

# The Grand Scribe's Records

VOLUME I

*The Basic Annals of*

*Pre-Han China*

by Ssu-ma Ch'ien

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INDIANA UNIVERSITY PRESS

*Bloomington & Indianapolis*

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Manufactured in the United States of America

### **Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

SSu-ma, Ch' ien, ca. 145-ca. 86 B.C.

[Shih chi. English]

The grand scribe's records / Ssu-ma Ch' ien ; William H.  
Nienhauser, Jr., editor ; Tsai-Fa Cheng . . . [et al.], translators.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

Contents: v. 1. The basic annals of pre-Han China

ISBN 0-253-34021-7

1. China—History—To 221 B.C. 2. China—History—Ch' in dynasty,  
221-207 B.C. 3. China—History—Han dynasty, 202 B.C.-220 A.D.

I. Nienhauser, William H. II. Cheng, Tsai Fa. III. Title.

DS741.3.S6813 1994

931—dc20

94-18408

1 2 3 4 5 00 99 98 97 96 95 94

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stayed at Yung.<sup>44</sup> On the *chi-yu* 己酉 day, the king was capped<sup>45</sup> and put on a sword. Ai, Marquis Ch'ang-hsin, rebelled and was discovered by the king. The marquis feigned a [royal] order with the imperial seal and the seal of the Queen Dowager on it in order to raise the capital militia, the palace guard, the officer's cavalry, the lords of the Jung and Ti tribes and his housemen, and prepared to rise in revolt by attacking the Ch'i-nien 斬年 Palace.<sup>46</sup> Learning of this, the king ordered the Ministers of State,<sup>47</sup> the Lords of Ch'ang-p'ing 昌平<sup>48</sup> and Ch'ang-wen 昌文, to raise troops and attack [Lao] Ai. They fought [with Lao Ai] in Hsien-yang<sup>49</sup> and cut off several hundred heads. All [of the troops] were conferred a rank. The eunuchs also all took part in the fight and were raised one rank. Lao Ai and his people were routed. The king immediately issued an order in the capital: "Whoever catches Lao Ai alive will have a reward of 1,000,000 coins. Whoever kills him, 500,000 coins." Thus Lao Ai and the others were all arrested. Chieh 竭, Commandant of the [Palace] Guard,<sup>50</sup> Ssu 肆, Scribe of the Capital, Chieh 竭, Assistant Archer,<sup>51</sup> Ch'i 齊, Chief of the Palace Masters,<sup>52</sup> and others, 20 persons in all, had their heads hung from poles. Lao Ai was pulled apart by horses as a warning and his clan was exterminated. Those of Lao Ai's housemen whose transgressions were light served as Woodcutters for the Royal Ghosts.<sup>53</sup> More than 4,000 people were divested of noble rank and their households were moved to Shu, to live in Fang-ling 房陵.<sup>54</sup> This month was frigid; many froze to death. Yang Tuan-ho 楊端和 attacked Yen-shih 衍氏.<sup>55</sup> A comet appeared in the west, and again in the north, pointing its tail southward from the Dipper for 80 days.

In the tenth year (237 B.C.), Lü Pu-wei, the Minister of State, was dismissed for his complicity in Lao Ai's case. Huan Yi 桓欒 became a general. Both Ch'i and Chao came to court to offer congratulatory feasts.<sup>56</sup> Mao Chiao 茅焦, a native of Ch'i, advised the King of Ch'in, saying: "Ch'in is now engaged in the task of [unifying] the world, yet Your Majesty has won infamy for expelling the your mother, the Queen Dowager. I am afraid that when the feudal lords hear of this they will turn their backs to Ch'in because of it." The King of Ch'in then escorted the Queen Dowager back to Hsien-yang from Yung and let her live in the Kan-ch'üan 甘泉 Palace.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Wang Shu-min (6:194) argues that *shang* 上 should be *wang* 王 here.

<sup>44</sup> See n. 71 to our translation of Chapter 5.

<sup>45</sup> Normally celebrated at age twenty (see n. 248 to our translation of Chapter 5), the First Emperor was twenty-two when the capping rite was performed.

<sup>46</sup> The residence of the king at that time, located south of modern Feng-hsiang 鳳翔 County in Shensi (Wang Li-ch'i, 6:120n.).

<sup>47</sup> *Hsiang-kuo* 相國 "Minister of State" was an honorific title used to refer to chancellors.

<sup>48</sup> A noble scion of Ch'u; Hsiang Yen 項燕 later made him King of Ching 荆 (see *Shih chi*, 6:234).

<sup>49</sup> See n. 238 to our translation of Chapter 5.

<sup>50</sup> *Wei-wei* 衛尉; one of the Nine Ministers (Hsü Lien-ta, p. 93).

<sup>51</sup> *Tso-yi* 佐弋 (Hsü Lien-ta, p. 516).

<sup>52</sup> *Chung Tai-fu Ling* [not *ling* as in Chavannes, 2:111, n. 4] 中大夫令 (Hsü Lien-ta, p. 190).

<sup>53</sup> *Kuei-hsin* 鬼薪; this punishment involved gathering firewood for the Ch'in ancestral temple for three years (see Wang Li-ch'i, 6:120-1, n.), but Watson (*Qin*, p. 37, n. 6) may be correct in his claim that this original meaning had been lost and *Kuei-hsin* used simply to refer to the punishment of three years at hard labor (see also A. F. P. Hulswé, *Remnants of Ch'in Law* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985), pp. 15 and 70, n. 14).

<sup>54</sup> Near modern Fang 房 County in northwest Hupei (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:45).

<sup>55</sup> About 10 miles north of modern Chengchow (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:36).

<sup>56</sup> See *Shih chi*, 46:1902.

<sup>57</sup> This was the Southern Palace 南宮 in Hsien-yang, not the Han palace located at Yün-yang 雲陽 (see Wang Li-ch'i, 6:121n., "Chi-chieh," *Shih chi*, 85:2513, Wang Shu-min, 6:195).

[230] Ch'in searched far and wide for foreigners and deported them.<sup>58</sup> Li Ssu 李斯 offered a persuasive memorial,<sup>59</sup> thus Ch'in suspended the order to deport foreigners. Li Ssu accordingly advised the King of Ch'in, asking to let him take Han first, thereby frightening the other countries. The King thus sent Li Ssu to subjugate Han. The King of Han was troubled about this. He plotted with Han Fei 韓非<sup>60</sup> to weaken Ch'in.

Liao 繚 of Ta Liang, [later] Commandant [of Ch'in],<sup>61</sup> came to offer advice to the King of Ch'in: "As mighty as Ch'in is, the feudal lords are similar to the lords of your commanderies and counties. I am only afraid that the feudal lords will join in alliance and catch us off guard. This was how the Earl of Chih,<sup>62</sup> Fu-ch'ai,<sup>63</sup> and King Min 潛 [of Ch'i] (r. \*323-284 B.C.) perished. I hope that Your Majesty will not hold your wealth and goods dear, but instead bribe the powerful vassals [of the feudal lords] to disrupt their plans. You will lose no more than 300,000 [yi] of gold, and the feudal lords could all be taken care of." The King of Ch'in followed his advice. When he received Commandant Liao, he treated him as his equal. He made Liao's clothes and food the same as his own.

Liao said, "The King of Ch'in was born with a prominent nose, elongated eyes, the breast of a bird of prey, and the voice of a jackal; he seldom extends favor and has the heart of a tiger or wolf. When in straits, he can submit to others, but when he has his way, he can easily eat you alive. I am a commoner. Nevertheless, when he receives me, he always humbles himself before me. Once he really has his way in the world, the whole world will be held captive by him. One can not consort with him too long." Thus he ran away. When the King of Ch'in discovered it, he obstinately stopped him, appointed him Ch'in's Commandant, and in the end adopted his plans. But Li Ssu was in charge of affairs.

[231] In the eleventh year (236 B.C.), Wang Chien 王翳,<sup>64</sup> Huan Ho, and Yang Tuan-ho attacked Yeh 鄴<sup>65</sup> and took nine cities.<sup>66</sup> Wang Chien attacked Yü-yü 闕與<sup>67</sup> and Liao-yang 遼陽.<sup>68</sup> They joined their armies into one. When Wang Chien commanded it for eighteen days, he released those whose stipends were less than one *tou* 斗 of grain and let them go home. Within a squad of ten, only two were selected to stay in the army. He took Yeh and An-yang 安陽.<sup>69</sup> Huan Ho took command.

In the twelfth year (235 B.C.), Lü Pu-wei, Marquis Wen-hsin, died. He was buried in secret.<sup>70</sup> Among his housemen, those who attended the funeral and were from [The Three] Chin, were deported; those who were natives of Ch'in and received stipends of six-hundred

<sup>58</sup> Lü Pu-wei had been an foreign excellency.

<sup>59</sup> Li Ssu was also an foreign excellency (from Ch'u) and would have been deported under this order--see his biography in *Shih chi* Chapter 87, esp. 87:2541ff.

<sup>60</sup> See his biography in *Shih chi* Chapter 63, the description of Han Fei's embassy to Ch'in on *Shih chi*, 45:1878 (there dated 234 B.C.), and Ma Fei-pai, pp. 454-6.

<sup>61</sup> See Wang Li-ch'i (6:121n.), the final line of *Shih chi*, 6:230 and Takigawa, 6:12. *Wei* 尉 was his subsequent title, not his *cognomen*. See also Ma Fei-pai, p. 375.

<sup>62</sup> See n. 242 to our translation of Chapter 4 above.

<sup>63</sup> King of Wu, see *Shih chi*, 5:198.

<sup>64</sup> See his biography in *Shih chi* Chapter 73.

<sup>65</sup> Yeh originally belonged to Wei and was located southwest of modern Lin-chang 臨漳 County in Hopei (Wang Li-ch'i, 6:121n.).

<sup>66</sup> *Shih chi*, 73:2338 has a parallel account.

<sup>67</sup> Northwest of modern Ho-shun 和順 County in Shansi (Wang Li-ch'i, 6:121n.).

<sup>68</sup> Near modern Tso-ch'uan 左權 County in Shansi (Wang Li-ch'i, 6:121n.).

<sup>69</sup> Near the modern city of the same name in northeastern Honan (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:36).

<sup>70</sup> When ordered by the King of Ch'in to move to Shu, Lü Pu-wei drank poison and died (*Shih chi*, 85:2513). His retainers buried him at Pei-mang 北芒 Mountain outside Loyang ("So-yin").

tan of grain, were divested of their noble rank and exiled, those who received less than five-hundred tan and did not attend the funeral, were exiled but could keep their noble rank. From this time on, the families of those who were in charge of affairs of state and acted as unreasonably as Lao Ai and Lü Pu-wei were registered [as slaves] as in this case. In the fall, Ch'in exempted Lao Ai's housemen who were exiled to Shu from state service. At this time, there was a major drought throughout the world from the sixth month until the eighth month, when it rained [again].

[232] In the thirteenth year (234 B.C.), Huan Yi attacked P'ing-yang 平陽<sup>71</sup> in Chao, killed Chao's commander, Hu Che 扈輒, and cut off 100,000 heads. The King went to Honan.<sup>72</sup> In the first month, a comet appeared in the east. In the tenth month,<sup>73</sup> Huan Ch'i attacked Chao.

In the fourteenth year (233 B.C.), Ch'in attacked Chao's army at P'ing-yang and took Yi-an 宜安.<sup>74</sup> Ch'in defeated Chao's army and killed its commander. Huan Ch'i pacified P'ing-yang and Wu-ch'eng. Han Fei was sent as an envoy to Ch'in. Ch'in adopted Li Ssu's plan and detained [Han] Fei. [Han] Fei died in Yün-yang 雲陽.<sup>75</sup> The King of Han asked to become Ch'in's vassal.

In the fifteenth year (232 B.C.), Ch'in raised troops on a grand scale. One of its armies went to Yeh, and another went to T'ai-yüan to take Lang-meng.<sup>76</sup> There was an earthquake.<sup>77</sup>

In the ninth month of the sixteenth year (231 B.C.), Ch'in sent forth troops to accept Nan-yang<sup>78</sup> of Han from T'eng 騰, its Acting Governor.<sup>79</sup> For the first time, Ch'in ordered the ages of boys recorded. Wei presented its land to Ch'in. Ch'in established Li 麗 City.<sup>80</sup>

In the seventeenth year (230 B.C.), T'eng 騰, Scribe of the Capital, attacked Han, captured An 安 (r. 238-230 B.C.), the King of Han, and received the entire territory of Han.<sup>81</sup> Ch'in made the land a commandery and called it Ying-ch'uan 潁川.<sup>82</sup> There was an earthquake. The Queen Dowager of Hua-yang 華陽 expired.<sup>83</sup> The people suffered from a major famine.<sup>84</sup>

[233] In the eighteenth year (229 B.C.), Ch'in raised troops on a grand scale to attack Chao.<sup>85</sup> Wang Chien commanded the troops in Shang-ti 上地<sup>86</sup> and subdued Ching-hsing

<sup>71</sup> Not the P'ing-yang in Ch'in referred to in Chapter 5, this city was located southwest of modern Lin-chang 臨漳 in Hopei (Wang Li-ch'i, 6:121n.).

<sup>72</sup> Referring here to the royal city at Loyang (Wang Li-ch'i, 6:121n.). Chavannes (2:117) reads *wang* 王 here (incorrectly) as a verb ("il fit régner le roi au sud du Fleuve").

<sup>73</sup> As Chavannes observes (2:117, n. 2), since the tenth month began the Ch'in year, it is strange that it is listed last here (see also n. 407 to our translation of Chapter 5).

<sup>74</sup> Southeast of modern Shih-jia Chuang 石家庄 in Hopei (Wang Li-ch'i, 6:121n.).

<sup>75</sup> Yün-yang is northwest of Ch'un-hua 淳化 County in Shensi (Wang Li-ch'i, 6:121n.). On Han Fei's mission see also n. 60 above.

<sup>76</sup> See n. 449 to our translation of Chapter 5 above.

<sup>77</sup> There is a description of the destruction of what was probably this earthquake (although it is dated 231 B.C.) on *Shih chi*, 43:1832.

<sup>78</sup> See n. 379 to our translation of Chapter 5.

<sup>79</sup> *Chia Shou* 假守.

<sup>80</sup> Located east of Lin-t'ung 臨潼 County in Shensi (Wang Li-ch'i, 6:122n.).

<sup>81</sup> See also *Shih chi*, 45:1878.

<sup>82</sup> A commandery centered around modern Hsü-ch'ang 許昌 City in Honan, beginning a few miles south of modern Chengchow (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 2:7).

<sup>83</sup> King Hsiao-wen's queen; she was buried at Shou-ling (see Ma Fei-pai, p. 552).

<sup>84</sup> See also *Shih chi*, 43:1832.

<sup>85</sup> On this campaign from Chao's point of view, see the brief account of the efforts of their general, Li Mu

and horticulture. If one desires to learn laws and ordinances, he should make legal officials his teacher."

The Emperor decreed: "We approve."

[256] In the thirty-fifth year (212 B.C.), Ch'in built a highway which ran from Chiu-yüan 九原 to Yün-yang,<sup>240</sup> cutting through mountains and filling up valleys to connect them in a straight manner.<sup>241</sup> Then the First Emperor felt that Hsien-yang was overpopulated and the palace built by the former kings was too small, saying:<sup>242</sup> "I learned that the King Wen of Chou made Feng 豐 his capital, King Wu made Hao 鎬 his capital. [The lands] between Feng and Hao have been the site of the royal capitals." Thus he laid out and started to build the audience halls to the south of the Wei in the Shang-lin Menagerie.<sup>243</sup> He started first with the front hall, O-p'ang 阿房,<sup>244</sup> which was five-hundred *pu* 步 from east to west, and fifty *chang* 丈 from north to south. Above in the hall it could seat ten-thousand people, below a five-*chang* flagpole could be erected.<sup>245</sup> From all sides ran collonades<sup>246</sup> reaching directly from the hall to the Nan 南 (Southern) Mountains.<sup>247</sup> He marked the top of the Nan Mountains as [its] main gate. He built an elevated collonade from O-p'ang across the Wei [River] to connect the hall to Hsien-yang, thereby to symbolize the Collonade,<sup>248</sup> [which runs] from near the Celestial Pole across the Milky Way to connect with the House Constellation.<sup>249</sup> The O-p'ang Hall was not completed. At its completion, he would have selected a better name to call it. As the hall was built with a hipped roof, the people of the world called it the O-p'ang Hall.<sup>250</sup> More than 700,000 castrated or banished criminals were assigned to build either the O-p'ang Hall or the Mount Li [Mausoleum].<sup>251</sup> [He had people] quarry the northern mountains<sup>252</sup> for coffin-stone,

(see "Chi-chieh"), but seems to have become another general term for "hard labor" (a multi-year sentence) by this time (see also Hsü Chia-lu, p. 702). On Ch'in penal labor see also Tomiya Itaru 冨谷至, "Shin Kan no rökikei" 秦漢の勞役刑, *Tōhō Gakuhō*, 55(1984), 103-43.

<sup>240</sup> Chiu-yüan was located just north of the Yellow River near modern Pao-t'ou 包頭 in Inner Mongolia (T'an Ch'i-hsiang); on Yün-yang see n. 74 above and the following note on the "Straight Road."

<sup>241</sup> This *Chih tao* 直道 (Straight Road) ran nearly 500 miles north from Yün-yang to Ch'in's northern marches (see Shih Nien-hai 史念海, "Ch'in Shih-huang chih-tao yi-chi te t'an-so" 秦始皇直道遺跡的探索, *Wen-wu*, 1975.10, 44-54; Shih presents several excellent maps and photos of the road).

<sup>242</sup> We read this as a direct quotation because of the pronoun "Wu."

<sup>243</sup> See n. 148 above.

<sup>244</sup> See Bodde, "Ch'in," p. 102 and Wang Hsüeh-li 王學理, "O-p'ang Kung pien-cheng" 阿房宮辨正, *K'ao-ku yü wen-wu*, 1984.3, 74-78.

<sup>245</sup> I.e., the foundation of the hall was high enough to accommodate a flagpole of this height aesthetically; a pole which would have been taller than the imposing foundation would not have been acceptable (see the painting of the palace attributed to Chao Po-chü 趙伯駒 [c. 1120-c. 1162, a Sung court painter] in the National Palace Museum, Taiwan).

<sup>246</sup> Although there is obviously a relationship between the *ko-tao* 閣道 here and the constellation of the same name immediately below, the translation here is still tentative. Chavannes (2:175) offers little help in his rendering: "Une route cavalière circulaire formait un chemin suspendu." On *ko-tao* see also Lü Sung-yün, p. 248, and our translation of *Shih chi*, 6:239 as well as n. 148 above.

<sup>247</sup> These mountains begin about 30 miles south of modern Sian and stretch west almost to modern T'ai-pai 太白 (still in Shensi, see T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 2:6).

<sup>248</sup> *Ko-tao* 閣道; on this constellation, see *Shih chi*, 27:1309.

<sup>249</sup> *Ying-shih* 營室; see Needham, 3:236, Table 24, no. 13.

<sup>250</sup> Some scholars have argued that O-p'ang was a place name. We read it, following the Chung-hua editors, as indicating that there were four wall plates or facets to its roof—a hipped roof.

<sup>251</sup> The tomb the First Emperor had built for himself, see *Shih chi*, 6:265.

<sup>252</sup> The Chung-hua Editors read this as a place name, but no commentator identifies it. Ch'ien Mu (*Ti-ming k'ao*, p. 610-1) provides support that Pei-shan 北山 simply refers to the mountains north of the Ch'in capital (see also "Cheng-yi"). Ku Chieh-kang (6:15:185) does not mark it as a place name either.

log timber in Shu and Ching, and bring them all to [the capital]. Within the Pass were three-hundred palaces in all, and without more than four-hundred. Thus he erected a stone in the [Mount] Ch'ü 胸<sup>253</sup> region above Tung-hai 東海,<sup>254</sup> making it Ch'in's east gate. He moved thirty-thousand households to Li 麗 City<sup>255</sup> and fifty-thousand to Yün-yang. They were all exempted from taxation and labor services for ten years.

[257] Scholar Lu advised the First Emperor [to conceal his whereabouts]: "This vassal and others who looked for magic mushrooms<sup>256</sup> and elixirs of long life and immortals regularly failed to find them. It seems that there were things impeding the effort. There is one method among many [to remedy this]. If a ruler of men from time to time disguises himself as a commoner and walks around to exorcise evil demons, then the evil demons will be expelled and the Perfected<sup>257</sup> will arrive. If the place a lord stays is known to his vassals, then it impedes the spirits. The Perfected can walk on water without getting wet, through fire without getting burned. They ride on the misty clouds and endure as long as the heavens and the earth. Now the way Your Highness is ruling the world, you will not be able to remain undisturbed. I hope that Your Highness will not let anyone know of the residence wherein you stay; then the elixir of long life may be obtained."

Thus the First Emperor said: "I long to meet the Perfected. I will call myself the Perfected, no more *chen* 朕 when referring to myself!" He then ordered that all the 277 palaces and towers within the 200 *li* surrounding Hsien-yang be connected by elevated walkways and walled corridors. Curtains, bells and drums, and beautiful girls filled the palaces; each was registered and assigned to a place and never transferred. Wherever he went, those who spoke of his whereabouts were sentenced to death. [Once] the First Emperor went to the Palace on Mount Liang 梁.<sup>258</sup> From the top of the Mount he saw the Chancellor was accompanied by a crowd of carts and horses, and was displeased by it. Some eunuchs informed the Chancellor, who reduced the number of accompanying carts and horses. The First Emperor was angered and said: "This [means] some palace servants have divulged my words." He interrogated the palace servants but none was willing to admit to it. In the meantime, he issued an edict to arrest everyone who had been near him at that time and killed them all. Since then no one knew where he would be going. When he presided at court or the vassals received decisions from him, it was always in the Hsien-yang Palace.

[258] Scholar Hou 侯 and Scholar Lu conspired with each other: "The way the First Emperor is, he has a disposition to be obstinate and self-willed. Arising from a feudal lord and having united the world, all he intended has been attained, all he desired, fulfilled. He thinks no one who ever lived is his match. He exclusively employs legal officials, and they are close to him and favored by him. The Erudites, although there are seventy of them, vainly fill their positions but are not used. The chancellors and other great vassals all receive assignments for tasks His Highness [alone] determines and rely on him to accomplish [things]. His Highness enjoys establishing his prestige through punishment and killing. As [the officials in] the world are afraid of offending him and want to keep their salaries, none would venture to devote their loyalty to him. Since His Highness has never been informed of his mistakes, he becomes more arrogant daily. And his subordinates either submit in awe of him or deceive him to win his acceptance. According to Ch'in law, one can not practice two types of [magic]

<sup>253</sup> Modern Mount Chin-p'ing 錦屏 near Lien-yün-kang 連雲港 City in Kiangsu (Wang Li-ch'i, 6:131n.).

<sup>254</sup> I.e., the modern Yellow Sea (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 2:12).

<sup>255</sup> About 15 miles northeast of modern Sian (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 2:6).

<sup>256</sup> See Needham, 5.2:121-3.

<sup>257</sup> *Chen-jen* 真人.

<sup>258</sup> Located east of modern Kan 乾 County in Shensi (Wang Li-ch'i, 6:131n.); see also Ma Fei-pai, p. 538.

methods. If one's method is invalid, he will soon be killed. Nevertheless, the astrologers and aeromancers amount to three hundred. They are all decent persons. But being afraid, or shunning taboos, or concealing facts, or toadying to him, none would venture to tell him squarely his mistakes. Things in the world, great or small, are all decided by His Highness. His Highness even measures his paperwork by the *tan*. Every day and night he has an allotment of work. He does not rest until he meets the allotment. We can not look for an elixir of long life for a person obsessed with power like this."

Thus they fled. When the First Emperor learned of it, he was enraged, "I have eliminated those books which I earlier confiscated from the world and judged useless, and recruited only the literary men and practioners of [magic] methods and techniques in great number, with the desire to bring about the great peace, and, with the practitioners of [magic] methods, to seek wonderous drugs by means of alchemy. Now I have heard that Han Chung has never reported back after he left, and Hsü Fu and his associates have spent cash countable only in myriads, but the elixir is yet to be found. I am only told everyday that they accused each other of embezzlement. I respected and treated lavishly Scholar Lu and his like. Now they have slandered me to substantiate my lack of virtue. I will have someone investigate all the masters in Hsien-yang, to see if any of them has spread phantom rumors to confuse the black-haired."

Thus he had Imperial Scribes interrogate the various masters. The masters accused and implicated one another to extricate themselves. Those who violated prohibitions, more than 460 of them, he had trapped [and executed]<sup>259</sup> at Hsien-yang, letting the world know it, in order to warn those [who might commit the same crime] later. He levied more exiles and sent them to the frontiers. Fu-su 扶蘇,<sup>260</sup> the First Emperor's eldest son, remonstrated: "The world has just been pacified, and the black-haired in distant regions are yet to settle down. The masters all recited and modeled themselves on Confucius. Now Your Highness restrains them all by severe punitive laws. I am afraid that the people of the world are disturbed. May Your Highness consider my words!"

The First Emperor was angered. He had Fu-su leave for the north to supervise Meng T'ien in Shang-chün [Commandery].<sup>261</sup>

[259] In the thirty-sixth year (211 B.C.), Mars stayed in the Heart Constellation.<sup>262</sup> A meteor fell in Tung-chün [Commandery]. It hit the ground and became a stone. Some of the black-haired inscribed the stone with these words: "After the First Emperor dies, his territory will be divided." Upon learning of this, the First Emperor sent down an Imperial Scribe to interrogate people there one by one. None was willing to admit to it. He apprehended the residents near the stone, executed them all, and melted the stone. The First Emperor was depressed. He had the Erudites write a "Hsien chen jen shih" 仙真人詩 (Poem of the Immortals and the Perfected). When he travelled around the world, he ordered musicians to sing and play it to strings. In the fall, when a messenger from the east of the Pass was on the road near P'ing-shu 平舒 of Hua-yin 華陰<sup>263</sup> at night, a man with a jade disc<sup>264</sup> in his hand stopped the

<sup>259</sup> Although there is a long tradition of reading it as "to bury alive," many modern scholars reject this reading as a simple attempt to cast further aspersions on the First Emperor's reputation. In fact, the same texts cited in support of the live-burial theory support another reading of *k'eng* as "to trap," since the First Emperor, after summoning his Erudites and masters to examine unusual winter-blooming melons, dug a pit and concealed it, causing them to fall in and be buried (see Wang Shu-min, 6:219, n. 92 above, and Ulrich Neininger, "Burying the Scholars Alive: On the Origin of a Confucian Martyr's Legend," in *East Asian Civilizations*, Wolfram Eberhard et al., eds. [Munich: Simon and Magiera, 1983], pp. 121-36).

<sup>260</sup> See Ma Fei-pai, pp. 125-7.

<sup>261</sup> See *Shih chi*, 87:2547.

<sup>262</sup> Mars (Chinese name: *Ying-huo* 熒惑) is inauspicious. The three stars of the *Hsin* 心 (Heart) Constellation symbolize here the emperor, his heir, and his sons (Wang Li-ch'i, 6:132n.).

messenger and said: "Give this to the Lord of Hao Pond 滴池<sup>265</sup> for me." With this he said: "This year the primal dragon will die." The messenger asked him what the matter was, whereupon he suddenly disappeared, leaving his jade disc with the messenger. The messenger brought the jade disc back to report on it in detail. The First Emperor kept silent for a good while, then said: "All a mountain spirit can do is to foresee things one year ahead—but not beyond that!"<sup>266</sup> Retiring from the court, he said: "The primal dragon was the primogenitor of human beings." He had the Imperial Storehouse examine the jade disc. It turned out to be the one which he dropped into the Chiang as he was crossing it twenty-eight years before. After this, the First Emperor divined by hexagram, through which he obtained [the advice]: "Travelling and moving is auspicious." He moved thirty-thousand households to the Pei 北 River<sup>267</sup> and Yü-chung.<sup>268</sup> Each [head of] household had his rank raised by one.

[260] On the *kuei-ch'ou* 癸丑 day<sup>269</sup> of the tenth month in his thirty-seventh year (210 B.C.), the First Emperor set out to travel. Li Ssu, the Chancellor of the Left,<sup>270</sup> accompanied him, while Feng Ch'ü-chi 馮去疾, the Chancellor of the Right,<sup>271</sup> stayed [in the capital]. Huhai 胡亥,<sup>272</sup> his youngest son, longing for [his parent], asked to accompany him. His Highness acceded to his request.<sup>273</sup> In the eleventh month, he travelled to Yün Meng 雲夢<sup>274</sup> and performed the Wang Sacrifice to Shun 舜 of Yeu 虞 at Mount Chiu-yi 九疑.<sup>275</sup> He drifted down the Chiang, went sightseeing at Chi-k'o 籍柯,<sup>276</sup> and crossed the Chiang at Hai-chu 海渚.<sup>277</sup> He passed by Tan-yang 丹陽<sup>278</sup> and arrived at Ch'ien-t'ang 錢唐.<sup>279</sup> When he came to the Che

<sup>263</sup> P'ing-shu was about 65 miles east northeast of modern Sian on the south shore of the Wei River in Hua-yin County (Wang Li-ch'i, 6:132n.).

<sup>264</sup> Some traditional commentators suggest this was the God of the Chiang (see text below) on his way to announce the imminent demise of the First Emperor to the Lord of Hao Pond. The jade disc was presumably a token of authority.

<sup>265</sup> One reading is that Hao Pond is a euphemistic reference to the First Emperor, who united the world under the element of water (see Wang Li-ch'i, 6:132n.); "So-yin," however, reads the passage more literally, arguing that the man with the jade disc was a river god who wanted the Ch'in messenger to take the disc to another god, the Lord of Hao Pond.

The "primal dragon" (*tsu-lung* 祖龍) is read by Su Lin 蘇林 (fl. 220 A.D.—cited in "Chi-chieh") as referring to the First (*tsu*) Emperor (*lung*).

<sup>266</sup> The First Emperor wanted to know what would transpire beyond the current year.

<sup>267</sup> The northern of two channels of the Ho flowing from where it bends east in what is now Inner Mongolia for about 100 miles until it rejoined the southern channel near modern Wu-la-t'e-ch'ien-ch'i 烏拉特前旗 (see T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 2:5-6 and Wang Li-ch'i, 6:132n.).

<sup>268</sup> See n. 219 above.

<sup>269</sup> According to Fang Shih-ming (p. 159) the *Kuei-ch'ou* day did not occur in the tenth month but only on the tenth day of the *eleventh* month. See also Takigawa's long note on problems with dates related to this passage (6:60-1).

<sup>270</sup> *Tso Ch'eng-hsiang* 左丞相; under the Ch'in system the Chancellor of the Left was higher than the Chancellor of the Right (Hsü Lien-ta, p. 282).

<sup>271</sup> *Yu Ch'eng-hsiang* 右丞相; see n. 270.

<sup>272</sup> The Second Emperor; see text below and Ma Fei-pai, p. 98-104.

<sup>273</sup> See *Shih chi*, 87:2547.

<sup>274</sup> See n. 175 to our translation of Chapter 5 above.

<sup>275</sup> South of modern Ning-yüan 寧遠 County in Hunan (Wang Li-ch'i, 6:133n.).

<sup>276</sup> We read both Chi-k'o and Hai-chu (immediately following) as place names, despite being unable to locate either. Ku Chieh-kang (6:17:217) gives only Hai-chu as a place name. On the suspicions that the text here is flawed and suggested emendations see Wang Shu-min (6:221), Yoshida (p. 361n.) and Chavannes (2:185, n. 2 and 3).

<sup>277</sup> See n. 276 above.

<sup>278</sup> Northeast of modern Tang-t'u 當塗 County in Anhwei about 30 miles south of Nanking (Wang Li-ch'i, 6:133n.; T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 2:12).

## Hsiang Yü, Basic Annals<sup>1</sup> 7

[7:295] Hsiang Chi 項籍<sup>2</sup> was a native of Hsia-hsiang 下相.<sup>3</sup> His *agnomen* was Yü 羽. When he first rose in revolt, he was twenty-four. His youngest uncle was Hsiang Liang 項梁.<sup>4</sup> Hsiang Liang's father was Hsiang Yen 項燕, a general of Ch'u who was killed<sup>5</sup> by the Ch'in general Wang Chien 王翳.<sup>6</sup> The Hsiang clan served Ch'u as generals for generations and were enfeoffed in Hsiang 項,<sup>7</sup> thus the clan took Hsiang as its *nomen*.

When Hsiang Chi was young, he studied writing but failed to complete [his studies]. He quit to study swordsmanship, but failed again to complete [his studies].<sup>8</sup> Hsiang Liang was angry with him.

Hsiang Chi said: "Writing is only good for recording peoples' names. [\*296\*] Swordsmanship can only resist a single man. Neither is worth learning. I want to learn how to resist ten-thousand men."

Thus Hsiang Liang taught him the art of war. Hsiang Chi was greatly pleased. But when he had grasped the general idea of it, he again was unwilling to finish his study.

Hsiang Liang was once implicated in a case in Yüeh-yang 櫟陽.<sup>9</sup> He asked Ts'ao Chiu 曹咎, the Warden<sup>10</sup> of Ch'i 蕲,<sup>11</sup> to write a letter to Ssu-ma Hsin 司馬欣,<sup>12</sup> the Warden of Yüeh-yang. His case was then dropped.

<sup>1</sup> Much has been written about the inclusion of Hsiang Yü in the *Pen-chi* 本紀 "Basic Annals" section (see, for example, Ch'ü Wan-li's n. 1 on p. 167 of *Shih chi chin-chu*), otherwise reserved for dynasties or emperors. As we observed in the Translators' Note to Chapter 5 above, Ssu-ma Ch'ien used this chapter as a foil for that which follows on Liu Pang 劉邦. He also shows his respect for Hsiang Yü as a great general and recognizes the legitimacy of his claim to have controlled the world if only for a short period of time (even the Ch'in claim was disputed during Ssu-ma Ch'ien's day). It has been argued that in his use of the formulaic "he was a native of" to open the chapter, Ssu-ma Ch'ien reveals that he has essentially a "memoir" in mind. But *Shih chi* Chapter 8, "Kao-tsu pen-chi" 高祖本紀 (The Basic Annals of the Primogenitor of Han), also begins this way and the form probably suggests only the Grand Scribe's sense of the importance of these two personalities in the struggle for power after the fall of the Ch'in.

<sup>2</sup> Although Ssu-ma Ch'ien often alternates his reference to a single character by *praenomen* or *agnomen*, the potential for confusion in this chapter is even higher because he refers to the protagonist progressively here as Hsiang Chi, Hsiang Yü and finally the King Hsiang. Let the reader be forewarned. On Hsiang Yü see also Ma Fei-pai, pp. 407-11.

<sup>3</sup> Located just west of modern Su-ch'ien 宿遷 in Kiangsu (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 2:8). It was also only a few miles east of the confluence of the Ssu 泗 and Sui 睢 rivers. As will be seen below, much of the early activity in this chapter takes place along the Ssu River north and west of Hsiang Yü's hometown. For one account of the origin of the name Hsia Hsiang see "So-yin," but this places it over 50 miles northwest of these events and is therefore probably in error.

<sup>4</sup> See Ma Fei-pai, pp. 407-11.

<sup>5</sup> *Shih chi*, 6:234 claims that after Wang Chien defeated the Ch'u army in 223 B.C., Hsiang Yen committed suicide. He was probably surrounded by Wang Chien and ordered to take his life.

<sup>6</sup> See his biography in *Shih chi* Chapter 73.

<sup>7</sup> Located near modern Shen-ch'iu 沈丘 on the Ying 潁 River in Honan (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:45) and almost 200 miles west southwest of Hsia-p'ei, where Hsiang Yü was born.

<sup>8</sup> Writing and swordsmanship probably represent those studies needed to pass civil and military examinations as a step towards securing an official position (see Lao Kan 勞幹, "*Shih chi* 'Hsiang Yü pen-chi' chung 'hsüeh-shu' ho 'hsüeh-chien' te chieh-shih" 史記項羽本紀中學書和學劍的解釋, *BHP*, 30(1959), 499-510).

<sup>9</sup> During both the Ch'in and the Han, Yao-yang was located about 20 miles northeast of the capital city (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 2:6 and 15).

<sup>10</sup> *Yü-yüan* 獄掾; this was an administrative office involving the judicial affairs of a county.

<sup>11</sup> Located about 10 miles south of modern Su-chou 宿州 City in Anhwei (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 2:8).

<sup>12</sup> See n. 334 to our translation of Chapter 6 above.

Hsiang Liang killed a man. He and Hsiang Chi fled from vengeance to [the seat of] Wu 吳 [Commandery].<sup>13</sup> None of the officers of Wu were as worthy as Hsiang Liang. Whenever there was a great levy of corvée labor or a funeral in Wu, Hsiang Liang always took charge of the matter on behalf [of the local people]. Secretly he organized and trained his guests, retainers and other young men in the arts of war, and in this way he came to know their abilities.

When the First Emperor of Ch'in traveled to K'uai-chi, both Hsiang Liang and Hsiang Chi looked on as he crossed the Che River 浙江.<sup>14</sup> Hsiang Chi said: "I could take that fellow's place." Hsiang Liang covered Chi's mouth with his hand, saying: "Don't talk nonsense or all our clan will be executed!" But because of this, Hsiang Liang looked at Chi in a different light.

Hsiang Chi was over eight *ch'ih* tall. His strength was sufficient to lift a tripod and his talent and spirit surpassed others, so that even the young men of Wu were all afraid of him.

[297] In the seventh month of the first year of the Second Emperor of Ch'in (209 B.C.), Ch'en She 陳涉<sup>15</sup> and his followers rose in revolt from Ta Tse 大澤 (The Great Marsh).<sup>16</sup> In the ninth month, Yin T'ung 殷通,<sup>17</sup> the Governor of K'uai-chi, told Hsiang Liang:

"All the lands west of the Chiang have risen in revolt. Now is the time Heaven will destroy Ch'in. I have heard that, 'Move first and you will gain control; move last and you will be controlled.' I will raise troops and have you and Huan Ch'u 桓楚<sup>18</sup> lead them." At that time, Huan Ch'u was in hiding in the marsh.

Hsiang Liang said: "Huan Ch'u has gone into hiding and no one knows where he is. Only Hsiang Chi knows his whereabouts." Hsiang Liang then went out and instructed Hsiang Chi to stay outside and wait with his sword in hand. Hsiang Liang went in, sat with the governor again, and said: "I would ask you to call in Hsiang Chi and have him receive your order to summon Huan Ch'u."

The governor said: "Very well."

Hsiang Liang called Hsiang Chi in. After a while, Hsiang Liang signaled Hsiang Chi, as if to say: "You may act now!"<sup>19</sup>

At this, Hsiang Chi drew his sword and cut off the governor's head. Hsiang Liang held up the governor's head and hung the seal and sashes [of office] from his belt. The governor's attendants were stunned and thrown into confusion. Hsiang Chi struck down almost a hundred of them. The whole office lay prostrate in fear, none of them daring to rise. Hsiang Liang then called in those influential officials he had known of old and explained to them why he had started this great affair.<sup>20</sup> Thereafter he raised the troops of Wu and had someone levy

<sup>13</sup> Near Soochow in modern Kiangsu (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:165n. and T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 2:12).

<sup>14</sup> The Che River flows into Ch'ien-t'ang 錢唐 (modern Hangchow--see n. 280 to our translation of Chapter 6 above). The First Emperor in the 10th month of 210 B.C. did approach K'uai-chi from the west and cross the Che River (*Shih chi*, 6:260). But this would put Hsiang Chi and his uncle hundreds of miles southeast of their normal area of operations at this time. It seems more likely that they saw him cross the Che which joined the Su (see n. 188 to our translation of Chapter 6 above and *Shih chi*, 6:248) near Hsiang Yü's subsequent camp near Hsia-p'ei as the emperor made his way north to Lang-ya after leaving K'uai-chi (see *Shih chi*, 6:263). In any event, the account, although delightful, has an anecdotal ring to it.

<sup>15</sup> See n. 319 to our translation of Chapter 6 above.

<sup>16</sup> See *Shih chi*, 6:269 above and n. 410 to our translation of Chapter 6 above.

<sup>17</sup> Identified according to "Chi-chieh" as *Chia Shou* 假守, "Acting Governor."

<sup>18</sup> We know little of Huan Ch'u. "Cheng-yi" tells us that Hsiang Yü once used him as an envoy to King Huai 懷.

<sup>19</sup> *Hsing* 行 here is a pun meaning both "go ahead, leave" and "take action." i.e., kill the governor.

[soldiers] in its outlying counties, obtaining eight-thousand picked soldiers. Hsiang Liang assigned the influential and distinguished men of Wu to the positions of colonel,<sup>21</sup> major,<sup>22</sup> and lieutenant colonel.<sup>23</sup> One man received no assignment. He spoke up for himself to Hsiang Liang. Hsiang Liang said: "Sometime ago at so-and-so's funeral, I put you in charge of a certain matter and you were unable to handle it. This is why I did not employ you." Thus everyone submitted [to his decisions]. Afterwards, Hsiang Liang became the Governor of K'uai-chi, and Hsiang Chi was made the Adjutant General<sup>24</sup> to pacify the outlying counties.

[298] Shao P'ing 召平,<sup>25</sup> a native of Kuang-ling 廣陵,<sup>26</sup> was then trying to pacify Kuang-ling on the King of Ch'en's<sup>27</sup> behalf, but was not able to subdue it. When he heard that the King of Ch'en had been routed<sup>28</sup> and that Ch'in's troops were about to arrive, he crossed the Chiang, forged an order from the King of Ch'en appointing Hsiang Liang as the King of Ch'u's Supreme Pillar of State,<sup>29</sup> and said: "The land east of the Chiang has already been pacified. Quickly lead your troops west to attack Ch'in!"

Hsiang Liang then crossed the Chiang with his eight-thousand men and marched west. When he heard that Ch'en Ying 陳嬰 had already subdued Tung-yang 東陽,<sup>30</sup> he sent an envoy seeking to join with Ch'en's forces and march west together.<sup>31</sup>

Ch'en Ying was once the Scrivener<sup>32</sup> of Tung-yang. He lived at the county seat, was always truthful and careful, and was known as a [trustworthy] elder. After the young men of Tung-yang had killed its prefect<sup>33</sup> and gathered several thousand men around them, they wanted a leader, but there was no one suitable, so they asked Ch'en Ying. Ch'en Ying declined on account of his lack of ability. They then forced Ch'en Ying to become their leader. Twenty thousand in the county followed them. The young men wanted to enthrone Ch'en Ying as king right away and rise in revolt immediately, distinguishing themselves from the other forces by wearing blue caps. Ch'en Ying's mother told him:

"Since I became a bride in your father's household, I have never heard of any of your ancestors becoming a nobleman. To suddenly attain an honorable name now, does not bode well. It would be better to become a subordinate to another. If the affair succeeds, you will still be enfeoffed as a marquis; but if the affair fails, it will be easy to escape, because you will not be the one the world will point out by name."

<sup>20</sup> I.e., rebellion in the attempt to set himself up as the new ruler.

<sup>21</sup> *Hsiao-wei* 校尉 who commanded a unit known as a *hsiao* 校 or *pu* 部 consisting of about 1000 men (see Wang Li-ch'i, 7:166n.). On these units and their commanders see also Liu Chan 劉展, ed., *Chung-kuo ku-tai chün-chih shih* 中國古代軍制史 (Peking: Chün-shih K'o-hsüeh Ch'u-pan-she, 1992), pp. 150-51.

<sup>22</sup> I.e., *Chün Hou* 軍候, the subordinate to a *Hsiao-wei* who heads a unit of several hundred men known as a *Ch'ü* 曲 (see Chang Cheng-lang, p. 507 and n. 21 above).

<sup>23</sup> I.e., *Chün Ssu-ma* 軍司馬, who assisted the *Hsiao-wei*; this position held the same rank as a *Pieh-pu Ssu-ma* 別部司馬, but it held no independent command (see Chang Cheng-lang, p. 508 and n. 21 above).

<sup>24</sup> *Pi-chiang* 裨將 (see Wang Li-ch'i, 7:166n.).

<sup>25</sup> See also *Shih chi*, 16:766.

<sup>26</sup> Modern Yangchow (see "Cheng-yi").

<sup>27</sup> I.e., Cheng Sheng.

<sup>28</sup> Ch'en She had been routed in 208 B.C. by the Ch'in General Chang Han 章邯 (see *Shih chi*, 6:270 and 15:758).

<sup>29</sup> *Shang Chu-kuo* 上柱國; "Chi-chieh" notes this was equivalent to the post of Minister of State.

<sup>30</sup> Located 60 miles due north of Nanking in Kiangsu (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 2:8); it was about 70 miles southeast of Hsia-hsiang.

<sup>31</sup> See *Shih chi*, 91:2598.

<sup>32</sup> *Ling-shih* 令史 (see Ch'ü Wan-li, *Shih chi chin-chu*, p. 170, n. 26).

<sup>33</sup> *Ling* 令, the designation for the head of a county of 10,000 or more people (those with smaller populations were headed by *Chang* 長, see Hsü Lien-ta, p. 327).

Thus Ch'en Ying did not venture to take the title of king. He told the officers of his army, "The Hsiang Clan have been generals for generations and are renowned in Ch'u. Now if we want to undertake this great affair, it will only work if we chose the right man. If we affiliate ourselves with this renowned clan, Ch'in's fall is certain."

They all agreed and put their troops under Hsiang Liang's command.

Hsiang Liang crossed the Huai. Ch'ing Pu 黥布 and General P'u 蒲<sup>34</sup> also put their troops under his command. In all there were 60-70,000 men. They encamped at Hsia-p'ei 下邳.<sup>35</sup>

[299] At the same time, Ch'in Chia 秦嘉, having enthroned Ching Chü 景駒<sup>36</sup> as the King of Ch'u, encamped east of P'eng-ch'eng 彭城,<sup>37</sup> intending to resist Hsiang Liang. Hsiang Liang told the officers of his army: "The King of Ch'en was the first to initiate this affair. The tide of battle has turned against him and we do not know where he is. Now Ch'in Chia has turned his back on the King of Ch'en and enthroned Ching Chü. This is high treason!"

He sent in his troops to attack Ch'in Chia. Ch'in Chia's army was routed. Hsiang Liang pursued him to Hu-ling 胡陵.<sup>38</sup> Ch'in Chia turned and fought for one day. Ch'in Chia died and his troops surrendered. Ching Chü fled to the territory of Liang and died [there].

When Hsiang Liang had incorporated Ch'in Chia's army and encamped at Hu-ling, preparing to lead them west, Chang Han's 章邯 army reached Li 栗.<sup>39</sup> Hsiang Liang sent his Deputy Generals, Chu Chi-shih 朱雞石 and Yü Fan-chün 餘樊君, to engage him in battle.<sup>40</sup> Yü Fan-chün was killed, and Chu Chi-shih, his army defeated, fled back to Hu-ling. Hsiang Liang thus led his troops into Hsüeh 薛<sup>41</sup> and executed Chu Chi-shih.

Hsiang Liang earlier had sent Hsiang Chi on a separate mission<sup>42</sup> to attack Hsiang-ch'eng 襄城.<sup>43</sup> The people of Hsiang-ch'eng resolutely defended it and would not submit. After [\*300\*] taking it, Hsiang Chi trapped and executed<sup>44</sup> them all, then returned to report to Hsiang Liang.

<sup>34</sup> There are two readings here. The first ("Chi-chieh") suggests that Ch'ing Pu first rose in P'u and was thus known as the "General of P'u," i.e., there is only one person indicated here. The second reading can be found in "So-yin" which points out that Ch'ing Pu was originally known as Ying Pu 英 (he reputedly changed his *cognomen* after committing an offense and being tattooed) and was from Chiu County 郟縣. We follow "So-yin." There is a similar passage in Ch'ing Pu's biography (*Shih chi*, 91:2598) as well as one below (*Shih chi*, 7:305) which also support our reading.

<sup>35</sup> A little over 10 miles south-southwest of P'ei 邳 County in Kiangsu near the confluence of the Ssu 泗 and Che 沂 rivers and about 20 miles northwest of Hsiang Yü's hometown at Hsia-hsiang (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 2:8).

<sup>36</sup> Although otherwise unknown, it is obvious many of the rebels attempted to use the existing royal families (here the Ching) to set up their puppets.

<sup>37</sup> About 50 miles up the Ssu River from Hsia-p'ei in modern Kiangsu (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 2:8).

<sup>38</sup> Another fifty miles up the Ssu River in modern southwest Shantung near the city of Yü-t'ai 魚臺 (which is today on the southwest shore of Nan-yang Hu 南陽湖 [Lake Nan-yang]; T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 2:8).

<sup>39</sup> A county on the Sui River 60 miles southwest of Hu-ling in modern Honan (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 2:8).

<sup>40</sup> Since there is no other information on either of these deputy commanders, Watson (*Records*, p. 41) reads Yü Fan-chün as his name, but the Yangs (p. 415) and Wang Li-ch'i (7:167) believe he was the Lord of Yü-fan.

<sup>41</sup> A county about 20 miles east of Hu-ling in modern Shantung (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 2:44); "Cheng-yi" locates it further south near modern Hsuehchow, but this seems too far from Hu-ling.

<sup>42</sup> Hsiang Liang himself went to relieve Tung-o.

<sup>43</sup> Located south of modern T'eng 滕 County in Shantung (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:167n.).

<sup>44</sup> On *k'eng* 坑 see n. 92 to our translation of Chapter 6 above.

When Hsiang Liang heard that the King of Ch'en's death had been confirmed, he summoned all his deputy generals to meet in Hsüeh to assess matters. At this time, the Magistrate of P'ei 沛<sup>45</sup> also set out<sup>46</sup> from P'ei 沛<sup>47</sup> to attend the meeting.

Fan Tseng 范增 of Chü-ch'ao 居鄴,<sup>48</sup> who for seventy years had led a sedentary life but delighted in marvelous plans, went to advise Hsiang Liang: "It is certainly fitting that Ch'en Sheng suffer defeat. When Ch'in exterminated the Six States, Ch'u had committed the least offense. Ever since King Huai 懷 [of Ch'u (r. 328-299 B.C.)] went to Ch'in and failed to return,<sup>49</sup> the people of Ch'u have never ceased to mourn him. This is why Master Nan 南 of Ch'u said: 'Even if Ch'u has but three households left, it will be Ch'u that destroys Ch'in.'<sup>50</sup> Now when Ch'en Sheng initiated this affair, he failed to enthrone a descendant of Ch'u, but enthroned himself instead; thus his power did not grow. After you rose in revolt from east of the Chiang, all the commanders across the length and breadth<sup>51</sup> of Ch'u strove to attach themselves to you. This was because they thought My Lord, as a member of a family which for generations served Ch'u as generals, could reestablish a descendant of Ch'u."

Hsiang Liang thought his suggestion correct and sought out from among the common people a grandson of the late King Huai of Ch'u, named Hsin 心, who was herding sheep for someone. He enthroned him as King Huai 懷 of Ch'u to comply with the wishes of the people.<sup>52</sup> Ch'en Ying became the Supreme Pillar of State for Ch'u and was enfeoffed with five counties. He and King Huai established their capital at Hsü-yi 盱台.<sup>53</sup> Hsiang Liang titled himself Lord Wu-hsin 武信.

[301] Several months later, [Hsiang Liang] led his troops to attack K'ang-fu 亢父,<sup>54</sup> joined with the armies of T'ien Jung 田榮<sup>55</sup> of Ch'i and Marshal Lung Chü 龍且,<sup>56</sup> in the rescue of Tung-o 東阿,<sup>57</sup> and crushed Ch'in's army there. T'ien [\*302\*] Jung then led his

<sup>45</sup> I.e., Liu Pang 劉邦; besides the accounts in this chapter, see also *Shih chi* Chapter 8 and Ma Fei-pai, pp. 398-406).

<sup>46</sup> Ch'i here means "to set out" as on *Shih chi*, 7:303, not to "to rise up."

<sup>47</sup> A county located near modern P'ei County about fifteen miles down the Ssu River from Hu-ling in modern Kiangsu (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 2:8).

<sup>48</sup> About 20 miles north of modern An-ch'ing 安慶 City in Anhwei (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 2:24).

<sup>49</sup> For details see our translation of *Shih chi* Chapter 84 below.

<sup>50</sup> This proverb has been variously understood. We follow "Chi-chieh" which attributes the enmity Ch'u felt towards Ch'in as the basis for this claim. Other interpretations include *san hu* 三戶 (three households) referring to the three royal clans of Ch'u (Chao 昭, Ch'ü 屈, and Ching 景) or to a place name San-hu Chin 津 (Three Households Ferry) where Hsiang Yü indeed later defeated the Ch'in general Chang Han (see "So-yin" and "Cheng-yi," respectively).

The traditional commentaries give various accounts of Master Nan; there is a work with the title *Nan kung* 南公 listed in the bibliographic chapters of the *Han shu* (30:1733) supposedly dating from this time; see also Chavannes, 2:256, n. 2.

<sup>51</sup> Our translation follows Sung Yün-pin 宋雲彬, *Hsiang Yü* 項羽 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1962), p. 7, n. 5.

<sup>52</sup> "Chi-chieh" says this took place in the sixth month of 208 B.C. But according to *Shih chi*, 16:765, Ch'en Sheng (She) did not die until the twelfth month of 208 B.C. Reports of the events in other areas were surely delayed at this time of civil war (witness the sentence just about "When Hsiang Liang heard that the King of Ch'en's death had been confirmed") and they may have contributed to the rather haphazard chronology of this section.

<sup>53</sup> Almost 100 miles north of modern Nanking and a few miles north of the city by the same name in Kiangsu (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 2:8).

<sup>54</sup> A county south of modern Chi-ning 濟寧 City in Shantung (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:167n.).

<sup>55</sup> He was T'ien Tan's (see n. 323 to our translation of Chapter 6 above) younger brother. After Chang Han defeated and killed T'ien Tan, T'ien Jung gathered the remnants of his brother's army and fled to Tung-o, followed closely by Chang Han (see *Shih chi*, 94:2643-4, Ma Fei-pai, 419-20 and Wang Li-ch'i, 7:167n.).

<sup>56</sup> See *Shih chi*, 92:2620-5 and 95:2668-9.

<sup>57</sup> About 15 miles east northeast of modern Yang-ku 陽谷 in Shantung and 100 miles northwest of Hsiang

troops back [to Ch'i] and expelled the king, T'ien Chia 田假.<sup>58</sup> Chia fled to Ch'u; his Prime Minister, T'ien Chiao 田角, fled to Chao, and T'ien Chiao's younger brother, T'ien Chien 田間, a former commander of Ch'i, remained in Chao and did not venture to return home. T'ien Jung enthroned T'ien Tan's<sup>59</sup> son, T'ien Fu 田市, as the King of Ch'i. After Hsiang Liang had defeated the army outside Tung-o, he pursued Ch'in's troops. He sent envoys several times to urge the troops of Ch'i [to come],<sup>60</sup> intending to proceed west together with them.

T'ien Jung said: "When Ch'u has killed T'ien Chia and Chao has killed T'ien Chiao and T'ien Chien, then I will send forth my troops."

Hsiang Liang said: "T'ien Chia was the King of our ally. In his distress, he came to be with us. I can not bear to kill him."

Nor would Chao kill T'ien Chiao and T'ien Chien as part of a bargain with Ch'i. Ch'i subsequently was unwilling to send forth troops to aid Ch'u. Hsiang Liang sent the Magistrate of P'ei and Hsiang Chi on a separate mission to attack Ch'eng-yang 城陽.<sup>61</sup> They massacred the people of the city, and, marching west, defeated Ch'in's army east of P'u-yang 濮陽.<sup>62</sup> Ch'in withdrew its troops into P'u-yang. The Magistrate of P'ei and Hsiang Chi then attacked Ting-t'ao 定陶.<sup>63</sup> Before Ting-t'ao was subdued, they left, made a clean sweep of the land up to Yung-ch'iu 離丘,<sup>64</sup> smashed Ch'in's army, and decapitated Li Yu 李由.<sup>65</sup> They then returned to attack Wai-huang 外黃.<sup>66</sup> Before Wai-huang was subdued, [\*303\*] Hsiang Liang set forth from Tung-o and marched west.<sup>67</sup> When he arrived at Ting-t'ao, he defeated Ch'in's

Liang's previous base at Hsüeh (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 2:7). There is a question here of whether Hsiang Liang returned to Hsüeh after this rescue or (as Ssu-ma Ch'ien believes) stayed in Tung-o (see n. 60 below).

<sup>58</sup>T'ien Chia had been enthroned shortly after T'ien Tan's death without consulting T'ien Jung, who was then besieged at Tung-o by Chang Han. T'ien Jung considered T'ien Chia a usurper and moved quickly to restore his own family (through T'ien Tan's son) to power (see *Shih chi*, 94:2644).

<sup>59</sup>On T'ien Tan see n. 323 to our translation of Chapter 6 above.

<sup>60</sup>It seems from the text below that Hsiang Liang was still based in Hsüeh at this time.

<sup>61</sup>This punitive attack was against Ch'i; Ch'eng-yang was about 75 miles northwest of Hsiang Liang's earlier base at Hsüeh and 50 miles south-southwest of Tung-o (20 miles north-northeast of modern Ting-t'ao 定陶 in Shantung; T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 2:7).

<sup>62</sup>This was the administrative seat of Tung-chün located a few miles south of modern P'u-yang in southeastern Hopei, some 50 miles west of Ch'eng-yang (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 2:7).

<sup>63</sup>Near the modern city of T'ing-tao in northwest Shantung and some 40 miles southeast of P'u-yang (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 2:7). This action completed a sweep of the Ch'in forces to Hsiang Liang's northwest and allowed him to concentrate next on an attack directly to the west.

<sup>64</sup>About 20 miles southeast of modern Kaifeng in Honan and 60 miles southwest of Ting-t'ao (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 2:7); thus this flanking movement covered about 60 miles.

<sup>65</sup>Li Ssu's 李斯 son who was then Governor of San-ch'uan 三川 Commandery, see *Shih chi*, 87:2559-61 and 95:2651.

<sup>66</sup>"Returned" because Wai-huang is about 20 miles northeast of Yung-ch'iu (and 30 miles east of modern Kaifeng; see T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 2:7).

<sup>67</sup>Here our parsing, and our understanding of the text, differ from that of the Chung-hua editors. They read "They returned to attack Wai-huang, [but] Wai-huang had not yet been subdued. Hsiang Liang set forth from Tung-o and marched west . . ." Our reading is predicated on Hsiang Chi and the Magistrate of P'ei setting out earlier "on a separate mission" and on *wei* 未 meaning "not yet." They were attacking Wai-huang, thus screening Hsiang Liang the Ch'in troops to the west, when he attacked Ting-t'ao. There is a further problem here, however. The Chin-ling edition reads "Hsiang Liang set forth from Tung-o, [marched] northwest and reached Ting-t'ao." The Chung-hua editors, following comments of several earlier scholars, emend "northwest and arrived at Ting-t'ao" 西北至定陶 to read "west, when he arrived at Ting-t'ao" 西, 比至定陶. This is because Hsiang Liang would have had to lead his men almost directly south from Tung-o to Ting-t'ao. Another explanation, which would preclude changing the text in the manner the Chung-hua editors have, would be that Hsiang Liang was still at his earlier base in Hsüeh from which Hsiang Liang would have marched northwest to Ting-t'ao and started from there rather than Tung-o. Although this also assumes a revision in the original text, the assumption that

army a second time. Because Hsiang Chi and his people had also decapitated Li Yu, Hsiang Liang thought even less of Ch'in and took on an arrogant appearance. Sung Yi 宋義<sup>68</sup> admonished Hsiang Liang: "The commander who grows arrogant and soldiers who grow lazy after victory in battle will be defeated. Now the soldiers grow more and more lazy and Ch'in's forces increase daily. I fear for you."

Hsiang Liang refused to listen to him. Instead, he sent Sung Yi as an envoy to Ch'i. On his way, Sung Yi met Ch'i's envoy, Hsien 賢, the Lord of Kao-ling 高陵,<sup>69</sup> and said, "Are you going to see Lord Wu-hsin?"<sup>70</sup>

The latter said, "I am."

Sung Yi said, "In my judgment, Lord Wu-hsin's army is sure to be defeated. If you travel slowly, you may escape death. If you hurry, you will meet with calamity."

As he expected, Ch'in raised all its troops to reinforce Chang Han, who assaulted Ch'u's army and crushed it at Ting-t'ao. Hsiang Liang died. The Magistrate of P'ei and Hsiang Yü left Wai-huang to attack Ch'en-liu 陳留.<sup>71</sup> Ch'en-liu resolutely defended itself and refused to submit. The Magistrate of P'ei and Hsiang Chi consulted: "Now that Hsiang Liang's army has been defeated, our officers and soldiers are frightened."

Thus they led their troops east, together with Lü Ch'en's 呂臣<sup>72</sup> army. Lü Ch'en encamped east of P'eng-ch'eng, Hsiang Chi, to its west, and the Magistrate of P'ei, at Tang 湯.<sup>73</sup>

[304] After defeating Hsiang Liang's army, Chang Han thought that the troops in the territory of Ch'u were no longer worth worrying about. Thus he crossed the Ho to assault Chao and crushed it.<sup>74</sup> At this time, Chao Hsieh 趙歇 was King of Chao, Ch'en Yü 陳餘, its commander,<sup>75</sup> and Chang Erh 張耳, its Prime Minister.<sup>76</sup> They all fled into the city of Chü-lu 鉅鹿.<sup>77</sup> Chang Han ordered Wang Li 王離 and She Chien 涉間 to besiege Chü-lu. Chang Han himself encamped to its south and built a walled corridor to transport grain to them. As Hsiang Liang set out from Tung-o may have been simply an erroneous one on the part of Ssu-ma Ch'ien or his sources, and thus the revision does not seem as drastic as changing *pei* 北 to *pi* 比 or as dissatisfying (since even without "*pei* 北," Hsiang Liang still would not be moving west!).

<sup>68</sup> Formerly the Premier (*Ling-yin* 令尹) of Ch'u, he had joined Hsiang Yü's camp (see Wang Li-ch'i, 7:168n.).

<sup>69</sup> Otherwise unknown.

<sup>70</sup> I.e., Hsiang Liang.

<sup>71</sup> This was about 20 miles west-southwest of Wai-huang and a few miles southeast of modern Kaifeng (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 2:7).

<sup>72</sup> On Lü's movements prior to joining with Hsiang Yü, see *Shih chi*, 48:1959-60; Lü later turned against Hsiang Yü, joined Liu Pang, and was subsequently enfeoffed (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:168n.).

<sup>73</sup> Hsiang Yü thus retreated to his home territory and set up a line of defense (with Lü Ch'en and Liu Pang) stretching about 50 miles from Tang (referring to Tang County, about 10 miles north of modern Yung-ch'eng 永城 in eastern Honan; it is unlikely to refer to the various other places suggested by commentators including the seat of the Tang Commandery [near the modern Shang-ch'iu 商丘 in Honan]--which the Magistrate of P'ei was soon given charge of [see below]--because these locations were too far from P'eng-ch'eng and would have left Hsiang Yü with a porous line of defense; see T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 2:7) in the west through his camp west of P'eng-ch'eng to Lü Ch'en's east of the city.

<sup>74</sup> On these events, which took place during the 9th and 10th months of 207 B.C. (see *Shih chi*, 16:769-70), see also *Shih chi*, 89:2578-9.

<sup>75</sup> As Wang Shu-min (7:259-60) points out, this clause could be an interpolation, since it is repeated a few lines below.

<sup>76</sup> After Ch'en Sheng rebelled, he sent Wu Ch'en 武臣, Chang Erh, and Ch'en Yü north across the Yellow River to win support for his cause. Wu Ch'en, upon reaching Han-tan, set himself up as King of Chao. After he was killed, Chang and Ch'en enthroned a descent of the Chao royal family, Chao Hsieh, as a puppet (see the biographies of Chang Erh and Ch'en Yü in *Shih chi* Chapter 89).

<sup>77</sup> A county about 45 miles northeast of Han-tan, just southwest of modern P'ing-hsiang 平鄉 County in Hopei (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:168n.).

the commander of Chao, Ch'en Yü took several tens of thousands of soldiers and encamped to the north of Chü-lu. This was called the Army North of the Ho.

After Ch'u's troops were defeated at Ting-t'ao, King Huai of Ch'u was frightened. He left Hsü-yi for P'eng-ch'eng, combined the armies of Hsiang Chi and Lü Ch'en, and took command of them himself. He made Lü Ch'en Minister of the Interior,<sup>78</sup> Lü Ch'en's father, Lü Ch'ing 呂青, Premier, and the Magistrate of P'ei, Head<sup>79</sup> of Tang-chün 碭郡 [Commandery].<sup>80</sup> He also enfeoffed him as of the Marquis of Wu-an 武安,<sup>81</sup> and gave him command of the troops of Tang-chün [Commandery].

Hsien, the Lord of Kao-ling, the Ch'i envoy whom Sung Yi had met, was [then] in the Ch'u camp. He went to see the King of Ch'u and said: "Sung Yi judged that the army of the Lord of Wu-hsin was sure to be defeated. Several days later, the army was indeed defeated. To foresee the signs of defeat before the troops joined in battle, this man can be said to understand the arts of war."

The king summoned Sung Yi to evaluate affairs<sup>82</sup> with him and was greatly pleased with him. The king then made him Commander in Chief.<sup>83</sup> Hsiang Chi was made the Duke of Lu and the Lieutenant Commander,<sup>84</sup> and Fan Tseng, the Deputy Commander,<sup>85</sup> taking troops to the aid of Chao. All the deputy generals were put under Sung Yi, whom the king called "Excellent Scion, Head of the Army."<sup>86</sup>

[305] They marched to An-yang, where they stayed for forty-six days without advancing. Hsiang Chi said, "I have heard that the Ch'in army has besieged the King of Chao at Chü-lu. If we quickly lead our troops across the Ho, with Ch'u assaulting from without and Chao responding to the attack from within, we are sure to defeat the Ch'in army."

Sung Yi said, "Not so! You do not need to strike a louse with the same force it takes to kill a horsefly!<sup>87</sup> Now Ch'in is attacking Chao. If it wins victory in battle, then its troops will be exhausted and we can avail ourselves of their weariness. If it loses, then we can lead our troops west with drums sounding and are sure to take Ch'in. Thus it is better to let Ch'in and Chao fight it out first. In donning armor and handling weapons, I am not as good as you. But in sitting down and working out strategy, you are not as good as I."

With this, he issued this order among the troops: "Let all those who are fierce as a tiger, vicious as a ram, covetous as a wolf, and too intractable to employ be decapitated."

Then he sent his son, Sung Hsiang 宋襄, to serve Ch'i as Prime Minister. He himself accompanied him to Wu-yen 無鹽,<sup>88</sup> where they drank and held a great feast. It was a cold day, raining heavily, and the officers and soldiers [of Ch'u] were chilled and hungry. Hsiang Chi said, "We were to join our forces to attack Ch'in, yet he holds us here for so long without

<sup>78</sup> See n. 9 to our translation of Chapter 3 above.

<sup>79</sup> *Chang* 長.

<sup>80</sup> Near the modern city of Shang-ch'iu in Honan (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 2:7).

<sup>81</sup> Wu-an was located near the modern city of the same name in Hopei a few miles west of Han-tan (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 2:9). This was also the title of the famous Ch'in general, Pai Ch'i 白起 (see *Shih chi*, 73:2331).

<sup>82</sup> We have read *shih* 事 generally here, but it may also refer to "the great affair" (*ta shih* 大事), i.e. the overthrow of Ch'in, that Hsiang Liang had initiated (see *Shih chi*, 7:297).

<sup>83</sup> See n. 348 to our translation of Chapter 6 above.

<sup>84</sup> *Tz'u Chiang* 次將 (see Hsü Lien-ta, p. 449).

<sup>85</sup> *Mo Chiang* 末將 (see Hsü Lien-ta, p. 268).

<sup>86</sup> *Ch'ing Tzu Kuan-chün* 卿子冠軍 (Hsü Lien-ta, p. 856); this, like Lieutenant General and Deputy General above, seem to be terms unique to this administration.

<sup>87</sup> For other readings of this maxim see Wang Li-ch'i, 7:169n., Ch'ü Wan-li, *Shih chi chin-chu*, p. 174, n. 67, and Chavannes, 2:263, n. 2.

<sup>88</sup> Southeast of modern Tung-p'ing 東平 County in Shantung (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:169n.).

advancing. Now the year is lean, the people are poor, and our officers and soldiers are fed on half<sup>89</sup> rations of pulse. In the camp there are no ready provisions, yet he drinks and holds a great feast. He does not lead the troops across the Ho, take advantage of Chao's rations, and join forces with Chao to attack Ch'in, but instead talks of 'availing ourselves of their [Ch'in's] weariness.' To attack newly founded Chao with the might of Ch'in, the situation is sure to result in Chao being taken. Once Chao is taken, Ch'in will be even mightier. What sort of weariness will there be for us to avail ourselves of? Furthermore, our troops were defeated only recently and our king sits uneasily on the throne. The king swept together [all the men] within the borders and put them under his exclusive command. Whether the country is to be saved or perish all depends on this one move. Since he cares nothing for the officers and soldiers, but attends only to his personal affairs, he is no servant of our altars of earth and grain."

Shortly after dawn, Hsiang Yü went to a morning audience with the Commander in Chief, Sung Yi, cut off Sung Yi's head in his tent, and came out to issue this order among the troops: "Sung Yi and Ch'i have conspired against Ch'u. The King of Ch'u secretly ordered me to execute him."

At this, all the commanders were cowed into submission; no one ventured to take a stand against him. They all said: "It was your family who first enthroned the descendant of Ch'u, General. Now you have punished a rebel!"

Thus they jointly declared Hsiang Yü the Acting Commander in Chief. Hsiang Yü had someone pursue Sung Yi's son; he caught up with him in Ch'i and killed him. Hsiang Yü then sent Huan Ch'u to report his decision to King Huai. King Huai then made Hsiang Yü the Commander in Chief. The Lord of Tang-yang 當陽<sup>90</sup> and General P'u<sup>91</sup> were both put under Hsiang's command.

[307] After Hsiang Chi had killed the Excellent Scion, Head of the Army, his power shook the state of Ch'u and his name was known to all the feudal lords. He then dispatched the Lord of Tang-yang and General P'u with twenty-thousand soldiers across the river<sup>92</sup> to rescue Chü-lu. The tide of battle gradually turned in their favor. Ch'en Yü asked for more troops. Hsiang Yü led all his troops across the river; he then sank all his boats, smashed his cooking utensils, burned his cantonment, and took with him only three-days' rations, showing that his officers and soldiers would fight to death, that not even one man hoped to return. Upon his arrival at Chü-lu, he surrounded Wang Li and engaged Ch'in's army. After nine battles, he cut off Ch'in's walled corridors, smashed its forces, killed Su Chiao 蘇角, and took Wang Li prisoner. She Chien refused to surrender to Ch'u. Instead, he set himself on fire and died. At this time, Ch'u's troops outmatched those of the feudal lords. Those forces of the feudal lords which came to the rescue of Ch'ü-lu had formed more than ten ramparts,<sup>93</sup> but none had dared send out troops. When Ch'u set upon Ch'in, their commanders watched from their ramparts. Each and every soldier of Ch'u was a match for ten of the enemy, and the war cry of the Ch'u troops shook the heavens, so that among the feudal lords each and every man was terrified. After he had defeated Ch'in's army, Hsiang Yü summoned and received the commanders of the feudal lords to an audience. When they entered the gate of his camp, they all crawled forward on their knees, none daring to look up. Hsiang Yü thus first became the

<sup>89</sup> Literally "taro and pulse"; we read *pan* 半 for *yü* 芋 following "Chi-chieh" and Wang Shu-min (7:621).

<sup>90</sup> I.e., Ch'ing Pu, see n. 34 above.

<sup>91</sup> See n. 34 above.

<sup>92</sup> *Ho* 河 here refers (see Wang Li-ch'i, 7:169n.) to the Chang 漳 River which flowed in a protective arc from the west to the south to the east of Han-tan (see T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 2:7).

<sup>93</sup> Our reading follows Wang Shu-min (7:263).

Commander in Chief of the feudal lords and all their commanders<sup>94</sup> were put under his command.

[308] Chang Han encamped at Chi-yüan 棘原.<sup>95</sup> Hsiang Yü encamped south of the Chang. Each held off from battle.<sup>96</sup> Because Ch'in's army had [already] retreated several times, the Second Emperor sent someone to rebuke Chang Han. Frightened, Chang Han sent Ssu-ma Hsin, his Chief Scribe, to ask for instructions. When Ssu-ma Hsin arrived at Hsien-yang, he waited for three days outside the marshals' gate, but Chao Kao refused to see him, [suggesting] his distrust of Chang Han and Ssu-ma Hsin. Ssu-ma Hsin, in fear, fled back to his army, not venturing to take the road by which he had come. Chao Kao did indeed have someone pursue him, but they did not catch him.

Back with the army, Ssu-ma Hsin reported: "Chao Kao is in charge of affairs in the palace. There is nothing we subordinates can do about. Now if we can win victory in battle, Chao Kao will surely be jealous of our merit; if we can not win victory in battle, we will not escape death. I hope you will take this under careful consideration, General!"

Ch'en Yü also sent Chang Han a letter, which read:

When Pai Ch'i 白起<sup>97</sup> was the Commander of Ch'in, he subjugated Yen 鄢 and Ying 郢<sup>98</sup> in Ch'u to the south, trapped the Lord of Ma-fu 馬服<sup>99</sup> in the north, attacked numerous cities and swept across countless lands, yet in the end he was granted death. When Meng T'ien 蒙恬<sup>100</sup> was the Commander of Ch'in, he drove away the Jung people in the north and opened several thousand *li* [on a side] of territory in Yü-chung 榆中,<sup>101</sup> yet in the end he was beheaded at Yang-chou 陽周.<sup>102</sup> Why was this? Because their merits were too numerous for Ch'in to enfeoff them for each one, it used legal pretexts to execute them. Now you have been the Commander of Ch'in for three years. The men you have lost amount to hundreds of thousands and the feudal lords rising in arms have only increased in number. That fellow, Chao Kao, has been toadying to the Emperor for a long time. Now, with matters becoming urgent, he is afraid that the Second Emperor will also execute him. Therefore, he intends to use legal pretexts to execute you and thereby evade his responsibility, and to have someone else replace you and thereby avoid disaster himself. You have been away from the capital for a long time, and, in the capital, many people have a grudge<sup>103</sup> against you. You will be killed whether or not you earn merit. Moreover, Heaven itself is destroying Ch'in. All men, both wise and foolish, now know this. Now you are unable to admonish the Emperor at home and instead have become a commander of a doomed state abroad. Isolated and cut off, you still hope for a long life. Is it not pitiful? Why do not you turn your troops around and ally with the feudal lords, make a

<sup>94</sup> Following Wang Shu-min's (7:264) suggested reading of *chu-hou Chiang* 諸侯將 for *chu-hou*.

<sup>95</sup> South of modern P'ing-hsiang 平鄉 County in Hopei (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:170n.).

<sup>96</sup> Since the Chang swings north and south of Han-tan, it comes very close to Chi-yüan (see T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 2:7).

<sup>97</sup> For his biography, and more detail on the events mentioned here, see *Shih chi* Chapter 73.

<sup>98</sup> Although we consider Yen and Ying two different places (as Wang Shu-min, 7:170n., suggests), Ying may also be the Ch'u word for capital (see also n. 70 to our translation of Chapter 69).

<sup>99</sup> This was the title Chao K'uo 趙括, who was defeated by Chang Han at Ch'ang-p'ing 長平 and lost Chao's entire army of 400,000 men, inherited from his father (see *Shih chi*, 81:2446-7 and 73:2334-5). Ma-fu was a mountain a few miles northwest of modern Han-tan in Hopei (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 1:38).

<sup>100</sup> See his biography in *Shih chi* Chapter 88.

<sup>101</sup> I.e., the Fortifications at Yü-lin 榆林塞 near modern Chün-ko-erh-ch'i 准格爾旗 in Inner Mongolia (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:170n.).

<sup>102</sup> North of Tzu-ch'ang 子長 County in modern Shensi (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:170n.).

<sup>103</sup> Reading *hsi* 隙 for *ch'üeh* 卻 (see Wang Li-ch'i, 7:170n.).

fact with them to attack Ch'in together, divide Ch'in's territory, rule your share as king, and proclaim yourself a sovereign? Would this not be better than submitting yourself to the executioner's ax and chopping block, and letting your wife and children be slaughtered?"

Chang Han hesitated, unable to decide. He secretly sent Shih Ch'eng 始成, a major, to Hsiang Yü, intending to reach an agreement. Before an agreement was reached, Hsiang Yü had Commander P'u lead troops across the river at San-hu 三戶,<sup>104</sup> day and night, and encamped south of the Chang 漳,<sup>105</sup> where Ch'u engaged in battles with Ch'in and defeated it twice. Hsiang Yü then led all his soldiers in an attack on Ch'in's army on the Yü 汧 River<sup>106</sup> and crushed it.

[309] Chang Han [again] sent someone to see Hsiang Yü intending to reach an agreement. Hsiang Yü summoned his own military officers to draw up a plan: "Our provisions are scarce. I intend to listen to his [terms] for an agreement."

The officers all agreed. [\*310\*] Hsiang Yü thus set a date to meet with him at the ruins of the Yin capital<sup>107</sup> south of the Huan 洹 River.<sup>108</sup> After a covenant was reached, Chang Han came to see Hsiang Yü and, in tears, told him everything of Chao Kao. Hsiang Yü then made him King of Yung 雍<sup>109</sup> but kept him in Ch'u's camp, and made Ssu-ma Hsin, the Chief Scribe, the Commander in Chief.<sup>110</sup> He led Ch'in's army in the vanguard.

When Ssu-ma Hsin arrived at Hsin-an 新安,<sup>111</sup> because many of the officers and soldiers of the feudal lords had been conscripted for labor projects or garrison duty and in many ways treated improperly by Ch'in's officers and soldiers as they passed through Ch'in, now with Ch'in's army having surrendered to the feudal lords, the officers and soldiers of the feudal lords availed themselves of their victory to variously use Ch'in's officers and soldiers as slaves, holding them in contempt, tormenting and insulting them.

Many of Ch'in's officers and soldiers said in private: "Commander Chang and his people tricked us into surrendering to the feudal lords. Now if they are able to enter the Pass to defeat Ch'in, all will be fine; if they are unable, the feudal lords will take us east as their prisoners, and Ch'in is sure to execute all our parents, wives and children."

Ch'u's commanders overheard their concerns and reported them to Hsiang Yü. Hsiang Yü thus called in Ch'ing Pu and Commander P'u to lay plans: "Ch'in's officers and soldiers are still numerous, and in their hearts they have not submitted to us. Once inside the Pass, if they disobey, the situation would surely be dangerous. It would be better to attack and kill them; take only Chang Han, the Chief Scribe Ssu-ma Hsin, and Commandant Tung Yi 董翳<sup>112</sup> with us to Ch'in."

Ch'u's army set on Ch'in's army by night, and trapped and executed over 200,000 soldiers of Ch'in south of the city of Hsin-an.

<sup>104</sup> A crossing on the Chang River west of modern Lin-chang 臨漳 County in Hopei (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:170n.).

<sup>105</sup> On this river see n. 92 above.

<sup>106</sup> A now dried up river which flowed out of the T'ai-hang Mountains from west of modern Lin-chang in Hopei into the Chang River (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:170n.).

<sup>107</sup> Located northwest of modern An-yang 安陽 in Honan (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:170n.).

<sup>108</sup> The Huan River flowed just north of modern An-yang in Honan (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 2:7).

<sup>109</sup> In Ch'in (see n. 71 to our translation of Chapter 5 above).

<sup>110</sup> Wang Shu-min (7:265) notes that Hsiang Yü held this position and *shang* 上 here is likely a copyist error.

<sup>111</sup> Watson (1:48) and the Yangs (p. 215) continue the preceding sentence to this point, mistakenly reading *ch'ien-hsing* 前行 as a verb.

<sup>112</sup> See n. 335 to our translation of Chapter 6 above.

Hsiang Yü was going to sweep across and pacify the territory of Ch'in, but there were troops defending the Han-ku Pass and he was unable to enter.<sup>113</sup> He then heard that the Magistrate of P'ei had destroyed Hsien-yang. Hsiang Yü was enraged and sent the Lord of Tang-yang and others to attack the Pass. [\*311\*] Hsiang Yü finally entered the Pass and arrived at a point west of the Hsi 戲.<sup>114</sup> The Magistrate of P'ei, encamped at Pa-shang 霸上,<sup>115</sup> was not yet able to meet with Hsiang Yü. Ts'ao Wu-shang 曹無傷, the Magistrate of P'ei's Left Marshal,<sup>116</sup> had someone inform Hsiang Yü: "The Magistrate of P'ei intends to rule the land within the Pass as king and make Tzu Ying his Prime Minister. He alone will keep possession of the treasures."

Hsiang Yü was enraged and announced: "Feed the officers and soldiers at sunrise and prepare to attack and destroy the Magistrate of P'ei's army."

At this time, Hsiang Yü had a troop of 400,000 men at Hung-men 鴻門 in Hsin Feng 新豐,<sup>117</sup> while the Magistrate of P'ei had 100,000 men at Pa-shang.

Fan Tseng advised Hsiang Yü: "When the Magistrate of P'ei was living east of the Mount, he was greedy for wealth and fond of beautiful women. Now, having entered the Pass, he has taken no wealth nor slept with any woman of Ch'in. This shows that his mind is not set on small [matters]. I have had a man observe his aeromantic signs, and they are always in the form of dragons or tigers appearing in all five colors. This is the aeromantic sign of a Son of Heaven. Set upon him quick, do not miss the chance."

Hsiang Po 項伯,<sup>118</sup> the Chu's Premier of the Left,<sup>119</sup> was Hsiang Yü's youngest uncle and was on good terms with Chang Liang 張良, the Marquis of Liu 留,<sup>120</sup> who, at this time, was in the service of the Magistrate of P'ei. Hsiang Po thus galloped to the camp of the Magistrate of P'ei by night, saw Chang Liang in private, and told him the entire matter, with the intention of urging Chang Liang to leave together with him. He said: "Do not die together with them."

Chang Liang said: "I am accompanying the Magistrate of P'ei on the King of Han's behalf.<sup>121</sup> Now that the Magistrate of P'ei's situation is critical, it is not right for me to flee. I will have to tell him."

He thus entered [the Magistrate of P'ei's camp] and told him everything.

<sup>113</sup> Troops sent by the Magistrate of P'ei (Liu Pang) to keep Hsiang Yü from entering the pass (see *Shih chi*, 7:311 below).

<sup>114</sup> The Hsi River originated south of Mount Li and flowed around it to the east to join the Wei (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 2:15).

<sup>115</sup> I.e., the Pa Heights to the west of and overlooking the Pa River (now written 霸) a few miles southeast of modern Sian (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:171n.).

<sup>116</sup> *Tso Ssu-ma* 左司馬 (Hsü Lien-ta, p. 281).

<sup>117</sup> A slope located near modern Hsiang Wang Ying 項王營 (King Hsiang's Camp) just east of Li-yi 麗邑 (which became Hsin-feng in Han times; see T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 2:6 and 15 as well as Wang Li-ch'i, 7:171n.). Hsiang Yü's camp was about 20 miles north of that of Liu Pang, separated from it by the Pa River.

<sup>118</sup> Po was his *agnomen*; his *praenomen* was Ch'an 孺; Liu Pang later enfeoffed him as the Marquis of She-yang 射陽 (see *Shih chi*, 55:2036-8, 91:2602 and 95:2654) and gave him the royal surname, Liu (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:172n.).

<sup>119</sup> *Tso yin* 左尹 (Hsü Lien-ta, p. 277).

<sup>120</sup> His *agnomen* was Tzu-fang 子房 and his biography is found in *Shih chi* Chapter 55; he was one of Liu Pang's major advisors who was later enfeoffed as the Marquis of Liu, located southeast of modern P'ei 沛 County in Ki-angsu (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:172n.).

<sup>121</sup> Chang Liang's ancestors had been Prime Ministers of Han for five generations. He had asked Hsiang Liang to install Han Ch'eng 韓成 as the King of Han and then served him as Minister of the Interior. When Liu Pang moved west Chang Liang joined Liu (see Wang Li-ch'i, 7:172n. and *Shih chi*, 55:2036-9 and 95:2631-2).

The Magistrate of P'ei, in great alarm, said: "What's to be done?"

Chang Liang said: "Who made this plan [to close the Pass] for you, Your Majesty?"

The Magistrate of P'ei said: "A mean fellow told me that if I held the Pass and didn't let the feudal lords in, I could rule the whole territory of Ch'in as king. Therefore, I listened to him."<sup>122</sup>

Chang Liang said: "Do you think your officers and soldiers are strong enough to resist [those of] King Hsiang?"

The Magistrate of P'ei was silent. Then he said "They are not, of course. What's to be done?"

Chang Liang said: "Allow me to go tell Hsiang Po that the Magistrate of P'ei would not dare to turn his back on King Hsiang."

The Magistrate of P'ei said: "Where does your friendship with Hsiang Po come from?"

[312] Chang Liang said: "Under Ch'in's reign, he and I were acquaintances. He killed someone and I saved his life. Now that matters are urgent, he was kind enough to come inform me."

The Magistrate of P'ei said: "Which of you two is older?"

Chang Liang said: "He is older than I."

The Magistrate of P'ei said: "Call him in for me, and let me treat him as my elder brother."

Chang Liang went out to invite Hsiang Po in. Hsiang Po came in to see the Magistrate of P'ei. The Magistrate of P'ei offered him a cup of wine, proposed a toast, and pledged to link their families by marriage: "Since entering the Pass, I have not ventured to touch even the slightest thing. I registered the officers and people, sealed up the treasury and arsenal, and have awaited the Commander [in Chief, i.e., Hsiang Yü]. The reason I sent commanders to guard the Pass was to prevent bandits from getting in or out and any emergency from occurring. Day and night I have looked forward to the arrival of the Commander. How would I dare to rebel against him? I hope you will inform him in full that I would not venture to turn my back on his kindness."

Hsiang Po gave his promise and told the Magistrate of P'ei: "At sunrise, you must come early to apologize to King Hsiang in person."

The Magistrate of P'ei said: "I promise."

At this, still by night, Hsiang Po left, went back to his camp, and reported to King Hsiang in full what the Magistrate of P'ei had said. With this Hsiang Po said: "If the Magistrate of P'ei had not defeated the lands within the Pass first, how would you have dared to enter? Now he has great merit, and you would set upon him. This is unprincipled. It would be better to treat him well."

King Hsiang gave his promise.

At sunrise, the Magistrate of P'ei, accompanied by over one hundred horsemen, came to see King Hsiang. When he arrived at Hung-men, he apologized: "You and I joined forces and attacked Ch'in, General. You fought north of the Ho, I fought south of the Ho. But I never expected that I could enter the Pass first, vanquish Ch'in, and see you again here. Now, the words of petty men have caused a rift between us."

King Hsiang said: "This was what Ts'ao Wu-shang, your Left Marshal, told me. If not [for this], how could I have come to [doubt you]?"

King Hsiang took the opportunity to invite the Magistrate of P'ei to stay and drink with him that day.<sup>123</sup> King Hsiang and Hsiang Po sat facing east,<sup>124</sup> Ya-fu 亞父 sat facing south

<sup>122</sup> See also *Shih chi*, 8:364. *Tsou Sheng* 嗇生 is also understand as "Scholar Tsou" by some scholars.

(Ya Fu was Fan Tseng<sup>125</sup>); the Magistrate of P'ei sat facing north; and Chang Liang, waiting upon them,<sup>126</sup> sat facing west. Fan Tseng several times glanced at King Hsiang, thrice lifting up the horseshoe-shaped jade disc hung from his girdle to show him.<sup>127</sup> King Hsiang was silent and did not respond. Fan Tseng rose and left to summon Hsiang Chuang 項莊,<sup>128</sup> telling him: "Our king is too kind a person. Go in [\*313\*] and proceed to offer a toast. After the toast, ask to do a sword dance and seize the opportunity to attack the Magistrate of P'ei on his mat and kill him. Otherwise, all of you will be his captives."

Hsiang Chuang thus entered and offered a toast. After the toast, he said: "My King and the Magistrate of P'ei are drinking, but there is nothing in camp with which to entertain you. Allow me to do a sword dance."

King Hsiang said: "You have permission."

Hsiang Chuang drew his sword and began to dance. Hsiang Po likewise drew his sword and began to dance, constantly shielding the Magistrate of P'ei with his own body so that Hsiang Chuang was not able to strike him. At this, Chang Liang went to the gate of the camp to see Fan K'u'ai 樊噲.<sup>129</sup> Fan K'u'ai said: "How are things going today?"

Chang Liang said: "Matters are very critical! Hsiang Chuang has drawn his sword to dance, constantly trying to strike the Magistrate of P'ei."

Fan K'u'ai said: "This is urgent. Let me enter and share his fate!"

Fan K'u'ai, a sword in his girdle and a shield in his hand, immediately entered the gate of the camp. The sentries with crossed halberds tried to stop him from entering. Fan K'u'ai tipped his shield sideways and charged them. The sentries were bowled over. Having entered the camp, Fan K'u'ai pushed aside the tent curtain and stood facing west, glaring at King Hsiang with his hair bristling and his eyes bulging. King Hsiang rested his hand on his sword, raised himself to his knees, and said: "Who is this guest?"

Chang Liang said: "This is Fan K'u'ai, third man<sup>130</sup> on the chariot of the Magistrate of P'ei."

King Hsiang said: "What a stalwart! Give him a cup of wine."

So they gave him a big cup of wine. Fan K'u'ai knelt down to bow in thanks, rose up, and drank it standing. King Hsiang said: "Give him a pork shoulder."

So they gave him a raw pork shoulder. Fan K'u'ai placed his shield upside down on the ground, put the pork shoulder on it, drew his sword, and cut and ate it. King Hsiang said: "What a stalwart! Can you drink more?"

Fan K'u'ai said: "I would not avoid even death. So why decline a cup of wine? The Kings of Ch'in had the heart of a tiger or a wolf. He killed people as if they thought he could not finish them all, and punished people as if he was afraid he could not punish them all. The

<sup>123</sup> See also Yü Ying-shih, "The Seating Order at the Hung Men Banquet," translated by T. C. Tang, in George Kao, ed., *The Translation of Things Past, Chinese History and Historiography* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1982), pp. 49-61. There is another abbreviated account of this party on *Shih chi*, 95:2564.

<sup>124</sup> At a military gathering the most honored seats faced east (see also Wang Li-ch'i, 7:173n.).

<sup>125</sup> Ya-fu means "Second Father" and is used to refer to junior uncles or those non-relatives who are as close as junior uncles (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:173n.).

<sup>126</sup> Because his status was junior to the others.

<sup>127</sup> This disc was called a *chüeh* 玦, since it lack one piece from being a whole circle. *Chüeh* is a pun on *chüeh* 決 "to decide" and here was a means for Fan Tseng to ask Hsiang Yü to make up his mind whether he wanted Liu Pang killed (see Wang Li-ch'i, 7:173n.).

<sup>128</sup> Hsiang Yü's younger cousin.

<sup>129</sup> He was married to the younger sister of Liu Pang's wife and had fought with Liu from the beginning (see his biography in *Shih chi* Chapter 95).

<sup>130</sup> There were normally a driver and a bodyguard accompanying the lord in his chariot; Fan K'u'ai was, of course, Liu Pang's bodyguard.

whole world rebelled against Ch'in. King Huai and all his commanders made an agreement that the one who vanquished Ch'in and entered Hsien-yang first would rule there as king. The Magistrate of P'ei vanquished Ch'in and entered Hsien-yang first, yet he did not venture to touch even the slightest thing, but sealed up the palace, returned to encamp at Pa-shang, and awaited your arrival. He deliberately sent commanders to guard the Pass, to prevent bandits from getting in and out and any emergency from occurring. Having toiled so hard and achieved so much, he has not been enfeoffed as a marquis in reward. Instead, you listen to rumors and intend to execute a man of merit. This is just continuing the way of fallen Ch'in. I presume to think that you would not choose to do so."

King Hsiang, having no words to answer him yet, said: "Sit!"

Fan K'uai sat next to Chang Liang.

A little while after he was seated, the Magistrate of P'ei got up to go to the privy and, at this, he beckoned Fan K'uai out.

[314] After the Magistrate of P'ei went out, King Hsiang sent Commandant Ch'en P'ing 陳平<sup>131</sup> to call the Magistrate of P'ei in. The Magistrate of P'ei said: "Just now when I came out, I did not excuse myself. What should I do?"

Fan K'uai said: "In great actions one need not regard trivial formalities, and in great ceremonies one need not avoid petty reproaches. Right now they are the cleaver and chopping block, while we are the meat and fish. Why should we excuse ourselves?"

The Magistrate of P'ei then left, ordering Chang Liang to stay behind and apologize. Chang Liang asked: "What did you bring here as gifts?"

He answered: "I brought a pair of white jade discs which I intended to offer to King Hsiang, and a pair of jade wine cups intended for Ya-fu. As the king happened to be angry, I did not venture to present them. You may present them for me."

Chang Liang said, "I shall respectfully comply."

At this time, King Hsiang's camp was at Hung-men and the Magistrate of P'ei's camp, at Pa-shang. They were forty *li* apart. The Magistrate of P'ei thus left his chariot and horses, abandoned his attendants, and rode on alone; four men, Fan K'uai, Hsia-hou Ying 夏侯嬰,<sup>132</sup> Chin Ch'iang 靳強,<sup>133</sup> and Chi Hsin 紀信,<sup>134</sup> ran alongside carrying swords and shields; they took a side road from the foot of Mount Li through Chih-yang 芷陽.<sup>135</sup> Before leaving, the Magistrate of P'ei told Chang Liang: "If you take this path to our camp, it is no more than twenty *li*. When you judge I should have arrived at the camp, then go back [to the tent]."

After the Magistrate of P'ei had left and arrived at his camp by a side road, Chang Liang went in to apologize: "The Magistrate of P'ei had more cups of wine than he should have and was not able to take his leave. He ordered me to make obeisance twice with all due respect and to offer this pair of white jade discs to Your Highness, the King, and to offer this pair of wine cups to His Honor, the Commander in Chief."

King Hsiang asked, "Where is the Magistrate of P'ei?"

Chang Liang said, "Knowing that Your Highness may want to reprimand him, he left his attendants and departed alone. He is already back in his camp."

King Hsiang took the jade discs and placed them on his mat. Ya-fu took the wine cups and put them [\*315\*] on the ground; then he drew his sword and smashed them to pieces,

<sup>131</sup> After serving Hsiang Yü, Ch'en later became chancellor under Liu Pang (see his biography in *Shih chi* Chapter 56).

<sup>132</sup> See his biography in *Shih chi* Chapter 95.

<sup>133</sup> A member of Liu Pang's staff who was later made Marquis of Fen-yang 汾陽 (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:173n.).

<sup>134</sup> One of Liu Pang's lieutenants who was later killed by Hsiang Yü (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:173n.).

<sup>135</sup> Name of a county a little northeast of modern Sian (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:173n.).

saying: "Ah! These whelps are not worth planning for! It is the Magistrate of P'ei who will snatch the world from King Hsiang's hands. Now we will all be his prisoners."

When the Magistrate of P'ei reached his camp he immediately executed Ts'ao Wu-shang.<sup>136</sup>

Several days later, Hsiang Yü led his troops west, massacred the people of Hsien-yang, killed Tzu Ying, the King of Ch'in who had surrendered, set fire to the palaces where the fires burned, then gathered the wealth, treasures, and women of the palaces, and headed east.

Someone advised King Hsiang to stay: "The land within the Pass is defended by the Mount and the Ho and its four [natural] fortifications<sup>137</sup> and its soil is fertile. You can make your capital [here] and rule as Hegemon."

King Hsiang saw that Ch'in's palaces were all in ruins from the fire; and he was homesick as well. He decided to return east, and said: "To become rich and noble without returning to one's homeland is like going out at night in embroidered clothes. Who would notice them?"

The advisor<sup>138</sup> said, "People say that the men of Ch'u are nothing but macaques with hats on. Indeed they are!"

King Hsiang heard of this and boiled the advisor alive.

King Hsiang sent a man to ask for King Huai's instructions. King Huai said: "Let it be as it was agreed!"

Thus Hsiang Yü honored King Huai as Emperor Yi 義.<sup>139</sup> Intending to enthrone himself as king, Hsiang Yü first enthroned the commanders and ministers as kings. [\*316\*] He said: "When the world first rose in revolt, the descendants of the former feudal lords were temporarily enthroned as part of the attack on Ch'in. Nevertheless, it was you, generals and ministers, and I who donned armor and wielded arms to begin the affair, it was we who lived unsheltered in the field for three years, and it was through our strength that Ch'in was exterminated and the world pacified. But though Emperor Yi has achieved no merit, he should still be given a portion of the territory and allowed to rule as king."

The generals agreed.

Thus he divided the world and established the generals as marquises and kings. King Hsiang and Fan Tseng had suspected that the Magistrate of P'ei might gain the world. But since there had been a reconciliation on this matter, and since they were also loathe to break the agreement made with Emperor Yi for fear that the feudal lords might rebel against them, they plotted in secret: "The roads to Pa and Shu are steep. When Ch'in banished people, it sent them to live in Shu."

So they said: "Pa and Shu, too, are lands within the Pass."

For these reasons King Hsiang enthroned the Magistrate of P'ei as the King of Han to rule over Pa, Shu, and Han-chung 漢中,<sup>140</sup> with Nan Cheng 南鄭<sup>141</sup> as his capital. Then he divided the land within the Pass in three, where he enthroned the surrendered Ch'in commanders as a shield against the King of Han. King Hsiang thus enthroned Chang Han as the King

<sup>136</sup> The traitor who had told Hsiang Yü about Liu Pang's plans (see our translation of *Shih chi*, 7:311 above).

<sup>137</sup> According to Hsü Kuang (cited in "Chi-chieh"), these were the passes of Han-ku 函谷 (to the east), Wu 武 (to the south), San 散 (to the west), and Hsiao 嶺 (to the north).

<sup>138</sup> In other accounts of this story the advisor is named (see Wang Li-ch'i, 7:174n.).

<sup>139</sup> The name Yi suggests he was emperor in name only (see *Yi fu* 義父 and Wang Li-ch'i, 7:174n.).

<sup>140</sup> A Ch'in commandery which occupied what is now southern Shensi and northwestern Hupei (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:175n.).

<sup>141</sup> A county located near the modern city of the same name in southern Shensi, southwest of modern Han-chung (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:175n.).

of Yung 雍 to rule over the land west of Hsien-yang, with Fei-ch'iu 廢丘<sup>142</sup> as his capital. Chief Scribe Ssu-ma Hsin had once been the Warden of Yüeh-yang and had done Hsiang Liang a favor. Commandant Tung Yi had first advised Chang Han to surrender to Ch'u. Thus King Hsiang enthroned Ssu-ma Hsin as the King of Sai 塞<sup>143</sup> to rule over the land east of Hsien-yang up to the Ho, with Yüeh-yang as his capital. He enthroned Tung Yi as the King of Ti 翟<sup>144</sup> to rule over Shang-chün [Commandery] with Kao-nu 高奴<sup>145</sup> as his capital. Pao 豹,<sup>146</sup> King of Wei, was moved and made King of West Wei, to rule the land east of the Ho with P'ing-yang 平陽<sup>147</sup> as his capital. Chang Erh's favorite vassal, Shen Yang 申陽 of Hsia-ch'iu 瑕丘,<sup>148</sup> first subdued Ho-nan and met Ch'u's army on the Ho, therefore Hsiang Yü enthroned him as the King of Ho-nan with Lo-yang his capital. Ch'eng 成, King of Han, made Yang-ti 陽翟<sup>149</sup> his capital since it had been the former capital [of Han]. Ssu-ma Ang 司馬昂, the commander of Chao, pacified Ho-nei and had several times achieved merit, therefore King Hsiang enthroned him as the King of Yin 殷 to rule over Ho-nei with Chao-ko 朝歌<sup>150</sup> as his capital. Hsieh 歇, King of Chao, was moved and made King of Tai 代. Chang Erh, the Prime Minister of Chao, had always been worthy and, moreover, had followed King Hsiang to enter the Pass, therefore King Hsiang enthroned him as the King of Ch'ang-shan 常山<sup>151</sup> to rule over the territory of Chao with Hsiang-kuo 襄國<sup>152</sup> as his capital. Ch'ing Pu, the Lord of Tang-yang, was a commander of Ch'u whose merit always topped the whole army, therefore King Hsiang enthroned him as the King of Chiu-chiang 九江<sup>153</sup> with Liu 六<sup>154</sup> as his capital. Wu Jui 吳芮,<sup>155</sup> the Lord of P'o 鄆,<sup>156</sup> had led the Hundred Yüeh peoples<sup>157</sup> to aid the feudal lords and, moreover, followed King Hsiang to enter the Pass, therefore King Hsiang enthroned him as the King of Heng-shan 衡山<sup>158</sup> with Chu 郟<sup>159</sup> as his capital. Kung Ao 共敖, Emperor

<sup>142</sup> Southeast of modern Hsing-p'ing 興平 County (which is just west of modern Hsien-yang) in Shensi (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:175n.).

<sup>143</sup> Ch'ien Mu (*Ti-ming k'ao*, p. 851) and "Chi-chieh" identify Sai with T'ao-lin Sai 桃林塞 east of modern Sian, but that would seem to make Sai the name of a fortification rather than a kingdom. Chavannes (2:286, n. 1) reads it as a territory to the west of the T'ung Pass.

<sup>144</sup> Ti would include the northern part of Shensi and part of Inner Mongolia and was probably named after the people who inhabited the area (see Chavannes, 2:286, n. 2).

<sup>145</sup> A county seated northeast of modern Yen-an 延安 in Shensi (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:175n.).

<sup>146</sup> The former King of Wei, Wei Chiu, committed suicide after Chang Han's forces defeated him; King Huai then appointed his younger brother, Pao, to succeed him (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:175n.); Hsiang Yü wanted to base himself at Liang and become King of Wei, thus he moved Pao to the area (in modern Shansi) which had formerly been the western part of Wei.

<sup>147</sup> A few miles southwest of modern Lin-fen 臨汾 City in Shansi (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:175n.).

<sup>148</sup> Located northeast of Yen-chou 兗州 in Shantung (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:175n.); on his title, see "Chi-chieh."

<sup>149</sup> Located near modern Yü 禹 County in Honan (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:175n.).

<sup>150</sup> The former Yin capital located northeast of Ch'i 淇 County in Honan (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:175n.).

<sup>151</sup> A commandery established by the Han located in the central part of modern Hopei and the central and eastern sections of modern Shansi (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:175n.).

<sup>152</sup> Located southwest of modern Hsing-t'ai 邢台 City in Hopei (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:175n.).

<sup>153</sup> A commandery centered in modern Shou 壽 County in Anhwei which included parts of the modern provinces of Anhwei, Honan, Hupei and Kiangsi (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:175n.).

<sup>154</sup> North of modern Liu-an 六安 County in Anhwei (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:175n.).

<sup>155</sup> On Wu Jui see also *Shih chi*, 7:320 and Chapter 8 *passim*.

<sup>156</sup> East of modern P'o-yang 鄆陽 County in Kiangsi; Wu Jui had been Prefect of P'o-yang County, thus this title (see Wang Li-ch'i, 7:175n.).

<sup>157</sup> A general term for the minority peoples south of the Yangtze (see Wang Li-ch'i, 7:175n.).

<sup>158</sup> This state included most of modern Hunan as well as the eastern part of Hupei and the western part of Anhwei (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:175n.).

Ao 共敖, Emperor Yi's Pillar of State<sup>160</sup> had led troops to attack Nan-chün and won much merit, therefore King Hsiang enthroned him as the King of Lin-chiang 臨江<sup>161</sup> with Chiang-ling 江陵<sup>162</sup> as his capital. Han Kuang 韓廣, the King of Yen, was moved and made King of Liao-tung. Tsang T'u 臧荼, the commander of Yen, had gone with Ch'u to rescue Chao, and subsequently followed King Hsiang to enter the pass, therefore King Hsiang enthroned him as the King of Yen with Chi 薊<sup>163</sup> as his capital. T'ien Fu 田市,<sup>164</sup> the King of Ch'i, was moved and made King of Chiao-tung 膠東.<sup>165</sup> T'ien Tu 田都, the commander of Ch'i, had joined with Ch'u to rescue Chao, and subsequently followed King Hsiang to enter the Pass, therefore King Hsiang enthroned him as the King of Ch'i with Lin-tzu 臨淄 as his capital. When King Hsiang crossed the Ho to rescue Chao, [\*317\*] T'ien An 田安, a grandson of Chien 建,<sup>166</sup> the King of Ch'i who had been killed by the former Ch'in ruler, subdued many cities north of Chi and surrendered with his troops to King Hsiang, therefore King Hsiang enthroned him as the King of Chi-pei 濟北 with Po-yang 博陽<sup>167</sup> as his capital. As for T'ien Jung 田榮, he had several times betrayed Hsiang Liang and, moreover, was unwilling to lead his troops to join Ch'u in its attack on Ch'in, therefore he was not enfeoffed. Ch'en Yu 陳餘, the Lord of Ch'eng-an 成安,<sup>168</sup> had abandoned his commander's seal<sup>169</sup> and left rather than following King Hsiang to enter the Pass; nevertheless, he had always been known for his worthiness and had served Chao with merit, therefore, when King Hsiang learned that he was at Nan-p'i 南皮,<sup>170</sup> he enfeoffed him with three nearby counties. Mei Hsüan 梅鋗, the commander of the Lord of Po 番,<sup>171</sup> had achieved much merit, therefore he was enfeoffed as a marquis with 100,000 households. King Hsiang enthroned himself as Hegemon, King of West Ch'u,<sup>172</sup> ruling over nine commanderies, with P'eng-ch'eng 彭城 as his capital.

[320] In the fourth month of the first year (206 B.C.) of [the King of] Han 漢,<sup>173</sup> the feudal lords were dismissed from along the Hsi,<sup>174</sup> each to assume his own position. King

<sup>159</sup> Northwest of modern Huang-kang 黃岡 County in Hupei (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:175n.).

<sup>160</sup> *Chu-kuo* 柱國.

<sup>161</sup> This state approximated the boundaries of the former Ch'in commandery of Nan-chün, including the western part of modern Hupei and the eastern part of modern Szechwan (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:175n.).

<sup>162</sup> Near the modern county of the same name in Hupei (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:175n.).

<sup>163</sup> Located in the southwestern part of the administrative district of Peking about 40 miles from the city itself (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:175n.).

<sup>164</sup> See also *Shih chi*, 94:2644-5.

<sup>165</sup> Chiao-tung, situated east of the Chiao River, was the eastern of the three kingdoms which Hsiang Yü made out of Ch'i, the other two being Ch'i (the central part of what had been Ch'i) and Chi-pei (the northwest part of the original state, including the land north of the Chi River; see also Wang Li-ch'i, 7:175n.).

<sup>166</sup> See his biography in *Shih chi* Chapter 46.

<sup>167</sup> In modern Shantung southeast of T'ai-an 泰安 County (see Ch'ien Mu, *Ti-ming k'ao*, p. 281 and Wang Li-ch'i, 7:175n.).

<sup>168</sup> Ch'eng-an is southeast of the modern county of the same name in Hopei (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:175n.).

<sup>169</sup> These events transpired following Ch'en Yü's failure to relieve Chang Erh when the latter was besieged at Chü-lu 巨鹿 (see above and the descriptions in Chang Erh and Ch'en Yü's biographies, *Shih chi* Chapter 89).

<sup>170</sup> Northeast of the modern county of the same name in Hopei (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:175n.).

<sup>171</sup> I.e., Wu Jui, the Lord of P'o (see Chavannes, 2:293, n. 3).

<sup>172</sup> Ch'u traditionally had been divided into three areas: South, East and West Ch'u. Hsiang Yü's dominion included the eastern portion of modern Honan, southwest Shantung, and parts of Kiangsu and Anhwei (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:175).

<sup>173</sup> Although the Han dynasty did not begin until 202 B.C., it counted its origin from the first year of the King of Han, later founder of the dynasty.

<sup>174</sup> We read *Hsi-hsia* 戲下 as along the Hsi River (King Hsiang was camped at Hung-men on the west bank of the Hsi). Another reading for *Hsi-hsia*, "under the colors of," is followed by Wang Li-ch'i (7:175n.) and Cha-

Hsiang also left for his capital. He sent someone to move Emperor Yi from P'eng-ch'eng, saying, "The emperors of ancient times ruled over one thousand *li* [on a side] of territory and invariably lived on a river's upper reaches."

Thus he had the envoy move Emperor Yi to Ch'en County in Ch'ang-sha, urging Emperor Yi to hurry on his way. The emperor's vassals showed considerable disloyalty to King Hsiang.<sup>175</sup> He thus secretly ordered the Kings of Heng-shan and Lin-chiang to attack and kill the emperor on the Chiang.

Since Ch'eng, the King of Han, had not earned any merit in battle, King Hsiang did not let him go to his fief but took him to P'eng-ch'eng, where he demoted him to a marquis and afterwards killed him.

Tsang T'u went to his fief and then tried to force Han Kuang to go to Liao-tung. Han Kuang did not heed him. Tsang T'u attacked and killed him at Wu-chung 無終,<sup>176</sup> annexing and ruling over his territory.

When T'ien Jung heard that King Hsiang had removed T'ien Fu, the King of Ch'i, to Chiao-tung and enthroned Ch'i's commander, T'ien Tu, the commander of Ch'i, as King of Ch'i, he was enraged and refused to send the King of Ch'i to Chiao-tung. He thus led Ch'i in a revolt against King Hsiang and attacked T'ien Tu's army head on. T'ien Tu fled to Ch'u. T'ien Fu, the King of Ch'i, was afraid of King Hsiang, thus he fled to Chiao-tung to assume his position. T'ien Jung was angered. He pursued, attacked, and murdered T'ien Fu at Chi-mo 即墨.<sup>177</sup> T'ien Jung thus enthroned himself as the King of Ch'i and went west to attack and kill T'ien An, the King of Chi-pei, annexing and ruling over the three Ch'i.<sup>178</sup> T'ien Jung gave P'eng Yüeh 彭越<sup>179</sup> the commander's seal and ordered him to take the territory of Liang in open rebellion.

[321] Ch'en Yü secretly sent Chang T'ung 張同<sup>180</sup> and Hsia Yüeh 夏說<sup>181</sup> to advise T'ien Jung, the King of Ch'i: "King Hsiang's stewardship of the world is unfair. Now he has made all the former kings kings of poor lands, and his own vassals and commanders kings of rich lands, driving out the former lords of these lands. The King of Chao thus moved north to live in Tai. I consider this unacceptable. I have heard that Your Majesty has raised your troops and will no longer heed the unjust. I hope that you might give me troops and permit me to attack Ch'ang-shan and thus restore the King of Chao. I will then ask that Chao be allowed to serve as your shield."

The King of Ch'i granted this request and accordingly dispatched troops to Chao. Ch'en Yü mobilized all the soldiers of his own three counties, joined with Ch'i's forces in an attack upon Ch'ang-shan's army, and crushed it. Chang Erh fled and joined Han. Ch'en Yü escorted Hsieh, the former King of Chao, from Tai back to Chao. The King of Chao thus enthroned Ch'en Yü as King of Tai.

At this time, Han had returned to the three Ch'in states and pacified them.<sup>182</sup> When King Hsiang learned that the King of Han had already annexed the land within the Pass and vannes (2:292); Watson (1:59) has not translated this compound (his rendering of this sentence reads: "The various leaders left the command of Xiang Yu and proceeded to their own countries").

<sup>175</sup> Providing a pretext for Hsiang Yü to have Emperor Yi killed.

<sup>176</sup> Modern Chi 薊 County in Tientsin (Wang Li-ch'i, 5:175n.); this was Han Kuang's capital (see Chavannes, 2:291, n. 1).

<sup>177</sup> A county southeast of modern P'ing-tu 平度 County in Shantung (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:176n.).

<sup>178</sup> Our translation follows "Chi-chieh" here. "Cheng-yi" has a different reading.

<sup>179</sup> See his biography in *Shih chi* Chapter 90. At this time P'eng commanded more than ten-thousand troops and had not allied himself with either Ch'u or Han (see Wang Li-ch'i, 7:176n.).

<sup>180</sup> This person is otherwise not unidentified.

<sup>181</sup> See also *Shih chi*, 92:2614-5.

was about to move eastward, and that Ch'i and Chao had rebelled against him,<sup>183</sup> he was enraged. He had Cheng Ch'ang 鄭昌,<sup>184</sup> the former Prefect of Wu 吳, and now King of Han 韓, resist Han 漢, and ordered Chiao 角, the Magistrate of Hsiao 蕭 County,<sup>185</sup> and others to attack P'eng Yüeh,<sup>186</sup> but they were defeated by him.

Han 漢 sent Chang Liang to sweep over Han 韓, and then sent a letter to King Hsiang, [which read]:

The King of Han lost the position [promised to him]. He wishes to have the land within the Pass. If he could keep the territory as was agreed, he would immediately stop and not venture to campaign east.

He also sent King Hsiang rebellious letters from Ch'i and Liang<sup>187</sup> and said, "Ch'i intends to join forces with Chao to exterminate Ch'u."

For this reason, Ch'u gave up its idea of marching west and set upon Ch'i in the north instead. King Hsiang solicited troops from Ch'ing Pu, the King of Chiu-chiang. Ch'ing Pu pleaded illness and refused to go, only sending him his commanders with a few thousand men. Because of this, King Hsiang held a grudge against Ch'ing Pu.

In the winter of the second year of Han (205 B.C.),<sup>188</sup> King Hsiang eventually went north to Ch'eng-yang. T'ien Jung also led his troops and engaged him in battle. T'ien Jung failed to win victory and fled to P'ing-yüan [Commandery] 平原,<sup>189</sup> where he was killed by the people. King Hsiang thus marched north, burned and leveled the city-walls and houses of Ch'i, massacred all the soldiers of T'ien Jung who had surrendered, and took prisoner the old, the weak, and the women. He swept over Ch'i up to the Pei Hai 北海 (North Sea),<sup>190</sup> ruining and destroying many places and people. The Ch'i people gathered together and rebelled against him. At this, T'ien Heng 田橫, T'ien Jung's younger brother, gathered a force of several tens of thousands of those soldiers of Ch'i who had previously fled and rose in revolt at Ch'eng-yang. King Hsiang thus remained in the area, but after a series of battles, was unable to subdue him.

In the spring,<sup>191</sup> the King of Han forced the troops of five feudal lords,<sup>192</sup> 560,000 in all, to march east to attack Ch'u. Upon hearing this, King Hsiang ordered his commanders to set upon Ch'i, and he personally led 30,000 picked soldiers [from Ch'eng-yang] south to Huling 胡陵<sup>193</sup> via Lu. In the fourth month, all the Han 漢 troops entered P'eng-ch'eng, where

<sup>182</sup> The three states, which, as noted above, had been created by King Hsiang out of the former state of Ch'in, were Yung 雍, Sai 塞 and Ti 翟.

<sup>183</sup> Wang Shu-min (7:275) argues that this should be Ch'i and Liang, because Chao rebelled later.

<sup>184</sup> See *Shih chi*, 8:368-9.

<sup>185</sup> Northwest of modern Hsiao County in Anhwei (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:176n.).

<sup>186</sup> T'ien Jung, the King of Ch'i, had rebelled against King Hsiang and sent P'eng to take Liang (see *Shih chi*, 7:320).

<sup>187</sup> Wang Shu-min (7:275) notes that this should be Ch'i and Chao as in the following clause. But Wang Li-ch'i (7:176n.) argues that Liang here refers to P'eng Yüeh.

<sup>188</sup> Wang Shu-min (7:276) cites other sources which all place these events in the *spring* of the second year.

<sup>189</sup> Centered on the modern county by the same name in Shantung (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:176n.).

<sup>190</sup> The modern Po-hai 渤海 bordering the coastal region, from modern Lin-tzu 臨淄 east, in what is now Shantung (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:176n.).

<sup>191</sup> Wang Shu-min (7:276) also believes the text is incorrect here, arguing that "spring" should read "summer" and that the events took place in the "fourth month" of the following lines.

<sup>192</sup> There are various lists of these lords, but Chavannes (2:297, n. 3) argues convincingly that they were Chang Erh, Shen Yang, Cheng Ch'ang, Wei Pao and Ssu-ma Ang.

<sup>193</sup> A county southeast of modern Yü-t'ai 魚台 County in Shantung (Wang Li-ch'i, 5:177n.).

they took possession of its goods, treasures, and beautiful women, and gave drinking parties and great feasts daily. King Hsiang [\*322\*] then marched from the west through Hsiao 蕭 [County] to set upon the Han army at first light and, pushing eastward to arrive at P'eng-ch'eng at high noon, smashed the Han army. Han's armies were routed and were driven into the Ku 穀 and Ssu 泗 rivers<sup>194</sup> one after the other. Over 100,000 Han soldiers were killed. All the rest fled south to the mountains. Ch'u once more pursued and set upon them all the way to the Sui 睢 River<sup>195</sup> east of Ling-pi 靈璧.<sup>196</sup> As Han retreated, they were pressed by Ch'u. Many of Han soldiers were killed, and over 100,000 were pushed into the Sui River, until their bodies blocked the river. Ch'u besieged the King of Han with three rings of troops. Just then, a great wind blew up from the northwest, which broke trees, shattered houses, and raised sand and grit, darkening the sky and dimming the daylight, and hit Ch'u's army head on. Ch'u's army was thrown into great confusion and its lines crumbled. The King of Han was then able to flee with several dozen horsemen. As he intended to pass through P'ei and take his family with him to the west, Ch'u also had someone pursue him to P'ei and take his family. His family, therefore, had hidden and were unable to meet with the King of Han. The King of Han met [his son, the future Emperor] Hsiao Hui 孝惠<sup>197</sup> and [the future Princess] Yüan 元 of Lu 魯 on the road,<sup>198</sup> and he took them with him in his carriage. Whenever Ch'u's horsemen drew near, the King of Han in desperation would push Hsiao Hui and Yüan of Lu out of the carriage. The Magistrate of T'eng 滕<sup>199</sup> had to get out of the carriage to pick them up three times, saying, "Even though you are in straits and the carriage can not move fast with them [in it], how can you abandon them?"<sup>200</sup> They were at last able to escape. They looked for Grandfather<sup>201</sup> and Empress Lü 呂<sup>202</sup> but failed to find them.

Shen Yi-chi 審食其<sup>203</sup> accompanied Grandfather and Empress Lü on a side road looking for the King of Han, but, instead, ran into Ch'u's army. Ch'u's army took them back with them and reported to King Hsiang. King Hsiang kept them in his camp at all times.

[324] At this time, the Marquis of Chou Lü 周呂,<sup>204</sup> an elder brother of Empress Lü, led Han's troops and was stationed at Hsia-yi 下邑.<sup>205</sup> The King of Han took a side road and joined him there, where they gradually regrouped their officers and soldiers. When they reached Hsing-yang, their routed armies had all joined again. Hsiao Ho 蕭何<sup>206</sup> also mobilized the old and the young and even those not yet registered [for conscription] from within the Pass, and sent them all to Hsing-yang. Han's forces were renewed.

Ch'u set forth from P'eng-ch'eng and constantly followed up on its victories to drive the defeated Han troops before it. They engaged Han in battle south of Ying-yang, near Ching

<sup>194</sup> These two tributaries of the Huai are located east of P'eng-ch'eng (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:177n.).

<sup>195</sup> According to T'an Ch'i-hsiang (2:7-8) the Sui flowed through what is now Shantung, from modern Kaifeng, north of Ling-pi, to join with the Ssu River near modern Sui-ning 睢寧.

<sup>196</sup> A city southwest of modern Huai-pei 淮北 City in Anhwei (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:177n.).

<sup>197</sup> Liu Ying 劉盈, r. 195-188 B.C.

<sup>198</sup> See the long note on her by Chavannes (2:299-300, n. 5).

<sup>199</sup> This was Hsia Hou-ying 夏侯嬰 who had been Prefect of Teng County but was at this time Liu Pang's driver (see Hsia's biography in *Shih chi* Chapter 95 and Wang Li-ch'i, 7:177n.).

<sup>200</sup> See the account of these events on *Shih chi*, 95:2665.

<sup>201</sup> Liu Pang's father.

<sup>202</sup> Liu Pang's wife; see *Shih chi* Chapter 9.

<sup>203</sup> On the pronunciation of Shen's name see "Chi-chieh" and "So-yin." Shen was from P'ei and later served as Chancellor under Liu Pang (see *Shih chi*, 8:391-2).

<sup>204</sup> I.e., Lü Tse 呂澤 (d. 199 B.C.), see also *Shih chi*, 9:396.

<sup>205</sup> Modern T'ang-shan 碭山 County in Anhwei (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:177n.).

<sup>206</sup> Later he became the first Chancellor under Liu Pang; see his biography in *Shih chi* Chapter 53.

京 and So 索.<sup>207</sup> Han defeated Ch'u. Thus Ch'u was unable to pass Hsing-yang and march west.

[325] While King Hsiang went to the rescue of P'eng-ch'eng and chased the King of Han to Hsing-yang, T'ien Heng was able to recapture Ch'i and enthroned T'ien Jung's son, T'ien Kuang 田廣,<sup>208</sup> as the King of Ch'i.

When the King of Han was defeated at P'eng-ch'eng, all the feudal lords sided with Ch'u again and forsook Han. The Han troops encamped at Hsing-yang and built a walled corridor to the Ho, with which to reach the grain of the Ao Granary 敖倉.<sup>209</sup> In the third year of Han (204 B.C.), King Hsiang harassed or seized this walled corridor of Han many times, and the King of Han ran short of provisions. Alarmed, the King of Han sued for an accord, marking off the land west of Hsing-yang as Han's territory. King Hsiang intended to listen to [the proposal], but Fan Tseng, the Marquis of Li-yang, said: "Han is simply too easy to take. If you let him go now and do not take him, you will surely regret it later." King Hsiang then gave Fan Tseng permission to besiege Hsing-yang immediately. The King of Han was worried by this and thus adopted Ch'en P'ing's scheme to sow dissension between King Hsiang [and Fan Tseng]. When King Hsiang's envoy arrived, [the King of Han] had someone prepare a great feast<sup>210</sup> and bring in the food to present it to the envoy. When he saw the envoy, he pretended to be surprised, saying: "I thought it was Ya-fu's envoy, but it is King Hsiang's envoy instead!" He then took the feast away and fed King Hsiang's envoy a poor meal. The envoy returned and reported this to King Hsiang. King Hsiang thus suspected that Fan Tseng had secret dealings with Han and gradually stripped Fan Tseng of his power. Enraged, Fan Tseng said, "The contest for the world has largely been settled. Your Majesty can handle it yourself. Allow me to retire from service and return to the ranks." King Hsiang granted his request. Fan Tseng left but, before he reached P'eng-ch'eng, an ulcer broke out on his back and he died.

[326] The Han general Chi Hsin advised the King of Han [to leave the city]: "Matters are now critical. I ask leave to disguise myself as Your Majesty and deceive Ch'u for you. In this way Your Majesty can leave by a side road." Thus the King of Han sent out two-thousand women in armor from the east gate of Hsing-yang by night. Ch'u troops attacked them from four sides. Chi Hsin, riding in a carriage with a yellow canopy and a streamer attached to its left side, said: "The food in the city is exhausted. The King of Han surrenders!" Everyone in the Ch'u army huzzahed. Meanwhile, the King of Han and several dozen horsemen left from the west gate of the city and fled to Ch'eng-kaio. When King Hsiang saw Chi Hsin, he asked where the King of Han was. Chi Hsin said, "The King of Han has already left." King Hsiang had Chi Hsin burned alive.

The King of Han sent the Grand Master of the Imperial Scribes, Chou K'o 周苛, Master Ts'ung 縱,<sup>211</sup> and Wei Pao 魏豹<sup>212</sup> to defend Hsing-yang.<sup>213</sup> Chou K'o and Magistrate

<sup>207</sup> According to T'an Ch'i-hsiang (2:7) Ching was a city about 10 miles south of Ying-yang and So was the name of a pavilion just southwest of Ying-yang.

<sup>208</sup> He was killed two years later (203 B.C.) by Han Hsin 韓信 (see *Shih chi*, 16:792 and 97:2694-6).

<sup>209</sup> This granary had been built by Ch'in near Mount Ao which was a few miles north of Hsing-yang on the south bank of the Yellow River (see T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 2:7).

<sup>210</sup> A *T'ai-lao* 太牢, which originally included an entire cow, sheep and pig; here it is used similarly to the English expression "a meal fit for a king."

<sup>211</sup> We follow Wang Li-ch'i (7:178n.) in reading Ts'ung as a cognomen here (see also Chavannes, 2:305).

<sup>212</sup> I.e., King Pao of Wei (see n. 214 below).

<sup>213</sup> As Wang Shu-min points out (7:279), Liu Pang also entrusted the city to a fourth man, Han Hsin, who then surrendered to Hsiang Yü. However, the account of these events in Han Hsin's biography (*Shih chi* Chapter 92) reveals that Han Hsin was marching eastward through Chao and then into Ch'i at this time. Some of his crack

Ts'ung colluded, "It is hard to defend the city with a king who once turned against the state."<sup>214</sup> Thus together they murdered Wei Pao.

Ch'u subdued the city of Hsing-yang and took Chou K'o alive. King Hsiang said to Chou K'o, "Be my general! I will make you the Commander in Chief and give you a fief of thirty-thousand households." But Chou K'o reviled him, "If you do not surrender to Han quickly, Han will take you prisoner. You are no match for Han!" King Hsiang was enraged. He boiled Chou K'o alive and killed Magistrate Ts'ung as well.

[327] After the King of Han left Hsing-yang, he fled south to Yüan and She 葉,<sup>215</sup> and gained [the support of] [Ch'ing] Pu, the King of Chiu-chiang;<sup>216</sup> as he marched he regrouped his troops and returned to defend Ch'eng-kao.

In the fourth year of Han (203 B.C.), King Hsiang sent in his troops to besiege Ch'eng-kao. The King of Han escaped. Accompanied only by Magistrate T'eng 滕,<sup>217</sup> he left through the north gate of Ch'eng-kao, crossed the Ho, and fled to Hsiu-wu 脩武<sup>218</sup> to join Chang Erh and Han Hsin's armies. His commanders were able to flee Ch'eng-kao in considerable numbers to join him. Ch'u subsequently seized Ch'eng-kao and prepared to march west. Han sent troops to block them at Kung 鞏<sup>219</sup> to keep them from marching west.<sup>220</sup>

At this time, P'eng Yüeh crossed the Ho to attack Tung-o in Ch'u and killed Ch'u's commander, the Magistrate of Hsüeh 薛. King Hsiang thus marched east in person to attack P'eng Yüeh.<sup>221</sup> The King of Han, supported by the troops of the Marquis of Huai-yin 淮陰,<sup>222</sup> decided to cross the Ho and march south. Cheng Chung 鄭忠 dissuaded the King of Han [from doing so]. Thus he stayed and fortified Ho-nei 河內,<sup>223</sup> sending Liu Chia 劉賈<sup>224</sup> to lead troops to assist P'eng Yüeh and set fire to Ch'u's stores. King Hsiang marched east and vanquished them, putting P'eng Yüeh to flight. The King of Han then led his troops across the Ho and recaptured Ch'eng-kao. He encamped at Kuang-wu 廣武<sup>225</sup> in order to reach the

troops had, however, been brought to Hsing-yang (see *Shih chi*, 92:2614).

<sup>214</sup> King Pao had originally been enfeoffed as King of West Wei by Hsiang Yü, then when Liu Pang marched east to attack Ch'u, he had joined Han. After Liu Pang's defeat at P'eng-ch'eng, Pao again opposed Han, returning to the Han alliance when Han Hsin defeated Wei in the eighth month of 205 B.C. (see *Shih chi*, 7:316, Pao's biography in Chapter 90, and Wang Li-ch'i, 7:178n.).

<sup>215</sup> Yüan was a county near modern Nan-yang 南陽 City in Honan, She a city near the modern county of the same name in Honan (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:178n.).

<sup>216</sup> See n. 153 above.

<sup>217</sup> I.e., Hsia Hou-ying, who had been prefect of T'eng (located, according to T'an Ch'i-hsiang [2:8] in the southern part of what had been Hsüeh 薛 Commandery under the Ch'in dynasty near the modern county of the same name in Shantung).

<sup>218</sup> Located in modern Huo-chia 獲嘉 County in Honan (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:178n.).

<sup>219</sup> Southwest of the modern county of the same name in Honan (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:178n.).

<sup>220</sup> Han Hsin's was also dispatched at this time to attack Ch'i and that certainly also kept King Hsiang from moving his main force to the west (see *Shih chi*, 92:2622).

<sup>221</sup> Wang Li-ch'i (7:178n.), following Liang Yü-sheng and others, argues that Hsiang Yü's attacks on P'eng Yüeh all took place during the fifth month of the third year of Han (204 B.C.), i.e., prior to Ch'u taking Ch'eng-kao. But on *Shih chi*, 90:2592, P'eng Yüeh is said to have attacked "seventeen cities in Sui-yang 睢陽 and Wai-huang 外黃" during "the winter of the fourth year of Han," inducing Hsiang Yü to march east and retake these cities.

<sup>222</sup> I.e., Han Hsin.

<sup>223</sup> A Ch'in commandery located on slopes north of the Yellow River opposite Ying-yang in modern Honan (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 2:7).

<sup>224</sup> See Liu's biography in *Shih chi* Chapter 51. *Shih chi*, 8:374 says Lu Wan 盧縮 and Liu Chia led these troops, but Lu Wan's biography (*Shih chi*, 93:2637) says he joined Liu Chia only in the winter of the following year (202 B.C.).

food of the Ao Granary. King Hsiang, having returned from pacifying the eastern seaboard, marched west and also encamped overlooking Kuang-wu. The two forces held position for several months.<sup>226</sup>

During this period, P'eng Yüeh repeatedly rebelled in the territory of Liang and cut off Ch'u's rations. King Hsiang was troubled by this. He built a raised chopping block,<sup>227</sup> placed [the King of Han's] Grandfather on it,<sup>228</sup> and announced to the King of Han, [\*328\*] "If you do not surrender at once, I shall boil Grandfather alive." The King of Han said, "When you and I both faced north and received our appointments [as kings], we swore to be brothers. Thus my father is your father. If you must boil your father alive, be kind enough to give me a bowl of the soup." King Hsiang was angry and decided to kill Grandfather. Hsiang Po said, "How the affairs of the world will turn out cannot yet to be known. Furthermore, those who aim to manage the world do not care about their families. Even if you kill him, there would be no benefit to you. It would only increase your troubles." King Hsiang followed his advice.

Ch'u and Han held their positions for some time without either side gaining a decisive advantage. Those of military age suffered in the ranks, and the old and young wore themselves out transporting supplies by land and water. King Hsiang told the King of Han, "The world has been in a turmoil for years simply because of the two of us. I would challenge you, King of Han, to decide who is stronger. Do not make the parents and children of the world suffer needlessly!" The King of Han laughed and declined, "I would rather fight with my wits than with my might."<sup>229</sup> King Hsiang sent out his stalwarts to issue challenges to fight. In the Han camp there was a man good at shooting [his bow] while riding, [a real] "Lou-fan" 樓煩.<sup>230</sup> Each time a Ch'u soldier challenged an opponent, within three passes this "Lou-fan" would shoot and kill the challenger. King Hsiang was enraged. He put on his armor, took up his halberd, and issued the challenge himself. As the "Lou-fan" was about to shoot, King Hsiang glared and shouted at him. The "Lou-fan" did not dare to look King Hsiang in the eyes or to loose an arrow with his hands; he ran back into the fortifications and did not dare to come out again. The King of Han had someone secretly inquire who this [challenger] had been. It turned out to be King Hsiang. The King of Han was astonished. King Hsiang and the King of Han faced each other across [the brook at] Kuang-wu and spoke. The King of Han enumerated King Hsiang's [crimes].<sup>231</sup> King Hsiang was angered and demanded to fight. The King of Han would not listen. A crossbowman of King Hsiang shot the King of Han from ambush. The King of Han was wounded<sup>232</sup> and fled into Ch'eng-ko.

[329] When King Hsiang learned that the Marquis of Huai-yin had seized the land north of the Ho, vanquished Ch'i and Chao, and was about to attack Ch'u, he sent Lung Chu<sup>233</sup> to counterattack.<sup>234</sup> The Marquis of Huai-yin engaged him. Kuan Ying 灌嬰,<sup>235</sup> the

<sup>225</sup> Kuang-wu was located atop Mount San-huang 三皇 some 10 miles northwest of Ying-yang on the south bank of the Yellow River just west of Ao Granary and was divided into two cities, West Kuang-wu and East Kuang-wu by a gorge formed by the upper reaches of the Pien River (see "Cheng-yi" and T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 2:7).

<sup>226</sup> Wang Shu-min (7:280) argues that they faced each other for only one month.

<sup>227</sup> See Chavannes, 1:307, n. 2.

<sup>228</sup> I.e., Liu Pang's father, see n. 201 above.

<sup>229</sup> A more extensive reply by Liu Pang is recorded on *Shih chi*, 8:376.

<sup>230</sup> The Lou-fan were a minority living northwest of the Chinese who were noted for their skill in mounted archery (see Wang Li-ch'i, 7:179n.).

<sup>231</sup> On *Shih chi*, 8:376 this enumeration took place in response to Hsiang Yü's personal challenge to fight a little earlier in the text (see n. 229 above).

<sup>232</sup> He was struck in the chest, but feigned a minor injury to his foot (see *Shih chi*, 8:376-7).

<sup>233</sup> See n. 56 above.

<sup>234</sup> For details of this battle which took place in 204 B.C., see *Shih chi*, 92:2620-21.

cavalry general of Han, attacked, crushed the Ch'u army, and killed Lung Chü. Han Hsin then installed himself as the King of Ch'i. When King Hsiang heard that Lung Chü's army was defeated, he was fearful and sent Wu She 武涉, a native of Hsü-yi, to persuade the Marquis of Huai-yin to join [Ch'u].<sup>236</sup> The Marquis of Huai-yin would not listen to him. At this point, P'eng Yüeh rebelled again, subdued Liang's territory, and cut off Ch'u's grain supply. King Hsiang thus told the Marquis of Hai-ch'un 海春<sup>237</sup> and Grand Marshal, Ts'ao Chiu 曹咎,<sup>238</sup> and others, "Guard [the city of] Ch'eng-kaio carefully! If Han challenges you, be careful not to give battle. Just keep them from marching east. I will kill P'eng Yüeh, pacify Liang's territory, and join you again in fifteen days."

Thus he marched east and attacked Ch'en-liu<sup>239</sup> and Wai-huang.<sup>240</sup> Wai-huang would not submit. When it surrendered several days later, King Hsiang was angry and ordered all the men age fifteen and over to the east of the city, where he intended to massacre them. The son of a houseman of the Prefect of Wai-huang, thirteen years of age, went to advise him: "P'eng Yüeh coerced the people of Wai-huang [into rebelling]. The people of Wai-huang were fearful, so they first surrendered to him and waited for you, Great King. But now that Your Majesty has arrived, you are going to massacre them all instead; how can you expect the people to come over to you? Every one of the dozen or more Liang cities east of here will be frightened, and no one will dare to surrender to you." Seeing the truth of his words, King Hsiang pardoned all the men of Wai-huang who were to have been massacred. On his way east to Sui-yang, all who had heard of this raced to surrender to him.

[330] Han, as expected, challenged the Ch'u army to combat several times. But the Ch'u army refused to come out. Han had people insult them. After five or six days the Grand Marshal, angered, sent his troops across the Ssu River. When half the officers and soldiers had crossed, Han set upon them, crushed the Ch'u army, and captured all the goods and wealth of the Ch'u state. The Grand Marshal, Ts'ao Chiu, the Chief Scribe, Tung Yi, and, the King of Sai, Ssu-ma Hsin,<sup>241</sup> all cut their throats on the banks of the Ssu River.

The Grand Marshal Ts'ao Chiu was the former Warden of Ch'i, and the Chief Scribe Ssu-ma Hsin, the former Warden of Yüeh-yang. Both of them had done favors for Hsiang Liang.<sup>242</sup> This was why King Hsiang trusted and employed them.

During this time, King Hsiang was at Sui-yang. Having heard that the Marquis of Hai-ch'un's army was defeated, he immediately led his troops back. The Han army was then besieging Chung-li Mo 鍾離昧<sup>243</sup> east of Hsing-yang. When King Hsiang arrived, the Han army, fearful of Ch'u, all fled into the defiles and the mountains.

At this time,<sup>244</sup> Han troops were strong and had plenty of food, but King Hsiang's troops were worn out and had exhausted all their food. Han sent Lu Chia 陸賈<sup>245</sup> to advise

<sup>235</sup> See his biography in *Shih chi* Chapter 95 especially 95:2670 for his contributions to this campaign.

<sup>236</sup> See the details of his persuasion on *Shih chi*, 92:2622-3.

<sup>237</sup> Hai-ch'un remains unidentified (see Ch'ien Mu, *Ti-ming k'ao*, p. 386).

<sup>238</sup> The prison warden who had earlier come to Hsiang Liang's aid (see *Shih chi*, 7:296).

<sup>239</sup> See n. 71 above.

<sup>240</sup> See n. 66 above.

<sup>241</sup> Based on parallel accounts (see *Shih chi*, 8:375, for example), many scholars believe that the three characters *Yi Sai-wang* 鬲王 have been interpolated here and the text should read "The Grand Marshal, Ts'ao Chiu and the Chief Scribe, Ssu-ma Hsin, both cut their throats on the Ssu River." However, Ssu-ma Hsin had been made King of Sai (see *Shih chi*, 7:316) and one of Tung Yi's titles was Chief Scribe (see *Shih chi*, 6:270).

<sup>242</sup> See *Shih chi*, 7:296.

<sup>243</sup> One of Hsiang Yü's generals, he was also a friend of Han Hsin and sought protection with the latter after the fall of Ch'u; when Han Hsin faltered and considered turning him over to Liu Pang, Chung-li Mo committed suicide (see *Shih chi*, 56:2055 and 92:2627).

King Hsiang to release Grandfather. King Hsiang refused to listen to him. The King of Han then sent Honorable Hou 侯<sup>246</sup> to advise King Hsiang. [\*331\*] King Hsiang thus made an agreement with Han to divide the world into two halves, marking off the land west of the Hung Canal 鴻溝<sup>247</sup> as Han and that east of the Hung Canal as Ch'u. King Hsiang approved this and immediately sent back the King of Han's parents, wife, and children.<sup>248</sup> All the soldiers cheered. The King of Han then enfeoffed Honorable Hou as the Lord Who Pacified the State. [But Honorable Hou] hid and never again sought audience. [The King of Han] said, "This is the most eloquent persuader in the world. Wherever he resides, he could influence [everyone in] that state. Thus he is called the Lord Who Pacified the State." After King Hsiang had concluded the agreement, he disengaged his troops<sup>249</sup> and returned to the east.

[The King of] Han wanted to return west. But Chang Liang and Ch'en P'ing advised [him not to]: "Han has two-thirds of the world and all the feudal lords support it, while the Ch'u troops are worn out and have exhausted their food. This is the time Heaven set for Ch'u to perish. It would be better to avail ourselves of this opportunity and take him once and for all. If we let him go and do not set upon him, it would be as people say, "Nurturing a tiger brings trouble to oneself." The King of Han took their advice.

In the fifth year of Han (202 B.C.), the King of Han pursued King Hsiang to south of Yang-hsia 陽夏,<sup>250</sup> where he halted and encamped, setting a date for Han Hsin, the Marquis of Huai-yin, and P'eng Yüeh, the Marquis of Chien-ch'eng 建成, to join him to attack the Ch'u army. When he reached Ku-ling 固陵,<sup>251</sup> Han Hsin and P'eng Yüeh failed to meet him there. Ch'u attacked the Han army and smashed it. The King of Han withdrew behind his fortifications, deepened his moats, and defended himself. He said to Chang Liang, "The feudal lords did not keep their promise. What should be done?" Chang Liang replied, "Ch'u's army is on the verge of defeat, but Han Hsin and P'eng Yüeh have yet to gain a fief. It is perfectly natural that they do not come. If Your Majesty can share the world with them, they could be called here instantly. If you can not, then how things will turn out cannot yet be known. If Your Majesty could give Han Hsin all the lands from Ch'en 陳<sup>252</sup> east to the sea, [\*332\*] and give P'eng Yüeh the lands from Sui-yang north to Ku-ch'eng 穀城,<sup>253</sup> giving each of them

<sup>244</sup> Wang Li-ch'i observes (7:180n.) that previous scholars have pointed out numerous inconsistencies between this text and all other accounts of the events which transpired from "in the fourth year of Han" until this point in the narrative.

<sup>245</sup> A scholar and noted speaker, see his biography in *Shih chi* Chapter 97.

<sup>246</sup> I.e., Hou Ch'eng 城 (*praenomen*; *agnomen* Po-sheng 伯盛, a native of Shan-yang 山陽 located about 30 miles north of Ying-yang near modern Chiao-tso 焦作 City in the foothills south of the T'ai-hang 太行 Mountains [T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 2:9]).

<sup>247</sup> Also known as the Lang-t'ang Ch'ü 狼湯渠, this canal ran north from Hsing-yang to the Yellow River, then turned east passing just north of modern Chung-mou 中牟, turned south just west of modern Kaifeng, and ended in the Ying 潁 River near modern Shen-ch'iu 沈丘 County, all in modern Honan (see Wang Li-ch'i, 7:180n. and T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 2:7).

<sup>248</sup> Other parallel accounts say only Liu Pang's father and father (later Empress Lü) were captives (see Wang Shu-min, 7:284).

<sup>249</sup> There are various interpretations of *chieh* 解 (our "to disengage") in this line: Chavannes (2:313) reads "il ramena ses soldats, les *licencia* . . .," Sung Yün-pin (p. 75) understands that "both sides had already been *reconciled* [*ho-chieh* 和解], and then he lead his troops east," Watson (1:105) has "then the two leaders parted, and Hsiang Yü broke camp . . .," and Watson's revised version (*Han*, 1:43: "Xiang Yu led his troops away to the east," and Wang Li-ch'i (7:193) and the Yangs (p. 232) do not translate it at all. *Shih chi*, 8:378 reads: 項羽解而東歸, Hsiang Yü disengaged and returned to the east."

<sup>250</sup> Name of a county near modern T'ai-k'ang 太康 County in Honan (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:181n.).

<sup>251</sup> A hamlet near Yang-hsia (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:181n.).

<sup>252</sup> A county located in the modern county of Huai-yang 淮陽 in Honan according to Wang Li-ch'i (7:181n.).

something to fight for, then Ch'u will be easy to defeat." The King of Han said, "An excellent idea!" Thus he sent envoys to tell Han Hsin and P'eng Yüeh, "Let us join our forces to attack Ch'u. When Ch'u is defeated, let the lands from Ch'en east to the sea be given to the King of Ch'i,<sup>254</sup> and the lands from Sui-yang north to Ku-ch'eng be given to Minister of State P'eng."<sup>255</sup> As soon as the envoys had reached [them], both Han Hsin and P'eng Yüeh responded, "Allow us to advance our troops now." Han Hsin proceeded from Ch'i, and Liu Chia's army<sup>256</sup> set out simultaneously from Shou-ch'un 壽春.<sup>257</sup> They massacred the people of Ch'eng-fu 城父<sup>258</sup> and arrived at Kai-hsia 垓下.<sup>259</sup> The Grand Marshal Chou Yin 周殷<sup>260</sup> rebelled against Ch'u, with the troops of Shu 舒<sup>261</sup> massacred the people of Liu 六,<sup>262</sup> and raised troops in Chiu-chiang<sup>263</sup> to join Liu Chia and P'eng Yüeh. They all converged at Kai-hsia and confronted King Hsiang.

[333] King Hsiang's army fortified their camp at Kai-hsia, but with his troops diminished and his food exhausted, [the King of] Han and the feudal lords surrounded them with several rings of troops. After dark they heard the Han army on all four sides singing Ch'u songs. King Hsiang was alarmed and said, "Has Han already secured Ch'u? Why is it that there are so many men of Ch'u out there?" He thus got up at night and drank in his tent. He had a Fine Lady, Yü 虞, whom he favored and who always kept him company, and a steed, named Piebald, which he always rode. At this, King Hsiang, in a mood both tragic and indignant, composed a song:

My strength uplifted a mountain,  
My vigor shadowed the world.  
But the times do not favor me,  
and Piebald can not gallop fast enough.  
Piebald can not gallop fast enough,  
And what can I do about it?  
Oh Yü, Oh Yü!  
What can I do about you?

He sang it several times and the Fine Lady sang with him.<sup>264</sup> Tears streamed down King Hsiang's cheeks and his attendants all wept; no one could life up his head.

<sup>253</sup> A city southwest of the modern county of P'ing-yin 平陰 in Shantung (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:181n.).

<sup>254</sup> I.e., Han Hsin.

<sup>255</sup> P'eng Yüeh was Chancellor to Wei Pao (see Wang Li-ch'i, 7:181n.).

<sup>256</sup> Liu Chia was assisting P'eng Yüeh at this time (see n. 221 above). Liu crossed the Huai and besieged Shou-ch'un; after taking the city, he sent a secret envoy to Chou Yin, induced him to rebel and to help Liu raise troops in Chiu-chiang. They then joined Ch'ing Pu and his host at Kai-hsia (*Shih chi*, 51:1993-4).

<sup>257</sup> A county near modern Shou 壽 County in Anhwei (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:181n.).

<sup>258</sup> A city which Wang Li-ch'i locates (7:181n.) southeast of modern Po 亳 County in Anhwei.

<sup>259</sup> A place in the southeastern part of modern Ling-pi 靈璧 County in Anhwei (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:181n.).

<sup>260</sup> See n. 256 above and *Shih chi*, 91:2602-3.

<sup>261</sup> Shu was located southwest of modern Lu-chiang 蘄江 County in Anhwei and was in the area then controlled by Chou Yin (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:181n.).

<sup>262</sup> Northeast of modern Liu-an 六安 County in Anhwei (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:181n.).

<sup>263</sup> This was Ch'ing Pu's army.

<sup>264</sup> Some scholars have read *ho* 和 here as *ho shih* 和詩, to compose a matching song. Indeed, a song attributed to Fine Lady Yü is recorded in the *Ch'u Han ch'un ch'iu* 楚漢春秋 (1:5a, *Shih-chung ku yi-shu* 十種古逸書 ed.) and the "Cheng-yi," but its pentasyllabic lines suggest a later provenance.

[334] After this, King Hsiang mounted his horse and, accompanied by some eight-hundred stalwart horsemen under his banner, that same night broke out of the siege to the south and galloped away. The Han army became aware of it only when it was daylight. They had Kuan Ying, a cavalry general, pursue them with five-thousand horsemen. After King Hsiang had crossed the Huai, he had only one-hundred horsemen or so who could still keep up with him. When he reached Yin-ling 陰陵,<sup>265</sup> he lost his way and asked an old farmer. The old farmer deceived him, saying: "Go left!"<sup>266</sup> He went left and was bogged down in a great marsh.<sup>267</sup> Thus the Han horsemen were able to catch up with them. King Hsiang led his troops to the east instead and reached Tung-ch'eng 東城<sup>268</sup> with only twenty-eight horsemen. The Han horsemen in pursuit numbered several thousand. King Hsiang, judging that he could not escape, told his horsemen:

"It has been eight years now since I rose in arms. I have personally fought more than seventy battles, in which whomever I was matched with, I vanquished, whomever I set upon, I subdued. Never once defeated, I finally became the Hegemon and possessed the world. Yet in the end I have now been cornered here. It is Heaven that destroys me. It is not any fault of mine in battle. Today, I must surely resolve to die, but let me fight a joyful battle for you first. I vow to defeat them three times, break the siege for you, cut off the heads of their general, and cut down their banners, so that you will see it is Heaven that destroys me, not any fault of mine in battle."

Thus he divided his horsemen into four squads, facing the four directions. The Han army surrounded them with several rings of troops. King Hsiang told his horsemen, "I will take one of their generals for you." He ordered his horsemen on all four sides to charge down and converge in three groups on the east of the hill.<sup>269</sup> With this, King Hsiang charged down yelling loudly. The entire Han line bent back in disorder and he actually succeeded in cutting off the head of one Han general. At this time the Marquis of Ch'ih-ch'üan 赤泉<sup>270</sup> was a general of the cavalry pursuing King Hsiang. King Hsiang glared and bellowed at him. Both the Marquis of Ch'ih-ch'üan and his horse were frightened and bolted several *li*. King Hsiang joined his horsemen, who had reassembled into three groups. The Han army did not know which group he was in, thus it divided into three groups and surrounded them again. King Hsiang [\*335\*] charged, cut off the head of a Commandant of Han again, and killed dozens of men, nearly one-hundred. When he gathered his horsemen once more, only two of them were missing. Then he said to them, "How was that?" His horsemen replied with great respect, "It was just as Your Majesty said!"

[336] At this point, King Hsiang had intended to cross east over [the Chiang]<sup>271</sup> from Wu-chiang 烏江.<sup>272</sup> The head of Wu-chiang Precinct<sup>273</sup> waited with his boat moored; he told

<sup>265</sup> A county northwest of modern Ting-yüan 定遠 County in Anhwei (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:182n.) about 25 miles east of modern Huai-nan 淮南 City (see also T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 2:19).

<sup>266</sup> Hsiang Yü was heading west and south, thus this turn would have taken him towards the south or southeast, towards the upper reaches of the modern Lo 洛 River (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 8:18).

<sup>267</sup> Wang Li-ch'i (7:182n.) has identified the marsh as southwest of the modern county seat of Ting-yüan County.

<sup>268</sup> Located about 15 miles southeast of modern Ting-yüan on what is now the Ch'ih 池 River about 50 miles northeast of modern Ho-fei 合肥 (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 2:20 and 8:18).

<sup>269</sup> Mount Chiu-t'ou 九頭 according to "Cheng-yi."

<sup>270</sup> This was the subsequent title of Yang Hsi 楊喜, see *Shih chi*, 7:336.

<sup>271</sup> We infer this object as do most commentators; the Yangs (p. 235) and Chavannes (2:319), however, read the Wu River as the object to be crossed.

<sup>272</sup> According to "Cheng-yi" this is Wu-chiang County in Ho 和 Prefecture (of the T'ang) about 30 miles southwest of modern Nanking (see T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 5:54) and about the same distance south of Tung-ch'eng where Hsiang Yü had just given the Han pursuers battle.

King Hsiang, "Even though the territory east of the Chiang is small, with its area of one-thousand *li* [on a side] and population of several hundred thousand people, it is good enough to rule over as king. I beg you to cross quickly. Only I have a boat now. When the Han army arrives, there is no way for them to get across."

King Hsiang laughed and replied, "Since Heaven wants me to perish, why bother to cross the river? Besides, there were eight-thousand youths from east of the Chiang who crossed it with me and marched west, but now not a single one of them has come back. Even if the elders east of the Chiang would take pity on me and make me king, how could I look them in the face? Even though they might not say a word, I would simply feel the shame in my heart."

Then he said to the precinct head, "I know you are a kind old man. I have ridden this horse for five years, and among those I have faced, none is his match. He used to run one-thousand *li* a day. I can not bear to kill him, so I shall give him to you."

He then ordered all his horsemen to dismount and go on foot, holding short weapons to engage in combat. King Hsiang alone killed several hundred men of the Han army. He himself also suffered more than ten wounds. Turning about, he saw Lü Ma-t'ung 呂馬童,<sup>274</sup> the Cavalry Marshal of Han,<sup>275</sup> and said: "Are you not my old friend?" Lü Ma-t'ung faced him and then, pointing him out to Wang Yi 王翳,<sup>276</sup> said, "This is King Hsiang."

King Hsiang said, "I have heard that Han has offered one-thousand *chin* and a fief of ten-thousand households for my head. I will do you the favor!" He then cut his own throat and died. Wang Yi laid hold of his head. The rest of the horsemen trampled over each other struggling for his body, killing a few dozen of their comrades. In the end, the Cavalry General of the Palace Attendants, Yang Hsi, the Cavalry Marshal, Lü Ma-t'ung, and the Palace Attendants,<sup>277</sup> Lü Sheng 呂勝 and Yang Wu 楊武, obtained one limb each. The five men fitted together the limbs and head and verified them all [to be those of King Hsiang]. Therefore, [the King of] Han divided the [promised] fief into five, and enfeoffed Lü Ma-t'ung as the Marquis of Chung-shui 中水,<sup>278</sup> Wang Yi as the Marquis of Tu-yen 杜衍,<sup>279</sup> Yang Hsi as the Marquis of Ch'ih-ch'uan 赤泉,<sup>280</sup> Yang Wu as the Marquis of Wu-fang 吳防,<sup>281</sup> and Lü Sheng as the Marquis of Nieh-yang 涅陽.<sup>282</sup>

[337] After King Hsiang had died, all the lands of Ch'u surrendered to Han except for Lu 魯, which refused to submit. [The King of] Han then led the troops of the whole world to massacre the people of Lu. But because the people of Lu had maintained the social norms and righteousness behavior, and were willing to die on principle for the sake of their lord, [the

<sup>273</sup> A *t'ing* 亭 was an judicial or constabulary, rather than administrative, district under supervision of the county commandant (*wei* 尉); see also Fu Chü-yu 傅舉有, "Yu-kuan Ch'in Han hsiang-t'ing chih-tu te chi-ko wen-t'i" 有關秦漢鄉亭制度的幾個問題, *Chung-kuo-shih yen-chiu*, 1985.3, 23-38 and Lao Kan 勞幹, "Tsai-lun Han-tai t'ing-chih" 再論漢代亭制, *BIHP*, 53(1985), 1-20.

<sup>274</sup> I.e., the Marquis of Chung-shui 中水 (see *Shih chi*, 18:935).

<sup>275</sup> *Ch'i Ssu-ma* 騎司馬.

<sup>276</sup> In 200 B.C. he became the Marquis of Tu-yen 杜衍 (*Shih chi*, 18:936).

<sup>277</sup> *Lang-chung* 郎中.

<sup>278</sup> Northwest of modern Hsien 獻 County in Hopei (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:182n. and T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 2:27).

<sup>279</sup> Southwest of modern Nan-yang 南陽 City in Honan (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:182n. and T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 2:22).

<sup>280</sup> Southwest of Che-ch'uan 浙川 County in Honan (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:182n.).

<sup>281</sup> Just northwest of Sui-p'ing 遂平 County in Shantung (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:182n. and T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 2:19).

<sup>282</sup> Near modern Chen-p'ing 鎮平 County in Honan (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:182n. and T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 2:22) about 15 miles southwest of Tu-yen.

King of] Han had someone take King Hsiang's head to show them. The elders of Lu then surrendered.

At first, King Huai of Ch'u enfeoffed Hsiang Chi as the Duke of Lu. After his death, Lu was the last one to submit, therefore, [\*338\*] Han buried King Hsiang at Ku-ch'eng<sup>283</sup> with the rites befitting the Duke of Lu. The King of Han led the mourning on his behalf and wept for him before he departed [for the capital].

As for the branches of the Hsiang clan, the King of Han spared them all from punishment. Hsiang Po was enfeoffed as the Marquis of She-yang 射陽.<sup>284</sup> The Marquises of T'ao 桃,<sup>285</sup> P'ing-kao 平皋,<sup>286</sup> and Hsüan-wu 玄武,<sup>287</sup> all members of the Hsiang Clan, were granted the [royal] *cognomen* Liu 劉.

His Honor the Grand Scribe says, "I have heard Master Chou 周<sup>288</sup> say that Emperor Shun supposedly had eyes with double pupils. I have also heard that Hsiang Yü, too, had eyes with double pupils. Could it be that Hsiang Yü was his descendant? How sudden was his rise! When Ch'in mishandled its government, Ch'en She initiated the rebellion, and men of power and distinction rose like a swarm of bees, struggling with each other, in numbers too great to count. This being so, without even an inch of territory, availing himself of the situation and rising in arms from the farming fields, within three years Hsiang Yü led the five feudal lords<sup>289</sup> to subjugate Ch'in, divide up the world, and enfeoff kings and marquises. All power was delegated by Hsiang Yü, who proclaimed himself Hegemon King. Even though his reign did not come to a natural end, since ancient times there has never been such a person. By the time Hsiang Yü turned his back on the land within the Pass to embrace Ch'u and banished Emperor Yi to enthrone himself, it is difficult to see how he could resent the feudal lords rebelling against him. He boasted of his achievements, asserted his own mind, but never learned from the ancients. He called his enterprise that of a Hegemon King, intending to manage the world by means of mighty campaigns. After five years, he finally lost his state and died himself at Tung-ch'eng, yet even then he did not come to his senses and blame himself. What error! To excuse himself by claiming "Heaven destroyed me, it was not any fault of mine in using troops!" How absurd!

<sup>283</sup> See n. 253 above.

<sup>284</sup> Southeast of modern Huai-an 淮安 County in Kiangsu (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:183n.).

<sup>285</sup> Hsiang Hsiang 項襄, whose son, Hsiang She 項舍, became Chancellor ("Chi-chieh"). T'ao was located northeast of modern Wen-shang 汶上 County in Shantung (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:183n.).

<sup>286</sup> I.e., Hsiang T'o 項佗. P'ing-kao was located east of modern Wen 溫 County in Honan (Wang Li-ch'i, 7:183n.).

<sup>287</sup> We have not been able to identify this person; there is no Marquis of Hsüan-wu in the *Shih chi* "Chu-hou nien-piao" 諸侯年表 (Chapter 14) leading Sung Yün-pin (p. 48n.) to speculate that the fief was not long after removed.

<sup>288</sup> There are various theories, but no hard evidence, on the identity of this person.

<sup>289</sup> "Chi-chieh" identifies these lords as those of Ch'i, Chao, Han, Wei and Yen.

## TRANSLATORS' NOTE

The major questions raised repeated by traditional commentators on this chapters has been the appropriateness of treating Hsiang Yü, who never founded his own dynasty, in a "basic annals." Other problems included the oft noted lack of correspondence between the events and dates in this chapter and those which parallel it in both the *Shih chi* and *Han shu*, and the controversy concerning the relationship between these two earliest official histories.

The relationship between the *Han shu* and the *Shih chi* is a subject more appropriate for those volumes which focus on the Han and will be deferred to our commentary there. The questions of a basic annals for King Hsiang is addressed, albeit indirectly, by the Grand Scribe himself (in his comments above) and thus requires notice here. Ssu-ma Ch'ien writes: "I have heard Master Chou 周 say that Emperor Shun probably had eyes with double pupils. I have also heard that Hsiang Yü, too, had eyes with double pupils. Could it be that Hsiang Yü was his descendant?" and again "Hsiang Yü within three years consequently led the five feudal lords to subjugate Ch'in, to divide up the world, and to enfeoff kings and marquises. Authority was delegated by Hsiang Yü, who proclaimed himself Hegemon King. Even though his reign did not come to a natural end, since ancient times there has never been such a person." The Grand Scribe suggested Hsiang Yü held both a royal pedigree and royal power, while admitting (and admiring) his uniqueness. He was, in Ssu-ma Ch'ien's eyes, an ideal subject for the *pen-chi*.

The noblesse Ssu-ma Ch'ien found in Hsiang Yü is in contrast to his assessment of Liu Pang, the founder of the Han dynasty and subject of Chapter 8 (these two chapters have traditionally been read in tandem). This is not to suggest, however, that Ssu-ma Ch'ien found Hsiang Yü the ideal ruler. His comments also make clear that Hsiang Yü "turned his back on the land within the pass to embrace Ch'u" and that this led to his downfall. Indeed, throughout the annals we are told that Hsiang Yü "gave up on the idea of marching west" (*Shih chi*, 7:321), or that having "seized Ch'eng-kao and intending to move west" (*Shih chi*, 7:327), "he led his troops to disengage and returned east" (*Shih chi*, 7:331), and that King Hsiang "never learned from the ancients . . . intending to manage the world by means of powerful campaigns" (in the Grand Scribe's comments). This recalls the anecdotes told early in the chapter about Hsiang Chi being unable to complete either his studies of the art of the sword or the art of war. The Grand Scribe seems to be saying that in governmental as in military arts "when Hsiang Yü had grasped the general idea of it, he again was unwilling to finish his study" (*Shih chi*, 7:296).

This chapter also rewards the reader's attention to detail. We have seen before how Ssu-ma Ch'ien suggested his opinion of a ruler by his use of the term used for his death (see the Translators' Note to Chapter 6 above). Here he traces the rise of Hsiang Yü by gradually making his reference to him more polite--in the beginning he refers to him informally as "Hsiang Chi" (using his *praenomen*), then as "Hsiang Yü" (using his *agnomen*), and finally as "King Hsiang"--as his stature grows (the Grand Scribe returns to the more neutral Hsiang Yü in his comments).

Finally, the discord between the events as recorded here and in other chapters which treat these years and their campaigns cannot be adequately explained with the limited sources which remain today. Ssu-ma Ch'ien may have had many more accounts of early Chinese history. The variances we see in the account of Hsiang Yü above could suggest Ssu-ma Ch'ien drew on a separate, regional tradition (written and oral) which must have grown around Hsiang Yü in the decades after his demise.

# The Grand Scribe's Records

VOLUME IX

*The Memoirs of Han China, Part II*

by Ssu-ma Ch'ien

William H. Nienhauser, Jr.

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INDIANA UNIVERSITY PRESS

*Bloomington & Indianapolis*

Published under sponsorship with the Council for Cultural Affairs, R.O.C.

This book is a publication of

Indiana University Press  
601 North Morton Street  
Bloomington, IN 47404-3797 USA

[www.iupress.indiana.edu](http://www.iupress.indiana.edu)

*Telephone orders*            800-842-6796  
*Fax orders*                    812-855-7931  
*Orders by e-mail*            [iuporder@indiana.edu](mailto:iuporder@indiana.edu)

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Ⓢ The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.

Manufactured in the United States of America

Cataloging information is available from the Library of Congress.

ISBN 978-0-253-35590-4

1 2 3 4 5 15 14 13 12 11 10

THIS VOLUME IS DEDICATED TO

Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859)



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## T'ai Ts'ang-kung 太倉公 (The Great Granarian)<sup>95</sup>

translated by Elisabeth Hsu

[105.2794] T'ai Ts'ang-kung 太倉公 (The Great Granarian) was the Chief of the Great Granary of Ch'i 齊.<sup>96</sup> He was from Lin-tzu 臨淄.<sup>97</sup> His *cognomen* was

<sup>95</sup>[Translator's note: The page numbers in the main text refer to the *Shiji* Zhonghua shuju edition, but the translation is based on and quotes commentators from the *Shiki kaichū kōshō* 史記會注考證 (Examination of the collected commentaries to the records of the historian), 1932-1934. Commented by Takigawa Kametaro 瀧川龜太郎. Toyo Bunka Gakuin, Tokyo.

Please note that an effort was made to translate all Chinese words; *mai* 脈 can be approximated in English as 'pulse' or 'vessel', and sometimes it is difficult to know in which sense it was used; the translator had to make choices in English while the term in Chinese is vague.

N.B.: The document comes in two parts: 1. introductory part, written in Wade Giles, rest all in pinyin.]

[Editor's note: Unlike all other chapters, Elisabeth Hsu has based her rendition on, and quotes commentators from the *Shiki kaichū kōshō* 史記會注考證, edited and commented by Takigawa Kametaro 瀧川龜太郎. Her version of this rendition, in Pinyin romanization with an apparatus similar to the text Dr. Hsu presented to this project, will appear in her forthcoming book *Pulse Diagnosis in Early Chinese Medicine: The Telling Touch* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, forthcoming 2010 [hereafter *Telling Touch*]). The text here has been edited to bring it in line with the other chapters.]

<sup>96</sup>*T'ai Ts'ang-kung* 太倉公 figures on *Shih chi*, 10.427-8 as *T'ai Ts'ang-ling* 太倉令 "The Prefect of the Great Granary" (Bielenstein), as Ch'un-yü *Kung* 淳于公 "the Chief [Master] Ch'un-yü" and as *T'ai Ts'ang-kung* 太倉公 "Chief of the Great Granary." The *praenomen* Yi is not mentioned. In *Lun heng* 論衡 ("Hsieh-tuan" 謝短, *Lun-heng chu-shih* [4v. Peking: Chung-hua, 1979], 2:724), there is mention of a Ch'un-yü Te 淳于德, also rendered as 淳于憲, whom Wang Shu-min (105.2901) identifies the same person as Ch'un-yü Yi. Michael Loewe, "The Physician Chunyu Yi and His Historical Background" ( in *En suivant la voie royale*, Jacques Gernet, Marc Kalinowski, and Jean-Pierre Dièny, eds. [Paris: École Française d'Extrême Orient, 1997], p. 31) argues that Yi changed his personal name from Yi to Te. He points out that on *Shih chi*, 105.2814, Yi himself mentions that he changed his personal name, in his response to interrogation question 3.

<sup>97</sup>Lin-tzu was the capital of Ch'i 齊, situated at 36.8° N, 118.3° E, see T'an Ch'i-hsiang (2:19-20).

Ch'un-yü 淳于,<sup>98</sup> his *praenomen* was Yi 意. When he was young, he was fond of medical formulae and techniques.<sup>99</sup> In the eighth year of Empress Kao 高 (180 B.C.), he took another master, Yang Ch'ing 陽慶, a *kung-sheng*-dignitary<sup>100</sup> of the ward Yüan 元 from the same commandery.<sup>101</sup> Ch'ing was over seventy years old, and had no sons.<sup>102</sup> He had Yi discard all his previous formulae. Instead, he took all his [own] secret formulae and handed them over to him [Yi]. He transmitted pulse books<sup>103</sup> attributed to Huang Ti and Pien Ch'üeh,<sup>104</sup> how to

<sup>98</sup>Ch'un-yü 淳于是 a *cognomen* and a place name. Ch'un-yü is a variously mentioned family name, as in the case of Ch'un-yü Ch'ang 淳于長, a native of Wei 魏 commandery, see *Han shu*, 93.3730 and of a rather ruthless female doctor, Ch'un-yü Yan 淳于衍, see *Han shu*, 8.251, 68.2952, 97A.3966-8. Ch'un-yü was a city-state during the Chou period, according to Chang Shou-chieh. It is the name of a town in Ch'i in case 20.

<sup>99</sup>*Yi fang* 醫方 “medical formulae” occurs over forty times in the *Shih chi*, and *fang shu* 方術 “esoteric techniques” is about double as frequent; *i fang shu* occurs only once and probably is a mistake (perhaps, copyists unfamiliar with the concept *i fang*, added *shu*, to compose the idiom “medical *fang shu*”). The translator follows Nathan Sivin (“Text and Experience in Classical Chinese Medicine,” in D. Bates, ed., *Knowledge and the Scholarly Medical Traditions* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995], p. 179) in translating *fang* as “formulae,” although “techniques” is equally valid. For recent work on *fang shu* in antiquity, see D. Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature: The Mawangdui Medical Manuscripts*. (London: Routledge, 1998) and, for medieval times, M. Kalinowski M., *Divination et société dans la Chine médiévale: Étude des manuscrits de Dunhuang de la Bibliothèque nationale de France et de la British Library* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2003).

<sup>100</sup>*Kung-sheng* 公乘 is a family name, according to Chang Chao. It is an order of honor comparable to Hsiang Ch'u's 項處 in case 25, according to Ssu-ma Chen. For the latter, see Michael Loewe, “Orders of Honour,” *TP* 48 (1960): 97-174). The *Yi-shuo* 醫說 (*SKCS*, 1.9b), (which contains also misinterpretations), refers here to a certain Yang Ch'ing and not to a *kung-ch'eng*-dignitary Yang Ch'ing. F. Hübotter (“Zwei berühmte chinesische Ärzte des Altertums Chouen Yu-I und Hua T'ouo,” *Mitteilungen der deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens* 21A [1927]: 4), R. F. Bridgman (“La médecine dans la Chine antique,” *Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhique* 10 [1955]: 24) and the translator follow Ssu-ma Chen; Nathan Sivin (“Text and Experience in Classical Chinese Medicine,” in D. Bates, ed., *Knowledge and the Scholarly Medical Traditions* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995], p. 179) follows Chang Chao.

<sup>101</sup>[Editor's note: alternate reading “in Yüan hamlet.”]

<sup>102</sup>This information contradicts that given in the last section of the chapter, where Yang Ch'ing 陽慶 is said to have sons and grandsons, as Liang Yü-sheng notes (33:1368). One of the sons is named Yin 殷 in Yi's response to interrogation question 6.

<sup>103</sup>*Mai* 脈 can be approximated in English as “pulse” or “vessel,” and sometimes it is difficult to know in which sense it was used.

<sup>104</sup>*Han shu*, 30.1776 lists a “Pien Ch'üeh nei-wai ching” 扁鵲內外經 (Inner and Outer Canon of Pien Ch'üeh).

examine illness by means of the five colors, how to recognise whether a person will die or live, how to judge over the doubtful and determine the curable.<sup>105</sup> When it came to structured analytical discussions on drugs, he was highly refined.<sup>106</sup> After receiving these teachings for three years, he [Yi] as a person<sup>107</sup> treated illness and made decisions about death and life, which largely were proven true. In spite of this, he wandered around among the feudal lords, and did not treat his home as a home. Sometimes, he did not treat illness on behalf of other people, and among the families of the ill many bore grudge against him.<sup>108</sup>

In the [fourth] year of Emperor Wen 文 [176 B.C.],<sup>109</sup> a person submitted a memorial to the Emperor that denounced Yi with the charge of corporeal punishment, and he was about to be transferred to the West and go to Ch'ang-an 長安.<sup>110</sup> Yi had five daughters. Accordingly, they wept. Yi got angry and scolded them: "I have fathered children, but not fathered any sons. In times of crisis, no one can be made to serve me." At this his youngest daughter T'i-ying 緹縈 felt distressed by her father's words. She thereupon followed her father to the West and submitted a document to the Emperor saying: "As to your maid's father as an official, everyone in Ch'i praises him for being honest and fair. Now he is tried by law and faces corporeal punishment. Your maid feels palpable pain. As the dead cannot return to life, those who received corporeal punishment cannot

<sup>105</sup>The translator follows Bridgman (p. 24) and Sivin (p. 179), and diverges from Hübötter (p. 4).

<sup>106</sup>"Yao lun" 藥論 could also be translated as a book title and below as *Book of the Discourse on Drugs* 藥論書. See D. J. Keegan, "The 'Huang-ti Nei-Ching': The Structure of the Compilation; The Significance of the Structure" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1988), Sivin, "Text and Experience," and Harper, *Mawangdui* on textual transmission in the context of Han medicine. No certainty can be given for the veracity of any of the titles that Yi mentions.

<sup>107</sup>*Wei jen* 為人 "as defining characteristic of his personhood," see *Lun yü* 1.2. Compare with case 22; alternate translation, as below: "on behalf of other people, for the people."

<sup>108</sup>Takigawa punctuates the text so that *che* 者 should be read as *yeh* 也; *che* often stands for *yeh* in this text.

<sup>109</sup>Bridgman (p. 64, n. 63) provides a plausible explanation for a scribal error, four (176 B.C.) being mistaken as thirteen (167 B.C.). Loewe ("The Physician," p. 31), in recognition of textual parallels of *Shih chi*, 10.427 and *Han shu*, 23.1098, considers the incident to have taken place in 167 B.C., i.e., the thirteenth year of Emperor Wen. The translator, in full awareness that this date does not tally with the date given in other parts of the *Shih chi*, suggests to take the date of 176 nevertheless at face value, and explore the consequences this entails, in particular for medical reasoning, before dismissing it as mistaken.

<sup>110</sup>Ch'ang-an was the capital of the empire, west of the kingdom Ch'i.

reattach [a lost member] again.<sup>111</sup> Even if they wish to mend their conduct and renew themselves, it is never possible to achieve it. Your maid wishes to offer herself and become a female slave in order to remit her father's crime deserving corporeal punishment, and effect that he can change his conduct and renew himself." When the document was given a hearing, the Emperor was saddened by its meaning.<sup>112</sup> The model of punishment by mutilation was rescinded in this year, indeed.<sup>113</sup> [\*2796\*] Yi lived at home.<sup>114</sup> An imperial edict summoned him and asked about that which made him treat illnesses. Those whose death and life [he had prognosticated] accurately, how many persons were they? The main names among them were who?<sup>115</sup>

The imperial edict inquired the former Chief of the Granary, your servant, Yi: "Among the formulae and skills you are good at and the kinds of illnesses

<sup>111</sup>Hsü 續 "to continue." The translation above is based on the parallel text passages of *Shih chi*, 10.427 and *Han shu*, 23.1098, where the word *shu* 屬, "to attach," replaces *hsü*.

<sup>112</sup>In the *Lieh-nü chuan* (SPPY, 6.13b-14b), T'i-ying's skills of argumentation are praised. But in the *Kuei fan* of the Ming dynasty, she is praised for the filial piety (*hsiao* 孝) rather than for argumentative skills (Raphals 1998: 133-136).

<sup>113</sup>According to *Shih chi*, 10.427-8 and *Han shu*, 23.1097-8, Ts'ang-kung was exempted from punishment by mutilation in the thirteenth year of Emperor Wen (167 B.C.). See also *Shih chi*, 22.1127, which provides confirmation that punishment by mutilation was rescinded in the thirteenth year of Emperor Wen (not in the twelfth as Hsü Kuang suggests). According to *Han shu* 23.1098, three cases were exempted from mutilation. Chang Shou-chieh explains: "Tattooing the face and cutting off the nose makes two, [cutting off] the left and the right foot [he?] was one, altogether this makes three" 黥劓二 [刑]左右趾[合]一 凡三也.

<sup>114</sup>Fan Hsin-chün 范行準 ("Erh-ch'ien yi-pai nien ch'ien te yi-yü" 二千一百年前的醫獄 [A Medical Lawsuit, Two Thousand One Hundred Years Ago], manuscript printed by Ch'üan-kuo Yi-hsüeh Chung-hsin T'u-shu Kuan, 1963) suggests that this sentence should be the last sentence of the previous paragraph. This would indicate that after the Ch'ang-an incident Yi lived at home, which can be a form of punishment. As said above, he had wandered around before that, and did not treat his home as a home.

<sup>115</sup>Ch'en Tzu-lung postulates a causal relation between the incident in Ch'ang an and the Imperial edict. Because of this incident, "hence" (*ku* 故) the edict was issued for Yi personally. Sivin ("Text and Experience," p. 178) sees no causal relation between the Ch'ang-an incident and the edict; Loewe ("The Physician," p. 307), however, has not found any textual evidence of an imperial edict of the kind being sent out to Ch'i, an event well worth recording. However, Loewe too argues that Yi's statement is not a defense against the criminal charges, not least because some dealings with personages Yi records, in his view, must have taken place at a later date than the Ch'ang-an incident; Christopher Cullen ("Yi'an [Case Statements]: The Origins of a Genre of Chinese Medical Literature," in *Innovation in Chinese Medicine*, ed. Elisabeth Hsu, ed. [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001], p. 304) connects the edict to various political upheavals in Ch'i. Sivin, Loewe and Cullen have a viewpoint that contrasts with Hübotter (p. 5), Bridgman (p. 25), and Hsu (*Telling Touch*).

you can treat, are there any books about them, do you have them or not? In each case, where did you receive instruction [on them]. You received instruction [on them] for how many years? When you tried them, were there any that were verified? From which prefecture and which ward were the persons [treated]? What were the disorders? When the medical treatment and drugs were finished, the appearance of those disorders, what was it like, in all cases? Be comprehensive and detailed in your answers.”

[Section 2]

Your servant, Yi, replied saying: “From the time when I, Yi, was young, I was fond of medicine and drugs. The formulae of medicine and drugs,<sup>116</sup> however, when I tried them out, mostly were not verified [i.e. they were ineffective].<sup>117</sup> When the eighth year of Empress Kao (180 B.C.) was reached, I succeeded in meeting my master, the *kung-sheng*-dignitary Yang Ch'ing from the ward Yüan in Lin-tzu.<sup>118</sup> Ch'ing was over seventy years old, but I, Yi, had the privilege to meet and serve him. He spoke to me, Yi, saying: “Get rid of all your formula books. They are wrong. I, Ch'ing, have inherited and been transmitted from the ancient predecessors the pulse books attributed to Huang Ti and Pien Ch'üeh, [and know] how to examine illness by means of the five colors, how to recognise whether a person will die or live, how to judge over the doubtful, and how to determine the curable. When it comes to structured analytical arguments on drugs, the books are highly refined. My family is wealthy. I dearly love you. I

<sup>116</sup>*Yi yao fang* 醫藥方 alternate translation: ‘formulae of medicinal drugs’ but formulae need not only refer to drug prescriptions but any therapeutic or life nurturing technique (Sivin, “Text and Experience,” p. 179).

<sup>117</sup>This statement stands in blatant contradiction with the correspondent one in Yi's reply to interrogation question 6, unless one adopts Hübötter's (p. 27) interpretation there.

<sup>118</sup>Chang Wen-hu points out that Yi himself says that after serving master Yang Ch'ing for three years he was 39 years old, which was in the third year of Emperor Wen (177); therefore Yi must have been 36 years old in 180. Hsü Kuang had earlier already noted this (although Chang Wen-hu says he saw editions where Hsü Kuang stated that Yi was then 26 years old). This means Yi was born, irrespective of the death date of his teacher Yang Ch'ing, in 216, according to Hsü Kuang, Chang Wen-hu, Bridgman (p. 66 n. 73) and Ho Ai-hua 何愛華 (“Chun-yü Yi sheng-tsu nien te t'an-t'ao” 淳于意生卒年的探討 [Discussion of Chunyu Yi's Dates of Birth and Death], *Zhongguo yishih zazhi* 14.2 [1984], 80-81). This date of birth differs from that of 206 given by Loewe (“The Physician,” pp. 307-8), who follows Wilbur (1943: 289). Fan Hsingchun (“Yi-yü”) gives 205 as the birth date. Sivin (“Text and Experience,” p. 179) points out that 39 *sui* means he was 38 years old and gives as birth date 214. The translator takes account of Hsü Kuang and Sivin, and identifies Yi's birth date as 215.

wish to take my books of secret formulae in their entirety and teach them all to you.” Your servant, Yi, thereupon said: “I am very fortunate. This is more than what I, Yi, had dared to hope for.” Your servant, Yi, then refused the mat and venerated him repeatedly.<sup>119</sup> I formally received his *Mai shu: shang hsia ching* 脈書上下經 (Pulse Book: Upper and Lower Canon [i.e., the first and second volume]),<sup>120</sup> “Wu se chen” 五色診 (Diagnostics by Means of the Five Colors), “Ch’i k’e shu” 奇咳術 (The Art Concerning the Regular and Irregular),<sup>121</sup> “K’uei tu yin yang wai pien” 揆度陰陽外變 (Gauging and Measuring the

<sup>119</sup>*Pi hsi* 避席 “to refuse the mat.” People used to sit on mats. When they wished to demonstrate respect to their host, they refused to sit on the mat.

<sup>120</sup>Li Chien-min 李建民 (*Chung-kuo yi-hsüeh shih* 中國醫學史 [Tokyo, 2003], p. 19) considers this one book in two volumes. Consider *Su wen* 79.250: “one reads out the first and second volume of a canon” 卻念上下經. A *shang ching* 上經 and a *hsia ching* 下經 are mentioned in various parts of the *Nei ching*, and clearly refer to a text in *Su wen* 34.100, 44.124, 46.130, 69.196. It is possible that references to the *shang ching* and *hsia ching* were shorthand for longer titles.

<sup>121</sup>*Ch’i k’e shu* 奇咳術 or *ch’i k’e* 奇咳 (see question 7) literally means “unusual coughs.” According to Wang Shu-min (105.2902-3), *k’e* 咳 can be substituted by several other characters which all mean “extraordinary, irregular.” There is a parallel between the “Ping fa” 兵法 (Military Model) he mentions, which has “Wu yin ch’i k’ai” 五音奇咳 (Five Tones and the Extraordinary), and the “Mai fa” 脈法 (Model of the Pulse), which has “Wu se chen” 五色診, “Ch’i k’e shu” 奇咳術 (Five Color Examinations and the Art of the Extraordinary).

“Ch’i heng” 奇恆 (The Irregular and Regular), a title of a text in *Su wen* (46.128 and 130), according to Ando Koretora 安藤維寅. It is mentioned often in *Su wen* according to Ma Chi-hsing 馬繼興 (*Chung-yi wen-hsien hsüeh* 中醫文獻學 [Study of the Chinese Medical Literature] [Shanghai: Shang-hai K’o-hsüeh Chi-shu Ch’u-pan-she, 1990], p. 63). In the translator’s view, it probably is a title also in *Su wen* 11.37: “Ch’i heng” *chih fu*, elsewhere translated e.g. as ‘paraorbs’ (P. Porkert, *The Foundations of Chinese Medicine: Systems of Correspondence* [Cambridge: MIT Press, 1974]), then means “The receptacles mentioned in the text ‘Ch’i heng.’” This is said in awareness that *ch’i heng* is not a book title, but a verb or attribute in *Su wen* 15.46, 37.37, 77.247, 80.253.

The reason for finding “Ch’i ke” here instead of the “Ch’i heng” of the *Su wen* may parallel that of finding the term *ch’ang shan* 常山 in the Mawangdui “Ho yin yang,” strip 103-104, in place of the usual *heng shan* 恆山. There are scholars who argue that the scribe of that manuscript respected the taboo (*hui* 諱) character *heng* 恆 during the reign of Liu Heng 劉恆 (Emperor Wen 文帝, 179-157). If “Ch’i ke” in *Shih chi* Chapter 105 stands for “Ch’i heng,” the primary material for sections two, three and four dates to 179-157; it begs the question, however, why “Ch’i k’e” rather than “Ch’i ch’ang” is given in the *Shih chi*.

External Anomalies of *yin* and *yang*),<sup>122</sup> “Yao lun” 藥論 (The Discourse on Drugs), “Shih shen” 石神 (The Deities of the Stone),<sup>123</sup> and “Chieh yin yang chin shu” 接陰陽禁書 (The Secret Book on Joining *yin* and *yang*).<sup>124</sup> I received, read, understood and checked them, for about a year.<sup>125</sup> In the following year, when I tested them, there were effective ones.<sup>126</sup> However, I still had not yet reached expertise. Essentially,<sup>127</sup> I served him [Ch'ing] for about three years,

<sup>122</sup>“K'uei tu yin yang wai pien” 揆度陰陽外變 “Gauging and Measuring the External Anomalies of *Yin* and *Yang*”). Taki Motokata 多紀元堅 (1795-1857, *Hen Shaku Sô-kô den* 扁鵲倉公傳) points to *Su wen* 15.45, 46.130 and 77.248 where there are pairs of *k'uei tu* and *ch'i heng*. In *Su wen* 15.45 “K'uei tu” seems to be a title of a text: 揆度者 切度之也 “As to ‘Gauging and Measuring,’ it is about palpating [vessels] and measuring them out.” The same applies to *Su wen* 46.130: 揆度者 度病之淺深也 奇恆者 言奇病也 “As to ‘Gauging and Measuring,’ it measures out the depth of the disorders. As to ‘the Irregular and Regular,’ it is about the unusual illnesses.” In *Su wen* 77.248, the “Upper Canon” and “Lower Canon” (*Shang ching Hsia ching* 上經下經), “Gauging and Measuring *yin* and *yang*” (*k'uei tu yin yang* 揆度陰陽), and “Assessing the Regular or Irregular of the Five Central Ones [i.e. the Five Viscera]” (*ch'i heng wu chung* 奇恆五中) are mentioned together. See also *Su wen* 19.60.

<sup>123</sup>“Shih shen” 石神 is “Pien shi chih shen fa” 砭石之神法 (The Divine Model for Stone Needling), according to Taki Motokata. On early lithic therapy, see V. Lo, “Lithic Therapy in Early Chinese Body Practices,” in P. A. Baker and G. Carr, eds., *Practitioners, Practices and Patients: New Approaches to Medical Archaeology and Anthropology* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2002), pp. 195-220.

<sup>124</sup>“Chieh yin yang chin shu” 接陰陽禁書 concerns the sexual arts, according to Takigawa (105.23). This interpretation parallels that of *chieh* 接 in cases 5, 6 and 10. Li Chien-min (*Chung-kuo yi-hsüeh shih*, p. 21) renders *chin* 禁 as secret (*mi-mi* 秘密), rather than forbidden (Sivin, “Text and Experience,” p. 179). The Mawangtui medical manuscripts contain two texts on the sexual arts. For translations, see Donald Harper (*Early Chinese Medical Literature: The Mawangtui Medical Manuscripts*. [London: Routledge, London, 1998]) and R. Pfister (“Sexuelle Körpertechniken im Heilkunde-Korpus von Mawangtui,” *Dokorarbeit, Ostasiatisches Seminar der Universität Zürich*, 2001). For translation of all above titles, compare and contrast with Sivin (*op. cit.*) and P. U. Unschuld (*Huang Di Nei Jing Su Wen: Nature, Knowledge, Imagery in an Ancient Chinese Medical Text* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003], pp. 80 ff.). For more extended studies on them, see D. J. Keegan (“The ‘Huang-ti Nei-Ching’: The Structure of the Compilation; The Significance of the Structure,” Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1988, *passim*) and Ma Chi-hsing 馬繼興 (*Chung-yi wen-hsien-hsüeh* 中醫文獻學 [Study of the Chinese Medical Literature] [Shanghai: Shang-hai K'o-hsüeh Chi-shu Ch'u-pan-she, 1990], pp. 60-109).

<sup>125</sup>*So* 所 means *hsü* 許 “about,” according to Wang Nien-sun (cited by Takigawa, 105.23).

<sup>126</sup>*Yu yen* 有驗 “to be tested and verified, i.e., effective.” Note that this phrase is repeated below. It appears redundant in this context.

<sup>127</sup>*Yao* 要 “essentially,” is best understood as in the phrase of the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'ü*, “Ch'a hsien pien: *yao tsai te hsien* 要在得賢 “its essential element consists in obtaining worthy men” (J.

then, probing [the formulae I had received],<sup>128</sup> I, on behalf of other people, delivered treatment, examined illnesses, and made prognoses determining whether they would live or die. There were successful experiences, refined and excellent ones. Now, Ch'ing has already been dead for about ten years. In the year of completing the three years [of study with him], your servant, Yi, was thirty-nine years old."<sup>129</sup>

[Section 3]

[Case 1]

[2797] Ch'eng 成, an Attending Secretary of Ch'i 齊, himself said that he was ill; the head hurt. Your servant, Yi, examined his vessels and formally announced: "The illness of your Excellency is bad, I cannot speak about it." Then I went outside and solely informed Ch'eng's younger brother Ch'ang 昌 by saying: "This one is ailing from a *ju*-abscess. It will erupt internally in the region of the intestines and the stomach. After five days, it will become a *jung*-clog swelling. After eight days, he will vomit pus and die."<sup>130</sup> Ch'eng's illness was contracted from wine<sup>131</sup> and women.<sup>132</sup> Ch'eng then died at the predicted time.

Knobloch and J. Riegel, *The Annals of Lü Buwei 閻氏春秋: A Complete Translation and Study* [Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000], p. 112), according to the traditional scholar Kaiho Gyoson 海保漁村 (1798-1866; Takigawa, 105.23).

<sup>128</sup>Ch'ang 嘗 should be read as *shih* 試 and *yi* 已 as *yi* 以, according to Kaiho Gyoson (Ibid.). He points to a parallel usage of *ch'ang yi* 嘗以 in *Chuang-tzu*, 4.141.

<sup>129</sup>*Sui* 歲 "year," but see Sivin's comment in n. 118 above. Liang Yü-sheng (Takigawa, 105.24) points out that the imperial edict need not necessarily have been issued in the thirteenth year of Emperor Wen (167 B.C.), since Yi mentions the King of Tzu-ch'uan, the King of Hsi-liao, the King of Chi-nan, King Wen of Ch'i, and "the former Marquis of Yang-hsü' who became King of Ch'i. Loewe ("The Physician") argues that the answers to the edict must have been written after 164 B.C. because this was the year in which King Wen died, the kingdom of Ch'i was divided, and the former Marquis of Yang-hsü became King of Ch'i. Hsu (*Telling Touch*) differentiates between primary materials contained in this chapter and the edited chapter in the *Shih chi*. She agrees that the chapter was edited after 164. However, according to her research, the chapter may well be a compilation of different primary texts from different decades within the second century B.C., including texts from before 164 B.C. Therefore, the personages mentioned in one section of the text only cannot be used for dating the entire text. Considering that case records in the legal texts were written without identifying the individual (e.g. "Feng chen shih" 封診試 in Hulsewé, *Han Law*), it is possible that this also applied to some medical case histories that provided the primary source material, and that some of the named individuals represent an editorial emendation.

<sup>130</sup>For *chü* 疽 "abscesses," see Ma-wang-tui manuscripts (hereafter MWT, 1985, pp. 57-9), Ma Chi-hsing 馬繼興, ed., *Mawangdui gu yishu kaoshih* 馬王堆古醫書考釋 (Explanation of the

The means whereby I recognized Ch'eng's illness were that when your servant, Yi, pressed on to his vessels, I got *ch'i* [coming] from the liver.<sup>133</sup> The *ch'i* [coming] from the liver, despite being murky, was still. This is a disorder of the interior being closed off.<sup>134</sup> The “Mai fa” 脈法 (Model for the Study of

Ancient Medical Documents from Mawangdui) (Changsha: Hu-nan K'o-hsüeh Chi-shu Ch'u-pan-she, 1992, pp. 532-46), Donald Harper (*Early Chinese Medical Literature*, pp. 276-9). A *chü yung* is mentioned on strip 273. For *yung* 癰, “boils, ulcers,” see MWT (Ma-wang-tui vessel texts, Ma-wang-tui Han-mu po-shu cheng-li hsiao-tsu 馬王堆漢墓帛書整理小組, 1980-85, pp. 67-68), Ma (*op. cit.*, pp. 591-600), Harper (*op. cit.*, pp. 290-3). In canonical doctrine *chü* and *yung* are often contrasted with one another, and in *Ling shu* 81, entitled “Yung-chü” (Boils and Abscesses), *chü* and *yung* are attributed either *yin* or *yang* qualities. Such distinctions do not apply to *Shih chi* Chapter 105. *Shuo wen* 7B.30 interrelates *chü*-abscesses and *yung*-clogs: “A *chü*-abscess is an old (chronic) *yung*-boil” (*chü chiu yung yeh* 疽久癰也), an interrelation which applies in this memoir to case 22, but only arguably to case 1, and not to the MWT texts. *Yung*-ulcers are elsewhere also associated with swellings and pus. See *yung*-entry in *Shuo wen* 7B.30 and MWT (1985, p. 17). For extensive discussion of all the names of disorder and body parts mentioned in cases 1-10 of this memoir, see Hsu *Telling Touch*).

<sup>131</sup>*Chiu* 酒 refers to an alcoholic beverage. It was not liquor, since the technology of distillation was not known in antiquity. It probably was gained through fermentation, like beer, for instance, millet beer. However, in English translation, drinking beer is associated with the working classes and not with the debauchery among the nobility to which Yi, and indirectly Ssu-ma Ch'ien, seems to refer.

<sup>132</sup>*Nei* 內 stands for *chieh nei* 接內, lit. “to join with the interior” and means “to have sexual intercourse.”

<sup>133</sup>For extensive discussion of the sense relations between *mai* and *ch'i* in this memoir, see Hsu, “Lexical Semantics and Chinese Medical Terms,” M. Phil. Dissertation in General Linguistics, University of Cambridge, 1986). For detailed discussion of all the words used for describing the tactile qualities of the *mai* in cases 1-10, see Hsu (*Telling Touch*).

<sup>134</sup>*Nei kuan chih ping* 內關之病 “disorder of the interior being closed off” or “disorder of an internal closure” is not attested elsewhere in the medical literature. It occurs, with slight variation, three times in this memoir (in cases 1, 12 and 15). This condition typically is lethal, although the pulses felt on the body surface are still and smooth. The translator follows Wang Nien-sun who reads *kuan* 關 as a verb, and *nei* 內 as a noun referring to a body part, the “interior” (as in the expression *chieh nei*). Donald Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature: The Mawangdui Medical Manuscripts* (London: Routledge, 1998, p. 396) mentions *kuan* as a body part in a self-cultivation text, “an internal barrier located near the navel.” Alternate readings take *kuan* as noun: “disorder of the inner lock” or, more likely, “disorder inside the [stock-]lock.” These translations link up with the metaphor invoked in expressions like “the outside lock and the inside trestle” (*wai kuan nei ko* 外關內格) and “the inside lock and the outside trestle” (*nei kuan wai ko* 內關外格) found in *Mai ching* 1.4 (*Mai jing* 脈經 [Canon of the Pulse], Wang Xi 王熙, author, *Mai-ching chiao-chu* 脈經校注, Shen Yen-nan 沈炎南, ed. [Peking: Jen-min Wei-sheng Ch'u-pan-she, 1991], p. 7); *Su wen* 9.33, 17.51; *Ling shu* 9.294, 17.323; 48.397-8; *Nan ching* 3 (Unschuld, *The Classic of Difficult Issues* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986, p. 91). Yamada Keiji (*The Origins of*

Vessels/Pulses) says<sup>135</sup>: “In cases where the pulse, while being elongated, is strung, if it is not [the pulse] that alternates in accordance with the four seasons, the host of its illness resides in the liver.”<sup>136</sup> If they [the pulses] blend, then the channels govern the illness.<sup>137</sup> If they alternate, then the linking vessels have excess. In cases where, [while] the channels govern the illness, they [the pulses] blend, one’s illness is contracted in the sinews and the marrow. In cases where, while taking turns in being severed, the pulses spout, one’s illness is contracted from wine and women.<sup>138</sup>

The means whereby I recognized that after five days he would have a *yung*-clog swelling, and that after eight days he would vomit pus and die, were that at the time when I pressed on to his vessels, the minor *yang*, [at the place] where it begins, was alternating. In cases of an alternating [pulse], the channels are

*Acupuncture, Maxibustion, and Decoction* (Kyoto: Internation Research Center for Japanese Studies, 1998, pp. 32-3) points out that the conditions of *nei kuan* and *wai ko*, which both are lethal, are linked to vessel-pulse diagnostics relying on *jen ying* 人迎 and *ts'un k'ou* 寸口 palpation; Yi probably engaged in a precursory form of the latter. While it is possible that the geographical imagery of the region “inside the passes” (*nei-kuan*) around the capital Ch'ang-an may have been used for describing the internal body landscape –*kuan* and *nei kuan* were terms used in the geographical sense in *Shih chi*, 8.356–evidence still needs to be found that in the early second century B.C. a geographical idiom originating from the region of Ch'ang-an should have been predominant in medical discourse, and used by a doctor in the cultural metropole of Ch'i 齊. Chang Shou-chieh interprets *nei kuan* as a place on the wrist, near the *nei kuan* acupuncture *locus*, but this is probably an anachronistic reading.

<sup>135</sup>For a parallel of the “Mai fa” 脈法 quote in the received literature, see *Mai ching*, 3.1.

<sup>136</sup>*Ping chu* 病主 “the host of the illness,” see also cases 2, 5, and 10. Yi discusses *ping chu* in his response to interrogation question 1. The term *chu* may have meant “governor” or “host.” Unschuld (*Medicine in China: A History of Ideas* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980]) emphasizes administrative metaphors in Han medicine, but *ping chu* may also have had more religious connotations. Just as an ancestor tablet can be a host (*chu* 主) to an ancestor, a body part may have been a host to an illness.

<sup>137</sup>*Ching chu ping* 經主病 “the channels govern the illness,” alternate translation: “the host of the channels is ill.” And below: *lo mai chu ping* 絡脈主病 “the linking vessels govern the illness,” alternate translation: “the host of the linking vessels is ill.”

<sup>138</sup>The ideas expressed in these four sentences are not widely adhered to in the received literature. Nevertheless, there are some striking parallels (see Hsu, “The Telling Touch: Pulse Diagnostics in Early Chinese Medicine,” *Habilitationschrift*, Heidelberg University, 2001, case 1). If one assumes that *ho* 和 (gentle) is a synonym of *ching* 靜 (still) and *tai* 代 (alternating) of *chuo* 濁 (murky), then these sentences are a comment on the pulse qualities mentioned above.

ailing.<sup>139</sup> If the disorder leaves, it overcomes the person, the person then leaves [i.e. dies].<sup>140</sup> The linking vessels govern the illness. At that time, the minor *yang*, [at the place] where it begins, was closed by one *fen* [degree]. Hence, although the interior was hot, pus had not yet been emitted. If it [the closure] reaches five *fen*, then it gets to the boundary of the minor *yang*.<sup>141</sup> If it [the predicted time] reaches the eighth day, then one spits pus and dies. Hence, when it [the closure] was above two *fen*, pus was emitted; when it reached the boundary, there was a *yang*-clog swelling; when there was complete discharge, he died. If the heat rises, then it heats up the *yang* brightness and spoils the flowing links. If the flowing links are stirred, then the nodes of the vessels burst open.<sup>142</sup> If the nodes of the vessels burst open, then the spoilage disperses. Hence the links intermingled. If the hot *ch'i* by means of wandering upwards reaches the head, it stirs [it]. Hence the head hurt.

[Case 2]

[2798] Chu Ying, the youngest son<sup>143</sup> of the King of Ch'i's<sup>144</sup> middle son,<sup>145</sup> fell ill. They summoned your servant, Yi. I examined him and pressed on to his

<sup>139</sup>*Ching ping* 經病 alternate translation: “disorder of the channels” occurs precisely in the same sense in case 6, as a “disorder of a transition” to death; in case 2, the verb *ching* 經 is used in the sense of “being transitory.”

<sup>140</sup>*Ching ping ping ch'ü kuo jen jen tse ch'ü* 經病病去過人人則去 makes no sense to the commentators. Osebe Yō (“*Hen Shaku Sōkō den*,” 1994, p. 78—see Bibliography following this translation) points to *Su wen* 20.64-6, where 病去過人 and 人則去 are explained.

<sup>141</sup>Yi refers here to the prognosticatory “Fen chieh fa” 分界法 (Model for Measuring the Boundary), mentioned by name in case 8 and referred to in case 6, but not attested elsewhere in the literature. It evaluates the severity of the patient’s condition in terms of degrees from one to five, one being the least affected and five being indicative of death. It predicts the time span before death. Minor *yang* (*shao yang* 少陽) and *yang* brightness (*yang ming* 陽明) probably refer to specific vessels (*mai* 脈), as described in the MWT vessel texts.

<sup>142</sup>*Liu lo* 流絡 “flowing links” and *mai chieh* 脈結 “knots of vessels” are not attested in the received literature. They may be compound words referring to bodily structures; consider the notion of “floating links” (*fu lo* 浮絡) in *Su wen* 56.151, and *mai chieh* in case 10. The alternate translation of *mai chieh* as a noun-verb phrase is also possible: “the vessels got knotted up”; it is unlikely that it refers to one of the twenty-four qualities listed in *Mai ching* 1, a “pulse that is knotty.”

<sup>143</sup>*Chu ying erh hsiao tzu* 諸嬰兒小子 “the youngest of Chu Ying,” “the youngest of all infants”; or: “the small prince Chu Ying,” according to Hübotter (p. 9). However, since Yi usually repeats the name of the patient and repeats here *hsiao tzu*, the latter is unlikely.

<sup>144</sup>The King of Ch'i could have been Liu Hsiang 劉襄 (r. 188-179), Liu Tse 劉則 (r. 179-164), or [Liu] Chiang-lü [劉] 將廬, also known as Liu Chiang-lü 劉將閭 (r. 164 -153). If the source

vessels. I formally announced: “A disorder of *ch'i* that is blocked.<sup>146</sup> The illness makes a person upset and oppressed. Food does not go down. [\*2799\*] At times, one vomits froth.” The illness is contracted from infantile irritability and [involves] frequently rejecting food and drink. Your servant, Yi, immediately made for him a hot liquid that causes *ch'i* to go downward and got him to drink it.<sup>147</sup> On the first day, the *ch'i* went downward. On the second day, he was able to eat. On the third day, the illness was cured.

The means whereby I recognized the youngest son's illness were that when I examined his vessels, it was *ch'i* [coming] from the heart.<sup>148</sup> It was murky and hurried, but [the condition] was transient.<sup>149</sup> This is a disorder of *yang* in the links.<sup>150</sup> The “Mai fa” says: “In cases when the pulses come frequently and

material was heterogeneous, as suggested by Hsu (*Telling Touch*, forthcoming), one cannot be certain that the King of Ch'i unambiguously identified in case 23 is the same person as mentioned in case 2. Cf. *Han shu*, 14.398-406, Dubs (p. 259), Bridgman (“La médecine,” pp. 110ff), and Loewe (“The Physician Chunyu Yi”).

<sup>145</sup>Bridgman (*op. cit.*, p. 28) renders him as the “second son,” as though he knew the King of Ch'i had three sons.

<sup>146</sup>*Ch'i ko ping* 氣隔病 ‘a disorder of *ch'i* that is being separated’; term not attested elsewhere in the literature. The diaphragm (*ko* 膈 and 膈) separates (*ko* 隔 and *ko* 隔) the body into an upper and a lower part; hence its name. The symptoms suggest that *ch'i* is trapped above the diaphragm, in the chest.

<sup>147</sup>*Hsia ch'i tang* 下氣湯 “broth that causes *ch'i* to go downward,” Not attested elsewhere in the literature.

<sup>148</sup>Cases 1 and 2, and parts of case 6, refer to *kan* 肝 ‘liver’ and *hsin* 心 ‘heart’ in a sense that is partly at odds with that of liver and heart within the framework of the five viscera. Perhaps, liver and heart were the two main viscera of a bipartite body, conceived of as being divided into an upper *yang* part and lower *yin* part, a *yin yang* 陰陽 conception of the body that may have predated that of the body in terms of the five agents (*wu hsing* 五行). For further discussion, see (Hsu, “Telling Touch”: case 2).

<sup>149</sup>It is uncertain whether Yi speaks of the quality of two or three vessels; in cases 1 and 2, he seems to speak of two but arguably gives two or three words for describing pulse qualities in cases 4, 7 and 19; refers to “three strokes” and “three yin” in cases 6 and 7. There are three *yin* and *yang* foot vessels in the MWT vessel texts and on the Mien-yang 綿陽 figurine; three *yang* but only two *yin* hand vessels in the MWT vessel texts; in *Ling shu* 10, there are twelve in total, three *yin* and *yang* vessels on hands and feet. In his response to interrogation question 1, Yi says the vessels *san ho yü jen* 參合於人 “threefold unite in man.”

<sup>150</sup>*Lo yang ping* 絡陽病 “disorder of the links becoming *yang*” or “disorder of *yang* in the links” based on Hübotter (*op. cit.*, p. 9). Not attested elsewhere in the literature. The term *lo yang ping* contrasts with that of *nei kuan chih ping* of case 1, *nei* refers to the inner parts of the body, *lo* to the links on the body surface; *kuan* refers to closing off, *yang* to heating up. The condition involves a doubling of *yang* (see below). Alternate translation: the “*yang* disorder of the links.” Or,

swiftly, and when they leave with difficulty and are not one, the host of the disorder resides in the heart.”<sup>151</sup> In cases where the entire body is hot and the vessels are exuberant, it is a double *yang*.<sup>152</sup> As for the double *yang*, it assaults [the host of] the heart.<sup>153</sup> Hence he was upset and oppressed. If the food had not gone down, then the linking vessels would have had excess. If the linking vessels had had excess, then the blood would have risen to get out. If the blood had risen to get out, he would have died.<sup>154</sup> This is what an aggrieved heart generates. The illness is contracted from being irritable.

### [Case 3]

Hsün 循, the Prefect of the Gentlemen of the Palace of Ch'i, fell ill. All the many doctors considered it a numbness,<sup>155</sup> which had entered the interior,<sup>156</sup> and

in consideration that constituents of compound words are sometimes inverted in this text: *yang lo ping*, “a disorder of the link to the *yang* part of the body, i.e., the heart.”

<sup>151</sup>For a parallel, but modified, passage, see *Su wen* 19.59 and *Mai ching* 3.2 (Shen, p. 72). Bridgman (*op. cit.*, p. 70 n. 89) refers to further parallels in the *Mai ching*.

<sup>152</sup>*Ch'ung yang* 重陽 “double yang.” For parallels, see *Ling shu* 67.440. For *ch'ung sun* 重損 “double harm” and the severing of two vessels leading to death, see case 6. For *ch'ung k'un* 重困 “reduplicated hindrance,” see case 22. For the book title “Yin yang ch'ung” 陰陽重 (The Doubling of *yin* and *yang*), see response to interrogation question 8. For *ping yin* 并陰 “doubled *yin*,” see case 4.

<sup>153</sup>*Hsin chu* 心主 “the host of the heart” can, of course, be interpreted as *hsin Pao lo* 心包絡 “pericard” (lit. link to the heart bag). However, Kaiho Gyoson notes that Hsü Kuang's comment to this passage would suggest that the text he commented on mentioned only *hsin*, and not *hsin chu*.

<sup>154</sup>This passage, which poses problems to the commentators, only makes sense if it is read as a counterfactual. Note that *hsiieh* 血 “blood” is said to rise, rather than *ch'i* 氣. Paul U. Unschuld (personal correspondence) suggests the idea that blood rises refers to an older understanding of bodily processes than the medical language, which alludes to the movements of *ch'i* (see also cases 1 and 6); scribes sometimes forget to update the text and that older ideas.

<sup>155</sup>*Chüeh* 蹶 is variously mentioned in the manuscript and canonical literature, with different radicals. It is mentioned as illness diagnosed by all the many doctors in cases 3 and 23. For “numb” as a symptom, collocated with *han* 寒 “cold,” see case 25. There is reason for translating *chüeh* as “numbness” here, in that it refers to a state of being numb as a stone. See *Shuo wen* 9B.20a (*Shuo wen chieh tzu chu* 說文解字注 [Shanghai: Shang-hai Ku-chi, 1981]): “*chüeh* is an emitted/dug out [unrefined] stone” (*chüeh fa shih yeh* 蹶發石也). Consider also Yang Liang's 楊倞 (9th c.) gloss “*chüeh* means stone” (*chüeh shih yeh* 蹶石也) on *Hsün Tzu*, 27 (*Hsün Tzu chien chu* 荀子箋注, Chang Shih-t'ung 章詩同, ed. (Shanghai: Shang-hai Jen-min, 1974, p. 309). For the idea that stones were numb and insensitive, see P. Santangelo, “Emotions in Late Imperial China, Evolution and Continuity in Ming-Qing Perception of Passions,” in V. Alleton and A. Volkov, eds., *Notions et Perceptions du Changement en Chine* (Paris: College de France, Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, 1974), p. 172) who explains that according to Mencius human beings can become as

needed him. Your servant, Yi, examined him and said: "It is a gushing<sup>157</sup> amassment.<sup>158</sup> It makes a person unable to urinate and defecate." Hsün said: "I have not been able to urinate and defecate for three days!" Your servant, Yi, had him drink the hot liquid [prepared by careful] regulation of fire.<sup>159</sup> After drinking the first [dose], he was able to urinate. After drinking the second, he thoroughly relieved himself. After drinking the third, the illness was cured. The illness was contracted from an indulgence in women.

The means whereby I recognized Hsün's illness were that at the time when I pressed on to his vessels, at the right opening,<sup>160</sup> *ch'i* was intense. The pulses did

"insensitive as stone" if not constantly subject to self-development. See also G. Majno, *The Healing Hand: Man and Wound in the Ancient World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1974, p. 245) rendering of the pulse quality *shih* 石 as being "dead as a rock." *Chüeh* in this sense, as understood by the many doctors, is also given in *pao chüeh* 暴厥 and *shih chüeh* 尸厥 on *Shih chi*, 105.2788 and 105.2790. Yi has a more sophisticated understanding of *chüeh*. See cases 9, 11, and 16 for *feng chüeh* 風厥, *je chüeh* 熱厥 and *chüeh shang* 厥上; extensively discussed in Hsu (*Telling Touch*: case 9).

<sup>156</sup>*Chung* 中 "the interior," see also cases 3, 8, 9, 10 and 22. Yi variously refers to body parts identified through deixis: *nei* 內 "the interior" (e.g. case 1), *shang* 上 "the above, the upper parts" (cases 3 and 16), *hsia* 下 "the below, the lower parts" (case 3), etc. Alternate translation, common in the canonical medical literature: *chung* 中 "to strike the centre."

<sup>157</sup>*Yung* 涌 "gushing, welling," variously recorded in the *Su wen*, as in *yung shui* 涌水 "welling water" in *Su wen* 37.108, or *yung ch'üan* 涌泉 "welling spring" in *Su wen* 17.50, which is also the name of an acupuncture *locus*, as e.g. in *Su wen* 6.25.

<sup>158</sup>*Shan* 疝 "amassment" occurs in cases 3, 10 and 25, as *yung shan* 湧疝, *ch'i shan* 氣疝 and *mu shan* 牡疝; in all three cases it is contracted by sexual intercourse. The term *shan* is widely attested in the manuscript and canonical literature. The graph would suggest that it refers to a tumour or hernia. Consider also *Shuo wen* 7B, 29b: "An amassment is abdominal pain" (*shan fu t'ung yeh* 疝腹痛也).

<sup>159</sup>*Huo ch'i t'ang* 火齊湯 "hot liquid [prepared by careful] regulation of fire"; i.e., by simmering over a small fire. Translation based on Yamada Keiji (*The Origins of Acupuncture, Moxibustion, and Decoction* (Kyoto: International Research Center for Japanese Studies, Kyoto, 1998). *Huo ch'i* 火齊 is mentioned already in the *Han Fei Tzu* 韓非子, 7 (21) (*Han Fei Tzu chi-shih*, Ch'en Ch'i-yu 陳啓猷, ed. [Peking: Chung-hua, 1958], pp. 397 and 399), but substituted in the parallel passage of *Shih chi* 105.1 by the compound word *chiu lao* 酒醪, which probably refers to "mixed alcohols." See *Shih chi*, 105.2788. For further discussion, see Yamada (*op. cit.*, p. 112). In *Shih chi* 105.2, see cases 3, 5, 10 for *huo chi tang*, case 4 for *yeh t'ang huo ch'i* 液湯火齊, case 20 for *huo ch'i mi chih* 火齊米汁, and case 23 for *huo ch'i chou* 火齊粥. Case 22 mentions 陰陽水火之齊 as a phrase used in a cosmological sense, rather than as a qualification of a hot liquid.

<sup>160</sup>*Yu k'ou* 右口 the right opening refers to a "opening of the vessels" (*mai k'ou* 脈口) on the right, perhaps at the ankle, perhaps at the wrist. See case 4 for *t'ai yin mai k'ou* 太陰脈口, case 5 for *t'ai yin chih k'ou* 太陰之口, case 6 for *tsu shao yang mai k'ou* 足少陽脈口, and case 7 for you

not have *ch'i* [coming] from the five viscera. At the right opening, the pulses, while being large, were frequent. In cases of the frequent, the interior and lower parts, while hot, are gushing. The left is for [diagnosing] the lower parts, the right is for [diagnosing] the upper parts. There was in all cases no response from the five viscera. Hence I said a gushing amassment. The interior was hot, hence the urine was dark.<sup>161</sup>

[Case 4]

[2800] Hsin 信, the Chief of the Palace Wardrobe of Ch'i,<sup>162</sup> fell ill. I entered [his room] to examine his vessels and formally announced: "It is the *ch'i* of a heat disorder.<sup>163</sup> In spite of this, you are sweating [as one does] from summer heat. The pulses are barely weakened. You will not die." I said: "This illness is contracted when one formerly bathed in running water while it was very cold, and once it was over, got hot." Hsin said: "Yes, so it is. Last winter season, I was sent as an envoy to the King of Ch'u 楚. When I got to the Yang-chou 陽周 River in Chü 莒 County,<sup>164</sup> the planks of the bridge were partly damaged. I then seized the shaft of the carriage. I did not yet intend to cross. The horses became frightened and [I] promptly fell. I was immersed in water and almost died. Some officers then came to save me and pulled me out of the water. My clothes were completely soaked. For a short time my body was cold, and once it was over, it got hot like a fire. Up to today, I cannot stand the cold." Your servant, Yi,

*mai k'ou* 右脈口; see also case 18 for *Tso k'ou* 左口. These "openings" evidently refer to a specific place on the vessels. For *mai k'ou* in the received literature, see for instance *Ling shu* 49.400. Considering that in the MWT vessel texts *mai* are often said to "come out" (*ch'u* 出) near or on structures of the hands and feet, one can easily imagine that the places at the extremities where the *mai* exit were called "openings" (*k'ou*). Perhaps this concept developed later into that of *ch'i k'ou* 氣口 and the *ts'un k'ou* 寸口, as mentioned variously in the *Nei ching*, *Nan ching* and the Tun-huang manuscripts. See Hsu ("Telling Touch": case 3).

<sup>161</sup>*Ni ch'ih* 溺赤 means "the urine is deep colored," i.e., dark yellow, which typically is indicative of heat inside the body. Hübötter (*op. cit.*, p. 10) and Bridgman (*op. cit.*, p. 72) considered *ch'ih* to mean red. The latter thought *ni ch'ih* indicated haematuria. This is mistaken.

<sup>162</sup>Alternate translation: "Chang Hsin, the court warehouse official," given by Yamada Keiji (*op. cit.*, p. 117).

<sup>163</sup>*Je ping* 熱病 "heat disorder." Various attested in canonical literature. For *je ping* in chapter headings, see *Su wen* 31, 33 and *Ling shu* 23. The term *je ping ch'i* 熱病氣 is an unusual constituent in Yi's names of the disorders, see Hsu (2001b). The MWT Tsu-pi (hereafter MWT TP) vessel text (1985: 4) mentions *je ch'u han* 熱出汗 "heat expels sweat."

<sup>164</sup>Chü 莒 was in the kingdom of Ch'eng-yang 成陽. See *Han shu*, 28B.1635. It was located on 35.3° N and 118.5° E. (T'an Ch'i-hsiang, 2:19-20).

immediately made for him the fluid hot liquid [prepared by careful] regulation of fire, to drive away the heat. After drinking the first dose, the sweating came to an end. After drinking the second, the heat left. After drinking the third, the illness ceased. I then made him apply medicines.<sup>165</sup> After about twenty days, his body was without illness.

The means whereby I recognized Hsin's illness were that at the time when I pressed on to his vessels, there was a paired *yin*. The "Mai fa" says: "In the case of a heat disorder, those whose *yin* and *yang* intermingles, die."<sup>166</sup> When I pressed on them [the vessels], there was no intermingling, but a paired *yin*. In cases of the paired *yin*, the pulses are smooth and clear, and [the condition] curable. Although his heat had not yet gone completely, he was still going to live. *Ch'i* [coming] from the kidneys was sometimes for a moment murky. At the opening of the major *yin* vessel, however, it was thin. This is a case of water *ch'i*. The kidneys certainly<sup>167</sup> govern water. Hence by means of this I recognized it [the illness]. If the disorder had neglected to be treated instantly, then it would have turned into chills and hot flushes.<sup>168</sup>

<sup>165</sup>*Fu yao* 服藥 "to apply medicines" often refers to an external application in early medical texts, see annotations by Ma Jihsing 馬繼興, ed., *Mawangdui gu yishu kaoshih* 馬王堆古醫書考釋 (Explanation of the Ancient Medical Documents from Mawangdui) (Changsha: Hu-nan K'o-hsiieh Chi-shu Ch'u-pan-she, 1992, pp. 432, 568). However, there are exceptions, see Donald Harper ("The 'Wushier pingfang': Translation and Prelegomena," Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1982, p. 407) and Ma (Ibid., p. 500), and cases 17, 20, 22, 23. The doctor's insistence on treating the patient with, in all likelihood, 'externally applied medicines' for another twenty days was certainly the appropriate thing to do in the case of an infection before the advent of antibiotics. European folk medicine, for instance, prescribed long-term hot fomentation (potato, onion, or cabbage fomentation).

<sup>166</sup>The latter part of the quotation, namely that the intermingling of *yin* and *yang* leads to death (*yin yang chiao ssu* 陰陽交死), is widely known. See, for instance, *Su wen* 33.96. Yi's "Mai fa" quotation and his concluding sentence in case 4. The condition of a "double *yin*" (*ping yin* 并陰), apparently, was curable.

<sup>167</sup>*Ku* 固 "certainly," e.g., in translation by Donald Harper (in E. Hsu, ed., *Innovation in Chinese Medicine* [hereafter *Innovation*; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001], p. 118). However, in case 21, the grammar would suggest that *ku se* 固色 probably means "solid, steady, healthy complexion." See case 21 and the notes. Alternate translation: *shen ku* 腎固 "the kidneys are firm," as *kan kang* 肝剛 "the liver is hard" in case 6. Health is indicated by the firmness of the viscera and the solidity of color. See Hsu (*Telling Touch* forthcoming).

<sup>168</sup>*Han je* 寒熱 "intermittent coldness and heat" certainly does not refer to malaria, as Bridgman (*op. cit.*, 73) suggests, but probably to a state of utter exhaustion: "chills and hot flushes." See also cases 6, 18, 19.

## [Case 5]

[2801] The Queen Dowager of the King of Ch'i<sup>169</sup> fell ill. They summoned your servant, Yi, to enter [the palace] and examine the vessels. I said: "A wind-induced heat-due-to-overexertion is visiting the bladder.<sup>170</sup> One has difficulties with defecating and urinating, and the urine is dark." Your servant, Yi, had her drink the hot liquid [prepared by careful] regulation of fire. After drinking the first dose, she immediately could urinate and defecate. After drinking the second, the illness ceased. She urinated as before. The illness was contracted because while dripping with sweat, she went outside to dry up. In cases of drying up, having removed one's clothes, the sweat dries in the sunlight.<sup>171</sup>

The means whereby I recognized the illness of the Queen Dowager of the King of Ch'i were that when your servant, Yi, examined her vessels, and when I pressed on to the opening of the major *yin*, it was damp while there was wind *ch'i*. The "Mai fa" says: "In cases where when as one sinks down [as one presses on to the vessels], it is very firm, and when as one floats [as one barely touches the surface of the vessels], it is very tight, the host of the illness resides in the

<sup>169</sup>For identification of the King of Ch'i 齊, see cases 2 and 23.

<sup>170</sup>*Feng tan k'e p'ao* 風癰客脬 "wind-induced heat from overexertion lodged in the bladder" is not attested elsewhere in the medical literature. Wind (*feng* 風), widely attested in the received literature, occurs as a constituent of the name of the disorder in cases 5, 9, 20 and 24. It figures as a cause of the illness in cases 13, 15, and 24. The term *tan* 癰, also written as *tan* 憊, occurs already in the *Shih ching* (cf. "Ta tung" 大東, Mao #203, and "Ban" 板, Mao #254, respectively; *SPPY* 13.3b and 17.15b). It appears also among the names of disorders listed in MWT YY (1985, p. 12), and the Chang-chia-shan "Mai shu," see Kao Ta-lun 高大倫, ed., *Chang-chia-shan Han-chien Yin-shu chiao-shih* 張家山漢簡引書校釋 (Explanation of the "Document on Pulling" on Han Dynasty Bamboo Strips from Changjiashan) (Chengtü: Pa Shu Shu-she, 1995), pp. 28-9). See also *Shuo wen* 7B.33b: "*tan* is a disorder of overexertion" (*tan, lao ping yeh* 癰勞病也). In cases 5 and 6, *tan* clearly refers to heat, therefore a literal translation should render it as "heat due to overexertion." In the later canonical literature, *tan* often has connotations of heat. See *Su wen* 17: "*tan* turns into a wasting away of the centre" (*tan cheng wei hsiao chung* 癰成爲消中), which indicates a meaning of *tan* that parallels that of *tan* in case 6, and Wang Bing's 王冰 (8th c.) comment: "*tan* indicates dampness and heat" (*tan wei shih je yeh* 癰謂溼熱也; *Huang ti nei ching Su wen* 黃帝內經素問 [Yellow Emperor's Inner Canon, Basic Questions], 1982, p. 39), which applies to both cases 5 and 6. The two terms, *p'ao* 脬 and *p'ang kuang* 膀胱, both refer to the bladder in case 5. See *Shuo wen* 4B.22: "*p'ao* is the bladder" (*p'ao p'ang kuang yeh* 脬旁光也). Note here *p'ang kuang* 旁光 instead of *p'ang kuang* 膀胱. In the *Nei ching*, *p'ao* is hardly mentioned but *p'ang kuang* very frequently. For detailed discussion, see Hsu, "Telling Touch": case 5).

<sup>171</sup>The translator follows Harper (personal correspondence). See also Hübötter (*op. cit.*, p. 11).

kidneys.”<sup>172</sup> When I pressed on to the vessel of the kidneys, it was the other way round. The pulse while large, was hurried. In cases where it is large, it is *ch'i* [coming] from the bladder. In cases where it is hurried, the interior has heat and the urine is dark.

[Case 6]

Ts'ao Shan-fu 曹山附 of the ward Chang-wu<sup>173</sup> 章武 in Ch'i fell ill. Your servant, Yi, examined his vessels and said: “It is a lung consumption.”<sup>174</sup> In addition there are chills and hot flushes.”<sup>175</sup> Forthwith I informed the members of the household saying: “He will die. Incurable. In accordance with what he needs, provide maintenance. A doctor should not treat this one.”<sup>176</sup> The “Model” says: “After three days, he will be in a state that matches madness.”<sup>177</sup> In a frenzy, he will rise to walk about, desiring to run. After five days, he will die.”<sup>178</sup> He then died at the end of the predicted time period. Shan-fu's illness was contracted from being in great anger, and in this condition indulging in women.

<sup>172</sup>For parallels, with modifications, see *Mai ching* 1.13 (Shen, p. 25), and *Mai ching* 6.9 (Shen, p. 209).

<sup>173</sup>*Li* 里 “ward.” The text would appear defective since *li* requires a further specification, like ward of a prefecture. Chang-wu 章武 is, in fact, the name of a county (*hsien* 縣) and a “marquisate” (*hou* 侯). It was a *hou* from 173-122 B.C.; as a *hsien* it was subordinated to Po-hai 勃海 Commandery. In pre-Imperial times, Chang-wu *hou* was part of Chao kingdom, but it is uncertain whether it was part of the Han kingdom Chao or Ch'i. See *Han shu*, 28A.1579 and 28B.1655.

<sup>174</sup>*Fei hsiao tan* 肺消癯, lit. “heat-due-to-overexertion arising from a lung wasting.” The translation “lung consumption” is to be appreciated with caution; it need not necessarily refer to tuberculosis. It has affinities with the premodern European notion “consumption,” but is not identical. The compound word is not attested in the received literature, but see *Su wen* 37.108 for *fei hsiao* 肺消 (lung wasting) and, for instance, *Ling shu* 46.387, for *hsiao tan* 消癯 (consumption). Case 6 has been considered to provide the earliest testimony of diabetes, a retrospective biomedical diagnosis that is questioned by Hsu, “Telling Touch”: case 6).

<sup>175</sup>*Han je* 寒熱 definitely does not refer to intermittent fevers in this context. *Ling shu* 46.387 mentions increasingly progressive stages of an illness which involve a stage of *hsiao tan* that later transforms into a *han je*. The term *han je* in those contexts refers to a state of utter exhaustion. See also cases 4, 18, and 19.

<sup>176</sup>Note that this is a case of palliative care.

<sup>177</sup>*Tang k'uang* 當狂 alternate translation: “he will be manic.” Compare with the state that arises when the *yang* brightness vessel is affected in MWT YY (1985, p. 10) vessel text and *Ling shu* 10.301, which is not called *k'uang*. Rather than referring to madness itself, Yi seems to describe a state of delirium or mania, “matching madeness,” and comparable to that of a madman.

<sup>178</sup>The *Fa* 法 (Model) is not the “Mai fa,” but probably the “Fen chieh fa” 分界法 (Model for Measuring the Boundery). See cases 1 and 8.

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REVISED EDITION

*This edition is published with the aid of the  
C.C.K. Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange*

NUMBER LXV OF THE RECORDS OF CIVILIZATION:  
SOURCES AND STUDIES



RECORDS OF  
THE GRAND HISTORIAN:  
HAN DYNASTY II

REVISED EDITION

By Sima Qian

Translated by Burton Watson

*A Renditions* – Columbia University Press Book  
Hong Kong New York

© 1961 Columbia University Press  
Revised Edition © 1993 Columbia University Press  
All Rights Reserved. ISBN 0-231-08166-9  
ISBN 0-231-08167-7 (pbk.)  
Library of Congress Number 92-210621

Published by  
The Research Centre for Translation  
The Chinese University of Hong Kong  
and  
Columbia University Press

This work has been accepted in the Chinese Translations Series of  
the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization  
(UNESCO)

p 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2

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More than twenty years had passed since the Yellow River broke through its banks at Huzi. The break had not been repaired and the harvests were frequently poor, the damage being particularly severe in Liang and Chu. The emperor, having gone east to perform the Feng and Shan sacrifices (110 BC), made a tour through the empire, sacrificing to various mountains and rivers. The following year (109 BC) there was a drought (the purpose of which, it was said, was to dry out the earth of the altar mound constructed for the Feng sacrifice), and very little rain fell. The emperor ordered Ji Ren and Guo Chang to raise a force of 20,000 or 30,000 men and close the break in the banks of the Yellow River at Huzi, while he himself went east to pray for rain at the Altar of the Ten Thousand Mile Sands. On his way back to the capital he stopped to inspect the break in person and cast offerings of jade and a white horse into the river. He ordered all the courtiers and ministers who were accompanying him, from the generals on down, to carry bundles of brushwood and help close the break in the embankment. As it happened, the people of Dong Province had just burned off all their grasslands, so there was very little brushwood to be found in the area. The workmen were therefore obliged to sink lengths of bamboo from the Qi Park to form a weir across the opening. As the emperor surveyed the break, he was filled with despair at the difficulty of the task and composed this song:

The river broke through at Huzi;  
 What could we do?  
 Beneath its rushing waves,  
 Villages all became rivers.  
 The villages have all become rivers  
 And there is no safety for the land.  
 Our labours know no rest,  
 Our mountains crumble.  
 Our mountains crumble  
 And the marsh of Juye overflows.  
 Even the fish lament  
 As the winter days press near.  
 The river raged from its boundaries,  
 It has left its constant course.  
 Dragons and water monsters leap forth,  
 Free to wander afar.  
 Let it return to the old channel  
 And we will truly bless the gods.

But for my journey to the Feng and Shan,  
How would I have known what it was like?  
Ask the Lord of the River for me,  
“Why are you so cruel?  
Your surging inundations will not cease;  
You grieve my people!  
The city of Niesang is awash;  
The Huai and Si brim over,  
So long, and yet you will not return —  
You overstep the watery bounds!”

The river rages on,  
Its wild waters tossing.  
It swirls back to the north,  
A swift and dangerous torrent.  
We bring the long stakes  
And cast the precious jade.  
The Lord of the River hears our plea  
But there is not enough brushwood.  
There is not enough brushwood —  
The fault of the people of Wey.  
They have wasted the land with fire —  
What can we use to check the waters?  
We sink the forest bamboo  
And ballast the weir with stones.  
We will stem the break at Xuanfang  
And bring ten thousand blessings!

Thus they finally succeeded in closing the gap at Huzi and built a temple on top of the embankment called the Temple of Xuanfang. They led the waters of the river off to the north in two channels so that it returned to the course it had followed in the time of Emperor Yu. Safety was restored to the regions of Liang and Chu, and they no longer suffered any damage from flood waters.

After this the men who were concerned with such affairs all rushed to the emperor with proposals for utilizing the rivers to greater advantage. As a result canals were dug in Shuofang, Xihe, Hexi, and Jiuquan to draw off water from the Yellow River or smaller rivers in the valleys and use it to irrigate the fields. Within the Pass the Fu and Lingzhi canals were constructed, making use of the

water of various rivers in the region; in Ru'nan and Jiujiang water was drawn off from the Huai River; the Donghai from the marsh of Juding; and at the foot of Mt. Tai from the Wen River. In all these places canals were dug to water the fields, providing irrigation for over 10,000 *qing* of land in each area. In addition many other small canals and waterways through the mountains were opened up, but they are too numerous to describe here. Of all these exploits, however, the most outstanding was the closing of the break in the Yellow River at Xuanfang.

The Grand Historian remarks: I have climbed Mt. Lu in the south to observe the courses which Emperor Yu opened up for the nine tributaries of the Yangtze. From there I journeyed to Kuaiji and Taihuang and, ascending the heights of Gusu, looked out over the Five Lakes. In the east I have visited the confluence of the Yellow and Luo rivers, Dapei, and the Backward-flowing River, and have travelled along the waterways of the Huai, Si, Ji, Ta, and Luo rivers. In the west I have seen Mt. Min and the Li Escarpment in the province of Shu, and I have journeyed through the north from Longmen to Shuofang. How tremendous are the benefits brought by these bodies of water, and how terrible the damages! I was among those who carried bundles of brushwood on their backs to stem the break at Xuanfang and, deeply moved by the song of Huzi, I made this treatise on the Yellow River and the Canals.