SHI JI 71: THE BIOGRAPHIES OF SHULI ZI AND GAN MOU

It was because of the strategies of Shuli Zi and Gan Mou that Qin was able to advance east and become master of the feudal lords. Thus I made "The Biographies of Shuli Zi and Gan Mou".

SHULI ZI

Shuli Zi, whose personal name was Ji, was a younger brother of King Hui of Qin by a different mother, his mother being from the state of Hann. Shuli Zi was a man of great wit and wisdom and the people of Qin dubbed him Wisdom Bag.

In King Hui's eighth year (330 BC) Shuli Zi was awarded the rank of yougeng¹²⁶ and ordered to lead the troops in an attack on the city of Quwo. He seized the city, expelled its inhabitants, and handed it over to Qin.

In King Hui's twenty-fifth year (313 BC) Shuli Zi was ordered to lead an attack on Zhao. He took the Zhao general Zhuang Bao prisoner and captured the region of Lin. The following year he assisted Wei Zhang in attacking Chu, defeating the Chu general Qu Gai and seizing the region of Hanzhong. Qin enfeoffed Shuli Zi with the title of Lord Yan.

When King Hui of Qin died and the heir apparent, King Wu, was set up (310 BC), Zhang Yi and Wei Zhang were dismissed from office and Shuli Zi and Gan Mou appointed as chancellor of the right and left respectively. Qin dispatched Gan Mou to attack Hann and capture the city of Yiyang. Shuli Zi was ordered to proceed with an entourage of 100 carriages to the Zhou capital. The Zhou ruler sent out soldiers to greet him and treated him with great respect.

The king of Chu, angered by this, berated the Zhou king for according Qin's representative such high honour. But You Teng, a visitor from another state, spoke to the king of Chu on Zhou's behalf, saying, "When Zhi Bo attacked the state of Jiuyou, he first sent in broad wagons and then followed them up with troops, and so Jiuyou was destroyed. Why? Because it was not on its guard. When Duke Huan of Qi attacked the state of Cai, he

said, 'I'm punishing Chu!' but in fact he pounced on Cai. Now Qin, a country of tigers and wolves, has sent Shuli Zi with an entourage of 100 carriages to visit the Zhou capital. But Zhou recalls the fate of Jiuyou and Cai. Therefore it has long lances going before him, and strong crossbows bringing up the rear. In name it is 'guarding him', but in fact it has made him its prisoner. How could Zhou fail to be concerned for its altars of the soil and grain? Indeed, if it should one morning go out of existence, that would be a worry even to Your Majesty!" With this the king of Chu's anger gave way to delight.

When King Wu of Qin died and was succeeded by King Zhaoxiang, Shuli Zi was treated with even greater respect than before. In the first year of King Zhaoxiang (306 BC) Shuli Zi led an attack on the city of Pu. The defenders of Pu, fearful of the outcome, requested Hu Yan to speak to Shuli Zi on Pu's behalf.

Hu Yan said to Shuli Zi, "Are you attacking Pu for the sake of Qin, or for the sake of Wei? If it is for the sake of Wei, that is fine. But if it is for the sake of Qin, then your efforts are misdirected.

"The reason the state of Wey can continue to exist is because of Pu. Now if you attack Pu, it will turn for help to Wei, and if it does so, then Wey is certain to give in and follow suit. In the past Wei lost the territories it held west of the Yellow River to your state, and it has not been able to regain them because it is weak in military might. But now if Wey throws in its lot with Wei, then Wei will become strong. And the day Wei becomes strong, your territories west of the Yellow River are bound to be threatened. Moreover, the king of Qin will be watching your every move, and if you injure Qin's interests to benefit Wei, he is certain to call you to account!"

"Then what should I do?" said Shuli Zi.

Hu Yan replied, "Call off your troops and cease the attack on Pu. I will enter the city and try speaking to the inhabitants for you so that the ruler of Wey will benefit."

"Excellent!" said Shuli Zi. Hu Yan then entered Pu and addressed its defenders, saying, "Shuli Zi knows that you are hard pressed and says that he is certain to capture the city. But I can make him cease his attack and leave Pu alone!"

The defenders of Pu, terrified, bowed twice and said, "We beg you to do all you can!" Then they offered him 300 catties of gold, saying, "If the Qin troops withdraw, we will surely recommend you to the ruler of Wey and see that you are given a fief."

Hu Yan thereupon took the gold from the men of Pu and used it to win himself a position of honour in Wey. Shuli Zi ceased his attack on Pu and left, withdrawing and attacking the Wei city of Pishi instead, but when Pishi failed to surrender, he left that as well.

In the seventh year of King Zhaoxiang (300 BC), Shuli Zi died. He was buried east of the Zhang Terrace on the south side of the Wei River. He said, "A hundred years from now there will be palaces of the Son of Heaven flanking my grave on either side." Shuli Zi's house was situated west of the mortuary temple of King Zhaoxiang, in the village of Shuli Zi or the Gentleman of Shuli. Later, when the Han dynasty arose, the Palace of Lasting Joy was situated to the east of his grave and the Eternal Palace to the west, while the arsenal was directly in front of it. The people of Qin used to say: "For strength, Ren Bi; for wisdom, Shuli."

GAN MOU

Gan Mou was a native of Xiacai in Chu. He studied under Master Shi Ju of Xiacai, learning the theories of the hundred schools of philosophy. He requested Zhang Yi and Shuli Zi to arrange an interview for him with King Hui of Qin. The king granted the request and, pleased with him, made him a general and ordered him to assist Wei Zhang in invading and gaining control of the region of Hanzhong.

When King Hui died and King Wu came to the throne (330 BC) Zhang Yi and Wei Zhang left Qin and went east to Wei. Zhuang, the prime minister to Hui, the marquis of Shu, revolted. Qin ordered Gan Mou to restore order in Shu. On his return, Gan Mou was appointed chancellor of the left, with Shuli Zi as chancellor of the right.

In the third year of his rule King Wu said to Gan Mou, "I want to send my war chariots through the region of the three rivers and call on the Zhou royal house. Then though I die my name will never perish." $\frac{127}{127}$

Gan Mou said, "If I may have permission to go to Wei, I will get Wei to promise to join us in an attack on Hann." The king instructed Xiang Shou to accompany Gan Mou to Wei.

When they arrived in Wei, Gan Mou said to Xiang Shou, "Please go back and tell the king that Wei has agreed to my proposal, but ask him not to carry out the attack. Once the affair is successfully completed, I will give all the credit to you."

Xiang Shou returned and made his report to King Wu. The king went as far as Xirang to meet Gan Mou. When Gan Mou arrived, the king asked his reason for abandoning the attack.

Gan Mou replied, "Yiyang is a major district, and Shangdang and Nanyang have for a long time been stocked with supplies. In name they are districts, but in fact they amount to provinces. Now if Your Majesty were to make your way over numerous passes, journeying 1,000 *li*, it would be difficult to attack them.

"Long ago, when the philosopher Zeng Can was living in Bi, an inhabitant of Lu who had the same surname and given name as Zeng Can killed a man. Someone came to Zeng Can's mother and said, 'Zeng Can killed a man!' but his mother went on weaving just as before. After a while someone else came and said, 'Zeng Can killed a man!' but still his mother went on with her weaving. After a while, however, when a third person came and said, 'Zeng Can killed a man!', his mother dropped her shuttle, scrambled down from the loom, climbed over the wall and ran away. Worthy as Zeng Can was, and as much as his mother trusted him, when three people cast suspicion on him, even his mother became frightened.

"Now my worth is no match for Zeng Can's, and no ruler trusts his ministers the way Zeng Can's mother trusted her son. So it would hardly take three people to make Your Majesty begin doubting me. I am afraid, that is, that you may 'drop the shuttle'.

"In the past, when Zhang Yi marched west to annex the regions of Ba and Shu for Qin, when in the north he opened up the lands beyond the Yellow River and in the south seized Shangyong, the world did not count it to Zhang Yi's credit but rather praised the wisdom of King Hui, the former ruler of Qin. And there was the time when Marquis Wen of Wei ordered Yue Yang to lead an attack on Zhongshan. After three years he managed to conquer it. But when he returned and his merit was being discussed, Marquis Wen showed him a box full of letters criticizing him, and Yue Yang, bowing his head twice, said, 'The victory was due to no merit of mine, but to the might of our lord and ruler!'

"Now I have journeyed to Qin from a foreign state to take up office. If two men such as Shuli Zi and Gongsun Shi should side with Hann and criticize my plan for attacking it, then Your Majesty would be certain to heed them. In that case you would be accused of going back on your word to Wei, and I would incur the hatred of the Hann prime minister Gongzhong Chi."

The king said, "I will not listen to such men! I will swear an oath with you!"

So in the end he ordered the chancellor Gan Mou to lead the troops in an attack on Yiyang. Five months passed and Gan Mou had not captured the city when, as he had feared, Shuli Zi and Gongsun Shi began criticizing him. King Wu sent a summons to Gan Mou, intending to abandon the attack, but Gan Mou replied, "We swore an oath at Xirang!"

"I remember!" said the king, and he proceeded to call out all his forces

and order Gan Mou to press the attack. Gan Mou cut off 60,000 enemy heads and in the end captured Yiyang. King Xiang of Hann ordered Gongzhong Chi to journey to Qin with his apologies and conclude a peace agreement with Qin. King Wu in the end journeyed to the Zhou capital and died there. He was succeeded by his younger brother, King Zhaoxiang.

The king's mother, Queen Dowager Xuan, was a woman of Chu. King Huai of Chu deeply resented the fact that, when he had been defeated by Qin at Danyang, the state of Hann had failed to come to his rescue. He now sent troops to surround the Hann city of Yongshi. Hann dispatched Gongzhong Chi to report its distress to Qin.

King Zhaoxiang, however, had just become ruler, and since his mother was a woman of Chu, he did not dare go to Hann's assistance. Gongzhong Chi then requested Gan Mou to speak on Hann's behalf to the king of Qin. Gan Mou addressed King Zhaoxiang in these words: "Gongzhong Chi at present believes that Qin will come to the rescue of Hann, and therefore he ventures to hold out against Chu. But now, although Hann's city of Yongshi is besieged, Qin's troops do not advance beyond the Yao Pass. If Gongzhong Chi is thus placed in a difficult position, he will no longer be able to face the Hann court. And then his rival, Gongshu, may decide that Hann should face south and throw in its lot with Chu. In that case Chu and Hann will become allies, and Wei will not dare do otherwise than follow suit. Then the circumstances will be ripe for a concerted attack on Qin. Which is better, to sit by and wait for others to attack, or to take the initiative in attacking others?"

"Very well," said the king, and he ordered his troops to advance from Yao and go to the aid of Hann, whereupon the Chu forces withdrew. Qin then sent Xiang Shou to bring order to the Hann city of Yiyang, and ordered Shuli Zi and Gan Mou to attack the Wei city of Pishi. Xiang Shou was a distant relative of Queen Dowager Xuan and had grown up with King Zhaoxiang. Therefore the king employed him in this manner.

Earlier, when Xiang Shou visited Chu, the king of Chu, hearing that Qin held Xiang Shou in high esteem, had accorded him a very generous reception. Now Xiang Shou was guarding the city of Yiyang for Qin and preparing to attack Hann. Gongzhong Chi of Hann sent Su Dai to speak to Xiang Shou, saying, "An animal at bay may overturn a carriage. In the past you defeated Hann and inflicted shame on Gongzhong Chi. But Gongzhong Chi has persuaded his state to enlist once more on the side of Qin, because he believes that by doing so he will surely receive a fief from Qin.

"Now you have presented the Qin territory of Jiekou to Chu, and Chu has in turn enfeoffed you in Duyang with the title of a minor magistrate. But if Qin and Chu pool their forces to attack Hann again, then Hann is certain to be doomed. And if Hann is doomed, then Gongzhong Chi out of desperation will lead his own private forces in an assault on Qin. I hope you will give this careful thought!"

Xiang Shou said, "In bringing Qin and Chu together as allies, I am not attempting to threaten Hann. Please tell Gongzhong Chi for me that Qin and Hann may also become allies."

Su Dai replied, "Ah, but I would like to tell you something. People say that the eminent are accorded eminence because there is something about them that merits eminence. In terms of affection and intimacy, you are not as close to the king of Qin as Gongsun Shi, and in terms of wisdom and ability, you are no match for Gan Mou. But neither of these two men is allowed to play a vital role in the affairs of Qin, while you alone join with the king in deciding upon matters of state. Why? Because there is some fault that attaches to these two. Gongsun Shi is in the party that favours Hann, and Gan Mou is in the party that favours Wei. Therefore the king does not trust them.

"But now, when Qin and Chu are vying for power, if you ally yourself with the party that favours Chu, then you will be travelling the same road as Gongsun Shi and Gan Mou. How will you be any different from them?

"People all say that Chu is expert at shifting sides. And if it should do so, then you will have to flee the state. And you will have brought it on yourself. It would be better, therefore, to consult with the king of Qin so as to anticipate such shifts. If you prepare against Chu's inconstancy by befriending Hann, you can avoid difficulty. Hann first of all follows the advice of Gongsun Shi in matters of state, and as a next step entrusts itself to Gan Mou. In trusting these men in this way, it is in a sense your enemy. Therefore, when you recommend that Qin guard against Chu's inconstancy by befriending Hann, it will appear that in foreign affairs you do not hesitate to recommend an enemy." 128

"All right," said Xiang Shou. "I would like very much to join forces with Hann."

Su Dai replied, "Gan Mou has promised Gongzhong Chi that Qin will give back Wusui and let the inhabitants of Yiyang return to their city.¹²⁹ But now with you occupying Yiyang, that is difficult to carry out."

"Then what should I do?" said Xiang Shou. "Wusui can never be given back to Hann in any case."

Su Dai replied, "Why don't you have Qin bring pressure on Chu to return the region of Yingchuan to Hann? Hann donated it to Chu in the first place. If you make the request and it is granted, that will show how much influence you exercise over Chu, and at the same time you will be doing Hann a favour in terms of territory. And if you make the request and it is not granted, then the enmity between Chu and Hann will remain unappeased and they will compete with one another for the friendship of Qin. Now that Qin and Chu are vying for power, you can afford to be somewhat critical of Chu and thereby bring Hann over to your side. This will be to Qin's advantage."

"How so?" said Xiang Shou.

"This is a very good plan!" Su Dai replied. "Gan Mou would like to enlist the help of Wei in attacking Qi, while Gongsun Shi would like to enlist the help of Hann in attacking Qi. Now you will have gained merit by arranging a settlement in Yiyang, you will have brought both Chu and Hann over to the side of Qin, and with that assurance you may all three punish Qi and Wei for their faults. In that case Gongsun Shi and Gan Mou will be as powerless as ever."

Gan Mou eventually spoke to King Zhaoxiang of Qin, urging him to return the city of Wusui to Hann. Xiang Shou and Gongsun Shi opposed the move but were unable to prevent it. Angered over this, Xiang Shou and Gongsun Shi spoke slanderously of Gan Mou. Gan Mou, alarmed, ceased his attack on the Wei city of Puban and fled. Shuli Zi meanwhile concluded peace talks with Wei and withdrew his troops.

When Gan Mou had fled from Qin and was hurrying toward Qi, he met Su Dai along the way. Su Dai was going to Qin on a mission for the state of Qi. Gan Mou said, "I have become a criminal in the eyes of Qin and am running away in fear of the consequences, though I am afraid no place will have me. I have heard that a poor girl and a rich girl were once spinning thread together. The poor girl said, 'I have no money to buy a torch, but your torch gives more than enough light and some to spare. Perhaps you can lend me a spare beam. It won't mean any less light for you, and it will be a big help to me!' Now I am in trouble, and you happen to be on your way to a mission in Qin. My wife and children are still in Qin. Perhaps you can help me out with some of your 'spare beams'."

Su Dai agreed to do what he could, and when he had reached Qin and completed his mission, he took the opportunity to speak to the king of Qin as follows: "Gan Mou is no ordinary man. While he resided in Qin, he held important posts under a succession of rulers. Moreover, he is thoroughly familiar with the land formations and the steep and easy places in the area from Yao Pass to Devil Valley. If he should persuade Qi to ally with Hann and Wei and should turn around and start plotting against Qin, that would hardly be to Qin's advantage."

"But what can I do about it?" asked the king of Qin.

Su Dai said, "Your Majesty would do best to treat him generously and offer him a large stipend in order to induce him to return. Then when he

comes, you can established him in Acacia Valley and see that he is confined there for the rest of his days." 130

"Very good," said the king, and he bestowed a high ministerial position on Gan Mou, sending the seals of a prime minister of Qin and inviting him to return to Qin. Gan Mou declined to go.

Later Su Dai spoke to King Min of Qi, saying, "Gan Mou is a very worthy man. Qin has bestowed a high ministerial post on him, sending the seals of a prime minister and urging him to return to Qin. But Gan Mou is grateful to you for the gifts you have bestowed on him and is happy to be your minister, so he has declined the offer and refuses to go. Now I wonder how you intend to reward him for this."

"Yes, of course," said the king, and he assigned Gan Mou to a high post and kept him on in Qi. Qin thereupon restored Gan Mou's family and household belongings to him in order to buy favour with Qi.

Qi then dispatched Gan Mou on a mission to Chu. King Huai of Chu had recently taken a bride from the ruling family of Qin and was on intimate terms with Qin. When Qin heard that Gan Mou was in Chu, it sent an envoy to ask the king of Chu to have Gan Mou escorted to Qin.

The king of Chu questioned Fan Yuan, saying, "I would like to install someone as prime minister of Qin. Who would be suitable?" 131

"That sort thing is beyond my competence," Fan Yuan replied.

"I would like to make Gan Mou prime minister," said the king of Chu. "Would that do?"

"I'm afraid it wouldn't," replied Fan Yuan. "His teacher, Shi Ju, was a gatekeeper of Xiacai. On a higher plane Shi Ju did not serve his ruler, on a lower one he took no care of his family, but simply won a reputation as a mean, lowly person who was extraordinarily finicky. But Gan Mou studied under him and somehow managed to get along. Therefore, despite King Hui's perceptiveness, King Wu's powers of scrutiny, and Zhang Yi's discrimination, Gan Mou was able to serve them all, holding ten offices and never once incurring fault. He is indeed a worthy man. But it will not do to have him acting as prime minister of Qin. For if Qin has a worthy prime minister, it will not be to Chu's benefit.

"In the past Your Majesty installed Shao Hua as prime minister in Yue and internal revolt broke out under Zhang Yi. As a result of the confusion in Yue, Chu had to close the Li Gate on its southern border and make the region of Jiangdong into a province. Thanks to Your Majesty's wise planning, measures such as these could be taken and so, though there was confusion in Yue, Chu remained in good order.

"But now, although Your Majesty knew the proper measures to take in Yue you are forgetting the measures appropriate to Qi. It seems to me that you are making a great mistake. If you wish to install a prime minister in Qin, then surely no one would be more suitable than Xiang Shou. Xiang Shou is a relative of the king of Qin. As children they shared the same clothes; as adults they ride in the same carriage so the king may consult him on affairs of state. If Your Majesty sees to it that Xiang Shou becomes prime minister of Qin, that will certainly be to Chu's advantage."

Chu then sent an envoy to Qin asking that it appoint Xiang Shou as its prime minister. Qin in the end did so. Gan Mou was never permitted to reenter Qin, but died in Wei.

GAN LUO

Gan Mou had a grandson named Gan Luo. After Gan Mou died, when the boy was still only twelve years old, he entered the service of Lü Buwei, the marquis of Wenxin, who was the prime minister of Qin at the time.

The First Emperor of Qin had sent Cai Ze, the lord of Gangcheng, as his envoy to the state of Yan, and three years later King Xi of Yan agreed to send his heir, Prince Dan, as a hostage to the state of Qin. Qin then ordered Zhang Tang to become prime minister of Yan, hoping that Yan would join Qin in an attack on Zhao so that it could broaden the territory under its control in the region between the Yellow River and the Zhang River.

Zhang Tang spoke to Lü Buwei, the marquis of Wenxin, about this, saying, "In the past I was ordered by King Zhaoxiang of Qin to carry out an attack on Zhao. The Zhao ministers in their wrath announced that 'Anyone who seizes Zhang Tang gets a 100 *li* tract of land!' Now if I go to Yan, I will invariably have to pass through Zhao. I am afraid I cannot undertake such a journey."

The marquis was unhappy at his refusal but had no way of forcing him to go. Gan Luo said, "My lord, why are you so very unhappy?"

The marquis replied, "I sent Cai Ze, the lord of Gangcheng, on a mission to Yan three years ago, and as a result Prince Dan, the heir apparent of Yan, has already come to Qin as a hostage. But now I have personally requested Lord Zhang to go to Yan to become prime minister, and he is unwilling to go!"

Gan Luo said, "With your permission, I'll see that he goes!"

"Off with you!" said Lü Buwei, scolding the boy. "I personally asked him to do so and he refused. How could you make him go?"

Gan Luo said, "Xiang Tuo was only seven when he acted as teacher to Confucius. 133 And in my case I'm already twelve! Just let me try — there's

no need to start scolding!"

Gan Luo then went to see Zhang Tang and said to him, "How do your lordship's achievements compare with those of Lord Wuan?" 134

Zhang Tang replied, "Lord Wuan has thwarted the power of Chu to the south and overawed Yan and Zhao in the north; the battles won, the raids carried out, the towns and villages captured and overrun are in his case beyond numbering. My achievements could never rival his!"

Gan Luo said, "And who exercises greater influence in Qin, the marquis of $Ying^{135}$ or the marquis of Wenxin?"

Zhang Tang replied, "The marquis of Ying cannot match the marquis of Wenxin in influence."

Gan Luo said, "Do you really understand, then, that nothing can match the influence of the marquis of Wenxin?"

"I understand."

Gan Luo said, "The marquis of Ying wanted to attack Zhao. Lord Wuan ventured to criticize the plan, but before he had gone more than seven *li* from the capital city of Xianyang, the order came for him to die at Duyou. Now the marquis of Wenxin has personally requested you to become prime minister of Yan, but you are unwilling to go. I do not know how far your lordship will get before the order comes for your death!"

Zhang Tang said, "At your suggestion, young man, I believe I will go," and he ordered his baggage for the journey.

On the day of his departure, Gan Luo said to his master, the marquis of Wenxin, "If you will lend me five carriages, I would like permission to go to Zhao and make a report on Zhang Tang's behalf."

Lü Buwei went to court and spoke to the First Emperor, saying, "The former minister Gan Mou has a grandson named Gan Luo. He is still only a boy, but since he is descended from a famous family, the other feudal rulers have all heard of him. Recently, Zhang Tang pleaded illness and was unwilling to go to Yan, but Gan Luo has persuaded him to make the journey. Now I would like to send the boy ahead to report this to Zhao and ask Zhao to permit him to pass through its territory."

The First Emperor summoned Gan Luo to an audience and then sent him to Zhao. King Xiang of Zhao came out to the suburbs of his capital to greet Gan Luo.

Gan Luo said to the king, "Has Your Majesty heard that Prince Dan, the heir apparent of Yan, has gone to Qin as a hostage?"

"I have heard that."

"Has Your Majesty heard that Zhang Tang is to be the prime minister of Yan?"

"I have heard that."

"Prince Dan of Yan's going to Qin as a hostage is proof that Yan does not intend to play false with Qin. And Zhang Tang's becoming prime minister of Yan is proof that Qin does not intend to play false with Yan. And if Yan and Qin do not intend to play false with one another, then Zhao is in danger of attack.

"The reason Yan and Qin will not play false with one another is that they hope to attack Zhao and broaden their territories in the area between the Yellow and Zhang rivers. Your Majesty would do best to give me five cities so I can broaden Qin's territory in the area between the rivers. Then I will ask Qin to send Prince Dan back to Yan, and Qin can join with this powerful state of Zhao in attacking a weak Yan."

The king of Zhao immediately detached five of his cities and turned them over to Qin to broaden its territory in the area between the rivers. Qin then returned Prince Dan to Yan, and Zhao attacked Yan and seized thirty cities in the region of Shanggu, eleven of which it gave to Qin.

When Gan Luo returned and reported on his mission, Qin enfeoffed him and made him a high minister. It also presented him with the fields and houses that had earlier belonged to his grandfather, Gan Mou.

The Grand Historian remarks: Shuli Zi enjoyed high esteem because of his kinship with the ruler, and it was only natural that he should have done so. But the people of Qin recognized his wisdom and therefore took special note of his actions. Gan Mou rose up from the lanes and byways of Xiacai to gain prominence and fame among the feudal rulers, enjoying favour in the powerful states of Qi and Chu. Gan Luo was only a boy, but he devised one unusual scheme and his name is still mentioned in later ages. Though he was not what could be called a gentleman of sterling conduct, he deserves to be ranked with the strategists of the Warring States period. At that time, with Qin so powerful, the world was only too happy to resort to deceitful plots!