, 4, lines 27–29, says, in connection with there being no fixed “rights and wrongs,” since all assessments depend on one’s current standpoint: “from the point of view of ‘that’ you cannot see it, but through understanding, you can know it . . . . The steady





and discerning look (*guan* 觀) is, in fact, to be brought to bear upon as many things as is feasible.” See *Zhuangzi*, *juan 2*; Watson, *Complete*, p. 10.

125. The closest the Mohist canons get to anything like this is in two passages identified as glosses by Graham (1978), nos. 9–10, pp. 489–90, both of which talk about “an empty space in the heart,” and a “settled heart” (*ping xin* 平心) that is “without desires and dislikes.”

126. More literally, “But since you call him ‘human,’ how can he be without feelings?”

127. There are two possible translations of the phrase, 常因自然. I give both, doubtless overtranslating, because both seem plausible and germane, the one being internal and the other about relations with things outside. This is one of the few instances of the term *ziran* in the *Zhuangzi*, and the passage clearly states that the person is not *ziran* but avails himself of *ziran*. Guo Xiang notes that living things exist on their own (*sheng zhi zi sheng* 生之自生) and need no help. Chen Xuanying (fl. 631–655) emphasizes that this entails a “recognition that to be cut off from it [the Dao]” is to forget that we (humans) are things,” as well (*jue wu shi* 絕無人識).

128. See *Zhuangzi*, *juan 5*; Watson, *Complete*, p. 40: 有人之形。无入之情。有人之形。故群於人。无入之情，故是非不得於身。

129. Curie Virág (2017), p. 6, believes there is “no room” for the emotions when one is cosmically attuned. That is certainly wrong. The goal is not to hold onto the emotions, rather than not to have them. Too many readings of *Zhuangzi* are irony-free. Thankfully, Moeller and D’Ambrosio (2018) is not.

130. For example, *Zhuangzi* would never, with the Cynics, advise speaking whatever one thinks, regardless of the consequences. Nor would he prioritize the pleasures of the mind over those of the body, as Epicurus does.

131. *Zhuangzi*, *juan 2*; Watson, *Complete*, p. 8.

132. Cf. the *Analects*’ phrase “Kongzi did not talk of X” 子不語，read as “he seldom talked of X.” Negation here has been glossed by commentators to mean something different than the plain sense of the passage.

133. See the “Dasheng” chapter, where the phrase “to abandon the world” (which also means “to die”) is the subject of word play. As *Zhuangzi* says (see below), “You may then join in the cheeping and chirping [of birds], and [still] be in harmony with the cosmos.”

134. Cf. the story, in *juan 23*, where a would-be disciple comes to the door of the Master, who asks who else the person is carrying around with him (as ideas he has unthinkingly adopted). See Watson, *Complete*, p. 191.

135. In the “Tianxia” chapter, *Zhuangzi* criticizes the Mohists, among others, for their attitudes toward desires and everyday emotions; such ways “are not rules for the living, but rather ideals for dead men.”

136. Here is one point where *Zhuangzi* seems to part company with some of the Stoics, though not, perhaps, with Epictetus. (Michael Frede argues in his posthumously published Sather lectures [2011] that Epictetus was responsible for introducing the concept of “free will.”) The Stoic view that man is constructed (at least potentially) free.





137. While some of those feelings may indeed represent false consciousness or a servile willingness to grovel to the powers that be, many feelings that spill out in certain circumstances are deeply rooted, and it is that sort of emotion that cannot be stanchd to any purpose. Even to try to curb it may hurt us.

138. As the *Zhuangzi* story about the dead mother pig and her hungry piglets shows, even love for such a central figure in one's life as a mother diminishes some time after the mother's vitality is no more.

139. Chapter 2, "Qiwu lun," gives three thinkers (famed for their systems-building), one of whom is Huizi, whose "glaring light" the sage would "confine" or even "besiege" (*tu* 圖). (This reading echoes the passages about *feng* 封 ["confining within boundaries"] earlier in the chapter.) See *Zhuangzi jishi* 1B.77–75, especially n.18.

140. Here Zhuangzi sees something that many modern theorists have yet to see: that it is both silly and wrong to devise a list of criteria said to qualify a person for full consideration as a human being. Cf. Chappell (2014), p. 150: "It would be utterly meaningless/misleading to generalize from thought-experiments about special and rare cases (almost all of which are imaginary anyway) to alleged conclusions about normal cases." Chappell is thinking of Locke's parrot.

141. *Zhuangzi*, juan 25; Watson, *Complete*, p. 216: 舊國舊都·望之暢然。I am aware of Yu Yue's proposal that we take this ratio as referring to the degree that the familiar site has been covered over by overgrowth. That would give us a sequence of stepped responses: the first, to even a 90 percent covered-over home site; the second, to "seeing the things to see and hearing the things to hear" (unblocked access and possibly receptivity to what is best at the home site); and the third, to a towering terrace affording an unblocked vista of a much larger territory, the entirety of the lands most authentically our home, and consequent pleasure that is too great to ever put in words. If Yu Yue is correct (and I am far from sure that he is), then the terrace of the final stage gestures toward the common tropes for sovereign pleasure-seeking. I suspect Yu Yue's picture incorporates too many modern Western concepts into it.

142. *Zhuangzi*, juan 18; Watson, *Complete*, pp. 140–41.

143. King (2017), p. 13, notes that "the desideratum is an effective and living minister."

144. Byung-chul Han (2015), p. 28.

145. *Zhuangzi*, juan 19, Watson, *Complete*, p. 154, for example.

146. *Zhuangzi*, juan 24; Watson, *Complete*, p. 206.

147. *Zhuangzi*, juan 17; Watson, *Complete*, pp. 137–38. The graph for "Hao" refers to a military trench, according to Joachim Gentz [personal communication], not just a dam. The commentators invariably say Hao is the name of a river. The two are not mutually exclusive.

148. As noted by J. H. Balfour Browne (1884–1921), in <http://cibernautajoan.tumblr.com/post/77175702303/people-who-do-not-observe-cannot-converse>.

149. This "wisdom-nugget," ascribed to an English barrister is quoted in Sennett (2012), p. 14; cf. p. 19.





150. Cf. Bachelard (1964): “Forces are manifested through poems that do not pass through the ordinary circuits of knowledge.”

151. Indeed, Zhuangzi does not reject ordinary knowledge; he rejects competitions between those who claim erudition and expertise. That explains, in part, why Zhuangzi finds it too simplistic to merely “take the heart as teacher” 師心, since people can be perfectly sincere and both deluded and destructive.

152. *Zhuangzi*, juan 1; Watson, *Complete*, p. 1.

153. *Zhuangzi*, juan 2; Watson, *Complete*, pp. 31–33. Such men “breathe from the heels,” because they breathe deeply, perhaps in meditation. This is not the language of the surreal or the miraculous.

154. The two characters in early classical Chinese are interchangeable, and early commentaries treat them as such. The most famous passage explaining this process is *Zhuangzi*, juan 4; Watson, *Complete*, p. 25.

155. Here I borrow a line from W. G. Sebald’s poem “Cezanne’s Dog,” which says this is how “the painter must see.”

156. *Zhuangzi*, juan 12; Watson, *Complete*, p. 85.

157. Compare Kahneman (2012), p. 219: “Those who know more forecast very slightly better than those who know less. But those with the most knowledge are often less reliable. The reason is that the person who acquires more knowledge develops an enhanced illusion of her skill and becomes unrealistically overconfident.”

158. The phrase is Bachelard’s in his (1964) introduction to *The Poetics of Space*, p. xi.

159. As Henry Rosemont observed in conversation (January 2015), Zhuangzi might be a cognitive relativist (all ways of reasoning are equally valid and invalid), but he is not a moral relativist, for he thinks that a person’s natural way of being and acting is the only way.

Zhuangzi likens human variety (exemplified by the situation where so many traditions of thought compete for attention, with none wholly sufficient and none wholly workable for all), to the situation of the senses: “Let us analogize it to the ear, eye, nose, and mouth. Each has its own type of perception, which cannot be exchanged for the other’s.” See *Zhuangzi* juan 33; Watson, *Complete*, p. 288; cf. *Zhuangzi* juan 12; Watson, *Complete*, p. 89, which talks of distinctive shapes and forms, all of which hold spirits within them, each with its own characteristics and limitations.

160. Knausgaard (2013), p. 97.

161. Today Zhuangzi would doubtless hate social media, but that particular rant would take too long for me to engage in here.

162. As in 周將處 . . . X 與不X之間. See part 2 for one example where Zhuangzi does this.

163. Cf. Sennett (2012), p. 4.





164. *Ming* is used, of course, of any source of light (e.g. moonlight, starry light), but it is also associated with the sacred; hence the so-called “Halls of Light,” or worship halls (*mingtang* 明堂). These appear in the *Mencius*, as noted in Chapter 3, where they are called “numinous” in Lau’s translation.

165. See Yearley (2010), on the ethics of bewilderment. In the same line, read Kahneman (2012), p. 71, “A capacity for surprise is an essential aspect of our mental life.

166. *Zhuangzi*, *juan* 31; Watson, *Complete*, p. 272; *Zhuangzi*, *juan* 24; Watson, *Complete*, p. 213.

167. McCraw (2010), p. 7, insists that contingency is the key to reading *Zhuangzi*. “Contingency, as a frame for both action and chance, results in a tension between experience and expectation in our consciousness . . . . Thus contingency inscribes itself into human consciousness in the form of dynamic interplay between experience and expectation.” McCraw outlines several strategies to lessen the fears attached to change and fate. Traditions establish continuities, a sense of *continuum*, that mitigates the perilous force of chance; regularity, recurrent patterns (which need not be a part of tradition or a *continuum*) lessen our sense of ruptures; development — the *direction of development* or its *dynamic* — works against a sense of chance; and eschatological visions place the individual in paradise, beyond contingency. A possible fifth attitude is acceptance of chance. On contingency, it is also good to consult Grethlein (2010).

168. What is *ziran* 自然 (“so of itself”) is rarely, if ever, visible, but the traces of the transformation are typically visible.

169. McCraw (2010) emphasizes the pluriform and polyphonic. *Zhuangzi*, *juan* 22; Watson, *Complete*, p. 180: 夫昭昭生於冥冥。

170. *Zhuangzi*, *juan* 2; Watson, *Complete*, p. 9, before the ellipsis; *Zhuangzi*, *juan* 4; Watson, *Complete*, p. 28 after it.

171. *Zhuangzi*, *juan* 6; Watson, *Complete*, p. 45.

172. *Zhuangzi*, *juan* 6; Watson, *Complete*, p. 49. This anecdote appears in Chapter 2, as readers will recall.

173. Usually, people assume that *Zhuangzi* thinks morality conventional or unduly subjective. He acknowledges, as do others, that it can be subjective, but he thinks also that each person has an authentic response to unfolding events, and that response is moral, but not subjective, in that it is not opposed to what is objectively true of the outside world. See Railton (1986) on “Moral Realism.” *Zhuangzi*, to my mind, is a moral realist. Cf. Sluga (2014), p. 160: “The world is not identical with the earth or with nature; it is rather a human artifact.”

174. Schulz (2017), p. 75.



175. As Richard King notes in an e-mail communication (May 2017), “The Stoics think that we *are* our reason or thought, and it is arguable that the *Zhuangzi* does not mention reason at all.” *Zhuangzi* is critical of logic and debating. Comparisons to Nietzsche I find even more laughable.

176. McCraw (2010), p. 81.

177. *Zhuangzi*, *juan* 16; Watson, *Complete*, p. 124.

178. The *Zhuangzi* employs a host of words that describe different ways of looking, *du* 睹/觀, *jian* 監, *jian* 見, *guan* 觀, *lan* 覽, *congming* 聰明 (acute hearing and sight), among them. Apparently, *du* 讀 (reading or reciting) leads to an understanding of the contents of a single text, whereas *lan* or *guan* (perusal or viewing) connotes a closer look in the overall visual arrangement.

179. Bachelard (1964), p. 39.

180. Yan Hui in *Zhuangzi*, *juan* 4, is meant to wander within the cage that is the court. Wang Shumin (1988), vol. 1, p. 133, suggests that the cage is the fasting of the heart, making the cage itself a useful constraint or discipline. But see note 12 above.

181. In *Zhuangzi*, *juan* 2, Ziqi says this, in conversation with Yan Cheng Ziyou; Watson, *Complete*, p. 8; compare *juan* 18 (“Zhi le” or “Supreme Pleasure”): “Therefore the former sages never required the same ability from all creatures or made them all do the same thing . . . This is what it means to have command of reason and good fortune to support you.”

182. *Zhuangzi jijie* 11.90; *Zhuangzi*, *juan* 11, Watson, *Complete*, p. 77, defining *zai* 在 as *cha* 察, and *you* 宥 as *kuan* 寬. Many lines show that *Zhuangzi* is paying attention, including, “In the world today, the victims of the death penalty lie heaped together.” Watson, *Complete*, p. 77.

183. *Zhuangzi*, *juan* 4; Watson, *Complete*, pp. 22–23.

184. *Zhuangzi*, *juan* 6; Watson, *Complete*, p. 51; *Zhuangzi*, *juan* 4; Watson, *Complete*, pp. 27–28. At the same time, one is “not to use the human to enter the heavenly” (*bu yi ren ru tian* 不以人入天).

185. As Boser (2017), says, “weak recollection can make it easier for people to solve problems.” Boser cites two researchers, Neechi Mosha and Benjamin Robertson, who agree that “if the memory is too rigid, you can miss the conceptual forest.” Studies have shown that forgetting can even promote better reasoning.

186. “Resting” is what the “worthless tree” does to protect itself in *Zhuangzi*, *juan* 2; Watson, *Complete*, p. 31.

187. *Zhuangzi* introduces a variety of moods (not a lack of emotion, as some would have it); he urges appropriate emotions suited to the shifting scenes, while he cautions against unduly and artificially prolonged emotions.

188. Guo Xiang explains, “The sage is indifferent and free of desire, content with what he encounters, and uninterested in wasteful luxury, so the common people [or: his family]



do not regard poverty as a hardship. He looks lightly upon rank and salary, is detached, sitting and forgetting, unaware of distinctions of honor, so kings and dukes lose that which makes them exalted.” See Fang Yong (2012), vol. 5, p. 290.

189. *Zhuangzi*, *juan 12*; Watson, *Complete*, p. 91.

190. Only the dead person is “cured” of the human condition.

191. Improbably, perhaps, Montaigne (d. 1592) comes to mind in this connection. See Sennett (2012), p. 125.

192. Neuroscientist Robert R. Provine, after conducting experiments that eavesdropped on strangers in public, noted that most laughter is not connected to humor, but rather part of the give and take of daily interactions. For more on this, see Zinoman (2017).

193. Monro (1963), classifies humor theories into three groups: incongruity, superiority, and relief theories, with most Western theorizing preferring the superiority theory. Kant, *Critique of Judgment* (1951), section 54, remarks, “laughter is an affection arising from the sudden transformation of a strained expectation into nothing.” The joke doesn’t reverse expectations, it deflates them.

194. Cf. *Zhuangzi*, *juan 11*; Watson, *Complete*, p. 81: “The common run of men all welcome those who are like themselves and scorn those who are different from themselves.”

195. *Zhuangzi*, *juan 31*; Watson, *Complete*, p. 275: “He who forces himself to appear affectionate, though he may smile, creates no feeling of harmony.”

196. *Zhuangzi*, *juan 28*; Watson, *Complete*, p. 250.

197. As many theorists of humor have noted, humor, when not expressing superiority, can act as social lubricant and support to social bonds. Lee Yearley believes that *Zhuangzi* hopes that humor will provoke “hermeneutical crises that have spiritual implications”; readers then will “evaluate their own spiritual maturity.” Yearley (2005), p. 516. I am less certain of that.

198. Cf. *Zhuangzi*’s laugh, followed by, “I’d probably take a position between worth and worthlessness, though a position like this may seem to be a good place, but really isn’t . . . . Things join only to part, reach completion only to crumble.” *Zhuangzi*, *juan 20*; Watson, *Complete*, pp. 156–57. For the quotation, see Arthur Döblin, cited in Manguel (2007), p. 5.

199. *Zhuangzi*, *juan 33*; Watson, *Complete*, p. 296, which claims to represent *Zhuangzi*’s self-assessment.

200. *Zhuangzi*, *juan 31*; Watson, *Complete*, pp. 275–76.

201. Graham sometimes uses “genuine man” for *zhen ren*, as in Graham (1989).

202. Kierkegaard and Heidegger, followed by the postmodernists, urge a cult of authenticity rooted in a sophisticated sense of one’s own historical contingency as a way of separating the self (mentally, spiritually) from the mere unreflective Other. See Heidegger (1962), on *Dasein*.

203. *Zhuangzi*, *juan 14*; Watson, *Complete*, p. 116.





NOTES

204. *Zhuangzi*, *juan 4*; Watson, *Complete*, p. 25: *you qi fan er wu gan qi ming* 遊其樊而無感其名。

205. *Zhuangzi*, *juan 19*: 夫形全精復，與天為一。天地者，萬物之父母也，合則成體。It is doubtless because of this sense of belonging that they escape the mundane fears. Cf. the *Daodejing*, section 50, which claims that those who are “good at holding on to life” do not need to avoid rhinos nor tigers; neither do they need to carry armor or weapons. “For weapons there is no spot to lodge a blade. And why is that? Because they have no spots of death,” meaning, they are immune to attack from ordinary sources. Like Wang Bo (2014), pp. 202–205, I put Zhuangzi firmly in the world, rather than fleeing from it physically or through mysticism. Wang speaks of “inner-worldly recluses living on their own in proximity with nature or in small groups avoiding society as much as possible.” But Wang thinks that there is another kind of recluse, who take on court positions and who integrate themselves in society in acts of “inner emigration.” After all, the useless tree was made a shrine, and so given a social role that it could not reject. Moeller and D’Ambrosio (2017), p. 148, say, “the recluse option is not even considered, though the powers-that-be make life precarious.” *Ibid.*, p. 159, translates one phrase loosely as “One cannot claim any ownership of whatever one is doing.”

206. *Zhuangzi*, *juan 12*; Watson, *Complete*, p. 89.

207. *Zhuangzi*, *juan 12*; Watson, *Complete*, p. 84: 行於萬物者，道也。

208. *Zhuangzi*, *juan 19*; Watson, *Complete*, p. 146.

209. Manguel (2007), chapter 1.

210. Sennett (2012), p. 6.

211. In addition, looking outward to others is a precondition for forging good social bonds, where it is possible.

212. As one modern has observed, “Surprise itself is the most sensitive indication of how we understand our world.” See Kahneman (2012), p. 71.

213. This riffs on Foucault’s formulation, seen in McGushin (2007), p. xii.

214. The most powerful version of the dominant theories constructing Zhuangzi as relativist are reviewed in a single chapter by Perkins (2014).

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER FIVE

1. See Klein (2010). The phrase “author function” comes from Foucault, who devised it to describe our psychological need to assign authorship, even where none is obvious, in connection with “our way of reading” and “interpreting texts.” Klein suggests that we try to separate three figures: the historical figure who lived in Song in the mid-fourth century BCE; the protagonist of the *Zhuangzi* as we have received it; and the author/originator of the Inner Chapters of the *Zhuangzi*. I am not at all sure that we have a single historical figure in the pre-Qin period. Nor am I sure that we have a single compiler of the materials ascribed to the *Zhuangzi*, or that the Inner Chapters predate the rest of the chapters. Liu





Xiaogan (2003) argues that the twenty-six pairs of themes in the seven Inner Chapters mark that section off as a separate unit. In the Outer Chapters, three terms (*daode* 道德, *xingming* 性命, and *jingshen* 精神) all appear repeatedly; these never appear in the Inner Chapters. On that basis, Liu believes the Outer Chapters reflect later trends. Liu has a third argument about the placement of Zhuangzi stories within the *Zhuangzi* text, but that argument is less noteworthy. See also Fraser (1997).

2. Cf. Moeller and D'Ambrosio (2017), p. 16: "We believe that issues of authorship, date of composition, or the 'authenticity' of the text and its parts more generally remain very much open for discussion and may never be sufficiently resolved" at this remove.

3. See the opening remarks on the "Outer Chapters" (*wai pian*) section of the *Zhuangzi* by Wang Shumin (1988), p. 305.

4. Klein does not seem to look for unmarked citations in her piece. I say "judging from the extant sources" for the very good reason that some of these marked citations may not reflect Han decisions, but those of later activist editors.

5. See Yearley (1983) and Klein (2010).

6. This meaning is attested in the "Kongzi shijia" chapter, *Shiji* 47.

#### CHAPTER SIX: ON YANG XIONG

1. *Fayan* 2/5, with "alluring" implying "sexual appeal" and the "ability to captivate," and so, in essence, "books are sexier than women." I preferred the latter translation but I deferred to David Knechtges (personal communication), who found it too outrageous. The title is usually rendered *Model Sayings* or *Exemplary Sayings*. I have chosen "figures" not only because it connotes "figures of speech," "emblems," "designs," and "images," but also because the *Fayan* contains many passages that cast the speech, conduct, and writings of famous people as examples for good or ill. See Nylan (2013). Note, meanwhile, that, technically speaking, bamboo bundles and silk scrolls are not "books," a term specialists reserve for the codex.

2. *Fayan* 2/7.

3. Significantly, Zhuangzi's famous story about Wheelwright Bian is repeated in *Hanshi waizhuan* 5/6; Hightower (1952), p. 167, with no objection registered, which suggests that it is not merely a "proto-Daoist" story. Kongzi in *Analects* 11/2b spoke of the necessity of reading, but for edification, rather than for pleasure. For Yang's detailed refutation of the conventional ideas that study and learning are "useless" unless they lead to an official career, see Nylan (2008c).

4. See *Zhanguo ce* 40 (Qin 秦 1), (蘇秦欲始將連橫), for the phrase *dushu yushui* 讀書欲睡. Cf. the comparable complaint registered in *Shiji* 24.1221 ("Whenever I listen to ancient music, I am afraid I will fall asleep."), and in *Liji* 19.24 ("Yueji" 樂記).

5. *Xijing zaji* 2.89, using the term *zi ku* 自苦, in connection with Yang Xiong's composing texts.





6. *Fayan* 2/5: 書惡淫辭之濕法度也。

7. *Yiwen leiju* 55,990. This episode is told in Li Han's *Mengqiu*, translated by Watson (1979), p. 23. Jiao Guimei (2009), pp. 87–88, gives many examples from the Six Dynasties period, long after Yang's era, demonstrating the continuing difficulties of procuring good manuscript copies.

8. See Riegel (1997) on the Fuyang version of the *Odes*; also Nylan and Huang (2007).

9. *Huainan zi* 21.706 (“Yao lue” 要略) speaks of writings being enough to “make oneself happy” (*zile* 自樂). See Zhang Shuangdi (1997).

10. Two illustrations should suffice to clarify the distinction between experiencing something and theorizing about it. There exist no accounts of urban city life in China prior to the twelfth-century *Dongjing meng Hua lu* (compiled 1148), which supplies a vision of a city that is “horizontal” (i.e., embracing all classes) and “integrated” (in the sense of crossing wards). Meanwhile, Sebald (2003) has noted that nearly no Germans living in the immediate post-World War II cities commented, even in their private diaries, upon the destruction of the cities that they witnessed every day.

11. *Hanshu* 8.272; 36.1929, says that Liu Xiang “focused all his thoughts on Classics and the arts” (*jing shu* 經術).

12. See *Liezi* 4.20, especially the last line's description of Zhongni as one who “would strum and sing, and intone texts, until the end of his life, without stopping.” The origins of the *haogu* movement can be traced to the Shiqu Pavilion conference in 51 BCE. Elements that would come together in the movement can be found, for example, in a memorial by Yi Feng 翼奉 in 48 BCE, two decades or so before Yang's arrival at court, but there is no sign that before Yang and his contemporaries that this movement in any way represented a strong challenge to the status quo. Wang Qicai (2009) demonstrates conclusively the change in the style of memorials that takes place in late Western Han in Yang's era, although he does not look to think for the reasons why. Long-standing traditions identified the era of Yang Xiong and Liu Xin as the time when classical allusions began to be common, rather than rare. See *Wenxin diaolong*, *juan* 8, *pian* 38, on “allusion and reference” (*shi lei* 事類).

13. I use “taste” advisedly, for *Fayan* 5/11 likens the *haogu* connoisseur's appreciation of the Zhou classical masters to the legendary cook Yi Ya's selectivity in tasting rare foods.

14. *Fayan* 2/7, 5/6, 5/10, 5/17, 5/18, 5/21, 7/5, 8/11; similar claims thread through Yang's *Taixuan jing*. For a neoclassic having the same value as the Five Classics, see *Fayan* 1/19.

15. The oils from a person's skin were thought to persist on books, marking them indelibly with the “moisture,” “grace” (*ze* 澤), and smell of the person. A woman's saliva remained on the cups she used; a man's residue on his books, according to *Liji* 13.24 (“Yuzao” 玉藻). Cf. *Mencius* 8/22. It is important to realize that the senses, especially sight, were typically cast as responses to touch in early China, as in early Greece. For more on this, see Nylan (2008b).

16. That Yang became the standard is often forgotten now, due to a curious turn of





events by which Dong Zhongshu came to be privileged over Yang Xiong. Loewe (2011) has outlined this process, which was speeded up by Zhu Xi, who denounced Yang Xiong on several grounds, chiefly his “treasonous” association with Wang Mang. Thus, by the end of the twelfth century, under the influence of True Way Learning, Yang Xiong began to come under severe attack as a moral and literary exemplar. On this point, see Nylan (2013), introduction, note 50; also note 108 below. Contrast, e.g., Cao Pi’s “Lun wen,” translated in Owen (1992), p. 62. Xie Yiwu 謝夷吾, an Eastern Han figure (fl. 55–84 CE?), in recommending Wang Chong 王充, said that “not even Yang Xiong, Liu Xiang, or Sima Qian could surpass him [in talent and erudition],” showing that Yang was a standard against which writing and genius were compared. Cf. Wang Wentai (1972), 2/14a, citing Xie Cheng 謝承 and the *Wenxin diaolong* (see below), which frequently singles out Yang’s writings for praise.

17. Both the materials and formats of manuscript culture made it impractical to leaf casually through manuscripts transcribed on scrolls or on bamboo rolls. Nonetheless, Yang’s followers adopted his metaphors of *you* 遊 — “roaming,” “wandering,” or “sightseeing,” and “playing” (*wan* 玩) — when describing the most significant activities of Confucius and his true followers among the classicists. This metaphor of “roaming” is employed, for example, in describing the *ru* 儒 texts in *Hanshu* 30.1728 (compiled ca. 82 CE); also in *Lunheng* 39/189/4 (“Chaoqi” 超奇); and that of “playing” in the Classics in *Hanshu* 30.1723. Both Ban Gu, author of the *Hanshu* and Wang Chong, author of the *Lunheng*, were ardent admirers of Yang. Hsü Fu-kuan (1966), pp. 60–64 attributed to the influence of Zhuangzi the idea of *you* as “play” and “disinterested contemplation”; the impracticality of “roaming through” a manuscript has little to do with the acts of reading, imagination, and contemplation (*you xin* 遊心). For book collecting, at the court and in households of the elites, see Drège (1991).

18. The three neoclassics are Yang’s *Fayan*, *Fangyan*, and *Taixuan*, modeled on the *Analects*, the *Erya*, and the *Yijing* respectively. The *Taixuan* was provided with two sets of commentaries, “Wings” written in imitation of the “Ten Wings” of the *Yijing* ascribed to Kongzi, and *zhangju* 章句 written in imitation of the Han-dynasty commentaries that Yang typically excoriated. The *zhangju* autocomentaries have been lost, unfortunately. For Yang’s disdain for “chapter-and-verse” commentaries, see Pokora (1963), p. 18 n.11, quoting *Hou Hanshu* 28A.955, 40A.1330, 49.1429; cf. Dull (1966), pp. 340–50. According to the linguist Serruys (1959), p. 98, the scholars who preferred, as Yang did, the “glosses and explanations” (*xungu* 訓詁) method “stressed the study of separate words in their original meanings and their relations with modern words [i.e. contemporary usage],” which led to an interest in old word forms and regional dialects. Note that while the *Taixuan* hardly figures in the discussion below, because it seems to address other issues than those that are the main subject of this chapter, nothing in the *Taixuan* contradicts the picture we get of Yang’s ideas from the *Fayan* on the subject at hand.

19. For Callimachus, see Cameron (1995); for Aulus Gellius, see Gunderson (2009). According to Gowers (2009), p. 13, “Aulus is rarely credited with any meaningful direction





or design today,” though “his freewheeling cleverness made him an important figure during the Second Sophistic’s ruthless battles over points of grammar and classical allusions,” which endowed him with intellectual and linguistic supremacy among bookish Romans who claimed to love learning for its own sake.

20. For the Jingzhou school dedicated to Yang’s writings as the source of the Mystery Learning of the Six Dynasties, see Nylan (2001b). R. Wagner (2000) seems to have missed this connection entirely.

21. Jingzhou was overseen by or known to such scholarly giants as Song Zhong 宋衷 (f. 192 CE), Yu Fan 虞翻 (164–233 CE), and Wang Su 王肅 (d. 256 CE). The Jingzhou Academy scholars seem mainly to have opposed the readings of Ma Rong and Zheng Xuan. One apocryphal tale has Wang Bi dying after the ghost of Zheng Xuan appears to him and complains of his disrespectful treatment in Wang’s writings. Still, so much has been lost that we cannot tell much at this remove about Jingzhou. See *Quan Hou Han wen* 91/5b–6a; Nylan (2001b), pp. 315–21; R. Wagner (2000), pp. 45–51. The best secondary literature on Jingzhou includes Chittick (2003); Jin Ke (2001); Jin Renyi (2002); Liu Moshu (2006); and Wang Yongping (2005).

22. The phrase *haogu*, of course, comes from *Analec*t 7/1, where Kongzi describes his own love of antiquity.

23. For Tao, see Tian Xiaofei (2005b), pp. 148–49. For Ge, see *Waipian* 50.10 (*yi dianji ziwu* 以典籍自娛).

24. See Yan Lingfeng (1975–79), vol. 5, pp. 319–99. For a brief reception history of the *Fayan*, see the introduction to Nylan (2013).

25. After woodblock printing becomes common, the number of private libraries grows substantially. See Drège (1991), p. 167, quoting Pan Meiyue’s 潘美月 *Songdai cangshujia kao* 宋代藏書家考 (1980). For the development modern notions of transmission and copyright, see Long (2001).

26. “Killing the green” (*shaqing* 殺青), getting rid of the excess moisture in bamboo, was a laborious, but necessary process if the bamboo strips were not be destroyed by splitting and rotting, by decay, or by insects. Liu Xiang insisted on this, according to *Taiping yulan* 606/2a. Bamboo, expensive enough, was used often for drafts, according to *Hou Hanshu* 60B.1991–92, describing a second-century CE text. Bamboo and silk production were centered in Shandong and later in Sichuan, as well. Perhaps that, along with the concentration of wealth in these two areas due to mining and agriculture, explains why so many classicists hailed from the northeast and southwest during the period.

27. It would be interesting to know when the first index for an individual book was produced in China. I can find no reference regarding this, and none of the experts I’ve consulted seem to know. For the difficulty of producing tables (increased, in the case of chronological tables, by the convention numbering years within discreet reign periods) in another manuscript culture, see Feeney (2007).





28. As in Rome, punctuation initially was employed mainly to facilitate oral reading. During Western and Eastern Han, conventions were set for the length of script for each type of manuscript (as Wang Chong's *Lunheng* notes), such that the longer the bamboo strip, the more authoritative the contents of the text. Other technical innovations, such as punctuation, because they were relatively new in Han, would also have shaped readers' perceptions and affected the readers' appreciation for texts. Both Roger Chartier and D. F. McKenzie would remind us how much the format, size, medium, and location of a piece of writing determine its reception and interpretations. Even in the pre-Qin era, a few kinds of punctuation marks had appeared, most notably a double parallel line to indicate the need to repeat a single character. But in Qin and Han manuscripts, filled dots and empty circles set off divisions in the text (e.g., the end of a sentence, a section or a paragraph); L-shaped marks worked like parentheses; black oblongs set off one set of quotations from another; wedge-shaped inserts served as commas in lists; and so on. To set off special lines in the text, the margin could be filled with color or otherwise decorated. For the history of early punctuation, see Guan Xihua (2002) and Giele (2005). Guan speculates that controversies over *zhangju* during Han often concerned punctuation.

29. As Cherniack (1994), p. 8, notes, "The use of apparatus changes the reading experience."

30. Here I query part of the reconstruction proposed in Bagley (2004), pp. 225-49. While Anyang scribes may well have had word lists to train scribes, it seems that Anyang is too early to have developed systematic word lists organized by category in the manner of the *Erya* or *Shiming* 釋名 types. Bagley assumes a stable script deposited in archives. He may be right, but to date, the oracle bone inscriptions haven't been deposited in archives, but in waste pits.

31. *Hanshu* 30.1701; *Hanshu* 36.1967. *Hou Hanshu* 79A.2548 reminds us that many of the documents in the libraries were "secret texts."

32. On the paucity of private libraries, I write contra Tsien (2004), pp. 11-12, who argues, based on three possibly apocryphal stories about pre-Qin figures (Mozi, Su Qin, and Hui Shi), that it "was common" during Zhanguo for private scholars to possess collections of books relating to teaching and writing. For those stories, see Mei Yi-pao (1929), p. 140; *Zhanguo ce* 40 (Qin 秦 1) (蘇秦始將連橫); *Zhuangzi* 33.16. (It need hardly be said what an achievement Tsien's book is, despite some questionable statements.) Like me, Drège (1991) emphasizes how small libraries probably were outside the court. A few "private" (i.e., nonimperial) libraries are recorded for the Han, but most of those belonged to members of the imperial Liu clan or the consort clans intermarried with the ruling house, as Drège (1991) shows.

*Wenxin diaolong*, 8.3, trans. Shih (1970), p. 289, says, "Ziyun [i.e., Yang], with all his talent, said of himself in a memorial that he was a man deficient in learning, and that his literary achievement was the result of the study he did in the [imperial or Chengdu?]





Stone Chamber.” This statement, first put in a memorial, according to *Wenxin diaolong*, now appears in a letter attributed to Yang in *Guwen yuan* 5/5b; see Knechtges (1977). We know also from *Hanshu* 87B.3584 that Yang worked collating documents in the Tianlu Gallery. That the imperial libraries were closed to most Han officials is made clear by *Hanshu* 80.3324.

33. Yang knew that erudition, while undeniably useful to the ruling house in the administration of its realm, did not automatically qualify a person for office-holding in the Han (in stark contrast to later ages), though the mastery of written *and* oral texts was evidently a precondition for certain entry-level or low-level jobs. For birth as the primary qualification for entry into the ranks of Han officialdom, see Nylan (2008a) and Nylan (2008c).

34. For Chengdi as a generally good ruler who could boast superb classical training, as well as an interest in historical precedents, see *Fengsu tongyi* 2.6, a lengthy entry entitled “Han Wendi” 文帝; also Nylan and Vankeerbergen (2015), especially the introduction; and Loewe (2015c). Note that even legendary kings such as Shun supposedly married sisters, lest women who “married out” of their natal families feel isolated in their new homes.

35. *Fayan* 2/5. I am indebted to Stephen Owen for this observation, but Paul Kroll (private communication, July, 2010) rightly queries whether Chengdi’s court was more sex-drenched than other courts. The low-born Zhao sisters, Chengdi’s preferred consorts, may have seemed more dangerous than high-born empresses, however, because they had no well-seasoned senior men “advising” them. But this is speculation.

36. See Knechtges (1976), pp. 55–56; Wu Fusheng (2007), p. 49.

37. See Gentz (2008b), esp. p. 817, for the *Annals* traditions; also Van Auken (2016). Hans van Ess (unpublished) discusses the role of the “uncrowned king” and the place of “subtle wording” in the Han.

38. This title is usually rendered *Dialect Expressions*, but, as will be argued below, it was far more than the earliest word list for dialect words and phrases.

39. See below.

40. Doubts have been raised about the authenticity of these letters, but Paul L.-M. Serruys and David R. Knechtges, two experts on Yang Xiong, concur on their authenticity, despite a few anachronisms, which were presumably entered during transmission. See Serruys (1959); Knechtges (1977); Chung (1982), pp. 482–95. Much of Liu Xin’s polemic letter presents a narrative that is undoubtedly wrong. For example, he argues that until the time of Huidi (r. 195–88 BCE), aside from *Changes* divinations, there “were no other texts” (p. 1968); he also cites the very dubious story of finding “archaic script” texts in the wall of the former house of Kongzi. (See Nylan [1994] and Nylan [1995].) The context for that letter is Liu’s perception (shared by Yang Xiong) of widespread attacks on classical learning either as “useless” or a form of technical knowledge of limited utility. But a great many Han scholars did not agree with Liu Xin, as can be seen from the preface to





the *Shuowen*, cited in Thern (1966), p. 15: “Many people, however, reject [this story about texts like the *Zuozhuan*]. They consider them curiosity-hunters, who have intentionally and cunningly altered normal forms, and cut windows in the walls [of Kongzi’s house] to fake unintelligible books.”

41. For Tao Yuanming, see this book, Chapter 7. For Liu Xie, see Wang Ping (2010).

42. Yang’s *Hanshu* biography (compiled ca. 92 CE) is based heavily on his own autobiography (see below). In this, Yang was unlike the Zhanguo thinkers and most Han writers. Sima Qian participates in the “family enterprise” of learning. Qu Yuan 屈原 (3rd century BCE) and Jia Yi 賈誼 (200–127 BCE?) are two other figures thought to merit full-scale biographies, but both accounts are very brief, if we subtract their writings from their biographies.

43. Yang’s autobiography forms the major part of his *Hanshu* biography, written less than a century after his death by Ban Gu, whose great-uncle, Ban You 游, had known and admired Yang Xiong. Of course, the modern world, even in China, chiefly consigns Yang to oblivion. For example, Mair (1994), pp. 147–52, once (mis)characterized Yang Xiong as a minor figure in the Han. See also Peterson (1989), who argued that Yang Xiong was hardly an innovative or original thinker.

44. For Yang Xiong as a craven sycophant whose success at court was bought at the price of his integrity, see Su Shi’s (1037–1101) “matching poem” to Tao Yuanming’s “After an Old Poem,” in no. 2 of 9 in the series, line 6 [慎勿從楊雄], Yuan Xingpei (2003), 4.342; and Hightower (1970), poem 48; Lin Yixun (2008), pp. 1258–61. See note 108 below for further details.

45. Yang lambasted the war party of a previous era in a thinly veiled attack against the expansionists of his own day. He argued in *Fayan* 13/29–30 that if the hawks had gotten their way, the Central States civilization would have been ruined. Today, Yang is seldom considered an omen expert, but *Hanshu* 27B(c).1429, has Yang identifying a “drum omen.”

46. Yang himself speaks of the past entirely in terms of whether the exemplary figures are in line or not with what he takes to be the Five Classics prose.

47. Employing faulty logic, some scholars insist that China could not have witnessed massive changes in the social practices of the text, since the logographic script we call “Chinese” has “been passed on from father to son, and from master to disciple, over the long millennia.” This phenomenon was noted in Thern (1966), p. 15. Unfortunately, it is seeing a comeback with modern identity politics in the PRC.

48. Aside from such enigmatic figures as Mozi 墨子, who had a masterwork bear his name, though it cannot possibly be from his hand, the first plausible candidate for the title of “author” is the semilegendary Qu Yuan 屈原 (332–295 BCE), who supposedly composed the rhapsodic lament “Encountering Sorrow” (Li sao 離騷) shortly before committing suicide. We know very little about Mozi, as he is given a biography only twenty-four characters long in the *Shiji*, and none in the *Hanshu*. For this “biography,” see Nylan (2015a). However, in prose, many hold the first major author to be Sima Qian 司馬遷 (145–ca. 80 BCE), whose monumental *Historical Records* (*Shiji* 史記) was compiled circa 90 BCE,



centuries after Qu's "Li sao." (This work is more often called *Historical Records* or *Records of the Historian*. For the title, it is worth consulting Durrant et al. [2016], introduction.) But despite Sima Qian's distinctive selection and fashioning of preexisting materials, whole chapters in his history simply piece together passages from earlier texts. On the foregoing grounds, I consider Sima Qian to be an "emerging author," rather than a "fully-fledged author," in the belief that my view concurs with Han views. For example, an assessment by the historian Ban Gu (written before 92 CE) has the Shiji compilation drawing mainly upon five works: *Master Zuo's Traditions*, *Discourses of the States*, *Intrigues of the Warring States* (*Zhanguo ce* 戰國策), *Genealogical Foundations* (*Shiben* 世本), and *Annals of Chu and Han* (*Chu Han chunqiu* 楚漢春秋). (The latter two works survive only in fragments, and today's *Zuo* differs from the pre-Han and Han versions).

Possibly poetry was linked to personal authors long before prose, given the official character of most prose writing at the time. Still, it is equally possible that Qu Yuan's "authorship" is itself an artifact of Sima Qian's powerful story about the southern poet. As Owen (1992), p. 214, notes, it is in Sima Qian's work that for the first time we see important figures principally as authors (e.g., Qu Yuan), so it may be that an earlier formulation of a notion of authorship does not predate Sima Qian. At this distance in time, it is hard to tell. Before Sima Qian, at any rate, tantalizing hints suggest that some writings may have represented the particular views of specific persons, but they are only hints and little remains but slogans. *Mencius* 5B/8, for instance, spoke briefly of "finding friends in history," but we cannot be certain whether Mencius simply finds in historical writings an authoritative model for conduct or he means that the best sort of finder will immerse his thoughts in a piece of authoritative writing to ascertain and then emulate the underlying authorial intent. He seems to have referred to the latter when he spoke of exegesis of the *Odes*, using the phrase 以意逆志·是爲得之 in *Mencius* 5A/9.

49. The most famous surviving Tang imprint is a Dunhuang copy of the *Jinggang jing* (Diamond Sutra), published in 868. On good grounds, McDermott (2006) would put the date for the transition from manuscript culture to print culture in China much later than many others, in mid Ming, since he emphasizes how few bookstores existed in early Ming outside the major metropolitan centers, how often books were acquired through gift exchange, and how many titles were extremely hard to get, even sometimes "basic" books.

In comparing the ways in which the imperial library functioned with modern libraries, Dudbridge (2000) is inclined to overemphasize the similarities. Using any standard of evidence, public access was too limited to warrant the rosy account presented there. At present, there exist two main models of book circulation: that proposed by Robert Darnton, which concentrates on the different human actors engaged in producing and distributing forms of knowledge, and that proposed by Thomas R. Adamans and Nicolas Barker, which deals with individual books to analyze the circulation of these objects in institutional and individual collections. Neither model considers censorship or exorbitant prices.



50. The excavated texts have made some historians more careful readers of the received traditions, but they have not generally overturned historians' basic ideas about writing and manuscript culture. See Nylan (2008a).

51. *Fayan* 1/11.

52. Meyer (2008), p. 40.

53. Owen (2006), p. 214.

54. This task was often left to copyists and scribes.

55. Mozi and his followers seem to be exceptions to much of what follows, so historians can only fervently hope them to be the exception that proves the rule. A conference devoted to that very topic took place in Leuven in June 2009 with Carine Defoort and Nicolas Standaert as hosts. I take Xunzi and Han Fei, who lived shortly before unification by Qin in 221 BCE, to be transitional figures. On the one hand, they were authors well aware of the difficulties of persuasion. On the other, modern scholars, including Chen Qiyong 陳奇猷 and Liang Qixiong 梁啟雄, cannot agree which parts of the texts ascribed to Xunzi or Han Fei were authored by them. By contrast, no responsible scholar today argues which parts of the *Guanzi* were written by that sixth-century BCE figure, since none of them were. Notably, in early times, Mencius is hardly mentioned as the purported author of a book; rather he is applauded for his “sayings” (*shuo*). Cf. the *Fayan* 12/9, on Liu An, Prince of Huainan.

56. On the complicated formation of the *Documents* compilation we find in early Western Han, see the introduction to the forthcoming translation of the Classic by He Ruyue and Michael Nylan. In Eastern Han (25–220 CE), when Kongzi became the “author” of the *Annals*, he was also credited with a host of additional miraculous and nearly miraculous powers. See Nylan and Wilson (2010) for details. More or less around the same time, retrospectively, the Duke of Zhou is also made “author” of some sections in the *Odes* and *Documents*, as can be seen in the memorial sent by Yi Feng in 46 BCE, requesting the Han dynasty to move its capital. See Liu Rulin (1935), vol. 2, p. 13.

57. Yang himself began to promote the idea that writings — at least those by sages and worthies — can even serve as an adequate substitute for the sage himself. See *Fayan* 5/13. Exemplary figures in the pre-Qin and Qin period are cited not so much for their sayings as for their deeds or for the two-character slogans that encapsulate their main motivations and messages (e.g., Mozi’s “universal love”).

58. Hence Kongzi’s rationale for compiling the *Annals* (*Chunqiu*) classic, according to Sima Qian, as summarized in Durrant (1995). Judging from the *Analects*, Kongzi was hardly thinking of exemplary women, but the *Annals* does contain references to such women, and certain female characters in the *Shiji* are certainly heroines, including one assassin-retainer’s sister and Empress Dowager Lü herself. Recall that the most common Han gloss for *li* 禮 (“rites”) is *ti* 體 (“embodiment”); the commitments were to be embodied in political deeds.





59. See Zhang Zhenze (1993), p. 393, quoting “Boshi jian.” Yang speaks there of the “destruction of the *Odes* and *Documents*,” saying, it was only the “sayings of the [Qin] line, these they [the Qin court *Academicians*] preserved.” He continues, claiming that the Qin and its Academicians failed to set out ritual vessels, and they or the court “overturned the altars of grain and soil.” This “warning” seems to imply that the Academicians have not always promoted the Confucian system of rites and music as they should.

60. *Huainan zi* 12.392; cf. Zhang Shuangdi (1997), p. 1249 n.2. I thank Sarah Queen for the former reference.

61. For the splicing together, see the discussion on *zhu wen* below. For the political (as opposed to personal) character of rhetoric, see Vankeerberghen (2010).

62. That is, *cheng yi jia zhi yan* 成一家之言, as in *Shiji* 130.3319; see also Durrant et. al. (2016). Li Wai-ye (1994) probably supplies the best account of Sima Qian’s role in the emergence of authorship, along with Durrant (1995).

63. Xiao He’s (d. 193) possession of “charts and writings” (*tushu*) supposedly helped Liu Bang to defeat Xiang Yu for possession of the empire. As one persuader put it to his king, “If you take in hand the charts and registers . . . in order to command all the empire, none in the empire will dare to disobey you.” See *Zhanguo ce* 44 (“Qin 1) (司馬錯與張儀爭論); cf. *Shiji* 70.2282, said by Zhang Yi 張儀 (fl. 329–309 BCE) to King Hui of Qin. From a series of such statements we may infer that maps and books on strategy and registers were placed in palace archives long before unification took place in 221 BCE.

64. In the Han, some accounts were sent up to the throne from the localities in the tenth month of each calendar year. McDermott (2006), p. 25, says that even in the Song, paper was still expensive enough to warrant its regular recycling; the Song court offices even relied on the sale of used paper to finance a banquet or increase their revenue. The writing materials used before paper were harder to recycle, but the split ends of bamboo books might have been trimmed, the wooden boards planed, and the rag silk reused.

65. It is these sorts of texts that are used as talismans in the early histories and philosophical works, but our evidence is too limited to know how to interpret this fact. I started to write “lack of practical utility,” but the early Chinese did not neatly separate “practical” from “moral” utility.

66. Cf. Li Qingzhao’s “afterword” to the *Jinshi lu*, which claims that a passion for anything — even “transmission of knowledge and commentary” — is a “disease” and a “delusion,” regardless of one’s reputation. See R. Egan (2004) and R. Egan (2014), contra Owen (1986), pp. 66–79.

67. It is probably no coincidence that the term *shi shi* 石室 (Stone Chamber) is associated with shrines, with libraries, with tombs, and, by early medieval times, the mountain hideaways of recluses; also that there is confusion (to modern eyes) in the duties assigned the *taichang* 太常 (ritual master of ministerial rank) as head of the library and its staff.





*Shi* 史 (routinely mistranslated as “historian,” a later meaning) just as often in Han times means professional “diviner” and “invocator.”

68. See, e.g., *Shiji* 59.2093 and 103.2769; and *Hanshu* 30.1708, 1712, 1725–26, and 53.2410. Liu De’s library holdings purportedly included rare editions of antique works that were curated and taught by specialists known as “Academicians” (*boshi* 博士). For the late sources on Liu De, see e.g., *Nan Qi shu* 24.251. Earlier texts have Liu De housing his learned *experts* in great style.

69. For Liu Xin’s letter against the Han Academicians, recorded in *Hanshu* 36.1967–71, see the translation that Michael Loewe and I prepared for Nylan and Vankeerberghen (2015). See note 40 above. Yang Xiong had his own complaints about the Han Academicians, whom he denounced as careerists in *Fayan* 1/19 and 7/8.

70. *Taiping yulan* 619/1a, citing “Qi lue”; cf. *Hanshu* 30.1702n10 (Ru Chun 如淳 commentary). Cf. “Qi lue” 七略 (T/Dunhuang 213), 108c. (It appears that Yang’s works were not included in the “Qi lue” catalogue, and they were added by Ban Gu to his “Yiwen zhi” (*Hanshu* 30). If one accepts Ying Shao’s preface to the *Fengsu tongyi*, the books presented to the emperor were conserved in the Mishi. By Chengdi’s reign, these efforts seem to have collapsed. *Hanshu* 30.1701–2 suggests that the imperial efforts to build a set of libraries “without lacunae” were unsystematic, at best.

71. *Hanshu* 30.1701: 於是建藏書之策... 皆充祕府。至成帝時... 書頗散亡。

72. The memorial is dated to 42 BCE.

73. Or “quantitative arts” (?). *Shu* generally refers to “regular changes” that can be predicted and enumerated.

74. See Ban Gu, “Two Capitals” *fu*, in *Wen xuan* 1/12a–b; cf. *Hou Hanshu* 40.1341. Ban Gu, of course, was related to the imperial family by marriage.

75. *Hanshu* 30.1701; *Hanshu* 10.310. According to *Suishu* 32.905, such books were put in the “Warming Chamber” (*Wenshi* 溫室), built by Wudi, before being transferred to the Tianlu pavilion. Liu Xiang’s death dates are given variously as 8 or as 7 BCE. Notably, the Ru writings by the classicists are put in a separate bibliographic classification — that of the “Masters” (*zhuzi*) — from the Six Arts (i.e., the Classics).

76. I begin to have my doubts as to how closely Liu Xin’s work followed that of his father (or how closely Ban Gu’s *Hanshu* “Yi wen zhi” followed the work of Liu Xin). Those doubts arise from this: that many of the *Hanshu* narratives for each of the classes of texts do not seem to coincide with the views recorded elsewhere of Liu Xin and Liu Xiang. Unfortunately, at this remove and with the two earlier works known only from fragments, one cannot tell for certain.

77. I emphasize this because the *Hanshu* bibliographic treatise not only groups the texts, but provides rather lengthy interpretive statements detailing the evolution of each group over time; these statements seem at some points anachronistic and distorting. Equally to the point, we cannot be sure that those interpretive statements date to the late





Western Han and come from the hand of either Liu Xiang or Liu Xin. Van Ess (2005–2006) has written that Ban Gu did not know events of two centuries before. I would put it differently: I suspect that Ban Gu's project in service to the Eastern Han required him to occlude some events and misdirect readers about the Western Han.

78. See *Tongzhi*, 21.1825, 71.835C, whose premise is that “illustrations and texts . . . when put together, make a complete text.” Cf. the work by *Lidai minghua ji* (compiled 847), which speaks of painting and writing having the same origins. Acker (1974), p. 64, speculates the two arts were not often distinguished in the pre-Song period. My account of the “Summaries” varies from that given in Fu Yuzhang (2008), p. 46, which retains the first six, but makes the First Summary the catalogue list itself and omits “miscellaneous works.” Fu also cites a figure of “more than 33,000 *juan* of books.”

79. See Queen (2001), p. 62.

80. As noted in *Tongzhi* 71/836a, Zheng Qiao applied the “suoxu” 所序 classification to the *Taixuan*, *Fayan*, and *Yuezhen* (Music Admonitions) by Yang Xiong. See Drège (1991), p. 102 n.49.

81. The sevenfold classification scheme was replaced in the third century CE by a different bibliographical scheme that further privileged the Five Classics above philosophy, history, and literature, perhaps in response to the efforts spearheaded by the two Lius, father and son, with the assistance of Yang Xiong.

82. Here I repeat an observation made in Dudbridge (2000), pp. 4–6. Fashions in bibliography could work against collecting certain types of works. See *Tongzhi*, 21.1826, which gives an example: when Liu Xiang's *Seven Summaries* did not include a separate category for *tu* (charts, pictures), this diminished, according to Zheng, the impetus to collect them. We might argue that the social and economic value of that category of texts declined, though pictures were, of course, to rise in value as paintings and scrolls.

83. Liu Xiang, quoted in *Quan Hanwen*, 37.6a–6b.

84. One of the titles was *Guo ce*, but none of the six titles match the title *Zhanquo ce*. See Liu Xiang, cited in *Quan Hanwen*, 37.1a–2b, which compares the texts to taros mashed together.

85. Activist editing did not begin with Liu Xiang and Liu Xin, needless to say. In early manuscript culture, aside from a few administrative documents where verbatim transcription was required, texts were written for small textual communities, primarily as aids in teaching in the transmission of knowledge, and functioned something more like our notebooks today, with transcribed and newly written materials (“notes”) put down together for the sake of convenience. The *Rites* expert Dai De 戴德, to take one example, excised all but 85 *pian* out of an original 214 *pian* to create the *Da Dai Liji* 大戴禮記; Dai Sheng 戴聖, his relative, expunged another 46 *pian*.

86. Loewe (1993), entry on Yang Xiong; cf. Liu Rulin (1935), vol. 2, p. 109.

87. *Dongpo quanji* 32.5b. This was said by Su, when he matches Tao Yuanming's “After





an Old Poem” (Poem 48, Part 8). For further information, see Chapter 7, notes 13, 208, for example.

88. *Fayan* 5/7–8.

89. *Shiji* 47.1936–37. Supposedly, Confucius in putting together his own recension of the *Odes* selected a mere 300 odes out of a total of either 3,000 or 6,000 odes known to him and selected for his *Documents* classic a mere 100 or 120 chapters out of 3,240, in addition to compiling the *Annals* by excising, rearranging, and rephrasing archival materials from his home state of Lu.

90. See Kalinowski (2003); Nylan (2008a); Cherniack (1994).

91. I owe this observation to a wonderful conversation with Dirk Meyer (Oxford), in the spring of 2008. In writing of manuscript culture up to and including the Song period, Cherniack (1994), p. 12, put it bluntly: in her view, the early Chinese held a different concept of transmission, “with the Chinese scholars generally in favor of emending texts.” As Nugent (2007) has shown, however, this is something of an overstatement. For the moment, I do not speak of the political dimension, which will become obvious as the discussion proceeds.

92. Originally, all such paratexts were postfaces, but over time, many came to be conceived as prefaces, exerting an even stronger force on the way the compositions were to be read.

93. According to Yates (2007), this is also how the excavated Liye accounts describe the process of training and hiring of imperial officials, whether at the capital or in the commanderies and counties. Most of the Liye documents remain to be published, however.

94. See Li Deyu (2000), 18.365. One wonders whether such comments were targeting Li’s contemporary, Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824), who was very well paid for his compositions. If so, Han’s stature would have paved the way for other scholar-officials to have adopted his methods. Han Yu supposedly got for one commissioned epitaph “one horse with saddle and stirrups, and a white jade belt,” and for another, “500 bolts of silk,” extraordinary sums that would have represented three months of his official salary, set at 150,000 cash per month.

95. See Ye Mengde’s complaints, along with others’, in Cherniack (1994), p. 48.

96. *Tongzhi*, 20.1821–22, “On Collating,” claims, “In antiquity [by which he means the Han], when such books were produced, they came from one person’s hand, so that they became the ‘scholarship of a single expert or family’ [*yi jia zhi xue* 一家之學]; such was the case with Ban Gu and with Sima Qian and their followers. Only when it came to the men of Tang did they use many hands [compilers]. Such is the case with the *Sui shu* and *Jinshu* [official histories].”

97. *Fayan* 2/20. *Analects* 8/17 does something similar when it compares the ardent pursuit of learning with the ardent pursuit of the person desired. Hence the common view of texts as desirable destinations. Because texts were not widely available, often a person had to seek them out (as with the Stone Classics in the capital, entry into the Imperial Library as a career goal, travels to specific masters for study, and so on).



98. Cherniack (1994), p. 12. But Finley (1975), p. 201, argues the deadening effect of reducing a liberal education to book culture; it is only after the freezing of the liberal arts and their reduction to book culture that learning increasingly was “expressed statistically in some figures of book ownership.”

99. A story told of Ma Rong 馬融 (79–106 CE), however, is that he irritated Dowager Empress Deng by writing a satirical poem, saying, “He had been stuck in the Eastern Lodge for ten years, without permission to transfer.” *Hou Hanshu* 23.822; 60A.1954.

100. This discussion seeks to lay the groundwork for an argument that agrees in the essentials with a recent formulation by Taniguchi Hiroshi (1948–), the literary historian, even if my argument goes further. Taniguchi Hiroshi (2010) would impress us with the thoroughness and perfection of Yang’s persona as self-conscious author. Because my view so closely corresponds to that of Taniguchi, I think it important to summarize his argument here. I, like Taniguchi, think it crucial that Sima Qian’s preface says that he wrote the book “out of burning resentment” (發憤著書) in response to his own and his father’s ill-treatment at the court of Wudi. Yang Xiong, by contrast, seldom refers to the Han court in the *Fayan*, except when he registers oblique criticisms of it through praise of those who were condemned by the various Han emperors. This is but one of the many ways that Yang’s writings nudge the Han emperors off center stage. Taniguchi notes that Liu Xin and Liu Xiang, Yang’s contemporaries, may well have developed the same sort of authorial voice, but we have very few extant works by Liu Xin, and for Liu Xiang, we have only his official compilations produced for the throne.

101. The *Xijing zaji* (compiled ca. 525) 2.89, entry 44, tells this story about Yang’s curious dream when composing the *Taixuan*. Compare Yang’s own account of writing, “I put my whole mind and soul into the task, with the result that I became utterly exhausted. Then I took a little nap, during which I dreamed that my viscera spilled out onto the floor, and so I stuffed them back in with my hands. When I later woke up, my store of vital *qi* 氣 was greatly depleted, and I was ill for a year.” *Taiping yulan* 75/8b. One version has Yang Xiong dying within a year of this dream. *Wenxin diaolong* 6.1 also refers to this passage, saying, “Yang Xiong had nightmares because of his writer’s block.”

102. Hervouet (1964), p. 428, argued that Sima Xiangru was the first Chinese writer to regard literary production as a matter of primary importance in his life. However, this assertion is not particularly supported by the relevant texts.

103. One good source on the idealized patron-client (ruler-official) relationship is Pines (2002).

104. See Nylan (2015).

105. *Fayan* 2/1.

106. Mindful of his wishes, the court even granted him a leave from his full-time work as a poet, along with generous salary and the occasional bonus.

107. Of course, Yang was too intellectually ambitious to limit his ideal readers to the



pool of potential or actual bureaucrats among his contemporaries; that ambition probably accounts for his steadfast refusal to allow his masterworks to circulate prematurely, despite requests for copies from members of the imperial family. This is reiterated both in Yang's poem "Expelling Poverty" and in his exchange of letters with Liu Hsin, Knechtges (1977). At the same time, he could reasonably expect only limited circulation for his writings among disciples and disciples of disciples, given the vast vocabulary he deployed in all his writing, since he lived in an era before the attainment of high cultural literacy became a requirement for members of the governing elite. As *Hanshu* 87A.3515 (Yang's autobiography) says, Yang "thought that when a noble man got the right time, then he could do grand deeds; if not, then he would be [no more noticed than] a dragon coiled up like a snake." But even a century after Yang's time, during Shundi's reign (125–144 CE), the throne was complaining that candidates for office could not read or write well.

108. Taniguchi (2010) cites Yang's "Dispelling Ridicule" (*Jie chao*) *fu*, included in *Wen xuan* 45.8b–20a. He notes also that Cui Yin 崔駰 early in the Eastern Han regarded Yang Xiong as a perfect example of one who had "refined commitments" (*da zhi* 達志). During the Southern Song, however, Zhu Xi and others of the True Way Learning persuasion tried to oust Yang Xiong from the Confucian temple and so deny his role as exemplary classical master. For further information, see the introduction to *The Canon of Supreme Mystery* (Nylan [1993]) and my translation of the *Fayan* (2013); cf. Wilson (1995), pp. 55, 77, 81, 113, 158, 176.

109. See my translation of *Exemplary Sayings*, Nylan (2013).

110. Of the Five ("Confucian") Classics, only the *Odes* and *Documents* (or "Writings," construed by Yang's time as the *Documents* classic) are cited in the *Analects* when Kongzi is teaching. On the importance of the new trend in writing allusion-packed poems and essays, see Nylan (2018).

111. See, however, He Xiu's 何修 (129–82) interesting, if impossibly idealized projection onto the past of an account of social mobility via deep learning, from the winter lessons given by farming fathers to sons and the selection of best students for the corps of court officials. See Chen Li (1936), 3.1259–61. Basic numeracy was taught to many, together with basic literacy, but since it was hardly central to Yang's vision of the coupled pleasures of reading and classical learning, it is mentioned only in passing here.

112. Cf. Wu Fusheng (2007), p. 43, talking of Sima Xiangru (not Yang Xiong).

113. The Liu Xin / Yang Xiong correspondence included in the *Han Wei congshu* is usually appended to most editions of the *Fangyan*. See note 40 for further details.

114. On this, see Nylan (2001b).

115. A later textual community is described in *Liangshu* 51.748. Conceivably, students could recite a classic or masterwork without understanding its content, especially if the recitation mode (sometimes identified as the *ya* mode) entailed a special pronunciation. Therefore, recitation preceded being lectured on a text, and those lectures preceded full commitment to a text, in Drège's formulation, "apprenticing one's body to it." Yang would





have had no sense of a “republic of letters” or an “empire of texts,” however, following McDermott (2006), chapter 4.

116. All the “evidence” routinely adduced for such increase is shaky, contra Lewis (1999) and Yates (2007), who posit comparatively high literacy rates without paying due attention to the existence of oral commands and scribes, or distinguishing sufficiently between bare literacy and numeracy (such as might be found among low-ranking army conscripts) and high-cultural literacy (such as would have been required by high-ranking officials at the Han court). Yates (2007), however, hypothesizes that a much larger group during Han may have commanded some rudimentary skills in numeracy and writing.

The usual evidence adduced consists of the proliferation of commemorative steles and letters and the numbers of “students” registered at the Imperial Academy. As has long been recognized, steles are a fashion imported from Central Asia, and the numbers of extant letters may be a function of preservation bias or the greater availability of lightweight writing material. The earliest extant personal letters (dated ca. 224 BCE) are two letters on wooden boards from Yunmeng, Shuihudi, Tomb 4, which were exchanged between a soldier fighting in the Qin campaign against Chu in 224–23 and his brother Zhong, the tomb occupant. Transcriptions of those letters may be found in *Yunmeng Shuihudi Qin mu* (1981). Shaughnessy (1997), p. 181, translates one of the letters into English; Giele (2015) translates all extant letters in his essay. As for the tallies for the number of *boshi* disciples at the academy, these show a less consistent pattern than most (including Lewis) suggest, and Lü Simian (1982), vol. 3, pp. 733–34, rightly speaks of inflated numbers. In any case, an increase in the number of “disciples” registered with the Imperial Academicians probably reflects their patrons’ power to absolve them from tax and labor services, rather than advances in classical learning. See Nylan (2008c) for details. Essentially, Ban Gu’s account of Han Wudi’s reign, as given in *Hanshu* 30, is open to serious question.

117. In 849, the Tang Censorate calculated that the professional copyists in the Imperial Library, whose numbers varied between twenty and twenty-seven, according to the sources, could copy 417 scrolls per year, if they were working at full speed. See Drège (1991), pp. 68–69. Liu Xiang’s “Bie lu” 別錄 reportedly compared the process of collating texts to “enemies facing off against each other.” See that work, cited in *Fengsu tongyi, yiwen; Taiping yulan* 618. Beard (2009), p. 27, notes that the money to buy a top-quality copy of a manuscript of 500 lines would be enough to feed a family of four on basic rations for a year in Rome in the third century CE. In all likelihood, manuscript copying in Han was equally expensive.

118. As in most recorded societies, in the Han, some few geniuses advanced beyond their inherited station because of their extraordinary talents in reading, transcribing, and composition. For Yang’s hereditary background, see the opening lines to his autobiography, recorded at the start of *Hanshu* 87A. Yang may have attended Wen Weng’s 文翁 Academy in Chengdu, but this is speculation; in any case, Farmer (2000) casts doubts on





long-standing traditions regarding that “academy.” Lü Simian (1982), pp. 678–92 makes the case that many figures during Han experienced social mobility as a direct consequence of their learning to read and write, but Lü could come up with only a handful of names. For most, as Lü confesses, study in the capital or in the commanderies merely afforded men of good breeding the opportunity to cement good relations with office holders in the administrative seats, and “students” were usually “clients” of officials rather than “scholars” studying with teachers (pp. 733–41, especially 735–39).

119. In the early Western Han, and possibly in Yang Xiong’s time, as well, the first qualification for hiring scribes, diviners, and invocators was hereditary, as indeed it probably was for the upper reaches of officialdom. However, the phrase “scribes” in this case may mean “those in charge of astronomical records” who are also prayer masters, as *Zuozhuan*, Lord Zhao, Year 20.6, makes clear, but few have noted. (Nienhauser’s translation title is wrong, needless to say.)

120. Scholars generally underestimate the difficulties associated with the transition from the vernacular regional languages to the “refined” classical language of the court, because they mistakenly assume, first, that linguistic transformation is part of the natural order of human history and second, that the discrete languages in early China were simply dialects, minor variants on the single model of a national language. Naquin (2008) has remarked upon this with respect to late imperial times. In citing such views, I part ways with scholars who minimize the gap between rudimentary literacy and numeracy and high-cultural literacy (i.e., the ability to compose texts laden with allusions to other literary works) and who discount a phenomenon widely reported, the propensity to read out orders to the general populace, including to conscripts. (See Yates [2007].) However, the most efficient coordination of the army’s movements and operations depended upon some proportion of soldiers and officers having a modicum of reading skills plus numeracy, as did the efficient organization of manufacturing processes.

121. See, e.g., *Hou Hanshu* 49.1629 and 80B.2635.

122. True, the skills of scribes, clerks, and copyists — transcribing speech into writing or verbatim copying of documents — conferred no very great prestige during the Han, even if the empire would have quickly collapsed without their aid.

123. However, “fidelity” in transmission may not have meant “verbatim transcription,” which is a modern concept. Fidelity may well have allowed transcriptions in homonyms when a piece of writing served mainly as an aide to memory.

124. See *Sanguo zhi* 13.420, for another authority; see *Xijing zaji* 2.89 for Yang’s advice: “read a thousand fu, and you will become skilled at writing them.”

125. See *Fayan* 5/16, for example.

126. *Fayan* 1/11.

127. Dirk Meyer (2012) has distinguished two types of books: authority-based texts that need “unpacking” by a master teacher and argumentative-based books whose rhetoric is more transparent to those with sufficient cultural literacy. Using his definition, there



are very few argumentative-based books in pre-Han and Han and even post-Han times. Cf. *Wenxin diaolong*, 8.4, trans. Shih (1970), p. 297, on the inability of post-Han writers to understand the works of Yang Xiong “in the absence of a teacher” and sufficiently “broad learning.” Increasingly, text experts believe that a choice of a particular variant could be based as much on “conjecture” or “inspiration” (*divinatio*) as on earlier variants carefully preserved in earlier manuscripts. The age of a text “at best gives only a rough indication of a manuscript’s value.” Cf. Cherniack (1994), p. 7 n.7. For the continuation of multiple script types and orthographic variants long after unification in 221 BCE, see Galambos (2006); Kern (2003), 436; and Harrist (2008).

128. See Tao Yuanming, Poem 54 (“Reading the *Mountain and Seas Classic*”) (part 1 of 13, lines 13–14), in Yuan Xingpei (2003), 4.393.

129. For “immersion,” see *Fayan* 5/1. Cf. *Fayan* 1/7 and 1/18.

130. *Fayan* 5/6. Cf. Veyne (1988), writing of the Greek views on this.

131. In other words, in the first case, the Han reader would think that in reading the text he is hearing the voice of an authoritative person, with the piece of writing in hand merely meant to document, confirm, or preserve a speech or gesture. For this useful distinction, see Fischer (2003), pp. 23 and 28, speaking of Mediterranean cultures.

132. *Fayan* 3/8, on humans and interaction: “Through human interactions, human achievements may be realized” (*ren dao jiao, gong xun cheng* 人道交, 功勳成). Writing in the second category was seen to be far more than the mere “transcription” of speech (*pace* some linguists and sociologists today). Jack Goody is one expert of the latter sort whose enormous contributions cannot be doubted and who still sees writing primarily as “reported speech.”

133. See, e.g., *Fayan* 1/8; 3/8, speaking of “casting men” 鑄人.

134. See above for *zhu wen* 屬文, “connecting” or “putting together” texts. For this term and others used when praising high cultural literacy, see Nylan (2013b).

135. Not modern file cards, of course, but texts written on wooden boards, the early equivalent. Yang is said to have shuffled them when working on his *Fangyan*. For more on this, see Nylan (2011), pp. 23–24.

136. This discussion is inspired by Meyer (2008), pp. 4–5.

137. *Fayan* 2/9.

138. *Hanshu* 87A.3552. (For “redactors” and “correctors” I follow Knechtges’s translation, in *Wen xuan* (1982), vol. 2, p. 133. The description of Yang’s *Taixuan*, in *Hanshu* 87B. 3575, where “the three regions . . . and 729 judgments are divided into three *juan*” suggests that even this classicizing masterwork has undergone some reformatting.

139. *Hanshu* 80.3324.

140. *Xunzi* 6.9; Knoblock (1988–94), vol. 1, p. 225: “Speaking when it is appropriate to do is practical wisdom; remaining silent when appropriate is also wisdom. Thus knowing when to remain silent is as important as knowing when to speak.”

141. *Hanshu* 87B.3567. Han history is littered with the names of those proscribed, exiled,



imprisoned, or even executed because of imprudent writings on delicate subjects under the court's purview, such as Liu An, king of Huainan, Dong Zhongshu, and Jing Fang, to name but a few.

142. See the Liu Xin / Yang Xiong correspondence, as discussed in note 40.

143. Yang compiled, with “strange, or rare, graphs” (*qi zi* 奇字), the *Cang Jie xun zuan* 倉頡訓纂, whose significance is described in Greatrex (1994) and Nylan (2011). Cf. Emperor Xuan's order to Wang Bao and others ‘to recite day and night strange writings and their own works’ to help cure the heir apparent's illness (*Hanshu* 34.2829).

144. *Hanshu* 87B.2584.

145. *Fayan* 7/10 looks innocent enough at first glance, as a discussion of whether a person can “faithfully attend his ruler” by playing chess. However, *Hanshu* 64.2829 shows Emperor Xuan of Han justifying his love of the *fu* by a misemployed *Analects* allusion, plus a comparison of chess to classical learning. None of Yang's peers would have missed Yang's attack on Xuandi for having the temerity to mock Confucius by citing him out of context. Yang's subtle reworking of Xuandi's retort conveys his profound disgust at the imperial jest, making it clear that banal games and contests simply waste time and preclude more rewarding types of cultural play, such as emulation of the ancients.

146. In the “Sweet Springs” *fu*, Yang talks of Chengdi's towers being “heir to the Jade Building and Jasper Palace,” the palaces built by those two tyrants. See *Hanshu* 87A.3528. Liu Xiang also criticized Chengdi harshly, according to *Hanshu* 36.1956–57. Yang so seldom employed “indirect admonition” (*feng* 諷) that one wonders whether he was not thinking about another gloss for the same word, drawn from the *Zhouli*: “reading silently without the help of humming to the accompaniment of the *qin* or *se*.” See commentary and main text of the *Zhouli*, “Chun guan” 春官 [e-Siku], 23/28a.

147. *Fayan* 9/4. Yang's phrasing probably derives from the phrase *yi si* 繹思, found twice in Mao Ode no. 295 (“Lai”), and *si wu yi* 思無繹, found in Mao Ode no. 297 (“Si”), an ode supposedly sung during the ceremony of the great enfeoffment in the temple. Ode no. 16 describes the Lord of Shao and the sweet-pear tree. As for the counterexample of good rule, in the year 656 BCE, Duke Huan of Qi attacked Chu. On his way home, he wanted to take a route through Chen, but Yuan Taotu, the Chen counselor, advised against letting him enter the state, whereupon the duke seized Yuan. See *Zuo zhuan* and *Gongyang* for Lord Xi, Year 4, whose stories show minor variations.

148. *Mencius* 5B/8: *zhi ren lun shi* 知人論世. This line has also been construed in other ways, given its importance to identity politics down through the ages.

149. See Csikszentmihalyi and Nylan (2003)

150. Yang Xiong, as one of the *haogu* reformers, attacked the expertise of the imperial Academicians, official guardians of the Classics supposedly transmitted from antiquity, as well as the heavily accreted traditions, interpretations, and commentaries attached to the Classics and masterworks. See note 69 above.



151. *Huainan zi* 19.242, 244.

152. Poo Mu-chou (2010) registers some astute observations on the multiple pasts invoked at the Han court.

153. See, e.g., *Fayan* 4/24. Prior to Yang Xiong's time, multiple pasts (some quite recent) qualified for consideration as worthy models, and earlier texts had referred to those pasts and the leading figures identified with them almost indiscriminately, apparently thinking no one past era particularly merited scholarly attention. Yang focused on the Duke of Zhou as model for Kongzi. See *Fayan* 1/7; the verse summary for chapter 2; 7/8; 7/16, etc.

154. See, e.g., *Fayan* Y 2/11, 5/7, 5/8.

155. Xiao Wangzhi 蕭望之 and Kuang Heng 匡衡 are two earlier figures praised for their elegant writing style who evidently paved the way for the *haogu* movement, as did Jiao Yanshou 焦延壽 and Jing Fang 京房, the master prognosticators. See Liu Rulin (1935), vol. 2, p. 55.

156. Liu Xin and Liu Xiang disagreed over the relative superiority of two traditions to the *Chunqiu*, with Liu Xiang preferring the *Guliang* and Xin the *Zuozhuan*. Yang Xiong seems to have disparaged Liu Xin for starting the fashion for the curious when he presented his edited version of the *Shanhai jing*. See Liu Rulin (1935), vol. 2, p. 109; cf. *Fayan* 12/9, on Sima Qian.

Another conflict, this time between Liu Xin and Yang Xiong, is recorded in the acrimonious "Letters" translated in Knechtges (1977). Yang Xiong could be thin-skinned when recalling perceived slights. It sometimes rankled Yang that the Han court cast him as hired entertainer, rather than a master of morality and erudition. See *Fayan* 2/1-2. Yang was not far off the mark in this complaint, for as a mid-ranking official, he was assigned to the Music Bureau, charged with supervising and registering one thousand-odd actors, jugglers, acrobats, and musicians. See Huan Tan, cited in *Quan Hou Han wen* 13/5a-b. Cf. *Hanshu* 87B.5136: "People despise what is near and admire what is far. People saw for themselves that Yang Ziyun's salary, position, and appearance was not such as to move the people, so they scorned his writings." Or *Hanshu* 87B.3579: "Lao Dan has left a saying, 'I am honored that those who understand me are so few.' Is this not the proper principle?" (For the letters, see note 40 above.)

157. See *Wenxin diaolong* 8.1 and Shih (1970), p. 63, on "allusion and reference." Cf. Wang Qicai (2009).

158. Liu Xin had simply said of the *fu* that "to recite without singing is what we mean by *fu*. He who climbs on high and can compose a *fu* may become a court councilor." Liu Xin, however, also criticizes some *fu* writers as "submerging the intention of satire and analysis." Yang issued a serious challenge to the moral legitimacy of the *fu* in several of his works, as is well known. For this, see *Hanshu* 30.1755-56.

159. *Fayan* 6/22.

160. Compare *Fayan* 7/10 and *Hanshu* 64.2829.

161. *Tongzhi*, *juan* 5 下中, lists Yang Xiong as one of the compilers of the Basic Annals



draft chapters for the reigns Jingdi to Pingdi (156 BCE–5 CE). See Yang Haizheng (2003), especially pp. 21–31. By contrast, *Lunheng* 60 (“Xu song” 須頌), says that Yang “recorded” (*lu* 錄) the reigns from Xuandi (r. 74–49 BCE) to Pingdi. This is more likely.

162. See Ren Naiqiang’s comments regarding Liu Zhiji’s assessment of Yang, for example, recorded in *Huayang guozhi* 10A.543 n.3.

163. For the phrase “worthy of careful consideration” in connection with Yang, see *Shitong*, 5.106–107.

164. Declercq (1998), pp. 41–55, offers a brilliant analysis of Yang’s “Dispelling Ridicule *fu*” (“Jie chao”), *Hanshu* 87A.3566–73, emphasizing Yang’s use of past to criticize the present.

165. This is the argument put forward in the *Shangshu* chapter entitled “Gao Yao mo,” one of the most frequently cited *Documents* chapters in Han and post-Han times, as reported in Nylan (2001), p. 149.

166. The linkage between *lao* and *kao*, which appears in the *Shuowen jiezi* [e-Siku] 8A/23a, a full century after Yang, as well as in such early collectanea as *Taipingyulan*, 383/1a, is accepted by scholars in commentaries to many texts, including the *Shiji*, the *Liji*, and the *Jinshu*, as a search in the *Siku quanshu* electronic database shows. Later texts seem to regard these as loan characters, as in, e.g., *Shiji* 63.2139n1; and Wei Xu’s 韋續 (Tang) *Mo sou* 墨叢 1/1a [both e-Siku]. William Baxter (University of Michigan) notes (personal communication, September 2010) that the authoritative Ji Xusheng (2002) says the two characters were written identically in oracle bones and early bronzes, also that neither character is related to *xiao* 孝, as is usually alleged. That the ancestors were called “kao” (as in *kaofu* 考父) in texts that predate Yang’s era is indisputable, but we cannot prove that this association predates Yang’s time, since no early excavated texts make the same link, so far as I know.

167. *Hanshu* 87B.3580. Knechtges’s 1982 translation, p. 157, puts this in the first person, rather than the third, on the assumption that Yang’s autobiography is still being quoted here.

168. See *Shitong*, 10.264–66, where Liu compares his own work to that of Yang in four respects. Cf. 12.306, where Liu Xin and Yang Xiong are singled out for condemnation for their “praise of false Xin” [i.e., Wang Mang], which deluded many who came later. See also Ren Naiqiang’s comments to *Huayang guozhi* 10.543 n.3. I must note that *L’Haridon* (2006) is one of the few works to highlight Yang’s role as historian.

169. *Lunheng* 60/263/4. Wang, of course, revered the man he called “Master Yang” more than Kongzi or Mencius.

170. *Hou Hanshu* 40A.1324. The Li Xian 李賢 (Tang) commentary says Yang was one of the writers.

171. Examples include *Fayan* 11/19 and *Hanshu* 76.3239; *Hanshu* 72.3057, citing *Fayan* 8/25 and 6/19; *Hanshu* 74.3144 and *Fayan* 10/27. I am indebted to L’Haridon (2006), vol. 1, pp. 209–30, for these references.

172. *Lunheng* 83/361/20.





173. *Fayan* 10/30. See Yang Haizheng (2003), pp. 21–31, and Kroll (2015).

174. Nonetheless, Yang expressed disdain for Sima Qian’s “penchant for the strange” (*ai qi* 愛奇). See *Hanshu* 80.3324. And while *Fayan* 10/30, for example, associates Sima Qian’s work with the *Zhouguan* (i.e., *Zhouli*) and the *Zuozhuan*, Yang was generally distressed by Sima Qian’s cavalier attitude toward the Classics.

175. *Shiji* 130.3297, quoting Dong Zhongshu in a passage that appears in *Chunqiu fanlu*, “Yu xu,” 6.780B.

176. Nostalgia (*huaigu*) is mentioned first in connection with failed aspirations, in *Yantie lun* 5.1/29/9 (懷古道而不能行, said of both Kongzi and Mozi).

177. For the late Western Han construction of the First Emperor, see Nylan (forthcoming, 2018b). Critics of Wudi, such as Ji An, complained that Wudi had written a solemn “hymn” not in honor of the ancestors or to promote moral suasion, but to celebrate Wudi’s acquisition of a fine horse or horses. Also, Li Yannian 李延年, music master under Wudi, introduced seventy singers and dancing girls into the State Sacrifice ceremony. All these offended Yang’s sense of propriety.

178. See, e.g., *Fayan* 9/25, for taxation measures.

179. This is the argument made by Zhiyi Yang (2012).

180. See, e.g., *Hanshu* 62:2733 (吾何以自見於後世哉). Thanks to Owen (1992), p. 59, we see this motif in later authors, including Cao Pi. Compare the *Laozi*, section 22, lines 聖人執一, 以為天下牧. 不自是故彰, 不自見故明, 不自伐故功 . . . 夫唯不爭, 故莫能與之爭.

181. By a legend recorded in *Mozi* 83/47/33, the Duke of Zhou read every morning 100 *pian* of documents. Similar claims are made of the First Emperor of Qin, though scholars have presumed that the First Emperor read only administrative documents. Note also that the phrase “a hundred” often means just “a great many.”

182. As late as 18 BCE, Zhai Fangjin 翟方進, a classicist, won renown for his prosecution of thousands in Changling, an imperial mausoleum town, after which he was promoted to capital intendant. See Liu Rulin (1935), vol. 2, p. 74.

183. For Gan Zhongke, see Arbuckle (1995).

184. See, e.g., *Fayan* 8/13–14.

185. In Han times, fashionable people still read books and wielded swords; there was none of the later disparagement of the martial, exacerbated by the An Lushan Rebellion of 755, historians believe. Yang Xiong’s student Huan Tan wanted initially to study with him and another master, an expert in swordplay. See *Yilin* 3/10a. Huan Tan was hardly the only one to combine an interest in reciting texts and swordplay, because this is reported of Jing Ke and Sima Xiangru, as well (*Shiji* 86.325; *Shiji* 57.2529). Liu An, King of Huainan, took an interest in reciting texts and playing the *qin*; by contrast, he was uninterested in hunting and other more conventional pursuits of the nobility.

186. *Zuozhuan*, Lord Xiang, Year 31.12. Note that the same phrase (*jingshe* 精舍) was used for the private schoolhouse and for the meditation chamber, just as the same phrase





(*di zi* 弟子) served equally well for “disciple” or “student,” or for “client” and “retainer.” For example, see *Hou Hanshu* 67.2215, speaking of Tan Fu 檀敷 (fl. ca. 150 CE) in Shandong.

187. These two words, *jiao* and *xiao* in modern Chinese, are cognates.

188. *Hanshu* 30.1721 reports that the *Cang Jie* had “many old characters” (with “old” almost certainly meaning “pre-Qin”). It also reports Yang Xiong’s activities in expanding the classic.

189. *Hanshu* 25B.1251.

190. Nationalistic talk of the “longest continuous civilization” crucially rests upon the mistaken assumption that the Chinese logographs (and the language they represent) have remained “essentially” the same down through the ages.

191. *Quan Hou Zhou wen*, 6/4b (“Yi biao” 遺表); *Quan Hou Wei wen*, 21/2a–b (上表乞定樂舞名). Nor should one forget the 102-*pian* version of the *Documents* produced by one Zhang Ba 張霸, in response to Chengdi’s call for genuinely old versions of the Classics; this version was pronounced a forgery by Chengdi’s librarians (*Hanshu* 88.3607). That reminds us that some of the momentous “finds” were, in fact, forgeries.

192. Readers will recall that earlier, Yang was identified as an expert in omens. See note 45 above.

193. *Fayan* 2/11 praises the *Cang Jie pian*, for example. Other early traditions make Yang a devotee of the *Erya* (see below), as in *Huayang guozhi* 10A.533.

194. See Greatrex (1994), who notes that a *Cang Jie xun zuan* 訓纂 written by Yang Xiong was the product of a court conference convened in 5 CE by Wang Mang in the Weiyang Hall (*Weiyang ting*); this conference was attended by over a hundred scholars, according to Xu Shen’s preface to the *Shuowen*. Yang Xiong reportedly removed the repetitions from the *Cang Jie pian* and added a further thirty-four sections, so the *Cang Jie xun zuan* amounted to eighty-nine sections containing 5,340 characters. (The work is no longer extant.) That this work was designed to consider pronunciation and semantic issues occasioned by the transition from preimperial scripts to clerical script seems clear from Bottéro (2003). It seems that when the *Shuowen* talks of the *Cang Jie*, it is this revised version of which it speaks, rather than the original. A Han find of a *Cang Jie* shows it to have used seven-character phrases instead of four-character phrases. See Zhang Cunliang and Wu Hong (2009) and Zhang Shichao (2009).

195. See note 143. *Fayan* 6/19 and 11/23 discuss these masters. For Yang Xiong and Du Lin as major figures in the reading of *gu* 古 (“ancient”) script, see *Hanshu* 30.1721. The same passage names Yang as a specialist in the *Shi Zhou pian* 史籀篇 (cf. *Fayan* 2/11), a word list that, like the Han *Cang Jie pian*, reportedly contained “many old script” characters, presumably of seal script.

196. *Fayan* 1/22.

197. *Fayan* 4/12.

198. This important distinction continues to elude some early China historians. See, e.g., Sukhu (2005).





199. Much of what underlies my assessment of Yang's finding pleasure in the Ancients is premised on a hard-won insight that virtually requires an expansion to the standard definitions given two basic terms in Han classicism, *xiaoxue* 小學, and *qiwén* 奇文. Nyland (2011), explains the evolution of those terms at some length.

200. For Liu Xin's famous "Letter Addressed to the Academicians," see *Hanshu* 36.1967–71. See also note 40 above. Bottéro (2003) shows that Sima Xiangru's *Fanjiang pian* was the first text to give only the "archaic script" (*guwen*) characters while suppressing alternate forms.

201. The standard narrative makes Wudi's reign the start of the classical learning movement. It is possible that Yang Xiong was invited to court as much because he was student of Yan Junping (i.e., Zhuang Zun) as because of his remarkable abilities in writing *fu*. Neither possibility excludes the other. See *Hanshu* 72.3056, which seems to attribute an interest in Yan's teachings at the court during Chengdi's reign; moreover, a member of the Wang family (early patrons of Yang Xiong) was an early patron of a person associated with Yan.

202. Centuries after Yang, at the end of the Eastern Han, Zheng Xuan (127–200) would attempt to "correct" the Five Classics corpus by contrasting and comparing the language of the disparate parts of the whole corpus and by "taking the best readings of various schools and rejecting the rest." Zheng forced the Classics (especially the three ritual Classics) into a unitary framework in hopes of forging a unified moral system. See R. Wagner (2000), p. 42. The most authoritative account of Zheng Xuan's activities, to my mind, is Yang Tianyu (2008).

203. As Yang explains it in *Hanshu* 87B.3565, during the troubles when the "Ding and Fu clans and Dong Xian controlled affairs of state," he kept busy drafting the *Taixuan* "as a means to keep to myself and remain tranquil," despite misrule. That Yang also had a "sabbatical" under Chengdi, when he was allowed to forsake his usual duties at court, also speaks volumes. After Yang's death, the Eastern Han throne found it convenient to predicate some of its claims to legitimacy on such textual "restorations," though books of any sort in manuscript culture (as in print) were as likely to reinforce regional identities as to subvert them. One wonders, then, if the push to accept "archaic texts" was not a way of leapfrogging over regionally based scholastic lineages of interpretation in the belief that the distant past was less disunified and more coherent than the multiple traditions better known to scholars of Yang's day.

204. *Hanshu* 87A.3514: "I read quickly; there is nothing I have not seen."

205. A saying from *Yanshi jiaxun*, 30.305.

206. See, e.g., *Fayan* 2/9, 5/11, 5/17, 5/21, 5/27. For the citation, see *Hanguan liu yi*, item 4.3 citing *Hanguan jiu yi*, item 3.3, where this is said of the ideal Academician. Since the *Erya* was a Han text, during the Han, it must have included characters in the pre-Qin script forms, if this statement is reliable.





207. Numerous passages in the *Fayan* excoriate these masters; see, e.g., *Fayan* 3/20, 4/6, 4/25, etc.

208. *Hanshu* 87B.3580; Knechtges (1982–96), vol. 3, p. 56, slightly modified.

209. See Nylan (2008c), which emphasizes the usual (and continuing) importance during the Han of many classics, as compared to the Five Classics.

210. See “Boshi jian,” in Li Zhen'ai (2001), pp. 305–308. The first line translated here (*jia yan shi shou* 家言是守) could conceivably mean “preserved the [inferior] talk of the technical experts,” but that seems unlikely. See below.

211. *Hanshu* 36.1970–71. According to Liu Xin (*Hanshu* 30.1969), only Jia Yi 賈誼 (200–168 BCE) was worthy of the name of “classicist” (*Ru*). The *wenli* 文吏 (clerks) enjoyed the least prestige. This accusation occasioned such enmity at court that Liu Xin feared he would be charged with a capital crime unless he took measures to leave the court for a time. See *Hanshu* 36.1972; Knechtges (1977), p. 312; Loewe (2015b). For Academicians in the “family business” of transmitting texts as a private money-making venture (*jia fa* 家法), see Li Qing (2003), pp. 235–37.

212. Of course, each *shuo* had its own textual history, but generally speaking, far less was known about the individual histories of the *shuo* than about components of the Five Classics corpus. Liu Xin threatens the Academicians, but precisely what the charges would be against them he does not specify. According to the letter, Liu Xin says, “They disobey our Emperor’s wise decree and lose sight of what those illustrious old men of old had in mind. That may end with them falling into the hands of an official investigating criminal matters.” For this translation, see Loewe (2015b).

213. Here, Yang agreed with Liu Xin. For Liu Xin, see *Hanshu* 30.1723. For the *Fayan*, a time period of three years is also mentioned. While the *haogu* advocates had been gaining strength since 48 BCE, one of the strongest opening salvos came in 28 BCE, when Wang Feng sharply lambasted the king of Dongping for his request to the emperor to see the works by the various masters and by Sima Qian. Wang argued that not all the masterworks were the works of sages, some topics were best ignored (e.g., the spirits, strategic locations of the realm), and many enjoined the sort of thinking employed by the Zhanguo strategists for hire. By contrast, the Classics were all the works of the sages, and they covered every conceivable topic. See Liu Rulin (1935), vol. 2, pp. 54–55.

214. See Thern (1966), p. ii. The *Annals* is famously difficult to understand without its traditions, compiled long after Confucius. Some legends meanwhile made Kongzi the author/compiler of one of the “Ten Wings,” which some would cast as “commentary” to the *Changes*. Yang probably thought of the “Wings” as a later contribution in the spirit of an earlier classic.

215. *Hanshu* 87B.3570. For the Class “A” exams, see *Hanshu* 88.3596; those candidates were tested by the *taichang* 太常, the minister in charge of court rituals.

216. Fukui Shigemasa (2005). However, perhaps Yang popularized, rather than invented



the term *wujing*, because the “Five Classics” corpus is mentioned in a letter attributed to Liu Xin. See the “Letters” in Knechtges (1977). The predecessors of the *haogu* reformers, including Kuang Heng, were still talking in 46 and 36 BCE of the Six Arts (*liu yi* 六藝), not the Five Classics. See Liu Rulin (1935), vol. 2, pp. 25 and 44.

With the exception of Li Ling (2007), p. 213, nearly all scholars regard the single occurrence in the Guodian “Yu cong” 語叢 1 of a string of words (*shi* 詩, *shu* 書, *li* 禮, *yue* 樂, *chunqiu* 春秋, and *yi* 易) to be a triumphant confirmation of the existence not only of the *Documents* classic by 300 BCE, the date the Guodian cache was buried, but also of a coherent grouping of Six Classics (all books). I, like Li Ling, believe the “Yu cong” passage likely refers not to individual classics with those titles, but to six bibliographic categories. Li Ling notes that these six words appear on separate strips (strips 38, 39, 44, 36, 37, 40, and 41) and may be compared to a *Guoyu* passage that outlines a plan for the instruction of a prince.

217. For example, the Kongzi of the *Analects* insisted that the student or learner, upon completion of his learning, should apply himself to the task of securing an official post. See *Analects* 9/13. Cf. Fischer (2003), p. 45.

218. *Fayan* 7/5. As noted above, the most common Han gloss for *li* 禮 (“rites”) is *ti* 體 (“embodiment”).

219. *Fayan* 2/10; cf. *Hanshu* 87B.3566–67. *Hanshu* 87B.3570, 3572, has Yang comparing himself to the most illustrious ministers of the past. *Wenxin diaolong* 10.2, trans. Shih (1970), p. 357, says of Yang that he “may be deemed the most profound [of writers], both in the language he employs and in the themes he treats. His ability to couch his brilliant thought in firm language is due to his sagacious and profound ideas, to his relentless search for wondrous and beautiful expressions, and to his untiring effort to think things through.” He is, in other words, a sage.

220. Cf. Lee (2007), which argues that the imitation genres in the Six Dynasties had commentarial and exegetical functions.

221. If the exchange of letters by Liu Xin and Yang Xiong is genuine (see note 40 above), this is the earliest reference to the *Erya*, which was right then gaining immense stature as a work ascribed to the Duke of Zhou. Another early attribution of the *Erya* to the duke is by the fifth-century commentator Zhang Yi, in *Huang Qing jingjie*, 667A/1a–2a. (For the dating of the *Erya* compilation, see note 226 below.)

Yang’s attempt to use the lexicon to “correct the Classics” may have provided the model for Yan Zhitui’s (531–595) later call to read the Five Classics texts and interpretations according to a more recent word list, Xu Shen’s 許慎 Eastern Han *Shuowen* (compiled ca. 100). See *Yanshi jiaxun*, 17.305 (“Shu zheng” 書證). In Yan’s view, the *Shuowen* could be deemed even older and more authoritative, because all its characters were written in seal script (small seal), and it gave etymologies for the characters (some of which we now consider wrong). As Yan writes, “Classical scholars of the past even changed the texts to fit their own interpretations — to say nothing of how difficult it was to avoid errors when

the Classics were copied over and over again and passed down through the generations. I have never thought that the *Shuowen* was always right . . . . But by and large, I admire it as a book that corrects many mistakes, has a reasonable organization and many examples; also . . . its analyses frequently trace the meaning to its origin and exhaust the sources . . . . If we do not follow the views in the *Shuowen*, we will then be in the dark with respect to graphs and will not know what a given dot or line signifies.” See Teng (1968), p. ii. The same presumptions underlay Wang Anshi’s 王安石 (1021–1086) commentaries to the Classics, to which he added his “Explanation of Characters” (*Zishuo* 字說), yet another etymological attempt to interpret the Classics. Wang, often portrayed as a wild-eyed radical, intended rigorously to reinforce the traditional exegesis style, transforming politics and ethics into a “unified moralistic system.” See Mittag (1993), p. 215. The best collation of the fragments left from Wang’s classical commentaries is Cheng Yuanmin (2011).

222. Liu Xiang had been patron and supervisor to Yang Xiong, but the relationship between Liu Xin and Yang was considerably more fraught. *Huayang guozhi* 10A.533, names Liu Xiang and Xin (father and son) and Huan Tan “and others” as admirers of Yang, but Liu Xin and Yang hardly saw eye to eye on a number of issues. For example, Wang Chong, *Lunheng* 13/37/25 reports that Liu Xin objected to those who would “reduce desires,” a slogan Yang borrowed from a Zhanguo master, according to *Fayan* 4/16. See also the sarcastic tone of the letters supposedly exchanged between Liu Xin and Yang Xiong, as captured in Knechtges (1977).

223. See Bottéro (2003) for details.

224. One Southern Song authority on script styles, Dai Si 戴侗, author of the *Liu shu gu* 六書故, characterized several of Yang’s writings in this way. See *Liu shu gu* 6.14b [E-Siku]: 司馬子長 [= Sima Xiangru] 揚子雲 [= Yang Xiong] 皆好奇字。故其辭賦太玄法言多奇字而不適於用。予所不取也。

225. *Qian Hanji*, 30.15b. There are only four other Han uses of this term, two of them being *Hanshu* 30.1721 and Yang’s own autobiography. The binomial phrase does not appear in the main text of the *Shuowen*, though commentaries to that text identify five characters in that text as *qizi*, i.e., a special type of archaic script. The binome appears once in the postface to the *Shuowen*, which is ascribed jointly to Xu Shen 許慎, the primary author of the *Shuowen*, and to Xu Xuan 徐鉉 of Song, who wrote “additions” to the postface. That postface appears to cite *Hanshu* 30.1721. For further information regarding the postface, see Thern (1966) and Greatrex (1994). Liu Xin’s son was named Fen 棻.

226. *Xijing zaji* 3.96. Note that the final sentence does not appear in the current *Da Dai Liji*, contra the attribution to that book in *Xijing zaji*. Both Ziyou and Zixia were especially known for their learning (*wen xue* 文學, here taken as “study of graphs”), according to *Analects* 11/2b, and Sima Qian says of the *Annals* (*Chunqiu*) that it is so perfect that Ziyou and Zixia could not have emended in it even a single phrase (*Shiji* 47.1944: 游、夏之徒不能措一辭). In Han times, there circulated several stories about the origins of the *Erya*:



that a three-*pian* (expanded) version of it had been produced by Kongzi, or by Zixia, or by Shusun Tong. Lu Deming 陸德明 (556–627) and the later Qing commentators on the *Jingdian shi wen* also presumed the *Erya* text to be a product of Wudi's time, if not earlier. Jiang Xia'an (1937), pp. 163–64, cited the *Da Dai Liji* passages quoted below, but the *Da Dai Liji*, as a paracanonical work, dates from the late Western Han, as well. Some mistakenly attribute this reliance on the *Erya* by the better-educated to Wudi's time on the basis of *Shiji* 24.1117, but there the term “*erya*” refers not to the book by that title, but to the style of lyrics (“approaching elegance”) of the nineteen sacrificial hymns composed at that time.

To this author's mind, Zhou Zumo (1984) proved beyond a reasonable doubt that the text postdates Wudi's era, even if some modern scholars, most notably the linguist Xu Chaohua 徐朝華 in his introduction to *Erya jin zhu*, resist Zhou's skeptical position and posit an earlier date of composition or compilation, citing the many variant traditions regarding the date of compilation for the *Erya*, which include, for example, the extant version of the *Hanguan juyi* 3.3.1839/17, which alleges that during Wudi's reign, the highest ranks among tested applicants were given to those conversant with archaic writings and the *Erya*, who could then compose texts by weaving phrases (*shu wen* 屬文) together. For the trope of Yang answering difficult questions brought to him by scholars and officials, see *Hanshu* 87B.3580.

227. In addition, the modern experts Wu Xiaorun and Wu (1982), pp. 82–84, emphasize three points whose relevance will soon be apparent: the striking similarities between the texts of the *Erya* and the *Fangyan*, the fact that the *Fangyan* preserves “not a few” ancient expressions, and that the present text of the *Fangyan* is definitely not the original version of the text.

228. *Da Dai Liji* 11.1. My translation is tentative, because the phrase I translate as “reintroduced in one's speech” (i.e. “spoken aloud” is literally *fan she* 反舌, “returned to the tongue”) usually appears as the name of a foreign polity or group. One wonders whether *fan she* could be a mistake for *fan gu* (反古), “return to antiquity,” but the text seems to be corrupt. This passage is introduced by another: “The Master said: ‘To be discerning but not petty is the goal. Petty wording breaks the meaning, and petty meaning breaks the Way. With petty ways, one fails to comprehend; nor do they apply to a wide range of situations. To be comprehensive and wide-ranging, words must be exquisitely spare. This is why one follows the string [with the finger] in order to see the music; that is sufficient to discern the [quality of] the air’: 子曰。辨而不小。夫小辨破言。小言破義。小義破道。道小不通。通道必簡。是故循弦以觀於樂。足以辨風矣。”

229. This statement, again, is based on the extant texts we have, a mere fraction of those that once existed; hence the hesitant tone. For one late Eastern Han view of the *Erya*, see *Lunheng* 52/256/6, which says that the *Erya* is the basis for explications of classical learning (爾雅之書, 五經之訓故) and a source badly neglected by ordinary classicists (*Ru*).

230. See *Hanshu* 30.1721 for further details; this presumably follows upon the *Shiqu*





conference, because it was used to “correct the characters.” This gives a variation on the story usually told of Yang Xiong’s compilation methods for “strange” and “old” characters. Cf. Harbsmeier and Bottéro (2008), writing on the *Shuowen* etymological dictionary, which came out of the *haogu* efforts.

231. *Hanshu* 99A.4069 describes Wang Mang and the group promoting classical learning as issuing a special invitation (*gong che* 公車) to experts in the *Erya*, the *Shi Zhou pian*, and other Classics and paracanonical works to speak about their specialties; many subsequently traveled to the capital. A later entry, *Hanshu* 99B.4161, speaks of courtiers interpreting omens in Wang Mang’s favor according to the *Erya*. Cf. Wang Xianqian (1900), 99.9a–11a; Dubs (1938; 1955), vol. 3, p. 239. It is certainly significant that *Hanshu* 30.1718–19 puts the *Erya* in the same category as the Shiqu pavilion conference text.

232. See note 226 above.

233. This comment recalls the *Hanshu* 30.1718–19 gloss for *Erya* (to which the *Fangyan* is compared in *Huayang guozhi* 10A.53 n.88: “Approaching Correctness” (*jin zheng* 近正 [the Five Classics]), not “approaching elegance,” as when the phrase describes Wudi’s literary styles; *zheng* 正 is a standard gloss and even substitute for *ya* 雅 throughout the Han and post-Han Middle Period.

234. Yang compiled, with “strange graphs/characters” (*qi zi* 奇字), the *Cang Jie xun zuan* 倉頡訓纂, whose significance is described in Greatrex (1994). Xie Qikun 謝啟昆, “Xiao xue kao” 小學考, in *Ershi wushi bubian*, vol. 2, 1578 (p. 54), writes of a one-*pian* analysis by Yang of the *Cang Jie* (a tradition or commentary): “Yang Xiong wrote out his ideas” (*shu qi yi* 書其意). As stated above, in note 194, some time during the Han, the *Cang Jie*, originally composed of rhymed lines, four characters per line, was expanded to seven characters per line, and this expansion may relate to Yang’s version, but we cannot say for sure. For further information, see Zhang Cunliang and Wu Hong 2010; also Zhang Shichao (2009); Kong Deming (2010), esp. p. 37, on Yang Xiong and Shu as a special linguistic area.

Later, no fewer than twenty-one scholars, including Ouyang Xiu, wrote a *yinyi* 音義 (“sound and meaning”) guide to Yang’s works, probably focusing on the *Fayan*. See Yan Lingfeng (1993): vol. 5, p. 323. Hand in hand with the compiling of lexicons of obsolete expressions went the ethnographic impulse, asking about the folk traditions that may have preserved earlier forms of learning. See *Hanshu* 36.1970 for Liu Xin’s discussion of this under Chengdi. For Du Ye’s 杜鄴 (d. ca. 2 BCE) work in lexicography and Wang Mang’s interest in it, see Liu Rulin (1935), vol. 2, pp. 128 and 133.

235. See the correspondence between Liu Hsin and Yang Xiong, in Knechtges (1977); cf. Greatrex (1994). As DeWoskin (1982), p. 57 n.6, writes, “To the reader unfamiliar with the tradition of etymologizing in China, it may seem strange to look for historical clues by dissecting words. Reading history into the components of characters is a methodology in the native traditions of scholarship that goes back at least two thousand years . . . . Whether by modern standards their opinions can be sustained or not, their [the Han scholars’] writings





on the etymology of a character” provides a way “of entering into their epistemological world.” Ying Shao’s preface to the *Fengsu tongyi* specifically mentions a work presumed to be the original *Fangyan* as preserving words from “different eras” (*yi dai* 異代). The preface to the *Fangyan* by Li Mengzhuan 李孟傳 (1140–1223) is particularly interesting, for it ties the composition of the *Fangyan* to all of Yang’s other works relating to philology and pre-Qin archaic script style: “and so the *Fangyan* generally makes understood strange characters 奇字, and the *Taixuan* generally deploys these in unusual language (奇語, possibly a hapax). Still, when he, Yang, used these, each for its part was appropriate. When Yang Xiong composed his *fu*, they were replete with ancient graphs, but when it came to the *Fayan* and the ‘Denigrating Qin and Praising Xin,’ he used rather few.” See Hua Xuecheng (2006), p. 4.

236. Cf. Davidson (1997), pp. 30–31, describing comparable Greek impulses.

237. See note 127 on the continuation of script types after unification in 221 BCE.

238. I thank Paul Kroll (private communication, August 2010) for this astute observation.

239. Liu Xin says that he has learned that Yang has gathered “obsolete words from former dynasties and unusual expressions from strange lands.” See Knechtges (1977), pp. 46–47, on the “Letters.”

240. See *Hanshu* 36.1970 for Liu Xin’s discussion of this at Chengdi’s court.

241. *Hanshu* 36.1971. Literally, *wen li* here refers to the low-ranking clerks that served the law courts. So my translation takes some liberties. But these *wen li* were known to favor the harsh penalties advised for treasonous princes in the *Gongyang*.

242. See, e.g., *Hou Hanshu* 79A.2545–46.

243. See Liu Rulin (1935), vol. 1, p. 58.

244. *Analects* 2/10 says, “Look closely into his aims and observe what motivates him, look to what brings him contentment and security” (觀其所由, 察其所安). The close ties between “pleasure” and “security”—reiterated throughout the early literature—are the subject of Nylan (2004) and Nylan and Huang (2007).

245. I have learned much from Horton (2012) about lexical and thematic links.

246. For “sex and beauty” within the context of moral discourse in Han classical learning, see Riegel (1977). For the contrary metaphor of “cutting windows in the walls [of Kongzi’s house] to fake unintelligible books,” see Thern (1966), p. 15.

247. Again, I think of Horton (2012).

248. This famous phrase, as readers will recall, comes from *Analects* 2/11.

249. One wonders what course of study was followed in Yizhou (Chengdu) at the Academy of Wen Weng, which was supposedly still in existence in 172 CE. Chang Qu, author of the *Huayang guozhi*, probably favored the works of its native son, alongside those of Yan Junping and others.

250. For Sun Jing, see *Yiwen leiju* 55.991, citing a certain *Hou Hanshu*; cf. *Beitang shuchao* 101.1A.





251. See *Hanshu* 30.1723, which claims that the ancients who knew the Classics in the proper way would *wan jing wen* 玩經文 (“play with the text [or phrases?] of the Classics”).

252. Implying “even as I grow old.”

253. *Wen xuan* 5.29b–30b, quoting Zhang Heng, “Gui tian fu”; translation by Knechtges (1982–96), vol. 3, pp. 140–43, slightly modified. Cf. *Baopuzi*, “Autobiography,” which defines the model gentleman as one who has perused all the books of antiquity (4/61a; Ware [1966], p. 8): 行為士表, 方冊所載.

254. Of men like this, Confucius supposedly remarked, “Such men . . . wander beyond the realm . . . They borrow the forms . . . unaware of where they start or finish. Idly they roam beyond dust and dirt, wandering free and easy in the service of no-action.” See the portrayal in *Zhuangzi* 6.12, 6.14 of Kongzi in conversation with Zigong.

255. The *Rites* classics mainly discuss *dushu* 讀書 (“reciting texts,” and only later reading them silently) in the context of ceremonial banquets, funerals, and sacrifices. By the Eastern Han, however, perusing texts (*lan shu* 覽書) was seen as a form of relaxation distinct from conducting the business of government. See *Quan Hou Han wen* 50/8b (Li You 李尤, “Dushu zhenming” 讀書枕銘).

256. The phrase “rapt in / addicted to the Way” (*dandu* 耽道) is the opening two-character phrase in Shu Xi’s 束皙 “Fu on Reading.” Knechtges (2014), n.1, presents a brief survey of the various dates proposed for Shu’s life (generally ca. 265?–305?).

257. Ashmore (2010), pp. 6–8.

258. The supposed “Burning of the Books” under Qin (213 BCE?) was followed by the destruction of the palace libraries under Wang Mang in 23 CE; in 193 CE, when Dong Zhuo razed the capital; and in 311 CE at the fall of the Western Jin. Another biblioclasm would date to the reign of Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty in 554. One might also mention the razing of the Qin capital of Xianyang by Liu Bang, but that would be impolitic by the early conventions of historical writing in China.

259. *Weishu* 82.1798 has Li asking, “Why wear myself out to acquire a reputation or benefit?”

260. For an addiction to the Way acquired through reading, see Shu Xi, “Dushu fu,” quoted in *Yiwen leiju* 55.991. This piece is translated in J. Chen (2009). It mentions Kongzi, as well as Yan Hui and Ni Kuan, among other “sages and worthies” Chen (2009), p. 62.

261. For Ge Hong, see *Baopuzi*, *waipian* 3.2a; Sailey (1971), pp. 31–32. For Huangfu Mi, see *Jinshu* 51.1415, 1409. Compare *Jinshu* 82.2152, said of Xie Chen 謝沈 (early fourth century); *ibid.* 9.2352, said of Fan Long 范隆 (early fourth century).

262. For Tao, for example, “Impoverished Gentleman,” Poem 50 (part 1), says: “The *Odes* and *Documents* are piled about my couch.” In “Composed on a Certain Occasion,” Tao’s last line is, “I have many teachers in antiquity” (though here there is irony, clearly). Tao’s set of poems opens with variations on the theme coupling poverty and farming and moves on to the theme coupling reading and classical learning. For Xie Lingyun, see Frodsham (1967);





NOTES

Huang (2010); and *Xie Lingyun zhuzi suoyin*, e.g., 3.1/43/8, 12; 4.11.1/64/10-11; also J. Chen (2009), pp. 69–70, translates Xie’s “Reading within My Studio.”

263. From Lu’s “Chang’an: Ancient Theme” (Chang’an guyi 長安古意), in *Lu Zhaolin ji jiao zhu* 2.73.

264. Jean-Pierre Abel-Rémusat, *Mélanges asiatiques, ou Choix de morceaux de critique, et de mémoires relatifs aux religions, aux. sciences, à l’histoire, et à la géographie des nations orientales*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1825). I am grateful to Alexander Statman (see Statman [2017]), for this reference.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER SIX

1. Here, of course, I allude to the likelihood that the modern script forms were employed mainly for bureaucratic purposes, because there is increasing evidence for the continuation of nonstandard scripts in the Qin, Han, and post-Han periods. See Galambos (2006).

2. In writing this, I have thought of M. Berry (2006). Note that Yang is profoundly uninterested in the rhetoric of *gong* versus *si* 私. Bauer (1976), p. 89, speaks of the “sense of intimacy due to the smallness of a single state” giving place “overnight to the feeling that one was living in a gigantic dominion governed by a distant capital . . . which continued to expand.”

3. For Gan Zhongke, probably the best source remains Arbuckle (1995), although a forthcoming book by Zhao Lu for SUNY Press addresses the topic. For Yi Feng’s memorial (48 BCE) to move the capital, see the Loewe (2000), entry on Yi.

4. See *Zuozhuan*, Lord Cheng 13, for the identification of “war and sacrifice” as the two great matters of state.

5. Yang Xiong today is principally famous as a writer of display *fu*. However, in his own era, his memorial on the Xiongnu won him plaudits and a handsome cash reward, and the court duly noted his disparaging remarks on the futility of the northern and southern campaigns (*Fayan* 13/29–30).

6. We see these efforts on display in *Hanshu* 88.3589–92 and *Hou Hanshu* 79A.3545–46. This explains why I begin to wonder both whether *Hanshu* 30 gives an accurate account of Western Han classicism and how closely it copies the work of Liu Xiang and Liu Xin.

CHAPTER SEVEN: SEMIDETACHED LODGINGS

1. In childhood, the role of place in forming consciousness is particularly strong. While postmodern theory envisions multiple identities and sees each movement in space (migration) as a new opportunity to reinvent oneself, it is unlikely that such neoliberal theories are true to a person’s emotional makeup. Mitchell (1994) argues that writing about place (e.g., a landscape) is a process of building and reinforcing social and subjective stereotypes.

2. De Botton (2006), p. 2.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 107.





4. Much of my discussion here draws upon Bachelard (1964), especially his chapters 1 (“The House”), 8 (“Intimate Immensity”), and 10 (“The Phenomenology of Roundness”).

5. “To come in from the cold” is Joni Mitchell’s title for a song written in 1957, six years before Le Carré’s famous spy novel that deploys the phrase in its title, to somewhat different ends. The observation about *xiu* plays on words in Tao’s Poem 5 (part 2, line 6), which speaks of “going home to rest,” but implies “going home to what is good.” Tomlonovich (1989), chapter 4, reviews many of the meanings attached to the word *gui* (“return”), but she fails to mention the verbal “give allegiance to,” which is very important. She does note, however, among the meanings of *gui* in Su’s writings, the idea of total retreat from court life and court affairs, something mentioned by Su Shi only *after* his Huangzhou exile, as well as the idea of retreat from danger (sometimes analogized to thoughts of oneness) and the idea of returning to the root or basis of things, leaving illusions aside.

6. The phrase “infinite curves of human response” comes from Vendler (1999), p. 32: while “poetry is not generally philosophical, it can be philosophical insofar as its dynamic (when well constructed) represents in abstract or ‘geometric’ form one or several of the infinite curves of human response.”

7. Solomon (2007), p. 29.

8. Davis (1983), vol. 1, p. 4. Because Davis supplies the Chinese text, as well as a translation and notes, I have used his work as my base text; Tao Shu (1839) has also been regarded as an authoritative citation text. The numbers given for Tao’s poems are those of the standard order as followed by nearly every scholar, including Davis (1983). See Poem 50 (part 5, line 1) and Poem 58 (line 24) for examples, but compare Poem 29 (lines 9–12), also Poem 14 (lines 13–14), where (“love of home” usually means “love of the people there”). Other poems discuss Tao’s *ai jia* 愛家 (love of home), though they often supplies different terms for it (e.g., 愛窮居, 愛靜夜; 愛吾廬; 愛閑靜).

9. This point is well made in Huang (2010), chapter 3. For one example, see Tao, cited in *Jin shi* 17,998: “When one’s mind is distant, one’s locale is naturally remote.”

10. Little is known of Tao’s life, and in general, people have tried to generate a biography for him from a mere sixteen of Tao’s poems that can be dated securely. Comparison of two standard editions of Tao’s work, those by Wang Yao (1956) and Li Zhendong (1956), shows that the dating of most of Tao’s poems cannot be ascertained. (Tao never edited his own poems.) The *ganzhi* dates that often appear in the poems’ titles themselves are fraught, for two reasons: in transmission, *ganzhi* dates are easily mixed up, and the *ganzhi* dates likely emended, because activist editors of Tao’s works have been eager to pin down a “correct” sequence of events. For simplicity’s sake, this chapter will repeatedly speak of “Tao” or “Tao himself,” although Tao, the persona created by Tao’s poems, was not identical with Tao, the historical figure.

11. Before Tao, the phrase *quitian* 歸田 meant returning to one’s landed estates, as in Zhang Heng’s 張衡 famous *fu*. “Return” in such cases did not necessarily mean return





to one's native place, but instead to lands acquired, usually through purchase, while in office.

12. These remarks draw upon Su Shi's first matching poems, supplemented by entries in the *Songshu* (compiled 487–88); Xiao Tong's *Wen xuan* (compiled ca. 530), *Nan shi* (compiled seventh century), and the *Jinshu* (compiled 648 CE). In particular, Su's eight East Slope poems probe the substance behind the Tao legends, as noted in R. Egan (1994), pp. 229–37, on “Determined Contentment.” Davis (1983), at the same time, notes the limitations of the approach that reads Tao into Su's work, and he cites the first matching poems (the Poem cycle 42, “Drinking Wine,” written while Su was still in Yangzhou (and hence before his exiles), as proof that Su at that point simply wanted to commemorate Tao Yuanming so well that it would seem as if Tao lived on (*ru sheng* 如生). See *Su Shi shiji* [zhu] vol. 6, 35, 1883, and the preface that plays with drinking and waking in *ibid.*, vol. 6, 35, 1881–82. In particular, Su's eight East Slope poems probe the substance behind the Tao legends, as noted in R. Egan (1994), pp. 229–37, on “Determined Contentment.”

13. Tao himself mentions his nagging wife and shiftless children, although these figure in the legends, as well. Tao's family members were continually deriding Tao's decision to accept poverty in return for a life in accord with his heart's desires. See, e.g., Poem 48 (part 3), “After an Old Poem,” and its response in *Su Shi shiji* 41.2266–67. Meanwhile, his sons failed to live up to their early promise. Contrast Poem 8 (“Charge to My Son”) with Poem 65 (“Reproving My Sons”). Even while claiming to relish being “a man of the dykes and fields,” Tao often cast the dead as his chief intimates, as in Poem 12 (part 2). In Song times, when a cult of domesticity took over, Tao's barbed comments about his family situation would prove inconvenient to Tao's hagiographers.

14. Tao's Poem 37 (lines 7–8) says, “I pace around my former home, / But few older neighbors are left.” Cf. Su Shi's famous line, “The old monk has already died; they've already built a new pagoda. / There is no way to see the old poem on the ruined wall,” which is quoted in Fuller (1990), pp. 98–99; Yang Zhiyi (2012), p. 97 n.71. Tao's Poem 9 presents a paradox: “Happily my affairs do not go at all well.”

15. Both the term “geography of familiarity” and the quotation come from Klinkenborg (2009). Klinkenborg continues: “The trick, of course — and it is a hard one to master — is to think of home not as a place we go to or come from, not as something inherent in the world itself, but as a place we carry inside ourselves, a place so secure that we may even welcome the unfamiliar there, so that it too, as time passes, can enter the very bedrock of our being.”

16. See Pontalis (1955), p. 931, for the phrase “the speaking subject is the only subject.” Talk of the “resonance-reverberation doublet” comes from Bachelard (1964), p. xxiii, but it seems highly appropriate for Tao and Su, as well. See M. Yang (2006).

17. Some thought Su arrogant because he refused to acknowledge any guilt, but Su did not feel that he was guilty of the charges brought against him, and admissions of guilt might have brought more trouble to those in his inner circle.





18. See the critique registered by the Tang poet Du Fu (712–770), in *Du shi jingquan*, *juan* 5, p. 234. Of course, Du Fu’s title admits that his critique is “Venting a Mood” and perhaps is overwrought. Most of the traditional critics understand this correctly, but Hu Yinglin and Eleanor Sun Kang-I Chang did not. See Ashmore (2010), p. 294 n.38. Most scholars tend to overstate Tao’s low ranking as poet based on the *argumentum ex silencio*. While Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824) ignored Tao in his account of the history of poetry, Tao was treated as a major poet by Xiao Tong 蕭統 (501–531). Xiao saw to it that part of Tao’s oeuvre (eight poems and one prose piece) was put together in a single collection, and Xiao also wrote a preface (陶淵明集序) in thirty-four parallel prose units for Tao, whose line 6 calls Tao a sage; in addition, Xiao included a eulogy in honor of Tao written by Tao’s contemporary Yan Yanzhi 顏延之 (384–456), in *Wen xuan*, *juan* 57. (For a translation of Xiao Tong’s preface, see Wang Ping [2010]; for the Chinese text of Xiao Tong’s preface, see *Zhaoming taizi ji jiaozhu*, pp. 199–201.) The traditional date for Xiao Tong’s compilation of Tao Yuanming’s collected works is 527. About the same time, Zhong Rong 鍾嶸 (468–518) ranked him in the *Shipin* 詩品 (compiled before 517) as the “patriarch of the poets of reclusion,” although Zhong didn’t think eremitic poetry should be ranked as highly as more politically engaged literary genres. Tao was also criticized heavily by Bo Juyi (mid-Tang), who was much better off and was well connected, which means Bo was paying attention. Bo [sometimes rendered as Bai] wrote, “His [Tao’s] household was poor and he couldn’t drink wine very often; he certainly would not have been drinking fine wine! The people he drank with were rustic woodcutters and fishermen, sitting in a group among the trees — generally the sort who just [care about] catering to their physical needs and satisfying their mouths and bellies.” Clearly, Bo, who admired Tao’s poetry, did not particularly admire his overindulgence in wine. See also Xiaoshan Yang (2003), p. 12.

19. Swartz (2008), chapter 1, discusses this.

20. M. Wagner (1981), p. 97, notes that Tao was already gaining quite a following during the Tang, a “striking manifestation of the High Tang poets against the ornateness of the court [poets],” and Wang Wei was among the first famous poets to style themselves after Tao. See note 273 for more on Tao’s posthumous reputation.

21. Nelson (1999), argues that paintings of Tao Yuanming by Song times portray the poet as more like a god or goddess than other “immortal” poets, including Qu Yuan 屈原 and Li Bo/Bai 李白, not to mention worthy officials.

22. Those constructing Tao as a loyalist (Su was one among them) either disregard Tao’s disinterest in politics or argue that Tao’s expressions of disinterest masked strong, if hidden concerns. Su Shi made much of Tao’s so-called “historical writings” (appraisals about historical figures of the past), assuming that in these poems, Tao expressed his political views through coded remarks. Still, political loyalty was not the ultimate test of honor in the pre-Song era, and certainly in Han and middle-period China it was said to be honorable to save oneself and one’s family by switching sides in a coup, when necessary.



Thus, the conceit that Tao's reclusion demonstrated his fierce dedication to the dynasty beggars belief, but that didn't prevent Song poets and painters from inserting it into Tao's story. To take but one example, the fifth scene of Li Gonglin's "Returning Home" handscroll (Freer Gallery of Art) shows Tao in conversation with woodcutters, the very class of men who supposedly advised the ancient sage-rulers, although Tao's poetry makes but a single mention of this class of men, in a couplet from Tao's Poem 12 ("Returning to the Orchards and Fields to Dwell," part 4, lines 10–12). Daoist lore credits woodcutters and faggot gatherers with having more profound wisdom than learned men, so Tao's couplet need not express concern for politics. But later writers, including Wu Song 吳崧 (Qing), adopted Su's portrait of Tao, speaking of Tao's patriotism (*ai guo* 愛國). See Wang Minghui (2003), p 187, quoting Wu's "On Tao" (*Lun Tao*). For the dimensions of the Freer Gallery scroll, see Figure 7.1 in this chapter, which illustrates one section of it.

23. *Dongbo tiba* 1/14a, on Poem 62 ("Written after Reading History").

24. Su Shi declared that Du Fu had never, for an interval as long as a meal, forgotten his sovereign. A Du Fu poem declared, by implication, that he was one of many worthies hiding as butchers and fisherman. See Du's "Shang chun" 傷春 ("Lamenting Spring"), part 3 of 5, in *Du Fu xiangzhu*, vol. 3, 13.1083; Owen (2016), 13.11–15.

25. Most people forget that Tao Yuanming's most famous poem, "Returning Home" (*Gui qu lai ci*) is a *fu*. Paul Kroll and David Knechtges have alerted us to the continuing importance of the *fu* in the post-Han period. Su's song lyrics also strike original notes in focusing much less on poems of parting and much more on panoramic landscapes and rambles therein.

26. Since the earliest assessments of Tao, people have noted the "plainness" of Tao's poetry. See, for example, the epitaph for Tao written by his contemporary Yan Yanzhi 顏延之 (385–456); this has been translated in Davis (1983), vol. 1, pp. 243–50. Thankfully, this is no longer much of a live issue in the latest works on Tao Yuanming.

27. See Ashmore (2010) for proof. I give one example: Tao's Poem 15, where he "begs for grain" from a neighbor, which may riff on an anecdote from chapter 26 in the *Zhuangzi*. Many of Tao's poems allude to legendary figures from Chinese tradition in offhand ways.

28. Yang Xiong was but one famous thinker to state this forcefully, in *Fayan* 3/10, for example. This rhetoric is the subject discussed in Nylan (2014a).

29. I borrow "thinginess" from the poet Hopkins, but some prefer "thingness" (quite a different proposition, referring to a static entity or set of qualities). For the latter term, see Auslander (2009), pp. 14 and 69.

30. See Hopkin's poem entitled "God's Grandeur."

31. My description of Hopkins (and Duns Scotus behind him) draws directly upon W. H. Gardner's remarks in Hopkins (1953), esp. pp. xx–xxv.

32. See Poem 49 ("Zashi" 雜詩十二首) part 12, lines 5–6, describing a pine tree that



“marks out a cliff” by its vital spirit (養色含精氣/粲然有心理), which are matched in *Su Shi shiji* 41.2273. *Jing* 精 is one of several variants, taken from *Tao zhu ben*.

33. Fuller (1993), p. 11, speaks of the notion of *qi* (“breath”) as something that moves freely between the self and the world, which is absolutely fundamental to an understanding of Chinese poetics.

34. I think of the *Changes* commentary, the *Xici zhuan*, which describes Fu Xi’s discerning the underlying patterns of the world in the traces and tracks around him. See *Zhouyi yinde*, quoted in note 369.

35. Tao’s poems always fit the season; he seems to respond artlessly to conditions around him. A good example is Tao’s Poem 23 (“Pledge to Liu of Chaisang”). Two of Tao’s poems are addressed to Magistrate Liu, who is usually identified as Liu Yimin 劉遵民 (359?-415). Liu eventually withdrew from office in order to become a recluse and devout Buddhist.

36. Poem 58 (“Gui qu lai ci”), preface (line 30). “The grain” is my translation for “my nature” (*xing* 性).

37. The phrase is *shen guai pingsheng zhi zhi* (深愧/媿平生之志), which Davis (1983), vol. 1, p. 192, translates instead: “deeply ashamed on account of my former ideals.” But it is hard to capture Tao’s meaning sometimes, because he himself expressed ambivalence. The topic of shame reoccurs in Su’s ruminations on Tao, as in the lines translated by Davis (2014), p. 148: “When I had achieved my purpose [in matching Tao], I told myself that I should not be too ashamed to face him . . . [Yet] for half my life I have gone out into official service and suffered the misfortunes of the world. This is why I am deeply shamed by Yüan-ming, and I want in old age to take his rare example as my model.”

38. Poem 58 (lines 3-8). The lines “what’s done is too late for censure / Still, the future can be the object of striving” recall *Analects* 18/5, and the very question “Why not return?” reminds readers of the Mao Ode no. 36, stanzas 1-2. The phrase “haven’t missed the road by much” recalls the *Li sao* lines: “I turn my carriage and retrace the road / While I have not missed the road by much.” It is possible that “censured” here also means “cautioned against,” as Alice Cheang, senior research fellow at the University of Massachusetts, suggests, but usually, remonstrations are *post-facto* warnings about the costs attached to continued wrongdoing.

39. Poem 58 (lines 14 and 19-24). Note that Su Shi will use the line about “taking the children by the hand” in his “matching poem.” Davis (1983), vol. 1, p. 192, translates the structure of 載欣載奔 by repeating “so,” and thus “So I am glad, so I run.”

40. Technically speaking, the Chinese brew (*jiu* 酒) is neither wine nor ale, insofar as it doesn’t use yeast or the malting of grains for fermentation. *Jiu* rather relies for its sugar conversion on a mold that forms on the grain. “Sake” would be a fairly accurate translation, but it would be jarring to modern readers. Cf. *Hanshi waizhuan* 9.23 for 容膝之安; also Ni Zan’s 倪瓚 (1301-1374) painting title “Rong xi zhai” 容膝齋.





41. That is, the space found by the knife in the Butcher Ding episode in the *Zhuangzi*, recounted in Chapter 5 of this book.

42. Poem 58, line 30.

43. Poem 58, lines 39–52. “Follow the times” is more literally, “find their [proper] season.” “Travel on to rest” suggests that Tao is grateful that his once-busy life has come to a point of rest.

44. Poem 68 (lines 33 and 36), before and after the ellipsis. Line 37 says, “How could mud-slinging ever sully me?” The poem also contains the lines

How can anyone be utterly free?  
But now that I go to be so transformed [to die]  
May I go unregretting . . .  
Alive, I craved for a fat and easy life.  
In old age, I have made a good end  
How could I have further yearnings to return?

45. Poem 34 (line 11). Probably this refers to the recluse-farmer Xu You 許由, in conversation with Kongzi/Confucius. (An “old gentleman planting a staff” 植杖翁 also appears in *Analects* 18/7.)

46. Poem 10, preface; cf. Poem 42 (part 1, line 8) on “further doubts.”

47. Poem 68 (lines 61–63), in the concluding lines.

48. Poem 68 (line 23).

49. Poems 6 and 58 use the graph four times. The other poems to use it are Poems 1, 5, 9, 10, 13–15, 17, 21, 32, 34, 42, 50, 54, 56, 59–61, 65, 68. The count given in Davis (1983) is twenty-four poems, but the discrepancy may be due to multiple graphic variants used in different editions. I confess to finding it difficult to figure out when *xin* 欣 is not a synonym for *huan* 歡.

50. See, e.g., *Hanshu* 3.98 for the phrase “willing heart”; for the phrase “living and dying together,” see *Guoyu* 3.1 (“Qi” 齊語), “Guan Zhong dui Huangong yi ba shu” 管仲對桓公以霸術).

51. For the superior’s hard work and care, see, e.g., *Wen xuan* 文選 25.441 (“Luzi liang zeng Liu Kun” 盧子諒贈劉琨); 51.884–891 (“Wang Ziyuan size jiang de lun” 王子淵四子講德論); *Mencius* 1B/1. The *Mencius* passage is discussed in Chapter 3 of this book.

52. See *Da Dai Liji*, *juan* 10, *pian* 72 (“Wen Wang guanren” 文王官人); also *juan* 4, *pian* 51 (曾子立孝第五十一), entry 1, for example.

53. Significantly, *xin* is the virtue associated with Xiwangmu, the goddess who confers immortality upon her devotees.

54. *Erya* 18 uses *xin* to describe “animal spirits.” Renewal and invigoration are in the same semantic cluster as *xin*. Compare *Hanshu* 72.3062.

55. See, e.g., a speech ascribed to Xunzi in *Shuoyuan* 11.1 (“Shan shui” 善說).





56. Poem 54 (“On Reading the *Mountains and Seas Classic*”) (stanza 1, lines 3–4). Tao uses much the same image in Poem 42 (“Drinking Wine”) (part 5, line 8): “Flights of birds in their numbers return.”

57. The line by Pan Anren is 欣余志之精銳. See *Pan Huangmen ji*, in *Wen xuan* 9.159.

58. See, e.g., Poem 5 (part 2, lines 8–9), which is the last couplet, where *xin* means something like “heartened by” the meeting.

59. The best work in English on beauty in China is R. Egan (2006). Egan does not admire Su’s exile poetry (personal communication, 2015), and so it plays little role in his writings about Su. This — or Euro-Americans’ dislike of copying — may account for the paucity of translations of Su’s matching poems. Ironically, Su Che in his grave inscription for his brother said that Su Shi always thought that *his* poetry (Su Che’s) was better than his own, but once he was in exile, Su Shi’s poetry really took off, for the better. See *Su Shi shiji*, vol. 6, 35.1881–82; *Luancheng ji*, vol. 3, pp. 1401–1402, preface dated to the twelfth month of 1097.

60. For example, in Zhang Heng’s “Returning to My Fields” *fu*, the idea of “return” is much less rich.

61. For Tao “finding peace and security in his work” (*an ye* 安業), see Poem 50 (part 5, lines 9–10).

62. For the important distinction between a “task” and “work,” see D. Hall (1993). For the feeling of blessedness, see *Hou Han wen*, *juan* 50, 1.17, “An gong ming” 安宮銘 (Eastern Han). For simple pleasures as blessings, see *Cai Zhonglang wenji* (*waiji* 外集), (“Yu Yuangong shu” 與袁公書), in *Quan Hou Han wen*, 731.99.

63. In Poem 39 (line 14), the penultimate couplet links pouring wine to finding life good and “making eternity” of “this [short] morning.”

64. For Tao’s lack of concern, see his Poem 61 (“Tale of Master Five Willows”), whose text appears in Tao Shu (1935), pp. 86–87.

65. Poem 10 (part 3, lines 23–24), which is the last couplet. The previous line says, “When it’s time to end, just go quickly.”

66. Contra Owen (1985), p. 171.

67. Poem 38 (line 17), “Suffering a fire in the sixth month of the *wushen* year” 戊申歲六月中遇火, which is usually dated to 408 or 418.

68. *Ibid.*, (lines 7–8).

69. Of course, the unmediated self and “authentic” voice are invariably fictions, if although they are common in lyric poetry.

70. Poem 29 (lines 8–11). Cf., e.g., Poem 65, which contains the line, “All the living must die” (有生必終).

71. E.g., Poem 20 (lines 10–16), the last two lines quoted here; cf. Poem 7 (lines 3–4).

72. For one famous denunciation of fame, see Tao’s Poem 10 (“Form, Spirit, and Shadow”) analyzed below. But in describing the legendary Kuafu’s 夸父 Icarus-like “pursuit of the sun,” Tao ends with the insistence that “the merit, in the end, lay in what came





after his life,” because Kuafu’s stunning failure to achieve his life’s ambition in life was no impediment to his posthumous fame. See Poem 54 (part 9, last line).

73. See, e.g., Poem 56 (line 58).

74. Poem 10 (“Form, Shadow, Spirit”), preface; also the first line of Poem 14 addressed to Zhou Xuzhi 周續之 (477–423), and others: 負癩頽簷下。

75. Nelson (2000), p. 52. Nelson is right about so many things that it’s a bit puzzling that she didn’t understand Tao’s laconic reference to his headgear, which she takes as a “sign of his addiction to drink and the thoughts associated with it in his writing”; the white cloth distinguishes him from officials, who wear a hat of black netting. This was clear to Song Boren 宋伯仁, the thirteenth-century author of a manual on plum blossom painting entitled *Meihua xishen pu*, which is translated in “Red Pine” (1995).

76. For the analogy, see Lu Qinli (1974), p. 147. The commentators often dispute whether Tao was upset by the events of 420, when the Liu-Song seized the throne from the Eastern Jin. (See note 22 above.) One colophon on a Ming painting seems typical: “Seeing there was no way to bring back the Jin / he just got filthy drunk.” On Yuan views of Tao, see Nelson (1998). Wang Yao (1956), pp. 165–87, writes of the gloominess which marks most writers in the Six Dynasties, as does Hua Zhonglin (1965). There was a great deal of killing at court, and the weather was dreadful, too — and both phenomena could bring disaster to a household.

77. See Zhang Lei’s 張耒 (1054–1114) comparison of Tao and the Tang poet Bo Juyi, cited in a twelfth-century anthology of poetry criticism, *Tiaoxi yuyin congshu* (Collected sayings of the hermit fisherman of the Tiao Stream), in turn cited in *Gujin jiushi*, p. 588. Tao’s drunkenness was viewed with mingled discomfort and indulgence, and the well-known anecdotes about how Tao was induced to yield to the overtures of the local official Wang Hong and the Mount Lu monk Huiyuan also turn on his inability to resist a drink. Still, indulgence in drink was a well-worn trope in association with literary genius; it began with Yang Xiong, the subject of Chapter 6. See *Tao Yuanming yanjiu ziliao huibian*, p. 20.

78. There are other poems on the topic, as well.

79. Xiao Tong wrote in the preface to his *Wen xuan Tao Yuanming ji*, part 4 (opening lines), “Some surmise in Tao Yuanming’s poems / That each and every one involves wine. / I observe that his intention did not live in wine, / He abided in wine to make his traces.” See note 18 above.

80. For the paradox and the need to balance these different effects, compare Halliwell (2008), esp. chapter 3, “Symptotic Elation and Resistance to Death.”

81. Poem 6 (“Da Pang Shen jun” 龐參軍), preface, with the lines reading: 所說聖人篇。或有數斗酒。Technically, *jiu*, a kind of sake or “ale.” See note 40 above.

82. The binomial phrase “steadfast in adversity” comes from *Analects* 15/2. See note 222 below.

83. Poem 20, with excerpts from three constituent poems.





84. Probably a fellow landowner, but the farmer stands in for the landholder, as in Virgil's *Georgics*: "O fortunatus nimium . . ."

85. Meaning, in the present age, all men regard it as a good thing to make a fine career.

86. Alice Cheang believes this line implies, "I will have shown myself unworthy of the commoner's cap I wear." But not all commentators agree.

87. Tian Xiaofei makes a case in her book on Tao Qian for taking the original to be *wang Nan shan* 望南山. I am not sure it matters much here, though her points about manuscript culture are valid.

88. The urge to make Tao's lyric poetry a transparent reflection of his biography has led most readers to understand "South Mountain" as a reference to Mount Lu ("Hermitage Mountain"), which, at fifty kilometers away, is near Tao's home only in modern times, with modern conveyances; such a long distance makes it very unlikely that Tao was given to enjoying casual excursions to Mount Lu in the company of friends and servants.

89. There is a vast literature on geomancy. My own two favorite works are Feuchtwang (1974) and Bennett (1978).

90. Poem 6 (stanzas 1-3).

91. Alice Cheang prefers "Surely I am not without other pleasures."

92. This line is surely a quotation, but A. R. Davis and the other translators do not identify its source. I suspect the *Odes*.

93. Poem 5 (especially lines 5-6 of stanza 1, and lines 1-2 of stanza 2); 忽成舊游, Davis (1983), vol. 1, pp. 20-21, translates *sheng* 勝 as "fine scenery," but parallelism suggests the line is better this way. Davis seems to have omitted all reference to "overcoming the cold" in his translation.

94. Davis (1983), vol. 1, p. 21, reads *you* 游 ("excursions") for *you* ("karmic ties"), but the principle of *lectio difficilior* would argue against that reading.

95. *Xie* means both "to write or sketch" and "to unburden and dispel." This line occurs in Mao Odes no. 39/4 and 59/4.

96. Poem 5 (parts 1 and 2). This line (part 2, line 2) reads 方從我游, translated in Davis (1983), vol. 1, p. 8, "And so can achieve our pleasure."

97. See, e.g., Poem 60 ("Biography of his Excellency Meng"); Davis (1983), vol. 1, p. 205: "They immediately became intimate and were like old friends."

98. More literally, Tao writes, "I am gladly willing in this way to decline [calls from] ornate carriages." Compare Owen (1985), p. 34.

99. Poem 11 (lines 1-2 and 15-18). Still, Poem 10 ("Form, Shadow, Spirit") speaks of an ideal state where there are no joys or fears.

100. Poem 33 (lines 19-20).

101. Poem 42 (part 3, lines 2-4).

102. Poem 42 (part 10, lines 7-8): 傾身營一飽·少許便有餘.

103. Poem 12 (part 4, lines 15-16).





104. Poem 42 (part 3, lines 5-10). Tao says, in effect, that there is no hope of achieving one's dreams.

105. Tao gives no sign of considering that a possible afterlife might be more pleasant than this life, although Zhuangzi—a hero of Tao's—reckoned it helpful to consider this. (See Chapter 5).

106. Poem 17 (lines 1-2 and 17-18).

107. Poem 10. See Chen Yinke (1980), vol. 2, pp. 348-58, for the statement that this poem cycle best conveys Tao's philosophy of life. Tao certainly had in mind the debate between Penumbra and Shadow found in the *Zhuangzi*, *juan 27* ("Imputed Words" 寓言); Watson (2013), p. 237, where the main idea is that transformation is the only constant.

108. Literally, *ziran* 自然 ("self-so-ness," "intrinsicity"), which is sometimes rendered (to my mind, badly) as "spontaneity" or "Nature."

109. Overtranslating the single phrase *qu qi xin yan* 取其心焉, because it can mean either "grasp the heart's ideas in this" or "be heartened by this." Hightower (1970), p. 42, translates this as, "get what I am driving at."

110. Literally, without a "fixed return date."

111. *Fu* 復 is yet another word for "return," though here (and more often) it means "again" or "once more."

112. *Gou* 苟 refers to a refusal for no good reason.

113. I am persuaded by Owen (2006) that the so-called Nineteen Old Poems are of post-Han (probably Northern Liang) date. However, poems like them were surely in circulation in Tao's time.

114. A shadow sticks stubbornly to the bodily form, though they may appear to part for a time in the shade. Whether these lines are run on or not, the meaning is clear: in the shade, shadow and form part, but when there is sun, they stay together the livelong day.

115. As Yuan Xingpei (2003), p. 66 n.6, points out, Tao seems somewhat dubious about the worth of piling up good deeds.

116. Hightower prefers the quite different translation: "Do good, and your love will outlive you; / Surely this is worth your every effort. / While it is true, wine may dissolve care, / That is not so good a way as this." Similarly, A. R. Davis, p. 35, reads: "Wine, they say, can dispel grief / But it is surely inferior to this [acting well]." My choice here is consonant with the rest of Shadow's speech, but Tao is known for sometimes using his final couplet to undercut the meaning of earlier lines, and so one cannot be sure that consistency was what he aimed for here.

117. See *Zuozhuan*, Lord Xiang, Year 24.

118. Poem 10 (part 2, line 14): *Hu wei bu zi xie* 胡為不自竭. Davis (1983), vol. 1, p. 35, translates this instead as, "Why do you not exert yourself?" taking it to be a real question, rather than a rhetorical question: "How can you *not* wear yourself out [when you act this way]!" A traditional reading by Tao's hagiographers of the line 胡可不自竭 would be, "Surely this





is worth your every effort!” However, that bit of moralizing ignores the grammar. This line could mean “going straight on” (as Davis [1983] prefers), i.e., continuing to drink wine, despite others’ strictures. If Davis’ reading is adopted, it changes the meaning of the last line completely, so that Tao is registering the realization that when it’s over, it’s truly over. My reading emphasizes instead Tao’s hope for a quick death. It is not easy to tell what we are to assume about wine drinking, which Shadow says, is “by no means worse” (part 2, line 16, the punch line).

119. This seems to be A. R. Davis’s reading, although his translation is less than clear. See notes 116, 118 above.

120. Poem 10 (part 3, lines 11–12).

121. *Liezi* 1.6 defines the four great transformations as infancy; youth and middle age; old age; and death (大化有四).

122. Poem 10 (last couplet, part 3, lines 23–24).

123. In the end, whether one takes *fu* 復 as adverb or as verb, the meaning is the same: Do not keep on doing this.

124. See Bachelard (1964), pp. xxii and xxiv.

125. Here I recall the lyrics of Jackson Browne: “Time in my mind, the past of least resistance, / The future almost blind, both in need of assistance. / In my mind the question: Sunrise or sunset? / In my mind I’m certain: Nothing certain yet.”

126. Poem 68 (lines 23–24). This piece of proverbial wisdom appears in *Analects* 2/4 and 20/3.

127. The injunctions to “leave no traces” and “to preserve one’s person” appear in the *Zhuangzi*, *juan* 16; Watson (2013), p. 124; and *Guanzi*, chapter 21, with the latter term often used in Han and post-Han texts. It is as if Tao knew the proverbial sentiment registered in *Wenxin diaolong*’s assertion in *pian* 48 (“Zhi yin” 知音), praising the discerning critic in these terms: that none may see the actual faces of a faraway age, but in perusing their writing, the discerning critic may immediately see into their hearts and minds.

128. In Poem 65 (“For My Sons”), for example, Tao describes himself “in youth in the most dire straits . . . [and later] cherishing the most bitter feelings” (少而窮苦 . . . 抱茲苦心). Seventeen times Tao announces in his poems that he finds life hard (*ku*).

129. These lines from Poem 42 (part 5, lines 9–10) have been quoted above, in the main text.

130. Poem 65 (lines 19–30). In this self-reflection, Tao writes of his habits in the introductory lines, “When I open a manuscript scroll and find something to my liking, I am so heartened by it that I ‘forget to eat’ [like Confucius]. And when I watch the trees meshing in shade or hear the birds changing their tunes by season, this likewise restores in me good feelings and delight.” Of course, “forgetting to eat” evokes the legend that Kongzi lost his taste for eating meat for three months after he heard the marvelous Shao music of the ancient sage-king; see *Analects* lines 7/1, 7/32. In essence, Tao is joking that, even in his youth, he could “follow the dictates of his own heart” (like Kongzi at an advanced age), since what he desired with all his might “no longer overstepped the boundaries of what was right.”





131. “Suddenly” here can mean “of brief duration.” Clearly, I have borrowed Shakespeare’s Sonnet 29 to convey much the same idea. Readers should note that while Tao’s testament in verse, dedicated to himself, is unprecedented, the early sources are very full of final testaments dictating in detail the manner of burial; a well-established genre, these burial directives are especially associated with those who styled themselves as “hermits” in some sense.

132. Poem 58 (lines 16–17).

133. Poem 60. According to Davis (1983), vol. 1, pp. 7 and 201–208, Tao may never have known Meng Jia, his maternal grandfather; at most, he perhaps had a dim childhood memory of him or reports from his elders.

134. Poem 27 (lines 19–20); “joys to share” translates the phrase *jiao yu* 交娛, which are, more literally, “doubled,” because they are two; my overtranslation seeks to get at the two senses of *jiao*.

135. These are the last lines of *juan 10* of Tao’s corpus entitled “Ji sheng xian qun bulu xia” 集聖賢群輔錄下.

136. That Tao, despite many stanzas about catching sight of wonderful scenery, is more than a “nature poet” becomes clear when we consider how much more often Tao’s poetry summons up old books and their historical or pseudohistorical figures. Still, Wendell Berry (2012) defines “nature poet” more capaciously than most, as did Tao’s contemporary, Zong Bing 宗炳 (374–443), a Buddhist layman, quoted in *Songshu* 93.2279.

137. The quotation comes from Tian Xiaofei (2016), p. 89, but readers should note that I end the quotation differently. Cf. Tian Xiaofei (2005a and 2005b). Ashmore (2010) offers, to my mind, the single best account of Tao.

138. Poem 1 (stanza 3).

139. Poem 2 (stanza 3).

140. Boys of fifteen to twenty *sui* or so were “newly capped” in a rite of passage. For the phrase on fasts, Hightower (1970), prefers, “together completed their studies.” The question rests on whether the third character in the line is *qi* 齊 (“together”) or *zhai* 齋 (“fast”); as noted in Chapter 5, the two characters are cognate and were often written with a single graph in manuscript culture. The commentator Tang Han 湯漢 ascribes this enviable state to “their having no external desires [for career or fame]” (*qi wu wai mu* 其無外慕). The phrase “awake or asleep” appears in Mao Ode no. 1. I am not sure whether “I love” modifies the “quiet” or the “scene” or both.

141. Poem 2 (stanza 4, lines 7–8), the last couplet. Cf. *Fayan* 1/23, which has Yan Hui lamenting that he does not measure up to Confucius.

142. Poem 20.

143. *Shangshu* (“Hong fan” 洪範 chapter), paragraph 5, attributes impartiality only to the just king. This saying, “Heaven’s Way has no favorites” 天道之無親, is proverbial; it also appears in Poem 56 (line 58).





144. For Bo Yi and Shu Qi, see their biography (*Shiji* 61.2121-23);
145. Poem 56 (lines 83-84).
146. Poem 17 (lines 15-16): 在己何怨天 / 離憂悽前。Tao accepted that “It is my own doing, no fault of Heaven / That grief and trouble embitter my life.”
147. See Dai Kui, “On Resolving Doubts” (“*Shi yi lun*” 釋疑論), and Hachiya (1979).
148. Poem 56. For the *fu* of frustration (or “hypothetical *fu*”), see Declercq (1998).
149. For example, Dong Zhongshu, as an Academician and highly respected jurist, had the ear of the emperor in his own time, according to the dynastic histories, although at one point, the emperor was ready to throw him into prison; and Sima Xiangru enjoyed, if anything, more fame as a well-respected poet, general, and frontier administrator.
150. *Fei fen* 非分.
151. Poem 56 (line 18).
152. Poem 56 (line 22).
153. *Ibid.*, (lines 35-36).
154. *Ibid.*, (lines 89-90).
155. *Ibid.*, (line 27).
156. The line of Tao’s that prompts my word “disinterested” comes from Tao’s Poem 58 (“*Gui qu lai xi ci*”: 雲無心以出岫).
157. Poem 56 (line 95), which is the last line of the poem.
158. Poem 8, whose last stanza includes the lines, “Fortune comes not undeserved, / Trouble is also found.”
159. Poem 5 (part 2, the last two lines).
160. Poem 6, which is closely modelled on several *Odes* poems.
161. Poem 28, line 17 (“At Year’s End, Reply to Aide Zhang”). Cf. Poem 12, “Returning to the Orchards and Fields to Dwell.” In addition to those changes commemorated in various “Offering” pieces (Poems 30, 66, and 67, especially) or eulogies, one may mention the death of Tao’s first wife, ca. 395-400.
162. Compare the *Zhuangzi* line: “When the mole drinks from the river, it drinks only enough to fill its belly.”
163. This section will speak of “Tao” or “Tao himself,” although it is certain that Tao the persona created by Tao’s-poems was not identical with Tao the historical figure.
164. See *Dongpo quanji* [e-Siku], 18.2b-3a (“Zuo shang fu jie yu Song Ke lan jun tong pan . . . .” 座上復借韻送寄嵐軍通判葉朝奉), where Su writes, “Won’t *that* be a true pleasure?” Su explained in a letter sent in 1097 from Hainan to Su Che (then living in exile in Leizhou) that he was particularly moved by Tao’s final testament. See also Su’s thirteenth letter to Zhu Kangshu 朱康叔, in *Su Shi wenji* (1996), vol. 4, p. 1789.
165. Tian Xiaofei (2005), p. 20. Su, by contrast, tended to boast of his genius. For one good example, see Ridgway (2005), p. 83, quoting Su Shi’s “Letter to Xianyu Zijun” 與鮮于子駿, in *Su Shi wenji*, vol. 2, pp. 647-48.





166. Xiaoshan Yang (2003), p. 4. The metaphor of the gate would be elaborated after Tao, as Yang shows.

167. Brotherton (1992), p. 236.

168. Poem 58 (lines 30–31): “The flying birds know to return when weary. / The sun’s light, as it dims, goes in.” The poem continues, “Turning back toward their companions, singing, / Surely none of them long for the road to court.”

169. “Part of the allure of flocking birds is their ability to provoke optical illusions. Our brains are built to wrest familiar meaning from the confusions of the world. Watching the cranes at dusk, I see them turn first into strings of musical notation, then mathematical patterns. The snaking lines synchronize so that each bird raises its wings a fraction before the one behind it, each moving flock suddenly resolving itself into a filmstrip showing a single bird stretched through time. It is an astonishing image that makes me blink in surprise.” See MacDonald (2015).

170. Tao also occasionally recalls a famous story in the *Zhuangzi* about a boat that, though hidden, is stolen under cover of night, a sign of the futility of trying to protect oneself and one’s possessions in a world of ceaseless change. Compare Lin Yixun (2008), p. 1293. But invoking that story no more qualifies Tao’s entry into the ranks of the religious Daoists than does Tao’s identification with Kongzi and his disciples make him a Confucian, contra Diény (1977), as noted in Ashmore (2010).

171. Davis (1983), vol. 1, p. 194, argues cogently against the Japanese Buddhist scholar Yoshioka Yoshitoyo, who reads many of Tao’s poems as Buddhist reflections.

172. Poem 4 (stanza 3).

173. Poem 6 (stanza 1).

174. Indeed, Mendelsund (2015) argues that lacunae are important to firing the imagination.

175. For these examples, see, e.g., Poem 21 (part 2, line 2); Poem 12 (part 1, lines 1–2). Interestingly enough, Su prefers to discuss the panoramic view of a vast landscape, leaving himself securely as the main subject. See Ridgway (2005), p. 3. Certeau (1988), esp. 99–100, encourages us to ask what kind of social relations are being naturalized through our talk of landscapes, intimate and vast. Chinese poetry, from the beginning, has forged such associations, so that they seem second nature to author, commentator, and reader alike.

176. Su’s “He Tao yi ju, er shou” matching Tao’s Poem 21 (part 1, lines 11–12), in *Su Shi shiji* 41.2281.

177. Poem 21 (part 2, line 2), as in *ibid.*

178. Poem 54 (with thirteen parts in entire cycle), especially part 1, line 6. Tao says this is because a whole world is in a picture book. One might make much of the verb *liuguan* 流觀 (contrasted with *fanlan* 反覽), also the internal rhymes that make compelling combinations.

179. See the beginning lines of Poem 54.





180. Poem 11 (lines 17–18), which are the last lines.
181. Poem 42 (part 20, line 2).
182. Lin Yixun (2008), p. 1170.
183. Poem 12, Part 1, lines 19n20.
184. A reference to the fifteenth year, from *Analects* 2/4, where Kongzi describes successive stages in his life.
185. Poem 45 (“Reproving My Sons”). This was probably written around 409, when Tao was fifty-five. The last line more literally says, “Then bring in the thing.”
186. In Poem 23, “Pledge to Liu, Magistrate of Chaisang” (*He Liu Chaisang* 和劉柴桑), Tao acknowledges that his daughter is a comfort, even if she is not a son. Susan Nelson speaks of this in several of her essays. After drafting this essay, I came across Powers (1998), p. 53, who similarly contends that Tao and Su brought very different ideas to conjugal life, with Song authors often presuming sentimental relations within the family (p. 46) as the norm.
187. Xiaoshan Yang (2003), chapter 1, especially p. 11.
188. Tao in all but one of the sixteen occurrences of the term for “house” or “home” mentions being on the move. So the impulse to go home and stay there was undercut by the firm knowledge that life at home was unstable, even “bitter” (*ku* 苦). See Poem 40 (“*Gengxu* Year, Ninth Month, in the Western Fields, Harvesting Early Grain”). Impermanence was on Tao’s mind whenever he wrote of home. Thus, Tao’s writings may be the best reminders that there is no precise equivalent in classical Chinese for the word “hope” (“anticipation” and “expectation,” *wang* 望, being not quite the same thing). Some neuroscientists believe that hope is a “universal.”
189. Poem 60, mentioning Tao Kan 陶侃, father-in-law of Tao’s maternal grandfather, Meng Jia. Tao Kan (259–334), Grand Marshal, Duke of Changsha, was one of the leading supporters of the Western Jin.
190. But in Poem 35, Tao says he has not managed the level way, only “steadfastness in adversity,” which he considered his only option.
191. Poem 3 (stanza 1, lines 4–60), (stanza 2, line 6). Cf. Poem 2, where Tao writes of his anguish growing from the changes in his world.
192. That in the midst of life we are in death is the subject of another poem by Tao, Poem 16, entitled “Enjoying Ourselves ’Neath the Cypresses at the Zhou Family Tombs.” The link between the inadequacy of friends and the search for fame as the last illusion appears, for example, in Poem 17 (“Resentful Poem in the Chu Mode”), which mentions “A Zhongqi [exemplary friend of zither player Bo Ya] is truly wise” before commenting upon the “last affliction,” the desire for fame after death.
193. Poem 13. For the full poem, see the Insert, “Matching Poems,” comparing Tao and Su.
194. Before the ellipsis, Poem 13 (“Excursion to Xie Brook”) (lines 13–20). Always, it seems, it is the periodic ceremonies and celebrations marking endings that bring Tao face to face





with the mysterious passage of time and its curious effects on the human psyche. The sixth stanza of the poem “In Reply to Adjutant Pang” echoes the poet’s “At Year’s End, Reply to Aide Zhang” (Poem 28), which asks in line 4, “At year’s close, what can I possibly say?” 歲暮余何言。

195. For example, the first lines of Poem 21 (“Moving House,” *Yi ju* 移居), ostensibly a sunny piece of extreme simplicity, includes a series of double entendres in the first stanza that allude to the grave as final resting place, if one reads “Southtown” (Nancun), as a reference to the South Mountain (Nanshan) where Tao will be buried, and though the poem, in stanza 2, turns to describe neighborly talk and laughter “of which we never tire,” the initial chill lingers on. Tao’s inordinate “anguish grows from the world’s changes,” most particularly, from the very fact of life and death, as in Poem 28 (especially lines 13–14 and 19–20). Modern English, like classical Chinese, conveys the age-old idea that death somehow constitutes a return, a spiritual “Going Home.” “To take shelter,” “to fly home,” and “to return to the bosom of the Lord,” are common English euphemisms for death.

Haoli (literally, “Village in the Wilds”) is either the name for the entrance to the Yellow Springs or another name for the springs themselves; it was supposedly located south of Mount Tai, and it may be one more reason why graves are said to be on South Mountain.

196. Poem 11 (line 15).

197. One could pen a book about the meanings of “stopping” in Tao’s work: “to find rest in,” but also “to halt” and “to cease being.” The multivalence of the word “stopping” explains its conventional assignment to categories both good and bad. Travel had similarly mixed connotations, as it did for most Han and Six Dynasties writers; it denoted not only a “break from work” or “leisure time spent sightseeing,” but also weary “travail,” as in its English cognate. The Latin root refers to a three-forked instrument of torture, the latrerialium; thus to travel was to impale oneself or be impaled by others.

198. Poem 68 (“Sacrifice to Myself”).

199. Poem 68, preface.

200. Poem 17 (line 19), in the last couplet in the poem.

201. Poem 48 (part 8, lines 1–2).

202. Poem 58 (lines 55–56). The formula “Gui qu lai ci” recalls a Buddhist invocation or perhaps a soul summoning ceremony in the pre-Buddhist tradition.

203. Poem 67 (line 73), a eulogy for Tao’s cousin Jingyuan 敬遠; cf. Poem 30 (line 20).

204. Poem 27.

205. Poem 34 by Tao explicitly was called “Yearning for the Ancients,” but many other of Tao’s poems dwell on historical and semilegendary figures of the past.

206. Using “swell” to capture both meanings of *yong* 擁 (“to fill” and “to press on”).

207. Poem 27 (lines 22–24), the last three lines in the text.

208. Following Wittgenstein’s criticism of Freud for making dream images into a dream language that bears a “certain resemblance to the signs of a language.” See Wittgenstein (1966), p. 45; also Botz-Bornstein (2003).





209. Poem 67 (lines 19–20). Also, in Poem 30, a eulogy for the dead, Tao the narrator announces that he will look for congenial companionship in this life and, failing to find it, he will “make friends in history” (a nod to Mencius).

210. Poem 30 (lines 5–9). The last line reads more literally “Never to regain physical form [after death].” The poem continues, “Slowly, so slowly, I will my steps to turn around, / Grief, overbrimming, soaks my lapel.” This last line speaks of the lapels or collar of the mourning garb soaked by tears, with the lapel implying the “inmost feelings.”

211. Poem 67: “The humane man lives long,” they say / And only we poor fools believed them.” *Analects* 2/4 equates “standing firm” with the age of thirty *sui*; cf. *Analects* 6/21.

212. Poem 66 (lines 25–26) also says, “The baked meats and wine, offered in vain / When people pass away, where do they go?” The term is *xudian* 虛奠. *Xu* reminds the reader that the meat has now become empty smoke, upon whose smell the dead supposedly sup; *dian* refers to the wine offered in libation. As Alfreda Murck (personal communication, January 2017) adds, “Su Shi, having lost two beloved wives, surely shared the sentiment.”

213. A similar way can also be found in the Mediterranean classical cultures, as we see in Protagoras. In China, cf. Feng Zhi’s 馮至 (1905–1993) poem, cited in T. Barnstone (2014).

214. Tao does far more than dictate his own funeral arrangements.

215. Yang Hua (2007), p. 9, notes that this is quite common in excavated texts.

216. For celebration of a “good death,” see the last paragraph of the *Shangshu*, “Hong fan” chapter, as reviewed in Nylan (1992). Cf. Ariès (1981) for European culture. Note that it was not unknown for funeral banquets to become scenes of revelry. The “Zhao hun” 招魂 (“Summoning the Soul”) poem in the *Chuci* (part 2, lines 51–54) contained the following lines: “Men of standing and their women now sit together / Mingling freely without distinction / Hat strings and fastenings come untied / The revel turns to wild disorder.” (This scene of revelry is designed to entice the departing soul to return.)

217. Poem 68, translating Great Clod (*da kuai* 大塊) as “Stuff of the Great Cosmos.” “The basket and gourd” refers to Yan Hui, Kongzi’s favorite disciple, who was often “empty” (i.e., hungry); see *Analects* 6/9 and 11/18. Thin clothes or coarse linen are unsuitable for winter and hence also a sign of dire poverty.

218. Or perhaps the mud is a reference to Tao’s life as a farmer.

219. Hexagram 33, Dun 遯 (Flight), line 9, at the top, uses *fei dun*, and nearly all the commentators’ gloss *fei* (“fat,” “glossy”) as *fei* (“flight”). Cf. *Fayan* 10/5, where *fei* also means “flight.”

220. As noted above, the *Shangshu*, “Hong fan” chapter, lists a “good end” as one of life’s Six Blessings.

221. Using *fu* twice to give the sense of double entendre here: yearnings to return and yearnings again. One gets the impression that Tao simply “loved the day” for the light it imparts.

222. The phrase occurs in Poems 2, 16, 30, 42 (twice), 56, and 46 (“Written when I had an insight” 有會而作), preface. By Tao’s account, wine stiffens his resolve to be “steadfast in





adversity” and thus in conformity with the way things have been from time immemorial. To the need for being so, he “returns at dead of night.” For paradoxically, as Poem 63 (line 48) remarks, when one is “in community with *them* [the exemplars from history], one must wander alone.” Yet Tao derived real comfort from his belief that history is littered with exemplary men who, like him, lived in penury, “without any real alternatives.” The similarity in situations forged a connection between past worthies and him. In the title phrase “you hui er zuo” (有會而作), *hui* refers both to *hui yi* (to hit upon an idea) and also to *hui*, a meeting or conjunction of events. Tao felt there was a meeting of the minds.

223. Poem 61 (line 1). Cf. Poem 68; *Analects* 7/18, where Kongzi says he also “forgot to eat.”

224. That is Qian Lou’s wife. Adding “wife” because of *Lienü zhuan* 2.11, where the saying is attributed to the wife, not to Qian Lou himself.

225. See Poem 62 (“Written after Reading History”), for examples.

226. Poem 16, “Enjoying Ourselves Together ’Neath the Cypresses at the Zhou Family Tombs” is the shortest of Tao’s excursion poems, merely eight lines long. That a mountain credited with being a sacred “cave heaven” (*dong tian* 洞天), an abode of the immortals, would be Tao’s final resting place was an irony not lost on the poet.

227. Su’s matching poem for Tao’s Poem 37, in *Su Shi shiji* 31.616; see also Yuan Xingpei (2003), p. 215.

228. Poem 37 (lines 8–14), “Returning to My Old Home.”

229. Poem 59 gives the complete story of the Peach Blossom Spring.

230. The rhymed part of the piece speaks of “five hundred years,” but it’s nearly six. One wonders whether this story relates to that of Ruan Zhao 阮肇, an Eastern Han figure who supposedly met a goddess while gathering herbs with friends at Mount Tiantai; before returning home, he and his friends supposedly lived with the goddess for what they thought was “half a year,” but it was actually ten generations. See *Taiping guangji*, 63.392 (“Nü xian” 女仙).

231. Tao writes of them in “Record of Peach Blossom Spring,” “Although there is no calendar’s record / The four seasons of their own accord complete the year.” A reader friend objects: “Are the residents of Peach Blossom Spring immortals, or is it simply a community that has survived in isolation across the generations?” That ‘there is no calendar’s record’ may simply be the result of the community’s ignorance of the present ruling house, which prevents them from knowing the correct name of the year. The peach trees that give the story its title grow outside the rock wall, not inside it, and it is not clear that the one is connected to the other.” I beg to disagree. The community is ringed ’round with the peaches of immortality; it is clear they have lived on and on. But, as Alfreda Murck notes, this question of whether the residents of Peach Blossom Spring are immortals or not was debated over the centuries (personal communication, August 2016). Su Shi tended to argue that they were real people who chose to live in their quiet valley, possibly for political reasons. See *Su Shi shiji* 40.2196–98, especially 2196.





232. See Tao's Poem 59, in Davis (1983), vol. 1, pp. 195–201, which contains two lines about “taking their ease” and finding their pleasure more than enough: 並怡然自樂 and 怡然有餘樂/.

233. Poem 42 (part 5, lines 5–6). For the full translation, see the matching poems inserted below.

234. Poem 11, as cited above. That sense of fragile refuge is confirmed in Tao's choice of metaphors, the most important of which are scudding clouds; birds in flight; water's flow; boats unmoored; South Mountain and his grave site there, and drink, not to mention the numerous allusions to historical paragons long dead (Kongzi and Yan Hui being his two favorites). This is why Tao should not be regarded purely as a “nature poet,” if indeed he should be regarded at all in that way. Ashmore (2010) takes off from Tao's commentary on the *Analects* ascribed to Kongzi and his disciples and followers. Significantly, dreams — the state of being “asleep but not asleep, awake but not awake” (likewise a rabbinic phrase *nim r'lo nim, tir r'lo tir*) — do not figure largely in Tao's mind, though some modern depictions have him going about in a perpetual fog.

235. Poem 29. The lines read 於今甚可愛/奈何當復衰. Some botany books identify the hollyhock as “red hibiscus” instead, but flower names change over time with great rapidity.

236. Su's “He Tao yi ju, er shou,” matching Tao's Poem 21 (part 2, lines 5–6). The lines continue: 相思則披衣/言笑無厭時. See *Su Shi shiji* 41.2281.

237. Poem 21 (part 2, lines 11–12), the last two lines.

238. Poem 23 (lines 15–16). The first rendering is by Hightower (1970), modified, who argues that many other commentators demand more seriousness and grief; hence, the second translation of the couplets. Alfreda Murck (personal communication) comments, “Difficult lines! In the previous line, Tao seems to be admiring beautiful sunflowers. Tan Shilin writes, ‘A lovely sight to behold indeed / To decay, alas, they are doomed / Life must be enjoyed in good time. / A shame there is no wine to fill my cup.’”

239. Jeffers (2003) adds to “beauty” the remark “which nothing can bridle.” See the final lines of the poem “Point Piños and Point Lobos.”

240. See Jeffers (1986), “preface,” p. vi.

241. Susan Nelson and Robert Harrist make this point repeatedly, as does Brotherton (1992), p. 131 n.9.

242. For a color reproduction, see *Yuanming Yizhi tezhan tulu*, illustration no. 1. On iconographic traditions related to this well-known poem, see Nelson (2000–2001), also Nelson (2000) and Nelson (2002).

243. Nelson (1999), especially p. 19.

244. The association of water cascading over rocks with tears comes through the Chinese phrase *chanyuan* 潺湲. I am indebted to Alfreda Murck for this observation. See Harrist (1998), p. 21.

245. For the phrase “transitory emotions,” see Harrist (1998), also Harrist (1989), p. 21.





(Li's *Yang Pass* shows a similar scene of parting, where an impassive fisherman betrays no emotions.)

246. Li Gonglin was also famous for his interest in antiques of all sorts, including paintings, an interest visible in his *baimiao* paintings, especially in his illustrations of the *Xiaojing*.

247. See notes 249 and 253 below.

248. Su Shi was away from court during his years in Xuzhou and Hangzhou in the 1070s, but that was hardly exile. The famous Crow Terrace Trial took place in 1079; this resulted in a conviction for *lèse majesté*, a capital crime commuted to exile at Huangzhou (1080 to 1085). Su, briefly restored to prominence by Sima Guang and other sympathizers, was governor of Hangzhou from 1089 to 1091. See Feuillas (2015).

249. Roughly three-quarters of the matching poems were composed during Su's exile in Huizhou. See Wang Wen'gao (1967), vol. 3, p. 1164. Wang argues that around the time of Su's sixty-second birthday, he stopped writing poems to match Tao's. The whole set of poems was not published until the early Southern Song, though it circulated in manuscript copies before then. The ancient edition was republished in 1923.

250. It is within the realm the possibility that Su initially did not hold Tao in particularly high esteem, for in 1075, seventeen years before beginning the "matching" project, Su had composed a disparaging poem about Tao, denying him the epithet of worthy man. The disparaging poem, dated to 1075, says:

I laugh at Tao Yuanming,  
Who planted forty acres of sorghum.  
Refusing to listen to his wife's advice,  
He heaped blamed on his own sons.  
A zither without strings is no zither.  
Why, then, did he take the trouble to play it?

Su moreover denied that Tao was a worthy man (*xian* 賢). See Wang Wen'gao (1967), vol. 4, pp. 2110–11. There are disputes over when Su Shi began to take this matching of Tao seriously, as seen below in notes 274, 276. Still, what began probably in jest eventually continued on in deadly seriousness, because Su proceeded to match all but 9 of Tao's own 109 poems, mainly in those years in exile. See note 289 below for different numbers. What is never in dispute is Su's intention to derive pleasure from matching Tao.

251. Su's first efforts to match Tao's poems, Su's matches for the "Drinking Wine" cycle, happened before his first exile, in 1092, while Su was serving as prefect of Yangzhou, a rich town. Already at that time, while Empress Gao supported him, his detractors at court were looking for an opportunity to attack him. See Hightower (1968) on the "Drinking Wine" poem cycle; Song Qiulong (1982), introduction; Tomlonovich (1989), p. 365; R. Egan (1994), especially chapter 4. In 1092, Su himself stressed the difference in





their life histories, as in part 1 of the “Drinking” poems, which says, “I am not like Master Tao / Being deeply involved in the world’s affairs.”

252. It is possible even here that Su was thinking of Tao and his Poem 58, “Gui qu lai ci,” which is also a song. By Su’s own account, in 1095, he was inspired by his son’s recitation of Tao Yuanming’s poems to undertake a complete project that would match every poem in Tao’s corpus. See Su’s preface to “He Tao guiyuan tian ju, bing yin” in *Su Shi shiji* 31.599–600.

253. For Su’s admiration for Tao’s character, see *Luancheng ji*, vol. 3, 21.1402 (“Hou ji”). For the statement about Su’s instrumental use of Tao’s work, see Wang Wen’gao (1967), vol. 6, p. 3383. That Su had rightly discerned in Tao the perfect ancient model, one that would allow him at once to express his own individuality and proclaim his faithful adherence to the best and highest moral and aesthetic standards within revered traditions of learning is the conclusion reached by Harrist (1998), especially chapter 4, “Evoking the Past.”

254. Tao argued “no,” despite the well-known claim in *Mencius* 5B/8 on finding friends in history (*shang you* 尚友). “What consolation is left to me?” he writes in Poem 50, “Lauding Impoverished Gentleman.”

255. For Su’s comment that he cared not only for Tao’s poetry, but also for him as a man, see below. Of course, these very questions trouble the humanities today.

256. That was not a requirement for the matching poems anyway; to match was enough to pay homage to the earlier poet.

257. Consider the claims of the humanities, which are discussed in Euro-American literature at least since Boethius, writing in 524–525, spoke of the “consolations of writing.” In China, as we have seen, the *Mencius* 5B/8 spoke of “finding friends in history.”

258. Lin Yutang is the most famous proponent of this view. Tomlonovic (1989), p. 352, also speculates in this manner. In support of it, one may recall that in 1061, when Su Che was still without a post because of Wang Anshi’s criticisms of his examination essays, Su Shi praised his brother as a “recluse living in the capital.”

259. Tao had said of himself that he was “with things frequently out of sorts” (*yu wu duo wu* 與萬物多忤). Su writes in *Su Shi shiji*, “He Tao yinju,” 1.605–8 (part 9, line 12): “Happily, my affairs are not attuned [to the world’s].” Su marked himself out as someone “who was not the same sort as vulgar men,” and whose poetry was therefore “subtle but full of flavor.” Su wrote of himself, “When I write to someone, whether or not he is a close friend, I always express my innermost feelings. If I leave anything unsaid, it is just like a morsel of food stuck in my craw. I must spit it out before I can get any rest.” Later, on the same subject, Su wrote, “Sometimes words will offend people if you spit them out, but they will harm your person if you swallow them.” These translations (modified) come from R. Egan (1994), p. 47 n.63.

260. *Su Shi Shiji* 3.13a.

261. Su Shi repeatedly says something like this, for example, “In dreams so clear, sober after drunkenness” (translation after Kang-I Sun Chang [1980], p. 167; cf. pp. 163–64); “After





three glasses have been drunk, / I sleep soundly on my sweet pillow” (quoting *Su Shi shiji*, vol. 6, 38.2067, “Departing from Guangzhou”). Su may have drunk alone at Hainan, “to give his skin a ruddy glow” on which his son complimented him (Kang-I Sun Chang [1980], p. 235). For Su Shi’s attitude toward Buddhism, see Grant (1995); also Zhiyi Yang (2012), p. 285. Su Shi famously wrote, “I should become a monk!” in his “Ciyun Dinghui Qin zhanglao jianji bashou bing yin” 次韻定慧欽長老見寄八首并引, part 1, *Su Shi shiji* 19.21b–24b. Several stories from the *Zhuangzi* about drunkards were loved by both Tao and Su.

262. *Su Shi shiji*, “He Tao yinjiu” (“Drinking Poems”), as above (matching Tao’s Poem 42, part 3, lines 5–6), speaks of Tao’s singular purity and authenticity. However, Su’s notion of authenticity hardly echoed what Tao meant by it, as will become clear below. “He Tao yinjiu” (“Matching Tao’s Drinking Wine,” Poem 42), in *Su Shi shiji* 31.605–8 (part 3, lines 5–6), speaks of Tao’s “Stopping Wine” (*zhi jiu* 止酒), Su taking Tao as his “teacher and model” (*shi* 師), while he was at Hainan, during his third exile. Swartz (2008), 200–201, talks of Su’s “identification” with Tao.

263. The phrase is from Fan Ye’s well-known “Prison Letter to Nephews and Nieces,” which had become part of the literary tradition. This letter now can be found in *Hou Hanshu*, the two unpaginated pages after *zhi* 30. 3684, where it serves as a kind of postface. For Su’s quiet and “controlled” defiance, cf. R. Egan (1994), pp. 257–60. But for Egan, that defiance mainly means Su appears to be enjoying himself while in exile (personal communication). That is not how I read Su, although Su’s critics were on the lookout for any sign that he had not repented the error of his ways. Yet Egan, p. 259, includes a poem where Su writes, “I can only follow the ox turds to find my way back / My home is west of the ox pen and further west again.”

264. Su Shi’s writings were not blacklisted until Huizong had ascended the throne, but long before that, Su’s poems were “checked” by the censors for seditious content, as he knew.

265. Hawkes (2005), p. 8.

266. See Hawkes (2005). Sketching the temper of Su’s era, Hawkes lets moderns see that poetry (especially lyric poetry, as with Su’s imitations) fulfilled an array of disparate functions for scholar-officials in Su’s era. One main motivation for writing poems was to foster good social relations, says Hawkes, through a steady flow of poems (humorous or sad) exchanged with family, friends, and acquaintances. Poetry circulation therefore had as its goal the release and directed circulation of positive emotional energy

267. See Hawkes (2005), p. 8, and Fuller (2013), p. 35, on Su Shi’s views on writing as a straight transfer of *qi* from external phenomena to the paper or silk, with the author a conduit for this. Hawkes (2005), p. 8, writes of “seeking out exceptional objects in the natural world: plants that flourished when everything else decayed; exotic creatures or fruit that stood out in an unfamiliar environment; or refined objects like tea, which flourished ahead of other spring plants and imbued the drinker with creative, if sometimes over-powerful, energy.”





268. Sivin (2016), p. 79 n.64. The other famous medical author was Su's exact contemporary, Shen Kuo/Gua 沈括.

269. Literally, "cherishing the past," in the "Miniver Cheevy" fashion. Some have argued that the Wu Su-Li Ling exchange of letters at the time of Han Wudi (r. 141–87 BCE), in all likelihood the product of literary impersonations, represents one of the earliest examples of self-conscious imitation of the antique sages and worthies. See Lin Yixun (2008), p. 1168. To date, scholars have thought that surprisingly few Tang poets tried to match the work of others. There is a great deal new work on rhyming, however.

270. I would here distinguish the poems circulating between friends in different places from the technically demanding poem that "match" end rhymes, meant for much wider circulation. See Murck (2000), pp. 180–85. Hawkes (2005) also supplies numerous examples of exchanges over long distances.

271. This is not the whole story, however, because Su was hardly the first to champion Tao. See notes 272, 273. After Su, Zhu Xi would write of Tao, "I was born a thousand years too late! / My best friends lived a thousand years ago!"; see *Zhuzi quanji* 66.34b; cf. Chaves (1976), p. 202. Much depends upon the dating of Zhu's piece. Zhu Xi also criticized Su's handling of Tao's poems as "high in technical expertise," but lacking Tao's interest in the cosmos. See *Zhuzi quanji*, 65.23a. After Zhu's mentor Zhao Ruyi was exiled to Hunan and died en route, Zhu Xi was angry that the court forbade any mourning ceremonies for Zhao. That may have encouraged greater sympathy on Zhu's part with Tao's rejection of court protocols. For further information, see Chaffee (1990–92).

272. For Ouyang Xiu's praise of Tao, see Lin Yixun (2008), p. 1174. Owen (1981), p. 80, argues that poets of the high Tang turned to Tao when they wished to distance themselves from the conventions of court poetry. Commemorative portraits of Tao began to appear in the eighth century, including one by Zheng Qian (d. 764), who made "friends in poetry and wine" with Du Fu and Li Bo. One such portrait was known to be in the imperial collection. See Brotherton (1992), p. 229.

273. For Tao's early reputation and reception history, see note 18 above. Zeng Gong, Su's older contemporary, wrote of Tao as exemplifying the ideal form of reclusion. See Zeng's "You shan ji" 遊山記, in *Zeng Gong ji* (1984), pp. 781–82. For Sima Guang's garden design to evoke Tao's garden, see Nelson (2000–2001), p. 36. Hong Mai cited Chao Yidao 晁以道 (1059–1129), aka Chao Yuezhi 晁說之, who said that "In 1101, when Su Shi's matching poems first reached the capital, a great many who wanted to emulate him began to write their own poems improvising on him, and each one was much taken with his own compositions. All at once, all you could hear about was Tao Yuanming." According to Hong, the fashion extended to painting Tao, as well as to matching his poems. For further details, see Powers (1998), especially, p. 51.

274. Su Che, Su Shi's brother wrote, for example, that Tao was "dimwitted" or "clumsy." See note 276 for details.



275. Hawkes (2005), pp. 44–48. R. Egan (1984), p. 133, discusses Ouyang’s styling of himself as “Old Drunkard.”

276. The phrase *zhui he* comes from Su’s own letter to Su Che, then in Haikang, dated to Shaosheng *dingchou*, twelfth month, nineteenth day. Su Che in his “Yuan wen” 原文 had written, “Tao Yuanming lived as a recluse to seek his ideals and composed songs in order to forget old age. He was really one who realized [the Way of] antiquity, but with respect to talent, he was, in truth, clumsy.” This dictum seems so ungenerous that Weng Fanggeng believed the extant “Yuan wen” was a forgery. See Lin Yixun (2008), p. 1161; *Luancheng ji*, vol. 3, 21.1402, for details.

277. See, e.g., Poem 50 (part 5, line 4) for Tao; in the matching poem by Su, it is lines 3–4 (i.e. the same couplet). See *Su Shi shiji* 31.613–14.

278. Alfreda Murck (personal communication, August 2016) notes that elsewhere, Su Shi championed Du Fu. But Du was no particular fan of Tao Yuanming, and private letters, even those written for wide circulation, need not always avoid exaggeration.

279. For the quotation, see Su’s “Shu Yuanming shi, er shou” (書淵明詩二首, “Zizhan he Tao Yuanming shi ji yin” 子瞻和陶淵明詩集引), in *Luancheng ji*, vol. 3, 21.1402. The second is reported of Su Shi by his brother Su Che, who claimed that Shi said this of himself.

280. Most have read the last line of these two couplets to mean, “Am I not as good as he [Ge Hong],” but there is no reason not to think it refers to both Ge and Tao. See Su’s poem matching Tao’s Poem 54 (part 2, lines 1–2).

281. For example, N. Williams (2008), focuses on the use of stylistic devices in Chinese poems of friendship. In particular, he is interested in the use of anadiplosis (repetition of a single line to link stanzas or couplets together), a device often used in Chinese poems of friendship, with form following function.

282. At this time, Su Che, Chao Wujiu 晁無咎 (i.e. Chao Buzhi 補之), and Zhang Wenqian 張文潛 all participated in matching end-rhyme graphs in the same order — the most technically demanding form of matching, called *ci yun* 次韻.

283. This argument had been made from Han times. For more on this, see Nylan (2005).

284. Mei Yaochen’s phrase is *zhi zhi wei yu tan bo* (“to consign the utmost flavor to the subtlest”). See *Mei Yaochen shixuan* (2006), *juan* 67 (“Shu Huang Zisi shi ji hou” 書黃子思詩集後).

285. The quotation comes from Su Shi, on viewing Li Cheng’s painting. See Harrist (1998), p. 79. Su Shi, on viewing Wang Wei’s *Wangchuan Villa*, wrote that Wang Wei was a better painter than Wu Daozi (also Tang) because “Mojie [Wang Wei] gets it [his artistry] in the [realm] beyond form” unlike Wu Daozi, the superb craftsman, who operated “within form.” See *Su Shi shi wenji* (1996), vol. 1, 3.109–110, and M. Wagner (1981), p. 15. Like Tao, Su applies painterly touches to all his poems; image piles on image, as in the lines “Surrounding the area, much clear water, / At the ocean border, all dark mountains.” Su Shi in likening poetry to painting was following the trope well known from Liu Yong’s earlier song lyrics, as shown in Ridgway (2005), p. 29.



286. I am indebted for this observation to Alice Cheang. There are stunning exceptions, however, in the late poems. (See below.)

287. As Alice Cheang observes (personal communication, August 2017), Tao “got better and better at this [五古] form in the last few years of his life, and his poems also began to take on some of the characteristics he praises in Tao,” even if the matching poems do not always show his newfound skill.

288. *Dongpo xiansheng he Tao Yuanming shi*, 1/5b: “I nearly seemed to get what he could not put a name to or say.” Aside from this work, for the matching poems, it is probably best to consult Song Qiulong (1982) and Lin Yixun (2008).

289. For example, there are twenty separate “drinking songs” listed under the single title (Poem 42), and there are nine “After an Old Poem” poems under the single title “He Tao nigu, jiu shou,” matching Tao’s Poem 48, in *Su Shi shiji* 31.41.2266–67. To add to the confusion, Su Shi also restyled the “Returning” poems as *shi* 詩. For example, there is a group of ten such *shi* under the single title “Gui qu lai jizi shishou bianyin” 歸去來集子十首並引 in *Su Shi shiji*, vol. 7, pp. 2356–59. Hence the disagreements over the precise number of matching poems, because there are different ways, with some poems, to count the stanzas and sections. Cha Shenxing’s 查慎行 edition annotated some 136 poems, but he included such pieces as “Querying Yuanming” that relate to Su’s project, but are not the matching poems themselves. Lin Yixun (2008), p. 1163, insists that 109 was the right number. But on another page, 1185, Lin himself gives the figure of 121 individual poems.

290. I am grateful to Stephane Feuillas (personal communication) for reminding me of Su’s interest in the *Changes* and Su’s hope to improve upon the tropes whereby the writer identifies with and exemplifies the natural patterns of the cosmos.

291. Examples would include: using *pian* 偏 to mean “wife” (on the side of myself) and “biased” and the same graph *ke* 柯 to mean “boughs” or “axe handle” (what cuts the boughs). For the first example, see Su on Tao’s Poem 17, line 6, and for the second, Su on Tao’s Poem 1, part 4, line 2.

292. See R. Egan (1994), p. 232 n.57. (By “testament,” I refer to Tao’s Poem 68, where he imagines himself as a corpse surrounded by mourners. For Su’s “East Slope” sobriquet, see *Su Shi shiji hezhu*, 21.1039–45. Several of Tao’s poems, including Poem 12, entitled “Returning to Orchards and Fields to Dwell,” speak of planting the east slopes. See *Su Shi shiji* 31.599–600. Cheang (1993), notes that Su started using East Slope in Huangzhou, his first exile. The evidence, she says, is inconclusive (personal communication, August 2017).

293. This brings to mind lines from the *Zhuangzi*’s: “Haven’t you heard about the people who are exiled to Yue? A few days after they have left their homelands, they are delighted if they come across an old acquaintance.” See *Zhuangzi*, *juan* 24; Watson, *Complete*, p. 200.

294. See note 250 above for Su’s initial disparagement of Tao. V. Yang (1989), p. 234, argues that it was the second exile that persuaded Su that he should write matching poems





for all Tao's works. Ginsberg (1974), puts the dramatic reversal during Su's first exile, following Chinese tradition more closely.

295. The historical background is this: in early 405, Tao served on the staffs of two generals who had put down the usurper Huan Xuan, one of whom, Liu Yu, was a future usurper himself, in 417, in the eighth month. Sometime in 405, he was posted to a magistracy at Pengze, which he quit and then wrote about in his poem "Returning Home!"

296. One cannot discount the possibility that his sister's death clarified for Tao the stakes in living well. Tao speaks of fulfilling his compulsory corvée labor service in Poem 33. Tao's poverty seems to have been real enough; his house burned down more than once, and his "Begging for Food" (Poem 15) seems to reflect real want.

297. Xiao Tong, for example, disliked this poem; he said that it was, of Tao's works, the only example of a "slight flaw in the white jade."

298. True, at one point, Su seriously considered staying in Guangzhou, for lack of a better alternative, though one part of him always hoped to regain his former position at the capital, if only to improve the prospects of those nearest and dearest to him.

299. Su Shi contrasts Tao Yuanming's unwillingness to accept the constraints of life in exchange for five pecks of rice and his own service of more than three decades, which had ended in disgrace. In some bitterness, Su wrote, "I want to use what's left of the scenery of mulberries and elms, to consign myself to Tao Yuanming." See *Dongpo quanji* [Siku] 31.1a-2b ("Zhuihe Tao Yuanming shi yin 追和陶淵明詩引, by Su Che, reporting on Su Shi). Su also wrote, in 1082, in "Rivertown Man," *Jiang Chengzi* 江城子, the lines 手把梅花·東望憶陶潛. This poem was modeled on Tao's "Excursion to Xie Brook" (Poem 13), but is not Su's formal "match" for it. For the formal "match," see *Su Shi shiji hezhu* 41.2145-46.

300. This explains why Su carefully substituted the more public air of cheerful self-sacrifice ("As for me, this is indeed an abundance of good fortune, / What affair could return me to sad sighs!") for Tao's grimmer self-assessments (e.g., "The early ideals I once clung to are, in truth, pathetic!"). The tone of cheerful self-sacrifice is set by the opening lines of *Su Shi shiji*, "He Tao yinjiu ershi shou" (part 15, lines 1-4): "Away from my old home for thirty years, / The wind and rain has ruined my old house. / There only remains one bundle of books. / For lodging and food, I've had no settled place." See *Su Shi shiji* 31.605-8.

301. Then Su finally became resigned, if not reconciled to, the necessity to "give up practical concerns," knowing that he had "somehow or other to retire from the world," sentiments he found in Tao's writing. See Su's remarks, quoted in Su Che's *Luancheng ji*, vol. 3, 21.1401-2. Relevant is Ye Jiaying's "Lun Su Shi ci" 論蘇軾詞, in Miao and Ye (1987), especially p. 211; R. Egan (1994), p. 233 nn.61-62. Su's own brother said of his great hardships while in exile, "Then, in the twilight of his years, he [Su Shi] decided to model himself upon Tao Yuanming. Who would ever have thought that possible?" See Su Che's "Zizhan he Tao Yuanming shiji yin," *Luancheng ji*, vol. 3, 21.1401-2. This, of course, is a clear indication of the differences in temperament and situation.





302. As one reads in Su Shi's collected works, his progress northward was very slow, and he didn't know how far he would get. On his journey northward, the first plan was to travel to Su Che's home, south of the capital at Bianjing, but the area was troubled by bandits, so he decided not to go there. Sichuan itself also was bandit-ridden and no longer safe. See *Luancheng ji* (1987), pp. 321-22, for details. Su died of amoebic dysentery, and on his deathbed, he was able to reunite with some members of his family, but not with Su Che. See Su Che, *Luancheng ji*, vol. 3, 21.1410 and 21.1421.

303. See Li Zehou (1989).

304. See Brotherton (1992), p. 226, and R. Egan (1994), pp. 27-53. As Murck (2000), p. 2, notes, a rather free-speaking political culture fostered by Ouyang Xiu (initially Su's mentor) soon gave way to increased struggles between the emperors or dowager empresses, their current ministers, and leading opponents and advocates of the so-called New Reforms. Ridgway (2005), p. 76, argues that Su Shi's greatest song lyrics (*ci* 詞) "tended to be" written during his "periods of greatest political marginalization," but few would characterize his *shi* 詩 poems in the same way. Some 33 percent of Su Shi's datable song lyrics (292 of a total of 331 extant works) date to Su Shi's first exile in Huangzhou.

305. The character *dīng* refers to a grown-up of age twenty-one. This seems to take off from a poem of Han Yu; cf. the *Shiji* 106 (biography of Liu Pi 劉滂, king of Wu).

306. Here, he literally is talking about their acting as substitutes in corvée duties, but this means, more generally, work in the civil service.

307. Heaven's court is the name for the brain. I have made explicit the implicit metaphor.

308. The phrase "and survey" is implied. For "far and wide," the Chinese writes the more literal, "one thousand *li*." Surely he is raising a wine cup to his beloved family members, most of whom are just then living far away.

309. Su matching Tao's Poem 42 (part 16).

310. *Dongpo ci* 92a-93b. ("Shao pian"). Compare Su's poem dated 1082, "A Rivertown Man" 江城子, modeled on Tao's "Excursion to Xie Brook" (Poem 13), in *Dongpo quanji* [Siku] 31.1a-2b.

311. For example, Su Che was tried along with his brother Shi for scurrilous poetry and sent to collect taxes for the salt and wine monopoly for five years, with no advancement. Some of these difficulties Su Shi alludes to in his *ci* 詞 "Shen yuan chun" 沁園春, which first describes the two brothers' hopes upon coming to the capital, then hints at their troubles, before ending with the more determinedly cheerful couplet, "So long as our bodies are grown and healthy / We need only roam easily and happily to the end of our years." See *Dongpo ci*, 91a-92a. Su Shi describes his love for Su Che in *Su Shi shiji*, vol. 7, 41.2270. "Matching Tao's Hovering Clouds" 和陶停雲.

312. Su chose not to match this poem by Tao at all, in part, perhaps, because by Song times, it was no longer acceptable for fathers to disparage their children publicly. Su





voiced the conventional Song bourgeois views of childhood innocence, crediting children with a spontaneity and authenticity sadly lacking in those aspirants to high office willing to countenance corruption. Of course, Su's poem "On the Birth of My Son" (in Waley's superb compendium of 1918) is jokey, but its main target is the folly of the court. For Song images of childhood, see Wicks (2002).

313. Su pays tribute to the notion of Tao as a generous friend in his match for Tao's Poem 50 ("Lauding Impoverished Gentlemen"), imagining Tao Yuanming giving away every cent he had to entertain his friends.

314. Here, the term "bourgeois" denotes Su's class; his snobbish inclinations were not what we think of as "bourgeois." He didn't particularly disdain the uneducated; what he couldn't abide were men who claimed to be well-educated, but turned out to be boors. One thinks of today's Oxbridge mentality.

315. See Poem 21 (part 1, line 9).

316. Su matching Tao's Poem 21 ("He Tao yi ju" 移居), as in note 176. Another poem that shows Su bemoaning the loss of congenial company is Su's "He Tao Tianshe shichun huaigu ershou" 和陶田舍始春懷古二首, the second stanza of which speaks of the "butcherbird" tongues of his neighbors. See *Su Shi shiji* 41.2281.

317. See Su matching Tao's Poem 48 (part 1), called "After an Old Poem," the first of nine in the cycle, in *Su Shi shiji* 41.2266-67.

318. *B01-zhuo2*, which also signifies "dilapidated and knocked about," a possible indication of Su's discombulation and disgruntlement.

319. A reference to Mao Odes no. 198, entitled "Crafty Words," which describes artful but false phrases that pour forth from unblushing faces. "I am really shameless!" (More literally, "my face is really thick; it shows no blushing.")

320. See Su Shi's comment on Poem 13 as translated in Davis (1983), vol. 1, p. 53.

321. Lin Yixun (2008), p. 1230, says, for example: "Yuanming's writing is already elevated; Mr. Su's matching poem is not. Yuanming in this poem speaks of the fusion of inner emotions with the scenes outside, as when he hears the neighbors singing and has contacts with them. His delight overflows in his manner of speech. Mr. Su writes that his home is not appropriate; that vulgar men and vulgar tasks trouble him; his unhappiness is apparent. So the two poets writing of sorrow and pleasure are each different." The yokels at Danzhou particularly irritated Su after many dropped all pretense that he still held honorable status. To do him justice, Su by this point had been ill with one thing or another for over a year. He was pining for the sort of refined pleasures he had had earlier when he was "east" of the water. A later line in Poem 21 (part 2), says it all: "I yearn/long for that me who had nothing he yearned/longed for" (*si wo wu suo si* 思我無所思), because he had everything he needed to hand.

322. See Su's "Commands may be correct or confused, / A minister may follow or disobey," translation after R. Egan (1994), p. 259. Huang Tingjian wrote plainly that the Song





government underutilized talent and abused Su: “When Zizhan [= Su Shi] was banished to Lingnan, the grand councilors wanted to kill him.” See *Shan’gu shizhu*, “Neiji,” 17-312 (“Ba Zizhan he Tao shi”).

323. These “historical poems” (Poem 62) are nine eight-line rhymed pieces entitled “Written after Reading History.” According to Bachelard (1964), p. xxiii, anything that “awakens images that have been effaced” confirms the “unforeseeable nature of speech,” delighting the poetic imagination, apprenticing itself to freedom, and “making game of censors.”

324. Poem 51, lines 15-18. The poem continues: “Content to enjoy village pleasures, / With no pressing [court] duties to attend to; / For feasts they would invite old friends, / And with raised cups discuss the past.”

325. Su’s matching poem to Tao’s “Peach Blossom Spring” (Poem 59) includes the lines, “If the Wuling governor had been able to go there, / then it would have already changed into an arena for fighting and greedy appropriations [like the rest of the world].” Mai Huijun’s unpublished paper (2015) is helpful in this regard, because it shows that many of Su’s poems talk of hatred (*hen* 恨). Such vehemence makes us wonder whether Su’s conventional posture as carefree poet was but a ruse designed to win the admiration of readers, as it has done.

326. Bachelard (1964), p. xii, insists that a poetic image is not an echo, or a reflection, or a variation on the past. “Because of its novelty and its action, the poetic image has an entity and a dynamism of its own; it is referable to a direct *ontology*” that operates, in Bachelard’s view, through reverberation, rather than causation. (Others have used the word “retention” in this connection.)

327. Including the censors dispatched from court during his exiles.

328. Here I include Su’s first, more optimistic exile.

329. Poems where the moods match beautifully include the first part of Poem 12 (“Returning to the Orchards and Fields to Dwell”), the first matching poem written after the “Drinking Poems.” See *Su Shi wenji* 31.599-600. But it was hardly a requirement that the mood match in “matching poems.”

330. True, Su’s tone tends to be somewhat loftier, more preoccupied with what endures (his imaginative connections with the great men of the past). At the same time, Su also wrote a poem asking what life is like and answers, “It’s like the footprint of a wild goose in snow on mud.”

331. See Su’s “Excursion to Stone Gate,” a matching poem for Tao’s “Excursion to Xie Brook” (Poem 13), in *Su Dongpo quanji*, vol. 2, p. 77. However, Su’s poem insists on a more cheerful reading of Tao’s poem than I offer here, emphasizing Tao’s appreciation of the fine day spent with fine friends in delightful scenery. As Davis (1983), vol. 1, p. 53, notes, Su’s “Excursion to Stone Gate” is usually regarded as the prose model for landscape poetry.





332. Davis (1983), vol. 1, p. 49, notes two variants: “fifth day” and “fifty years of age.” Nor do we know whether this is the *xinchou* year (401) or the *xinyou* (421). For more on the history of reading this poem, see Davis (1983), vol. 2, pp. 41–43, disputing the most influential *post-facto* account of Tao’s visit, that penned by the early nineteenth-century commentator Tao Shu (1779–1839).

333. Poem 13, preface. The influence of the preface to the Orchid Pavilion Poems is obvious.

334. See *Analects* 11/24 for the allusions used in the last four lines. Dian is the disciple who wished to go out bathing in a spring excursion; “Qiu,” the name of another disciple of Kongzi, happens to be the same graph used for verb “to seek.”

335. “All Zigong could do was quibble. / Into my mind, he had no insight.” (Yuan Xian is supposedly speaking in Tao’s poem.)

336. This describes people picking lotuses.

337. Su’s match for Tao’s Poem 42 (part 9) entitled “He Tao Yinjiu, ershi shou,” in *Su Shi shiji* 31.605–8.

338. *Su Shi shiji* 31.599–600, “He Tao guiyuan tianju, liu shou,” part 3, matching Tao’s Poem 12 (part 3).

339. See *Su Shi shiji* 31.605–8, “He Tao yinjiu, ershi shou” part 1, last line, matching Tao’s Poem 42 (part I, line 6). In truth, Su liked to tipple, but he didn’t hold his liquor very well in later life; he was inclined to stumble and fall. Instead of Tao’s lament that there is “no wine to be had,” Su will happily “drink less,” he says. (It helped, presumably, that Su was less inclined to alcohol.)

340. Preface to Su’s match of Tao’s Poem 42 (“Drinking Wine”), as in *Su Shi shiji* 31.605. The elitism in Su’s poems is far more evident than in Tao’s.

341. Su’s poem matching Tao’s Poem 50, as in *Su Shi shiji* 31.613–14. The idea is that Tao had beside him a zither, and even when it had no strings, he was able to play it in his mind.

342. Su’s poem matching Tao’s Poem 50 (“Lauding Impoverished Gentleman”), as in *Su Shi shiji* 31.613–14. Most have taken this line to mean that Tao can’t afford wine and he has none. I take it instead to mean either (when he has wine, he doesn’t trouble to strain it, so eager is he to drink, or when chrysanthemum time came, he gave a rueful thought to the unlikelihood of a chrysanthemum infusion improving his looks. The lines omitted here are these:

Of festivals, he loved the Double Ninth best,  
With the fragrant chrysanthemums; he felt impelled to take a look at himself. . . .  
His goblet dusty, he laughed at the empty dipper.  
Suddenly presented with a gift of 20,000 cash,  
From Yan Yanzhi, which was truly admirable,  
He just as quickly sent for wine from the wine-seller’s,  
So as not to fail or offend his old friend’s heart.





343. See Su's matching poem for Tao's Poem 12 (part 4, lines 15–16), *Su Shi shiji* 31.599–600, “He Tao guiyuan tianju, liu shou.”

344. R. Egan (1994), p. 354.

345. Su's matching poem for Tao's Poem 37 (“Returning to My Old Home.”) is surely as glum as Tao's. See the Insert. Contrast Poem 42 (part 5, lines 1–4), on drinking, with Su's matching poem, lines 11–14.

346. See *Su Shi shi wenji* (1996), p. 1200 n.2, for this analysis, which draws upon a conversation recorded between Liu Biao and Pang that took up a suggestion by Shi Daxin 釋大訢 (1284–1344); see *Pushi ji*, *juan* 13 (“Ti Dongbo shoutie”). Su there mentions the sibling rivalries of the Duke of Zhou and his two brothers, a subject he knew well from his commentaries on the *Shangshu*.

347. Poem 12 (part 2, lines 11–12): “My constant worry is that frost may come / And my crops will wither with the weeds.” See *Su Shi shiji* 31.599–600, “He Tao guiyuan tianju, liu shou.”

348. Or “new insights” (newly gotten understanding). If this first reading is correct, Su would mean he's had enough to eat and drink during the outing and can now attend to other things.

349. “Danzhou” refers to the Southerners, mostly the despised classes (e.g., fisherman, pearl divers, and sailors), whom Su claims he is willing to socialize with, inserting them into his world. He satirizes his situation.

350. Or, “I raise the wine, how could I leave off drinking?”

351. Su's matching poem for Tao's Poem 12, “He Tao gui yuantian ju” (part 3, opening lines). See *Su Shi shiji* 31.599–600.

352. *Ibid.* (part 4).

353. *Ibid.*, (part 6, line 5), which actually imitates Jiang Yan 江淹 (444–505) imitating Tao.

354. Poem 49 (part 8, lines 11–14).

355. These are best explained *Su Shi shiji hezhu* (2001).

356. Tao's line reads *shu zhi yi wei huan xiao er* 書之以為歡笑耳. In fairness to Su, he claimed to be merely “amusing himself” when writing ten poems inspired by “Gui qu lai ci” (Returning Home): “With the world, I can't get along. / With a *qin* on my knees, I can amuse myself.” See part 3 of the ten-poem cycle in *Su Shi shiji*, vol. 7, 43.2356–59.

357. Su had something of a martyr complex, perhaps because his mother had exhorted him to serve the dynasty like Fan Pang 范滂 (d. 169) of the Eastern Han, who forfeited his life at the age of thirty-three. See Su Che, *Luancheng ji*, vol. 3, 21.1410.

358. “Encumbered like this” means “it's not right that people play at emotions so roughly.”

359. In *Zhuangzi*, *juan* 24, a drunk tumbles from a cart without killing himself. This, of course, is an allusion to *Zhuangzi*'s “Da sheng” chapter: “When a drunken man falls out from a carriage, he may be hurt, but he will not die. That is because his vital spirit remains





whole and intact. He didn't understand he was riding in the carriage; he likewise didn't know that he had fallen out. The terrors associated with matters of life and death had no way to enter his breast." Cf. Truffaut's movie *Day for Night*, where a baby falls from a third-story window, but it's the mother who must be rushed to the hospital.

360. Su's matching poem for Tao's Poem 42 ("Drinking"), part 15, "He Tao Yinjiu, ershi shou," in *Su Shi shiji* 31.605-8.

361. But see note 171 above.

362. Poem 54 (part 2, lines 1-2), on Ge Hong and his *Baopu zi*, in *Su Shi shiji* 39.2136.

363. See R. Egan (1994), pp. 245-49.

364. One thinks of Su's ruminations on the ceramic ink stone. Su remarked that in his youth, he was most afraid of losing a painting or calligraphy that he had collected, but as he grew older, his attitude became more complex. See Feuillas (2010a), pp. 97-98. Given Su's discomfort with a love of material things, fallibility, and decline — an attitude at war with his careful cultivation of his reputation as connoisseur and collector — Su sometimes felt the need to construct these elaborate defenses for his avidity and connoisseurship.

365. The temple dedication or commemoration in Danzhou rehearses the question of the role of intensity in enlightenment and in artistic creativity. Pleasure must be found in the ordinary. The phrase is *huan xing* 還性, which I translate as "to return to one's basic nature."

366. This entire poem rhymes: *shu* 疏; *lu* 廬; *shu* 書; *ju* 車; *shu* 蔬; *ju* 俱; *tu* 圖; *ru* 如; note also the internal rhymes *fanlan* and *liuguan*.

367. This is a well-worn trope from Han times. See Chapter 2, especially the section on severing relations.

368. These are internal rhymes. These images startle, because *liu* usually refers to "flow," while *guan* usually refers to "staring fixedly" or in "rapt contemplation" (as with religious statues).

369. A skillful allusion to the *Xici zhuan*'s description of the sage-king Fu Xi's close attention to the cosmic patterns that supposedly ended with his creation of the Eight Trigrams of the *Changes* classic. See *Zhouyi yinde*, "Xici zhuan, xia," paragraph 2: 仰則觀象於天·俯則觀法於地.

370. Poem 54 ("On Reading the *Shanghai jing*"). I am doubtless overtranslating the last line, which can be construed as either question, in *Su Shi shiji* 39.2136.

371. Zhuangzi would define this as eighty years. Tao Yuanming died at age sixty-three *sui*.

372. The *Jiu Yuan* are the Nine Provinces, also a burial ground in the Chunqiu for Jin ministers. The binomial cannot refer to Suiyuan (Mongolia).

373. Su's matching poem for Tao's Poem 54 ("He Tao du Shanghai jing"), *Su Shi shiji* 39.2136.

374. *Ibid.*

375. Or, "What will be known of us?"





376. Or, “A man should get beyond accepted views.” The line is very like that in Hamlet, “There are more things than are dreamt of in your philosophy, Horatio.” See *Hamlet* (1.5.167–68).

377. *Su Shi shiji* 31.605–8, “He Tao yinjiu,” Poem 42, lines 9–12. The consensus is that the matching of Tao’s “Drinking Poems” took place *before* Su’s exile, in 1092, when Su was serving honorably as prefect of Yangzhou. See Hightower (1968); Song Qiulong (1982); Tomlonovich (1989), p. 385.

378. Two exceptions are singled out in Lin Yixun (2008), p. 1173. For Song sentimentality about domesticity and children in particular, see Wicks (2002).

379. Su’s matching poem for Tao’s Poem 42 (part 15, line 10), substituting *xi* 息 for *xi* 惜, can be found in the Insert. Su supplies frequent protestations of loyalty to his dynasty, not surprisingly, since many in power at the court during his exiles (especially the self-righteous followers of Cheng Yi) were on the lookout for ways to charge him with treason. In 1095, for example, Su wrote, “My intention is still to offer myself in service to the state” (*xu guo xin you zai* 許國心猶在). See Wang Wen’gao (1967), vol. 6, 3335. A second instance of altering Tao’s rhymes seems less significant: when Tao had written, “As I start on the way, my thoughts are distant,” Su wrote of “Reckless thoughts give rise to embarrassed looks.” See Poem 34, third couplet (line 6), where Su substitutes “looks” (a visual clue) for Tao’s “distant” (with both pronounced *mian* in Chinese).

380. R. Egan (1994), p. 235.

381. See *Su Shi shiji* (“Yu Chaoqing, er shou” 與陳朝請, 二首, 其二), for Su Shi’s point of view; see Hartman (1990), p. 20, for a statement by Su Shi’s critics.

382. Said of friends, who have a perfect understanding of what is in the other’s heart. See Chapter 2 in this volume.

383. “There’s an end!” is the last line of Qu Yuan’s “Li sao” lament (before he commits suicide).

384. Tao’s Poem 50, Parts 1 and 2, the last couplets in both examples, then matched by Su. See *Su Shi shiji* 31.613–14.

385. Tomlonovich (1989), includes a section called “Deprivations,” on Su’s last exile and his desperation as revealed through his letters from Danzhou. She cites Su’s summary: “I am so isolated here that it’s almost as if I were outside the realm of human beings, but [at any rate] it is extremely peaceful” (p. 182). Su Guo was the one son that Su Shi brought with him. On Danzhou, see Zhiyi Yang (2012).

386. See *Su Shi shiji* 43.2366–67, 38.2072, 40.2196–98, 41.2246–48. Intimations of mortality had already come to Su before writing his second Red Cliff song: scrambling up the hills at Red Cliff, Su looked down, and everything seemed to shake. (Vertigo?) “I grew apprehensive and melancholy, humbled and fearful, and so cold that I knew I could not remain there long.” See *Su Shi wenji*, 1.8 (“Hou Chibi fu”). Su’s account has been translated in Birch (1965), pp. 384–85. See R. Egan (1994), p. 247, for an analysis of this.





387. This is Sichuan dialect. This line is frequently read in a much tamer fashion to mean “A cripple always dreams of standing up.”

388. Su’s matching poem for Tao’s Poem 37, lines 1, 3.

389. Su’s matching poem for Tao’s Poem 13, “Excursion for Xie Brook,” which mentions Qianxi or the Qian Valley. See Lin Yixun (2008), p. 1293.

390. *Zhuangzi*, *juan* 24; Watson (2013), p. 200. Cf. Su’s writing while on Hainan Island in 1098 describing an ant: “The ant is terrified, not knowing how it can get back to dry land. After a while, the water dries up, and the ant crawls away. When it meets other ants, it weeps, saying, ‘I thought I would never see you again. It never occurred to me that in just a short time I could stand here again at this great crossroads leading in all directions.’” See *Su Shi wenji*, “Yiwen huibian,” vol. 5, p. 2549.

391. The harsh critics’ views are set aside here, because many of those critics belong to the ranks of the Neo-Confucian puritans in late imperial China. However, Zhu Xi, in a Mount Lu retreat, speaks of his kindred feeling for Tao, who admired the scenery. See Nelson (2000–2001), p. 22 n.57, quoting Zhu Xi’s *Lushan shixuan*. See note 271.

392. The preceding lines of Bo’s poem read,

Wine was dear to him, not fame;  
He dreaded being sober, not being poor . . . .  
The “Returning Home” song was on his lips,  
On his head, the wine-straining cloth.  
The Master has long been gone,  
Paper and ink his written legacy.

Of equal interest is Wang Ji’s 王績 (585–644) “Country of Drunkards, a Record” 醉鄉記, which names Tao along with others as “immortals in drink.” For a translation, see Feuillas (2010b), pp. 284–86. It may be relevant that Bo Juyi’s famous “new *yuefu*” poems highlighted the political function of poetry as social criticism. Xie Siwei (1997), p. 380. Lu Yang (2016), p. 225, emphasizes the Tang perception of literature as the ultimate tool for governing the empire.

393. Nelson (2000–2001), p. 11. Nelson argues, persuasively, that representations of Tao are certainly among “the most powerful of [the] Chinese systems built upon the tradition of a historical figure,” including that of Confucius.

394. See *Xuanhe huapu* (compiled 1120), *juan* 5, discussing an eighth-century portrait of Tao by a celebrated artist, in Yu Anlan (1963), vol. 2, p. 57.

395. It refers to Poem 54 (“On Reading the *Shanghai jing*”), describing Tao’s pleasure in reading old books in early summer. See *Su Shi shiji* 39.2136.

396. See An-yi Pan (2007), pp. 236–38 on this.

397. The metaphor was employed in Yang Xiong’s *Fayan* 1/8.

398. See, for example, Su’s matching poems to Tao’s “Drinking Poem” cycle, Poem 42, in *Su Shi shiji* 31.605–8.





399. I refer to Tao's Poem 12 (part 1, lines 19–20), whose mood is matched Su's poem, found in *Su Shi shiji* 31.599–600. This is in sharp contrast to some earlier writings from Han and the immediate post-Han period that mostly utilized the “return” trope to apply to the sociopolitical and moral realms, for example dynastic “restorations,” “nostalgia for the distant past,” and dubious legends about idealized eras before corruption entered the world. On the cage, see *Zhuangzi*'s chapter 4, where Yan Hui is advised not to become a caged bird. The meaning of the final line appears to be that Tao is no longer fighting his own proclivities.

400. Compare the poem by Wang Anshi (1958), p. 249, which has him enjoying his “leisure” when relegated to a “remote area.”

401. See Idema (1987), especially p. 199. *Ci* 詞 poetry carries on this romantic tradition, with tenderness and even love for ordinary life, as do the later great novels and plays.

402. See, for example, Su's matching poem for Tao's Poem 50 (Part 1, lines 8–9). For this reading, see Song Qiulong (1982), pp. 90–91. There, Su claims, in the rest of his poem, to be loftier than ordinary fellows, who are preoccupied with lesser (more material) problems, whereas Su is more preoccupied with what endures, including friendships across the ages with the great men of the past.

403. On this, contrast my translation with that of Davis (1983), vol. 1, p. 17. Davis translates this instead as, “But [Tao] remained content with this ‘daily growing richer,’” thinking this a self-deprecating reference to Tao's foolish self-deception. Yuan Xingpei (2003), p. 17 n.16, notes that the phrase *yizui rifu* — 醉日富 — quotes the *Odes*, Mao no. 195 (“Xiao wan” 小宛).

404. Poem 42, Part 5, last line. Some see this linkage imparting to Tao's poems an air of quiet desperation in which even the safest domestic spaces (“the little space” of Tao's beloved fields and gardens) tend toward dereliction, and the search fails for the “essential meaning” that Tao could not put into words.

405. See *Su Shi shiji* 39.2144, “Wen Zhengfu biao xiong jiangzhi yishi yingzhi,” written while in Huizhou, for the first quotation. For the second, see Davis (2014), pp. 140 n.5, and 141, where Davis observes, “in the language of the scholar-official ‘leisure’ and ‘idleness’ were synonyms for being out of office rather than the signification of inactivity.”

406. Woolf (1929), p. 179.

407. For Su's conventionality in this matter, see Fuller (2005), especially p. 31, and R. Egan (2006), especially pp. 70–71. Fuller (2005), pp. 52–65, contains Su Shi's “Account of My Writing” 自評文.

408. This is an argument made about Su in Fuller (2005), especially pp. 22–24. The same could be said of Tao, as well.

409. See Fuller (2013), p. 44, which also translates Su's critique of his own writing from *Su Shi shi wenji* (1996), vol. 5, 66.2069.

410. Alternately, “you can see many marvels.”

411. This is a double entendre, because it could well mean “You are young and smug.”



NOTES

AFTERWORD

1. Angier (2002).
2. Sluga (2014), chapter 1.
3. Jameson (1983), pp. 2-3.
4. The Chinese formula is 有治人, 無治法.