

North and South who speak to Your Majesty are sure to say that Ch'i is a State which has the powerful State of Chao on the West, has Han and Wei on the South, and backs on to the sea, that its territory is extensive, its people are numerous, its weapons are powerful and its soldiers brave, that though there were a hundred Ch'in they could not do anything to you. Your Majesty considers what they say but does not look closely into the facts. Those who advocate an alliance of North and South work together in a clique. There is not one of them who does not approve of such an alliance. Your servant has heard that Ch'i fought three battles with Lu and that Lu was three times victorious, but the State was endangered and ruin followed in the train of the victories. Although it had the reputation of victory it had the reality of ruin. What was the reason? Ch'i was great and Lu was small. Now Chao's relation with Ch'in is like that of Ch'i with Lu. Ch'in and Chao fought above the Ho and the Chang. They fought two battles and it twice triumphed over Ch'in. They fought below Po-wu. They fought two battles and it twice triumphed over Ch'in. After the four battles Chao had lost several hundred thousand men and Han-tan was scarcely preserved. Although it had the reputation of victory over Ch'in, the State was nevertheless broken. What was the reason? Ch'in was strong and Chao was weak.

Now Ch'in and Ch'u have intermarried and have become brother states. Han has given I-yang Wei has offered Ho-wai. Chao has paid homage at Meng-ch'ih, surrendering Ho-chien in its service of Ch'in. If Your Majesty does not serve Ch'in, Ch'in will drive Han and Wei to attack the southern lands of Ch'in, raise all Chao to cross Ho-kuan in the direction of Po-kuan. Lin-tzu and Chi-mo will not be Your Majesty's possessions. If your State is one day attacked, even though you wish to serve Ch'in, you will not be able. For this reason I would that Your Majesty gave it your mature consideration.

The King of Ch'i said: 'Ch'i is a mean, remote place, resting on the eastern sea. I have never heard what was to the far-reaching advantage of the altars. Now happily you, my distinguished guest, have instructed me.

Allow me to offer my altars in the service of Ch'in.' He presented to Ch'in three hundred li of lands producing fish and salt.

CH'I 11

1)

Han and Ch'i were allied States. Chang I employed Ch'in and Wei in an attack on Han. The King of Ch'i said: 'Han is a State in alliance with me. Ch'in is attacking it. I will go to its rescue.' T'ien Ch'en-ssu said: 'Your Majesty's policy is mistaken. The best plan is to allow it. Tzu K'uai has given the State to Tzu Chih. The hundred families do not uphold the action. The nobles do not approve. Ch'in is attacking Han. Ch'u and Chao are sure to go to its rescue. That is, Heaven is giving us Yen.'

The King said: 'Good'. So he promised the envoy from Han and sent him away. Han, thinking that it had got the friendship of Ch'i, went on to wage war with Ch'in. Ch'u and Chao did in fact raise troops quickly for the rescue of Han. So Ch'i raised troops and attacked Yen and in thirty days it took that State.

2)

Chang I was in the service of King Hui of Ch'in. King Hui died. King Wu ascended the throne. Those about him hated Chang I and said: '(Chang) I was not loyal in the service of your royal predecessor.' Before they had finished speaking a remonstrance from Ch'i also came. When Chang I heard of it he spoke to King Wu and said: 'I have an ignorant plan which I wish to offer to Your Majesty.' The King said: 'What is it?' He said: 'As one makes plans for Your Majesty, only if there is a

great movement in the East will Your Majesty be able to cut off much territory. Now the King of Ch'i hates me very much. Wherever I am he will raise troops to attack the place. Therefore I wish to beg that I may transfer my unworthy person to Liang. Ch'i will be sure to raise troops to attack it. While the soldiers of Ch'i and Liang are joined in battle beneath the city walls and cannot separate, let Your Majesty use the opportunity to attack Han, ~~enter~~ San-ch'uan, send soldiers out from Hsien-ku and, without attacking, threaten Chou. The sacrificial vessels are sure to be brought out. You will be able to act in the name of the Son of Heaven and have charge of the maps and registers. That is a royal enterprise.'

The King said: 'Good'. So he made ready thirty chariots of war and sent him to Liang. Ch'i did in fact raise troops to attack it. The King of Liang was in great fear. Chang I said: 'Let not Your Majesty be troubled. Allow me to get the soldiers of Ch'i to desist.' So he sent Feng Hsi, a man of his household, to Ch'u who took advantage of ~~xxx a~~ mission to go to Ch'i. When the business which concerned Ch'u and Ch'i was finished the envoy took occasion to say to the King of Ch'i: 'Your Majesty hates Chang I very much. Although your hatred is very great, it is Your Majesty who is recommending him to the King of Ch'in.' The King of Ch'i said: 'I hate (Chang)I very much. Wherever he is. I will certainly raise troops to attack the place. How am I recommending him?' He replied: 'That is just how Your Majesty is recommending (Chang)I. When he came out of Ch'in he had made an agreement with the King of Ch'in saying: 'As one makes plans for Your Majesty, only if there is a great movement in the East will Your Majesty be able to cut off much territory. The King of Ch'i hates me very much, wherever I am he will certainly raise troops to attack the place. Therefore I wish to beg that I may transfer my unworthy person to Liang. Ch'i will be sure to raise troops to attack Liang. While the soldiers of Liang and Ch'i are joined in battle beneath the city walls and cannot part, let Your Majesty use the opportunity to attack Han, enter San-ch'uan, send soldiers out from Hsien-ku and, without attacking, threaten Chou. The sacrificial vessels are sure to be brought out. You will be able to act in the name of the Son of Heaven and have charge of the maps and registers. That is a royal enterprise.' The King of Ch'in approved, gave him thirty chariots of war, and sent him to Liang. ~~Thus Your Majesty is exhausting your resources at home and is attacking an allied State, extending the territory of a neighbouring foe so as to bring the threat of danger upon yourself and confirm (Chang)I to the King of Ch'in. (And you have as a matter of fact attacked it).~~ This is what your servant means by saying that you are recommending (Chang)I.' The king said: 'Good' and ceased.

3)
Hsi Shou led Liang to fight with Ch'i at Ch'eng-k'uang but was ~~(minister)~~ unsuccessful. Chang I said that the King of Liang had not used his advice and so had endangered the State. The King of Liang therefore made I his Counsellor. (Chang)I was going to Ch'i on behalf of Ch'in and Liang to unite them in an alliance of East and West. Hsi Shou wanted to defeat the project. He spoke to the Prince of Uei and said: 'It is not that I have any resentment against (Chang)I. It is just that our ways of managing the State are not the same. Your Highness must explain me (to him).' The Prince of Uei told ~~(Chang)I~~ about it. He agreed. So he knelt with him before the Prince of Uei. Hsi Shou, moving on his knees,

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invoked long life on I. On the following day Chang-tzu went away. Hsi Shu escorted him as far as the frontier of Ch'i. When the King of Ch'i heard of it, he was angry with I and said: 'Yen is my enemy and I travel with him. He must be selling my country to Yen.' So he would not listen to him.

4)

Chao Yang attacked Wei in the interests of Ch'u. He overthrew its army, slew its general, and got eight cities. He was moving his troops for an attack upon Ch'i. Ch'ên Chên was sent on behalf of the king of Ch'i to interview Chao Yang. He bowed twice and congratulated him on his victory. Then he rose and asked, according to the laws of Ch'u, what were the office and rank bestowed upon one who had overthrown an army and slain a general. Chao Yang said: "His office is that of 'Highest Pillar of the State' and his rank that of 'Highest Holder of the Gem Token.'" Ch'ên Chên said: 'What else is there more honourable than that?' He said: "Only the 'Honourable Director'." Ch'ên Chên said: "The Honourable Director is a high dignitary. The King will not appoint two Honourable Directors. May your servant use an illustration for Your Lordship? There was a man in Ch'u engaged in sacrifice who gave the men of his household a goblet of wine. The men of his household said among themselves: 'If several men drink it there will not be enough. If one man drinks it there will be some left over. Let us draw snakes on the ground and let him who finishes first drink the wine.' One man's snake was the first to be completed. He reached for the wine and was drinking it. And with his left hand holding the goblet, with his right hand he drew on his snake, saying: 'I can make feet for it.' Before he had finished, another man's snake was finished. He snatched the goblet from him, saying: 'A snake really has no feet. How can you make feet for it?' Thereupon he drank his wine. He who had made feet for the snake in the end lost his wine."

Now Your Highness is Counsellor in Ch'u and you have made an attack upon Wei, breaking up its army, slaying its general, and getting eight cities. Relying on the strength of your troops, you wish to attack Ch'i. Ch'i is exceedingly afraid of Your Lordship. If Your Lordship has this for your reputation it is enough. There is no more important office to be had than what you already have. He who is invariably victorious in battle but does not know when to stop will meet with death himself and his rank will go to someone after him. It is like making feet for a snake. "Chao Yang agreed, disbanded his army, and went away."

5)

Ch'in attacked Chao. Chao ordered Lou Huan to offer five cities and seek terms with Ch'in and together with it make an attack on Ch'i. The King of Ch'i was afraid and so he sent an envoy to offer ten cities and seek terms with Ch'in. Lou-tzu was afraid and so he promised twenty-four Districts of Shang-tang to the King of Ch'in. Chao Tzu went to Ch'i. He spoke to the King of Ch'i and said: 'Does Your Majesty wish Ch'in and Chao to be separated? Your best plan is to make an alliance of North and South with Chao. Chao will be sure to turn against Ch'in. If it turns against Ch'in, Ch'i will have no cause for anxiety.'

6)

In the difficulty at Ch'üan, Ch'i and Yen were at war. Ch'in sent Wei Jan to Chao that it should send out troops and help Yen to smite Ch'i. The Duke of Hsieh sent Wei Ch'u to Chao to speak to Li Hsiang and say: 'If Your Highness helps Yen to smite Ch'i, Ch'i will certainly be hard pressed. Being hard pressed it will certainly offer territory to make an

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agreement with Yen and itself fight with Chao. In that case Your Highness will be collecting soldiers for Yen and taking territory for Yen. Therefore the best plan for Your Highness is to stay your troops and not go forth. Ch'i will be sure to think that you are dilatory. Thinking that you are dilatory, it will be sure to fight again with Yen. If it is successful in the war, its soldiers will be worn out and Chao can take T'ang and Ch'u-ni. If it is not successful, its fate will depend on Chao. Therefore if we remain neutral and cut off exhausted Ch'i and worn-out Yen, the authority over the two States will come to Your Highness.'

7)

Ch'in attacked Ch'ang-p'ing in Chao. Ch'i and Ch'u came to the rescue. Ch'in's policy was: 'Ch'i and Ch'u are coming to the rescue of Chao. If they get on well together we will lead back our troops. If they do not get on well together we will proceed to attack them.'

Chao had no provisions and asked for grain from Ch'i, but Ch'i would not listen. Su Ch'in spoke to the King of Ch'i and said: 'You had better listen to them so as to make the army of Ch'in withdraw. If you do not listen, the army of Ch'in will not withdraw, in which case Ch'in's plan will have hit the mark and the plans of Ch'i and Ch'u will have gone wrong. Moreover Chao is a protection to Yen and Ch'i just as the teeth have the lips. If the lips are lost the teeth are cold. If today Chao is ruined, tomorrow ~~we~~ will reach to Ch'i and Ch'u. Besides, the rescue of Chao is an enterprise which ought to be compared with holding up a leaking jar or pouring water into a scorched cauldron. The rescue of Chao is a deed of exalted righteousness. To make the troops of Ch'in withdraw is an illustrious reputation. In your righteousness rescue Chao from ruin. By your prestige make the troops of mighty Ch'in withdraw. Not to concentrate on this but to concentrate on grudging grain is a mistaken policy for the State.'

8)

Someone spoke to the King of Ch'i and said: 'Chou and Han have powerful Ch'in on the West. They have Chao and Wei on the East. Ch'in is attacking the West of Chou and Han. Chao and Wei do not attack Chou and Han because of the harm to themselves. If Han is cut up and Chou is driven back. After Han has been driven back and Chou has been cut up, Han and Wei also will not avoid having Ch'in as a source of trouble. If now Ch'i and Ch'in attack Chao and Wei, that also is no different from an attack on Chou and Han by Chao and Wei in response to Ch'in. If you cause Ch'i to join in with Ch'in to attack Chao and Wei, after Chao and Wei have been ruined, when Ch'in faces East and attacks Ch'i, how will Ch'i get help from the states?'

CH'I III

1)

The King of Ch'u died. The heir presumptive was in Ch'i as a hostage. Su Ch'in spoke to the Duke of Hsieh and said: 'Why does not Your Highness detain the heir presumptive of Ch'u so as to bargain for the low country in the East of the State?' The Duke of Hsieh said: 'It cannot be. If we detain the heir presumptive and a king is set up in Ying, we shall be holding a worthless hostage and doing what is not right in the eye of the world.' Su Ch'in said: 'Not so. When a king has been appointed in Ying let Your Highness then speak to its new king and say: 'Give us the low country in the East of your State and we will put the heir presumptive to death for Your majesty. If you do not, we will