

1) Ch'in summoned the King of Yen. The King of Yen wished to go. Su Tai restrained the King of Yen, saying: "Ch'u got Chih but the State was ruined. Ch'i got Sung but the State was ruined. How was it that Ch'i and Ch'u because of their possession of Chih and Sung were not able to serve Ch'in? It was because (states) which have achieved success are profoundly hated by Ch'in. Ch'in takes possession of the states, not by the practice of justice but by violence. In its exercise of violence towards the States Ch'in made a direct announcement to Ch'u, saying: 'Armed men from the lands of Su, floating in light boats down the Wén, taking advantage of the summer waters, and coming down the Chiang, in five days will reach Ying. Armed men from Han-chung, coming forth in lights boats at Pa, taking advantage of the summer waters, and coming down the Han, in four days will reach Wu-chu. If I assemble my armed men East of Yüan and go down to Sui, before the men of understanding have had time to make their plans and the men of valour have had time to work up their ~~wrath~~, I shall be like one shooting at a hawk. And if Your Majesty waits for the states to attack Hsien-ku, will not that be a long way off?' The King of Ch'u for this reason served Ch'in for seventeen years.

Ch'in made a direct announcement to Han, saying: 'If I start in Shao-ch'ü, in a single day I will cut off T'ai-hang. If I start in I-yang and assault P'ing-yang, in two days there will be nothing which is not completely shaken. If I cross the two Chou and assault Chéng, in five days the State will be occupied.' The House of Han thought that it was so and therefore served Ch'in.

Ch'in made a direct announcement to Wei, saying: 'If I occupy An-i ^{and} block up Nü-chi, T'ai-yüan belonging to the House of Han will be rolled up. If I descend to Chih, go by way of Nan-yang, Fêng, and Chi, envelope the two Chou, take advantage of the summer waters, and float in light boats, with powerful crossbows in front and sharp spears behind, and if I cut off Jung-k'ou, Wei will not have Ta-liang; if I cut off the entrance to Pai-ma, Wei will not have Chi-yang; if I cut off the entrance to Su-hsü, Wei will not have Hsü and Tun-ch'iu. If I attack on land I will strike at Houma. If I attack by water I will destroy Ta-liang.' The House of Wei thought that it was so and therefore served Ch'in.

Ch'in wished to attack An-i but it was afraid that Ch'i might come to the rescue so it handed Sung over to Ch'i, saying: 'The King of Sung is unprincipled. He made a wooden image to represent me and shot arrows at its face. My territory is distant, my soldiers are far away. I ~~cannot~~ ^{cannot} attack. If Your Majesty can break Sung and possess it, I shall regard it as if I had got it myself.' When it had got An-i, it blocked up Nü-chi and then treated the break-up of Sung as a wrong done by Ch'i.

Ch'in wished to attack Ch'i but it was afraid that the States would come to the rescue so it handed Ch'i over to the States, saying: 'The King of Ch'i made four treaties with me and four times deceived me; and three times he insisted on leading the other states to attack me. If there is Ch'i there will be no Ch'in. If there is no Ch'i there will be Ch'in. You must attack it, you must ruin it.' When it had got I-yang and Shao-ch'ü and taken to itself Lin and Shih, it then treated the break-up of Ch'i as a wrong done by the States.

Ch'in, wishing to attack Wei, honoured Ch'u and handed Nan-yang over to Ch'u, saying: 'I am indeed a long way off from Han. If the destruction of Chü-ling and the blocking up of Méng-yai is advantageous to Ch'u, I shall regard it as if I had them myself.' Wei abandoned its allied State and made an agreement with Ch'in. (Ch'in) then treated the blocking up of Méng-yai as a wrong done by Ch'u.

When its soldiers were hemmed in at Lin-chung it gave honour to Yen and

Chao, handing Chiao-tung over to Yen and handing Chi-hsi over to Chao. When it had made terms with Wei and sent the kung-tzu Yen as a hostage, it appointed Hsi Shou to command the ranks and attacked Chao. When its soldiers suffered injury at Lin and Shih and met with defeat at Ma-ling, it gave honour to Wei and handed Shê and Ts'ai over to Wei. When it had made terms with Chao, it plundered Wei. When Wei was not embarrassed by the surrender of lands it caused the Queen-mother and the Marquis of Jang to effect a settlement. When he was successful he deceived both his uncle and his mother. The messenger who upbraided Yen said: 'It is because of Chiao-tung.' He who upbraided Chao said: 'It is because of Chi-hsi.' He who upbraided Wei said: 'It is because of Shê and Ts'ai.' He who upbraided Ch'u said: 'It is because you blocked up Mêng-yai.' He who upbraided Ch'i said: 'It is because of Sung.' In this way he certainly turns his words about and uses his soldiers like stabbing an insect. His mother cannot control him. His uncle cannot restrain him. In the battle of Lung-chia, in the battle of An-mên, in the battle of Fêng-ling, in the battle of Kao-shang, in the battle with Chao Chuang, those of the people of the three Chin whom Ch'in slew amounted to several millions. Those who are alive now are all the orphans of those whom Ch'in slew. The disasters beyond Ho-hsi, in the lands of Shang-lo, in San-ch'uan and the state of Chin, involved half of the three Chin. The disasters inflicted by Ch'in are as great as this; and yet Yen and Chao with respect to Ch'in both please its lord by contending in the service of Ch'in. This is what causes your servant great trouble."

King Chao of Yen did not go. Su Tai was again honoured in Yen. Yen turned and bound the nobles in an alliance of North and South. In the time of Su Ch'in there was now an alliance of North and South and now there was not, but the States from this time gave their allegiance to Su-shih's ~~proposing~~ alliance of North and South. Tai and Li both died in old age. Their name was illustrious among the nobles.

2)

Su Tai spoke to the prince of Fêng-yang about making Yen pleased with Chao so as to attack Ch'i. The prince of Fêng-yang paid no heed. So he entered Ch'i, spoke evil of Chao, and got Ch'i to break with Chao. When Ch'i had broken with Chao he went next to Yen and spoke to King Chao, saying: "Han has spoken about the affair to your servant and said: 'Someone has informed the prince of Fêng-yang, saying: "It is Su-tzu who has caused Ch'i not to have confidence in Chao. It is Su-tzu who has caused the King of Ch'i to summon Shu-tzu and make him not attack Sung. It is Su-tzu who has schemed with the King of Ch'i and secretly taken Ch'in to scheme against Chao. It is also Su-tzu who is making Ch'i guard the hostage from Chao with armed men. Allow me to make this announcement to you, sir, so as to make request from Ch'i." If Ch'i does guard the hostage from Chao with armed men we will certainly guard you, sir, with armed men.' Their words are evil. Nevertheless, let not Your Majesty be troubled. Your servant knew full well that to enter Ch'i would entail complications with Chao. I went forth and did it in order to achieve my desire. If your servant dies but Ch'i has great enmity towards Chao it will be as if your servant lived. If relations between Ch'i and Chao are broken-off they may be thrown into great confusion. But your servant is not Chang Fêng-t'an. If your servant were like Chang Fêng-t'an Ch'i and Chao would be sure to have someone to act like Chih Po."

3)

The prince of Fêng-yang informed Chu Huan and Chao Tsu, saying: "The King of Ch'i sent Kung-yü Yieh to command me, saying, 'You must not return Han Min'. Now he summons him. (He said): 'You must not employ Su-tzu in your affairs.' Now he enfeoffs him and makes him his counsellor. (He said): 'Cause that there be no agreement with Yen.' Now he regards Yen as his chief ally. What

rely on is consistency. Now his words are changeable, more so than his
 father's. He was consistent at first and he was not consistent afterwards. He gave I
 him a man of worth and he was not a man of worth. He gave me a man of worth and
 he was not a man of worth. He gave me a man of worth and he was not a man of worth.
 Prince of Fêng-yang's anger is very great. He has the mind of a man of worth. He
 faith in Chao and he fears the prince of Fêng-yang as a man of worth. He
 of this you will regret it. It will not be enough to make your servant's death
 and entangling the great confusion of the present time. It will not be able to
 words be able to do you any harm. Therefore if it is possible (not to
 arrange an agreement between Ch'i and Chao, death will not be enough to
 cause your servant trouble, flight will not be enough to disgrace your
 servant, to be one of the nobles will not be enough for your servant's
 glory, to have my hair dishevelled and my body varnished and covered with
 sores will not be enough to put your servant to shame. But your servant
 a creature. If when your servant dies Ch'i and Chao are not in agreement
 but their bad relationship is removed with your servant and afterwards
 they give presents to each other- that is what troubles your servant. If
 as a result of your servant's death they are certain to attack each
 other your servant will certainly exert himself to seek death. Yao and
 Shun were men of worth and yet they died. Yu and T'ang were men of under-
 standing and yet they died. Méng Pên was a man of valour and yet he died.
 Wu Huo was a man of great strength and yet he died. Is there indeed a
 living thing which does not die? When it rests with something which is
 inevitable to achieve what one desires why is Your Majesty doubtful?
 Your servant thinks that the best plan is to separate Ch'i and Chao. If your
 servant separates Ch'i and Chao and Chao goes away a fugitive.
 If from Ch'i your servant brings Han and Wei into accord and gets Ch'in
 for it and binds (Yen) closely to Chao and so strengthen it, we shall be
 near to a conflict between them. Although your servant does this, it will
 not involve Yen. The prince of Fêng-yang informed Chu Huan, saying: 'Su-tai
 is angry that the King of Yen, not because of me, does not make him
 Counsellor, nor does he make him a high minister. It looks as if he has
 not (the favour of) Yen.' His suspicions reach as far as this. Therefore,
 although your servant acts thus I shall not involve Yen, and I do not
 wish Your Majesty (to do anything). I Yin fled twice from T'ang and went
 to Chieh. He fled twice from Chieh and went to T'ang. In the end he took
 part in the battle of Ming-t'iao and made T'ang the Son of Heaven. Wu
 Tzu-hsü fled from Ch'u and went to Wu and in the end took part in the
 battle of Po-chü and avenged his father. If now your servant flees and
 entangles Ch'i and Chao I can for the first time be recorded in the
 Ch'un-ch'iu. Moreover of those who have undertaken great enterprises who
 has not been a fugitive? In the difficulties connected with Duke Huan, Kung
 chung fled to Lu. In the difficulties connected with Yang Hu, Kung-tzu fled
 to Wei. Chang I fled to Ch'u. Pai Kuei fled to Ch'in. Wang Chu was
 Counsellor in Chung-shan. He went on a mission to Chao. Chao demanded
 lands with violence. Wang Chu forced the pass and fled. In the difficulties
 connected with Wai-sun, the Duke of Hsieh released Pai and fled through
 the pass. The three Chin spoke honourably of him as an officer. Therefore
 in the undertaking of great enterprises flight is not enough to be
 counted a disgrace.'

In the end he broke off Ch'i from Chao. Chao made an agreement with
 Yen to attack Ch'i and defeated it.

4)

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Su Tai was speaking to Ch'i on behalf of Yen. Before his interview with the King of Ch'i he spoke to Shun-yü K'un and said: "There was a man selling a fine horse. For three mornings he stood in the market-place. No one knew. He went to see Po Lo and said: 'your servant has a fine horse which I wish to sell. For three mornings I have stood in the market-place. No one has spoke to me. I wish you, sir, would turn and gaze at it, and look at it over your shoulder as you go away. Your servant asks permission to present one morning's price.' So Po Lo turned and gazed at it and looked at it over his shoulder as he went away. In one morning the price of the horse increased tenfold. Now your servant wishes to appear before the King with a fine horse. There is no one to go before and behind your servant. Has Your Highness a mind to be your servant, s Po Lo? Your servant asks permission to present a pair of white jadestones and one thousand i of gold for your horses' provender." Shun-yü K'un said: "I respectfully hear your commands." He went in and spoke to the King and procured an interview for him. The King of Ch'i was greatly pleased with Su-tzü.

5)

Su Tai sent men from Ch'i to speak to King Chao of Yen and say: "Your servant has made a separation between Ch'i and Chao. Ch'i and Chao have been isolated. Why does not Your Majesty send out soldiers to attack Ch'i? Your servant asks permission to weaken it for Your Majesty." So Yen attacked Ch'i and made an assault on Chin. He got someone to speak to King Min and say: "Yen's attack on Ch'i is in order to get back its ancient territory. The soldiers of Yen are in Chin but they do not advance. That must be because their soldiers are weak and their plans are doubtful. Why does not Your Majesty order ~~some~~ Su-tzü to take command and oppose Yen? If a man of worth like Su-tzü takes command and opposes feeble Yen, Yen is sure to be broken. If Yen is broken, Chao will not dare not to obey. In that case Your Majesty will break Yen and subdue Chao." King Min said: "Good." So he spoke to Su-tzü and said: "The soldiers of Yen are in Chin. Now I am sending out soldiers to oppose them. I wish you, sir, to take command of them for me." He replied: "How is your servant competent to deal with soldiers? Let Your Majesty change the appointment. If Your Majesty employs me, it is defeating Your Majesty's soldiers and sending your servant away to Yen. If we are not victorious in battle, there can be no recovery." The King said: "Go. I understand you, sir."

Su-tzü thereupon took the command and fought with the men of Yen below Chin. The army of Ch'i was defeated. Yen captured twenty thousand armed men. Su-tzü collected his remaining soldiers for the defence of Yang-ch'êng, and reported to King Min, saying: "Your Majesty made a mistake in your appointment. You ordered your servant to oppose Yen. Now the army has been defeated and has lost twenty thousand men. My offence merits the axe. Allow me to give myself up to your officer for execution." King Min said: "This is my mistake. Do not regard it as your offence, sir." On the morrow he, on the one hand, made Yen attack Yang-ch'êng and Li and, on the other, sent a man to speak to King Min and say: "The other day Ch'i was unsuccessful below Chin. This was not the fault of the soldiers. Ch'i was unfortunate and Yen had the favour of Heaven. Now Yen is also attacking Yang-ch'êng and Li. That is, they are regarding the favour of Heaven as their own achievement. Det Your Majesty employ Su-tzü again to oppose them. Su-tzü at first caused Your Majesty's soldiers to suffer defeat. Afterwards he will certainly exert himself to report a victory to Your Majesty." The King said: "Good." So he again employed Su-tzü. Su-tzü firmly declined. The King paid no heed. Thereupon he took the command and fought with Yen at Yang-ch'êng. The men of Yen won a great victory. They took thirty thousand heads. In Ch'i the Prince and his ministers were on unfriendly terms, the hearts of the hundred surnames were estranged. Yen took the opportunity to employ Yo I to raise a great force

for an attack on Ch'i and broke it.

6)

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Su Tai from Ch'i presented a document to the King of Yen and said: "When your servant went away I knew quite well that there would be adverse comments. Therefore on my departure I presented a document to your attendants. It said: 'If your servant is honoured in Ch'i, the great officers of Yen will have no confidence in me. If your servant is despised, they will make light of me. If your servant is employed, they will expect much from me. If Ch'i is not well disposed, they will put the blame on me. If the States do not attack Ch'i, they will say that I am planning well for Ch'i. If the states attack Ch'i, they will unite with Ch'i to betray me. My situation is like a pile of eggs. Your majesty spoke to your servant and said: 'I will certainly not listen to the voice of the multitude and to slanderous speech. I believe in you. I will cut (slanderers) off like grass. In the first place you may get employment in Ch'i. In the second place you may get confidence from those below. Provided you do not die there is nothing you may not do. You may have confidence in yourself.' You spoke to me and said: 'You may go from Yen to Ch'i, with the sole aim of completing what you have undertaken.' Your servant received orders to get employment in Ch'i. At the end of five years, Ch'i has several times sent soldiers forth, but has never plotted against Yen. The relations between Ch'i and Chao are such that there is now agreement and now separation. If the King of Yen does not join with Ch'i to plot against Chao he joins with Chao to plot against Ch'i. Ch'i's confidence in Yen is such that it has left its northern territories empty and sent their soldiers on expeditions elsewhere. Now Your Majesty believes what T'ien Fa and Ts'an Ch'u-chi say ~~saying~~ and attacks Ch'i, causing Ch'i to be like dogs and horses and make no mention of Yen. Now Your Majesty also sends Ch'ing with orders to your servant, saying: 'I wish to use those of whom I approve.' If Your Majesty really wishes to use them, your servant asks permission on Your Majesty's behalf to serve them. If Your Majesty wishes to release your servant and employ only those of whom you approve, your servant asks permission to return the service from which I have been released. If your servant can obtain an interview my desires will be fulfilled."

7)

Ch'ên Ts'ui was making an agreement between Ch'i and Yen. He was going to send the King of Yen's younger brother as a hostage to Ch'i. The King of Yen consented. When the Queen-Mother heard of it, she was very angry and said: 'Duke Ch'ên is unable to manage another's State. Let that suffice. How should there be the separation of a son and his mother? Old woman as I am, I wish to get my will on him.' Ch'ên Ts'ui wished to have an interview with the Queen-Mother. The King said: 'The Queen-Mother is angry with you just now. Wait awhile, sir.' Ch'ên Ts'ui said: 'There is no harm.' Thereupon he went in, saw the Queen-Mother, and said: 'Why so thin?' The Queen-Mother said: 'Being able to avail myself of the wild geese and ducks left over by the former King from his meals I ought not to be thin. I am thin because of my grief that the kung-tzû is to be a hostage in Ch'i.' Ch'ên Ts'ui said: 'The rulers of men do not love their sons nearly as much as common men do. Not only do you not love your son, but you alone, madam, are very lacking in love for your husband.' The Queen-Mother said: 'How so?' He replied: 'When Your Majesty married your daughter to one of the nobles you presented her with a thousand (catties) of silver and bestowed on her a hundred li of territory, considering that she had reached the goal of her life. Now the King wishes to enfeoff the kung-tzû. The hundred officers in the discharge of their duty, the crowd of ministers in the fulfilment of their loyalty, say: 'The kung-tzû has not achieved anything. He ought not to be enfeoffed.' Now that the King is using the kung-tzû as a hostage and is regarding

this as his meritorious service and is enfeoffing him, Your Majesty will not hear of it. That is why your servant knows that Your Majesty alone among the rulers of men is very lacking in love for your husband. Moreover Your Majesty and the King are happily both with us. Therefore the kung-tzu is held in honour. After the completion of Your Majesty's years, when the King has abandoned the state, and the heir-apparent has come to the throne, the kung-tzu will be as low in estate as a common man. Therefore unless the kung-tzu is enfeoffed by Your Majesty and the King, he will not be enfeoffed to the end of his life."

The queen-Mother said: 'Old woman as I am I do not understand the plans of a superior man.' So she commanded the kung-tzu to yoke his carriage and arrange his garments in preparation for the journey.

3) King Chao of Yen was about to join with the other States to attack Ch'i. And there was a native of Ch'i who was serving as an officer in Yen. King Chao summoned him and spoke to him, saying: 'I am about to join with the other States to attack Ch'i. My orders will be issued any day. You, sir, are sure to dispute them. If you dispute them and are not heeded, you will in consequence depart and go to Ch'i. By and By I shall be at peace again, and I shall serve Ch'i by means of you.'

At this time yen and Ch'i could not both stand and yet all the while his sole desire was the purpose of receiving it again (in friendship) ~~again~~ like this.

9) There was a famine in Yen. Chao was about to attack it. Ch'u sent a general to yen. Passing through wei, he had an interview with Chao K'uei. Chao K'uei said: 'If to remove danger so that it did not arrive were easier than to eliger from danger, Wu Tzu-hsü and Kung Chih-ch'i would not have been employed, Chu Chih-wu and Chang Méng-t'an would have received great rewards. For this reason those who frame policies all busy themselves with ways of removing danger and employ first those who can remove dangers so that they do not arrive. If now I send Your Lordship on your way with a hundred (catties) of silver it will not be so good as if I send you with words. Let your Lordship listen to my words and speak them to the King of Chao, saying: 'Formerly Wu attacked Ch'i because it was suffering from famine. In its attack on Ch'i it was not ~~so successful~~ decidedly successful and feeble Yüeh took occasion from its exhaustion to become Hegemon. Now Your Majesty's attack on Yen is also because of its famine. If in your-attack you are not decidedly successful and powerful Ch'in occupies Your Majesty's northern (lands) with soldiers, you will be making feeble Chao occupy the position of powerful Wu and powerful Ch'in occupy the position from which feeble Yüeh became Hegemon. I wish Your Majesty would give the matter your mature consideration.'"

So the messenger spoke thus to the King of Chao. The King of Chao was very pleased and desisted. When King Chao of Yen heard of it he enfeoffed him with lands.

0) ,the prince of Ch'ang-kuo, on behalf of King Chao of Yen, united the oldiers of five States and attacked Ch'i. He subdued more than seventy cities aking them all into departments and Counties attached to Yen. There were only three cities which had not submitted when King Chao of yen died. King ui came to the throne. Through the use of intrigues by the men of Ch'i he became suspicious of Yo I and sent Ch'i Chieh to replace him as commander. Yo I fled to Chao. Chao enfeoffed him as prince of Wang-chu. T'ien-Tan of Ch'i deceived Ch'i Chieh and in the end defeated the army of Yen, took back the

more than seventy cities and restored them to Ch'i. The King of Yen repented. He was afraid that Chao would employ Yo I and take advantage of Yen's exhaustion to attack Yen. So the King of Yen sent someone to upbraid Yo I and to excuse himself, saying: 'The former King entrusted the whole of the state to you, general. On behalf of Yen you broke Ch'i. You avenged the former King. There was no State which was not moved. How dare I for a single day forget your achievements? When the former King abandoned his ministers and I came new to the throne those about me misunderstood me. The reason I sent Ch'i Chieh to take command instead of you was that you had been so long exposed abroad. I therefore summoned you for rest and consultation. You heard wrongly. You thought that there was a rift between us and so you cast off Yen and went to Chao. It is permissible for you to make plans for yourself but how will you also recompense the mind of the former King in his treatment of you?'

So the Prince of Wang-chu sent someone to present a document in reply to the King of Yen, saying: 'Your servant is not clever. I was unable to receive the instructions of the former King so as to accord with the feelings of those about you. I was afraid that I might incur a capital offence and so injure the former King's enlightenment and also do harm to Your Majesty's justice. I therefore took refuge in Chao. I submitted myself to the guilt of incompetency. Therefore I did not dare to make an explanation. Now Your Majesty has sent a messenger to indicate my offence. Your servant is afraid that your attendants do not clearly understand the principles on which the former King cultivated his favourite ministers and also are not clear as to the spirit in which your servant served the former King. Therefore I venture to reply in a document. Your servant has heard that a sagely prince does not bestow emoluments privately upon his relatives; he gives them to those whose achievements have been many. He does not follow with official appointments those of whom he is fond; he places in them those who are fit for them. Therefore he who investigates ability and gives official appointments accordingly is a prince whose achievements will be perfected. He who forms connections in accordance with conduct is an officer who will establish his reputation. As your servant looked at it from what he had learnt, the appointments of the former King had the purpose of rising above the world. Therefore I handed over the seal of office to the King of Wei and got myself inspected in Yen. The former King made a mistaken appointment, registered me among his guests, and set me above his other ministers. He did not consult with his fathers and brethren but made your servant a chief minister of lower grade. Your servant himself thought that if I received the command and accepted instructions, I might happily be without guilt. Therefore I received the decree and did not decline it. The former King commanded me, saying: 'I have accumulated resentment and profound wrath against Ch'i. I take no account of my insignificance and weakness but wish to make Ch'i my business.' Your servant replied: 'Ch'i has the instruction which remains in a State which has been hegemony and the tradition of frequent successes. It is well drilled in military equipment and practised in warfare. If Your Majesty wishes to attack it, you must take with you all the other States and plot against it. If you plot against it with all the other States, there is no course more direct than to make an alliance with Chao. Moreover Huai-pei and the territory of Sung are what Ch'u and Wei respectively desire. If Chao consents, make a treaty with Ch'u and Wei (and Sung) to exert all their strength. If the four States attack it, Ch'i may be made to suffer a great break-up.' The former King said: 'Good'. Your servant then received verbal instructions, tallies for the alliances were made ready, and I was sent South to Chao. I brought back a report. Troops were thereupon raised and Ch'i was attacked. Through the way of Heaven and the intelligence of the former King, the lands of Ho-pei were all taken by the former King as far as

on the banks of the Chi. The army on the Chi received orders to smite Ch'i and won a great victory over it. The light-armed resolute soldiers hurried in advance to Ch'i. The King of Ch'i fled and went to Chü, barely escaping with his life. The pearls, precious stones, treasures and valuables, chariots, armour and valuable vessels were all collected and taken to Yen. The Ta-lü was set up in the Yüan-ying. The original tripods were restored to the ~~Li~~ Li-shih. The vessels of Ch'i were arranged on Ning-t'ai the. Among the trees at Chi-ch'iu were planted bamboos from the wen. Since the time of the five Hegemons there had been no achievement like that of the former King. The former King considered that he had fulfilled his purpose. He considered that your servant had not let fall his ~~deeds~~. Therefore he split off lands and enfeoffed me, making me equal to one of the rulers of a small state. Your servant is not clever. I myself thought that if I received the command and accepted instructions, I might happily be without guilt. Therefore I received the decree and did not decline it. Your servant has heard that the achievements of a competent and enlightened prince are established and not destroyed; therefore they are recorded in the Ch'un-ch'iu. The reputation of an officer of foresight is perfected and not ruined; therefore he is mentioned to later generations. As for the former king's avenging his resentment, washing out his disgrace, destroying a powerful State of ten thousand chariots, receiving the accumulated stores of eight hundred years, when it came to the day on which he abandoned his ministers, the bequeathed principles of the orders which remained for the instruction of his successor were the means whereby the ministers in control of the government and responsible for affairs were able to accord with the laws and produce obedience among the scions of his House, reaching down to the lower officials. All were able to be an instruction for later generations. Your servant has heard that a good originator does not necessarily finish well, a good beginner does not necessarily end well. Formerly Wu Tz'ü-hsi's advice to Ho-lü was heeded and in consequence the distant traces of the King of Wu reached as far as Ying. Fu-ch'ai did not approve (of his advice), bestowed on him a leather sack and floated him on the Chiang. Therefore Fu-ch'ai, King of Wu, did not understand that previous discussions could establish achievements. Therefore he drowned Tz'ü-hsi and did not repent. Tz'ü-hsi did not see early (enough) that the rulers were not of the same capacity. Therefore he entered the Chiang and did not change. To save my life and complete my achievements in order to make manifest the traces of the former King is your servant's highest policy. To incur the fault of ruin and disgrace and let fall the reputation of the former King is what your servant chiefly fears. To stand on the edge of unfathomable guilt and regard good fortune as gain is what righteousness does not venture to issue from. Your servant has heard that the superior men of antiquity, when relations were broken off, did not utter any evil sound, when a loyal minister went away he did not clear his reputation. Although your servant is not clever, I have often received instruction from superior men. I am afraid that, because of the friendly terms on which you are with your attendants and the words of those about you, you may not look closely into far distant conduct. Therefore I venture to reply by means of this document. Let Your Highness give it your attention."

11) Someone presented a document to the King of Yen (to the effect): "For one who is a King but cannot rely on himself not to shrink from a mean reputation and so serve a powerful (State) and by serving a powerful (State) to be able to cause his State to have rest for a long while is a good policy for ten thousand generations. If by serving a powerful (State) rest for ten thousand generations cannot be got, the best policy is to unite the feeble (States)."

How will it be? (If the attempt is made to) unite the feeble (States) they cannot be as one. This is why your servant is distressed because of Shan-tung. Fish with one eye which swim only in pairs, if they do not get a mate, are unable to travel. Therefore the ancients gave them their name, because they unite two and are as one. Now in Shan-tung (if the attempt is made to) unite the feeble (States), they cannot be as one. That is, the understanding of Shan-tung is not equal to that of the fish. Also, for example, carters drawing a cart, if three men cannot move it, they ask for two more men, and with five men the cart moves. Now in Shan-tung the three states are feeble and cannot be a match for Ch'in. If they ask for two more States they will be able to overcome Ch'in. But (the States of) Shan-tung do not know to ask for each other. Their understanding is indeed not equal to that of the carters. The men of Hu and Yüeh do not understand each other's speech, they do not see through each other's meaning. If they are in the same boat and mount the waves, when it comes to helping to rescue each other, they are as one. Now (the States of) Shan-tung are associated with each other like men crossing in the same boat. When the soldiers of Ch'in arrive they are unable to help to rescue each other as one. Their understanding also is not like that of the men of Hu and Yüeh. These three things are what men can do. The rulers of Shan-tung still do not understand. This is why your servant is distressed about Shan-tung. I wish Your Majesty would consider it maturely. The rulers of Shan-tung who unite do not demean their reputation. Their States can endure long, their soldiers-----to send out an army to garrison the western borders of Han and Liang-- that is the best policy for Yen. If you are not urgent in this, the State will certainly be in danger, and Your Majesty will certainly have great sorrow. Now the three States, Han, Liang, and Chao, have already united. When Ch'in sees that the three Chin are firm, it will certainly go South to attack Ch'u. When Chao sees Ch'in attacking Ch'u, it will certainly come North to attack Yen. There are indeed cases when the circumstances are different but the danger is the same. When Ch'in attacked Han, Chung-shan was as a result ~~ruined~~. Now if it also attacks Ch'u, Yen is sure to be ruined. Your servant presumes to frame a policy for Your Majesty. Your best plan is with your soldiers to unite in the South with the three Chin, to make a treaty to garrison the western borders of Han and Liang. If Shan-tung cannot act firmly like this, it will be the ruin of them all.

Yen in consequence with its soldiers united in the South with the three Chin.

12) A visitor spoke to the King of Yen and said: 'Ch'i has broken Ch'u in the South, ^{and} has subdued Ch'in in the West. It employs the soldiers of Han and Wei, the hosts of Yen and Chao, as if driving them with whips. If Ch'i were to face North and attack Yen, even though there were five Yen, they would not be able to withstand. Why does not Your Majesty secretly send forth an officer to travel hither and thither and wear out the soldiers of Ch'i and exhaust its hosts, so that generation after generation there may be no danger?'

The King of Yen said: 'Give me five years and I shall get what I am aiming at.' Su-tzu said: 'Allow me to give Your Majesty ten years.' The King of Yen was pleased, presented Su-tzu with fifty carriages, and sent him South to Ch'i. He spoke to the King of Ch'i and said: 'Ch'i has broken Ch'u in the South and has subdued Ch'in in the West. It employs the soldiers of Han and Wei, the hosts of Yen and Chao, as if driving them with whips. Your servant has heard that an enterprising king for his generation must punish violence and correct disorder, set aside the unprincipled, and attack the unjust. Now the King of Sung shoots arrows at heaven.

and flogs the earth. He has smelted images of the nobles, setting them up as guardians of wayside privies, twisting their arms and scratching their noses. This is the supreme example in the world of unprincipled injustice. And yet Your Majesty does not attack him. Your Majesty's reputation will never be perfected. Moreover Sung is the most fertile land in the Central States. It is where the neighbouring peoples live. Rather than get a hundred li in Yen you had better get ten li in Sung. To attack it will in name be upright and in reality will be profitable. Why does not Your Majesty do it?

The King of Ch'i said: 'Good' and proceeded to raise troops for an attack on Sung. He thrice overthrew Sung, whereupon Sung was taken. When the King of Yen heard of it he broke off relations with Ch'i and led the armies of the states to attack Ch'i. He fought one great battle and two small battles. He wore out the State of Ch'i. He perfected his reputation. Therefore it is said: 'By taking advantage of its power to make it powerful it can be broken, by taking advantage of its extent to extend it it can be made deficient.'

13)

Chao moreover attacked Yen. Su Tai spoke for Yen to King Hui and said: 'Just now as your servant was coming I passed by the waters of the I. An oyster had just come out to sun itself, and the oyster-catcher was pecking at its flesh. The oyster closed and gripped its beak. The oyster-catcher said: 'Today it does not rain, tomorrow it ~~will~~ not rain, ~~then~~ there will be a dead oyster.' The oyster also spoke to the oyster-catcher and said: 'If today you do not get out and tomorrow you do not get out, there will be a dead oyster-catcher.' The two were unwilling to let each other go. A fisherman was able to seize them both. And now Chao is attacking Yen. Yen and Chao have for a long time been at grips with each other, and are exhausting their peoples. Your servant is afraid that powerful Ch'in will act the fisherman. I wish Your Majesty would give it your mature consideration.'

King Hui said: 'Good' and desisted.

14)

Ch'i and Wei were contending for Yen. Ch'i spoke to the King of Yen and said: 'I have got Chao.' Wei also spoke to the King of Yen and said: 'I have got Chao.' Yen had no means of deciding between them, and had not given itself to either of them. Su Tai spoke to the counsellor of Yen and said: 'Your servant has heard that he whose words are lowly and whose presents are weighty is the one who is losing the States; he whose words are haughty and whose presents are slight is the one who is getting the States. Now Wei's words are haughty and its presents are slight.' Yen in consequence joined with Wei and got Chao. Ch'i thereupon was defeated.

YEN 111

1)

Ch'i, Han, and Wei made a joint attack on Yen. Yen sent the heir-apparent to ask for succour from Ch'u. The King of Ch'u sent Ching Yang in command to its relief. When the camp was pitched in the evening he caused the officers of his retinue to erect ramparts for the site. When they had planted the marks, Ching Yang was angry and said: 'The water will reach and destroy all the marks of what you are erecting. Can we camp in this place?' And he ordered them to remove. On the next day there was great rain. The water from the mountains came forth in abundance. The water destroyed all the marks of what they had been erecting. So the officers of the army submitted to (their commander's judgment). Thereupon they did not proceed to deliver Yen but attacked Yung-ch'iu in Wei, and took it and gave it to Sung. The three states were afraid and halted their soldiers. Wei took up a position in the West. Ch'i took up a position in the East. The army of Ch'u