8)
King Chien of Ch'i was about to go to pay homage in Ch'in. The Master of the Horse at the Yung gate came forward and said: 'Is a King put on the throne for the sake of the altars or for the sake of the King himself?' The King said: 'For the sake of the altars.' The Master of the Horse said 'If a King is set on the throne for the sake of the altars, why does Your Majesty leave the altars and enter Ch'in?' The King of Ch'in turned his chariot and came back.

When the Governor of Chi-mo heard that the Master of the Horse at the Yung gate had remonstrated and had been listened to, he considered that he might be advised. So he entered, and had an interview with the King of Ch'i, and said: 'The territory of Ch'i is several thousand li square. It has several million armed men. Now the great officers of the three Chin are all ill disposed towards Ch'in and those between O and Chüan are a hundred in number. If Your Majesty receives them and gives them a host of a million men, causing them to recover the ancient territory of the three Chin, the pass of Lin-chin may be entered. The great officers of Yen and Ying who do not wish to act on behalf of Ch'in and are beneath the city wall on the South are a hundred in number. If Your Majesty receives them and gives them an army of a million men, causing them to recover the ancient territory of Ch'u, the pass of Wu may be entered. In this way the prestige of Ch'i may be established and the State of Ch'in may be ruined. To renounce the giving of commands as you face South and to face West in the service of Ch'in is what I do not accept on Your Majesty's behalf.'

The King of Ch'i paid no heed. Ch'in sent Ch'ên Ch'ih to entice the King of Ch'i to enter, agreeing to give him five hundred li of territory. The King of Ch'i did not listen to the Governor of Chi-mo but listened to Ch'ên Ch'ih, and so he went to Ch'in. He was placed in Kung among the pine trees and the cypress trees where he died of hunger. Before he died, Ch'i made a song about him, saying: 'Pine trees! Cypress trees! He who settled Chien in Kung was the visitor!'

Because of the disorders connected with Prince Nao, Ch'i was hostile to Ch'in. Afterwards Ch'in wished to win Ch'i over and so sent Su Chüan to Ch'u and ordered Jên Ku to go to Ch'i. Ch'i Ming spoke to the King of Ch'u and said: 'The King of Ch'in wants Ch'u not as much as he wants Ch'i. He has sent Chüan in order to show Ch'i that he has (the friendship of) Ch'u and so support Ku in Ch'i. Ch'i, watching Ch'u, will be sure to receive Ku. That is, Your Majesty by listening to Chüan will just be helping Ku to hasten the agreement between Ch'i and Ch'in. For Ch'i and Ch'in to be in agreement will not be to the advantage of Ch'u. Moreover the words with which Chüan comes to Ch'u are certainly not the words with which Ku has gone to Ch'i. Your Majesty's best plan is to send someone with the words with which Chüan has come to Ch'u so as to make Ku seem deceptive in Ch'i. Ch'i and Ch'in will be sure not to make an agreement. If Ch'i and Ch'in do not make an agreement Your Majesty will have weight. If Your Majesty wishes to take Ch'i along with you to attack Ch'in, Han-chung may be obtained. And if Your Majesty wishes to use Ch'in to attack Ch'i, (the lands) between the Huai and the Ssŭ also may be obtained.'

CH'U 1.

1)The relations between Ch'i and Ch'u were difficult. Sung asked permission to remain neutral. Ch'i ~~through people to Sung~~ on Sung and Sung consented. Tzŭ-hsiang spoke to the King of Sung on behalf of Ch'u and said: 'Ch'u has lost Sung because of its delay. It is about to copy

Ch'i's urgency. Ch'i has got Sung by means of its urgency. Your position will afterwards be one of constant urgency. That is, to follow Ch'i and attack Ch'u is of doubtful advantage. If Ch'i is successful in battle against Ch'u, the position will certainly be dangerous for Sung. If it is unsuccessful, you will be opposing powerful Ch'u with feeble Sung. And if you make two States each of ten thousand chariots to be all the time urgent in seeking what they desire, the State is sure to be in danger.'

2)

The five States made an alliance to attack Ch'in. Chao Yang spoke to the King of Ch'u and said: 'When the five States have smashed Ch'in they will certainly plot against Ch'u in the South.' The King said: 'Then what is to be done?' He replied: 'Han is a State essential to your support. It is fond of gain and hates hardship. Being fond of gain it may be managed. Hating hardship it may be made to fear. If we bribe it liberally for its gain, its aims can certainly be managed. If we threaten it with all our troops it can certainly be made afraid at heart. If it is afraid of our armies and its love of gain has been worked upon, the enterprise of the five States may certainly be defeated. After the treaty has been broken off, although we do not give any territory, it will be all right.'

The King of Ch'u said: 'Good' and ordered his great official in charge of State affairs to go to Han. He had an interview with Kung Chung and said: 'The affair of Niu-lan and the troubles at Ma-ling have been seen by your King himself. If your King does not engage in military operations along with the five States, we ask permission to offer five specified cities, we ask permission to assemble the host of Ch'u and make plans with respect to Ch'i.'

When the men of Ch'i had turned against Chao and Wei, Ch'u as a matter of fact did not give the (promised) lands, and the enterprise of the five States was embarrassed.

3)

King Hsüan asked his assembled ministers, saying: 'I hear that in the North they are afraid of Chao Hsi-hsü. How indeed is this?' None of the other ministers replying, Chiang I replied and said: "A tiger was seeking among the common animals for its food. It got a fox. The fox said: 'You dare not eat me, sir. The Emperor of Heaven has made me king of the common animals. If now, sir, you eat me, it will be going against the Emperor of Heaven's command. If you think I am not to be believed, I will go in front of you. You, sir, follow me and watch whether when the common animals see me they dare not to run away.' The tiger agreed and so went on in its company. When the animals saw them they all ran away. The tiger did not know that it was because the animals were afraid of itself that they ran away, but thought it was because they were afraid of the fox. Now Your Majesty's territory is five thousand li square. Your armed men number a million. And you hand all over to Chao Hsi-hsü. Therefore in the North they are afraid of Chao Hsi-hsü because really they are afraid of Your Majesty's soldiers, just as the common animals were afraid of the tiger."

4)

Chao Hsi-hsü argued with the Prince of P'êng-ch'êng in the presence of the King. The King summoned Chiang I and enquired of him. Chiang I said: 'Both men's words are good. Your servant does not venture to speak after them.' This is what is called being concerned for men of worth.

5) [illegible] the difficulties at Han-tan, Chao Hsi-hsü spoke to the King of Ch'u [illegible] said: 'Your Majesty's best plan is not to receive Chao and to [illegible]

strengthen Wei. When Wei is strong it will be sure to cut deeply into Chao. Chao will be unable to obey and so will defend itself firmly. That is, both will be exhausted.' Ching Shê said: 'Not so. Chao Hsi-hsü does not understand. In its attack on Chao, Wei is afraid of an attack by Ch'u in its rear. Now you do not relieve Chao. Chao looks like being ruined. And Wei has no anxiety about Ch'u. That is, both Ch'u and Wei are attacking Chao. Its injury will indeed be profound. How will they both be exhausted? Moreover, if Wei makes its army cut deeply into Chao, and Chao sees that it looks like being ruined and knows that Ch'u is not relieving it, it will be sure to make an agreement with Wei and plan only with it against Ch'u. Your Majesty's best plan, therefore, is to send forthwith few soldiers for the support of Chao. Chao, relying on the strength of Ch'u, will be sure to join battle with Wei. Wei, angry at Chao's stiff resistance and seeing that the help from Ch'u is not enough to be feared, will be sure not to let Chao go. If Chao and Wei are both exhausted and Ch'i and Ch'in respond to Ch'u, Wei may be smashed.'

~~Ch'u Chao She~~ accordingly made Ching Shê raise troops for the deliverance of Chao. Han-tan was taken. Ch'u took (the lands) between the Hui and the Wei.

6)

Chiang I wished to make Chao Hsi-hsü disliked by the King of Ch'u but his influence was not strong enough. He therefore asked for a fief in Ch'u on behalf of the Prince of Shan-yang in Liang. The King of Ch'u said: 'So be it.' Chao Hsi-hsü said: 'The prince of Shan-yang has rendered no service to the State of Ch'u. He does not deserve a fief.' So Chiang I got the Prince of Shan-yang ~~[illegible]~~ with himself to make Chao Hsi-hsü disliked. The House of Wei spoke evil of Chao Hsi-hsü to the King of Ch'u. The King of Ch'u informed Chao-tzŭ. Chao-tzŭ said: 'Your servant morning and evening serves in obedience to your commands but Wei comes in between our relationship as prince and minister. Your servant is very much afraid. It is not that your servant is afraid of Wei. The kind of man who trifles with our connection as prince and minister so that our estrangement is generally believed is not far off from being a (source of) bitterness. If he makes no difficulty about doing that abroad will he forget to do it at home? Your servant may be considered any day as having given offence.' The King said: 'I ~~understand it~~ know about it. What need is there for you to be troubled, sir?'

7)

Chiang I disliked Chao Hsi-hsü. He spoke to the King of Ch'u and said: 'There was a man who was fond of his dog because he thought it was a good guard. His dog made water in the well. His neighbour saw the dog make water in the well. He wanted to go in and speak about it. The dog disliked him and bit him in the doorway. The neighbour was afraid of it and so he was unable to go in and speak. In the difficulties at Han-tan Ch'u sent an army forward. Ta-liang was taken. Chao Hsi-hsü took the treasures of Wei. Because your servant dwelt in Wei I knew about it. Therefore Chao Hsi-hsü always dislikes your servant to have an interview with Your Majesty.'

8)

Chiang I wished to make Chao Hsi-hsü disliked in Ch'u. He spoke to the King of Ch'u and said: 'When inferiors form combinations for mutual help superiors are in danger. When inferiors are divided in rivalry superiors are at rest. And does your Majesty know this? I wish Your Majesty not to forget it. Moreover here is a man who desires to publish what he has seen in other men. How is he with your Majesty?' The King said: 'That is a

superior man. Give him access.' Chiang I said:'There is a man who likes to publish what is evil in other men. How is he with Your Majesty?' The King said:'That is a small man. Keep him at a distance.' Chiang I said: 'Yes, then here is a son who kills his father, a minister who murders his prince, and yet after all Your Majesty does not know about it. How is that? It is because Your Majesty likes to hear of men's excellences and dislikes to hear of their evil.' The King said:'Good. I wish to hear both.'

9)

Chiang I spoke with the Prince of An-ling and said:'Your Highness did not possess a foot of territory. You had no family connections. Yet you occupy an honourable position and you receive liberal emoluments. Of all the people in the State there is no one who, when he sees Your Highness, does not bow respectfully and submit obsequiously to you. How is that?' He said:'The King has promoted me beyond my due. That is all. Otherwise I should not have attained to this.' Chiang I said:'If a relationship is based on wealth, when the wealth is used up the relationship is broken off. If a relationship is based on beauty, when the flower falls the affection is changed. That is why a favourite wife does not wear out the bed and a favourite minister does not withdraw his carriage. Now Your Highness has usurped the power in the State of Ch'u and yet you have nothing with which to bind yourself closely to the King. I presume on behalf of your Highness to feel the position to be dangerous.' The Prince of An-ling said:'When what is to be done?' Chiang I said:'I wish Your Highness to ask insistently to follow (the King) in death, that you may be buried with him.' He said:'I respectfully receive your command.'

Three years went by but he said nothing. Chiang I had another interview and said:'From what your servant said to Your Highness, up to now, there has been no result. If Your Highness does not use your servant's plan, your servant asks permission that he may not venture to see you again.' The Prince of An-ling said:'I do not venture to forget your words, sir. I have not yet had an opportunity.' By and bye the King of Ch'u was making an excursion in Yün-mêng. There were a thousand chariots each with its team of four horses. The banners and flags hid the sun. The fires in the wilds rose like the rainbow in the clouds. The roars of the buffaloes and tigers sounded like thunder-claps. There was a wild buffalo which came right up to the chariot wheel. The King himself bent his bow and shot it, killing it with a single shot. The King took out a curved flagstaff with an ox-tail for a pennant and, pressing it down on the buffalo's head, he looked up to heaven and laughed, saying:'Delightful, to-day's outing! Who will share this delight with me after my death?' The Prince of An-ling, weeping copiously, came forward and said:'Your servant, when he enters, sits on an adjoining mat, when he goes out, accompanies your chariot. After Your Majesty's death I wish to make trial myself of the yellow springs and protect you from the mole-crickets and ants. And how may I get this delight in which to rejoice?' The King was very pleased and enfeoffed Ch'an as the Prince of An-ling.

When superior men heard of it they said:'Chiang I may be said to have been good at forming plans. The Prince of An-ling may be said to have known the proper time.'

10)

Chiang I went for Wei on a mission to Ch'u. He spoke to the King of Ch'u and said:'When your servant entered at the frontier I heard that it was the custom in Ch'u not to hide what was good in men and not to speak of their evil. Is this really so?' The King said:'It is really so.' Chiang I said:'In that case could the Duke of Pai's rebellion have failed? If it is

really like this your ministers' offences will escape punishment.' The King said:'How so?' Chiang I said:"The Marquis of Chou is Counsellor in Ch'u with very great dignity, and monopolizes the power. Your attendants all say:'There is no one like him' as if with a single voice."

11)
A man of Ying had a lawsuit which lasted three years and still was not decided. So he got a man to ask for his house in order to find out whether he was regarded as guilty or not. This man accordingly spoke about it to Chao Hsi-hsü and said:'Your servant wishes to have the house of So-and-So of Ying.' Chao Hsi-hsü said:'So-and-so of Ying has not been judged guilty. His house therefore is not to be had.' The visitor excused himself and was going away. Then Chao Hsi-hsü regretted what he had said, and so he spoke to the visitor, saying:'I am able to serve you, sir. Why did you try a trick on me?' The visitor said:'I did not use a trick.' He said:'Although you did not get what you requested you had a pleased expression. If there was not a trick how was that?'

12)
Ch'êng Hun went out from Chou. Three men journeyed together and wandered South to Ch'u. When they came to Hsin-ch'eng, Ch'êng Hun spoke to the governor and said:'Chêng and Wei are feeble States compared with Ch'u but Ch'in is Ch'u's equal in might. Chêng and Wei are weak and yet Ch'u responds to them with Shang-liang. I-yang is great. Ch'u besets it with weak Hsin-ch'êng. P'u-fan and P'ing-yang are a hundred li apart. If the men of Ch'in surprise them in a single night, An-i will not know. Hsin-ch'êng and Shang-liang are five hundred li apart. If the men of Ch'in surprise it in a single night, Shang-liang also will not know. Now what the border towns rely on are not Chiang-nan and Ssŭ-shang. Then why does not the King of Ch'u make Hsin-ch'êng a leading prefecture? That would be a great gain to the border towns.'

The governor of Hsin-ch'êng was very pleased. So he made ready for him a carriage with a team of four horses and five hundred (chin) of silver and sent him to Ch'u. Ch'êng Hun got this and proceeded South to communicate with Ch'u. The King of Ch'u as a result made Hsin-ch'êng a leading prefecture.

13)
Kung-shu of Han had Ch'i and Wei and the heir-presumptive had Ch'u and Ch'in in their dispute about the State. Chêng Shên went for Ch'u on an embassy to Han and, pretending that he had the King's authority, he gave Hsin-ch'êng and Yang-jen to the heir-presumptive. The King of Ch'u was wroth and was about to punish him. He replied:'Your servant gave them on the pretence of your authority for the sake of the State. Your servant got Hsin-ch'êng and Yang-jen for the heir-presumptive so as to contend with Kung-shu about the State and get it. Ch'i and Wei are sure to attack Han. The Han will be in straits and will certainly depend for their life upon Ch'u. And how will they dare to ask for Hsin-ch'êng and Yang-jen? If the heir-presumptive is unsuccessful but does not die, he will now doff his hat and come to us. And how will he dare to talk about lands?' The King of Ch'u said:'Good' and so he did not punish him.

14)
Tu Ho of Ch'u spoke to the King of Ch'u about receiving Chao (into alliance) The King said:'Make him a great officer of the fifth rank and ~~make~~ him go in his private capacity.' Ch'ên Chên spoke to the King of Ch'u and said: 'If Ho cannot get Chao, He ought not to receive the title of great officer of the fifth rank. It is giving a reward without merit. If he gets Chao, and ~~Your majesty has nothing to add, it will be as if he had.~~

Your Majesty has nothing to add, it will be (as if he had done) nothing good. Your Majesty's best plan is to send him with ten chariots, and if the business is accomplished, then make him a great officer of the fifth rank.' The King said: 'Good' and sent him with ten chariots. Tu Ho was angry and did not go. Ch'ên Chêh spoke to the King and said: 'It is because he cannot get Chao.'

15)

The King of Ch'u enquired of Fan Huan, saying: 'I wish to appoint a Counsellor in Ch'in. Who is most suitable?' He replied: 'Your servant is not competent to know.' The King said: 'If I make Kan Mou Counsellor, is he suitable?' Fan Huan replied: 'He is not.' The King said: 'Why?' He said: 'Shih Chu was a warden of the gate in Shang-ts'ai. In things great he did not know how to serve his prince. In things small he did not know how to dwell at home. He was heard of in his generation through incorruption in insignificant matters. Kan Mou served him and was obedient. Therefore although King Hui was intelligent, King Wu was closely observant, and Chang I was fond of slander, Kan Mou served them, took ten offices and yet gave no offence. Kan Mou is indeed a man of worth. Nevertheless he ought not to be made Counsellor in Ch'in. For Ch'in to have a worthy Counsellor is not profitable for the State of Ch'u. Moreover Your Majesty employed Hua in Yüeh and brought about the difficulties of Chü-chang and Mei. Yüeh was in confusion and so Ch'u in the South kept watch over Lai-hu and made Chiang-tung its own waste lands. In reckoning up Your Majesty's achievements, the reason you were able to do this was that Yüeh was in confusion and Ch'u was well governed. Now Your Majesty has already used this with respect to Yüeh and yet you forget to use it with respect to Ch'in. Your servant thinks that Your Majesty has very quickly forgotten. If Your Majesty wishes to appoint a Counsellor in Ch'in, one like Kung-sun Ho is suitable. Kung-sun Ho is on intimate terms with the King of Ch'in. When he was little he shared clothes with him. When he grew up he shared his chariot. He wore the royal robes and presided over affairs (of State). He is of a truth the one whom Your Majesty should appoint. If Your Majesty makes him Counsellor, it will be a great gain to the State of Ch'u.'

16)

Su Ch'in in the interests of Chao was forming an alliance of North and South. He spoke to King Wei of Ch'u and said: 'Ch'u is the most powerful State under heaven. Your Majesty is the best King under heaven. The territory of Ch'u in the West has Ch'ien-chung and Wu-chün. In the East it has Hsia-chou and Hai-yang. In the South it has Tung-t'ing and Ts'ang-wu. In the North it has the the frontiers of the Fên and (Mt) Hsing and Hsün-yang. Its territory is five thousand li square. Its armed men are a million, its chariots a thousand, its horsemen ten thousand. Its grain is sufficient for ten years. These are the qualifications of a Hegemon. With the might of Ch'u and Your Majesty's virtue and talents there is none under heaven who can withstand you. And if now you wish to face West and serve Ch'in, there will be none of the nobles who will not face South and pay homage below Chang-t'ai. There is no State under heaven from which Ch'in fears danger so much as from Ch'u. If Ch'u is strong, Ch'in will be weak. If Ch'u is weak, Ch'in will be strong. So the position is that they cannot both stand. Therefore to make the best plan for Your Majesty there is nothing equal to forming friendly relations between North and South so as to isolate Ch'in. If Your Majesty does not form friendly relations between North and South, Ch'in will be sure to raise two armies. One army will come out at Wu-kuan. One army will come down by Ch'ien-chung. If this happens, Yen and Ying will be in commotion. Your servant has heard

that things should be regulated before they become disorderly, that preparations should be made before the need occurs. If danger comes and only afterwards you are concerned about it, you will not be able to catch up to it. Therefore I wish Your Majesty would make your plans early. If Your Majesty really can listen to your servant, I ask permission to make the States East of the mountains present their offerings at the four seasons in acknowledgment of Your Majesty's clear-sighted government, and commit to you their altars of the soil and grain and their ancestral temples. Their well-drilled and keen soldiers will be for Your Majesty to employ. If Your Majesty really can listen to your servant's ignorant plan, the skilful musicians and beautiful women of Han, Wei, Ch'i, Yen, Chao, and Wei will certainly fill the apartments at the rear of your palace, the fine horses and camels of Yen and Tai will certainly fill your stables without. Therefore if an alliance is made of North and South, Ch'u will become a royal State; if an alliance is completed between East and West, Ch'in will become an imperial State. Now to let slip the function of Hegemon and have the reputation of serving another- your servant presumes on Your Majesty's behalf not to accept it.

Ch'in is a State like a tiger or a wolf. It has a mind to swallow up all under heaven. It is the enemy of all under heaven. Those who advocate an alliance of East and West all wish to surrender the nobles' territory in order to serve Ch'in. This is what is called feeding an enemy and nourishing a foe. Those who are ministers and yet surrender their lords' territory to make an alliance abroad with the powerful tigerlike and wolflike Ch'in so as to encroach on the world have no regard for the evil consequences when suddenly there is danger from Ch'in. To rely abroad on the prestige of powerful Ch'in so that at home they may plunder their lord in seeking to surrender his territory—there is no great rebellion and disloyalty to surpass this. Therefore if an alliance is made of North and South, the nobles will surrender territory to serve Ch'u; if an agreement is made between East and West, Ch'u will surrender territory to serve Ch'in. These two policies are immeasurably removed from each other. On which of the two does Your Majesty settle? Therefore the King of our humble town of Chao has sent your servant to present this ignorant plan and respectfully to offer a clear-sighted alliance. It is for Your Majesty to command.'

The King of Ch'u said: 'My State adjoins Ch'in on the West. Ch'in has a mind to take Pa and Shu and to annex Han-chung. Ch'in is a tigerlike and wolflike State. It is impossible to have friendly relations with it. And Han and Wei are hard pressed with danger from Ch'in. It is impossible to become deeply involved in plans with them for fear they turn against me and go in with Ch'in. Therefore before my plans have gone forth the State is already in danger. I myself reckon that if I oppose Ch'u to Ch'in I shall not be successful. If at home I consult with my ministers they are unreliable. When I wish to sleep I am restless, when I eat I do not relish my food. My heart is agitated like a fluttering flag and never rests. Now Your Highness wishes to unite all under heaven and give rest to the nobles and preserve the States which are in danger. I respectfully offer my altars and follow with them.'

17) Chang I in the interests of Ch'in was breaking up the alliance of North and South and forming an alliance of East and West. He spoke to the King of Ch'u and said: 'The territory of Ch'in is half the world. Its army is a match for that of four States. It is protected by mountains and engirdled by rivers. On all four sides it has strong frontiers. Its tigerlike vigorous soldiers are more than a million. It has a thousand chariots and ten thousand horsemen. It has grain piled up like

mountains. Its statutes are clear. Its soldiers are at ease in hardship and rejoice in death. Its lord is majestically intelligent. Its generals are wise in war. Even though an army is not sent forth it can roll up the dangerous places of Mt Ch'ang like a mat and break the back of the world. Those in the world who are the last to submit will be the first to perish. Moreover to make an alliance of North and South is no different from driving a flock of sheep to attack a fierce tiger. That a tiger and sheep are not in the same class is obvious. Now Your Majesty does not join with the fierce tiger but joins with the flock of sheep. I presume to consider that Your Majesty's policy is mistaken.

The most powerful State in all the world—if it is not Ch'in it is Ch'u, if it is not Ch'u it is Ch'in. When two States exactly equal contend with each other the position is such that they cannot both stand. And yet Your Majesty does not join with Ch'in. If Ch'in sends down an army to take possession of I-yang, the upper territory of Han will not be accessible. If it goes down to Ho-tung, and takes Ch'êng-kao, Han will be sure to give in its submission to Ch'in. If Han gives in its submission to Ch'in, Wei will be moved accordingly. If Ch'in attacks the West of Ch'u and Han and Wei attack its North, how can the altars not be in danger? Moreover, to make an alliance of North and South is to assemble a flock of weaklings and attack the supremely strong. But to attack the strong by means of the weak, not to estimate the foe but to go lightly into battle, although the State is poor, suddenly to raise troops—that is a policy of danger and ruin. Your servant has heard: 'When your soldiers are unequal do not challenge to war, when your grain is unequal do not hold out long.' Those who are making the alliance of North and South trick out their arguments and speak vain words. They exalt their lord's conduct as appropriate to the circumstances. They speak of the advantages but they do not speak of the dangers of their policy. When suddenly there is danger from Ch'in, they can do nothing equal to the occasion. For this reason I wish Your Majesty to give your plans mature consideration.

Ch'in on the West has Pa and Shu. If they fasten boats side by side and pile them up with grain, beginning at Mt Wên and coming down the course of the Chiang, they can get to Ying, more than three thousand li. If they fasten boats side by side and load them with soldiers, each pair of boats carrying fifty men and provisions for three months, and they float downstream, in one day they can travel more than three hundred li. Although the number of li is great, they do not expend the toil of sweating horses. In less than ten days they can reach Han-kuan. Han-kuan will be alarmed. Then from Ching-ling eastwards all the cities will be held. Ch'ien-chung and Wu-chün will no longer be Your Majesty's possessions. If Ch'in raises armed forces and sends them out by Wu-kuan southwards to the attack, the territory in the North will be cut off. If the soldiers of Ch'in attack Ch'u, its danger and difficulty will be within three months. And if Ch'u relies on deliverance by the nobles, that will not come for more than half a year. To that extent they will fail to come up to the exigencies of the situation. Relying on deliverance from weak States and forgetting the evils from the might of Ch'in—this is what causes your servant to be distressed on Your Majesty's behalf.

Moreover Your Majesty has fought five battles with the men of Wu, being successful in three and bringing ruin upon it. The soldiers in the ranks are used up. You persist in defending Hsin-ch'êng and the population are suffering bitterly. Your servant has heard: 'He who attacks one who is great is easily endangered, and when the people are exhausted they are resentful towards their superiors.' To hold on to an attempt which may

easily bring danger and to oppose the intentions of powerful Ch'in—your servant presumes to think on Your Majesty's behalf that this is dangerous.

Moreover the reason Ch'in has not sent an army out at the frontier pass of Hsien-ku for fifteen years to attack the nobles is that it has been making secret plans in its intention to swallow up the world. Ch'u has already been involved in difficulties with Ch'in and fought at Han-chung. The men of Ch'u were unsuccessful. Of those who had the right of access to the Marquis holding their jade emblems of office there were more than seventy men who died. And so Han-chung was lost. The King of Ch'u was very wroth. He raised troops for a surprise attack on Ch'in. He fought at Lan-t'ien and again had to retreat. That is what is called two tigers fighting with each other. For Ch'in and Ch'u to be both exhausted and Han and Wei with their forces entire to overpower them in the rear—there is no policy more dangerous than that. For this reason I wish Your Majesty would give the subject your mature consideration.

If Ch'in sends down soldiers to attack Yung-chin in Uei, it will certain have serious consequences at the heart of the world. If Your Majesty raises all your soldiers to attack Sung, before many months Sung may be taken. If you take Sung and then direct your course eastwards, the twelve nobles on the Ssu will all be Your Majesty's. Su Ch'in, who was believed by the whole world to be firm in support of the alliance of North and South, was enfeoffed as Prince of Wu-an, and became Counsellor in Yen. He secretly plotted with the King of yen to break up Ch'i and divide its territory with him. So he pretended to have committed an offence and fled into Ch'i. The King of Ch'i in consequence received him and made him Counsellor. He dwelt there two years and then the plan became known. The King of Ch'i was very wroth and tore Su Ch'in apart with chariots in the market-place. It is clear therefore that the employment of that deceitful and unstable Su Ch'in with a desire to manage the world could not succeed in deceiving even a single noble. Now Ch'in and Ch'u have adjoining frontiers. The situation is indeed such that they ought to be on intimate terms. If Your Majesty really can listen to your servant, your servant asks that the heir-apparent of Ch'in may come as a hostage to Ch'u and that the heir-apparent of Ch'u may go as a hostage to Ch'in, and ask that a daughter of Ch'in may be Your Majesty's concubine with dustpan and broom, and offer a city of ten thousand households to supply your private needs, that we may long be brother States, all our lives making no attack on each other. Your servant thinks there is no policy more advantageous than this. Therefore from our unworthy town the King of Ch'in has sent your servant as an envoy to present a document to those who follow the wind beneath Your Majesty's carriage, in the hope that the matter may be decided.'

The King of Ch'u said: 'Ch'u is an obscure and mean State resting on the eastern sea. I myself am young and am not skilled in far-reaching policies for the state. Now happily you, my exalted guest, have instructed me as to intelligent government. I have heard it and respectfully follow with my State.' Then he sent messengers with a hundred carriages to present a 'fowls frightened' goblet and a 'night light' gem to the King of Ch'in.

18)

Chang I was Counsellor in Ch'in. He spoke to Chao Sui and said: 'If

Ch'u had not Yen, Ying, and Han-chung, are there any other places they could get in their stead?' He said:'There are not.' He said:'If it had not Chao Kuo and Ch'ên Chên, are there any others it could get in their stead?! He said:'There are no others to be got in their stead.' Chang I said:'Speak for me to the King of Ch'u that he drive out Chao Kuo and Ch'ên Chên and I will ask to return Yen, Ying, and Han-chung.' Chao Sui went back and reported this to the King of Ch'u. The King of Ch'u was pleased with the suggestion. There was someone who spoke to Chao Kuo and said:"How unobservant the King of Ch'u is with respect to one who is striving for fame! Han asked that Kung Ch'ên Chi be made Counsellor, but Chou would not listen. Wei asked that Ch'i Wu-hui be made Counsellor, but Chou would not listen. Why was that? Chou said:'It is treating me merely as an equal.' Now Ch'u is a powerful State of ten thousand chariots. His Majesty is the most capable ruler in the world. Now (Chang)I says:'Drive out Your Highness along with Ch'ên Chên.' and His Majesty listens to him. That is, Ch'u does not equal Chou in its treatment of itself, and (Chang)I has more weight than the Kings of Han and Wei. Moreover, the State with which (Chang)I acts so as to get a famous reputation is Ch'in, that through which he wishes to get dignity and wealth is Wei. He wishes to make an attack on Wei, and must therefore make an assault in the South on Ch'u. There is therefore a method in his attack. Abroad, he breaks off its connections. At home, he drives out its advisers. Ch'ên Chên is a great man, practised in the affairs of the three Chin. Therefore he drives him out. Ch'u then has no adviser. Now Your Highness is able to employ the hosts of Ch'u. Therefore he also drives you out. Then the hosts of Ch'u cannot be employed. This is what is called an attack from within. And yet the King does not know how to look into it. Now why does not Your Highness obtain an interview for me with the King? Allow me on behalf of the King to cause the connection with Ch'i not to be broken off. If the connection with Ch'i is not broken off, and (Chang)I hears of it, he will certainly delay to hand over Yen, Ying, and Han-chung. In that case Chao Sui's words will not be verified and the King will certainly take no notice of him."

19)

King Wei asked the mo-ao Tzŭ-hua, saying:'From my predecessor King Wên until my unworthy self have there been any who have grieved for the altars of the soil and grain without the encouragement of rank and emoluments?! The mo-ao Tzŭ-hua replied:'Such a one as I is not competent to know.' The King said:'Apart from you, sir, there is no one from whom I may hear it! The mo-ao Tzŭ-hua replied:'What is it Your Majesty is going to ask? There are those who have been frugal in their rank and poor in their person and so have grieved for the altars. There are those who have been exalted in rank and rich in emoluments and so have grieved for the altars. There are those whose throats have been cut and who have been disembowelled, who have closed their eyes once never to see again, not knowing anything further, and so have grieved for the altars. There are those who have toiled their persons and caused sorrow to their hearts, and so have grieved for the altars. And there are those who without the encouragement of rank or emoluments have grieved for the altars.' The King said:'What will these words mean, sir?' The mo-ao Tzŭ-hua replied:'Formerly the ling-yin Tzŭ-wên wore a garment of black silk at court and one of deerskin at home. Before it was light he stood in the court and when the sun had gone down he went back for his meal. In the morning he did not plan for the evening. He had not stores for a single month. Therefore he was frugal in his rank and poor in his person, and so he grieved for the altars. was the ling-yin Tzŭ-wên.

Formerly Tzŭ-kao, the Duke of Shê, obtained for himself a place

at court and had the wealth of a 'Pillar of the State'.He settled the troubles connected with the Duke of Pai and gave rest to affairs in the State of Ch'u.He increased the greatness of your predecessor so that (his power) extended beyond Fang-ch'êng.There were no encroachments on the four frontiers.His reputation suffered no injury among the nobles.At that time throughout the world there was no State which ventured to face South with an army.Tzŭ-kao, the Duke of Shê,ate the produce of six hundred cultivated fields.Therefore he who was exalted in rank and rich in emoluments and so grieved for the altars was Tzŭ-kao,the Duke of Shê.

Formerly Wu fought with Ch'u at Po-chŭ.The soldiers of the two armies joined battle.The mo-ao Ta-hsin stroked the hand of his charioteer,looked (round), sighed deeply,and said:'Alas,sir!The day of ruin for the State of Ch'u has come.I am going deep into the army of Wu.If you smite a man or if you capture a man,and so help me, the altars perhaps will remain' Therefore he whose throat was cut and who was disembowelled,who closed his eyes once never to see again,not knowing anything further and so grieved for the altars was the mo-ao Ta-hsin.

Formerly Wu fought with Ch'u at Po-chŭ.They fought three battles and entered Ying.Our Prince went forth from the State.The great officers all accompanied him.The hundred surnames were scattered.Fên-mao Po-su said: 'If,clad in armour and grasping my sharp sword,I advance towards the powerful enemy and die,it is as if I were a private soldier.My best plan is to flee to the nobles.' Thereupon with his left-over provisions he went away secretly,climbed lofty mountains,crossed deep gorges.The soles of his feet were worn through and his knees were exposed.At the end of seven days he reached the court of the King of Ch'in.He stood like a bird without turning.He moaned by day and wailed by night.For seven days he was unable to make an announcement.Water and gruel did not enter his mouth.He was mad with extreme grief.He was so dazed that he did not recognize anyone. The King of Ch'in heard and went to him,without waiting for his hat and girdle.With his left hand he supported his head,with his right hand he moistened his mouth.Po-su then recovered.The King of Ch'in himself asked him:'Who are you,sir?' Fên-mao Po-su replied:'Your servant is none other. Ch'u has sent me,a recent offender,Fên-mao Po-su.Wu has fought with the men of Ch'u at Po-chŭ.After three battles they have entered Ying.Our unworthy Prince has himself gone out of the State. The great officers have all accompanied him.The hundred surnames are scattered.Your humble servant has been sent to announce the ruin and to ask for succour.' The King of Ch'in looked upon him and bade him rise.'I have heard that if the Prince of ten thousand chariots offends against a single officer,the altars are in danger.This now is a case in point.' Thereupon he sent forth a thousand chariots of war and ten thousand soldiers and entrusted them to Tzŭ-man and Tzŭ-hu.They went down by the pass towards the East,fought with the men of Wu at the river Cho,and inflicted on them a great defeat.They were also heard of at Sui-p'u.Therefore he who toiled his person and caused sorrow to his heart and so grieved for the altars was Fên-mao Po-su.

Wu fought with Ch'u at Po-chŭ.They fought three battles and entered Ying.The King himself left the State.The great officers all accompanied him.The hundred surnames were scattered. Mêng Ku was involved in a fight on the path leading from the palace gateway to the hall.He abandoned the fight and fled to Ying,saying:'If there is an orphan prince left,it may yet be well with the altars of Ch'u.

So he went into the great hall and carried away the chi-tz'ŭ records, and, travelling with them on the Chiang, fled to the midst of Yün-mêng. When King Chao returned to Ying, the five officers had lost the laws, the hundred surnames were in confusion. Mêng Ku presented the records, the five officers got the laws, and the hundred surnames were well governed. Thus Mêng Ku's merits were many. It was as if he had established the State. He was enfeoffed as a Holder of a Jade Emblem with the lands of six hundred cultivated fields. Mêng Ku was angry and said: 'I am not the servant of a man. I am the servant of the altars. If the altars have their sacrifices need I fear that there is no prince?' So he abandoned himself to the midst of Mt Mo and until now he has not ventured forth. Therefore he who grieved for the altars without the encouragement of rank or emoluments was Mêng Ku."

Then the King sighed and said: 'These were men of former times. How can there be such among the men of today?' The mo-ao Tzŭ-hua replied: 'Formerly your predecessor King Ling was fond of slender waists. The officers of Ch'u restricted themselves in the matter of food. They could stand only when leaning on some support, and could get up only when they had something on which to stay. Food is desirable, but they controlled themselves and it did not enter their mouths. Death is hateful, but they drew nigh to it and did not try to avoid it. I have heard that if the Prince is fond of archery, his ministers wear the archer's ring and pad. Your Majesty yourself is not fond (of virtue). If Your Majesty were really fond of virtue, these five ministers could all be got and brought to you."

CH'U 11

1)

Ti Ch'iang, the Counsellor of Wei, died. Someone spoke on behalf of Kan Mou to the King of Ch'i and said: 'He who is likely to be made Counsellor in Wei is the Kung-tzŭ Ching. If Ching becomes Counsellor in Wei, the relations between Wei and Ch'in are sure to be good. If relations are perfected between Ch'in and Wei, Ch'u will be made light of. Therefore Your Majesty's best plan is to make an agreement with Ch'i to appoint Kan Mou as Counsellor in Wei. The King of Ch'i likes to overtop men in reputation. If now by means of his Introducer of Envoys you make a request concerning the Counsellor of Wei, Ch'i is sure to be pleased. If the Wei pay no heed, their relations with Ch'i will become bad. If the relations between Ch'i and Wei are bad, they are sure to be rivals in the service of Ch'u. If the Wei do pay heed, Kan Mou and Ch'u-li Chi are mortal enemies and so the relations between Wei and Ch'in are sure to be bad. And they will both give weight to Ch'u.'

2)

Ch'i and Ch'in made an alliance to attack Ch'u. Ch'u ordered Ching Ts'ui to bribe Ch'i with six cities and offer the heir-apparent as a hostage. Chao Sui spoke to Ching Ts'ui and said: 'Ch'in is afraid and is making use of Ching Li and Su Li to offer lands to Ch'u. If Your Lordship gives away lands to get Ch'i on your side, and (Ching) Li and (Su) Li use the lands which have been received to get Ch'in, Your Lordship's undertaking is sure to be defeated. Your Lordship's best plan is to bribe Ching Li and Su Li heavily and get them to go to Ch'in. Ch'i will be afraid; it will certainly not ask for lands and yet will make an agreement with Ch'u. If Ch'i makes no demands it will be Your Lordship who has brought about the alliance.

3)

Shu Shih attacked Ch'u. Ch'u ordered Chao Shu to occupy Han-chung with an army of a hundred thousand men. Chao Sui won a victory over Ch'in at