

asks permission to present them and again confirm the alliance of Ch'in and Ch'u so as to press the attack on Wei.'

The King of Ch'u said: 'So be it', and sent away the heir-apparent of Wei. Then Ch'in made an agreement with Wei to attack Ch'u.

17)

P'ang Ts'ung was being sent with the heir-apparent as a hostage to Han-tan. He spoke to the King of Wei and said: 'If now one man said that there was a tiger in the market-place, would Your Majesty believe it?' The King said: 'No.' 'If two men said that there was a tiger in the market-place, would Your Majesty believe it?' The King said: 'I should be suspicious.' 'If three men said that there was a tiger in the market-place, would Your Majesty believe it?' The King said: 'I should believe it.' P'ang Ts'ung said: 'It is clear that there is no tiger in the market-place, and yet three men's words would make a tiger. Now Han-tan is further away than the market-place from Ta-liang and those who criticize your servant are more than three men. I wish Your Majesty would look into it.' The King said: 'I myself know about it.' Thereupon he took his ~~departure~~ and slenderous speeches first came forward. Afterwards, when the heir-apparent ceased to be a hostage, he (P'ang Ts'ung) as a matter of fact did not get an interview.

18)

King Wei-ying of Liang was feasting the nobles at Fan-t'ai. When they were merry with wine he invited the Prince of Lu to raise his cup. The Prince of Lu got up, withdrew from his place and, choosing his words, said: "In ancient times the daughter of the Emperor ordered I-ti to make wine and it was excellent. He presented it to Yü. Yü drank and it was sweet to his taste, whereupon he kept I-ti at a distance and abstained from good wine, saying: 'In a later generation there is sure to be someone who will ~~lose~~ ~~his~~ State because of wine.' Duke Huan of Ch'i in the middle of the night took no delight in his food, I-ya thereupon fried and roasted, blended the five flavours, and presented it. Duke Huan ate to repletion and did not wake until dawn. He said: 'In a later generation there is sure to be someone who will lose his State because of flavours.' Duke Wen of Chin got possession of Nan-chih Wei. For three days he ~~gave~~ no attention to the court, whereupon he removed Nan-chih Wei and kept her far off, saying: 'In a later generation there is sure to be someone who will lose his State because of his love of beauty.' The King of Ch'u ascended the Ch'iang-tower, and looked towards Mt P'eng. On his left was a great river and on his right was a lake. He strolled about looking down on them, in his delight forgetful of death, whereupon he made a vow concerning the Ch'iang tower that he would not ascend it, saying: 'In a later generation there is sure to be someone who will lose his State because of lofty towers and artificial ponds.' Now in Your Majesty's cup is the wine of I-ti. Your Majesty's flavours are the blending of I-ya. On the right you have Pai-T'ai and on the left you have Lü Hsü- the beauty of Nan-chih Wei. In front is the Chia-~~deceit~~ and behind is the Lan-~~deceit~~ the delights of the Ch'iang-tower. If you had one of these it would be sufficient to lose your State. Now Your Majesty has all four. May you be unwarmed?" The King of Liang approved again and again.

WEI 111

1) Chao and Ch'in made a treaty and were attacking Wei. The King of Wei was distressed about it. Wang Mao said: "Let not Your Majesty be troubled. Allow me to send Chang I to speak to the King of Chao and say: 'Yeh is a place which it indeed seems I may not have. Now Your Majesty receives Ch'in and

is attacking Wei. Allow me to put Yeh at Your Majesty's service.' The King of Chao was pleased, summoned the Counsellor of State, and announced it to him, saying: 'The King of Wei asks permission to put Yeh at my service to get me to break with Ch'in.' The Counsellor of State said: 'If you receive Ch'in and attack Wei, the gain will not be greater than Yeh. Now you are getting Yeh without the use of arms. I ask that you grant Wei's request.' Then Chang I spoke to the King of Chao and said: 'The officer of our unworthy town who is to present the city is already at Yeh. And how will Your Majesty recompense Wei?' The King of Chao therefore gave order to close the frontiers and to break with Ch'in. There was great hatred between Ch'in and Chao.

Mang Mao replied to the envoy from Chao and said: 'The reason our unworthy town is serving His Majesty is to make yeh perfectly safe. Now this offer of yeh is the fault of the envoy. I do not know anything about it.' The King of Chao was afraid that Wei might take advantage of Ch'in's anger. He speedily surrendered five cities to make an agreement with Wei and resist Ch'in.

2)
Mang Mao spoke to the King of Ch'in and said: 'Your Majesty's officers have none to act for them within the other States. Your servant has heard that an intelligent king never acts contrary to his agents within the other States. What Your Majesty wishes from Wei are the lands of Ch'ang-yang, Wang-wu, and Lo-lin. If Your Majesty can get me appointed Minister of Instruction in Wei, your servant can get Wei to present them.

The King of Ch'in said: 'Good', and accordingly got him employed as Minister of Instruction in Wei. He spoke to the King of Wei and said: 'What Your Majesty is distressed about are the upper lands. What Ch'in wishes from Wei are the lands of Ch'ang-yang, Wang-wu, and Lo-lin. If Your Majesty presents them to Ch'in, there will be no anxiety about the upper lands. I will take the opportunity to ask for troops to be sent down to the East to smite Ch'i. The lands you will annex will extend a long way.' The King of Wei said: 'Good', and presented them to Ch'in. The lands had been surrendered several months and yet the troops of Ch'in did not come down. The King of Wei spoke to Mang Mao and said: 'The lands have already been surrendered several months and yet the troops of Ch'in have not come down. How is that?' Mang Mao said: 'Your servant has been guilty of a mortal offence. Nevertheless, if your servant dies, your evidence against Ch'in will be destroyed. Your Majesty will have no means of making a claim on Ch'in. If therefore Your Majesty pardons my offence, your servant will claim for Your Majesty the fulfilment of the treaty with Ch'in.'

So he went to Ch'in and spoke to the King of Ch'in, saying: 'The reason Wei presented the lands of Ch'ang-yang, Wang-wu, and Lo-lin was its desire that Your Majesty's troops should be sent down East to smite Ch'i.'

Now the lands have been surrendered, and if the troops of Ch'in may not go down, your servant is a dead man. Nevertheless afterwards there will be none among the officers of Shan-tung who will regard it as profitable to serve Your Majesty.' The King of Ch'in was disturbed and said: 'There were affairs of State. I was unable to send troops down. Now I will follow you with my troops.'

After ten days the troops of Ch'in went down. Mang Mao commanded the armies of both Ch'in and Wei with which he smote Ch'i in the East and extended the territory by twenty-two hsien.

3)
Ch'in defeated Wei at Hua, put Mang Mao to flight, and besieged Ta-liang. Hsu Chia spoke for Wei to the Marquis of Jang and said: "Your servant has heard that the great ministers, the uncles, and cousins of the House of Wei

have all spoken to the King of Wei and said: 'Formerly King Liu attacked Chao, was victorious in battle at San-liang, and the army of ten thousand

men took Han-tan. The House of Han surrendered no territory and yet Han-tan was restored. The men of Ch'i attacked Yen, slew Tzu Chih, and broke up the old State, Yen surrendered no territory and yet the State of Yen was restored. The reason that in Yen and Chao the State was retained in its integrity and the army in its strength and its territory was not annexed by the nobles was that they were able to endure hardship and give up large tracts of land. Sung and Chung-shan were several times attacked and several times surrendered territory, and yet ruin followed them. Your servant thinks that the example of Yen and Chao is to be copied and that you should not act as Sung and Chung-shan did. Ch'in is a covetous and oppressive State devoid of human feeling. It is eating up Wei and making an end of the Chin States. It has been victorious in battle over Yi-tzu and has cut off eight hsien. And before the territory has been transferred its soldiers have come forth again. How can Ch'in be satisfied? Now it has also put Wang Mao to flight and entered our northern territory. This is not only attacking Liang; it is also bringing pressure to bear on Your Majesty. Your Majesty certainly ought not to obey. Now Your Majesty is following the example of Ch'u and Chao and making terms. Ch'u and Chao are angry and contend with Your Majesty in the service of Ch'in. Ch'in will be sure to accept them. If Ch'in gets hold of the armies of Ch'u and Chao and renews the attack, the deliverance of the State from ruin cannot be obtained. We wish Your Majesty to be sure not to make terms. If Your Majesty wishes to make terms, you must give up a small extent of territory and have a hostage. Otherwise you will certainly be cheated.'

This is what your servant has heard in Wei. I wish Your Majesty would bear it in mind in your deliberations. The Book of Chou says: 'But destiny is not constant.' This means that good fortune cannot be often repeated. That you have been victorious in battle over Yi-tzu and have cut off eight hsien is not due to the spirited vigour of the soldiers, it is not the achievement of strategy; it is due to the abundance of Heaven's favour. Now you have also put Wang Mao to flight and entered the northern lands to attack Ta-liang. This is to regard the favour of Heaven as if it were constant. A man of understanding would not do so. Your servant has heard that the House of Wei has assembled the victorious soldiers of its hundred hsien to stand on the defence at Ta-liang. Your servant thinks that there are not under three hundred thousand men. With a host of three hundred thousand men guarding walls ten jen high your servant thinks that, even if T'ang or Wu were to come to life again, it would not be easy to attack. As for trusting lightly in the soldiers of Ch'u and Chao in an assault on walls ten jen high, giving battle to a host of three hundred thousand men, and resolving that you will certainly take it, your servant thinks that from the first separation of heaven and earth up to the present time this has never been done. If you attack and are unable to take it, the soldiers of Ch'in are sure to be worn out and Yin will certainly be lost, in which case all your former achievements will be thrown away. Now when Wei is just hesitating you can receive it with a small surrender of its territory. I wish Your Highness, before the armies of Ch'u and Chao have been employed against Ta-liang, to receive Wei quickly with a small surrender of territory. If Wei, while it is just hesitating, obtains an agreement by means of a small surrender of territory, it will be sure to desire it. Then Your Highness will get what you desire. Ch'u and Chao will be angry that Wei has come to terms

before them and are sure to be rivals in the service of Ch'in. The alliance of North and South will thus be scattered and Your Highness can afterwards make your choice. Moreover when Your Highness cut off and took lands from Chin was it necessary for you to use armed force? If armed force is not used and yet Wei offers Chiang and An-i and you are also able to extend Yin, two aims will be achieved. Therefore Sung and Uei will offer (lands) and be even more afraid of the armies of Ch'in. When the agreement has been made and Your Highness ~~has been in control of it~~, what will you seek and not obtain, what will you do and not complete? Your servant wishes Your Highness to consider maturely and not act dangerously.

The Marquis of Jang said: 'Good', and stopped the seige of Liang.

4) Ch'in defeated Wei at Hua and the King of Wei was going to pay homage in Ch'in. Chou Hsin spoke to the King and said: "There was a scholar in Sung who came back at the end of three years and addressed his mother by her name. His mother said: 'You have studied for three years. You come back and address me by my name. How is that?' Her son said: 'Of those whom I honour as men of worth there ~~is~~ none who surpasses Yao and Shun. Yao and Shun were addressed by their names. Of what I honour as great there is nothing greater than Heaven and Earth. Heaven and Earth are addressed by their names. Now you, mother, do not surpass Yao and Shun in worth, you do not surpass Heaven and Earth in greatness. That is why I address you, mother, by name.' His mother name: 'Are you going to put all that you have learned into practice? I wish you had means to change addressing your mother by her name. Are there some things which you have learned which you are not going to put into practice? Then I wish you would put addressing your mother by her name at the end.'

~~Now~~ Now in Your Majesty's service of Ch'in can you still make a change from going to pay homage? I wish Your Majesty had the means to change it and would put going to pay homage at the end."

The King of Wei said: 'Are you afraid, sir, that I may go in and not come out? Hsü Wan has made a vow on my behalf and said that if I go in and do not come out he asks permission to follow me to death with his head.' Chou Hsin answered and said: "If, lowly as your servant is, here now is a man who says to me: 'If you go into an unfathomable abyss you will be sure to come out. If you do not come out I ask permission to follow you to death with the head of a rat', your servant will certainly not do it. Now Ch'in is a State which cannot be known. It is as it were an unfathomable abyss. And Hsü Wan's head is as it were the head of a rat. To get Your Majesty to enter Ch'in which cannot be known and to follow Your Majesty to death with the head of a rat - your servant presumes in Your Majesty's interests not to approve. Moreover, which would be the more urgent situation, to be without Liang or to be without Ho-nei?" The King said: 'Liang would be the more urgent.' 'Which would be the more urgent situation, to be without Liang or or to lose your own life?' The King said: 'My life would be the more urgent.' He said: 'Of the three your life is the most important and Ho-nei is the least important, ~~Ch'in has not demanded~~ the least important and yet Your Majesty presents the most important. Can that be?'

The King still paid no heed. Chih Ch'i said: 'Let Your Majesty watch the King of Ch'u. If the King of Ch'u enters Ch'in, let Your Majesty precede him with three chariots. If the King of Ch'u does not go, Ch'u and Wei united are still sufficient to withstand Ch'in.' So the King stopped. The King spoke to Chih Ch'i and said: 'At first I promised the Marquis of Ying. Now my not going is deceiving him.' Chih Ch'i said: 'Let not Your

'Majesty be troubled. Your servant will get the Marquis of Ch'ang-hsin to ask that your Majesty be not received. Let Your Majesty wait for me.' Chih Ch'i spoke to the Marquis of Ch'ang-hsin and said: 'Counsellor of State, the King commands to summon you.' The Marquis of Ch'ang-hsin said: 'What does the King want with me?' Chih Ch'i said: 'Your servant does not know. The King urgently summons Your Highness.' The Marquis of Ch'ang-hsin said: 'I get the King received in Ch'in; is it for the sake of Ch'in? I am going it rather for the sake of Wei.' Chih Ch'i said: 'Your Highness is not planning for Wei. Your Highness is planning for yourself. Moreover, do you prefer death or life? Do you prefer poverty or dignity? Your Highness is planning for yourself first and only afterwards for Wei.' The Marquis of Ch'ang-hsin said: 'Duke Lou is about to enter. Your servant is now following him.' Chih Ch'i said: 'The King urgently summons Your Highness. If Your Highness does not go, I will bespatter Your Highness's robe with blood.'

The Marquis of Ch'ang-hsin went. Chih Ch'i followed him. And he had an interview with the King. Chih Ch'i went in first, spoke to the King and said: 'Pretend that you are ill when you give him an interview. Your servant has already frightened him.' The Marquis of Ch'ang-hsin came in for his interview with the King. The King said: 'I am very ill. What is to be done? I have already promised the Marquis of Ying. It is my mind to go even though I die on the way.' The Marquis of Ch'ang-hsin said: 'Let Your Majesty not go. Your servant can get it settled with the Marquis of Ying. I wish Your Majesty not to be troubled.'

5) In the battle of Hua, Wei did not overcome Ch'in. In the following year it was about to send Tuan-kan Ch'ung to surrender territory and make terms. Sun Ch'ün spoke to the King of Wei and said: 'Wei on the occasion of its defeat did not surrender territory; it may be said to have made good use of its lack of success. And Ch'in on the occasion of its victory did not exact territory; it may be said to have been unable to make use of its victory. Now a whole year has elapsed and you wish to surrender territory. That is because of your ministers' selfishness and Your Majesty's ignorance of it. Moreover he parts the seals of office of Tuan-kan-tzü and Your Majesty takes the opportunity to send him to surrender territory. (The State) which wants territory is Ch'in and Your Majesty takes the opportunity to cause it to present the seals of office. When he who wants the seals of office controls the territory and (the State) which wants the territory controls the seals of office - in these circumstances there will be no Wei certainly. Moreover, the treacherous ministers indeed all want to serve Ch'in with (your) territory. To serve Ch'in with your territory is like taking an armful of firewood to put out a fire. The fire will not cease until the firewood has all been used up. Now Your Majesty's territory has limits but the demands of Ch'in are unlimited. It is like that saying about the firewood and the fire.'

The King of Wei said: 'Good. Nevertheless I have already promised Ch'in. It cannot be changed.' He replied: 'Has Your Majesty alone not seen how the gambler uses the chief piece? When he wants to move it he moves it. When he wants to hold it he holds it. Now Your Majesty, under pressure from your ministers, has made a promise to Ch'in. And so you say you cannot change it. How is it that your use of your understanding is not equal to that of the chief piece?' The King of Wei said: 'Good', and desisted from his journey.

6) Ch'i wished to attack Wei. Wei sent someone to speak to Shun-yü K'un and say: 'Ch'i wishes to attack Wei. It is only you, sir, who can release Wei from its danger. Our unworthy town has two pairs of precious jade

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ornaments and two teams of four piebald horses each, Allow me to present them to you.' Shun-yü K'un said: 'So be it.' He went in and spoke to the King of Ch'i, saying: 'Ch'u is the enemy of Ch'i. Wei is a State in alliance with Ch'i. To attack an allied State and cause our enemy to get control of what is left over when we have been worn out is in repute foul and in reality dangerous. In Your Majesty's interests I do not approve of it.' The King of Ch'i said: 'Good' and did not attack Wei.

A visitor spoke to the King of Ch'i and said: 'The reason Shun-yü K'un spoke about not attacking Wei was that he had received jade and horses from Wei.' The King spoke about it to Shun-yü K'un, saying: 'I have heard, sir, that you have received jade and horses from Wei. Is that so?' He said: 'It is.' 'Then what policy do you suggest, sir, in my interests?' Shun-yü K'un said: 'To attack Wei is not a profitable enterprise. Although Wei puts me to death, what gain is that to Your Majesty? If it is really profitable, although Wei bestows a fief on me, what harm is that to Your Majesty? Moreover, if Your Majesty does not incur the criticism of having attacked an allied State, and Wei does not face the danger of ruin, and the hundred surnames do not undergo the evils of war, what harm is it to Your Majesty, if I have the treasures of jade and horses?'

7)

Ch'in was about to attack Wei. The King of Wei heard of it. He saw the Prince of Méng-ch'ang by night and announced it to him, saying: 'Ch'in is attacking Wei. What is your policy on my behalf?' The Prince of Méng-ch'ang said: 'If you have succour from the nobles the State may be preserved.' The King said: 'I wish, sir, that you would go (among them), I will lavishly equip a hundred carriages for you.'

The Prince of Méng-ch'ang went to Chao. He spoke to the King of Chao and said: 'I wish to borrow troops for the succour of Wei.' The King of Chao said: 'I cannot do it.' The Prince of Méng-ch'ang said: 'I venture to borrow soldiers because of my loyalty to Your Majesty.' The King said: 'May I hear about it?' The Prince of Méng-ch'ang said: 'The troops of Chao are not stronger than the troops of Wei. The troops of Wei are not weaker than Chao. And yet the territory of Chao is not in danger every year and the people do not die every year, but the territory of Wei is in danger every year and the people die every year. How is that? It is because it is a screen for Chao in the West. If now Chao does not succour Wei and Wei ratifies a covenant with Ch'in, Chao will then have the might of Ch'in on its frontier; its territory will be in danger every year and its people will die every year. This is how I am loyal to Your Majesty.'

The King of Chao consented and raised ~~three~~ hundred thousand men and three hundred chariots on its behalf.

He also went North and had an interview with the King of Yen and said: 'The former kung-tzu Constantly bound the two Kings in a alliance and now Ch'in is attacking Wei. I wish Your Majesty to relieve it.' The King of Yen said: 'Our harvest has not ripened for two years, and how can I now travel several thousand li to help Wei?' T'ien Wên said: 'To travel several thousand li and rescue others is to the advantage of the State. Now the King of Wei comes forth at the gateway of the State and looks out on an army. Even though he wished to travel several thousand li and help others, could he do it?' The King of Yen still not having consented, T'ien Wên said: 'Your servant offers an advantageous policy to Your Majesty. Your Majesty does not use your servant's loyal policy. I ask permission to depart. I am afraid there are

going to be great changes throughout the world.' The King said: 'May I hear about these great changes?' He said: 'Ch'in is attacking Wei but has not been able to overcome it. Yet its terraces have been burnt, its opportunities of sight-seeing have been taken away. But Yen does not ~~succèver~~ Wei. If the king of Wei snaps the talismans, surrenders lands, and gives half the state to Ch'in, Ch'in will certainly depart. When Ch'in has gone away from Wei, the King of Wei will assemble all the soldiers of Han and Wei and borrow soldiers from Ch'in in the West and avail himself of the host of Chao to attack Yen with the four States. And what does Your Majesty think profitable? Do you think it profitable to travel several thousand li and help others? Do you think it profitable to go forth at the South Gate of Yen and look out on an army? Then the distance by road will be near and defeat will be easy. Which does Your Majesty regard as profitable?' The King of Yen said: 'Go your way, sir. I have heard you.' So he raised eighty thousand soldiers for him and two hundred chariots to follow T'ien Wên.

The King of Wei was very pleased and said: 'Your Highness has got a great number of soldiers from Yen and Chao and very quickly.' The King of Ch'in was very much afraid. He surrendered lands and asked for terms from Wei. So the troops of Yen and Chao were sent back and T'ien Wên received a fief.

8). Wei was about to join with Ch'in in an attack on Han. Wu-chi spoke to the King of Wei and said: '~~Ch'in has the same customs as the~~ Ch'in has the same customs as the Jung and the Ti. ~~He~~ He has the heart of a tiger or a wolf. He is covetous, oppressive, fond of gain, and without faith. ~~He~~ He does not know the ceremonial rules, or justice, or the practice of virtue. If there is gain he has no regard for relatives or brethren. ~~He~~ He is like a wild beast. This is what all the world knows. ~~He~~ He is not how generous gifts are made or gratitude is accumulated. Therefore the Queen Dowager was a mother and yet she died of grief. The Marquis of Jang was a maternal uncle, no one had accomplished greater achievements, and yet in the end he was driven out. (The ~~Princes~~ Princes) two brothers had committed no crime and yet he took their fiefs from them, both. If he is like this towards his relatives and brethren how much more towards a hostile State? Now Your Majesty is joining with Ch'in to attack Han and draws nearer and nearer to Ch'in. Your servant is very doubtful about it, but Your Majesty does not understand that is because you are not clear-sighted. All your ministers know about it but no one remonstrates on the subject; that is because they are not loyal. Now the House of Han is preserving an infant lord by means of a woman. At home there is great disorder. Abroad how can they withstand the powerful armies of Ch'in and Wei? Does Your Majesty think they will not be destroyed? When Han is ruined, Ch'in will have all the territory of Chêng and be neighbour to Ta-liang. Does Your Majesty think that you will be at ease? Your Majesty wishes to get your old territory but now you submit to disaster from the might of Ch'in. Does your Majesty regard that as profitable? Ch'in is not a State without enterprise. After Han has been ruined it will be sure to undertake another enterprise. If it undertakes another enterprise, it will be sure to go for what is easy and profitable. If it goes for what is easy and profitable, it will certainly not attack Ch'u and Chao. Why is that? To traverse mountains, cross rivers, cut through Shang-tang in Han and attack powerful Chao would be to repeat the affair of O-yü. Ch'in will certainly not do it. As for marching through Ho-nei, turning its back on Yeh and Chao-ko, making a breach for the waters of the Chang and the Fu and so deciding the issue with the soldiers of Chao

in the suburbs of Han-tan, that would be to suffer the disaster of Chih Po, Ch'in also will not venture on that. In an attack on Ch'u to march through the mountain valleys of Shé for thirty li and assault the dangerous and narrow frontier chokeaues, the distance to be travelled will be very great and what are to be assaulted will be very difficult. That also Ch'in will not do. As for marching through Ho-wai, turning its back on Ta-liang, with Shang-t's'ai and Shao-ling on the right hand, so as to decide the issue with the soldiers of Ch'u in the suburbs of Ch'én, that also Ch'in will not venture to do. Therefore I say that Ch'in will certainly not attack Ch'u and Chao. Also it will not attack Wei and Ch'i. After Han has been ruined, on the day the army takes the field, it will attack none other than Wei. If Ch'in already has the territory of Hwai, Hsing-ch'iu, An-ch'eng, and Kuei-ching, and with them threatens Ho-wei, Kung and Chi in Ho-wei will neither of them be free from danger. If Ch'in has the territory of Chéng, gets possession of Huan-yung, opens a breach at Kung-tsé, and floods Ta-liang, Ta-liang will certainly be ruined. It was a great mistake for Your Majesty to send an envoy. And he speaks evil to Ch'in about the House of An-ling. Ch'in has long been wishing to grant his request. But Shé-yang and K'un-yang belonging to Ch'in adjoin Wu-yang and Kuo-ling. Learning it evil spoken of by your envoy, it proceeds against the House of An-ling and wishes to destroy it. If Ch'in goes round the north of Wu-yang so as to threaten Hsü in the East, Han-kuo will certainly be in danger. Even though Han-kuo is not in danger, can the state of Wei have rest? Moreover it is permissible to hate Han and not receive the House of An-ling, but it is not (permissible) to be untroubled because Ch'in does not like Han-kuo. Formerly when Ch'in was still in Ho-hsi, the (Capital of) the State of Chin was ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ more than a thousand li from Liang. It had the Ho and mountains as barriers. It had Chou and Han in between. From the battle of Lin until now Ch'in has made ten attacks on Wei and has five ~~times~~ times entered into the midst of the state, the frontier cities have all been uprooted, the Wen terrace has been thrown down, the Tou (temple) at Ch'ui has been burnt, the trees of the forests have been cut down, the deer have been exterminated, and the state has been repeatedly beset. Moreover (Ch'in) has gone far in pursuit North of Liang. In the East it has reached the suburbs of T'ao and Wei, in the North it has reached K'ien. What have been lost to Ch'in? North of the mountain, in Ho-wai and Ho-wei, are several hundred large prefectures and several tens of famous cities. Ch'in was still in Ho-hsi, (the capital of) the State of Chin was still a thousand li away from Ta-liang; and yet the disaster was like this. And how much greater will it be if Ch'in is without Han and possesses the lands of Chéng, if there are not the Ho and the mountains to ward it off, if there are not Chou and Han in between, and it is a hundred li from Ta-liang! The disaster will be a hundred times greater than this. Formerly the reason the alliance of North and South was not perfected was that Ch'u and Wei were suspicious and Han could not be got as an ally. Now Han has suffered military occupation for three years. Ch'in is vexing it to come to terms. Han knows that it will be ruined but still refuses obedience. It gives hostages to Chao and asks it in the interests of the States to fall into line and use its weapons until they are blunt. As your servant sees it, Ch'u and Chao will be sure to join it in an attack. Why is this? Because they all know that Ch'in's desires have no limits. Unless it completely destroys the armies of the states and makes all the peoples within the seas its subjects it certainly will not rest. It is for this reason that your servant wishes to serve Your Majesty by means of the alliance of North and South. Let Your Majesty quickly accept a treaty with Ch'u and Chao and, holding to the hostages between Han and Wei, make it your business to preserve Han. If you take the

opportunity to demand your original territory from Han, Han will be sure to offer it, in this way without toil on the part of the officials and the people your original territory will be obtained. The achievement will be greater than if you had allied with Ch'in for a joint attack on Han. And you will also not suffer the disaster of having powerful Ch'in as your neighbour. This is indeed Your Majesty's great opportunity to preserve Han, give rest to Wei, and profit all the States. Open up the communications of Shang-tang, belonging to Han, with Chu and Ho, and when the way has been opened up establish frontier posts and impose taxes on this who come in and go out. In this way Wei will give great support to Han because its Shang-tang will share in the imposts. It will be sufficient to make the State rich. Han will certainly be grateful to Wei, will love Wei, will honour Wei, will fear Wei. Han will certainly not dare to turn against Wei. Han will be a prefecture of Wei. When Wei has got Han as one of its prefectures, Uei, Tu-liang, and Ho-wai will certainly be at rest. If not you do not preserve Han, the two Chou will certainly be in danger, An-ling will be certainly of little account, Ch'u and Chao will suffer a great defeat, Wei and Ch'i will be in great fear. It will not be long before the States face West and hasten to China to pay homage at its court.'

9)

The Prince of Shên-yang made a treaty with Wei. The King of Wei was about to bestow a fief upon his son. (Someone) spoke to the king of Wei and said: 'Your Majesty crossed the Chang in person to pay homage at Han-tan. You took Ko, Hsieh, Yin, and Ch'êng as towns from which Chao might draw the revenues. And yet ~~with this~~ Chao has nothing for Your Majesty. Can Your Majesty also enfeoff his son with Ho-yang and Ku-mieh? In Your Majesty's interests your servant does not approve of it.' So the King of Wei desisted.

10)

Ch'in was making Chao attack Wei. Wei spoke to the King of Chao and said: 'An attack on Wei would be the beginning of ruin to Chao. Formerly, the men of Chin wished to ruin Yü and attacked Kuo. The attack on Kuo was the beginning of ruin to Yü. Therefore Hsün Hsi used horses and pieces of jade to borrow a way through Yü. Kung Chih-ch'i remonstrated but was not heeded. In the end they granted Chin a way through. The men of Chin attacked Kuo and on their return they took Yü. Therefore the Chin-ch'iu records it in order to blame the Duke of Yü. Now there is no State stronger than Chao, and it is equal to both Ch'i and Ch'in. Your Majesty is competent and men of worth are your Counsellors. Therefore it is Chao which is as a disease of the belly and the heart. Wei is Chao's Kuo. Chao is Wei's Yü. To listen to Ch'in and attack Wei is to act like Yü. We wish Your Majesty to give it your mature consideration.'

The heir-apparent of Wei was in Ch'u. He spoke to Lou-tzu at Yen-ling and said: 'Your Lordship moreover feels it necessary to await an agreement between Ch'i and Ch'u in order to rescue P'i-shih. Now the case with Ch'i and Ch'u is that they will certainly not agree. What that Ti-tzu hates in the State is that he has not Your Lordship. His men all wish to make an agreement between Ch'i and Ch'in to exclude Ch'u and so make Your Lordship of little weight. Your Lordship must speak to the King of Ch'i and say: 'That Wei suffers invasion is not because Ch'in is really at the head of the attack. Ch'u hates that Wei should serve Your Majesty and therefore it urges Ch'in to attack Wei.' The King of Ch'i will therefore wish to attack Ch'u and yet, being also angry because it is not on good terms with him, he will be sure to command Wei with a surrender of territory to obey Ch'in and so make peace. Because of the might of Chang-tzu, with the weight of Ch'in and Han and being hated by

the King of Ch'i, the King of Wei will not care to maintain possession. Your servant is troubled on Your Lordship's account that the weight of Ch'i and Ch'in is ^{being} used to exclude Ch'u in order to make Your Lordship have little weight. Comparing the surrender of territory so as to make peace with Ch'in, is it equal to following Ch'u? If Ch'in presses an attack on Ch'u and Ch'u turns its army back, the King of Wei is sure to be afraid. Let Your Lordship take the opportunity to surrender the (lands) North of the Fén and give them to Ch'in and so make peace. When a friendly agreement has been made to isolate Ch'i, Ch'in and Ch'u will honour Your Lordship; Your Lordship will be sure to become Counsellor. It is in your servant's mind that the King of Ch'in and Ch'u-li Chi desire this. Allow your servant to speak to them on Your Lordship's behalf."

So he spoke to Ch'u-li-tzū and said: "The attack on P'i-shih is His Majesty's chief enterprise. Yet it cannot be taken. And because of this the States make light of Ch'in. Moreover the possession of P'i-shih is advantageous with a view to an attack on Han and Wei." Ch'u-li-tzū said: "I have already made peace with Wei, I have no use for it." He replied: "Your servant wishes to express his unworthy mind to Your Lordship. Let not Your Lordship regard it as an offence. The possession of P'i-shih is a great advantage to the State and yet it was given to Wei. Your Lordship yourself in the end decided that it could not be held. Therefore it was given to Wei. Now Your Lordship's strength is more than sufficient to hold it. Why not have it?" Ch'u-li-tzū said: "How?" He said: "What the King of Wei relies on are Ch'i and Ch'u. Those whom he employs are Lou Pi and Ti Ch'iang. Now the King of Ch'i is speaking to the King of Wei and saying: 'What Your Majesty's soldiers are saying is that they wish to attack Ch'i.' So he does not come to the rescue. The King of Ch'u is angry because Wei does not employ Lou-tzū but sends Ti Ch'iang to make peace. With a show of resentment he has broken with it. The King of Wei is afraid because he sees ruin. Ti Ch'iang wishes to unite Ch'i and Ch'in, to exclude Ch'u, and so make Lou Pi of little weight. Lou Pi wishes to unite Ch'in and Ch'u to exclude Ch'i, and so make Ti Ch'iang of little weight. Your Lordship's best ^{plan is to} agreement with Wei and send an envoy to speak to Lou-tzū and say: 'Can you give me (the lands) North of the Fén? Allow me to unite with Ch'u, to exclude Ch'i, and give weight to Your Lordship. This is my affair.' Lou-tzū and the King of Ch'u will certainly act swiftly. Also say to Ti-tzū: 'Can you give me (the lands) North of the Fén? I will certainly unite with Ch'i to exclude Ch'u and give weight to Your Lordship. This is my affair.' Ti Ch'iang and the King of Ch'i will certainly act swiftly. Thus abroad Your Lordship will get Ch'i and Ch'u in your service and at home will get Lou Pi and Ti Ch'iang as your supporters. Why is it not possible to have territory in Ho-tung?"

WEI IV

1) (Someone) presented a document to the King of Ch'in in which he said: "Your servant presumes to hear that Your Majesty's plan is to go forth on an affair with Liang. The plan, it is to be feared, does not issue from a considered policy. I wish Your Majesty would give it your mature consideration. Liang is the middle part of Shan-tung. Here is a snake, Strike its tail; its head comes to the rescue. Strike its head; its tail comes to the rescue. Strike it in the middle; head and tail both come to the rescue. Now Liang is the middle of the states. If Ch'in attacks Liang it will be showing the States that it wants to break the back of Shan-tung. That will be the time for the head and tail of Shan-tung both to come to the rescue. Shan-tung, faced with ruin, will be sure to be afraid, being afraid it will be sure to make a general alliance. Shan-tung is still powerful. Your servant sees that Ch'in's great grief is certain. It may be stood and waited for. Your servant