

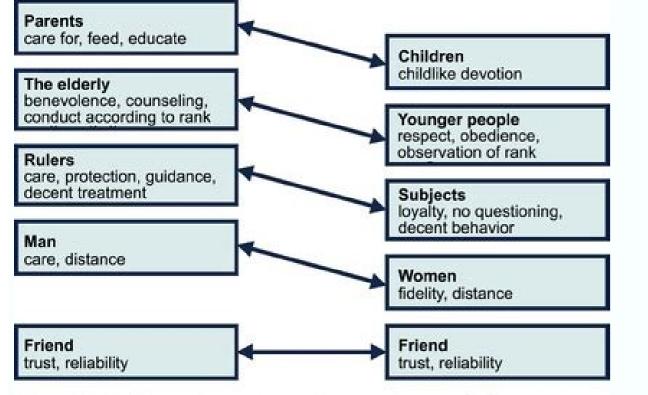
## **Confucianism five relationships**

What is the major goal of feudalism and the five relationships of confucianism. Describe and explain the five key relationships from confucianism. Five constant relationships of confucianism. Five relationships of confucianism explained.

Confucianism five relationships role. Five human relationships in confucianism.

Why does confucianism have the five basic relationships. Confucianism five relationships pdf. Five basic relationships of confucianism ppt. What are the five relationships of confucianism quizlet. According to confucianism what are the five key relationships. What are the five relationships and filial piety in confucianism. Why are the five relationships of confucianism important. Five basic relationships of confucianism. Use the five relationships in confucianism. Why are the five relationships of confucianism important. Five basic relationships of confucianism. List the five relationships in confucianism.

Confucian teaching Part of a series onConfucianism Early history Spring and Autumn period Confucianism Early history Spring and Autumn period Confucianism Han Learning Taigu school Lingnan Confucianism New Confucianism Progressive Confucianism Hermeneutic schools Old Text New Text Confucianism by country Korea Japan Indonesia United States Confucian texts Ruzang Five Classics of Potery Book of Changes Spring and Autumn Anals Four Books Analets Mencius Confucianism Hermeneutic schools Old Text New Text Strates Classics of Potery Book of Changes Spring and Autumn Anals Four Books Analets Mencius United States Confucianism Hermeneutic schools Old Text New Text Co



### Figure 2: The five cardinal relationships according to Confucius

The Three [Fundamental Bonds] of the kingly way can be sought in Heaven.[2]—Chapter 53 of the Book of Han Five Virtues The five most important virtues are benevolence (ren 仁), righteousness (yi 義), propriety (li 德), wisdom (zhi 智), and trustworthiness (xin 信). The first four virtues were grouped together in the Mengzi. The fifth virtue, xin, was added by Dong Zhongshu.[5] Trustworthiness, or sincerity, is considered the most important of the five virtues.[6] The remaining virtues derive from the Four Sprouts described as "forming one body" in relation to others, which requires seeing ourselves as extensions of others and vice versa. Paradigm cases of ren include acts of love or acting in others; interests, such as taking care of a family member.[7] Righteousness is when someone refuses to violate prohibition of goods according to one's merit and position.[7] Propriety or li is broader in scope than the English word would entail. It is when someone performs a ritual with reverence, covering social protocol in situations that require a sense of resity in a consistent and reliable word. Some configure one to be aware of what is real and avoid self-serving delusions.[7] Trustworthiness. Benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom, and trustworthiness. Benevolence means not being able to endure (seeing others suffer), loving others, and iding all living things. Righteousness means doing what is proper. In making judgments one hits the mark. Propriety means to enact. That is, to realize the way and perfect the refined. Wisdom means knowledge. One has a special understanding and can know things before hearing about them.

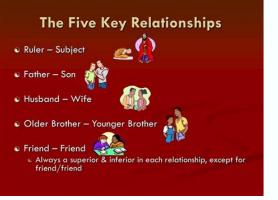
^ Thacker 2003a, p. 522. ^ Knapp 2003. ^ Thacker 2003b, p. 660. ^ Thacker 2003c, p. 685. ^ a b c d e Tiwald (2020). Bibliography Knapp, Keith (2003). "Ren lun 人倫 (Human relationships)".

## **The Five Basic Relationships**

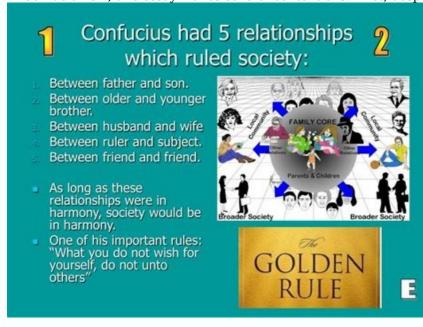
- According to Confucius, each person had a specific place in society and certain duties to fulfill.
- Confucius hoped that if people knew what was expected of them they would behave correctly
- He set up five principal relationships in which most people are involved. These relationships were:
- ruler and subject
- father and son
- elder brother and younger brother
- husband and wife
- friend and friend.
- All, except the last, involve the authority of one person over another.
  Power and the right to rule belong to superiors over subordinates

The "superior," however, owes loving responsibility to the inferior.

In Yao, Xinzhong (ed.). Encyclopedia of Confucianism. Abingdon, UK: Routledge. pp. 501-503. Knapp, Keith K. (2009). "Three Fundamental Bonds and Five Constant Virtues" (PDF). Berkshire Encyclopedia of China. Vol. 5. Great Barrington, MA: Berkshire Publishing Group. pp. 2252-2255 - via Chinaconnectu.com. Thacker, Tod Cameron (2003a). "San gang 三綱 (Three Cardinal Guides)". In Yao, Xinzhong (ed.). Encyclopedia of Confucianism. Abingdon, UK: Routledge. p. 522.



Thacker, Tod Cameron (2003b). "Wu chang 五常 (Five constant virtues)". In Yao, Xinzhong (ed.). Encyclopedia of Confucianism. Abingdon, UK: Routledge. pp. 685-686. Tiwald, Justin (19 March 2020). "Song-Ming Confucianism". In Zalta, Edward N. (ed.). Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Summer 2020 ed.). Yao, Xinzhong (2000). An Introduction to Confucianism. Cambridge University Press. ISBN 978-1-139-43144-6. Retrieved from " Of the "five relationships" in Confucianism, the five bonds that men in Chinese society were to observe and promote, it was the fifth, friendship, that was unique. The others, those that bound father and son, ruler and minister, husband and wife, older and younger brother, were overtly concerned with the maintenance of China as a guojia, literally a "state-family"—a state modeled on the principles of family organization.[1] They denoted hierarchical, obligatory bonds of mutual devotion that together formed the was to provide the source of parallel devotions to family and state. Sons, in the traditional formulation, learned to be capable ministers by turning the state. Friendship was the first or state in turn was provide the veb of parallel devotions that bound formulation, learned to be capable ministers by turning the state. Sons, in the traditional formulation, learned to be capable ministers by turning the state bond, and therefore lay outside the web of parallel devotions that bound these together. Moreover, it was voluntary. One was obliged to serve one's family (and preserve it by producing offspring) and obliged to serve a virtuous ruler, but there was no requirement that one make friendship was the one bond that could be non-hierarchical, and it was this feature that dramatically set it apart from other social relations. In exploring the character of the friendship bond, and the particular status of friendship was of friendship, many writers remained deeply wary of it.



Friends well chosen could improve one's morality, thereby serving the needs of the state and family. On the other hand, poorly chosen friends tempted one with evil pursuits such as drinking and gambling. They also removed one from the world that was centered on service to family and state. This caution is evident across much of Chinese history. It can be found in the writings of early Confucians, including Confucius himself, but becomes most apparent in the works of later, and in particular Neo-Confucian, writers of the Song dynasty (960-1279) and after. Second, this essay argues that these Confucian writers were wary of friendship at least in part because of its potential for creating a human relationship that was not hierarchical.

So geared was the Confucian schema of social relations around the hierarchical needs of the state-family that equality in friendship existed in the writings of Confucians, it was undercut by ways of writing about friendship that stressed the fleeting

even momentary, nature of intense, non-hierarchical friendships, or that such friendships were life stages.

#### Confucianism

Confucius, born in 551 B.C. was China's most influential thinker.Confucius's teachings, collected in The Analects, taught people to accept their given places in society.These individual places were expressed through five key relationships

Those who sought more than hierarchy in human relations were thus offered moments of contentment, while being reminded that such relationships could neither remain stable nor threaten the other more important social bonds. Friendship was thus constructed as the one bond whose function was the service of the others. Having a good friend should make one a better son, brother, or official.

The general place of hierarchy in Confucian thought is a subject too complex to be fully dealt with here. It is certain, though, that from the Confucian system. It was the common element in the five bonds, the cement that held them together and made them part of a unified system. From the Han dynasty (202 BCE-220 CE), hierarchy was well integrated into cosmological theories by connecting it to yin and yang, the two elemental forces that underpin the universe.[4] In all things, there had to be an upper and a lower, and this applied to human relations.

Good social order meant a father over his son, a ruler over his minister, a husband over his wife, an elder brother over his younger brother, and, perhaps, even a friend over his friend. Whether that hierarchy amounted to oppression was and is strenuously debated. Early Chinese communists, who sought to free the individual from oppression within and without the family, seized on the hierarchical nature of Confucianism as the source of many of China's ills.[5] Others, though, have been quick to point out that the Confucian conception of hierarchy is based not on one-way obedience but on reciprocity and mutual obligations.[6] To this, we may add the view that only the Western-biased mind would see fulfillment in human relations as possible exclusively through equality. Hierarchy, even an obligation to obey, need not be tantamount to oppression. Indeed, the pervasive practice of fictive kinship in China may suggest that people model non-kin relationships on the hierarchy of the family because they find that hierarchy most comforting. [7] Those on both sides of the debate, however, agree that hierarchy is central to Confucianism. Somehow, in discussions of the Confucian view of human relations, friendship has received little attention. The overwhelming prominence and importance of family ties in China is in part responsible for this silence. However, as the other essays in this Forum suggest, relationships between men played an essential role in the society. Much of men's lives were spent in male-only institutions.

And because friendship was the only bond in society to be freely chosen, it was potentially the most powerful relationship. It is the Confucian attempt to manage the power of those relationships that is the subject here. Before proceeding further, several clarifications are in order. First, this essay examines the Confucian attitude toward friendship as expressed primarily in writings that conceptualize the friendship bond within the Confucian schema of social relations, or that offer advice to elite young men on how to choose friends. It deals less with actual friendships, which certainly varied tremendously, and more with how the friendship relationship was conceived within the constellation of human relations and what the ideal type of friendship was supposed to be. Second, these authors I consider wrote primarily for an elite audience. They were not completely disconnected from the world of Lee McIsaac's sworn brothers or Adrian Davis's murderous ones. Confucian essayists wrote, for example, on the dangers of forming sworn brotherhoods.[8] But the men who worked in the factories, coal mines, and on the waterfront docks in Chongging did not and could not read these essays, which were intended for an audience of elite Chinese males. Fourth, while this argument begins with Confucian thinkers in the nineteenth century, it must be recognized that Confucian writers were the products of their times, and societal developments inevitably affected the ways they conceived of human relations. Attitudes toward friendship changed over time, and as more is written on this topic those differences will become apparent: some are merely suggested here. There were important differences, for example, between the Confucian thinkers of the pre-Song period and the Neo-Confucian thinkers of the Song and after; those who constructed a revitalized Confucianism meant to answer Buddhism's challenge to the Chinese worldview. So the generalizations presented here are no more than just generalizations—true for most, but not all, periods.[9] This was especially the case in historical periods that Confucian thinkers would subsequently describe as decadent. A classic symptom of decadence was human relations, and most particularly the five bonds, out of order. During such periods, even orthodox Confucian ideology was influenced by changed social relations. This caveat aside, there is, by and large, remarkable continuity in writings about friendship, even across a span as long as the one followed here. One area in which change was evident concerned utility in friendship, on the other mitigating the power of the friendship bond by making it clear that friendship should serve useful ends for the family and society. Even some of the most idealistic depictions of friendship in the Confucian canon: [Friendship is] when the Confucian shares an intent and conduct, and when one's achievements bring happiness to the other. Friends do not spurn each other because of higher or lower station, and when they do not give it credence. They walk together in the path of virtue, and when they share these things they are friends, when they do not they part. This is the Confucian's way of forming friendship.[10] Even in this idealistic vision, however, the requirement that friendship be useful is not far below the surface. It is firmly lodged in the notion of shared intent (hezhi). For the Confucian, that shared intent is a shared commitment to moral improvement and service of family and state. At the other extreme is another passage from a well-known early text, which states that if one serves one's parents diligently and yet does not enjoy a reputation for filial piety—which is, after all, more important than friendship in the society. An oft-quoted passage from a commentary to a poem in the Book of Poetry similarly asserts the utilitarian guality of friendship's role in friendship 's role in friendship 's role in the commoner, all need friends to succeed."[12] Over time, views of the role of utility in friendship 's role in the song placed greater emphasis on friendship's role in the song placed greater emphasis on friendship 's role in the song placed greater emphasis on the song place perfecting morality and serving the state. Confucian writers from the Ming (1368-1644) and Qing (1644-1911) dynasties wrote during a period of increased competitiveness and social change. Their essays, it will be suggested, reflected those dual forces. Third, the notions of hierarchy and equality presented in this essay require explanation. The hierarchy between two friends was neither clear nor absolute; instead, it was complex, at times even negotiated and situational. In a family, position and birth order tended to make hierarchy clear. Between friends, however, differences in such factors as social status, age, learning, and virtue all helped determine hierarchy. One might take as a superior friend a younger man, though he occupied a superior official position, for example. But although hierarchy was complex, it was still essential. Hierarchical differentiation best permitted friends to advance. Even the most idealistic Confucian male sought friendship with one of superior virtue, so that he could become more virtuous, or of superior learning, so that he could become better educated. For the more career-oriented, friendship with a superior meant an easier advancement, one possibility was the presence of an equal friendship. Equality, like hierarchy, was neither clear nor permanent, but its presence signaled retreat from the accepted notion that one should focus on advancement by hierarchy—a withdrawal that were based on affection rather than self-improvement. That friendship was considered potentially dangerous is clear from the variety of writings that warned about its power for improving or contaminating the individual. Many authors warned of the contaminating power of friendship through analogies. The well-known expression, "He who touches vermilion will be reddened, while he who touches ink will be blackened," was one way of expressing it.[13] To befriend a man of virtue was to "enter a room fragrant with orchids. After some time one does not smell them [but smells of orchids oneself]." In contrast, to befriend a small man is to "enter a place where fish is smelt. After some time one does not smell the foul odors, but is emitting them."[14] Confucian writers who discussed youdao, the "way of friendship," sought to undercut the power of the friendship bond. While the five bonds were not necessarily ranked, writers made it clear that the fifth and last bond, friendship, was to be kept inferior to the others. Mourning rituals, those all-important signifiers of the relative importance various relationships held in society, mandated that friends not observe formal mourning for each other. One paid condolence calls on the family of a deceased friend, felt sad for the loss of him, but was not permitted to wear the traditional hempen gown on his behalf.[15] In other ways, too, Confucian writers tried to lessen the power of friendship, particularly when it did not serve the needs of the hierarchical state-family. Society functioned when filial piety (xiao-the devotion of child to parent) was transformed into loyalty (zhong-the devotion of son to ruler). There was no place for friendship in this equation, save when that friendship might help one serve a ruler or parent.

In their arguments, writers stressed that friendship should serve the larger needs of the society or help in the advancement of the individual; it should not serve emotional needs. This perspective on friendship can be traced to the writings of classical authors, although it would achieve much greater force in later periods. In the Analects, Confucius steers a middle path, recognizing the emotional aspect of friendship but deemphasizing it all the same. The second sentence of the Analects asks, "To have friendship coming from distant places—is that not delightful?"[16] At the same time, Confucius is careful to emphasize friendship's inferiority to other social relations. The text juxtaposes, for example, Confucius's treatment of the ruler with his treatment of a friend. When the ruler called for him, he left immediately to answer his call without even waiting for his ox to be yoked. But when a friend sent him a gift, even if it were a valuable gift such as a carriage and horses, he would not bow in thanks.[17] Rulers, like fathers, deserved a particular deference—for such hierarchy was basic to the effective functioning of family and state. The only gift for which he bowed was a gift of sacrificial meat, because such a gift served the requirements of ritual.[18] And when the Master twice enjoins his readers to "Have no friends not as good as yourself," he emphasizes that the purpose of friendship is the individual's advancement, and indoctrination into the Confucian way.[19] Friendship was to be integrally related to the goals of the state and family, a point made clear by the great Confucian philosopher Mencius.[20] Neo-Confucians went further in stressing that friendship was only to serve the goals of the individual's learning of the Confucian way. In their hands, even the second sentence of the Analects is drained of its emotional content. For the renowned Neo-Confucian scholar Zhu Xi (1130-1200), the joy in having friends come from afar is one's personal joy at having his virtue perfected.[21] In other ways, Neo-Confucians lessened the extent of the friendship bond. The classic record of Han dynasty Confucianism, The Comprehensive Discussions in the White Tiger Hall, had noted that one could share property with a friend, if parents are no longer living.[22] Indeed, mention of friendships in which one friend was willing to die for another are not uncommon before the Song. Thereafter, they all but disappear.[23] The Neo-Confucian perspective on friendship remained the orthodox position through the dynastic period. Five hundred years later, Weng Fanggang (1733-1818) agreed that the function of friendship was essentially education.

Friendship, he argues, is close to the teacher-student relationship but is closer still to the relationship of brothers. [32] Brothers, like a family of geese, Wang wrote, were naturally to fly one behind the other, in hierarchical formation. This same hierarchically based harmony should apply in the case of friends. [33] In other ways, too, Wang saw friendship as distinct from and yet parallel to what he considered to be the more important fraternal bond. Elder brothers protect their younger brothers help us become established in the world. In the same way, superior friends help us become established in the world.

Just as a son with no brothers leads a lonely existence, one will not become established without friends. Quoting the well-known dictum on friendship, he wrote, "When at home, you have your brothers; when abroad, you have your friends," and explained: "For men with no brothers, there are none who have established themselves who have not had friends to help them." Friendship must always remain subordinate to brotherhood, however, because while the former represented the will of men, the latter represented the will of teacher and student was expressed in a well-known statement in the Analects: "When three people move together, surely there is one who can teach me."[35] Indeed, it was when a friend functioned as a teacher that the individual came closest to fulfillment of the Confucian way. Confucians construed friendship as a relationship that would result in self-development—a point of view epitomized in some of the Analects' most famous statements on friendship.[36] As Tu Wei-ming has noted, the "way of the friend" and "way of the teacher" were "intimately connected," and "Friendship as well as the teacher student relationship exists for the sake of communal self transformation. Its purpose is moral education."[37] The friendship relationship was also made analogous to the ruler-minister relationship, in which both partners were obliged to offer advice to each other.[38] As one source expressed it, "If the ruler does not admonish his minister, then good government is lost.

If the gentleman does not instruct his friend, then virtue is lost."[39] Analogizing the friendship relationship to that of ruler and minister not only kept the relationship of parent to child was characterized by the still powerful but unemotional righteousness (yi). It was the parent-child relationship that was supposed to be the emotional one.[40] On some occasions, friendships were often described by reference to two famous men from the Zhou dynasty (1111-255 bece) who "loved each other the moment they set eyes on each other," and whose love (agape) becomes one in which they "share the same pillow." For Westerners, many of whom are accustomed to seeing the boundary. To Chinese the emotional role (agape) becomes erotic love (eros), the Chinese case suggests a different boundary. To Chinese there are the ways in which homosexuality, which suggests, hierarchy, whether of gender or another social relationship, was integrally related to the ways in which homosexuality was popularly perceived.[42] This same focus on hierarchy was noted by Bret Hinsch, who observed that homosexual relationships rather than erotic essence."[43] Placing his own findings in the context of those of Hinsch and Sommer, Michael Szonyi finds that, despite what may have been an increasing judicial and literary intolerance of homosexuality in late imperial Chinese society, homosexual practice continued because, in reality, homosexuality uses not fundamentally upsetting to the social order when it did not interfere with a son's duties to produce heirs. "The understanding of home endicid relationships were of sole and sole described as the social positions of those and position soft the secue and nonese." (44] Homosexuality was not as threatening to the social relationships were of sole as one homosexuality was not such as endiced by the relationships were of social relat

Mencius, for example, while connecting friendship with good order in family and state, had explicitly addressed the issue of hierarchy and declared that it be maintained with the virtuous.[45] Despite this argument, for subsequent Confucian writers, hierarchy was synonymous with good order. In the competitive atmosphere of the Ming and Qing dynasties, when a successful official career was increasingly elusive, equal friendships implied stagnation in social relations and withdrawal from the competition through which men advanced. It was perceived as dangerous for aspiring officials to seek friendship with those who were, like themselves, still commoners. Taken to its logical extreme, such advice amounted to a system of friendship analogous to hypergamous marriage, in which there was tremendous pressure to choose friendship only with one's superiors. Confucians who made such arguments referred back to some of the same passages in earlier texts as their predecessors in the Song, but these passages took on new meanings. Authors began to consider questions such as whether elite youths could befriend commoners.

And their focus on the utility of friendship was expressed as advancement in official Diffe, rather than with moral improvement. One such writer was the well-known Fang Zongcheng (1818–1888).[46] His essay on friendship examined two seemingly contradictory passages from Mencius, one that takes a negative view of even honest, because they live by the approval of others', and another that takes a negative view of even honest, observed as auvering that the commoners to be looked up to whom Mencius referred to as "the villagers who have regrard for themselves," were distinguishable by their willingness to stand up for their principles, even if it meant incurring others' disapproval. Fang continues to argue, however, that when it comes to those who are appropriate quotation, the more appropriate quotation to begin with the virtuous scholar to begin with commoners, [47] While the competitiveness of Ming and Qing China reinforced and accentuated the hierarchy of friendship, it also led some writers in the oposite direction, noward friendship as a refuge. Such a movement was evident in the writings of the and their friendship with those who are not yet official, he none theless observed that one could have a beneficial friendship with a non-official position, the more appropriate quotation to be served that one could have a beneficial friendship with a non-official work in asserved that one could have a beneficial friendship with a non-official work in a construct, was wellend in the writings of Yu vee (1821-1907). In an essay on the friendship that was at oork's behalf must always be maintained.[49] Some essays, such as one by Weng Franggang, whose works are referred to allow the regain with the egalitarian. It egal with the egalitarian is evidenced sympathy for the Negarity is deficied and scenture of friendship in a the coll ware assay on the friendship with toose will be and the galitarian. Tege with the segan with the egalitarian the egalitarian the egalitarian the egalitarian the egalitarian the egalitarian the e

# As young men, they served competing would-be rulers of the state of Qi. When Guan was imprisoned, Bao came to his help by recommending him to his own leader, the duke of Huan. Bao even went so far as to ensure that Guan was promoted above himself. With Guan's help, the duke of Huan was able to unite the Zhou dynasty under his own leaders, the duke of Huan. Bao even went so far as to ensure that Guan was promoted above himself. With Guan's help, the duke of Huan was able to unite the Zhou dynasty under his own leaders, the duke of Huan. Bao even went so far as to ensure that Guan was promoted above himself. With Guan's help, the duke of Huan was able to unite the Zhou dynasty under his own leaders, the duke of Huan. Bao even went so far as to ensure that Guan was promoted above himself. With Guan's help, the duke of Huan was able to unite the Zhou dynasty under his own leaders, the duke of Huan. Bao even went so far as to ensure that Guan was promoted above himself. With Guan's help, the duke of Huan was able to unite the Zhou dynasty under his own leaders, the duke of Huan. Bao even went so far as to ensure that Guan was promoted above himself. With Guan's help, the duke of Huan was able to unite the Zhou dynasty under his own leaders, the duke of Huan. Bao even went so far as to ensure that Guan was promoted above himself. With Guan's help, the duke of Huan was able to unite the Zhou dynasty under his own leaders, the duke of Huan. Bao even went so far as to ensure that Guan was promoted above himself. With Guan's help, the duke of Huan was able to unite the Zhou dynasty under his own leaders, the duke of Huan. Bao even went so far as to ensure that Guan was promoted above himself. With Guan's help, the duke of Huan. Bao Even went so far as to ensure that Guan was promoted above himself. Wene Guan Zhong and Bao Shu was widespread. In one account, for example, Guan agonizes so over Bao's illness that he refuses to eat or drink. Core when Bao Shu was sick, Guan Zhong on his account to drink neither water nor bro

Through a court intrigue, Fu had been disgraced in office. Rather than shunning his friend, Lu brought his case to the heir apparent. In the poem, Fu wrote, "Contented in the affection of my friend / I yearn to follow in the enduring footsteps of Guan and Bao."[56] In finding the basis for such relationships, writers such as Fu Xian referred back to the fraternal bond. Guan-Bao friends were described as tongsheng, literally, as born together. The phrase had two meanings. First, it meant "having the same father," that is, as if the friends were actually brothers. Second, it meant as if born "in the same year." Thus, although their relationship had the power of brotherhood, it could surpass that relationship by achieving equality. Brothers were born one after another, and so there had (even in the case of twins) to be an older and a younger brother. Guan-Bao friends were of identical ages and therefore equals.[57] The Guan-Bao friendship would seem to be the clearest example of a dangerous friendship, because of its power to subvert the hierarchical basis of Confucian human relations.

Yet it somehow managed to remain an expression of orthodox friendship, and writers describe friendships as Guan-Bao with no sign of disapproval. The explanation for this seeming anomaly lies in the story of Guan Zhong and Bao Shu itself. All who knew the classical allusion understood that their friendship was that of young men; later, they grew apart, and Guan Zhong went on to be a famous, friendless official who put his career second to no one.

Late in life, when Guan Zhong was sick, the duke of Huan asked him who should take his place, proposing Bao Shu. Guan Zhong praised Bao Shu but went on to say he would be inappropriate for the job, thus revealing that, in the end, loyalty to his ruler is more important than friendship.[58] Guan-Bao friendship is portrayed as a life stage, and in most cases a single act of sacrifice, on the way to becoming a mature individual. When friends later went on to act in their own interests, it was not considered betrayal of friendship but life course—loyalty to the stude of subordinate official to an undesirable post, to avoid showing favoritism.[59] By describing a friendship that would ordinarily threates the system as Guan-Bao, Confucian discourse gene expression to friendship. These tend not is celebracifice.[60] In other ways, too, discourse that admitted the possibility of equality in friendship, for a true equal, or even for true understanding as a fleeting moment. One such allusion, from the Book of Songs, is to the mournful cry of the bird in search of its companion.[61] Another, from the Record of Rites, is to the quest for the expression of affection between males, for example, was the songbie poem, written upon a man's departure to a far-off place, usually on official business. Here, what is relevant is that the expression of friendship leve of each other. It is thus a celebration of what is already changing. At faraway posts, they will remain friends but most likely will not be able to make sacrifices for each other. The songbie genere, moreover, reaffirms the primacy of loyalty to the state and subordinate to and supporting to and supporting end way from one's friendship here derindres in their own not's warness about the friendship bood. Friendship becomes down and the primacy of the other reations in society. Here and support the social relations.

When a young man treated older friends with deference, he reinforced an important source of social cohesion: the respect for elders. Hierarchy was also the means by which the society advanced. When a young man treated his social superior with deference, he enhanced his own opportunities and, by extension, promoted the welfare of his family. This essay has also allowed us to explore the qualities of friendship, and even the category of human relationship dubbed as friendship in China; something that has not been done before. Utility, for example, was always a part of friendship, in China; even while crass utility was eschewed and even if the ends of friendship differed over time. And it was utility that made for the highest forms of friendship, those that ultimately bolstered the family and the society. How different this was from Aristotle's notion of friendship, which shunned friendship, which shunned friendship, based on utility as merely incidental.[63] I conclude with a question posed to me by a reader of an earlier version of this article, who asked, if Neo-Confucians were so concerned with the potentially deleterious effects of friendship, why did they not recommend that men do away with it entirely? The answer has to be that this could not be done because many in the society hungered for friendship, for the joys it provided, and for the relief it offered from the demands of living in a guojia, a state-family. If it could not provide the "haven of egalitarianism" it does in modern Greece, it could at least be a "sentimental alternative to maternal love and the amity of kinship."[64] And the friendship had its potential for good, but it was a dangerous human relationship. Norman Kutcher is an associate professor of history at Syracuse University, where he has been working since 1991.

He is the author of Mourning in Late Imperial China: Filial Piety and the State (1999), as well as "The Death of the Xiaoxian Empress: Bureaucratic Betrayals and the Crises of Eighteenth-Century Chinese Rule," published in the Journal of Asian Studies 56 (1997). This essay on friendship grew out of a longstanding interest in the subject; another gender-related interest is in Chinese eunuchs. His current primary research project is the Yuanming Yuan, the beloved residence of Qing emperors that was destroyed by an allied expedition of the British and French in 1860. Notes An earlier form of this article was presented at the 1996 meeting of the American Historical Association in a panel entitled "The Male-Male Bond in Late Imperial and Republican China." In preparing the original and subsequent drafts, I have learned much from conversations with several people and in the course of doing so strengthened my own bonds of friendship. I thank the other panelists, who were Lee McIsaac, Adrian Davis, Susan Mann, and Gail Hershatter, and also the audience members present on that day. Steve Angle and Benjamin Fischer kindly read drafts of the paper and offered many helpful suggestions. I owe a special debt of gratitude to Liu Fei-wen and Lin Wei-zen, who pored over baffling passages with me. Finally, I thank Michael Grossberg and Jeffrey Wasserstrom at the AHR,

and their five anonymous reviewers, for considerable help and encouragement.

I bear full responsibility for errors that may remain. 1 In modern Chinese, guojia is defined as nation; in pre-modern usage, as a state, or ruling dynasty.

See Zhang Qijun, et al., Zhongwen da cidian (Taibei, 1973), 4896.236. Mencius used the term and noted that the basis of the state was the family. Mengzi xinyi, in Xie Bingying, et al, eds., Si shu duben (Taibei, 1966), 365; The Works of Mencius, James Legge, trans.

(1895; rpt. edn., New York, 1970), 295. 2 A comprehensive statement of this worldview appears in the writings of Fang Xiaoru (1357-1402). See Ji Xiuzhu, Ming chu daru Fang Xiaoru (1629-1683). See Wm. Theodore DeBary, The Trouble with Confucianism (Cambridge, 1991)

Fairbank, ed. (Chicago, 1957). 7 As Susan Mann notes, "those who lacked family ties invented them." Precious Records: Women in China's Long Eighteenth Century (Stanford, Calif., 1997), 139. 8 Wang Youliang, "Zheng you," in He Changling, et al., eds., Qing jingshi wenbian (rpt. edn., Shanghai, 1992), 68.12a.

9 Joseph P. McDermott, for example, notes that the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries witnessed heightened concern with the friendship bond. Some writers during that time, he observes, were able to use friendship as a moral base for the critique of imperial rule. McDermott, "Friendship and Its Friends in the Late Ming," in Family Process and Political Process in Modern Chinese History, 2 vols. (Taipei, 1992), 1: 67-96. Wm. Theodore DeBary, in his discussion of late Ming thought, similarly discusses Li Zhi's focus on the friendship relationship as primary. DeBary, "Individualism and Humanitarianism in Late Ming Thought," in DeBary, et al., eds., Self and Society in Ming Thought (New York, 1970), 199. And if the work A New Account of Tales of the World [Shishuo xinyu] is an indication of elite attitudes, there were many writers in the Six Dynasties period who extolled the value of friendship and elevated it above other bonds in the society. Liu I-ch'ing, A New Account of Tales of the World, with Commentary by Liu Chün, Richard B. Mather, trans. (Minneapolis, Minn., 1976), 6, 7. 10 Wang Meng'ou and Wang Yunwu, eds., Li ji jinzhu jinyi (rpt. edn., Taibei, 1984), 2.957. 11 Wang Su, Kongzi jiayu (rpt. edn., Taibei, 1977), 5.226.

12 Kong Yingda, ed., Mao shi zheng yi (rpt. edn., Shanghai, 1927-36), 9/3.1a.

13 Ouyang Xun, Yiwen leiju (rpt. edn., Shangai, 1982), 21.393. 14 Dai De, Da Dai Li ji jinzhu jinyi, Guo Ming, ed. (Taibei, 1975), 205. 15 In the Li ji, one of Confucius's best-known disciples reported that at the grave of a friend he would live in a plain hut but not cry.

Li ji jinzhu jinyi, 1.84. An exception was in the late Ming, during the time when there was increased interest in the friendship bond. Xie Zhaozhe, Wu za zu (rpt. edn., Beiji Xiaoshuo Daguan, n.d.), 14.4343-44. Xie suggests that extremely close friends might mourn as brothers.

16 Confucius, Analects, 1: 1. 17 Confucius, Analects, 10: 14, 10: 16. 18 Confucius, Analects, 10: 14, 10: 16. 18 Confucius, Analects, 1: 8, 9: 25. 20 To paraphrase Mencius: A lower-level official gained the confidence of the ruler by earning the trust of his friends. And he gained the trust of his friends by serving his parents well. Mencius, Mengzi xinyi, 371; Legge, Works of Mencius, 302. 21 See Chu Hsi and Lü Tsu-ch'ien, Reflections on Things at Hand: The Neo-Confucian Anthology, Wing-tsit Chan, trans. (New York, 1967), 168. 22 Ban Gu, Bohu tong shuzheng, 2 vols. (rpt. edn., Beijing, 1994), 1: 377–78; Pan Ku, Po Hu T'ung: The Comprehensive Discussions in the White Tiger Hall, Tjan Tjoe Som, trans., 2 vols.

(Leiden, 1949-52), 2: 562-63.

The locus classicus of dying for a friend is the Li ji. 23 These friendships were generally designated by the term wenxian jiao.

The term appears in dynastic histories before the Song, but only once in the Song History and never in post-Song dynastic histories.

24 Weng Fanggang, "You shuo," in Fuchuzhai wenji (rpt. edn., Tongwen tushuguan, n.d.), 10.5a. 25 Confucius, Analects, 12: 23. 26 This expression appears in the "Biao ji" section of Li ji. See Li ji jinzhu jinyi, 2.866. It is also discussed in the "Shan mu" section of Zhuangzi. See Zhuangzi jinzhu jinyi (Beijing, 1988), 512; Burton Watson, trans., The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu (New York, 1968), 215. 27 Wang Wan, "Jiaodao shuo," in Yaofeng wenchao (rpt. edn., Taibei, 1983), 9.18a. 28 Richard Wilhelm and Cary F. Baynes, trans., The I Ching or Book of Changes (Princeton, N.J., 1967), 160. Zhou yi, in Sishu wujing (rpt. edn., Taibei, 1983), 9.18a. 28 Richard Wilhelm and Cary F. Baynes, trans., The I Ching or Book of Changes (Princeton, N.J., 1967), 160. Zhou yi, in Sishu wujing (rpt. edn., Beijing, 1985), 37.

29 Wilhelm and Baynes, I Ching, 160. 30 Zhu Xi, Zhuzi yulei, Li Jingde, ed. (rpt. edn., Beijing, 1988), 1834. See also commentary by Zhu Xi in Zhou yi, 37. 31 Qingshi liezhuan (Beijing, 1928), 72.4a. 32 Wang Youliang, "Zheng you," 68.12a. 33 For the locus classicus of the brothers' obligation to move hierarchically, like the flight of geese, see the Wang Zhi chapter of Li ji. 34 Wang Youliang, "Zheng you," 68.12a. 35 Confucius, Analects, 7: 22. 36 One such comment began: "Friendships with the upright, the trustworthy, and the learned are beneficial." Confucius, Analects, 16: 4. Another such comment was, "The ideal Confucian gathers friends with learning, and with learning develops his benevolence." Analects, 12: 24. For more analogies of friendship to the teacher/student relationship, see Chen Yaowen, Tian zhong ji (rpt.

edn., Shanghai, 1991), chap. 20. 37 Tu, Confucian Thought, 139. 38 See Xiong Gongzhe, ed., Xunzi jinzhu jinyi (Taibei, 1977), 93. Zhu Xi makes the same point. Chu and Lü, Reflections on Things at Hand, 267. 40 Zhuzi yulei, 262. 41 For a Song dynasty retelling of the story, see Li Fang, et al., eds., Taiping Guangji (rpt. edn., Beijing, 1959), 389,3104; for a Ming retelling, see Chen Yaowen, Tian zhong ji, 20.39a. 42 Matthew H. Sommer, "The Penetrated Male in Late Imperial China: Judicial Constructions and Social Stigma," Modern China 23 (April 1997): 168. 43 Bret Hinsch, Passions of the Cut Sleeve: The Male Homosexual Tradition in China (Berkeley, Calif., 1990), 21. 44 Michael Szonyi, "The Cult of Hu Tianbao and the Eighteenth-Century Discourse on Homosexuality," Late Imperial China 19 (June 1998): 11. 45 In response to an inquiry on the nature of friendship, Mencius responded, "Friendship should be maintained without any presumption on the grounds of one's superior age, or station, or the circumstances of his relatives. Friendship with his virtue, and does not admit of assumptions of superiority." Mencius, 140). 46 Another was Wang Wan (1624–1691), whose writings were referred to above, n. 27. 47 Fang Zongcheng, "Shang you shuo," in Baitang ji cibian, in Baitang yishu, 18 vols.

(rpt. edn., Taibei, 1973), 12: 4.11a-b. 48 Han Tan, "Qu you lun," in Qing jingshi wenbian (Shanghai, 1992), 6.3a. 49 Yu Yue, "Fanjue jiaolun," in Binmeng waiji (Chunzaitang quanshu edn., 1902), 1.14b-16b. 50 Weng Fanggang, "You shuo," 10.5b. 51 Dorothy Ko, Teachers of the Inner Chambers: Women and Culture in Seventeenth-Century China (Stanford, Calif., 1994), 179.

52 For a translation, see Evan Morgan, A Guide to the Wenli Styles and Chinese Ideals (London, 1912), 118-27. 53 Wang Qinruo, Cefu yuangui (rpt. edn., Taibei, 1967), 881.10432. 54 The foregoing of career success is at the center of another well-known friendship, that of Chen Zhong and Lei Yi, who lived during the second century ce. When Lei Yi passed the governmental examination, he sought to yield it to Chen Zhong, but he was not permitted to do so by the examiners. Following their refusal, he feigned madness, and in the end both men were awarded the degree. 55 For examples of Guan-Bao friendship, see Pianzi leibian (1727 edn.), 166.9b. For discussion, see Chen Yaowen, Tian zhong ji, 20.22a-23a. 56 Fu Xian, "Ganbie fu," in Fuzhongcheng ji, in Han Wei liuchao baisanjia ji (rpt.

edn., Taibei, 1963), 2a.

57 Zhongwen da cidian, 3372.70. For descriptions of Guan-Bao friends as tongsheng, see Fu Xian, "Ganbie fu," 2a; and Shen Yue, Song Shu (rpt.

edn., Shanghai, 1994), 93.295. 58 W. Allyn Rickett, trans., Guanzi: Political, Economic, and Philosophical Essays from Early China, vol. 1 (Princeton, N.J., 1985), 383. 59 Wei Shou, Wei shu, in Ershiwu shi (Shanghai, 1986), 62.160. 60 Guan-Bao friendships might be purged of their subversive qualities in other ways. In one instance, filial piety was noted as ultimately taking precedence over Guan-Bao friendship. Fan Ye, Hou Han shu jinzhu jinyi, Zhang Huikang and Yi Mengchun, eds. (rpt. edn., Changsha, Hunan, 1993), 310-11; "The Woodman's Ax (165)," Arthur Waley and Joseph R. Allen, trans., The Book of Songs (New York, 1996), 137. 62 Zhiyin appears first in the "Yue ji" section of the Li ji. Li ji jinzhu jinyi, 2.611.

On such a use of zhiyin, see Gong Kui, "Da Chen Huazhong," in Yunlin ji (Siku Quanshu zhenben Series 3, vol.

278, 1972), 4b. 63 "Now those who love each other for their utility do not love each other for themselves but in virtue of some good which they get from each other." Nicomachean Ethics, VIII.3. Aristotle, The Nicomachean Ethics, VIII.3. Aristotle, The Nicomachean Ethics, David Ross, trans. (New York, 1925), 195. 64 Evthymios Papataxiarchis, "Friends of the Heart: Male Commensal Solidarity, Gender, and Kinship in Aegean Greece," in Peter Loizos and Evthymios Papataxiarchis, eds., Contested Identities: Gender and Kinship in Modern Greece (Princeton, N.J., 1991), 158. By NORMAN KUTCHER