

EASTERN CHOU

1)

Ch'in was raising troops to threaten Chou and demand the nine tripods. The Prince of Chou was troubled about it and informed Yen Lü. Yen Lü said: 'Let not Your Majesty be anxious. Allow your servant to go to the East and obtain relief from Ch'i.'

Yen Lü went to Ch'i. He spoke to the King of Ch'i and said: 'Ch'in is acting in an unprincipled manner. It wishes to raise troops to threaten Chou and demand the nine tripods. The Prince and statesmen of Chou have drawn up a plan among themselves that rather than give them to Ch'in they will transfer them to your great State. If you preserve a State which is in danger, that is an excellent reputation. If you get the nine tripods, they are a rich treasure. I would that Your Majesty made plans for it.'

The King of Ch'i was very pleased and sent fifty thousand soldiers with Ch'en Ch'en-ssu in command for the relief of Chou, and the army of Ch'in withdrew. Ch'i was about to demand the nine tripods, at which the Prince of Chou was again troubled. Yen Lü said: 'Let not Your Majesty be anxious. Allow your servant to go to the East and get release.'

Yen Lü went to Ch'i. He spoke to the king of Ch'i and said: 'Chou, relying on the righteousness of your great State, has obtained mutual safety for its Prince and ministers, its fathers and sons. We wish to present the nine tripods but we do not know by what road your great State will bring them to Ch'i.' The King of Ch'i said: 'I shall borrow a way through Liang.' Yen Lü said: 'That is impossible. The Prince and ministers of Liang want to get the nine tripods and have long laid their plans below Hui-t'ai and above Shao-hai. If the tripods go into Liang they will certainly not come out.' The King of Ch'i said: 'I shall borrow a way through Ch'u.' He replied: 'That is impossible. The Prince and ministers of Ch'u want to get the nine tripods and have long laid their plans in the midst of Shé-t'ing. If they go into Ch'u the tripods will certainly not come out.' The King of Ch'i said: 'Then by what road shall I bring them to Ch'i?' Yen Lü said: 'Our unworthy ~~town~~ is indeed troubled about this on Your Majesty's account. The tripods are not like vinegar pots or pickle jars which can be clasped in the arms or carried in the hands to Ch'i. They are not like flocks of birds or crows in flight, bounding hares or rushing horses, which can go like a flowing stream direct to Ch'i. Of old, when Chou attacked Yin and got the nine tripods, each tripod took ninety thousand men to draw. Nine times that is eight hundred and ten thousand men. Soldiers, camp-followers, implements, and accoutrements, which must be got ready are according to that number. Now even if Your Majesty has the men, by what road will they go forth? Your humble servant is himself anxious about this on Your Majesty's account.'

The King of Ch'i said: 'For all your frequent visits it seems as if you will not give them to me.' Yen Lü said: 'I dare not deceive your ~~great~~ great State. Make haste to decide by what road you will bring them out. Our unworthy ~~town~~ will remove the tripods and await your commands.' The King of Ch'i thereupon desisted.

2)
Ch'in was making an attack upon I-yang. The Prince of Chou spoke to Chao Lei and said: 'What, sir, do you think will be the result?' He replied: 'I-yang is sure to be taken.' The Prince said: 'The city of I-yang is eight li square. It has one hundred thousand able-bodied men and grain sufficient for several years. Kung-chung's army consists of two hundred thousand men. Ching Ts'ui with the troops of Ch'u is coming down from the mountains to its rescue. Ch'in will certainly not be successful.' He replied: 'Kan Mou is a refugee. If he is successful in his attack on I-yang, he will be like Tan, Duke of Chou. If he is unsuccessful, that will be the end of him in Ch'in. The king of Ch'in does not heed the criticism of his ministers and his relatives, but is making an attack on I-yang. If I-yang is not taken, the King of Ch'in will be disgraced, that is why your servant says that it will be taken.' The Prince said: 'If, sir, you were making my plans, what would you do?' He replied: 'Let Your Highness speak to Ching Ts'ui and say: 'Your Lordship's rank is that of 'Holder of the Emblem'. Your office is that of 'Pillar of the State'. If you are victorious in battle, no higher dignity can be added to what you already have. If you are not victorious, that will mean your death. Your best plan is to turn your back on Ch'in and deliver I-yang. When Your Lordship advances your troops, Ch'in will be afraid that you are taking advantage of its exhaustion and will be sure to place its treasures at Your Lordship's service. Kung-chung will wish Your Lordship to seize the opportunity against Ch'in on his behalf and will be sure to offer you all his treasures.' "

Ching Ts'ui did in fact advance his troops. Ch'in was afraid and hurriedly offered him Chu-tsao. The House of Han did in fact also offer valuable treasures. Ching Ts'ui obtained a city from Ch'in, received treasures from Han, and earned the gratitude of Eastern Chou.

3)
Eastern Chou was at war with Western Chou. Han was coming to the rescue of Western Chou. Someone spoke on behalf of Eastern Chou to the King of Han and said: 'Western Chou is the ancient realm of the Son of Heaven. It has many famous vessels and valuable treasures. If you put your troops in order but do not send them forth, you may win the gratitude of Eastern Chou and the treasures of Western Chou may all be yours.'

Eastern Chou was at strife with Western Chou. Western Chou wished to make an agreement with Ch'u and Han. Ch'i Ming spoke to the Prince of Eastern Chou and said: 'Your servant is afraid that Western Chou will bestow pressures on Ch'u and Han to get them to demand territory for itself from Eastern Chou. The best plan is to speak to Ch'u and Han and say: 'Western Chou in wishing to present its treasures is holding to a double policy. If now the soldiers of Eastern Chou do not put pressure upon Western Chou, the treasures of Western Chou will not enter Ch'u and Han.' Ch'u and Han wish to get the treasures and so they will urge upon us to attack Western Chou. When the treasures of Western Chou are sent forth it will be we who have taken the treasures for Ch'u and Han and so earned their gratitude, and Western Chou will be weakened.' "

4) Eastern Chou wished to plant rice but Western Chou would not allow water to flow through. Eastern Chou was troubled about it. Su-tzu¹ spoke to the Prince of Eastern Chou and said: 'Your servant asks permission to make Western Chou let the water through, May I?' So he went, had an interview with the prince of Western Chou, and said: 'Your Highness's policy is mistaken. Not to let water through now is to enrich Eastern Chou. Now its people are all sowing wheat; they sow nothing else. If Your Highness wishes to do them harm the best plan is to let water through at once so as to injure what they are sowing. If you let water through, Eastern Chou will be sure to sow rice again. When they have sown rice deprive them of it again. If you do that you can make the people of Eastern Chou look up at once to Western Chou and receive commands from Your Highness.' The Prince of Western Chou said: 'Good.' He thereupon released the water. Su-tzu¹ also got money from both the states.

5) When Chao Hsien¹ was at Yang-ti², the prince of Chou was about to order the Counsellor of State to go to him. The Counsellor of State was unwilling. Su Li³ spoke on his behalf to the prince of Chou and said: 'When the King of Ch'u and the King of Wei met, Your Highness ordered Ch'eh Feng⁴ to go to Ch'u and the Duke of Hsiang⁵ to go to Wei. When Ch'u and Han met, Your Highness ordered the Duke of Hsu⁶ to go to Ch'u and the Duke of Hsiang to go to Han. Now Chao Hsien is not a ruler and yet Your Highness orders the Counsellor of State to go. If his King were at Yang-ti, whom would Your Highness order to go?' The Prince of Chou said: 'Good,' and stopped the mission.

6) Ch'in was borrowing a road through Chou to attack Han. Chou was afraid, by granting the request, to incur the enmity of Han and, by refusing it, to incur the enmity of Ch'in. The historiographer Yen spoke to the Prince of Chou and said: 'Why does not Your Highness order someone to speak to Kung Shu¹ of Han and say: 'That Ch'in dares to break through the passes and attack Han is because of its faith in Eastern Chou. Why does not Your Lordship give lands to Chou and send an important envoy to Ch'u? Ch'in will certainly be suspicious and put no faith in Chou. In that case Han will not be attacked.' Speak also to the King of Ch'in and say: 'Han is forcing lands on Chou so as to make Chou suspected by Ch'in. I do not dare to accept them.' Ch'in will certainly have nothing to say commanding Chou not to accept. And so you will get lands from Han and have been obedient to Ch'in.'

7) Ch'u was attacking Yung-shih¹. Chou supplied Ch'in and Han with provisions. The King of Chou was angry with Chou and the Prince of Chou was troubled about it. Someone spoke on behalf of Chou to the King of Ch'u and said: 'If, strong as you are, Your Majesty is angry with Chou, Chou will be afraid and will be sure to unite its State with the States to which it has supplied grain. And that will strengthen Your Majesty's enemies. Therefore Your Majesty's best plan is to release Chou quickly from its fears. Having first offended and then having obtained release it will be sure to serve Your Majesty sincerely.'

8) Chou Chu¹ spoke to Shih Li and said: 'Why, sir, do you not use Ch'in to attack Ch'i? Allow your servant to make Ch'i appoint you its Counsellor.'

If you use Ch'i to serve Ch'in you will certainly have no place for anxiety. If, sir, you then make me dwell in Wei to bring it into alliance, the whole world will then be under your control. In the East you will be important in Ch'i. In the West you will be honoured in Ch'in. With Ch'in and Ch'i in agreement you will, sir, be permanently important.'

9)

Lu Ts'ang, the Counsellor of Chou, introduced a visitor to the Prince of Chou. The former Counsellor Kung Shih-chieh was afraid that the visitor might injure him, and so he got someone to speak to the Prince of Chou and say: 'The visitor is a skilful debater but the fault with him is that he is fond of slandering others.' ~~When~~ Prince Wen of Chou dismissed Kung Shih-chieh and made Lu Ts'ang Counsellor, the people of the State were displeased. The Prince was sad at heart. (The visitor) spoke to Prince Wen of Chou and said: 'In a State there are sure to be detraction and praise. A loyal minister causes the detraction to come on himself and the praise to go to his superior. The Prince of Sung robbed the people of their time in order to build a terrace, and the people blamed him. That was because there was no loyal minister to shelter him. Tzu-han was dismissed from being Counsellor and was made Minister of Works. The people blamed Tzu-han and approved of his prince. Duke Huan of Ch'i in his palace had seven open spaces, and in his female apartments seven hundred women. Kuan-chung therefore erected a home for three wives in order to shield duke Huan from blame and injure himself with the people. The Ch'un-ch'iu records a hundred cases of ministers who murdered their princes. They were all great ministers who had been the subject of praise. Therefore for a great minister to be praised is not good for a State, therefore numbers make strength. Heaps that are added to make a mountain. The prince of Chou accordingly did not dismiss him.

10)

A man of Wen went to Chou. Chou would not receive him, whereupon the stranger replied: 'I am a native.' They asked his street but he did not know it. The officers therefore put him in prison. The prince sent a man to question him, saying: 'You are not a man of Chou and yet you say of yourself that you are not a stranger. How is that?' He replied: 'When your servant was young I learned the Odes. In the Odes it is said: 'All under Heaven there is no land which does not belong to the King. Along the shores of the land there is no one who is not the King's servant.' Now Chou rules over all under Heaven. I am therefore a servant of the Son of Heaven. And how can I also be a stranger?' The Prince thereupon made the officers let him go.

11)

Someone spoke on behalf of Chou Chu to Chin T'ou and said: 'Ch'in is sending Chou Chu to Ch'i so as to make the world suspicious, and it also knows that it is difficult for Chao to wage war with the men of Ch'i. It is to be feared that Ch'i, rather than unite with Han, will be sure first to unite with Ch'in. If Ch'in and Ch'i unite, Your Lordship's State will be empty. Your Lordship's best plan is to go to the rescue of Ch'i, then help Ch'in and attack Han and Wei. Shang-tang and Chang-tzu will become Chao's possessions. Your Lordship in the (West) will receive treasures from Ch'in, in the South you will take lands from Han, and Wei will be hard pressed. Act gently towards the East and there will be peace.'

Chou Chu spoke to Chin T'ou and said: 'Your Lordship turns your

back on an agreement with Ch'in and wages war with powerful Ch'i. Suppose you win. It will be Ch'in which will take Ch'i and appoint it a ruler, making it surrender not much territory, and adjudicating in the wars of the world. Suppose you lose. The State will suffer great injury and will have no option but to obey Ch'in. Ch'in will take the whole of Shang-tang and T'ai-yuan belonging to Han and Wei. All the West will belong to Ch'in. Already the territory of Ch'in is half the world. It controls the destiny of Ch'i, Ch'u, and the three Chin. To overthrow your State and endanger your person-what policy is that to speak about?

12)

Yu Hsing-ch'u spoke to the Ta liang tsao and said: 'If you wish to make certain of the title 'Chief of the Kings' the best plan is to provide yourself with the officers skilful in debate from the two Chou. He spoke to the Prince of Chou and said: 'Your Highness's best plan is to cause your officers skilful in debate to dispute on behalf of Your Highness in Ch'in.'

13)

Someone spoke to the Duke of Hsieh and said: 'The reason that Chou Chü, who was in favour with the King of Ch'i, has nevertheless been expelled, that Chu Fu is listened to and Lü Li is made Counsellor, is the desire to get the favour of Ch'in. If Ch'in and Ch'i are in agreement, Fu and Lü will be important. If they are employed, Ch'i and Ch'in are sure to treat Your Highness lightly. The best plan for Your Highness is quickly to lead troops northward and hasten to Chao so as to bring Ch'in and Wei into harmony, to receive Chou Chü and treat him generously. Such conduct will cause the king of Ch'i to renew his confidence (in Chou Chü) and will prevent world revolution. If Ch'i is without Ch'in the States will gather around it. Fu will be sure to go away. With whom will the King of Ch'i administer his State?'

Ch'i listened to Chu Fu and sent Chou Chü away. Someone spoke to the King of Ch'i and said: 'The reason that Chou Chü has been driven away, that Chu Fu is listened to, and that Lü Li is made Counsellor, is the desire to get deeply into the favour of Ch'in. If Ch'in gets the States it will make a deep inroad into Ch'i. If Ch'in and Ch'i are in agreement Chao will fear an attack and will therefore hurriedly lead its troops to demonstrate against Ch'in. Ch'in will regard Chao's attack and Ch'i's inroad on Chao as being really the same policy. You will certainly not be at your ease. Therefore to employ Chu Fu is a world policy.'

14)

Su Li spoke on behalf of Chou Chü to Su Ch'in and said: 'The best plan for Your Highness is to get the King to listen to Chü and by a surrender of territory to come to an agreement with Wei. Chao is sure to be angry. Make an agreement with Ch'i. In that case Your Highness by bringing about agreement with Ch'i and the powerful State of Ch'u will be able to beget offspring for another generation. If Your Highness wishes to avail yourself of Chü's affair, it will be Your Highness who brings about agreement with Ch'i and it will be Chü who surrenders territory.'

15)

(Someone) spoke to Chou Chü and said: 'Ch'ou Ho as Counsellor in Sung is going to watch whether Ch'in responds to Chao and Sung and defeats

the three States. If the three States are not defeated, he is going together with Chao and Sung to make an agreement with the East in order to isolate Ch'in. He is also going to watch the relations of Han and Wei with Ch'i. If they are not firm, then with Sung he is going to defeat the three States. That is he is betraying Chao and Sung to the three States. Why does not Your Lordship send someone to speak to the Kings of Han and Wei and say: 'Do you wish Ch'in and Chao to betray each other? Why not make an agreement with Chou Chu and show that both will not separate from him? Then Ch'in and Chao are sure to betray each other in order to make an agreement with Your Majesties.' "

16)

(Someone) spoke on behalf of Chou Chu to the king of Wei and said: 'Knowing that it is difficult for Chao to wage war with Ch'i, Ch'in will be afraid of an agreement between Ch'i and Chao. It is sure secretly to encourage Chao. Chao dare not go to war and, being afraid that Ch'in will not receive it, will first make an agreement with Ch'i. If Ch'in and Chao are rivals for Ch'i, it will not do for Your Majesty to have no one there. If Your Majesty does not send Chou Chu and receive Ch'i into alliance, and there is a military crisis, you will have no pretext to attack Ch'i.'

(Someone) ~~spoke~~ ~~to~~ ~~Chou Chu~~ ~~said~~ ~~to~~ ~~Chou Chu~~ 'The King of Wei entrusts the State to you, sir, because of the importance he attaches to an agreement with Ch'in so as to attack Ch'i. The duke of Hsieh—the former ruler—despises and forgets his field of Hsieh and has no regard to the tombs of the prince, his ancestors, and it is only Your Lordship who cultivates an empty confidence instead of strong action, making it plain to the ministers that, relying on the former ruler, you will not give supplies to those who attack Ch'i, thus rousing the anger of the powerful State of Ch'in. That will not do. Your Lordship's best plan is to speak to the King of Wei and the Duke of Hsieh and say: 'Allow your servant to go to Ch'i on Your Majesty's behalf. The States cannot injure Ch'i, but if there is a change allow your servant on your behalf to rescue it. If there is no change, Your Majesty may proceed to attack it. Moreover it will not do for Ch'in to be the slave of Ch'i, as it will not do for Your Majesty's alliances with the states to be involved. Your Majesty's gifts to your servant have been generous. If your servant goes to Ch'i, Your Majesty will not be involved because of Ch'i.' "

17)

Chao took Chou's sacrificial lands. The prince of Chou was troubled about it, and told Cheng Chao. Cheng Chao said: 'Let not Your Highness be troubled. Allow your servant to get them back with thirty ~~pounds~~ of silver.' The Prince of Chou gave it to him. Cheng Chao presented it to the chief diviners of Chao and took occasion to tell him about the affair of the sacrificial lands. When the King fell ill he ordered divination to be made about his sickness. The chief diviner upbraided him and said: 'The sacrificial lands of Chou are the evil influence.' So Chao returned them.

18)

Tu Ho wished to advance Ching Tsui to an important position in Chou. He spoke to the prince of Chou and said: 'Your Highness's State is small. If you use all Your Highness's important treasures, your pearls and precious stones, in the service of the nobles, you cannot but discriminate. For example, a man who is spreading a net,

if he spreads it where there are no birds, all day long he will get none; if he spreads it in a place where there are many birds, he will also frighten the birds away. He must spread it where at times there are birds and at times there are not, and then he can get many birds. Now Your Highness is about to bestow gifts on a great man. A great man despises Your Highness. You bestow them on a small man. A small man has nothing you can ask of him, and you waste your wealth. Your Highness must bestow your gifts on a scholar who, although poor now, is not certain to be always poor, and may become a great man. So you can obtain your desire.

19)

Kung, the heir-apparent of Chou, died. There were five sons by inferior wives. (The king) was fond of them all and none of them had been appointed to the succession. Ssu-ma Chien spoke to the King of Ch'u and said: "Why not enfeoff the kung-tzu Chiu and ask for him to be appointed heir-apparent?" Tso Ch'eng spoke to Ssu-ma Chien and said: "If the Prince of Chou pays no heed, Your Lordship's sagacity will be embarrassed and relations with Chou will be broken off. The best plan is to speak to the Prince of Chou and say: 'If you give me a hint whom you wish to appoint, I will cause the King of Ch'u to aid him with lands.' If Your Lordship wishes that prince to be made heir-apparent get someone to speak to Chan-tzu, the Counsellor's charioteer, and to K'ung, the ch'iang-fu, and say: 'His Majesty is inclined to get so-and-so appointed. He is an imperious person. If he dwells in the State it will not be to the Counsellor's advantage.'" The Counsellor got him made heir-apparent.

20)

The three States had stopped intercourse with Ch'in. Chou sent its Counsellor to Ch'in. Thinking Ch'in would despise him he delayed his journey. Someone spoke to the Counsellor of State and said: "You cannot yet know whether Ch'in will despise you or honour you. Ch'in wishes to know conditions in the three States. The best plan for Your Lordship is to proceed to your interview with the King of Ch'in and say: 'Allow me on your behalf to listen to the state of affairs in the East.' Ch'in will be sure to honour Your Lordship and so Your Lordship will obtain honour for Chou. Chou will be honoured and get the support of Ch'in. As for honour from Ch'in you already have Chou Chu, he has got the support of Ch'in. Thus Chou will never lack an alliance with an important State."

21)

Kung T'ao fled from Western Chou to Eastern Chou. He reported all the affairs of Western Chou to Eastern Chou. Eastern Chou was very pleased. Western Chou was very angry. Feng Tan said: "Your servant can slay him." The prince gave him thirty pounds of silver. Feng Tan sent a man to take the silver with a letter and seek an opportunity to give them to Kung T'ao. The letter said: "To inform Kung T'ao. If the thing can be done, exert yourself to do it. If it cannot be done, flee hither quickly. If it is delayed and revealed, you will bring death on yourself." He also sent a messenger to inform the officers of escort in Eastern Chou, saying: "This evening there is a traitor coming through." The officers of escort got him and presented him to Eastern Chou. Eastern Chou put Kung T'ao to death on the spot.

22)

Chao Chien was on bad terms with Eastern Chou. Someone spoke to

Chao Chien and said: 'I have drawn up a secret plan for Your Lordship.' Chao Chien said: 'What is it?' (He said): 'Western Chou hates Eastern Chou very much. It has ~~always~~ wanted Eastern Chou to be on bad terms with Ch'u. Western Chou is sure to send assassins to murder Your Lordship and then publish abroad that it was done by Eastern Chou so as to make it hated by the King.' Chao Chien said: 'Good. I also was afraid that Eastern Chou might get me murdered, but I made light of the possibility that Western Chou might make it hated by Ch'u.' He speedily made reconciliation with Eastern Chou.

23)

Yen-Shih committed a murder and Yang Shu was a party to it. He went to Chou. The Prince of Chou detained him for forty days and then sent him away in a carriage drawn by four horses. Han sent an envoy to remonstrate with Chou. The prince of Chou was troubled about it. A visitor spoke to the Prince of Chou and said: "Speak straight to him and say: 'I knew that Yen-Shih had committed a murder and that Yang Shu was a party to it. So I detained him for forty days to await your commands. My little State could not tolerate a murderer. An envoy from Your Highness also did not arrive. That is why I sent him away.'"

WESTERN CHOU

1)

The Duke of Hsieh used Ch'i ^{with} on behalf of Han and Wei to attack Ch'u. He also joined with Han and Wei to attack Ch'in, and borrowed troops and asked for provisions from Western Chou. Han Ch'ing spoke on behalf of Western Chou to the Duke of Hsieh and said: "Your Highness has used Ch'i on behalf of Han and Wei to attack Ch'u, and in nine years you have taken Wan and She and the lands to the north ~~to~~ strengthen Han and Wei. Now you are also attacking Ch'in ~~to~~ increase them. If Han and Wei on the south have no anxiety from Ch'u and on the west have no danger from Ch'in, their territory will be extensive and they will be increasingly important. Ch'i will certainly be of slight importance. Root and branch flourish in turn. Emptiness and fulness have their seasons. I ~~venture on behalf of~~ Your Highness to regard the position as dangerous. The best plan for Your Highness is to get our unworthy ~~to~~ to make a secret agreement with Ch'in, and for Your Highness not to attack, also not to borrow troops or ask for provisions. Let Your Highness threaten Hsien-ku but make no attack and get our unworthy ~~to~~ to speak about Your Highness's circumstances to the King of Ch'in and say: 'The Duke of Hsieh will certainly not break up Ch'in to extend Han and Wei. The reason he is advancing his troops is that he wishes Your Majesty to get Ch'u to cut off Tung-kuo and give it to Ch'i.' If the King of Ch'in releases the King of Ch'u and so makes peace, if Your Highness gets our unworthy ~~to~~ in this way to do a favour to Ch'in, and Ch'in avoids being broken up but saves itself by means of Tung-kuo belonging to Ch'u, it is sure to desire it. The King of Ch'u is sure to be grateful to Ch'i for his release. Ch'i will get Tung-kuo and become increasingly powerful. And Hsieh will have no trouble for generations. Ch'in will not be greatly weakened, and as it is situated to the west of the three Chin the three Chin are sure to give weight to Ch'i."

The Duke of Hsieh said: 'Good,' and in consequence got Han Ch'ing to go to Ch'in and caused the three states not to attack Ch'in, and caused them not to borrow troops or ask for provisions from Western Chou.