

If now you do not obey, you will make Ch'in angry. If you obey, you will make the States angry. The best plan is to obey on account of Ch'in and not use the title on account of the states. If Ch'in adopts the title and the States acquiesce, let Your Majesty also adopt the title. Whether it be done earlier or later the name of Emperor will suffer no harm. If Ch'in adopts the title but the States do not acquiesce, let Your Majesty accordingly not adopt it, so as to get (the sympathies of) the states. That will be a great help.'

Su Ch'in spoke to the king of Ch'i and said: 'If Ch'i and Ch'in set themselves up as two imperial States, does Your Majesty think that the other states will honour Ch'in or that they will honour Ch'i?' The king said: 'They will honour Ch'in.' 'If you renounce the title of Emperor, will the other states love Ch'i or will they love Ch'in?' The King said: 'They will love Ch'i and hate Ch'in.' 'If the two Emperors make a treaty to attack Chao, will that be more profitable than to attack Sung?' The King said: 'It will not be so good as to attack Sung.' He replied: 'If then you agree with Ch'in to be Emperor, the other States will only honour Ch'in and make light of Ch'i. If Ch'i renounces the title of Emperor, the other States will love Ch'i and hate Ch'in. To attack Chao is not so profitable as to attack Sung. Therefore Your servant wishes Your Majesty to renounce plainly the title of Emperor so as to accord with the States, turn your back on the agreement and reject Ch'in, do not contend for superiority with it, but let Your Majesty make use of the opportunity to seize Sung. When you possess Sung, Yang-ch'eng of Wei will be in danger. When you have (the territory) North of the Huai, the eastern part of the State of Ch'u will be in danger. When you have (the territory) West of the Chi, that part of Chao which is East of the Ho will be in danger. When you have Yin and P'ing-lu, the gates of Liang will not open. Therefore if you renounce the title of Emperor and add to it by an attack on Sung, the State will be weighty and your name will be glorious. Yen and Ch'u will submit to your prestige, the states will not dare to disobey. That is an enterprise worthy of Tang and Wu. To honour Ch'in so far as the name is concerned, but afterwards cause the states to hate it - that is what is called changing humiliation into dignity. I wish Your Majesty would give it your mature and serious consideration.'

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Su Ch'in spoke to King Min of Ch'i and said: 'Your servant has heard that in the employment of soldiers he who delights to be in front of everyone else has sorrow, when alliances are formed he who delights to be the chief object of resentment is left solitary, but he who is late to make a move has support and he who keeps resentment at a distance acts at the proper time. That is why when the sage does anything he is sure to rely on what the situation requires, and makes it his aim to begin at the proper time. Reliance on what the situation requires is the guiding principle in all things and action at the proper time is the leading principle in all affairs. Therefore there are few who without relying on what the situation requires and in opposition to the circumstances of the time are able to carry a business to completion.'

Now even kan-chiang and mo-hsieh, unless they get the strength of a man, cannot cut; a firm arrow with its sharp metal point, unless it gets the benefit of a stringed bow, cannot kill at a distance. It is not that the arrow is not sharp-pointed or that the sword is not-

keen. What then? There is no reliance on what the situation requires. How do we know that this is so? Formerly the Chao made a surprise attack on Uei. The men encamped within (the fence of) chariots did not cease to transmit urgent messages. The State of Uei sought to make peace by the sacrifice of its cities. Eight of the gates of Uei were blocked up with earth but two gates had fallen. That was the appearance of a ruined State. The prince of Uei went barefoot and announced his plight in Wei. The King of Wei himself donned his armour, whetted his sword, and challenged Chao to battle. In the midst of Han-tan there was agitation. Between the river and the mountain there was confusion. Uei, having obtained this on which to rely, ~~and~~ collecting its remaining armed men, it faced North, destroyed Kang-p'ing, and laid low the fortifications of Chung-mou. Uei was not stronger than Chao but as it were Uei was the arrow and Wei was the bow with its string. It relied on the strength of Wei and got the territory of Ho-tung. The Chao were afraid. The men of Ch'u came to the rescue of Chao and attacked Wei. They fought at Chou-hsi, came out by the gate of Liang, encamped at Lin-chung, and watered their horses in the great river. Chao, having obtained this on which to rely, also made a surprise attack on Ho-pei in Wei, burned Tsao-kou, and razed Huang-ch'ing to the ground. Thus the destruction of Kang-p'ing, the laying low of Chung-mou, the razing of Huang-ch'ing to the ground, and the burning of Tsao-kou were all not what Chao and Wei had desired. But ~~how~~ was it that the two states gave encouragement for it to be done? Because Uei saw clearly the support which comes from action at the appropriate time and in the appropriate circumstances.

Those who manage the affairs of the states in modern times are not so. Their soldiers are weak but they like to oppose those who are strong. Their State is exhausted but they like to incur the resentment of many. Their affairs are unsuccessful but they like to push them to an extremity. Their soldiers are weak but they hate to submit to others. Their territory is restricted but they like to oppose the great. Their affairs are unsuccessful but they like to take the lead in deceit. If one does these six things and yet seeks to be Hegemon it will be far from him. Your servant has heard that he who is good at the management of a State accords with the mind of the people and calculates the ability of his soldiers, and afterwards he follows undertakings among the other States. Therefore in alliances he does not for the sake of others bring resentment upon himself, in the launching of attacks he does not for the sake of others oppose a powerful (State). Thus his soldiers are not wasted, his authority is not slighted, his territory may be extended, and his desires may be accomplished.

Formerly, when Ch'i along with Han and Wei made an attack on Ch'in and Ch'u it was not excessively urgent in the war and in the division of the territory its share was not more than those of Han and Wei. Nevertheless the whole world laid the blame only on Ch'i. Why was that? Because for the sake of Han and Wei it brought the resentment upon itself. Moreover soldiers were being employed all over the world. Ch'i and Yen were at war and the Chao annexed Chung-shan. Ch'in and Ch'u were unceasingly at war with Han and Wei and Sung and Yueh employed their soldiers as they willed. These ten States were all of a mind to be at enmity among themselves and yet they fixed their thoughts only on Ch'i. Why was that? Because in alliances it liked to bring resentment upon itself, in attacks it liked to oppose a powerful (State).

Moreover, the evil to which the powerful and great are subject is

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that they always have it in mind to reign over others. The calamity to which the weak and small are subject is that they always think it profitable to scheme against others. And so great States are endangered and small States are destroyed. For a great State there is no plan so good as to be late in making a move and not lightly to attack the unjust. The support which is got by being late to make a move is that allies are numerous and soldiers are strong and so with many who are powerful you oppose a few who are exhausted. Your military might is sure to be established. If an undertaking is not contrary to the common mind its gains will certainly accrue. If a great State acts thus, fame without being snatched at will come of its own accord and its position as Hegemon will be established without any deliberate effort on its part. In the case of a small State there is no better part than cautious stillness and little confidence in the nobles. If it is cautious and still its neighbours will not turn against it. If it puts little confidence in the nobles the world will not betray it. If it is not betrayed without and is not turned against within, its stores will accumulate until they spoil without being used, its silks will rot and become worm-eaten without being worn. If a small State acts in this way it will be prosperous without praying for it and without borrowing it will have sufficient. Therefore it is said: 'He who honours benevolence will become King, he who establishes justice will become Hegemon, he who employs soldiers to the uttermost will be ruined.'

How do we know that this is so? Formerly Fu-ch'ai, king Of Wu, by his great might took the first place in the world. He surprised Ying, compelled Yüeh to seek refuge, and made the rulers of the States follow him in person. And yet in the end he was himself put to death and his State was ruined. He was disgraced throughout the world. How was it? This was the evil which came upon Fu-ch'ai because as he sat at ease he schemed to become king and in the greatness of his might he delighted to take the first place in the world.

Formerly Lai and Chü were fond of scheming. Ch'en and Ts'ai were fond of treachery. Chü relied upon Yüeh and was destroyed. Ts'ai relied upon Chin and was ruined. These were both instances of the calamity which comes from exalting treachery at home and putting confidence in the nobles abroad. Looking at it from this point of view, the evil which is to befall the strong and the weak, the great and the small, may be seen beforehand. The saying has it: 'When Ch'i-lin is in decline the jaded horse outruns it. When Meng Pen is tired out a woman overcomes him.' The strength of the sinews and bones of the jaded horse and of the woman is not superior to that of Ch'i-lin and Meng Pen. What then? They have the advantage of beginning late.

At present the States which have to do with each other do not destroy one another. If there was one which could hold back from military measures and be late in making a move, which could shift resentment on to others and punish those who were not upright, which could make slight use of military measures and put its trust in justice, the ruin of the States might be awaited on tiptoe. He who understands clearly the affairs of the nobles and investigates the contour of the land, without a treaty of alliance, without the interchange of hostages, will be firmly established. Without his hastening after success it will come quickly to him. All will serve him and there will be no rebellion. They will cut off territory in exchange and there will be no hostility between them. They will all be strong and in addition they will be friendly. How so? Because the

situation is such that they have common cause for sorrow and the soldiers hasten after gain. How do we know that this is so? Formerly Ch'i and Yen fought at the bend of the Huan. Yen was unsuccessful. Its host of a hundred thousand men was used up. The men of Hu made surprise attacks on several districts of Lou-fan in Yen and took away the oxen and horses. Now Hu and Ch'i were not usually on friendly terms, and in this use of armed force they had not made an alliance and exchanged hostages with a view to plans against Yen. Nevertheless the one hurried eagerly to the support of the other. Why was it? Because the situation was such that they had a common cause for sorrow and the soldiers hastened after gain. Looking at it from this point of view, if you make an alliance with those who are in a similar situation to your own the gain will be great. If you are late to make a move the nobles can be got to hasten in your service.

Therefore ~~a ruler~~ a Ruler and a ~~close adviser~~ Counsellor who have really made the Hegemony the aim of their ambition do not put warfare in the first place. Warfare is an injury to the State and an expense to its cities and rural districts. When this injury and expense have gone before there are few who can make the nobles follow in their train. The injury of warfare is that when the officers hear of war they make their private wealth available to enrich the camp, they make food and drink available to await the soldiers who are going to face death, they order bones to be split for cooking, they slaughter oxen and feast the soldiers. That is the way to poverty and distress. Those who remain within the State offer prayers. The prince ~~intends~~ the dead and invokes the spirits. Both in the capital and in the small district towns altars are set up. There is no market-town where other work is not stopped for the service of the king. That is a policy which empties the State. On the day after a battle the dead are to be buried and the wounded to be supported. Even if there has been a victory the army is put to expense and the people within the State are made to weep, which is a grief to the heart of its ruler. In the case of the dead households are broken up with the expenses of burial. To ease the wounded they exhaust their wealth in providing medicine. Those that are whole feast at home and make merry, to that their expense is equal to that in the case of the dead and wounded. Thus what the people spend cannot be made good from the fields in ten years.

When an army goes forth, lances and spears are snapped off, harness-rings and bow-strings are broken, crossbows are damaged, chariots are broken up, horses are exhausted, more than half the arrows are lost, of all the military equipment which is forthcoming from private houses what the soldiers and their officers hide and what the menials steal cannot be made good from the fields in ten years. There are few in all the world who can incur this expense twice and yet be able to make the nobles follow them.

As for the cost of attacking a city-the hundred surnames put in order the screens against arrows and stones, build battle chariots and ~~siege~~ siege chariots, whole families are enrolled in the ranks and dwell in holes and caves, those within are finished off with the sword and the soldiers are wearied with their labours in the earthworks, the general does not doff his armour, it requires the utmost effort to reduce the city by the date which has been fixed, those in command are tired with their instructions and the soldiers are cut off with the sword. Therefore

there are few who can subdue three cities and still be able to overcome their enemies. That is why I say that this warfare is not to be put in the first place. How do we know that this is so? Formerly Chih-po Yao attacked the Fan and Chung-hang clans, slew their princes and destroyed their States, and also in the West besieged Chin-yang. He swallowed up two States and put one ruler to grief. This was a prosperous use of military measures, and yet Chih-po in the end was himself put to death, his State was ruined, and he became the laughing-stock of the world. What was the explanation? It was the evil result of putting military measures in the first place, waging aggressive warfare, and destroying two princes.

At one time Chung-shan arose in a mass and went to meet Yen and Chao. In the South they fought at Chang-tzu where they defeated the Chao. In the North they fought at Chung-shan where they overcame the army of Yen and slew its general. Chung-shan was a State of a thousand chariots and yet it opposed two States of ten thousand chariots each, fought two battles and was successful in both. This was the highest degree in the employment of military measures. And yet the State was in consequence ruined and its prince became subject to Ch'i. Why was it? It was the evil result of not being moderate in aggressive warfare. Looking at it from this point of view the defeat which issues from aggressive warfare may be seen in bygone events.

Those in the present generation who are said to be good in the use of military measures are successful in every battle and when on their defence cannot be subdued. The world calls them good but if a State gets them and maintains them it is not to the advantage of the State. Your servant has heard concerning him who wins a great victory in battle that many of his soldiers die and his troops are weaker than before, and concerning him who when on his defence cannot be subdued that his people of the hundred surnames are exhausted and the outer fortifications of the city are exposed. When the soldiers die without and the people suffer injury within and the outer fortifications of the city are exposed to the frontiers it is no delight to the king. Now the bull's eye of a target has committed no offence against men. Yet they choose carefully their bows, they draw their crossbows, and shoot at it. He who hits the centre has done well and he who does not is ashamed. Why is it that young and old, of high and of low degree, are all of one mind to pierce it? They hate it for showing men something difficult to do. Now he who is forever waging war in which he is invariably successful and who, when on his defence, it is certain cannot be subdued, not only shows men something which is difficult to do but also inflicts injury on men. The result is that the world is sure to regard him as an enemy. Now to exhaust his soldiers, expose his State, and be much hated by the world, is not the occupation of an intelligent Prince. To make frequent use of strong military forces and so weaken them is not the business of a clear-sighted Counsellor. In the case of an intelligent Prince and a clear-sighted Counsellor the five weapons are not put in motion and yet the nobles follow, their words are humble and yet valuable presents come. Therefore in the warfare of an intelligent Prince military equipment is not brought out of the camp and yet the enemy State is overcome, battle chariots and siege chariots are not displayed and yet the cities on the frontiers submit, the officers and the people are not aware and yet the function of royalty comes to him. An intelligent Prince in his conduct of affairs uses little wealth, the days he wastes are few and far between, and yet the benefits he gains are extensive. Therefore it is said: 'If

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armies are not raised until the last the nobles can be got to hasten in one's service.'

The method of warfare about which your servant has heard does not involve the use of soldiers. Although there were an army of a million men, they might be defeated in your hall. Although there were generals like Ho-lü and Wu-ch'i, they might be captured within doors. A city wall of a thousand chang might be uprooted at the festive board. A war chariot a ~~cent~~ hundred feet high might be broken ~~off~~ between the ~~bed-clothes~~ bed-clothes, therefore without interrupting the music of bells, drums, pipes, and lutes, the territory might be extended and your desires might be achieved. Without any cessation of the laughter of singers and actors and clowns, the nobles might be got to come to you on the same day. Therefore ~~if~~ your reputation might match Heaven and Earth but it would not be too high an honour, your gain might be to control all within the seas but it would not be too great. Therefore to be good at the exercise of royal functions lies in causing all others to toil while you yourself are at ease, in setting all others in confusion while you yourself are at rest. If the nobles have no settled plans your own State will have no lasting sorrow. How may it be known that this is so? When in our case there are ease and orderly government and in the case of all others there are toil and confusion, that is the way of kingship. ~~If~~ Sharp-pointed weapons come but we ward them off, ~~if~~ Danger arrives we turn it aside. If the nobles have no settled plans our own State will have no lasting sorrow. How may it be known that this is so? Formerly the territory of the King of Wei embraced a thousand li. His armed men numbered three hundred and sixty thousand. Relying upon his might he reduced Han-tan, in the West, he besieged Ting-yang and led twelve nobles to the court of the Son of Heaven in pursuance of his schemes in the West against Ch'in. The King of Ch'in was afraid of him. He could not sleep in peace nor could he enjoy his food. He gave orders within the frontiers that in all the walled cities weapons of war were to be got ready, that ~~the~~ ~~frontiers~~ ~~should~~ ~~be~~ ~~kept~~ ~~at~~ ~~the~~ ~~frontiers~~, and that ~~the~~ ~~generals~~ ~~should~~ ~~be~~ ~~appointed~~ ~~over~~ ~~soldiers~~ ~~resolved~~ ~~to~~ ~~do~~ ~~or~~ ~~to~~ ~~die~~. And so he awaited the Wei. Uei Yang took counsel with the King of Ch'in and said: 'The achievements of the Wei are great and their commands have free course throughout the world. They have twelve nobles and with them have paid homage to the Son of Heaven. Their allies are sure to be numerous. Therefore if we oppose the great State of Wei with Ch'in alone it is to be feared that we shall be no match for it. Why does not Your Majesty send your servant to interview the King of Wei? Then your servant asks permission beyond doubt to defeat Wei.' The King of Ch'in consented. Uei Yang had an interview with the King of Wei and said: 'Your Majesty's achievements are great. Your commands have free course throughout the world. Now the twelve nobles whom Your Majesty has caused to follow in your train, if they are not those of Sung and Uei, are those of Tsou, Lu, Ch'ên, and Ts'ai. These are indeed those whom Your Majesty has flogged into obedience. They will not suffice to make you King over the whole world. Your Majesty's best plan is in the North to take Yen and in the East to attack Ch'i. Then Chao will be sure to follow you. In the West take Ch'in and in the South attack Ch'u. Then Han will be sure to follow you. If Your Majesty has it in mind to attack Ch'i and Ch'u and aims at making all the world follow you, your ambition to exercise royal sway will be manifest. Your Majesty's best plan is first to don the royal robes and afterwards make your plans against Ch'i and Ch'u.' The King

of Wei was pleased with Uei Yang's words. So he enlarged his own palace, arrayed himself in the red garments of dignity, set up the nine banners, and followed a seven-starred flag. These belonged to the throne of the Son of Heaven but the King of Wei made them his own. Thereupon Ch'i and Ch'u were wroth, the nobles hastened to Ch'i, the men of Ch'i attacked Wei, slew its heir-apparent, and overthrew its army of a hundred thousand men. The King of Wei was in great fear. He went barefoot, ceased military operations in the State, and went to the East where he became subordinate to Ch'ei. Then at last the world left him alone.

At that time the King of Ch'in let fall his robes, folded his hands, received the lands beyond Hsi-ho, but was not under any obligation of gratitude to the King of Wei. Therefore I say that when Uei Yang began to form plans with the King of Ch'in, they consulted about alliances without coming down from their seats, they talked at the festive board, and before their policy was perfected on the dais of the hall the general of Wei had already been captured by Ch'i. No display was made of battle and siege chariots but the lands beyond Ho-hsi came under the rule of Ch'in. This is what your servant called inflicting defeat in the hall, capturing a general within doors, uprooting a city at the festive board, and breaking battle chariots between the bed-clothes."

CH'I VI

1) Among the people who dwelt outside the walls of (the capital of) Ch'i was a certain Hu Hsian who was straightforward in his criticisms. King Min beheaded him at the crossroads of T'an. The hundred surnames ceased to be attached to him. Ch'eh Chü, a member of a family sprung from a grandson of a king of Ch'i, was direct in speech. He put him to death at Tung-lü. The hearts of the members of the Royal Family were alienated from him. Ssü-ma Jang-chü was in charge of the government. He put him to death. The great ministers were estranged from him. Because of this Yen raised troops and sent the prince of Ch'ang-kuo at their head to smite him. Ch'i sent Hsiang-tzu at the head of a force to withstand them. The army of Ch'i was broken. Hsiang-tzu fled with a single chariot. Ta-tzu collected the soldiers that remained and roused them again to do battle with Yen. He asked for a reward. King Min was not willing to give it him. The army was broken and fled. The King took refuge in Chü. Nao Ch'ih reprimanded him, saying: 'Between Ch'ien-Ch'ing and Po-ch'ang, over an area of several hundred li square, it has rained blood in such quantity that garments were soaked in it. Did Your Majesty know about it?' The King said: 'I did not know.' 'Between Ying and Po the earth has split open right to the springs. Did Your Majesty know about it?' The King said: 'I did not know.' 'There have been men at the gate of your palace weeping. When we sought them we could not get them. When we went away we could hear their voices. Did Your Majesty know about it?' The King said: 'I did not know.' Nao Ch'ih said: 'When Heaven rained blood in such quantity that garments were soaked in it, that was heaven accusing you. When the Earth split open right to the springs, that was Earth accusing you. When there were men at your palace gate weeping, that was Man accusing you. Heaven, Earth, and Man have all accused you and yet Your Majesty does not know to take warning. How can it be that you should not be put to death?' Thereupon he slew King Min in the Ku ward.

The heir-apparent then changed his attire and fled to the home of the grand-historiographer where he was employed to water the garden. (She who afterwards became) Queen, the Lady Hou, who was a daughter of the grand-historiographer, knew that he was a man of high rank, and treated