

14)

Kung T'o spoke to the Prince of Chou and said: 'Wan relied on Ch'in and made light of Chin. There was a famine in Ch'in and Wan was ruined. Cheng relied on Wei and made light of Han. Wei attacked Ch'in and Cheng was ruined. Chu and Ch'u were ruined by Ch'i. Ch'ên and Ts'ai were ruined by Ch'u. These all relied on other States to deliver them and made light of nearby foes. Now Your Highness relies on Han and Wei and makes light of Ch'in. The State, it is to be feared, will suffer injury. The best plan for Your Highness is to send Chou Ch'u to make a secret agreement with Chao as a precaution against Ch'in. Then you will not be destroyed.'

15)

(Someone) spoke to the king of Ch'i and said: 'Why not with a gift of lands advance Chou Ch'u to be heir-apparent?' The King of Ch'i sent Ssu-ma Han with bribes to advance Chou Ch'u in Chou. Tso Shang spoke to Ssu-ma Han and said: 'If Chou pays no heed, Your Lordship's sagacity will be embarrassed and relations with Chou will be broken off. The best plan for Your Lordship is to speak to the Prince of Chou and say: 'Whom do you wish to appoint? Let someone tell me privately. Allow me to get the King to advance him with a gift of lands.' " By this means Tso Shang got employment.

16)

The three States were returning from an attack on Ch'in. Western Chou was afraid that Wei would borrow a way through. (Someone) spoke on behalf of Western Chou to the King of Wei and said: 'Ch'u and Sung do not regard it as profitable to themselves that Ch'in has shown favour to the three States. They are going to attack Your Majesty's villages for the benefit of Ch'in.' The King of Wei was afraid and ordered his army after one night's delay to hasten to the east.

17)

When Hsi Wu was defeated Chou ordered Chou Tsu to go to Ch'in. Someone spoke to Chou Tsu and said: 'Why not speak to the Prince of Chou and say: 'If your servant goes to Ch'in in the relations between Ch'in and Chou are sure to be bad. Your Highness's servant, whom moreover Ch'in honours and wishes to be made Counsellor, also speaks evil of me to Ch'in. And so I cannot perform the mission. Your servant wishes to resign my office and go away.' His Highness will in consequence make him Counsellor. When he gets to be Counsellor he will not make Chou disliked by Ch'in. His Highness is honouring Ch'in and so is sending his Counsellor thither. For you to decline the mission when you have been sent is to treat Ch'in lightly. Your Lordship must not resign. If Your Lordship speaks thus and yet goes, suppose relations with Ch'in are good, it will be because Your Lordship's service has been accomplished; suppose relations with Ch'in are bad, he who is not on good terms with Your Lordship will be punished.'

CH'IN I

cf. Ssu-ma Han The Book of Han 31-32

1)

Uei Yang fled from Wei and entered Ch'in. Duke Hsiao made him Counsellor and gave him the fief of Shang with the title Prince of Shang. When the Prince of Shang was governing Ch'in, the laws were obeyed far and wide, justice was administered without partiality, the powerful and great were not screened from punishment, and rewards were not bestowed with partiality upon favourites. The law reached even to the heir-apparent. His tutor was branded on the face and his nose was cut off. At the end of a

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year no one picked up things which had been dropped on the roads, the people did not take what was not their own, the weapons of offence and of defence were very strong, the nobles all stood in awe. But he was very severe and showed little kindness. He compelled them to submit exclusively by means of force.

When Duke Hsiao had employed him for eighteen years he fell ill and was unable to get up. He wished to transmit the state to the Prince of Shang, but he declined and would not accept it. When Duke Hsiao was dead, King Hui took his place. After he had reigned a short while, the Prince of Shang announced his intention to return. Someone spoke to King Hui and said: 'When the great ministers are too important the state is in danger. When those in attendance are too intimate one's person is in danger. Now the women and children of Ch'in all talk of the Prince of Shang's laws. No one talks of Your Majesty's laws. It is the Prince of Shang who has become the lord and Your Majesty who has been changed into the minister. Moreover the Prince of Shang has long been Your Majesty's enemy. Let Your Majesty consider it.'

When the Prince of Shang came back, King Hui caused him to be torn asunder by chariots, but the men of Ch'in had no pity on him.

2)

When Su Ch'in was beginning to make an alliance of East and West, he spoke to King Hui of Ch'in and said: 'Your Majesty's State, on the West, has the produce of Pa, Shu, and Han-chung; on the North it has the use of the badgers of Hu and the horses of Tai; on the South there are the border-lands of Mt. Wu and Ch'ien-chung; and on the East the strongholds of Hsiao and Hsien. The cultivated ground is rich and choice. The people are numerous and wealthy. Of war-chariots there are ten thousand. Of warriors impetuous in attack there are a million. Of fertile country there are a thousand li. The stores are abundant. The configuration of the land is advantageous. It is what is called a Celestial Treasury, the most powerful State under heaven. With Your Majesty's ability, the multitude of your officers and people, the readiness for use of your chariots and cavalry, and their instruction in military tactics, you may annex the feudal States, absorb all under heaven, and rule with the title of Emperor. I wish Your Majesty would give it some thought. Your servant asks permission to set forth its benefits.'

The King of Ch'in said: 'I have heard that (a bird) which is not fully fledged cannot fly high, that he whose legal code is not complete cannot inflict punishments, that he whose virtue is not great cannot employ the people, that he whose instruction is not in accordance with right cannot put the great ministers to inconvenience. Now you, sire, in all seriousness, have not regarded a thousand li as a great distance but have come to my court to instruct me. I will hear you some other day.'

Su Ch'in said: 'Your servant did indeed suspect that Your Majesty would not be able to make use of (my advice). Formerly Shen-ning attacked Pu-sui, Huang-ti attacked Cho-lu and captured Ch'ih-yu, Yao attacked Huan-tou, Shun attacked San-miao, Yu attacked Kung-kung, T'ang attacked the Holder of Hsia, King Wen attacked Ts'ung, King Wu attacked Chou, Huan of Ch'i made use of war and attained the hegemony of the world. With these instances in view, how can it be that there shall be no war? Of old, envoys rushed along the roads in such haste that the hubs of their carriage wheels bumped against each other. They bound each other by means of conversations, all under heaven was unified, they formed alliances between North and South or between East and West, weapons and armour

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are not stored up, specious ministers in collusion cleverly gloss over their artful schemes, the nobles are confused and in doubt, all kinds of matters arise, more than can be controlled. The code of laws is put in order, but the people many of them act falsely. The official documents are numerous and obscure. The hundred families are in want. Superiors and inferiors are grieved with each other. The people are without resources. The regulations are clearly expressed, but military operations arise the more. There are arguments by scholars in their strange dress, but wars do not cease. Discussion are multitudinous, but the world is not well governed. Tongues are worn out and ears are deafened, but there is no result apparent. Justice is practised and good faith is kept, but the world is not kindly affectioned. And so, abandon the arts of civil life. Make use of the military arts. Provide liberally for soldiers vowed to do or die. Sew the buffcoats and sharpen the weapons. Win victory on the battlefield. As for getting advantages by simply waiting for them, extending one's territory by sitting at one's ease, even the five emperors, the three kings, the five hegemons, the intelligent lords and virtuous princes of old, if they had always wished to sit still and achieve their aims, in the nature of the case it could not be done. ~~As for those afar off~~ Therefore they followed it up with warfare. As for those afar off, the two armies met in conflict. As for those near at hand, they assailed each other with staves and lances. And only afterwards could great achievements be established. That is why when ~~arms~~ are victorious abroad justice is strong at home, when authority is established on high the people submit below. If now you wish to annex all under heaven, to encroach on the royal domain, to make hostile States submit to you, to control all within the seas, to treat the multitudes as your children, and to make the nobles your subjects, without military operations it is impossible. The hereditary rulers of the present time are careless about the best way. They are all of them confused in their instructions, disordered in their government, mystified with speeches, made doubtful with talk, sunk in arguments, and drowned in discussions. From this it may be inferred that Your Majesty is indeed unable to take action.'

The document containing his recommendations to the King of Ch'in was sent up ten times, but his advice was not acted upon. His black sable robe was worn out, his hundred pounds weight of gold was used up, and his means were exhausted. He left Ch'in and went back, his trousers tightly bound and straw sandals on his feet, carrying his books on his back and his baggage across his shoulder, emaciated in appearance, his countenance sallow and dark, his whole exterior expressive of shame.

When he got back home, his wife did not put down her weaving, his sister-in-law did not cook food for him, his father and mother did not speak to him. Su Ch'in heaved a deep sigh and said: 'My wife does not regard me as her husband, my sister-in-law does not regard me as her brother-in-law, my father and mother do not regard me as their son. It is all my own fault.'

So in the night he took out his books, arranged the several tens of cases, and got Duke T'ai's treatise 'The Secret Charm'. Bending over it, he read it aloud. He selected its essentials and made himself expert in it so as to grasp its meaning. When he felt sleepy as he was reading he took an awl and pricked his thigh until the blood flowed down to his feet and said: 'Can there be one who, offering advice to a ruler of men, is unable to make him bring forth his gold and precious stones, his brocades and embroideries, and to obtain the dignity of a high minister?'

At the end of a year, when he had thoroughly grasped its meaning, he said: 'This can of a truth be used as advice to the princes of this generation.' Thereupon, skirting the borders of Yen-wu-chi-ch'üeh, he had an interview and offered his advice to the King of Chao in his magnificent hall, clapping his hands as he talked. The King of Chao was greatly pleased and enfeoffed him as Prince of Wu-an. He received the Counsellor's seal, one hundred war chariots, one thousand bundles of brocade and embroidery, one hundred pairs of white jade discs, and ten thousand li of gold, to follow in his train.

He bound the States in an alliance of North and South and scattered the alliance of East and West, in order to repress the power of Ch'in. The result was that, while Su Ch'in was Counsellor in Chao, the passes were not open. At that time, the world in its vastness, the peoples in their multitude, the kings and nobles in their majesty, the plans of ministerial advisers, all sought decision according to the policy of Su Ch'in. Without the expense of one peck of grain, without the trouble of a single soldier, without engaging a single man in battle, without the snapping of a single bowstring, without the breaking of a single arrow, the nobles were all friendly with each other, even more than brothers.

A competent man is in authority and all the world submits. One man is employed and all the world follows. So it is said: 'Be employed in government; be not employed in feats of daring. Be employed within the court; be not employed beyond the four frontiers.'

In the time of Su Ch'in's prosperity, he had ten thousand li of gold for his own use, his chariots and horsemen in a continuous stream rolled brilliantly along the roads, the States East of the mountains under his influence gave in their submission, so that Chao came to be of great weight.

As for Su Ch'in, he was only a scholar who lived in a poor alley with a hole in the wall for a doorway, with a door made from a mulberry tree and having a twisted branch for its pivot. Leaning upon the hand-rest of his carriage and holding the reins, he travelled throughout the world. He spoke in court to the king of the nobles and stopped the mouths of those in attendance. In all the world there was no one to compare with him.

Being about to speak to the King of Ch'u, he passed Lo-yang on his way. When his father and mother heard of it, they cleaned the house and cleared the road, set out musical instruments, spread a banquet, and went thirty li beyond the walls to meet him. His wife glanced sideways at him and inclined her ear to listen. His sister-in-law crawled along the ground, bowed four times and, kneeling before him, craved his forgiveness. Su Ch'in said: 'Sister-in-law, how is it that you were so haughty before and are now so humble?' His sister-in-law said: 'Because, brother, your rank is honourable and you have much wealth.' Su Ch'in said: 'Alas! when one is poor, one's father and mother do not look upon one as a son.

When one is rich and of high rank, one's relatives fear one. Can men who live in this world be indifferent to influence and rank, to riches and honour?'

3)

King Hui of Ch'in spoke to Han Ch'üan-tzu and said: 'Su Ch'in is insulting me. He wishes by means of his own sagacity alone, going backwards and forwards among the princes East of the mountains, to form an alliance of North and South to insult Ch'in. Chao relies firmly on its numbers, and therefore takes the lead and sends Su Ch'in with presents of silk to make an alliance among the nobles. That the nobles cannot be united just as fowls tied together cannot be made to stay all on the same perch, is also clear. I have been angry and have restrained my wrath for a long time. I wish to raise up him of Wu-an to go and make my meaning plain.' Han Ch'üan-tzu said: 'Not so. For attacking and reducing walled cities, be pleased to employ him of Wu-an. For getting our State to be thought well of and employing the nobles, be pleased to employ the visiting high minister Chang I.' King Hui of Ch'in said: 'I respectfully receive your commands.'

Ling Hsiang spoke to the King of Ch'in and said: 'I wish to use Ch'i in Your Majesty's service and cause it to attack Sung. If Sung is broken, the State of Chin will be in danger and An-i will be Your Majesty's possession. Yen and Chao hate an agreement between Ch'i and Ch'in. They are sure to surrender territory to form relations with Your Majesty. Ch'i is sure to give weight to Your Majesty, and so my (policy of) attacking Sung will both make Ch'i afraid and give weight to Your Majesty. Why does Your Majesty dislike my (policy of) attacking Sung? I did not speak to you because I thought that Your Majesty's clear understanding would have realized it before.'

4)

Chang I spoke to the King of Ch'in and said: 'Your servant has heard that to speak when one does not know is to lack understanding, to know and not to speak is to be disloyal, if a servant is disloyal he ought to die, and if he speaks about what he has not investigated he ought to die. Nevertheless, your servant wishes to say all that he has heard. Let Your Majesty decide my guilt. Your servant has heard that Yen in the North and Wei in the South are uniting with Ching, strengthening Ch'i, and assembling the remnants of Han to perfect an alliance of North and South, and are about to come South-west to create difficulty for Ch'in. Your servant presumes to laugh at them. There are three kinds of ruin in the world and the States have got them. Does not that describe the present situation? Your servant has heard it said: 'If a disordered State attacks one well governed it will be ruined. If a depraved State attacks one that is upright it will be ruined. If a rebellious State attacks one that is obedient it will be ruined.' Now the treasuries and arsenals of the States are not full. The granaries and barns are empty. If they assemble all their officers and people and spread out an army a thousand million in number with naked blades in front, axes and hatchets behind, yet they will all give way, unable to face death. Not that the people of the hundred surnames are unable to face death, but because their superiors are unable. If one speaks of rewards, they are not bestowed. If one speaks of punishments, they are not inflicted. Rewards and punishments are not put into operation. That is why the people will not face death. Now Ch'in issues orders and puts rewards and punishments into operation. They are acted upon according as men have merit or not. From the time they came forth from the bosom of their parents, during the whole of their life, they have never seen an invader. When they hear of war, they stamp their feet, empty-handed and stripped they rush on to naked blades, they trample on glowing coals, and decide for the death which is before them. They are all like that. To decide for death is not the same as to decide for life, and yet the people will do it. That is because they honour a courageous death. One can overcome ten, ten

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can overcome a hundred, a hundred can overcome a thousand, a thousand can overcome ten thousand, ten thousand can overcome the world. Now the territory of Ch'in by and large is several thousand li square. It has several million soldiers of renown. Ch'in's commands, its rewards and punishments, the dangerous contour of its territory, have nothing similar in the world. If with this you join issue with the other States, they are all insufficient for you to annex. It is known that Ch'in has never waged war without victory, it has never made an attack without achieving its object, what it has opposed it has never failed to break, ~~it~~ has opened up several thousand li of territory. This is a very great achievement. Nevertheless its armour and weapons are damaged, its officers and people distressed, its stores are used up, its fields lie waste, its granaries and barns are empty, the nobles its neighbours on all four sides do not submit, the title of hegemon is not realised. This is for no other reason than that the ministers who advise you are all of them not completely loyal.

Your servant ventures to speak of bygone times. Formerly Ch'i in the South broke Ching, in the East it broke Sung, in the West it subdued Ch'in, in the North it broke Yen, in the centre it employed the Princes of Han and Wei. Its territory was extensive and its army was powerful. It issued orders throughout the world. The clear waters of the Chi and the muddy waters of the Ho sufficed for a boundary. (It was victorious in battle and successful in attack.) The great barrier of the long wall sufficed for a frontier. Ch'i was a State of five wars. In one war it was unsuccessful and there was no Ch'i. Therefore looking at it from this point of view, the preservation or destruction of (a State of) ten thousand chariots depends upon war.

Moreover your servant has heard it said: 'When you cut down a tree trunk dig out the root. Be not neighbour to calamity and calamity will not settle.' Ch'in waged war with the men of Ching and inflicted a smashing defeat on Ching. It made a surprise attack on Ying and took Tung-t'ing, Wu-tu, and Chiang-nan. The King of Ching fled and lay low in the East in Ch'ien. At that time, if Ching had been followed up with arms, it could have been taken. As for the possession of Ching, its people were worth coveting, its territory would have been profitable. With Ch'i and Yen weakened in the East, the three Chin overwhelmed in the centre, it was a case of one move and the name of hegemon might have been achieved, the neighbouring nobles from all quarters might have been brought to pay homage. But the advising ministers did not do it. They led back the army, made an agreement with the men of Ching, caused the men of Ching to get back the State which they had lost, to gather together their scattered people, set up its altars and erect its temples, causing it to lead the States to face West and make difficulty for Ch'in. This indeed was the first way not to get the hegemony.

The States with united purpose encamped below Hua. Your Majesty broke them with a stratagem. The troops marched as far as the suburbs of Liang. They besieged Liang for several tens of days. Then Liang might have been destroyed. If Liang had been destroyed Wei might have been taken. If Wei had been taken the purpose of Ching and Chao would have been interrupted. If Ching and Chao's purpose had been interrupted Chao could have been endangered. If Chao had been endangered and Ching isolated, with Ch'i and Yen weakened in the East, the three Chin overwhelmed in the centre, it was a case of one move and the name of hegemon might have been

achieved, the neighbouring nobles from all quarters might have been brought to pay homage. But the ministers ~~who~~ advised you did not do it. They led back the army, made an agreement with the House of Wei, causing the House of Wei to get back the State which it had lost, to gather together its scattered people, set up its altars and erect its temples. This was indeed the second way not to get the hegemony.

Formerly, when the Marquis of Jang was governing Ch'in, he employed the soldiers of one State and wished to achieve merit in connection with two States. The consequence was that the soldiers were exposed abroad all their lives, the officers and people were starved and distressed at home. The name of hegemon was not achieved. This was indeed the third way not to get the hegemony.

The Chao are a central State, the abode of a mixed population. Its people are light and difficult to employ. Its orders are not regulated. Its rewards and punishments are not reliable. The contour of the land is not convenient. Below, it could not use to the full the strength of its people. It had indeed the appearance of a ruined State. And yet it felt no sorrow for the populace, assembled its officers and people, and encamped below Ch'ang-p'ing in order to contend for Shang-tang in Han. Your Majesty broke it by means of a stratagem, and destroyed Wu-an. At that time among the Chao there was no good feeling between those above and those below. There was no mutual confidence between the noble and the mean. Accordingly Han-tan was not defended. If you had destroyed Han-tan, fortified Ho-chien, led your army away, and in the West attacked Hsiu-wu, crossed over Yang-ch'ang, subdued Tai and Shang-tang, the thirty six counties of Tai and the seventeen counties of Shang-tang, without the use of a single buff-coat, without hardship to one of the people, would all have been in the possession of Ch'in. Tai and Shang-tang without a battle would have become Ch'in's, Tung-yang and Ho-wai without a battle would have reverted to Ch'i, the lands North of Chung-shan and the Hu-t'o without a battle would have become Yen's. Thus if you had taken Chao, Han would certainly have been ruined. If Han had been ruined, Ching and Wei would not have been able to stand alone. If Ching and Wei had not been able to stand alone, it was a case of one move and Han would have been destroyed, Wei would have been consumed. If, with Ching intimidated, you had weakened Ch'i and Yen in the East, broken open the outlet at Pai-ma, so as to flood the Wei, with one move the three Chin would have been ruined, the alliance of North and South would have been defeated, and Your Majesty might have folded your hands and awaited the result. The States would all have come in regular succession and submitted to you, the name of hegemon might have been achieved. But the ministers who advised you did not do it. They led the army back and made an agreement with the Chao. That in spite of Your Majesty's enlightenment, and the might of Ch'in's army, the function of hegemon has not been obtained but you have been insulted by a ruined State is due to the stupidity of the ministers who advised you. Moreover Chao ought to perish but has not perished. Ch'in ought to be hegemon but is not hegemon. The States have indeed taken the measure of the advisers in Ch'in for the first time. And again you assembled your soldiers for an attack on Han-tan but could not destroy it. They threw away their weapons. In anger they went into battle, but in terror they withdrew. The States have indeed taken the measure of Ch'in's strength for the second time. And so the army was led back and assembled beneath Li. Your Majesty again assembled your army and joined battle with

with all your strength but you were not able to win a great victory, and both armies withdrew exhausted. The States have indeed taken the measure of Ch'in's strength for the third time. At home they have taken the measure of our advisers. Abroad they have experienced the full strength of our army. Looking at it from this point of view, your servant asks what is the difficulty about an alliance of North and South? At home our weapons are damaged, our officers and people are distressed, the stores are used up, the fields are lying waste, the granaries and barns are empty. Abroad the States are very firmly united in purpose. I wish Your Majesty would think about it.

Moreover your servant has heard: 'With fear and trembling, each day more careful.' If you are careful about the method, the States may be had. How may we know that this is so? Of old Chou was the Son of Heaven. He led the States in command of a million armed men. On the left they drank in the valley of the Ch'i. On the right they drank the waters of the Huan. The waters of the Ch'i were used up, and the waters of the Huan did not flow. He was using these to make difficulty for Wu of Chou. King Wu led three thousand men in plain armour. He fought for one day and broke up Chou's kingdom, captured his person, seized his territory, and got possession of his people. No one in the world was grieved. Chih Po led the hosts of three States to attack Lord Hsiang of Chao at Chin-yang. He let out the waters to flood it. At the end of three months the city was on the edge of destruction. Lord Hsiang divined by means of the tortoise, counted the stalks of milfoil, and observed the omens to see what was profitable and what was dangerous, which State could be made to submit, and sent Chang Meng-t'an who thereupon went out secretly, overturned the alliance with Chih Po, obtained the armies of two States with which to attack Chih Po's State, and captured his person, thereby completing Lord Hsiang's achievement.

Now the territory of Ch'in by and large is several thousand li square. It has several million warriors of renown. Ch'in's commands, its rewards and punishments, the dangerous contour of its territory, have nothing similar in the world. If with this you join issue with the other States, they are all insufficient for you to annex. Your servant at the risk of death looks forward to an interview with Your Majesty to speak of the means whereby the alliance of North and South may be broken up, Chao may be taken, Han destroyed, Ching and Wei made your subjects, Ch'i and Yen your friends, so that you may achieve the name of hegemon, and bring the nobles your neighbours from all quarters to pay homage. Let Your Majesty give the explanation a trial hearing. If with one move the alliance of North and South is not broken, Chao is not taken, Han is not ruined, Ching and Wei are not brought into subjection, Ch'i and Yen are not made friendly, the name of hegemon is not achieved, the nobles your neighbours from all quarters do not pay homage, let Your Majesty cut off your servant's head and display it throughout the State as the chief of those whose advice is not loyal.

5) Chang I wished to borrow soldiers from Ch'in in order to deliver Wei. Tso Ch'eng spoke to Kan Mou and said: 'Your best plan, sir, is to give them. If Wei does not return the soldiers of Ch'in, Chang-tzu will not return to Ch'in. If Wei does return the soldiers of Ch'in, Chang-tzu will have realized his aims in Wei and will not dare to return to Ch'in. If Chang-tzu does not go away from Ch'in, he will certainly be high above you.'

6)
 Ssu-ma Ts'o and Chang I were disputing before King Hui of Ch'in. Ssu-ma Ts'o wished to attack Shu. Chang I said: 'It would be better to attack Han.' The King said: 'Let me hear it explained.' He replied: 'Establish good relations with Wei and Ch'u. Send troops down to San-ch'uan. Block up the entrance to Huan-yuan and Kou-shih. Bar the way to T'un-liu. Let Wei cut off Nan-yang. Let Ch'u descend upon Nan-cheng. Let Ch'in attack Hsin-ch'eng and I-yang. And so descend upon the frontiers of the two Chou, punish the crime of the Prince of Chou, and invade the lands of Ch'u and Wei. Chou will realize that it has no hope of deliverance. The nine tripods and the precious utensils are sure to be brought forth. If you get possession of the nine tripods, have charge of the maps and registers, and in the name of the Son of Heaven issue commands to the world, no one in the world will dare to disobey. That will be a royal enterprise. Now as for Shu, it is an out-of-the-way State in the West and is chief of the Jung and the Ti. If you exhaust your soldiers and weary the people, it will not suffice to achieve renown. If you get its lands, they will not suffice to bring you wealth. Your servant has heard: 'Those who contend for renown do so in the court. Those who contend for profit do so in the marketplace.' Now San-ch'uan and the household of Chou are the marketplace and the court of the world; and yet Your Majesty does not contend there but turns back to contend among the Jung and the Ti. That is far removed from a royal enterprise."

Ssu-ma Ts'o said: "Not so. Your servant has heard: 'He who wishes to make his State wealthy exerts himself to extend its territory. He who wishes to make his soldiers powerful exerts himself to enrich his people. He who wishes to be king exerts himself to make his virtue great. If these three qualifications are complete, kingship will follow them.' Now Your Majesty's territory is small and your people are poor. Therefore your servant wishes to follow a course which is easy. As for Shu, it is an out-of-the-way State in the West and is the chief of the Jung and the Ti. Moreover it has disorders like those of Chieh and Chou. To attack it with Ch'in is like sending a wolf to chase a flock of sheep. If you take its lands, they will suffice to extend the State. If you get its wealth, it will suffice to enrich the people. If you put your weapons in order, it will have submitted before the people have suffered any injury. Thus we shall uproot a State and yet the world will not regard us as oppressive. We shall get all the wealth of the Western Sea and yet the nobles will not regard us covetous. So we shall at one stroke attack to ourselves both renown and real advantage, and we shall also have the reputation of having repressed violence and corrected disorder. Now to attack Han is to violate the Son of Heaven. To violate the Son of Heaven is a bad reputation and is of doubtful advantage. Moreover to have an unrighteous reputation and to launch an attack which the world does not desire is dangerous. Allow your servant to state the reasons. Chou is the ancestral household of the world. Han is a State in alliance with Chou. If Chou realizes that it may lose the nine tripods and Han realizes that it may lose San-ch'uan, they will be sure to unite the forces of the two States in a common policy in order that by means of Ch'i and Chao they may seek release from Ch'u and Wei, giving the tripods to Ch'u and lands to Wei. Your Majesty will not be able to prevent them. This is what your servant says is dangerous and not so good as to attack Shu."

King Hui said: 'Good. I will follow your advice.' In the end he raised troops to attack Shu and in the tenth month he took it, whereupon

he settled the affairs of Shu, changed the title of the lord of Shu to Marquis, and sent Ch'en Chuang to be Counsellor in Shu. When Shu had been annexed, Ch'in became increasingly powerful and wealthy and despised the nobles.

7) The way Chang I injured Ch'u-li Chi was to send him on an important mission to Ch'u and take the opportunity to get the King of Ch'u to ask for him that he might be made Counsellor in Ch'in. Chang-tzu spoke to the King of Ch'in and said: "That Ch'u-li Chi was sent on an important mission to Ch'u was for the sake of relations between the States. Now that he is himself in Ch'u the King of Ch'u takes the opportunity to ask for him that he may be made Counsellor in Ch'in. Your servant has heard that he has said: 'Does Your Majesty wish to embarrass Chang I in Ch'in? Allow your servant to help Your Majesty.' The King of Ch'u has agreed and so asks for him the position of Counsellor. If now Your Majesty does listen to the request, he will surely employ the State in the service of the King of Ch'u." The King of Ch'in was very angry. Ch'u-li Chi fled.

8) Chang I wished to give Han-chung to Ch'u. He asked the King of Ch'in, saying 'The possession of Han-chung is injurious. If a tree is planted in an unsuitable place, men are sure to do it harm. If a household has unrighteous wealth, it will suffer hurt. Now Han-chung on our southern frontier is advantageous for Ch'u. That is why it is an encumbrance to the State.'

Kan Mou spoke to the King and said: 'Is he who possesses extensive territory sure to have much anxiety? If there is a revolution among the States and Your Majesty surrenders Han-chung to make an agreement with Ch'u, Ch'u will be sure to turn from the other States and join with Your Majesty. If Your Majesty gives Han-chung to Ch'u now, how will Your Majesty do business with Ch'u when there is a revolution among the States?'

9) Ch'u attacked Wei. Chang I spoke to the King of Ch'in and said: 'The best plan is to join with Wei so as to strengthen it. If Wei is successful in the war it will again obey Ch'in; it will be sure to give in the lands beyond the West of the Ho. If it is not successful, Wei will be unable to defend them and Your Majesty will be sure to take them.'

The king made use of I's advice. He took ten thousand soldiers and a hundred chariots belonging to P'i-shih and joined with Wei. Hsi Shou overcame King Wei in battle. The soldiers of Wei were worn out. It was afraid of Ch'in and did as a matter of fact present the lands beyond the West of the Ho.

10) T'ien Shen-chih spoke on behalf of Ch'en Chen to King Hui of Ch'in and said: "Your servant fears that Your Majesty may be like the Prince of Kuo. Duke Hsien of Chin wished to attack Kuo but was afraid because Chou Chih-ch'iao was there. Hsun Hsi said: 'In the Book of Chou it is said: 'A beautiful woman breaks the tongue. So he sent him a female musician to disorder his government. Chou Chih-ch'iao remonstrated but was not heeded, whereupon he withdrew. (Duke Hsien) seized the opportunity to attack Kuo and broke it up. He also wished to assault Yu but was afraid because Kung Chih-ch'i was there. Hsun Hsi said: 'In the Book of Chou it is said: A handsome man breaks the old.' So he sent him a handsome man with instructions to speak evil of Kung Chih-ch'i. Kung Chih-ch'i because his remonstrances were not heeded thereupon went away. (Duke Hsien) seized the opportunity to assault Yu and took it. Now Ch'in regards itself as a

royal (State). That which can injure Your Majesty's State is Ch'u. Ch'u knows the skill of the Prince of Heng-men in the use of troops and the sagacity of Ch'en Chen. It therefore promotes Chang I to a proud position by means of the five States. If he comes he is sure to speak evil of those two men. I wish Your Majesty ~~to pay no heed.~~ Chang I did in fact come. In his conversation he took opportunity to speak about Chen. The King was angry and would not listen. Chang I again spoke evil of Ch'en Chen to the King of Ch'in, saying: 'Chen runs between Ch'in and Ch'u. Now Ch'u does not become increasingly well disposed towards Ch'in but is well disposed towards Chen. It must be that Chen is acting for himself and not for the State. Moreover Chen wishes to leave Ch'in and go to Ch'u. Why does not Your Majesty enquire about it?' The King spoke to Ch'en Chen and said: 'I have heard, sir, that you wish to leave Ch'in and go to Ch'u. Is that true?' Ch'en Chen said: 'It is.' The King said: 'Then I's words were true.' He said: 'Now only I know it. Every wayfarer knows it.' He ~~went on to~~ say: 'Hsiao Chi loved his father. Throughout the world they all wanted him for a son. Tzu-hsu was loyal to his Prince. Throughout the world they all wanted him for a minister. If you sell a slave girl and she is sold to someone in the same street, she must be a good slave girl. If you send forth a woman to wife and she is married to someone in the same countryside, she must be a good wife. If I were not loyal to Your Highness, how would Ch'u come to regard me as loyal? If, though I am loyal, I am rejected, if I do not go to Ch'u, whither shall I go?' The King of Ch'in said: 'Good' and retained him.

11)

Ch'en Chen left Ch'u and went to Ch'in. Chang I spoke to the king of Ch'in and said: 'Although Ch'en Chen is Your Majesty's servant, he is constantly reporting the affairs of the State to Ch'u. I am unable to serve along with him. I wish Your Majesty would expel him. If he goes to Ch'u again I wish Your Majesty would kill him.' The King said: 'How dare Chen go to Ch'u?' The King summoned Ch'en Chen and informed him saying: 'I can listen, sir, to what you have to say. Whither do you want to go? Allow me, sir, to equip your carriage.' He replied: 'Your servant wishes to go to Ch'u.' The King said: '(Chang) I thought you would go to Ch'u, and I myself knew that you would go to Ch'u. If, sir, you did not go to Ch'u, whither would you go?' Chen said: 'If your servant leaves the States I will certainly go to Ch'u of set purpose so that I may comply with Your Majesty and I's scheme, and make it plain whether I am helping Ch'u or not. There was a man of Ch'u who had two wives. Someone sought to seduce the elder. The elder reviled him. He sought to seduce the younger. The younger consented to him. Not long after, the husband of the two wives died. A visitor said to the seducer: 'Will you take the elder or the younger?' He said: 'I will take the elder.' The visitor said: 'The elder reviled you. The younger agreed to you. Why take the elder?' He said: 'When she dwelt in that man's house I wanted her to consent to me. Now when she is my wife I want her to revile men for me.' Now the King of Ch'u is an intelligent ruler and Chao Yang is a worthy Counsellor. If as servant of another prince I have constantly sent news of the state to Ch'u, the King of Ch'u will be sure not to keep me there and Chao Yang will not serve along with me. Thus it will be made plain whether your servant is helping Ch'u or not.'

Chen went out. Chang I came in and asked the King, saying: 'Whither in fact is Ch'en Chen going?' The King said: 'That Chen is the most skilful debater in the world. He looked at me closely and said: 'I am certainly going to Ch'u.' There was thus nothing that I could do. So I asked him: 'You are certainly going to Ch'u. Then what Chang I said was in fact true.'

then said:

✓ Not only did (Chang) I say it, but every wayfarer knows it. Formerly Tzu-hsu served His Prince loyally. Throughout the world they all wanted him for a minister. Hsiao Chi loved his father. Throughout the world they all wanted him for a son. So if you sell a slave girl and without going out of your own street someone takes her, she is a good slave girl. If you send forth a woman to wife and she is married to someone in the same countryside she is a good wife. If your servant were not loyal to Your Majesty, what would Ch'u have to do with me? If, though loyal I am still rejected, and I do not go to Ch'u, whither shall I go? "

The King agreed that this was so, whereupon he treated him well.

12x

Ch'in 11

1)

Ch'i helped Ch'u in an attack upon Ch'in and took Ch'u-wu. Afterwards Ch'in wished to attack Ch'i. The relations between Ch'i and Ch'u being good, King Hui was troubled about it. He spoke to Chang I and said: 'I wish to attack Ch'i, but Ch'i and Ch'u just now are on good terms. As you, sir, think about it for me, what is to be done?' Chang I said: 'Let Your Majesty equip carriages and ~~gather presents for your servant~~ collect presents for your servant and allow me try what can be done.'

Chang I went South and had an interview with the King of Ch'u. He said: 'Of those whom the king of our humble town likes much there is none whom he likes more than Your Majesty, and of those whom I myself desire much to serve as minister there is none whom I desire to serve more than Your Majesty. Of those also whom the king of our humble town hates much there is none whom he hates more than the King of Ch'i, and of those whom I myself hate much there is none whom I hate more than the King of Ch'i. Now the offence of the king of Ch'i against your humble town is very great. Our humble town wishes to launch an attack but your great State is on good terms with it. That is why the king of our humble town is unable to serve in obedience to your commands, and I am unable to be your servant. If Your Majesty can indeed close the passes and break with Ch'i, your servant will with your permission cause the King of Ch'in to present the lands of Shang-yu, six hundred li square. In this way, Ch'i will certainly be weakened, and if Ch'i is weakened it will certainly be at Your Majesty's service. In that case, in the North you will weaken Ch'i, in the West you will earn the gratitude of Ch'in, and you will get the lands of Shang-yu for your own benefit. That is, by this one policy three benefits will all come to you.' The King of Ch'u was very pleased. He announced it at court, saying: 'I have obtained the lands of Shang-yu, six hundred li square.' The ministers heard of it and when they came into his presence they all congratulated him. Ch'en Chen was the last to appear. He alone did not offer congratulations. The King of Ch'u said: 'Without inconvenience to a single soldier, without injury to a single man, I have obtained the lands of Shang-yu, six hundred li. I myself think that I have acted wisely. All my officers congratulate me. You alone, sir, do not congratulate me. How is that?' Ch'en Chen replied: 'Your servant sees that the lands of Shang-yu are not to be got, and that trouble is sure to come. That is why I do not dare to offer empty congratulations.' The King said: 'How is that?' He replied: 'The reason Ch'in gives weight to Your Majesty is that Your Majesty has Ch'i. Now the lands are to be got and if Ch'i is first annihilated Ch'u will be left in isolation. And how will Ch'in give weight to an isolated state? Moreover, as for first parting with the lands