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SONSHI

THE CHINESE MILITARY CLASSIC

TRANSLATED

BY

CAPP. E. F. CALTHROP. R. F. A.

SANSEIDO.

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CAPT. E. F. CALTHROP. R. F. A.

TÕKYÕ: SANSEIDŌ. Ch 390.10.3



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There is no new thing under the Sun.

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PREFACE.

The writer begs to thank Mr. H. Kanazawa of the Tokyo Higher Normal School, and Mr. M. Tayama for their kind assistance, without which the accompanying translation would have been impossible.

He must also thank Major. J. C. Somerville, and Mr. G. B. Sansom for their invaluable help.

Токуо:

June 1905.

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INTRODUCTION.

I.

The Japanese, who until recent times, were the disciples of the Chinese, and the latter, who sit at the feet of antiquity, go back some way for their authorities on War. Sonshi* the most celebrated lived during the Shu (周) dynasty of China, about 550 B.C, and whether or no reluctance to disturb ancient axioms curbs further original efforts, subsequent writers have largely confined themselves to commentating the Master's teachings.

The broad rules of War are unchanging, and much of Sonshi is curiously modern in its application. Contrasted with Western works on strategy, it deals rather with the human, or moral side which we nowadays take for granted, and so overlook. The Chinese are not by nature soldiers, nor had the ruling powers ever a strong hold over the people; discipline was lax; and further, with vast capacity for intrigue, generals and others had little patriotism, and were easily bought.

Hence the need for diplomacy and the importance of spies; the need for considering the temper of the troops; and the sages insistent, "know your own side!"

Sonshi's preference for the defence is perhaps accounted for by the Chinese nature,—slow, ceremonious, and lacking in dash. His advice is ever to move warily at first, and not to attack until the enemy has committed himself. He has a horror of sieges, frontal attacks and assaults, and an Eastern love of crafty and subtle methods.

In short, Sonshi's cardinal rules are: preparation; a thoroughly thought out plan of campaign; importance of intelligence and knowledge of the ground; variety and non dependence on book or rule; and quickness to take and press advantage.

^{*}Names are written as pronounced in Japan. In this case "Son" is the writers name; "Shi" is an honorific Suffix.

From the literary point of view Sonshi has a high place and many of his sayings have passed into common use. In an English translation however, it is impossible to suggest the beauties of Chinese prose. Only the bare bones of meaning—often obscure—appear.

The extraordinary terseness, the stately procession of giant parts of speech, unattended by any articles, pronouns or the pawns of grammar, seem to suit the character of a book on war: but the thought which the writer compresses, is apt to take a different form when unfolded by the reader. The exaggeration and the grandiloquent phrasing drown precision; and the reiteration, which in Chinese seems to act like the refrain of a song, is in English tedious. Thus Plain Meaning is sacrificed to Style, and thus arises the need for commentators, who cluster in armies round the Chinese sages.

Sonshi is one of the "Shichisho" (七書), a collection, of the leading Chinese authorities on War. The others are of lesser importance. Sonshi's commentators have also been sifted, and the best brought together in a collection called "The Ten Critics,"(十家註) This, among others, has been consulted in the present translation.

II.

Sonshi, who as far as can be ascertained, was a contemporary of Confucius, lived at a time when China, nominally under one ruler, was divided into a number of different states (at one time some forty in number), continually at war.

These wars were not merely savage raids, but were conducted with a vast amount of intrigue and deep thinking. Strategy was highly specialised, and schools of strategy existed, which, however, were apt to ignore what Western minds consider main issues; and differ in regard to some subtle point, much after the manner of the sects of Buddhism.

In any case, the Chinese realised to the full that war was a matter for a specialist. Behind the popular general or the ambitious ruler was the strategist, who evolved the plan of campaign, and, it must be added, consulted the stars and the ancient books for signs and indications.

An account of Sonshi, who was one of these professional, strategists, is written in the Chinese history called Shiki (史記), a collection of the lives of celebrated men. Although giving no more than an incident in his life, it is included here as throwing some little light on the history of the time. No further facts about Sonshi appear to be known.

His other name was Bu, and his native place was in the province of Sei in South China. He was at one time in the employment of Katsuryo, the lord of the province of Go, which kingdom rose to considerable importance mainly owing to his talents.

The manner of his first meeting with Katsuryo, and what led to his employment in the latter's service were as follows. Katsuryo told him that he had read his (Sonshi's) thirteen articles, and approved them in theory; but that now he required a practical demonstration of them. Sonshi agreed; and for this purpose asked that he might be allowed to manœuvre the king's wives and women of the palace. There were 185: dividing them into two parties, he put one of the king's favorite wives in command of each.

He then explained to them their duties. When he gave the order "Left Turn," they were to move in the direction of their left hand; when he gave the order "Forward" in the direction in which they were facing; and similarly for right and rear.

Having explained these things three times, he gave a signal on the drum for the manœuvre to commence. But the leaders only giggled; so Sonshi, feeling that his instructions might have been misunderstood, again repeated what they were to do. Once more he announced to the King on his dais that the fight was about to begin, and the signal drum was beaten. The girls laughed again. This time Sonshi said, "My instructions were clear; this time it is the fault of my lieutenants, the punishment of disobedience is death"; and with that he gave orders that they should be beheaded.

Thus far the king did not wish to go, and sent down a messenger to Sonshi to say that he was already perfectly satisfied with the exposition, but that if these two wives were beheaded food would have no taste for him; he begged Sonshi to stay his hand.

To this Sonshi replied that he had been intrusted with the

army; that the king knew that interference with the general in the field was, vide The Articles, a grave error; and that therefore he must set aside this message from home. The two leaders were beheaded before their companies, and two others put in their place, who, fearful of meeting the same fate, made excellent leaders.

This is all that Chinese history has to say about Sonshi; but with its usual irrevelance, and as if to make good the deficiency, the following story is told of his descendant, Sonpin (孫預), who lived some 145 years later.

In his youth Sonpin had studied war under a certain master, in company with a man called Hoken. The latter afterwards entered the service of a state, and rising to be generalissimo, had great ambitions, but felt that he had a superior in the art of war in Sonpin, his fellow student of former days.

He heard that Sonpin was still unemployed, and conceiving base designs, he asked the latter to come and see him. Sonpin hastened gladly to see his old schoolmate, but did not get a reception suitable to a friend of long standing. Hoken treated him as a criminal, branded his forehead, and cut the tendons of his legs; then, thinking that Sonpin was no longer in a position to use his talents, turned him adrift.

At that time an envoy from a neighbouring state was about to return to his court; to him Sonpin went and told his story. The envoy, feeling that notwithstanding the loss of his legs, Sonpin might be of service to his lord, hid him in his wagon, and took him back to his country.

Sonpin's services were retained, and in a succeeding war, his advice giving victory, he was offered the surpreme command. He however refused to displace the then Commander in Chief, to whom the soldiers gave loyal support, and preferred to remain Chief of the staff.

Then came his opportunity. A neighbouring state asked for help against the country of which Hoken was generalissimo. The army was set in motion, and Sonpin, riding in a wagon, considered the plan of campaign. Instead of proceeding to the scene of hostilities, Sonpin placed the army across Hoken's line of communications, which quickly drew the latter thither. Now, Sonpin knowing that Hoken diligently followed the

teachings of his forefather Sonshi, felt that he could foretell Hoken's procedure.

It is written in the thirteen articles that a forced march of twenty leagues in one day reduces the striking force by one half, owing to stragglers and weak men.

He retreated before Hoken, and that night caused 10,000 camp fires to be lighted in the bivouac. The next day he again retreated twenty leagues, and caused only 5,000 camp fires to be lighted. The following day the number of fires was 2,000, but the number of his men was the same as at the first. Then retreating further, he took up a position in a defile which he calculated Hoken would reach shortly after dark. There was there a large tree, and, stripping from it the bark, he caused to be written "Under this tree will Hoken die".

Placing his best archers within bowshot he gave them orders to shoot when they saw the striking of a light under the tree.

Meanwhile Hoken, noting the diminution in the camp fires, and assuming in accordance with the book, that Sonpin's army was crippled to that extent, had pushed on with only a small force, and reached the defile shortly after sunset. Struck by the shaven appearance, and what looked like characters on the tree, he struck a light and was immediately riddled by arrows.

The historian explains this seeming refutation of Sonshi's doctrines by saying that Hoken placed too much reliance on the book, and so forgot one of the Sage's cardinal principles.

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THE

COMPLETE WORKS OF SONSHI.

I.

FIRST PRINCIPLES.

The words of Son the Master:-

To all nations War is a great matter. On War, death or life depend: it is the means of existence, or path to destruction.

Therefore it must be diligently studied.

Now, in war there are five important matters. The first is called The Way;* the second, Heaven; the third, Earth; the fourth, the Leader; the fifth, Law.

The Way or the proper conduct of man. If the ruling authority be upright, the people are united:† fearless of danger, their lives are at the service of their Lord.

Heaven. Light and darkness; ‡ heat and cold; and the change of time and season.

Earth. Distance; extent; strategic position.

^{*} The five virtues of humanity, righteousness, politeness, wisdom and faith are known as The Way.

[†] Mencius speaking of war says that an united people is the most important essential of victory.

[†] The Chinese regard natural phenomena as possessing either a masculine positive or light principle or a feminine negative or dark principle. In this connection rain, mist, wind, are included.

The *Leader*. Intelligence; truth; benevolence; courage and strictness.

Law. Partition and ordering of troops.

These things must be known by the leader: to know them is to conquer; to know them not is to be defeated.

Further, with regard to these and the following seven matters, the condition of the enemy must be compared with our own.

The seven matters for comparison are:

The virtue of the prince; the ability of the General; natural advantages; the discipline of the armies; the strength of the soldiers; training of the soldiers; justice both in reward and punishment.

Knowing these things, I can foretell the victor.

If a general under me fight according to my plans, he always conquers, and I continue to employ him: if he differ from my plans, he will be defeated and dismissed from my service.

Wherefore, with regard to the foregoing, considering that with us lies the advantage, and the generals agreeing, we create a situation which promises victory; but as the moment and method cannot be fixed beforehand, the plan must be modified according to circumstances.

War is a thing of pretence: therefore when capable of action, we pretend disability; when near to the enemy, we pretend to be far; when far away, we pretend to be near.

Allure the enemy by giving him a small advantage.

Pretend to be in confusion, and capture him. If there are defects, give an appearance of perfection, and awe the enemy. Pretend to be strong, and so cause the enemy to avoid you. Make him angry, and confuse his plans. Pretend to be inferior, and cause him to despise you.

If he be at ease, tire him out; if united make divisions in his camp. Attack weak points, and appear in unexpected places. Since these are the methods of the successful strategist, they cannot be learnt beforehand.*

When, before battle, in council assembled before the shrine of the ancestors, consider well the plan of campaign. For thereby victory may be gained.

They who haplessly fight without plan are courting disaster.

The resourceful in stratagem win; the poor in stratagem do not conquer; hopeless indeed are they without it.

I, knowing these things, and seeing both armies, can foretell the victor.

^{*} There are different opinions as to the meaning of this passage; none are quite satisfactory.

II.

OPERATIONS OF WAR.

Son the master said:-

Now the requirements of War are such that we need 1,000 chariots; * 1,000 supply wagons; and therefore 100,000 armoured men: and we must send supplies to distant fields.

Wherefore the cost at home and at the front, including the entertainment of guests;†glue and lacquer for repairs; and necessities for the upkeep of wagons and armour; are such that in one day, 1,000 pieces of gold are spent. With that amount a force of 100,000 men can be provided:—you have the instruments of victory.

But if the operations long continue, then the soldiers' ardour decreases; the weapons become worn; and, if a siege be undertaken, strength disappears.

Again, if the war last long the country's means do not suffice.

Then, when the soldiers are worn out; weapons blunted; strength gone; and funds spent; neighbouring princes arise and attack that weakened

^{*} Chinese warfare was largely an affair of chariots, or might we say, "Mounted Infantry Wagons." The chariot was drawn by 2 or 4 horses and usually contained 3 archers in addition to the driver. Further, to each chariot were attached 75 footmen, and to each supply wagon 25 men.

[†] China was at this period full of unattached and wandering swashbucklers, who quartered themselves on states at war.

country. At such a time the wisest man cannot mend the matter.

Therefore it is acknowledged that war cannot be too short in duration.

But though conducted with the utmost art, if long continuing, misfortunes do always appear.

In fact there never has been a country which has benefited from a prolonged war.

He who does not know the evils of war, cannot appreciate its benefits; he who is skilful in war, does not make a second levy; does not load his supply wagons thrice.

War material and arms we obtain from home; but supplies sufficient for the army's needs can be taken from the enemy.

The cost of supplying the army in distant fields is the chief drain on the resources of a state: if the war be distant, the citizens are impoverished.

Repeated wars cause high prices, and so the farmer's money is used up. Likewise the state funds are exhausted, and frequent levies must be made; the strength of the army is dissipated; money is spent; the citizen's home is made bare; in all 7/10ths of his income is forfeited. Again, as regards State property, chariots are broken; horses worn out; armour and helmet; arrow and bow; spear; shield; pike and

^{*}The Japanese shield was a heavy rectangular piece of wood. which was set on the ground, and kept upright by a prop at the back. The Japanese sword requires both hands, and this fact probably prevented the adoption of a light portable shield. The

fighting tower, used and gone; so that 6/10ths of the Government's income is spent.

Therefore the intelligent general, taking thought, feeds on the enemy: one bale of the enemy's rice counts as twenty from our own wagons; one bundle of the enemy's forage is better than twenty of our own.

Wantonly to kill and destroy the enemy must be forbidden.

They who take the enemy at a disadvantage should be rewarded.

They who are the first to lay their hands on more than ten of the enemy's chariots, should be encouraged; the enemy's standard on the chariots exchanged for our own; the captured chariots mixed with our own chariots, and taken into use.

The accompanying warriors must not be abused, but treated well; so that while the enemy is beaten, our side increases in strength.

Now the object of war is victory; not lengthy operations even skilfully conducted.

The good general is the Lord of the peoples lives; the Guardian of the country's welfare.

[&]quot;Horo," which was a peculiar device for protecting the back, was a long piece of loose cloth hung from the shoulders and smothered the arrow or sword thrust, like the Western swordsman's cloak. Latterly, the cloth was stretched on a frame work of bamboo, and reached enormous propertions.

III.

THE ATTACK BY STRATEGEM.

Son the master said:

Now by the laws of war, better than defeating a country by fire and the sword, is to take it without strife.

Better to capture the enemy's army,* intact, than to overcome it after fierce resistance.

Better to capture the "Ryo," the "Sotsu," or the "Go," untouched, than to engage them first.

To fight and conquer one hundred times is excellent; but better still, and the supreme art, is to subdue the enemy without fighting.

Wherefore, the most skilful warrior outwits the enemy by superior strategem; the next in merit isolates the enemy from other states; next to him is he who engages the enemy's forces; while to besiege the enemy's citadel is the worst expedient.

A siege should not be undertaken if it can possibly be avoided. For, before a siege can be commenced, three months are required for the construction of stages, battering rams, and the preparation of siege engines; then a further three months are required in

^{*} The Chinese army (軍) consisted of 12,500, the "Ryo" (版) of 500, "Sotsu" (季) of 50, and the "Go" (信) of 5 men.

front of the citadel, in order to make the "kyoin (距陽)."* Wherefore, the general angered, his patience exhausted, orders his men to the assault before the time is ripe. Thus one third of them are killed to no purpose, because the attack was ill-timed.

Therefore the master of war causes the enemy's forces to yield, but without fighting; he takes possession of his fortress, but without besieging it; he overthrows his government, but without lengthy fighting; and with his army intact takes the enemy's kingdom. Without tarnishing his weapons he gains the complete advantage.

This is the assault by strategem.

By the rules of war, if ten times as strong as the enemy, we can crush him; with five times his strength we may attack him on all sides; with double his numbers, attack from two sides. If equal in strength we must exert ourselves to the utmost, and fight; if inferior in numbers, skilfully evade him; if altogether inferior, offer no chance of battle. A determined stand by inferior numbers is admirable; but they can but become captives.

The warrior is the country's support. If the warrior is loyal and wholehearted in his endeavours, the

^{*}The "Kyoin" was a large tower or work constructed to give command over the interior of the enemy's fortress.

High poles were also erected, from the top of which, archers, each encased in an arrow proof box and raised by a rope and pulley, shot at the besieged.

country is of necessity strong; if he is divided in his allegiance, then is the country weak.

Now the army is ever fearful that its prince and civil counsellors may err in these three ways, namely:—

Ignorant that the army in the field is unable to advance, to order it to go forward; or, ignorant that the army cannot retreat, order it to retire.

This is to tie the army as with a string.

Ignorant of the management of armies, to forget their complexity, and dictate inflexible rules for their guidance.

This is to perplex the soldiers.

Ignorant of the situation of the army, to interfere in its dispositions.

This is to fill the soldiers with distrust.

If the army be perplexed and distrustful, then do neighbouring princes conspire and the army is confounded.

This is to offer victory to the enemy.

Knowledge of these five matters bring victory:

He conquers who knows when to fight, and when not to fight; who understands the employment of large and small numbers; whose Government and people are of one mind and of one desire; who, ever prepared, chooses the enemy's unguarded moment for his attack; who, possessing ability, is not interfered with by his prince.

Whosoever understands these five matters, is on the path to victory. It has been said that he who knows both sides has nothing to fear in 100 fights; he who is ignorant of the enemy, and fixes his eyes only on his own side, conquers, and the next time is defeated; he, who not only is ignorant of the enemy, but also of his own country's requirements and resources, is invariably defeated.

IV.

THE ORDER OF BATTLE.

Son the master said:

The ancient masters of war first made their position impregnable, then waited until the adversary's condition gave promise of victory. That was a consummation whereby success was made certain, and likewise failure to the adversary.

Skilful soldiers can make their armies invincible, but they cannot always put the enemy in a conquerable position.

The conditions necessary for victory may be present, but it cannot always be obtained.

If the enemy be invincible, we stand on the defensive and await an opportunity; if he be vulnerable, we attack.

Conceal your strength in defence; shew your banners in attack.

The skilful in defence, crouch, hidden in the deepest shades; the skilful in attack, push to the topmost heaven.*

If these precepts be observed, victory is certain.

A victory, even if popularly proclaimed as such by the common folk, may not be a true sucess. To win in fight, and for the kingdom to say, "Well done", is not the perfection of attainment. To lift an

^{*} Literally 9th heaven, and 9th earth. The Chinese divided the earth and sky each into 9 strata.

autumn fleece* is no mark of strength; the eyes that only see the sun and moon are not the eagles; to hear the thunder is no great thing.

As has been said aforetime, the able warrior gains the victory without desperate and bloody engagements, but wins thereby no reputation for wisdom or brave deeds, for it seems a thing that cannot be helped; his performance is such that the enemy seems preordained to defeat.

Moreover, the skilful soldier in a secure position, does not let pass the moment when the enemy should be attacked.

The army that conquers decides before fighting that victory can be gained.

The army destined to defeat, fights, trusting that chance may bring success to its arms.

The state whose general is careful in his treatment of the people, and upright in his dealing, cannot be shaken.

Touching the laws of war, it is said:—first, the rule; second, the measure; third, the tables; fourth, the scales; fifth, the foretelling of victory.

For the rule is the survey of land; the measure tells the amount of that land's produce; the tables its population; from the scales their weight or quality is made known; and then can we calculate victory or defeat.

The army fit to conquer as against the army des-

^{*} An animal's coat is thinnest in autumn.

tined to defeat, is as the feather against the beam in the scales. Conquering forces are as the rush of long pent up waters into sunken valleys. Such is the shock of war.

V.

THE SHOCK OF WAR.

Son the Master said:-

The control of large numbers is possible, and like unto that of small numbers, if we subdivide them.

If we use drum, bell, and flag,* the direction of large forces is possible, and like unto the direction of small forces.

By the skilful interchange of ordinary and extraordinary manœuvres, is the enemy most certainly defeated.

Like the fall of a jagged rock upon an egg, so should the forces, strong and united, be dashed against the enemy's empty unpreparedness.

Moreover, the collision with the enemy having occured, victory is obtained with the "strategic" force.†

^{*} The drum was used to beat the assembly and in the advance, the bell as a signal for "cease fire." The bell was not used in the wars in Japan, a large conch took its place. Flags were of two kinds, signalling flags and distinguishing banners. The fondness of the Chinese for banners seems to arise, partly from the posteresque quality of the Chinese written character with which the banners are usually adorned, and partly from a feeling of security and liveliness imparted by the many coloured cloth strips waving in the wind.

[†]The character (ਨ), which is here translated "strategic," alludes to that portion of an army which executes a flank attack, creates a diversion, or lies in ambush, while the enemy's attention is occupied by the evident, or detaining force.

The methods of skilful employment of the strategic force are, like the heaven and earth, infinite and without end; as the tides and the flow of rivers, unceasing; like the sun and moon, forever interchanging; coming and passing, as the seasons.

There are five notes; but by combinations, innumerable harmonies are produced. There are but five colours; but if we mix them, the shades are infinite. There are five tastes but if we mix them there are more flavours than the palate can distinguish.*

Similarly, there is the detaining, or evident force, and the strategic force; but how many plans of battle can we not get from their combination! It is like unto a revolving wheel, perpetually changing, and without finality.

Like the rush of maddened torrents which carries away rocks, so is the shock† of battle.

Like the well judged cast of the falcon, in a flash crushing its quarry, so should that force be exerted.

Wherefore the good fighter, his force ever ready to be launched, and that swiftly, is like the stretched cross-bow, whose string is released at the touch of the trigger.

In the confusion of the attack, order is still preserved; the battle array is perfect, impenetrable.

^{*} The five cardinal tastes are, acridity, bitterness, sourness sweetness and saline taste.

[†] No one word in English quite conveys the meaning of (勢). Force, élan, the Latin "vis," the shock-energy of troops flushed with success are suggestive.

If discipline be perfect, disorder can be simulated; if truly bold, we can feign fear; if really strong, we can feign weakness.

We simulate disorder by numbers; fear, by attitude; weakness, by battle formation.

By making skilful dispositions, we may cause the enemy to conform to them. If we offer the enemy a point of advantage; he will certainly take it: we give him an advantage, set him in motion and then fall upon him.

Wherefore, the good fighter seeks victory from battle force, and not simply at the expense of his men: while careful in his choice, he does not regard his soldiers as his only weapons; yet, when an opening or advantage shews, he pushes it to its limits.

As a log or rock which, motionless on flat ground, yet moves with ever increasing force when set on an incline, so await the opportunity, and so act when the opportunity arrives.

Therefore the force of the skilful fighter is as the impetus of a round stone rolled from the top of a high mountain.

VI.

EMPTINESS AND STRENGTH.

Son the Master said:

To be the first in the field, and there to await the enemy, is to husband strength.

To be late, and hurrying to advance to meet the foe, is exhausting.

The good fighter contrives to make the enemy approach; he does not allow himself to be beguiled by the enemy.

By offering an apparent advantage, he induces the enemy to take up a position that will cause his defeat; he plants obstructions to dissuade him from acting in such a way as to threaten his own dispositions.

If the enemy be at rest in comfortable quarters, harass him; if he be living in plenty, cut off his supplies; if sitting composedly awaiting attack, cause him to move.

This may be done by appearing in seemingly impossible quarters, and assaulting at unexpected points.

If we go where the enemy is not, we may go 1000 leagues without exhaustion.

If we attack those positions which the enemy has not defended, we invariably take them: but on the defence we must be strong, even where we are not likely to be attacked.

Against those skilful in attack, the enemy does not

know where to defend: against those skilful in defence, the enemy does not know where to attack.

Now the secrets of the art of offence are not to be easily apprehended, as a certain shape or noise can be understood, of the senses; but when these secrets are once learnt, the enemy is mastered.

We attack, and the enemy cannot resist, because we attack his weakly held positions; we retire, and the enemy cannot pursue, because we retire too quickly.

Again, when we are anxious to fight, but the enemy is serenely secure behind high walls and deep moats; we attack some such other place that he must certainly come out to relieve.

When we do not want to fight, we occupy an unfortified line; and prevent the enemy from attacking by keeping him in suspense.

By making feints, and causing the enemy to be uncertain as to our movements, we unite, whilst he must divide.

We become one body; the enemy being separated into ten parts. We attack the divided ten with the united one. We are many, the enemy is few, and in numbers there is strength.

The place selected for attack must be kept secret. If the enemy knows not where he will be attacked, he must prepare in every quarter, and so be weak at every point of attack.

If the enemy strengthens his front, he must weaken his rear; if he strengthens his right, his left is weakened; and if he strengthens his left, his right is weakened.

Everywhere to make preparations, is to be everywhere weak. The enemy is weakened by his extended preparations, and we gain in strength.

Having decided on the place and day of attack, though the enemy be a hundred leagues away, we can defeat him.

If the ground and occasion be not known, the front cannot help the rear; the left cannot support the right; nor the right the left; nor the rear the front. For on occasion, the front and rear are two score leagues apart. To be separated a league or so, is to be called near.

The soldiers of Go* are less than the soldiers of Etsu; but as superiority in numbers does not of necessity bring victory, I say then, that we may obtain the victory.

If the enemy be many in number, prevent him from using his multitudes simultaneously with effect, and ascertain his plan of operations. Challenge the enemy and discover the weak and strong points of his position. Flap the wings, and unmask his sufficiency or insufficiency. By constant feints and excursions, we may produce on the enemy an impression of intangibility, which neither spies nor art can dispel.

A victory so gained cannot be understood by the

^{*} Sonshi, as has been said, was a man of Go. Go and Etsu were continually at war.

soldiers; they see the result but they cannot appreciate the means.

If we gain a victory by a certain stratagem, we do not repeat it. Vary the stratagem according to circumstances.

An army is comparable to water.

Water avoids high places, and takes the easiest downward path. So an army chooses weak points in preference to strong.

The course of water is regulated by the shape of the ground; that of the army by the condition of the enemy.

Water has no settled shape; an army is no mechanical engine of destruction.

He who, varying his plans according to the enemy, gains the victory, is called a god.

Among the five elements* there is no settled precedence; the four seasons have no fixed rank; the days are long and short; and the moon waxes and wanes. So in war there is no fixity.

^{*} Wood, fire, earth, metal, and water.

VII.

BATTLE TACTICS.

Son the Master said:

For the most part, military procedure is as follows.

The General receives orders from his Lord; assembles the forces, and settles the order of encampments.

There is nothing more difficult than Battle Tactics. Their difficulty lies in the calculation of time and distance, and the facing of sudden emergencies.

To take a circuitous route, and give the enemy an advantage, and then, whilst drawing him out and starting after him, to arrive before him, is to be a master of the art of marching.

So to do is well; but beware of arriving after the enemy, and finding him in position.

Employing our whole force at one time in order to gain advantage over the enemy, we may not have time enough to gain our object. If, with the same object, we push on with the main force only, we may lose the transport. Discarding helmet and armour; stopping neither day nor night; marching double distance; and finally contending with the enemy at a distance of a hundred leagues; leads to the capture of three generals. Since the strong men arrive first, and the tired drop in rear; only one tenth of the forces arrives.

A forced march of fifty miles to secure an advantage, may result in failure to the leader of the vanguard; for only half his men will arrive.

After a forced march of thirty leagues to secure an

advantage, only two-thirds of the army will be available.

Further, a lack of ammunition, of supplies, or of base, may lead to disaster.

The ruler who is ignorant of the designs of neighbouring princes, cannot treat with them.

He who is ignorant of mountain and forest, defile and marsh, cannot conduct a march.

He who does not employ a guide, cannot gain advantage from the ground.

Disguise your movements; await a favourable opportunity; divide or unite according to circumstance.

Let your attack be swift as the wind; your march ordered like the forest; * your occupation devastating as fire. In defence, as a mountain rest firm; like darkness impenetrable to the enemy. Let your movements be swift as the lightning.

Let as many as possible take part in the plunder: distribute the profit from the produce of the country.

So he who understands the crooked and the straight way, conquers. That is the art of Battle Tactics.

According to the ancient books on war: the drum and bell are used, because the voice does not carry; the flag is used to assist the sight. The use of bell, drum, banner, and flag, is to attract the united attention of eye and ear.

When all are united, the strong are not left to go

^{*} This passage was written on the standard of Takeda Shingen, one of Japan's most famous generals.

forward alone, the cowardly are not free to retreat unrestricted. In the simultaneous employment of large numbers lies strength.

Therefore in night fighting, beacons and drums are largely used; in day fighting, a great number of banners and flags to confound the enemy's eyes and ears.

We thus awe his army, and defeat his general's ambition.

In the morning the spirits are keen; at midday there is a laziness; in the evening a desire to return. Wherefore, he who uses his soldiers well, avoids the time when the spirits are keen; but attacks the enemy when he is tired, or seeking his camp.

This is to have the spirit under control.

He who opposes confusion with order, clamour with quiet, can remain self-possessed.

Those who have long distances to march as opposed to those situated in a convenient neighbourhood are tired, while the latter are at ease. Satisty is opposed to hunger. In this case we have strength at our command.

Do not attack where serried rows of banners shew, nor a regular battle array; but patiently await your time.

Do not attack an enemy on high ground, nor one who has high ground at his back. Do not pursue an enemy who is imitating flight; do not attack a spirited enemy.

If the enemy offers an allurement, do not be caught by it. Do not interfere with an enemy who has struck camp; and is about to retire. When surrounding an enemy; allow him an outlet.

This is the method of employing troops.

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VIII.

THE NINE SITUATIONS.

Son the Master said :-

In general, the procedure of war is:—the General, having received orders from his lord, assembles the army.

Do not camp on marshy, or low lying ground; enter into friendly relations with neighbouring states; do not linger at a distance from the base; be prepared in mountainous and wooded country; when reduced to the last extremity, fight.

The general who knows the Nine Situations understands the use of troops; on the contrary, he who does not understand them, can make no use of his topographical knowledge.

In the management of armies, if the art of the Nine Situations be not understood, a knowledge of the Five Advantages is of no avail.

The wise man perceives clearly wherein lies advantage and disadvantage. While recognising an opportunity, he does not overlook the risks, and saves future anxiety.

In reducing an enemy to submission, inflict all possible damage upon him; make him undertake useless adventures; also make neighbouring rulers depend on your good offices.

Wherefore in the conduct of war do not depend on

the enemy's not coming, but rely on your own preparations; do not count on the enemy not attacking your fortress, but leave nothing undefended.

Generals must be on their guard against these five dangerous faults:—

Blind impetuosity, which leads to death.

Over cautiousness, which leads to capture.

Quick temper, which brings insult.

A too rigid propriety, which invites disgrace.

Over regard for the troops, which causes inconvenience.

With a view to their avoidance, these five dangers must be borne in mind.

IX.

MOVEMENT OF TROOPS.

Son the Master said:

Touching the disposal of troops and observation of the enemy in relation to mountain warfare:—

Cross mountains and camp in valleys, selecting positions of safety.

Place the army on high ground, and avoid an enemy in high places.

In relation to water:

After crossing waters, pass on immediately to a distance. When the enemy is crossing a stream, do not meet and engage him. Do not advance on an enemy near water; but having decided where safety lies, place the army on high ground.

Do not cross rivers in the face of the stream.

With regard to marshes:-

Cross salty marshes quickly; do not linger near them.

If by chance compelled to fight in the neighbourhood of a marsh, seek a place where there is water and grass, and trees in plenty in the rear.

In open country place the army in a convenient place with rising ground in the right rear; so that while in front lies death, behind there is safety.

Such is war in flat country.

Kōtei, by observing these things, gained the victory over four Emperors.

As a rule, the soldiers prefer high ground to low. They prefer sunny places to those the sun does not reach.

If the health of the troops be considered, and they are encamped on high and sunny ground, diseases will be avoided, and victory made certain.

If there be rising ground, encamp on its sunny side and in front of it; for thereby the soldiers are benefited, and the ground used to our advantage.

If, owing to rains in the upper reaches, the river becomes turbulent, do not cross until the waters have quieted.

Steep and impassable valleys; well-like places; confined places; tangled impenetrable ground; swamps and bogs; narrow passages with pitfalls;—quickly pass from these, and approach them not. Cause the enemy to approach near to them, but keep yourself from these places; face them, so that the enemy has them in his rear.

If there are near to the army, precipices; ponds; meres; reeds and rushes; or thick forests and trees; search them thoroughly.

These are places where the enemy is likely to be in ambush.

When the enemy is close, but quiet, he is strong in reliance on natural defences.

If the enemy challenges to fight from afar, he wishes you to advance.

If the enemy be encamped in open country, it is with some special object in view.

Movement among the trees shows that the enemy is advancing. Broken branches and trodden grass, as of the passing of a large host, must be regarded with suspicion.

The rising of birds shews an ambush.*

Startled beasts shew that the enemy is stealthily approaching from several sides.

High, straight spurts of dust betoken that chariots are coming.

Long low masses of dust shew the coming of infantry.

Here and there, thin and high columns of dust are signs that firewood and fodder are being collected.

Small clouds of dust moving to and fro are signs that the enemy is preparing to encamp for a short time.

Busy preparations and smooth words shew that the enemy is about to advance to attack.

Big words, and a driving of chariots as if to the attack, are signs that the enemy is about to retire.

An advance of the light chariots to the flanks of the camp is a sign that the enemy is coming forth to fight.

Without consultation, suddenly to desire an armistice, is a mark of ulterior design.

The passing to and fro of messengers, and the forming up of troops, shew that the enemy has some movement on foot.

^{*} Minamoto Yoshiie by remembering this saying gained a celebrated victory, which is often the subject of illustration.

An advance, followed by sudden retirement, is a lure to attack.

When the enemy use their weapons to rest upon, they are hungry.

If the drawers of water drink at the the river, the enemy is suffering from thirst.

Disregard of booty that lies ready at hand is a sign of exhaustion.

The clustering of birds round a position shews that it is unoccupied.

Clamour at night betokens alarm.

Disorder in the army is a sign that the general is disregarded.

A changing about of flags and banners is a sign that the army is unsettled.

If the officers are angry, it is because the soldiers are tired, and slow to obey.

The killing of horses for food shews that the enemy is short of provisions.

When they cast away their cooking-pots, as if with no intention of returning, the soldiers are desperate.

Exceeding graciousness and familiarity on the part of the general shews that he has lost the favour of the soldiers.

Frequent rewards shew that discipline is at an end.

Frequent punishments shew that the army is weary and troubled.

The general who first blusters, and then over-fearful, has faulty information.

He who offers apologies and hostages, is anxious for a truce.

When both sides, eager for a fight, face each other for a considerable time, neither advancing nor retiring, the occasion requires the utmost vigilance and circumspection.

Numbers are no certain mark of strength.

Even if incapable of a headlong assault, if the forces be united, and the enemy's condition ascertained, victory is possible.

He who without taking thought makes light of the enemy, is certain to be captured.

If a general who is strange to the troops punishes them, they cease to obey him. If they are not obedient, they cannot be usefully employed.

If the troops know the general, but are not affected by his punishments, they are useless.

By humane treatment we obtain obedience; authority brings uniformity. Thus we obtain victory.

If the men have been trained in obedience from the beginning, they respect their leader's commands.

If the men are not early trained to obedience, they do not respect their leaders commands.

Orders are always obeyed, if the General and soldiers are in sympathy.

X.

TOPOGRAPHY.

Son the Master said:-

With regard to the different natures of ground there are:—

Open ground; enveloped ground; suspended ground; defiles; precipices; far countries.

Open ground is that where either side has liberty of movement: be quick to occupy any high ground in the neighbourhood and consider well the line of supplies.

Hanging ground. Advance is easy, but retreat from it is difficult. Here, if the enemy is not prepared, we may win: but should he be prepared; and defeat us; and retreat be impossible; then there is disaster.

Suspended ground. The side that takes the initiative is under a disadvantage. Here, if the enemy offer some allurement, we should not advance: but rather, by feigning retreat wait until he has put forth half his force. Then we may attack him with advantage.

Defiles, make haste to occupy; garrison strongly and await the enemy.

Should the enemy be before you, and in strength, do not engage him: but if he has not prepared the position attack him.

In precipitous ground quickly occupy a position on

a sunny height, and await the enemy. If the enemy should be before you, withdraw and do not attack him.

If distant, and separated from the enemy, and the forces are equal, to take the initiative is disadvantageous.

Now, these are the six kinds of ground. Generals in responsible positions must study them in their various relations.

Again, there are six calamities; arising, not from defect of ground, or lack of opportunity; but from the general's incapacity.

These are: repulse; relaxation; distress; disorganisation; confusion; and rout.

If troops are sent to attack an enemy of equal quality, but ten times their number, they retire discomfited.

Strong soldiers with weak under officers, cause relaxation.

Able officers with feeble soldiers cause distress.

Enraged senior officers, who take the law into their own hands because the general cannot appreciate their ability, produce disorganisation.

Weak and amiable generals, whose directions and leadership are vague; whose officer's and men's duties are not fixed; and whose disposition of troops are contradictory; produce confusion.

Generals, ignorant of the enemy, who oppose small numbers to large; weakness to strength; and who do not put picked men in the van of the army; cause it to be routed. These six things lead to defeat. It is the duty of the general to study them carefully.

Topography has an important bearing on war.

Knowledge of the enemy; proper calculation of chances of victory; an eye for steepness, command and distances; these are the essentials of the good general.

He who understands the application of these principles, conquers; he who understands them not, is defeated.

If victory is certain from the military standpoint, fight, even if the Lord forbids.

If defeat is certain from the military standpoint, do not fight, even though the Lord commands it.

The general, who advances, from no thought of his own glory, or retires, regardless of punishment; but merely strives for the peoples welfare, and his Lord's advantage, is a treasure to the state.

The good general cares for his soldiers, and lovingly treats them as his children; as a consequence they follow him through deep valleys, and are with him in death.

Nevertheless, overcare for the soldiers may cause disobedience; overattention may make them unserviceable; overindulgence may produce disorder: they become like spoilt children, and cannot be used.

He who is confident of his own men, but is ignorant that the enemy should not be attacked, has no certainty of victory.

He who knows that the enemy may be attacked

with advantage, but knows not that his own men are incompetent, has no certainty of victory.

Confidence in the troops, right judgment when to attack the enemy, but improper appreciation of terrain, bring uncertain victory.

The wise soldier, once in motion, does not waver, and is never at a loss.

As has been said; "Know thyself; know the enemy; fear not for victory."

Also, if the season and the opportunity be realised, and the ground known, complete victory is certain.

XI.

THE NINE TERRAINS.

Son the Master said:

In respect to the conduct of war there are:—

Distracting ground; disturbing ground; ground of contention; intersecting ground; path-ridden ground; deeply involved ground; difficult ground; enclosed ground; death ground.

At all times, when the prince fights in his own territory it is called distracting* ground.

That ground a short way inside the enemy's border is called disturbing ground.

Ground giving advantage to whichever side is in possession, is called ground of contention.

Ground to which either side has access, is called intersecting ground.

The intersection of three provinces from which three peoples can be controlled, is called path-ridden ground.

The interior of the enemy's country with fortified towns in rear, is called deeply involved ground.

Mountain and forest; precipices; ravines; marsh and swamp; all places where passage is hard, is called difficult ground

A narrow entrance and winding outlet, where a

^{*} This and the following are so called because the men are continually thinking of, and slipping back to their homes.

small number can oppose a large force, is called enclosed ground.

That ground where delay means disaster, is called death ground.

Wherefore, do not fight on distracting ground; do not linger on disturbing ground.

If the enemy be in possession of disputed ground, do not attack.

In intersecting ground, do not interrupt the highways.

At the crossing of highways cultivate intercourse.

When deeply involved, levy and store up the enemy's property.

Quickly depart from difficult ground.

Enclosed ground requires a careful plan of operations.

On death ground, fight.

The skilful fighters of old were at pains to disconnect the enemy's front and rear; to prevent cooperation between small and large forces of the enemy; to prevent mutual help between his officers and men; and to spread mistrust between the soldiers and those in authority.

Scatter the enemy, and prevent him from concentrating. If there be a chance of victory move; if there be no chance of success stand fast.

If I were asked how a powerful and united force of the enemy should be met, I would say: lay hands on such of the enemy's possessions as will confound his plans. In the conduct of war, before all, strike quickly before the enemy is ready; and attack his unpreparedness from an unexpected quarter.

The way to fight in foreign lands. When in the heart of the enemy's country the soldiers minds are united in the presence of danger, their hosts cannot defeat them. Plunder fertile plains, then the army's provisions are sufficient; be careful of the health of the soldiers; do not tire them uselessly; keep courage; store up strength; plan well and secretly; if there be no refuge the soldiers will not fly from death.

If there be no alternative but death, the soldiers exert themselves to the utmost.

In desperate places, soldiers lose the sense of fear.

If there be no place of refuge, there will be no wavering.

If deeply involved in the enemy's country, there is unity.

If it be unavoidable, the soldiers will fight their hardest.

Even without warnings they are vigilant; they comply without insistence; without restrictions they are tractable; without explicit instructions they will trust the general and obey him.

Prohibit the discussion of signs and omens, and remove the soldiers' doubts; then to the moment of death they will be undistracted.

Our soldiers are poor, not because they hate money; they court danger, not because they dislike long life.

When the order for attack is given, the collars of

those who are sitting with bowed heads may be wet with tears; tears may roll down the cheeks of those reclining; but these men when in a desperate place, will fight with the courage of Sho Kwai.

Soldiers should be used like the snakes on Mt. Tosan; which, if you hit on the head, the tail will strike you; if you hit the tail, the head will strike you; if you strike its middle, head and tail will strike you together.

Should any one ask me whether men can be made to move like these snakes, I say, yes. The men of Go and Etsu hate each other; but if they cross a river in a boat and a storm overtake them, they help each other like the two hands.

The horses may be tied, and the chariot wheels sunk in the mud; but that does not prevent flight.

Universal courage, and unity of the soldiers, depend on good management.

To get the best results from both weak and strong depends upon the nature of the situation.

Under such conditions, it is quite natural that the skilful should lead his men where he will, as it were by the hand.

The qualities of a good general are, calmness and justice; and from these spring inscrutability and good government. The general keeps his officers and men in ignorance of his plans, and informs no one of any changes or fresh departures. By changing his camps, and taking devious and unexpected routes, his plans cannot be guessed.

As one taking away the ladder from under those mounted upon the roof, so acts the general when his men are assembled to fight.

When far involved in a hostile country, he cuts off his paths of retreat; thus the men have nothing left but to fight. He burns his boats, and breaks his cooking pots, and drives the army hither and thither like a flock of sheep, knowing not whither they go.

Therefore the general should assemble the armies, and place them in a desperate position.

The different natures of the nine grounds; the suiting of the means to the occasion; the hearts of men; these are things which must be studied.

When deep in the interior of a hostile country, there is cohesion; if only on the borders, there is distraction.

Wherefore on distracting ground, concentrate the soldiers thoughts.

On disturbing ground, keep in close order.

In disputed ground, try to take the enemy in rear.

In intersecting ground, use caution as regards defences.

In path ridden ground, cultivate intercourse.

In deeply involved, ground, be careful of supplies.

In difficult ground, hurry away.

In enclosed ground, reject an opening offered by the enemy.

On death ground, make it plain that without fightnig-there is no chance of survival.

Wherefore if the soldiers are surrounded, their

hearts are in the defence. When compelled thereto, they fight with energy.

When in a position of great danger they are easily led.

He who knows not the ambitions of other rulers, cannot make profitable alliances with them.

He who knows not mountain and forest; cliffs; ravines; lakes and marshes; cannot conduct an army.

He who uses not guides, cannot draw advantage from the locality.

He who has not a complete knowledge of the Nine Grounds, cannot rise superior to neighbouring rulers.

An able ruler, when attacking an important state, can prevent the enemy from concentrating his forces.

If he exercise his influence, other states cannot join against him.

He does not struggle for the favour of other states.

He does not give support to them (with a view to subsequent benefits). He has confidence in himself, and awes the enemy with his influence.

Therefore he easily takes the fortress, or reduces the country to subjection.

In the bestowal of rewards, or in his orders, he is not bound by ancient rule.

He manages his forces as though they were one man.

Orders should not reveal the plan of the leader; nor should the soldiers be informed of any accompanying risks.

If the forces be plunged into danger, there is sur-

vival; from death ground there is retrieval; for the force in danger, gains victory and defeats the enemy.

Discover the enemy's precise intentions by yielding tactics. When discovered, then, with one stroke, the general may be killed, even though he be one hundred leagues distant.

When war is declared, close the barriers; destroy passports; prevent the passage of the enemy's spies; conduct the business of the Government with vigilance.

Take advantage of the enemy's unreadiness; quickly invade his country; and try to seize the places which he most values.

Shape your plans according to rule, and the circumstances of the enemy.

At first behave with the discretion of a maiden; then, when the enemy gives an opening, dart in like a rabbit.

The enemy cannot defend himself.

XII.

ASSAULT BY FIRE.

Son the Master said:-

There are five ways of attack by fire:

The first is called barrack burning; the second, Store depot burning; the third, commissariat burning; the fourth, Armoury and store house burning; the fifth, the company burning.

Fire assault requires an incendiary. Further; appliances must always be kept at hand.

There is a time and day proper for the setting and carrying out of the fire assault; namely: such time as the weather is dry; and a day when the moon is in the quarters of the stars Ki-Heki Yoku Chin: for these are days of wind.

Regard well the five burnings in their various relations. When fire breaks out in the enemy's lines, thrust upon him with all speed.

If fire breaks out in the enemy's camp, but his soldiers are quiet, wait, and do not attack.

When fully satisfied that the fire is at its height, attack or not, as it may seem fit unto you.

If the opportunity be favourable, set fire to the outside of the enemy's camp, without waiting for the fire to originate.

When fire breaks out on the windward side, do not attack from the leeward.

Wind that rises in the day lasts long. Wind that rises in the night time quickly passes away.

If the peculiarities of the five burnings are known, and the almanac studied, then, when the army brings fire to the attack, victory is clear.

The attack assisted by water is strong.

Water may be used to divide the enemy in two; but it only causes him temporary inconvenience. For, a victory or a capture which has no important results, and from which the enemy quickly recovers, is to be condemned. The war drags on, and money is spent.

Let the enlightened Lord consider well; and the good general keep the main object in view. If no advantage is to be gained thereby do not move; without prospect of victory, do not use the soldiers; fight not unless the country be endangered.

War should not be undertaken because the Lord is in a moment of passion. The general must not fight nursing passion in his heart.

Do not make war unless victory may be gained thereby; if there be prospect of victory move, if there is no prospect do not move.

For anger may change to gladness, passion to joy: but a country once overturned, cannot be restored; the dead cannot be brought to life.

Wherefore, the enlightened Lord is circumspect, and the good general takes good heed; then is the country tranquil, and the army preserved intact.

XIII.

THE EMPLOYMENT OF SPIES.

Son the Master said:

Calling 10,000 men to arms, and transporting them a hundred leagues, is such that in one day 1,000 taels of the citizens' and state's money are spent; domestic and foreign complications arise; industrial pursuits are neglected on the line of march of the army; and the occupations of 70,000* homes are upset.

Again, for years the armies may face each other; yet the issue may depend on a single day's victory.

Wherefore, by grudging slight expense in titles† and salaries to spies, to remain in ignorance of the enemy's circumstances, is the personification of cruelty. Such a person is no general; he is no assistance to his lord; he is no master of victory.

The enlightened ruler and the able general who act, win, and are distinguished beyond the common, are informed beforehand.

A spy was not infrequently a priest.

^{*} The population was divided for military purposes into groups of 8 families, from which, in time of war, one was taken, wherefore if 10,000 men are taken, 70,000 homes are affected.

In Japan the unit was five, and a survival of this exists today. When moving into a new house presents of soba are sent to the two adjoining and three opposite houses—"Mukosangen, Ryodonari."

[†] This shows the importance and respect which spies were regarded. Spies toiled for years in the enemy's service waiting their opportunity, and instances are known of their obtaining high rank and office without discovery.

This knowledge is not to be got by calling on gods and demons; nor does it come of past experience; nor calculation. It is through men that knowledge of the enemy is gained.

Now the five kinds of spies are these; local spies, inner spies, converted spies, death spies, living spies.

If these five means be employed simultaneously, none can discover their working. It is called the Mysterious Thread: it is the Lord's Treasure.

Social spies are such people of the country as give information.

Inner spies are those of the enemy's officials employed by us.

Converted spies are those of the enemy's spies in our pay.

Death* spies are sent to misinform the enemy; and to spread false reports through our spies already in the enemy's lines.

Living spies return to report.

In connection with the main army, spies should be treated with the greatest confidence; and in dealing out reward, they should receive the most generous treatment. All matters relating to spies are secret.

Without infinite capacity in the general, the employment of spies is impossible. Their treatment requires benevolence and uprightness. Except they be treated

^{*} So called because they are put to death when the enemy finds out that he has been tricked.

with the nicest discretion, the truth will not be obtained from them.

There is no occasion when they cannot be used.

If a secret matter be spoken of before the time is ripe, the spy who told the matter, and the man who repeated the same, should be put to death.

If desirous of attacking an army; of besieging a fortress; or of killing a certain person; first of all, learn the names of the general in charge; of his right-hand* men; of those who introduce visitors to the Presence; of the gate keeper and the sentries. Then set the spies to watch them.

Seek out the enemy's spies who come to spy on us; give them money; cause them to be lodged and cared for; and convert them to the service. Through them we are enabled to obtain spies among the enemy's villagers and officials.

By means of the converted spy, we can construct a false story for the death spy to carry to the enemy.

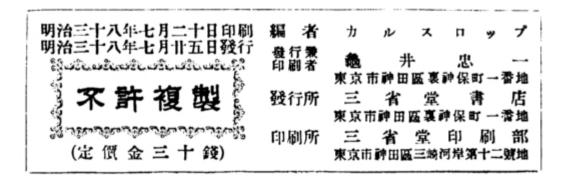
It is through the converted spy that we are able to use the five varieties, to their utmost advantage; therefore he must be liberally treated.

In ancient times the rise to power of the province of In was due to Ishi, who was of the country of Ka. Likewise Ryoga (Taikōbō) of the province of In, was of the greatest help to the country of Shu.

Wherefore, intelligent rulers and wise generals

^{*} Literally, right and left men, i.e. they who sat on either side.

use the cleverest men as spies, and invariably acquire great merit. The spy is a necessity to the army. Upon him the movement of the army depends.



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智, 之之 百為,閒者。必成,大功,此足之興也。伊摯在,夏。周之與之。伊摯在,夏。周之與之事。主必如,之。知,之必之 兵 興,在, 八之要。三軍八之要。三軍八之要。三年、

二十九九

二十八

親, 所 閒。不 令。官 而。而。姓 傳於 者、 故。而、之,必、 用, 死 開北 者^ 爲,因,敵 古者,皆死。凡軍之所,欲,擊。城之之實,微,哉微哉哉。無,所,不,用,閒,也,閒。非,聖智,不,能,用,閒。非,仁義,明。非,聖智,不,能,用,閒。非,仁義 守 閒;而,其, 將。 用, 者、 反, 閒。右。 報來死 我,謁 也 閒。 故_ 者, 故_ 敵_ 鄊 者,者。 閒 因, 門 而,者。 是上內 舍 利, 得, 導, 之 也義。莫、外。 之

此。亡 以安國全軍之道中 國不可以復存完 不可以復存。死者不可以復生。故明主 也。 慎之。良将警之。

於事,不,可,驗,於度,必取,於人,知,敵之情,者也,故用,閒有,五,於事,不,可,驗,於度,必取,於人,知,敵之情,者也,故用,閒有,五,於事,一日之勝,而愛,爵融百金,不,知,敵之情,者。不仁之至也,分,此,也,非,主之佐,也,非,勝之主,也。故明君賢將,所,以動,不,不,如,驗動。怠,於道路。不,得,操,事者。七十萬家。相守,數年。,孫子曰。凡興,師十萬。出征,千里,百姓之費。公家之奉。日費,一日,與,師十萬。出征,千里,百姓之費。公家之奉。日費,一日,與,師十萬。出征,千里,百姓之費。公家之奉。日費,一日,與,師十三 姓之費。公家之奉。日費、千 鬼神。不可象 動。也。而,非。 年。以,

二十七

因

閒。有"內 閒。有"反

閒。有.死閒。有.生

閒

俱起。莫知其

戰,非,修,者、畫,則,火也。 得。其、明。風、止、發、凡。天 於不功,以,久,火,而,火之火,利,用,者、水,夜,可,其,攻、燥,隊。 水、必、待,而,之 因 留, 煙 箕 而, 火 復、愠、利、取、火、攻、不、之。起 說、而、不而、佐、下、可、於之。

致、動。不、攻,風。從,外。日

者、

是,能,以,犯,威調,為,害,三,加 践』廟 謂,爲,爲, 及、墨, 之 城 期。原 将,後

攻 日,第 凡,十 火

攻. 有,五。一日火,人。二日火,積。三

專。淺紅 國, 越. 而, 師。

使之屬。 電地也。無 電地也。無 者、是、地。结, JU 者。不,能,行,軍。不,用,ग़ 導,者。不,能是故不,知,諸侯之謀,者。不,能,豫地,吾,將,示,之以,不,活,故兵之情症,重地,吾,將,繼,其食,记地,吾,將 通。 地也。無,所,往,者。死地也。無,所,往,者。死地也。看,雅,才, 者、衢 地吾將繼其食。记 不,得,合。是故不,爭,天下之交,不,養,天下之 爲客 也、入深* 王 之 , 導, 者。 兵。伐大 則^ 不能、豫、 則答 國, 得,地 則, 散, 其 衆 利, 不得 JU 五, 聚 者。一 權。信記之 威 加工组 其闕。 過影 於 知,澤非,之 形, 從, 死

其,慮;之 遇。 無,得,是, 若,與之 將 期、其、也 如,事,将登,革,軍 驅, 也 而,高,其,之 戊 地 之 變。屈 易、以其治。 伸 知, 典 所, 之 中, 則, 利 情 然, 首 侯之 途, 卒 使, 之 之 同,俱,常,五,独,之 不, 衆, 地, 人, 耳, 若, 齊, 舟, 至, 山 可, 投, 而, 不, 目, 使, 勇, 濟, 敢, 之 不, 之, 發, 得, 使, 一, 若, 而, 問, 蛇

二 十 二

得不好, 之之止, 不 戒不测,於 虞, 若 士 不, 偃 臥者,涕 愛, 不不知, 合,相。 親深不養。也不 頤_ 救。 聽, 令, 拘, 死, 勿, 爲, 矣 不, 焉, 勞, 客 而

孫子日。用,兵九地第十一

則,故。以,澤、衆,以,之重 擊、凡、者、往、地、地。 吾、難、爲、彼、而、和 之、行、衢、可、不、 之、行、衢、可、不、 之 地。 合、散 交, 地 吾 重 則, 之 地,以,深,地 地 無、衆、之 兵, 則, 戰, 者, 掠, 輕, 爲, 之 法。 地。 地.. 有,散 產 地. 交 圮 地、則、地、 地, 有, 我, 死 深,地, 則,無、疾,地, 地。 行,止、戰、所, 圍,爭則,由, 背景接 有,輕 得。地。 亦。諸 地、存、入、邑,之则,不、者。多、地 地。 利,侯彼自 則,則, 不。者 得, 戰, 亦, 其 無疾。隘。者。三 攻、戰、所、為、屬、 死 交 則,從,重 利者。 地 先 地_ 則, 地、亡、歸、地、至、 則, 而得天一 戰。 古 爲爲 者,者山 爲, 迁, 林死 彼, 險 無し 之 絕。死 地, 地、 衢地, 赛, 阻 下 我,入, 用,地、是,可,沮 之 可。人

二 十 一

名, 日, 知, 也, 思, 無, 此, 夫, 窮。知,之擊,而,可。 地 戰,而,地 形者。兵之以,形者。兵之以 是以道。不知 勝,助, 知, 利, 勝, 此, 而,制。 用,勝,計

强,明,而,勢。有,之去、從、者、者、 兵 吏 不 均 崩 道 之。,之。 我レ 我、必、我、 凡, 从, 是, 无, 者, 居, 之, 出, , 不, 者, 居, 之, 出, 此, 横, 戰, 卒, 者, 可, 勢, 之, 以, 也, 六, 日, 将, 强, 凡, 不, 均, 必, 待, 引, 不, 吏此, 察, 難, 居, 敵, 知, 弱, 六, 也, 以, 高, 若, 者、亂、 將 知, 其 日,者、故。挑。陽。敵 不 也 將 少,弱,弱,災,合,不,日,將 任,合。 凡,先, 衆』嚴,陷,之以,教,大過, 可, 以, 教 大 不, 弱, 道 吏 也。 地 而。而。形: 察、擊、不 怒、夫、者

民,以,服,夫 則,武,則,唯,

出,利,我,孫地 而,可,可,子形不以,以,日,第 有通者 可,以, 出,形,通 居, 而不利力支流而勝之。敵若方 陽。利量 有点戰人

十

形; 備、則, 者

将 渴, 陳, 退, 也 來,數,也 也 少,一种建筑。 委賞、懸、不、也。兵,也。 謝、者、飯、重、見、者、輕 者、第、不、也。 者、第、不、也。 也。返,旌 數, 其 旗 休" 司, 舍, 者。 者。 也。寇 而,先 相、暴。 迎、而,諄久、後。論 而,畏、論 而美 者。失 者。"軍" 也。軍 而,也。 達, 爩 先,奔 者 必、至、衆、無、擾、飲、走、驅、 糧者、者、而、者、採、覆、 謹,也也

、"'、'。'勿近也。吾遠之敵近之。吾迎涂?'、'、'、'。'勿近也。吾遠之敵近之。吾迎於至。欲涉者。待其定也。凡地有。絕澗、天井守丘陵隄防。必處其陽,而在,世,《 險 軍、生,水 水 好。此、草。 以高而恶,下。贵是此處,平陸,之軍也處,平陸,之軍也是之軍也 恃, 井 軍 險, 葭、 也。 林 處、斥澤、之家 木 凡, 水 1者。必難 軍 無、留。若交,軍 也。平陸處、易。右、背高。前、死後、留。若交、軍於斥澤之中。必依、 處、實。軍無,百疾。是, 帝 (進,也。其所,居是不之。此,伏姦之) 利。地 井、 之所』以 之助, 敵、 牢 、背之。軍旁立、天羅、天陷三 天 勝步 迎, 水 也。上雨水 Щ 謂心勝。 易; 所 帝_ 水

利,矣。治,兵不, 雖知五 利。不、能、得.人之

孫 年 年 第 也。絕、水必遠、水客絕、水而來。勿、迎、之於日。凡處、軍相、敵。絕、山依、谷。視、生處、高。戰、第九 之於水汭,令,半, 渡,處。 而。山=

十五

十四四

帮待,譁,此, 勿遏。圍 法。高陵勿,向。背丘勿,逆。佯北勿,從銳卒勿,攻。餌兵勿,食歸 師必闕。窮窓勿道此用、兵之法也。 治心者也。以近待遠。以佚待、勞。以飽 正之 其銳氣擊其 旗。勿 之陣,此治,變者 師

九變第八

孫子日。凡, 擊。城有,所,不,攻。地有,所,不,爭。君命有,所,不,受,故將 用,兵之法。將受,命於君。合,軍聚、衆。比地 無留。圍地則謀。死地則戰。途有所不由軍 通於九 有,所,不, 地_ 變

相 險 聞。故爲,之金皷。視 動。先知近 耳 軍 目,也。人 則 利。則三分 可、奪、氣。將 如山。難知 也 故 直 不,能,行,軍,不,用,鄕 不相 合 旣 之 計者勝。此 專 如陰動如雷 見。故爲。之旌 叫 一至。是故 奪心是故 勇 也"故其 者不得 軍 震。掠鄉, 導.者 爭 · 疾ţ 朝氣 旗。夫 之法 强進。法 金, 也。軍 旗 分,衆。廓,地 重 皷 以 氣 耆 政. 旌 日。言不 旗; 不得 分,利, 者

+

長。月有,死生。 地 化产业 取、勝者。謂、之神。故五行 無点常 勝。 JU 時_ 無常 位。日有版 形。能

軍爭第七

危。擧、軍而爭、利。則不、及。委、軍而爭、利。則 者後。其法十) 孫子曰。凡用、兵之法。將受。命於君。。 以利。後,人一發。先,人一至。此知,迂直之計,者也〕軍爭爲,利。衆爭以,利。後,人一賢。先,人一至。此知,迂直之計,者也〕軍爭爲,利。衆爭 軍爭。軍爭之難者。以、迂爲,直。以、患爲、利故迂其途,而誘之 日夜不、處。倍、道衆、行。百里而爭、利 而至。五十里而爭,利。則蹴上 重 三捐。是故卷,甲而一等爲,利。衆爭爲, 将軍,勁者先。疲 将軍,其法半至。

失 益_y 况 有 故 則" 者不能謀。因形而措 之計。作之而知 餘 遠* 知, 於 朥 渚 不 左不能救右。右不能救左。 哉故 之地,知,戰 足之處,故] 數 則 水水之形避高 里近者 日。勝可為也。敵雖衆。可使 知,動 所以 之 日,则, 静之理,形之而 數 里 極。至於 可干 乎。以,吾,度、之。 於 而趨下。兵之 衆。衆 削 不能知。人 不能救後。後 而 無形。無形 戰 知 、無、關。故策、之 勝 死生 越人之兵雖多。亦 形避 知戦 皆 則 之 知,我, 地。角、之而 不能救前。 閒 不能貌 所以 知, 奚, 知

於 刞 無形。神平 我專而敵 可知。不可 ,壘深,溝。不,得,不,與,我戰,者。攻,其 也。退而不可追者。速而了 知,則 :"則後寡。備,後則前寡。備,左則右寡。備,右則左寡。 "則後寡。備,後則前寡。備左則右寡。備,右則左寡。 神子。至 不,得,與,我戰,者。乖,其 專爲一。敵分爲 則吾之所與戰者 無 聲。故能, 不可及, 所,必救,也。我不,欲, 所備 之司命。。進而了 丽_美 我無形。 不可樂 地

勢。如轉圓石於千仭之山者勢也。 木石。木石之性。安則靜。危則動。方則止。圓則行。故善戰人之 之於勢。不,責,於人。故能擇、人而任,勢。任,勢者。其戰人, 敵必從,之。予,之。敵必取,之。以,利動,之。以,卒待,之。故善戰者。求, 弱生,於强,治亂。數也。勇怯。勢也。强弱。形也。故善動,敵者。形,之。 也如轉

虚實第六

孫子曰。凡先處,戰地,而待,敵者佚。後處,戰地,而趨戰者勞。故 其所,不,趨,趨,其所,不,意,行,千里,而不,勞者。行,於無,人之地,也 善戰者。致人而不致於人。能使,敵人自至者。利之也。能使, 不過,至者。害之也。故敵佚能勞之。飽能飢之。安能動之。出,不過,至者。害之也。故敵佚能勞之。飽能飢之。安能動之。出,

九

投卵者。 孫 奇 可 勝觀 激 正 而, 水之 戰 之變。不可勝,窮也。奇 不,過,五。五聲之變。不,可,勝,聽也。色、 也。味不過 疾。至,於漂石者。勢也。 實 如江海。終而海 渾 險。其 也。凡戰者 渾 五<u>.</u> 五<u>.</u> 沌 沌。形 節 味之變。不可勝,當也。戰 短, 国がシテンテ 正相 如 生如循 合。以,奇, 不可敗亂生於治。怯 也 月是 鳥 之 也死而 環 勝。故善出、奇者。無窮 如發機。粉 不過五五色之變。不 於 無端。 勢、不 更生。四 毀 折,者。節 孰能 紛 過奇 是也 紅紅 時 也

也。故 故 於 不、爲,明目。聞,雷霆,不、爲,聰耳。古之所、謂善戰者。勝,於易,勝不、爲,明目。聞,雷霆,不、爲,聰耳。古之所、謂善戰者。勝,於易,勝 敗,也。是故勝兵先勝 干 所,措,勝。勝,己,敗,者 仭 善戰者之勝也。無。智名。無,勇 谿者。形也。 也。故善戰者。立,於不敗之地。而不失,敵 而後求戰敗兵先戰而後 勝敗之政。兵法。一日度。 功。故其戰勝不太。不太

七

兵

勢

第

Ŧī.

己,一勝一到。不知彼不知己。每戰必敗, 此五者。知勝之道也。故曰。知彼知之 知, 勝有, 五。知, 可, 以與戰, 不, 可, 以與戰, 者 勝。 下同、欲者勝。以、處 待,不處,者勝。將能而出 百戰不好。不知彼 君不知者 而知 勝。, 用

軍形第四

己。可,勝, 孫子曰。昔之善戰者。先爲、不,可、勝。以待,敵之 能自保而全勝也。見勝不過,衆人之所,知。非善之善者,也。戰 攻則有餘善守者。藏於九 日。勝可、知。而不、可、爲。不、可、勝者。守也,可、勝者。攻也。守則不、足。 在,敵。故 以善戰之 者能爲、不、可、勝。不、能、使、敵之必一 地之下。善攻者動於九天之上。故 可,勝。不,可,勝, 可將。故「

非 則, 堅共 此攻之 則 而同三軍之 可全业謀 大敵之擒也。夫將者。國之輔也。輔周分之。敵則能戰之。少則能逃之,不若 一疑,矣。三 政,则, 所 不可以退而謂之 攻 國。而非人 軍士 法也。故用、兵之 蟻淌之。殺士卒 軍.者 疑別諸侯之 矣。不,知,三軍 周則 難 之 則。 權。而同一 圍之。五則攻之。倍 不可以進而謂之 國必强。輔隊則 一軍之 敵 之 而。而。

取"敵之利,者。貨也。車戰得,車敵一鍾。當,吾。二十鍾。甚杯一 旌 不,貴,久。故知,兵之將。民之司命。國家安危之主也。」 旗,車雜而乘,之。卒善而養,之。是謂,勝,敵而益强,故兵貴,勝。 一石。當,吾二十石,」故殺、敵者。怒 十乘以上。賞其先得者。而更其 也。

謀攻第三

善者也。故"上兵仗,謀"其次伐,交"其次伐,兵"其下攻城"攻城之 法。爲,不,得,已。修,櫓、轒轀,具,器械。三月而後成。距堙。又三月而 次之。是故百戰百勝。非,善之善者,也。不,戰而屈,人之兵,善之

知用兵之 糧_ 兵 起。雖有,智 師則, 師者貴 於敵。故 久而國 原 內 弓。戟 內 外 虚义 或 師。 或 利, 於 者。不、能、善,其後, 費 楯 舉. 用 家百 者。未之 矣。其 矛 貴 賓 不足。夫鈍兵 也善用、兵者。役不..再 櫓。丘 可足。 之 姓 則, 用 之有,也。· 牛 之 百 也 用 費。十去其 國 姓 挫,銳。屈, ,矣。故,重, 故 之 車。十去,其六。故智 不盡 竭, 籍。糧 竭災, 聞。 知,用、兵之害者。則 拙 速表觀 急於 不"三載。取"用 則, 之費。 , 銳, 攻,城 丘 諸 役<u>.</u> 力_ 輸業 巧 侯 之久,也, 則₊ 不能盡 百 於 屈 馬, 姓 國工 貧。

出其不,意。此兵家之勝。不,可,先傳,也。夫未,戰 況、 而制權 也。未、戰而 ("去,之")計利以 之。卑而驕之 道 能而示 ·佚而 勞之)。實而備,之 者。得清

孫

日。凡用、兵之法。馳

車

駟。 革

車

干

乘。帶

甲

萬。千

里饋

作

戰

第

有,不,将,畏, 始 危也。天者陰 計 法。道者。今民典上 事。校、之以計。而 陽、 知, 寒暑、 地 也。法者。曲 孰得。法 者、 時 制 生 同, 也。地者、 故 制 官 可,與之一 道 遠 日道。二日天 近、 用 也。 孰强。士 死。可,與,之生, 險

凡_, 此,

五,

易

廣

狹

死

生

丽。

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