

17)

The censor of An-i died. His assistant was afraid that he would not get the appointment. He bribed someone to speak for him to the governor of An-i and say: "Kung-sun Ch'i asked for the censorate for someone from the King. The King said: 'He surely had an assistant. I can hardly overthrow the rule.'" (The governor) accordingly ~~agreed to appoint him~~ ~~made~~ made haste to appoint him.

18)

The King of Wei was making a covenant with the royal city and was restoring the Son of Heaven. Fang Hsi spoke to the King of Han and said: 'Do not listen to him. The great States dislike that there should be a Son of Heaven, but the small States think it to their advantage. If Your Majesty with the (other) great States ~~pays not heed~~ ~~know~~ can Wei and the small States appoint him?'

19)

The Prince of Chien-hsin was making light of Han Hsi. Chao Ao spoke for him to the Prince of Chien-hsin and said: "The State which looks as if with it you will be preserved but without it you will be ruined is Wei. That without which the alliance of North and South is impossible is Han. Now Your Highness by making light of Han Hsi is establishing good relations with Ch'u and Wei. When Ch'in sees that Your Highness's relations with Ch'u and Wei are good it will be sure to receive Han and make much of it. If there is an alliance of North and South Han will be despised. If there is an alliance of East and West Han will have weight. Then it will not follow that course which leads to its being despised. If Ch'in sends troops forth at San-ch'uan, in the South it will beseige Yen and the road to Ts'ai and Shao will not be passable. If Wei is hard pressed, it will certainly be slow in coming to the rescue of Chao. If Ch'in raises troops and smashes Han-tan, Chao will certainly be ruined. Therefore if Your Highness receives Han you may avoid any opportunity against you. Tuan Ch'an spoke to the prince of Hsin-ch'eng and said: 'It is possible for him who travels by night to commit no crime but it is not possible for him to order the dogs not to bark at him.' Now Your servant's place is among the officials it is possible for me not to criticize your Highness to the King but it is not possible to order men not to criticize me to Your Highness. I wish Your Highness would consider this."

20)

Tuan-kan Yieh-jen spoke to the prince of Hsin-ch'eng and said: "A pupil of Wang Liang was driving a chariot. He said that he had chosen horses capable of going a thousand li. He met a pupil of Ts'ao fu. Ts'ao Fu's pupil said: 'Your horses cannot go a thousand li.' The pupil of Wang Liang said: 'The horses are thousand li horses. The harness is thousand li harness. And how is it that they cannot take a thousand li?' He said: 'Because your traces are too long.' The traces were but one ten thousandth part of the business, but they made it difficult to travel a thousand li. Now although your servant is incompetent I am still one ten thousandth part in respect of Ch'in. But the Counsellors of State who in regard to me do not remove the obstacles from my path are making the traces too long."

YEN

1)

Su Ch'in was about to make an alliance of North and South. He went North and spoke to Marquis wen of Yen and said: 'Yen on the East has Chao-hsien and Liao-tung. On the North it has Lin-hu and Lou-fan. On the West it has Yun-chung and Chiu-yuan. On the South it has Hu-t'o and the waters of the I. Its territory is more than two thousand li square. Its armed men are several hundred thousand, its chariots seven hundred, its cavalry six

thousand. Its grain is sufficient for ten years. In the South there is the abundance of Chieh-shih and Yen-men. In the North there is the produce of dates and pears. Even though the people ~~did~~ not follow work on the land, the fruit of the date and the pear trees would be food enough for the people. This is what is called a heavenly storehouse. As for tranquil enjoyment without any troublesome affairs, with no sorrowful experience of defeated armies and slain generals, there is no (State) to excel Yen. Does Your Majesty know why this is so? The reason Yen is not violated by bandits and does not suffer from soldiers is that Chao is its screen in the South. Ch'in and Chao have fought five battles. Ch'in has been victorious twice and Chao has won three victories. Ch'in and Chao are both worn out and Your Majesty with the whole of Yen controls what is left. This is why Yen has not come up against difficulty. Moreover if Ch'in attacked Yen it would cross Yun-chung and Chiu-yüan and go past Shang-ku in Tai, all that way staggering along the road for several thousand li. Even though it got the city of Yen, Ch'in reckons that it certainly could not keep it. And so it is plain that Ch'in cannot harm Yen. If now Chao attacks Yen, within less than ten days after orders have been issued a host of several hundred thousand will encamp at Tung-yüan, cross the Hu-t'lo, ford the waters of the I, and in less than four or five days reach the capital of the State. Therefore I say if Ch'in attacks Yen it fights at a distance of more than a thousand li, if Chao attacks Yen it fights within a hundred li. Not to be troubled about a danger a hundred li away and to attach importance to one more than a thousand li away—there is no policy more mistaken than that. For this reason I wish Your Majesty to join with Chao in an alliance of North and South. When the States are all united Your State will certainly be in no danger.'

The King of Yen said: 'My State is small. On the West I am pressed upon by powerful Ch'in. On the South I am near to Ch'i and Chao. Ch'i and Chao are powerful states. Now Your Lordship's felicitous instructions summon me to join in the alliance of North and South so as to give rest to Yen. I reverently follow with my State.' Thereupon he presented Su Ch'in with carriages and horses, silver and silks, with which to go to Chao.

2)  
 Li Tui, the prince of Fêng-yang, very strongly disapproved of Su Ch'in. When Su Ch'in was in Yen, Li Tui ~~was~~ took the opportunity to speak for Su Ch'in to the prince of Fêng-yang and said: 'If Ch'i and Yen separate Chao will have weight. If Ch'i and Yen unite Chao will be of little importance. For Your Highness now to go to Ch'i is not to the advantage of Chao. Your servant presumes on Your Highness's behalf not to approve.' The Prince of Fêng-yang said: 'How so? I am uniting Yen to Ch'i.' He replied: 'He who has control in Yen is Su-tzü, and Yen is a weak State. In the East it is not equal to Ch'i. In the West it is not equal to Chao. Can it do without Ch'i in the East and Chao in the West. And Your Highness is on very bad terms with Su Ch'in. Can Su Ch'in take feeble Yen in his embrace and be isolated from the world? You are driving Yen and making it unite with Ch'i. Moreover Yen is the remains of a ruined State. It stands by acting according to the requirements of the circumstances, by attaching importance to an outside (State), by serving a distinguished (State). Therefore in framing a policy for Your Highness whether you are on good terms with Su Ch'in accept him, and whether you are not on good terms accept him, so as to make Yen and Ch'i suspicious. When Yen and Ch'i are suspicious Chao will have weight. When the King of Ch'i is suspicious of Su Ch'in Your Highness will have many supports.'

The prince of Fêng-yang said: 'Good' and sent envoys to bind an alliance with Su Ch'in.

3)

In the difficulties at Ch'uan, Yen fought two battles without success. Chao did not come to the rescue. K'uei-tzu spoke to Duke Wén and said: 'Your best plan is to cede territory and ask for an agreement with Ch'i. Chao will be sure to come to our rescue. If it does not deliver us, it will have no option but to serve us.' Duke Wén said: 'Good' and ordered Kuo Jén to cede territory and ask for terms with Ch'i. Chao heard of it, whereupon it sent forth soldiers to the rescue of Yen.

4)

In the time of Duke Wén of Yen, King Hui of Ch'in married his daughter to their heir-presumptive of Yen. When Duke Wén died, King I came to the throne. King Hsüan of Ch'i seized the opportunity of the mourning in Yen to make an attack on it and took ten cities. Su Ch'in, the Prince of Wu-an, spoke on behalf of Yen to the King of Ch'i. ~~and~~ He bowed twice and congratulated him after which he looked up and consoled with him. The King of Ch'i grasped his spear and, stepping back, said: 'What means this congratulation quickly followed by condolence?' He replied: 'When a man is famished the reason he does not eat crow's bill is that, although it may serve to fill his belly, it is a like evil with death. Now, although Yen is weak and small, it is the little son-in-law of powerful Ch'in. Your Majesty profits by its ten cities but you incur the profound resentment of powerful Ch'in. Now you make weak Yen follow in your train but powerful Ch'in controls the consequences and so you summon the most skilled soldiers ~~in the world~~ under heaven. That is ~~the~~ in the same class as eating crow's bill.'

The King of Ch'i said: 'Then what is to be done?' He replied: 'The sage in his management of affairs turns evil into happiness, takes occasion from defeat to achieve success. Therefore Duke Huan submitted to his wife and his name became increasingly distinguished, Han Hsien laid himself open to blame and his connections were the more confirmed. These were both cases of turning evil into happiness, of taking occasion from defeat to achieve success. If Your Majesty can listen to your servant there is no plan so good as to return Yen's ten cities and apologize with lowly speech to Ch'in. When Ch'in knows that your Majesty for its sake has restored the cities of Yen, it will certainly be grateful to Your Majesty. When Yen without any cause obtains the ten cities, it also will be grateful to Your Majesty. Thus you will throw off the hostility of a powerful foe and establish a secure alliance. Moreover when Yen and Ch'in both serve Ch'i, Your Majesty's commands will be obeyed throughout ~~all~~ the states. Thus Your Majesty by means of empty words will attach Ch'in to you and by means of ten cities will get possession of the States. That is an enterprize worthy of a Hegemon. It is what is called turning evil into happiness, taking occasion from defeat to achieve success.'

The King of Ch'i was greatly pleased and so he restored Yen's cities and excused himself with a present of a thousand chin of silver. Afterwards he bowed his head to the ground in the midst of the road, desiring to be as a younger brother and asking (pardon for) his offence from Ch'in.

5)

There were men who spoke evil of Su Ch'in to the King of Yen and said: 'The prince of Wu-an is the most unreliable man in the world. Your Majesty submits to him with your ten thousand chariots and honours him at court. You are showing to the world that you are an associate of mean men.' The prince of Wu-an came ~~back~~ from Ch'i but the King did not provide an official lodging. He spoke to the King of Yen and said: 'Your servant is a humble man from eastern Chou. When I had my (first) interview with Your Highness I myself had not accomplished the least achievement, yet Your

Highness received your servant in the suburbs and distinguished me at court. Now Your servant has been on a mission for Your Highness. I have gained ten cities. My achievement is that I have preserved Yen in its danger. The reason Your Highness does not hear me must be that someone has said that your servant is unreliable and has done me harm to Your majesty. And yet your servant's untrustworthiness is Your Highness's happiness. Suppose your servant were trustworthy like Wei-shêng, incorrupt like Po I, filial like Tsêng Ts'an—these three are the world's highest type of conduct. And if I set these virtues in Your Highness's service, would not that do? The King of Yen said: 'It would.' He said: 'But if I had these your servant would not be in Your Highness's service.' Su Ch'in said: 'Moreover if I were filial like Tsêng Ts'an, it being a principle with ~~me~~ not to leave ~~my~~ parents for a single night while ~~we~~ lodged outside, how would Your Highness be able to send me on a mission to Ch'i? If I were incorrupt like Po I, who would not take an unearned meal and, considering that King Wu was unrighteous, ~~refused to be made Prince of Ku-chu and died of hunger on the mountain of Shou-yang, if I were incorrupt like this, how would I be willing to go on foot several thousand li and serve the lord of feeble yen in his danger? If I were trustworthy like Wei Shêng who made an appointment and when (the lady) did not come, grasped the post of the bridge and died, if I were as trustworthy as this how should I be willing to flourish the majesty of Yen and Ch'in in the presence of Ch'i and so accomplish a great achievement? Moreover trustworthy conduct is the method used when one is acting for himself, not when one is acting on behalf of another. It is all an art of self-protection, not the way of aggression. Moreover the three Kings arose in turn, the five Hegemons flourished in succession. It was in every case not merely by means of self-protection. Does Your Highness think that self-protection is a feasible policy? Then Ch'i would not have increased beyond Yang-ch'iu, Your Highness would not have crossed the frontiers of Ch'u., you would not have peered beyond the cities on the borders. Moreover your servant has an aged mother in Chou. I have left an aged mother to serve Your Highness, I have departed from the art of self-protection and have consulted about the way of aggression. Your servant's inclination is assuredly not in accord with that of Your Highness. Your Highness is altogether a self-protecting prince. Your servant is a minister of aggression. That is what is called giving offence to one's prince by means of loyalty and good faith.'~~

The King of Yen said: 'And what offence is there is loyalty and good faith?' He replied: "Your Highness does not understand. One of your servant's neighbours went a long way from home on official duty. His wife had an intrigue with another man. And her husband was coming back. The man with whom she had the intrigue was troubled about it. His wife said: 'Let not My Lord be troubled. I have already made poisoned wine to await him.' Two days later the husband arrived. His wife made a handmaid present a goblet of wine to him. The maid knew that it was poisoned wine. If she presented it she would be putting her master to death. If she spoke about it she would be getting her mistress expelled. So she pretended to fall headlong and threw the wine away. Her master was very angry and beat her. Therefore the maid by once falling headlong and throwing the wine away on the one hand saved her master alive and on the other hand preserved her mistress. She was as loyal as this, but she did not escape being beaten. This was a case of loyalty and trustworthiness incurring blame. My service happens to be unfortunate and is in the same class as the handmaid's throwing the wine away. Moreover my service of Your Highness has been high principled and beneficial to the state. And now I have incurred blame. Your servant fears that of those throughout the world who afterwards serve Your Highness not one will dare to be self-determined. Moreover your servant's speech to Ch'i was not

deceptive. If an envoy were to speak to Ch'i and not talk as your servant has, even though he had the wisdom of Yao and Shun I should not dare to approve."

6)

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 Yen and said: "Among those with whom Your Majesty has friendly relations there is none to equal Chao. Formerly the King of Chao married his elder sister to the King of Tai. Wishing to annex Tai, he made an agreement with the King of Tai to meet at the fortified post of Kou-chü and ordered a workman to make a metal ladle with a long handle so that it could be used to strike a man. He drank with the King of Tai and gave secret instructions to a man from the kitchen, saying: 'When we are merry with wine, bring in some hot drink, then turn the handle round and strike him.' And so when they were merry with wine they took in the hot drink. The man from the kitchen came forward to pour out the ~~hot~~ drink, then turned the ladle round and struck him. The King of Tai's brains bespattered the ground. When his elder sister heard of it she sharpened a hair-pin and stabbed herself. That is why until now there is the Mo-chi mountain. In all the world there is no one who has not heard about it. The King of Chao's savage cruelty without natural affection is what Your Majesty has clearly seen and known. And do you think that you can be on friendly terms with the King of Chao? Chao raised troops and attacked Yen. They twice besieged the capital of Yen and robbed Your Majesty. Your Majesty cut off ten cities and surrendered them to exculpate yourself. Now the King of Chao has already gone in and paid homage at Mien-ch'ih, and has offered Ho-chien in order to serve Ch'in. If Your Majesty does not serve Ch'in, Ch'in will send down armed men to Yün-chung and chiu-yüan and compel Chao to attack Yen. Then the waters of the I and Ch'ang-ch'eng will not be Your Majesty's possessions. Moreover at the present time Chao ~~xxxx~~ is as it were a mere department of Ch'in. It dare not recklessly raise troops for punitive expeditions. If now Your Majesty serves Ch'in, the King of Ch'in is sure to be pleased and Chao will not dare to make any reckless movement. In that case in the West you will have the powerful support of Ch'in and in the South there will be no trouble from Ch'i and Chao. For this reason I wish Your Majesty to give it your mature consideration."

The King of Yen said: 'I belong to the wild tribes dwelling in obscurity. Although a full-grown man my decisions are those of a child, my speech is inadequate to seek what is correct, my plans are inadequate to determine affairs. Now happily you, my distinguished guest, instruct me. Allow me to offer my altars, to face West and serve Ch'in, presenting five cities at the end of Mt Ch'ang.'

7)

Kung T'o went for Yen on a mission to Wei. Wei paid no heed but detained him for several months. A visitor spoke to the King of Wei and said: 'Why pay no heed to the envoy from Yen?' He said: 'Because he is disorderly.' He replied: 'When T'ang attacked Chieh he wished him to be disorderly. Therefore the territory of him who is very disorderly may be obtained, of him who is but little disorderly the treasures may be obtained. The words of the visitor from Yen are: 'If the matter may be attended to, even though it involves giving up all our treasures and our territory, we will do it.' Why does not Your Majesty see him?' The King of Wei was pleased, gave ~~him~~ an interview the visitor from Yen and sent him on his way.

8)

When Su Ch'in died, his younger brother Su Tai wished to succeed him. So in the North he had an interview with King K'uai of Yen and said: 'Your servant is a humble man from Eastern Chou. I presumed to hear that Your Majesty's principles were very lofty and very accordant (with what was right). Humble man that I am I am not clever. I presumed to leave my hoeing and my weeding and come into Your Majesty's presence. I arrived at Han-tan. What I heard at Han-tan was still higher than what I had heard in Eastern Chou. Your servant presumed to rely on his determination and so came to the court of Yen. I saw Your Majesty's crowd of ministers and inferior officials. Your Majesty is the most enlightened ruler under Heaven.' The King said: 'What is the most enlightened ruler under Heaven of whom you speak like?' He replied: 'Your servant has heard that an enlightened ruler endeavours to hear of his faults, he does not wish to hear of his good qualities. Allow your servant to announce Your Majesty's faults. Ch'i and Chao are Your Majesty's foes. Ch'u and Wei are States which support Your Majesty. Now Your Majesty is upholding your foes in order to attack the states which support you. That is not to the advantage of Yen. If Your Majesty has yourself thought this out your policy is mistaken. He who has no remonstrance to make is not a loyal minister.'

The King said: 'As for Ch'i and Chao they are not what I venture to desire to attack.' He said: 'To have no intention of scheming against a man and yet to cause the man to suspect one is perilous. To have the intention of scheming against a man and to cause the man to know it is stupid. For a scheme to be known abroad before it has come forth is dangerous. Now your servant has heard that Your Majesty does not dwell at ease, that you do not relish what you eat and drink, and that your thoughts are of avenging yourself on Ch'i, that you yourself smooth down the plates on your armour, saying: 'there is a great number', that your wife herself weaves the cords for your armour, saying: 'There is a great number'. Is that so?' The King said: 'You have heard it, sir, I have profound resentment and accumulated wrath against Ch'i and have been wishing for two years to exact vengeance. I dare not hide it. Ch'i is a State hostile to me, therefore it is what I wish to attack. I am only troubled that the state may be worn out and my strength insufficient. If you, sir, can make Yen a match for Ch'i, I will offer you the state and entrust it to you, sir.' He replied: 'There are in all seven fighting States in the world and Yen is the weakest. As for fighting alone that is impossible. If it attaches itself to another State there is none which does not become important. If in the South it attaches itself to Ch'u, Ch'u becomes important. If in the West it attaches itself to Ch'in, Ch'in becomes important. If in the centre it attaches itself to Han and Wei, Han and Wei become important. And if whatever state you attach yourself to becomes important, this will certainly cause Your Majesty ~~youself~~ to become important. Now the King of Ch'i has ruled long and is self-reliant. In the South he attacked Ch'u for five years; the stores of grain were scattered. In the West he hemmed in Ch'in for three years; the people were suffering and distressed, the soldiers were weary and worn out. In the North he fought with Yen; he overthrew three armies, captured two generals, and also ~~used~~ his surplus troops to face South and take the vigorous State of Sung with its five thousand chariots. And he got twelve nobles in his grip. Thus the desire of its prince was obtained, the strength of its people was exhausted, what was here still for him to take? Moreover your servant has heard that after several battles the people are wearied, after a long campaign the soldiers are worn out.'

The King said: 'I have heard that Ch'i has the clear Chi and theuddy Ho and so it can be firm. It has Ch'ang-ch'eng and Ch'u-fang sufficient block the frontiers. Is this really so?' He replied: 'If the season of

Heaven does not assist, although it has the clear Chi and the muddy Ho, how can it be firm? If the strength of the people is utterly exhausted, although it has Ch'ang-ch'êng and Chü-fang, how will they be sufficient to back the the frontiers? Moreover on another occasion Chi-hsi was not made to serve—as a precaution against Chao, Ho-pei was not made to supply soldiers—as a precaution against Yen. Now Chi-hsi and Ho-pei are both made to serve. Within the frontiers there is exhaustion. A haughty ruler is sure not to make good plans and the ministers of a ruined state are covetous of wealth. If Your Majesty is really able not to grudge your favourite son and your younger brother by the same mother and use them as hostages and your precious pearls, jade and silks to serve his attendants, he will be grateful to Yen and make light of ruined Sung. Then Ch'i can be ruined.'

The King said: 'I have indeed received a command from Heaven with regard to my son.' He said: 'At home disorders cannot be harmonized. Abroad foes cannot be withstood. Let Your Majesty yourself regulate affairs from without and your servant himself respond from within. That is the way to ruin it.'

9)  
After King K'uai of Yen had ascended the throne Su Ch'in died in Ch'i. When Su Ch'in was in Yen he had made a matrimonial alliance with its Counsellor Tzū Chih and Su Tai had connections with Tzū Chih. When Su Ch'in died, King Hsüan of Ch'i employed Su Tai again. In K'uai of Yen's third year he joined with Ch'u and the three Chin in an attack on Ch'in. He was not successful and returned. Tzū Chih was Counsellor in Yen, honoured and important, with decisive authority. Su Tai went for Ch'i on a mission to Yen. The King of Yen asked him, saying: 'How about King Hsüan of Ch'i?' He replied: 'He will certainly not attain the Hegemony.' The King of Yen said: 'Why?' He replied: 'He does not trust his ministers.' Su Tai wished in this way to stir up the King of Yen to place great responsibility upon Tzū Chih. And so the King of Yen put great faith in Tzū Chih. Tzū Chih in consequence sent Su Tai a hundred (catties of) silver and hearkened to his commands. Mao Shou of Lu spoke to the King of Yen and said: 'Your best plan is to abdicate the state in favour of Tzū Chih. You say that Yao was a man of worth because he abdicated the empire in favour of Hsü Yu. Yu emphatically refused it. He had the reputation of abdicating the empire. Really he did not lose the empire. If now Your Majesty abdicates the State in favour of your Counsellor Tzū Chih, Tzū Chih will certainly not dare to accept it. Thus your conduct will be like that of Yao.'

The King of Yen accordingly assigned the whole of the State to Tzū Chih. Tzū Chih came to be of great importance. Someone said: 'Yü gave (the empire) to I but employed Ch'i's men as his officials. In his old age, considering that Ch'i was not sufficient for the responsibility of the empire, he passed on the succession to I. Ch'i formed a band of partisans, with them attacked I, and snatched the empire from him. Thus Yü had the reputation of passing on the empire to I but in reality he caused Ch'i to take it for himself. Now Your Majesty says that you assign the state to Tzū Chih but among your officials there is not one who is not the heir-apparent's man. That is in name you assign it to Tzū Chih but the heir-apparent is in control of affairs.'

The King in consequence called in the seals of office from the officials of three hundred shih and upwards and presented them to Tzū Chih. Tzū Chih faced South and carried on the business of king. And K'uai in his old age did not attend to the government, but himself became a subject. The affairs of state were all decided by Tzū Chih.

In Tzū Chih's third year the State of Yen was in great disorder, the hundred families were afflicted and resentful. General Shih Pei and the heir-apparent P'ing plotted with a view to attacking Tzū Chih. Chu-tzū spoke to

King Hsüan of Ch'i to seize the opportunity to strike it down (saying that) Yen would certainly be smashed. The King therefore ordered men to speak to the heir-apparent P'ing and say: 'I have heard of your justice. I am about to destroy private interests and set up the public good, to put in order the relation of prince and minister, and make correct the rank of father and son. My State is small. It is insufficient to take the lead. Nevertheless, it is at Your Highness's command.' So the heir-apparent mustered his partisans and assembled his host. General Shih Pei besieged the ducal palace and attacked Tzü Chih, but did not overcome him. General Shih Pei and the hundred families then turned and attacked the heir-apparent P'ing. General Shih Pei died and his body was exposed. The State was in confusion for several months, those who died were a host of several tens of thousands. The men of Yen were afflicted and resentful. The hundred families were divided in their minds. Mêng K'o spoke to King Hsüan of Ch'i and said: 'Attack Yen now. This is just such a time as that of Wên and Wu. It must not be missed.' The King therefore ordered Chang-tzü to lead the soldiers of the five capitals and use the host of the northern region to attack Yen. The soldiers did not fight. The city gates were not shut. King K'uai of Yen died. Ch'i won a great victory over Yen. Tzü Chih fled. Two years later the men of Yen appointed the kung-tzü P'ing and he became King Chao of Yen.

Formerly Li, a younger brother of Su Ch'in, by means of the scion of Yen who was a hostage, sought an interview with the King of Ch'i. The King of Ch'i was resentful towards Su Ch'in and wished to imprison Li. The scion of Yen who was a hostage made excuse for him and he desisted. Thereupon he entrusted the hostage with (the office of) a minister. Tzü Chih, the Counsellor of Yen, made a matrimonial alliance with Su Tai and wished to obtain the authority in Yen. So he caused Su Tai to attend upon the hostage in Ch'i. Ch'i sent Tai to report to Yen. K'uai, King of Yen, enquired saying: 'Can the King of Ch'i become Leader of the Nobles?' He said: 'He cannot.' He said: 'Why?' He said: 'He does not trust his ministers.' So the King of Yen placed the whole responsibility upon Tzü Chih and finally abdicated the throne. Yen was in great disorder. Ch'i attacked Yen, slew (Tzü Chih and King K'uai). Yen set up King Chao and Su Tai and Li thereupon did not dare to enter Yen. They both in the end returned to Ch'i. Ch'i treated them well.

Su Tai was passing through Wei. Wei on behalf of Yen arrested Tai. Ch'i sent a man to speak to the King of Wei and say: 'Ch'i asked to enfeoff the prince of Ching-yang with Sung. Ch'in did not accept (the proposal). It was not that Ch'in did not regard it as profitable to have Ch'i (as an ally) and to get the lands of Sung, but it did not believe the King of Ch'i and Su-tzü. Now Ch'i and Wei are as much out of harmony as this. Ch'i therefore will not deceive Ch'in. For Ch'in to believe Ch'i, for Ch'i and Ch'in to be united, for the prince of Ching-yang to have the lands of Sung, will not be to the advantage of Wei. Therefore Your Majesty's best plan is to send Su-tzü to the East. Ch'in is sure to be suspicious and will not trust Su-tzü. If Ch'i and Ch'in are not united and there is no upheaval among the states, the stage will be set for an attack on Ch'i.' So he sent Su Tai forth to Sung. Sung treated him well.

0) After King Chao of Yen had received Yen in its broken condition and had ascended the throne, he humbled himself and bestowed generous presents in order to summon men of worth wishing by means of them to exact vengeance. So he went to see Master Kuo Wei and said: 'Ch'i seized the opportunity of the disorders in my State, made a surprise attack on Yen, and took it. I am now full well that Yen is small, its resources are few, and that it is not competent to avenge itself. Nevertheless it is my desire to get men of worth with whom to share the state and by means of them to wash out the



disgrace of my royal predecessor. I venture to ask who are those who can so use the state as to avenge our wrongs.' Master Kuo Wei replied: 'An Emperor dwells with his tutors, a King dwells with his friends, a Hegemon dwells with his ministers, the (ruler of a) State which is on the way to ruin dwells with his employees. If one crooks one's joints and serves them, faces North and receives their lessons, those who are a hundred times as good as oneself come. If one hastens before them and rests after them, if one first asks and afterwards is silent, those who are ten times as good as oneself come. If one when others hasten one also hastens, those who are similar to oneself come. If one leans on one's bench and grasps one's staff and gives orders with sidelong glance, underlings will come. If one looks angrily and strikes in one's wrath, leaping and stamping, hooting and shouting, the lowest menials will come. This is the ancient and correct method of attracting officials. If Your Majesty really chooses extensively the men of worth in the State and goes to call at their doors, and the world hears that your Majesty calls on your worthy ministers, officers throughout the world will be sure to hasten to Yen.'

The King Chao said: 'On whom ought I to call?' Master Kuo Wei said: 'Your servant has heard that of old there was a prince who sought with a thousand (catties of) silver for a thousand li horse. In three years he could not get one. A eunuch spoke to the prince and said: 'Allow me to seek it'. The prince despatched him. In three months he got a thousand li horse, but the horse was already dead. He bought its head for five hundred (catties of) silver and came back to report to the prince. The prince was very angry and said: 'What I sought was a living horse. How can I use a dead horse? And you have thrown away five hundred (catties of) silver.' The eunuch replied: 'A dead horse and yet you buy it for five hundred (catties of) silver. How much more a living horse? The world will be sure to think that Your Majesty can purchase horses. The horse will now come.' And so before the end of a year there were three horses came which could travel a thousand li. If now Your Majesty really wishes to attract scholars begin first with me. If I am employed how much more those who are worthier than I? Will they regard a thousand li as a long distance to come?' Thereupon King Chao built a palace for Wei and made him his tutor. Yo I went thither from Wei, Tsou Yen from Ch'i, and Chou Hsin from Chao. Officers crowded as rivals in Yen. The King of Yen mourned for the dead, and enquired after the living. He shared their joys and sorrows with the hundred families. In twenty eight years the state of Yen was abundantly wealthy. The officers and soldiers rejoiced exceedingly and made light of battle. Thereupon he made Yo I commander-in-chief. He planned in union with Ch'in, Ch'u, and the three Chin to attack Ch'i. The soldiers of Ch'i were defeated. King Min fled out of the State. The soldiers of Yen alone pursued the fugitives, entered as far as Lin-tzu, took all the treasures of Ch'i, and burned its palaces and temples. Of the cities of Ch'i there were only Chi and Chi-mo which did not submit.

11)  
Ch'i attacked Sung. Sung was hard pressed. Su tai accordingly sent a document to King Chao of Yen, saying: "Because you are reckoned among the States of ten thousand chariots and yet have sent a hostage to Ch'i, your reputation is low and your authority is slight. Ch'in and Ch'i helped in the attack on Sung. The people were wearied and your wealth was expended. You broke Sung. You destroyed Huai-pei belonging to Ch'u. You enriched the great State of Ch'i. Your enemy is powerful and your own State is weak. The three are all great defeats of the state and yet Your Highness has done them because you wished to get rid of evil and take credit with Ch'i. But Ch'i

has not added to its faith in Your Highness but hates Yen all the more. So then Your Highness's service of Ch'i has failed in its purpose. The people are wearied and your wealth is expended, and you have not achieved the least success. You have broken Sung and enriched your foe, and for generations you will suffer evil from it. Your Majesty thought that Sung with the addition of Huai-pei was a powerful State of ten thousand chariots. But Ch'i has annexed it. That is the addition of another Ch'i. (The lands of) the northern I were seven hundred li square. Add Lu and Wei to them. That is what is called a powerful State of ten thousand chariots. And yet Ch'i has annexed that. That is the addition of two Ch'is. Yen was not able to withstand the weight of even one Ch'i. Now Yen is being threatened by three Ch'is. The evil effects are sure to be great. Nevertheless your servant has heard that the wise man's way of undertaking affairs is to turn evil into happiness and to take occasion from defeat to achieve success. The men of Ch'i defeated white with purple and the price increased tenfold. Kou Chien, King of Yüeh, was perched on Kuei-chi and yet afterwards he destroyed Wu and became Hegemon throughout the world. These were both cases of turning evil into happiness and taking occasion from defeat to achieve success. Now does Your Majesty wish to turn evil into happiness and take occasion from defeat to achieve success? If so, your best plan is to come from afar and honour Ch'i highly as Hegemon, causing it to arrange a treaty in the House of Chou, burning the tallies of all the States with Ch'in, and binding them in an alliance, saying: 'The best policy is to smash Ch'in. The next is to keep far off from Ch'in.' If Ch'in is pressed in by such rejection and awaits a smashing blow, the King of Ch'in is sure to be troubled about it. Ch'in has bound the nobles for five generations. Now it is inferior to Ch'i. The aim of the King of Ch'in will be, if he can reduce Ch'i to extremity, not to grudge a great city of the State in order to achieve success. And so why does not Your Majesty not send a scholar to speak to Ch'in about the policy of reducing Ch'i to extremity? Let him speak to the King of Ch'in and say: 'Yen and Chao are breaking up Sung, enriching Ch'i, adding dignity to Ch'i, and placing themselves beneath it. But Yen and Chao do not consider that this is advantageous to themselves. It is not to their advantage, but they are doing it under the pressure of circumstances. How so? Because they do not trust the King of Ch'in. Now why does not Your Majesty send someone who can give them confidence to receive Yen and Chao? Get the prince of Ching-yang or the Prince of Kao-ling to go first to Yen and Chao. If Ch'in changes, let them be regarded as hostages. Then Yen and Chao will have faith in Ch'in. Ch'in will be the Imperial Power in the West, Chao the Imperial Power in the centre, and Yen the Imperial Power in the North. They will be established as Imperial Powers (three) and so issue orders to the nobles. If Han and Wei do not obey, let Ch'in attack them. If Ch'i does not obey, let Yen and Chao attack them. Which of all the States will dare not to obey? When all the States are submissively obedient, take the opportunity to drive on Han and Wei to make an assault on Ch'i, saying: 'You must return the lands of Sung and restore Huai-pei belonging to Ch'u.' The return of the lands of Sung and the restoration of Huai-pei belonging to Ch'u will be to the advantage of Yen and Chao alike. The establishment ~~of three~~ together of three imperial powers is what Yen and Chao alike desire. If in reality they get what is to their advantage and in name they get what they desire, Yen and Chao's abandonment of Ch'i will be like unloosening a worn-out straw sandal. If now Your Majesty does not receive Yen and Chao, Ch'i will certainly achieve the hegemony. If the nobles exalt Ch'i and Your Majesty alone does not follow, the State will be attacked. If the nobles exalt Ch'i and Your Majesty follows them, your reputation will be low. If Your Majesty does not receive Yen and Chao, your reputation will be low and the State will be in danger. If Your Majesty receives Yen and

Chao, your reputation will be honoured and the State will be at ease. To go away from honour and ease and draw near to meanness and danger— a wise man does not do it.' If the King of Ch'in hears speech like that, it will certainly be as if he were stabbed in the heart. Then why does not Your Majesty make it your business to send an officer of understanding to speak such words in Ch'in? Ch'in will be sure to attack Ch'i. To get Ch'in is your best alliance. To attack Ch'i is your true advantage. To honour the best alliance and direct your efforts to your true advantage is the function of a saggy king."

King Chao of Yen approved of his document and said: 'My predecessor was kind to Su-shih. In the disorders connected with Tzu Chih, Su Ch'in went away from Yen. Yen wishes to avenge itself on Ch'i. No one can do it but Su-shih.' So he summoned Su-shih and again treated him well. He consulted with him about an attack on Ch'i. In the end he smashed Ch'i. King Min went forth as a fugitive.

12)

Su Tai spoke to King Chao of Yen and said: 'Here now is a man filial like Tsêng Ts'an and Hsiao Chi, faithful like Wei-shêng Kao, incorrupt like Pao Chiao and Shih Ch'iu. He combines these three virtues and with them serves Your Majesty. How will that do?' The King said: 'Like that would be sufficient.' He replied: 'Your Highness considers it sufficient. Then your servant will not serve Your Highness. Your servant moreover will dwell in inaction. I will return and plough on the uplands of Chou. I will plough and eat the produce. I will weave and wear what I have made.' The king said: 'Why?' He replied: 'He who was filial like Tsêng Ts'an and Hsiao Chi would only nourish his parents, if he were faithful like Wei-shêng Kao he would only not deceive others, he who was incorrupt like Pao Chiao and Shih Ch'iu would only not steal the wealth of others. Now your servant is an aggressor. Your servant considers that incorruption would not progress along with my person, righteousness would not stand along with my life. Benevolence and righteousness are the way of self-perfection. They are not the art of aggression.' The King said: 'Is not self-anxiety sufficient?' He replied: 'If it had considered self-anxiety sufficient, Ch'in would not have gone forth through Hsiao-sai, Ch'i would not have gone forth at Ying-ch'iu, Ch'u would not have gone forth at Su-chang. The three Kings reigned in succession. The five Hegemons changed their government; all because they were not anxious on their own account. If self-anxiety were sufficient, your servant also would go to Chou carrying my basket. Why trouble Your Majesty's court? Of old Ch'u took Chang-wu. The nobles faced North and paid homage at its court. Ch'in took Hsi-shan. The nobles faced west and paid homage at its court. Formerly if Yen had not gone above the House of Chou the nobles would not have separately yoked their carriages and paid homage at its court. Your servant has heard that he who manages affairs well first measures the size of his State and estimates the strength or weakness of his soldiers. Therefore his achievements can be accomplished and his reputation can be established. He who is unable to manage affairs does not first measure the size of his State, does not estimate the strength or weakness of his soldiers. Therefore his achievements cannot be accomplished and his reputation cannot be established. Now Your Majesty has a mind to face East and attack Ch'i and your stupid servant knows it.' The King said: 'How do you know it, sir?' He replied: 'You make firm your lance and whet your sword, ascend a hill, look towards the East and sigh. That is how your stupid servant knows it. Now that Wu Huo lifted a weight of a thousand chün but when he was eighty years old he required support. Thus, although Ch'i is a powerful State, in the West it has been wearied in Sung, in the South it has been worn out in Ch'u. So the army of Ch'i may be defeated and Ho-chien may be taken.' The

King of Yen said: 'Good! Allow me to bow to you, sir, as my high minister and to offer you a hundred carriages. How, sir, about sojourning in the East with these on my behalf?' He replied: 'Your Highness gives them because of the value you put upon them. Then why not give them to the son whom you love and to your various uncles and to your grandson who is yet unable to walk alone? They do not get them but you give them to your incompetent servant. Why is that? What kind of a man does Your Majesty reckon your servant to be? Now that with which your servant serves Your Highness is loyalty and good faith. I am afraid that by reason of my loyalty and good faith I may incur offence with those who are about you.' The King said: 'Can there be a minister who employs all his strength and uses all his ability and yet incurs offence?' He replied: "Allow your servant to use an illustration for Your Majesty. Of old in the uplands of Chou there was this case. The husband was in official employment for three years and did not return. The wife was fond of another man. The man of whom she was fond said: 'When your husband comes what is to be done?' The wife said: 'Do not be troubled. I have already made some poisoned wine to await his coming.' By and by the husband did come. Thereupon she took the opportunity and ordered her handmaid to pour out the poisoned wine and take it in. Her handmaid knew about it. Halfway she stood and pondered, saying: 'If I give this to my master to drink I shall kill my master. If I tell my master of this affair I shall cause my mistress to be driven away. Rather than kill my master and cause my mistress to be driven away better pretend to stumble and overturn it.' And so she pretended to fall full length. The wife said: 'Because of your arrival after a long journey I made some excellent wine. Now the maid in presenting it has fallen full length.' The husband did not know. He bound the maid and beat her. Therefore the reason the maid was beaten was her loyalty and good faith. Now your servant goes on a mission to Ch'i for Your Highness. I am afraid that my loyalty and good faith may not be clearly known to those about you. Your servant had heard it said: 'The lord of ten thousand chariots is not under the control of the ministers. A household of ten chariots is not under the control of the mob. A common man, a scholar tramping alone on foot, is not under the control of his wife and maid. And how much more does this apply to a worthy ruler fit for his generation? Allow your servant to go. I wish Your Highness not to be under the control of your ministers."

-13)

The King of Yen spoke to Su Tai and said: 'I very much dislike the words of deceivers.' Su Tai replied: "In the land of Chou marriage brokers are thought of meanly, because they praise both parties. To the household of the man they say: 'The girl is beautiful!' To the household of the girl they say: 'The man is rich.' Nevertheless the custom of Chou is not to choose a wife for oneself. And a girl living at home, if she has no marriage broker, even to old age will not marry. If she does without a marriage broker but shows herself off, that is a corrupt practice and will not succeed. It is only the marriage broker who makes things go smoothly without failure and succeed without corrupt practice. Moreover affairs, without action according to the exigencies of the case, cannot be established, without influence they cannot be accomplished. It is only the deceiver who can make men sit still and accept an accomplished fact receive an accomplished result." The King said: 'Good.'